David Katan and Maria Elisa Fina
Chapter 17
Heritage tourism translators

Abstract: We begin this chapter with a short discussion marking out "heritage tourism" as a distinct form of tourism, and one which is destined to develop the most in the near future. We argue that the distinctiveness of heritage tourism requires an equally particular set of skills when translating, which we divide into two parts. The first part focuses on the distinguishing purposes of heritage tourism. These all require mediation or interpretation between the heritage site and the visitors, whether through actual interpreter-guides or through multimedial support. The argument is that the heritage tourism translator will need similar interpreting-mediational competencies to create an effective translation for the new outsider visitor. The competency set outlined is based initially on a well-known typology of museum-translation functions. The second part focuses on multisemiotics, not only as a distinguishing feature of heritage tourism communication, but as a transversal competence that a heritage tourism translator needs to master to satisfy each of the heritage tourism functions outlined. This transversal competence is first discussed in terms of the theory of multisemiotic interaction in translation, focusing in particular on materiality, modal affordances and content reshaping, and will be illustrated with practical examples involving purely visual, audio and audiovisual modalities.

Keywords: heritage tourism translation, translation functions, translator plus, multisemiotics, modal affordances, transmediation

1 Introduction

Heritage tourism can boast that it is not only "one of the oldest and most pervasive forms of tourism", but also "one of the most significant types of tourism in terms of visitors and attractions, involving hundreds of millions of people every year" (Nguyen and Cheung 2014: 35). A recent UNESCO (2021) report suggests that tourism centring on cultured attractions and products already accounts for 40% of all tourism worldwide. According to a recent volume on the subject, heritage tourism is also "one of the world's fastest-growing industries" (Zhu 2021: back cover; see also National Trust of Australia 2018: 2). This field covers "travelling to experience the places, artefacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It includes historic, cultural and natural attractions" (National Trust of Australia 2018:

7); and with the COVID-19 pandemic the focus has shifted towards online travel, with an upsurge in virtual tours and immersive experiences – all of which present the translator with distinctive and also altogether new challenges.

The tourism sector represents an important domain of a translator's work. The fragmented nature of production makes it impossible to gauge just how important, but one survey found 6% of its translation professionals working principally in tourism, a further 11% worked "also in tourism" and another 11% "at times", which makes the domain on par with medical and marketing (Katan 2011; see also Katan 2023a). The European Commission's Tourism Unit highlights the fact that "internationalisation is increasingly becoming a key strategy for the survival of many tourism businesses".[1] Yet, curiously, translation is not even mentioned. Also, the UNESCO report mentioned above ignores translation, even though it discusses heritage as a global phenomenon, crucial to the welfare of societies and to the well-being of the planet itself. But how this well-being should be mediated for a specific foreign, or a general international, visitor is not mentioned.

The same disregard for heritage tourism translation is to be found at university level. Translation courses rarely regard tourism as a domain (see Agorni 2019: 63–64), partly due to the presumed lack of its own specialized language, given that much of the specialized lexis is borrowed from a wide variety of other fields; and partly because (in theory) the texts generated "can be easily understandable to the general public" (Melikidou and Malamatidou 2022: 15). So, in this chapter we would like to give an overview of what it is that marks tourism translation, or rather a particular aspect of it, heritage translation, as an important area of study, and in particular what a "heritage translator" profile should include. Though many aspects of the profile will be germane to translation as a whole, we suggest that heritage tourism translators will have their own distinct profile, which we expand on below.

2 Heritage translation

Heritage translation is not (yet) a field in Translation Studies, though Liao and Bartie (2022) do title their article on multilingual audio guides "Translating heritage". Tourism translation, on the other hand, has already emerged as a discipline and as a constituent of commercial translation (Katan 2021). We begin here by explaining why the profile we are delineating is not exactly that of a "tourism translator" tout court, but that of a "heritage translator".

According to Ashworth (2010: 286), the "unique value proposition" of heritage tourism is that it necessitates a locale, a place; whereas tourism *per se* necessitates the

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1 See https://single-market-economy.ec.europa.eu/sectors/tourism/business-portal/internationalisa tion-tourism-businesses/marketing-your-tourism-company-internationally_en (accessed 1 March 2023).

activities and facilities (sightseeing, sunbathing, shopping, eating) that will support the tourist while visiting the place. Consequently, heritage discourse is principally the "discourse of place", with the emphasis on contextualized situatedness (Scollon and Scollon 2003; Ashworth 2010; Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow 2014: 431). Often, translation for a different locale tends towards localization, which aims to eliminate the foreign. Instead, with heritage translation, the foreign is the very object and has to be highlighted, albeit from the perspective of a language and cultural (languacultural, see Agar 1986) outsider. This requires (re)mediation, or (re)shaping, as the quality of the heritage resides in the experience as perceived by the visitor – and not in the reality of the place itself (see Poria, Reichel and Cohen 2013). As Ashworth (2010: 286) notes, heritage will be "relevant or irrelevant to the visitor, and effectively or ineffectively communicated: it cannot be wrong". So, heritage translation is not so much concerned with communicating information (though that will be a prerequisite) but with creating a text that provides an experience that is effective and relevant for the international visitor.

Creating a new, effective and relevant heritage text, however, is not straightforward. As explained by Lowenthal (2015: 21, emphasis ours), "As abstract entity the past has little merit; as *our own* possession it provides *identity*, precedent, patrimonial pride. *We* manipulate the legacy given *us* to secure it as heritage, hyped improvements sanctifying it in *our* eyes and distinguishing it from others". What we should note here is the exclusive (languaculture-bound) use of the terms "we" and "our", which index the situated identity of the original constructors and consumers of the heritage. This indexicality will require sensitive renarrating (see Katan 2023b) and reshaping to provide an effective and relevant communication for the international visitor.

2.1 The heritage translator is an interpreter

Though the term "heritage translator" is not yet mainstream, the "heritage interpreter" is, and relates extremely well to the profile we are suggesting, given that the translator will be interpreting a reality for the new visitor in the same way as natural park and museum interpreters do. This profession coalesced with Freeman Tilden's groundbreaking *Interpreting our Heritage*. Originally published in 1957, it is still considered basic reading for heritage interpreters today, and is increasingly being referenced by translation scholars focusing on this area (Moscardo 1996; Agorni 2018; Maci 2019; Liao and Bartie 2022). Tilden (1977: 8) argued that the purpose of interpretation is not "simply to communicate factual information", but rather "to stimulate the reader or hearer toward a desire to widen his [*sic*] horizon of interests and knowledge, and to gain an understanding of the greater truths that lie behind any statements of fact" (1977: 33). Since Tilden, a number of other definitions have come to the fore (summarized in Shalaginova 2012: 18). There is a common thread of "aims to reveal meanings", "to give meaning", "help people understand", "gain insight", "heighten public awareness", "enhance understanding" and "to enrich the visitor". One of the definitions actually consid-

ers intralingual aspects: interpretation is a "communication process in which one person translates a language he/she speaks very well into terms and ideas that other people can understand" (Ham 1992: 411).

So, unlike *skopos* theory, the aim or purpose of the translation process (Nord 2013: i) is less specific to the translation brief and to the specific text in hand. Instead, enriching the receiver will always be the most important criterion for a heritage translator and is what actually drives the profile. Indeed, we can easily adapt the core features of a heritage interpreter as understood by the NAI,[2] replacing the term "interpretation" with "translation": heritage translation is a mission-based communication process that reshapes contents to forge emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the meanings inherent in the text.

2.2 A heritage translator is a translator *plus*

The profile calls for a more proactive approach that has translation as an integral part, but not the whole, of the translator's role. This requires a change of orientation from, as Neather (2018: 374) points out, "the text" to "intertextuality" and, as we suggest, from intertextuality to effective communication – exploiting all the resources possible. To achieve this, the translator must be more involved at a macro level and with the other actors, authorities, commissioners, staff and writers to produce an effective text (Neather 2018: 372–373; Manfredi 2021: 79) – and be a "translator *plus*" (Katan and Spinzi 2022). This is, at least for the moment, the ideal. The reality today is that translators are still generally at the end of a vertical chain of command, often only provided with the text, and with little or none of the context, such as how or where the text will be made available, or in relation to other texts, visuals, and so on (Neather 2018: 373; Manfredi 2021: 79).

The original texts are often anything but "easily understandable to the general public" - and nor to the translator, who may need to confront those further up the chain with the issue. The translator will then find herself confronted with what Neather (2012: 266; as cited in Liao 2018: 53) calls "expertise anxiety" in relation to the other actors, who will very often have a much more specialized domain knowledge than the translator. What translators, on the other hand, can bring to the process is their "meta-discursive competence" (Liao 2018: 53) and position as ideal, non-expert readers (Katan 2022). This non-expert status (regarding the specialized domain) should work to the translator's benefit as a heritage interpreter, given Tilden's (1977: 44) dictum regarding the interpretation of prehistory: "though we owe such a debt of gratitude to the patient study of the archaeologist, he must always remember that his tools are not the public's tools, nor his scholarly thoughts their thoughts".

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2 NAI, the National Association for Interpreters (America), which represents visitor guides at National Parks, museums and so on.

There are already signs of this emerging translator *plus*.[3] Katan (2022), for example, documents a successful collaboration with both the museum commissioner and the writers. The result was certainly beneficial to the translator thanks to the valuable expert explanation of implicit meanings regarding historical events. But the collaboration was two-way. The original authors modified their own source text (ST), in general adding the explications given in the translation, as they realized that their scholarly thoughts were not immediately accessible to the local, ostensibly insider visitors. The extra soft skills (such as emotional intelligence) necessary to reduce expertise anxiety and to move to a more proactive role are discussed in Katan and Spinzi (2023).

We now return to the text itself, and profile some of the features of this mission-based communication when talking of the heritage translator.

2.3 Profiling heritage translation

An emerging branch of Translation Studies, "museum translation" has already begun to look into the features that make up heritage translation. Clearly museums are already included in the tangible, and at times, in the intangible areas of heritage, such as any museum specializing in local traditions. Though Manfredi (2021) notes the lack of awareness of translation issues specific to museums, Liao's (2018) typology of museum-translation functions does provide a useful starting point regarding what a heritage translator will need to be acquainted with. Below is a significant adaptation and extension into sub-sections of Liao's (2018: 47–48) functions:

1. Informative
   Epistemic outsiders
   Languacultural outsiders
   Languaculture specific genre conventions

2. Interactive
   Flow
   Pouvoir faire

3. Narrative
   Relationality, temporality, causal emplotment
   Selective appropriation, conceptual and public narrative

4. Social-inclusive
   Accessible language
   Sensory channels

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3 See the special issue of *Cultus* (Katan and Spinzi 2021), which focuses exclusively on the "translator *plus*".

5. Languaging
    Language as place
    Culturemes

6. Multisemiotic
    Use and integration of the semiotic resources in multimedia texts to achieve
    functions 1–5 and to enhance interpretation.

2.3.1 Informative

Liao's informative function focuses on "how much of the ST is relayed in the TT [target text]" (2018: 48). This is a complex area as it includes at least three areas where the translator needs to align, mediate and reshape for the international reader. Firstly, as noted by others, "the recipients of tourist texts are usually non-specialists in the field" (Duran-Muñoz 2011: 32), and consequently, as Ham (2007: 44) at the Interpreting World Heritage Conference (2007) put it, "effortful consideration of the full presentation of ideas is difficult, if not impossible". This consideration reduces both ST and TT readers' epistemic status (Heritage 2013), making them all epistemic outsiders (Katan 2021), and in theory relatively easy to translate for.

In practice, and certainly in Italian, the ST tends to be written by specialists for would-be specialists in the field (Katan and Taibi 2021: 307–310). So, the first area of concern for the heritage translator is to determine to what extent the specialized language has already been popularized or de-terminologized for the new reader. Secondly, regardless of the degree of popularization, languacultural outsiders will have more difficulty in contextualizing what is referred to within the text. And thirdly, they themselves will have preferred or at least expected languaculture-specific genre conventions regarding information load and complexity in the language (see Katan and Taibi 2021: 297–299). Clearly, when translating using a lingua franca, low information load and a general orientation to clarity – in line with Plain Language (PLAIN n.d.) principles – should be the norm.

Epistemic outsiders

Promotional tourism texts are already recognized as exhibiting "peculiar textual functions, features and strategies" (Sulaiman and Wilson 2019: 21), as well as being culturally filtered featuring pre-systemized representations of "the other" (Manca 2016: 2) so as to attract the reader. With regard to heritage tourism, whether promotional or not, the language will be strongly related to what has been enshrined. Given that sacralization (MacCannell 1976) of the place may well encompass any or even all aspects of heritage – from the tangible (such as archaeology, art), the intangible (e.g., dialect, knowledge) and the natural (e.g., flora, geology) – the specialized language, or Language for Special Purposes, will be extremely variegated (Duran-Muñoz 2011: 32;

Scarpa 2020: 4). In turn, this makes collaboration and dealing with expertise anxiety a default aspect of the heritage translator's profile. Once translators have gained enough from the experts, they will need to consider the international visitors' ability and interest in absorbing new information – in comparison with that of the original intended visitor. Differences should be expected. For example, a survey of visitors to a popular destination in Vietnam (Nguyen and Cheung 2014) showed that around half (48%) of the local tourists were "purposeful heritage tourists", who had planned to visit particular sites to deepen their understanding, in comparison with only 23% of the international visitors. Instead, the majority of the international visitors (63%) were described as "sightseeing heritage tourists", with lower epistemic status, who were happy to visit and photograph whatever it was they were guided to.

Languacultural outsiders

Translation, in whatever domain, is almost always an afterthought for tourism translation. The ST will be designed for local languaculture insider visitors, while the TT will address an unforeseen audience of languacultural outsiders. What makes this crucial for heritage translators is, as we have noted, that the discourse itself will be grounded within the languacultural environment of the original implied reader. The basic question that may then be asked of a translation is: to what extent can or does "the resultant text carr[y] elements of its history of use within it" (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 73). The response will depend on the extent the heritage translator has accounted for the functions we are considering here. Often, explicitation strategies will be required, which will need to be balanced against time and space requirements, as well as languacultural toleration for information load.

Generic conventions

Languacultural groups will have their own expectations or orientations towards or against the use of specialized language and high information load. Anglo speakers, for example, will generally expect a low information load, a "short and simple" approach (Katan and Taibi 2021: 315; Fina 2018: 56). In these cases, the translator will need to consider what Kelly (1997: 35) calls "dosification" of the ST to prevent a breakdown in communication. On the other hand, as Mason (2004: 165) points out, other languacultural groups might expect, and appreciate, being addressed as specialists.

2.3.2 Interactive

Liao's (2018: 48) focus is on the particular needs of the international visitor to feel "welcome and involved" and on having direct contact with the institution. To achieve this welcome, the resulting text must retain visitor attention (flow) and keep the visitor involved. Empowerment (*pouvoir faire*) will often be key.

Flow

The readers of heritage texts will very often need to be persuaded, not only to visit the destination, but also to keep on reading, listening or watching. Csíkszentmihályi's ([1990] 2013: 52) Theory of Optimum Flow explains how readers are motivated to read texts: through enjoyment, which "appears at the boundary between boredom and anxiety, when the challenges are just balanced with the person's capacity to act". Anxiety will be increased partly through the use of specialized language along with the complexity of the text itself, while boredom will set in with the lack of relevance for the reader (see also Liao 2022). In a similar vein, Tilden (1977: 13) noted that an explanatory label in a museum "can be galvanic, or it can be inert. The label can project itself directly into the personality of the visitor to the exhibit and make him feel a direct connection with what he sees". Regardless of how this is done in the ST, the heritage translator will need to reshape both gaze (such as emplaced deictics and implied values) and content (such as analogies and culture-bound references) so as to recreate connections to project the new text into the personality and world of a new and unforeseen reader – who (as mentioned earlier) for the most part, will be less motivated than the local. Also, what functions in the ST in terms of a "push-pull" attraction can never be assumed to function across languacultures (Manca 2016: 65; Sulaiman and Wilson 2019: 31).

Pouvoir faire

The term "*pouvoir faire*" comes originally from Greimas (1966), but has been borrowed to emphasize a key concept that distinguishes tourism translation in general from most other fields: that of "empowerment" (Katan 2012). Many guidebooks, for example, not only aim to inform (*savoir*) and at times promote (*vouloir*), but also purport to enable the tourist to act *as if* they were epistemic insiders (*pouvoir*), or at least with sufficient knowledge and skills to be independent once at the destination. It is through the *pouvoir* function that the visitor can engage with, rather than gaze at, the local "other". A text of this type cannot simply be translated but must be recreated/ reshaped, with extra resources made available to readers to enable them to become actual users, whether it be explicit information regarding how to reach the site, the essential language needed to ask for a coffee (with pronunciation guide), or for example an explicitation of the unwritten rules regarding practices such as tipping.

2.3.3 Narrative

Liao's (2018: 48) "political function" refers to what could or should be translated along with how, in the sense of what story could or should be told, in short "the narrative". Liao's main focus is on the ideologically motivated aspects of an institution's communication with the international visitor, including the politics of which languages to

choose for translation. While language choice is outside the ambit of the translator and hence not included below (but see Katan 2021: 338), we later briefly touch on the ideological function as framing the core heritage institution's aim: to give meaning, enhance understanding and enrich the visitor. In all cases, the institution will be constructing and sacralizing a particular version of the real place, which will fit into a culturally shared narrative, worldview or model of the world (Katan and Taibi 2021: 33; Katan 2023b).

This is also known as *The Tourist Gaze* (Urry and Larsen 2011). John Urry defined the gaze as a tourist worldview which interacts with the constructed heritage according to a relatively fixed set of stereotypes, and which may change according to tourist type (Urry and Larsen 2011: 8), as we mentioned above. However, the value-laden triggers motivating the gaze are culture-bound, and consequently interrupt the narrative for the epistemic outsider reader. There are two main emic and etic aspects to keep in mind. In general (emic) terms, languacultures will have generic expectations about the contents of an effective text, such as a guide. As Kelly (1997: 37–38) posits, "in the case of Spanish and English, there is more emphasis given in Spanish texts to history, architecture, art history, and more emphasis in English to practical information". Similar differences have been found for Italian/English audio guides (Fina 2018).

At a specific (etic) level, what is to be valued, how and why will also be affected by underlying languacultural differences (Wheeller 2012: 293; see also Graham 2002; Manca 2016; Sulaiman and Wilson 2019; Katan and Taibi 2021). A prime example of this is the Anglo gaze on Puglia in southern Italy, which values mainly the interior (the olive groves, the large rural farmsteads, now often converted into chic hotels), while the Italian gaze focuses principally on the coast (the sea, the beach and coastal towns; see D'Egidio 2009). So, reshaping the narrative involves realigning the gaze, and will involve both the verbal description as well as any visuals (see example 2, below). Finally, as mentioned above, framing the gaze is an underlying ideology, which we briefly discuss in terms of conceptual and public narrative.

Relationality, temporality, causal emplotment

We are told by the National Trust of Australia (2018: 2) that "Storytelling is a New Global Trend" and that "Excelling in the art of storytelling and using innovative presentation skills to transport the visitor to a desired time and place is essential for heritage tourism attractions to compete on a global scale". These ideas regarding heritage interpreting are by no means new. In 1957, Tilden entitled a chapter "The Story's the Thing". Here he emphasized the importance of "art" to "tell a story rather than recite an inventory" (1977: 29), and "relat[ing] what is displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor" (1977: 9). Clearly, with an international audience with very different experiences, the stories need to be equally international, or at least within the cognitive reach of all outsiders.

In practical terms, this means that the original text's internal coherence and underlying narrative(s) must be clear to the translator (see Katan 2023b), and then be made explicit enough for the international visitor to follow. In particular, the story being related must be anchored in a timeline that is clear for the reader (temporality); the various aspects, sections (or indeed panels) must be clearly related (relationality); and at all times the readers need to know *why* these particular aspects are being recounted (causal emplotment).

Selective appropriation

To create a story out of what has been sacralized, the recounters must select what aspects are worthy of the visitor's gaze. To do so, they need to use a universal modelling process of filters (Katan and Taibi 2021: 142) that delete, generalize and highlight only a part of reality. So, the filtering process creates a particular story, including certain aspects of the destination, de-emphasizing or totally deleting other possible stories. This is where Liao's (2018) ideological concerns come to the fore. Katan (2021: 342), for example, describes how the English *Rough Guide* travel book, in its focus on the Beijing Summer Palace, conveniently omits the fact that the generalized "foreign forces" responsible for burning it to the ground in 1860 included the English themselves. This "selective memory" or "social amnesia", as Dallen and Boyd (2006: 3) point out, is always in a state of flux; though, in the West at least, there is a general move "to begin the process of healing, [and tell] a more accurate story of historical events".

Conceptual and public narrative

The heritage translator is in a unique position to intervene on (at least) the TT and reduce the selective appropriation. Clearly, though, this raises axiological and ethical questions regarding not just on how much a translator should intervene on a ST, but also, as above, on a translator's own modelling process of filters. In narrative terms, the conceptual filter refers to the translator's own beliefs (see Baker 2006: 4) about, for example, the ability to mediate, be objective and enrich the reader; or that the very act of translating will be one that supports the ST institution or the TT culture – but not both. This latter view directly addresses the final narrative frame, that of the public narrative, which identifies and problematizes the prevailing languacultural or institutional view. For example, in countries with a colonial past, a counter narrative challenges the public narrative in an attempt to address the wrongs committed and to give voice to those who were colonized. So, though the translator has the opportunity to comment on the original text, and at times to suggest additions or deletions that account for other tellings of the story, this opportunity will be metred against the strength of the prevailing public narrative and the translator's own *plus* abilities to cooperate and influence the other actors involved in the translation (see Katan and Spinzi 2022).

2.3.4 Social-inclusive

While retaining Liao's (2018) term, instead of focusing on access to intranational community language, we understand inclusivity to include issues referring once again to outsiders, not only linguistic, cultural and epistemic, but also to those with sensory deficits, such as hearing or vision.

Accessible language

This function is closely related to informativity. The heritage translator will be very conscious of the United Nations declaration on Accessible Information and Communication Technologies (United Nations Enable 2003), and, as mentioned in Section 2.3.2, will take into account to what extent the international visitor might not be a native speaker of the target language. Similarly, those with low epistemic status, as mentioned throughout, will require popularization of expert discourse. Accessible language also means exploiting all possible channels and multimedia (discussed further on).

Sensory channels

Those visitors with other accessibility issues, such as related to hearing or vision, will benefit from augmenting the communication channels, such as audio description, braille and haptic devices. For example, the Translating Scotland's Heritage (2020) project provides a useful example of inclusion for the heritage translator profile. It defines translation for heritage as including "interlingual and intralingual translation, sign language interpreting and audio description with a strong understanding that heritage is accessed and experienced differently according to visitor".

2.3.5 Languaging

Liao's function here is "exhibitive" (2018: 48) and would appear to include a rather niche area of "translation as an object", where it is translation itself that is exhibited, or on show. We have already focused on the foregrounding of the original language where it itself constitutes part, if not all, of what is signified. For example, the words "taj mahal" in Hindi mean "crown of palaces". These same words retained in English will refer to one of the wonders of the world in India. When language is retained in translation it is known as "languaging" and is a distinct feature of tourism translation (Cappelli 2013). The main interest for the heritage translator follows Phipps (2006), whose focus is that of enabling the tourist to function as temporary insiders and, for example, to recognize the site through the original language (*savoir* function) or find their way to the site (as in the *pouvoir* function).

Language as place
Language is strongly related to place, but often there are public narrative differences over the naming that a heritage translator needs to be aware of. For example, the naming of disputed battles and territories can have serious political consequences (Katan 2019: 127; Chien 2022). This is due to the fact that language is a facet of identity, and no more so than when variants or dialects are used. Douglas (2020) gives us an idea of how much is lost when the emotional (for a Scot) Robert the Bruce family motto "I mak siccar" is translated into an English "I'll make sure". As Douglas states, the translation is fine, but it loses all sense of place and the "visceral and authentic immediacy that transcends the centuries and brings people closer to the past", the very object of heritage interpretation. Effective use of languaging to underline identity is discussed in Section 4.

Culturemes
These are "formalized, socially and juridically embedded phenomena that exist in a particular form or function in only one of the two cultures being compared" (Vermeer in Nord 1997: 34). As Duran-Muñoz (2011: 30), amongst others, notes, tourism translation in general will "include a higher degree of cultural references in their contents as they serve as a cultural link to their users". How these references are to be translated (if at all) have been extensively studied (e.g., Duran-Muñoz 2012; Cómitre Narváez and Valverde Zambrana 2014; Agorni 2016).

2.3.6 Multisemiotics

Liao (2018) does not make multisemiosis a separate function but includes multimodality under the interactive function. However, mastery of the opportunities and limitations of modes and modality (see Jewitt 2013) are fundamental to a successful heritage translation, affecting every one of the other functions.

There are two main areas that the translator should be aware of and exploit mindfully. First, translation, whatever the domain, is still prevalently monomodal and text-centric. With heritage translation, other contextual modalities regarding the place itself will generally be available to aid meaning, such as images or artefacts (Liao 2022) – and should be mindfully integrated. Speaking specifically of the museum context, Manfredi (2021: 79) points out that "a solution to overcome the gap between the written text and the crucial multimodal elements involved in exhibitions might be initially found in a strict collaboration between professional museum staff, curators and translators specifically trained for this purpose". Such collaboration may well be applied to any form of heritage translation. Second, the way different modalities themselves communicate will have their own affordances, and heritage translators should be well acquainted with them, as we discuss further in Section 4. With this in

mind, we can usefully expand Neather's (2008: 218) definition of interlingual museum translation to heritage translation as "a particularly complex semiotic environment in which various systems of signification (verbal, visual, spatial) interact to produce meaning".

3 Digital technology and translation: Theoretical issues

Multisemiotic interaction in translation involves the process of transferring and transforming communicative acts from one medium into another, also known as *transmediation* or *intersemiotic translation*. This type of translation has exploded as an area of study (see O'Halloran, Tan and Wignell 2016; Kaindl 2019; Boria et al. 2019; Salmose and Elleström 2020; Bielsa 2022). Curiously, though, in the most recent publications on transmediation neither heritage nor tourism translation has been discussed despite the proliferation of audio guides, podcasts, documentaries, video guides, multimedia websites and apps.

Of the vast literature that theoretically discusses the intersection between media and translation (for a full account see O'Connor 2022) we will adopt a number of key concepts. First of all, we share McLuhan's view (1967) that the medium of communication is not only a container of communication, it is also an extension of our senses and, as such, the medium determines our perception of the world (see also Reckwitz 2020: 164). Thus, if "the medium is the message" (McLuhan 1967), then it is the medium that performs an agentive role in meaning-making (McKenzie 2002).

Particularly relevant also is Littau's (2016) discussion of translation as material communication based on the concept of "materialities of communication", defined by Gumbrecht (2004: 8) as "all those phenomena and conditions that contributed to the production of meaning, without being meaning themselves". In stressing that "language, just like communication, is technologically mediated", Littau (2016: 85, 87) strongly affirms that in the "discursivization of culture" it is through their material and technical properties – and not the content they carry – that media actively shape our perceptions and consequently our mindsets. Below we discuss how those aspects of multisemiotics most relevant for a heritage translator's profile can contribute to fulfilling the functions of heritage translation described in the previous section.

4 Materiality, modal affordances and content reshaping

Communication, as mentioned above, not only involves text, but also includes the static and moving image, sound, speech, gesture, gaze and posture (van Leeuwen 2005: 285). The material through which a mode (sign system or channel) is realized is crucial (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). As exemplified by Kress (2009), speech uses the material of human sound through the phonological system. Both writing and image use the material of graphic substance, which is realized through the graphic system. Differences in materiality determine differences in modal affordances or, rather, the limitations and potentials of a mode. For example, intonation, pitch, intensity or silence are modal affordances characterizing speech only, which in writing will need rendering by means of punctuation, capitalization, etc.

Let us now see how affordance works in practice, taking undesirable cases in which the medium is used as a mere container of communication with no content reformulation. For example, Fina (2018) found that parts of the *Perugia* audio walking guide are exact duplicates of the written Wikipedia pages: no reformulation/adaptation/reshaping of the contents had taken place to account for the oral medium. Thus, the guide fails to mindfully use the modal affordances that characterize a "complex medium" text (Crystal and Davy 1969: 71) such as the audio guide (Fina 2018: 20). Instead, visitors will find themselves *listening* (aural mode) to a bulleted list (writing mode) of the historical gates of the city – while the guide gives no information as to how to proceed from one gate to the other. This definitely clashes with expectations and fails in the previously cited interactive and social-inclusive functions.

Secondly, the modal affordances of speech (potentially increasing informativity, interaction, inclusion, narrativity and so on) were not exploited. Clearly, as Neves (2015: 68) points out, the heritage experience cannot be limited to the medium itself. Instead, contents should be reshaped according to the (new) medium used for information delivery: its materiality and modal affordances, which we consider in the next section.

5 Multisemiotics and the functions of heritage translation

There are two main multimodal and multimedial scenarios for the heritage translator: (1) a ST is translated in the same medium (an interlingual translation): e.g., an audio guide script to be translated into a given target language; (2) a ST is transmediated (an intersemiotic translation): e.g., a written-to-be-read ST is translated into a TT audio/video guide script for oral delivery. In both cases, mediation between two dif-

ferent languacultures will be needed not only at the verbal level but also at the nonverbal, multimodal level. However, as mentioned above, translation often tends to be text-centric and monomodal.

An example of scenario 1 is the following translation from Italian into English of a PowerPoint presentation regarding a museum-related project for an international conference in Prague (Monsellato 2022). Fig. 1 shows the visual content of slide 12 in the Italian ST.

Fig. 1: Original visual component in slide 12 in the Italian ST (from Monsellato 2022).

We have a multimodal text, with a verbal and a visual component. The original translator monomodally translated the text, leaving the brightly coloured map highlighting the local museum names and their towns. For the original insider audience, these town names are instantly recognizable as being part of their region (Salento), which lies at the heel of the Italy's boot. The translation was then given to the first author to proofread. Mindful of the need to adapt the verbal–visual interplay for an international audience, an internationally known map highlighting the area as the heel of Italy's boot was added. Consequently, the resultant text was now able to carry elements of its history of use within it, and make a direct connection with the new epistemic outsider audience (see Fig. 2).
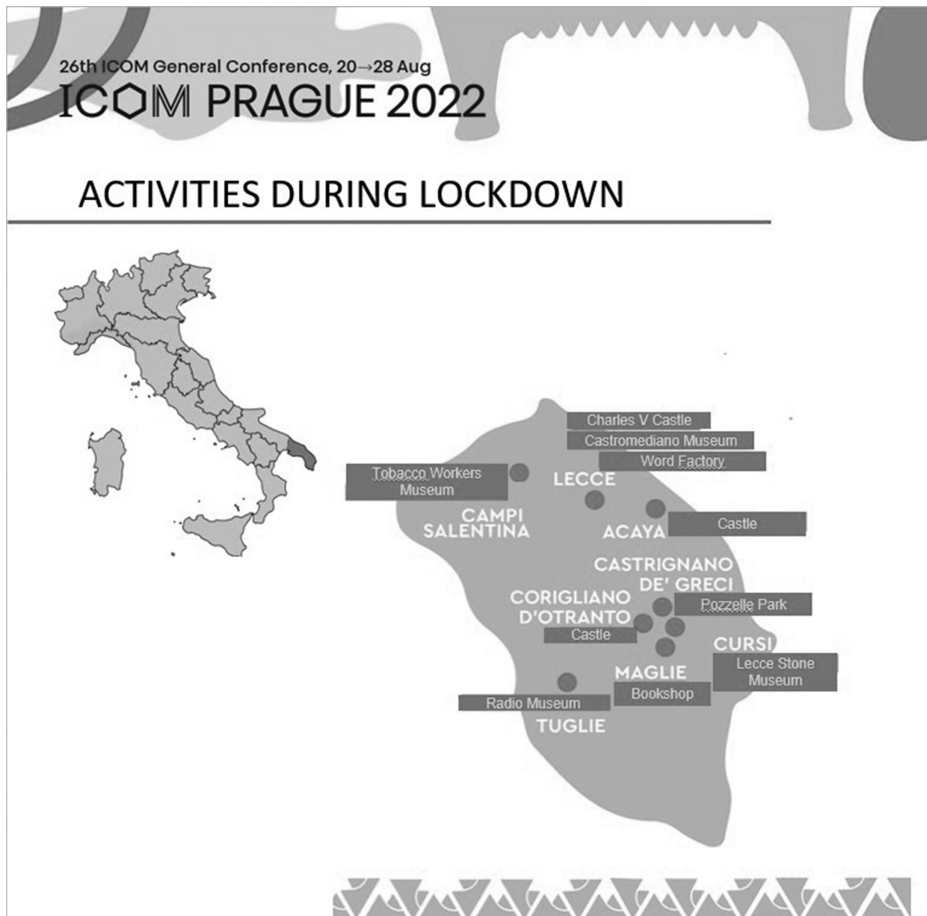

Fig. 2: Transmediated slide (from Monsellato 2022).

Scenario 2 regards transmediation. In this situation, the translator is not only mediating between two languacultures but is also rethinking and reshaping the contents according to the multimodal resources and the affordances available in the TT medium. Below, we provide two practical examples of balancing the aims of the heritage translator (subordinated to the overarching criteria mentioned earlier) and of the possibilities afforded by the multimodal resources in the new medium(s).

5.1 Example 1: Intermodal translation

This example is the result of a course in which a group of 30 MA Translation students were first introduced to van Leeuwen's (1999) soundscape analysis in the heritage domain and then trained to carry out interlingual intermodal translation, from a written-to-be-read ST in Italian to an audio guide script in English (see Fina 2018). Tab. 1 reports an extract of the assignment carried out by one[4] of the students. The original Italian text describes the Rialto Bridge in Venice, while the new student version in English has been reshaped, with added soundscape (in italics) for oral delivery (see Tab. 1, which retains student language errors).

Tab. 1: Example of intermodal translation.

Written Italian ST[5] (back translated into English)	Student audio guide script for oral delivery in English
The bridge is composed of a single arch of 28 meters. 6,000 wooden poles are needed to support the foundation system. The bridge is 48 meters long and 22 meters wide. There are three flights of stairs that allow you to reach the highest part of the bridge.	Now, why don't you climb the three flights of stairs to claim your corner of the bridge and enjoy the breathtaking view? You might deal with *[confirmatory sound of crowd chattering voices in background]* several masses of tourists . . . but don't worry! The bridge is 48 meters long and 28 meters wide, there's plenty of space for everybody! It takes only a bit of determination and perhaps . . . a bit of gentle elbowing too. [5s] *[Vivaldi – Symphony in C Major, RV 12 – Presto excerpt begins in foreground. 5s, it gradually descents in the background and it disappears when the speech begins]*

4 The course name is English Specialized Translation and Translation for the Media, part of the MA in Specialized and Media Translation, University of Venice (Treviso Campus), and the work was carried out in 2022 by Maria Pia Sica.

5 Italian ST: "1 – il ponte è composto da una sola arcata di 28 metri. 6.000 – sono i pali in legno necessari per sostenere il sistema di fondazioni. Il ponte è lungo 48 metri e largo 22 metri. 3 – sono le rampe di scale che permettono di raggiungere la parte più alta del ponte." Source: https://www.veneziadaesplorare.com/ponte-di-rialto/ (accessed September 2022).

Leaving the language errors aside, the student realized that conveying the facts about the bridge dimensions in the same exclusively factual style as the original would result in information overload for a casual Anglo (or lingua franca) listener, if there were no connection with the visitor's own experience. Here, the student sandwiched the facts about the bridge within a dialogic dimension. So the listener is addressed directly and invited to do something (*pouvoir faire*), which improves the interactive function and flow. At the multimodal level, modal affordances of sound were also exploited, and the student inserted confirmatory sounds to reproduce the surrounding soundscape as well as musical pauses. In this excerpt, the musical pause has an accompanying and aesthetic function (see Fina 2017a), helping also to maximize the enjoyment component of flow.

Prosody represents a further set of strategies. As part of the training, the students focused on pausing differences between Italian (around 300 milliseconds, whereas those in English audio guides are up to 3 seconds long). When asked about their opinions about this difference, some of the students replied that such long pauses in English made them feel uncomfortable, as they appeared to convey uncertainty and hesitation. After further exposure, the students realized that such long pauses followed specific patterns strictly related to information chunking and were aimed at reducing cognitive effort (Fina 2017b), and hence at reducing the challenge element of flow. Though orality in general is clearly not part of a traditional translator's remit, when multimediality is integrated into the very idea of translating, then exercises such as adapting prosody should become part of a heritage translator's *plus* role.

5.2 Example 2: Multimodal reshaping

Below, we compare excerpts relating to the same subject matter taken from three different media: a Kindle guidebook, an audio tour and a video clip, all part of *Rick Steves' Europe*. The destination is Barcelona, and the story being told in each case concerns the Catalan/Spanish language question. While the examples are not interlingual, they do show how reshaping the narrative across media occurs in the heritage domain.

5.2.1 Written text: Kindle guide

Steves (2018) first explains the use of the Catalan language among Catalans and Barcelonans, focusing on the fact that Catalan is the language of education in Catalunya, and then provides a list of the city's major landmarks in Catalan, followed by a short glossary of the key terms for wayfinding.

The Catalan language is irrevocably tied to the history and spirit of the people here. After the end of the Franco era in the mid-1970s, the language made a huge comeback. Schools are now required by law to conduct all classes in Catalan; most school-age children learn Catalan first and Spanish second. While all Barcelonans still speak Spanish, nearly all understand Catalan, three-quarters speak Catalan, and half can write it.

Most place names in this book are listed in Catalan. Here's how to pronounce some of the city's major landmarks:

Plaça de Catalunya	PLAH-sah duh kah-tah-LOONyah
Eixample	eye-SHAM-plah
[. . .]	

When finding your way, these terms will be useful:

exit	*sortida* (sor-TEE-dah)
square	*plaça* (PLAH-sah)
[. . .]	

For more Catalan words, see the survival phrases in the appendix.

In terms of modal affordances, the impossibility of marking prosody has been compensated for by a clearly laid out table showing the terms hyphenized into syllables, capitalized to mark the stressed syllables, and actually transcribed into a simple phonetic notation. The strong practical intent (*pouvoir faire* function) is visible here, as well as the political ramifications of languaging. We see how Rick Steves' own conceptual narrative clashes with the institutionally inculcated public narrative, and how the extracts illustrated selectively appropriate these ramifications.

5.2.2 Audio tour script

Rick: Though they're Spaniards, and they do speak Spanish, Catalunyans also speak their own distinct language – Catalan.

Lyssa: For example, instead of *por favor* – 'please' – they say [distinct pause] *Si us plau*.

Rick: The Catalans also have their own distinct culture. And many here even think Catalunya should be a separate nation, independent from Spain. This monument serves as a rallying point for that Catalan pride. Read the inscription –

Lyssa: [reads inscription] "*Catalunya a Francesc Macià*" (Steves n.d.)[6].

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6 From min. 00:07:58 to 00:09:00.

Rick: [. . .] But many Catalans today keep the flame of freedom alive. They gather here to remember. On occasion, there are huge demonstrations. [non syntactic pause] They come here by the thousands –

Lyssa: and even tens of thousands

Rick: – to demand independence from Spain. They shout as one: "*¡Visca Catalunya!*" – Long live Catalunya!"
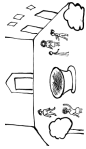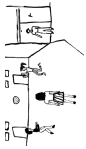
Rick and Lyssa in unison: "*¡Visca Catalunya!*"

Here the modal affordances of speech have been used to create a soundscape in which the voice of Rick, the primary narrator, interacts with that of Lyssa, a second narrator whose primary role is "to give directions from one stop to another",[7] but who also often intervenes in the narration. This alternation of voices results in a dialogic dimension (interactive function). Lyssa's intervention exemplifies the Catalan language in everyday usage, contrasting it with the Spanish language ("instead of *por favor* – 'please' – they say *Si us plau*"). This is an example of selective appropriation, leaving implicit that schooling is in Catalan, and that Catalans also do speak Spanish. Instead, by focusing on the sound of the discourse of place, Rick and Lyssa exploit the phonological system as a modal affordance of speech to convey the local flavour of the Catalan language, as well as strengthening the concept of Catalan as a distinct language. This allows the listeners to make a direct connection (as Tilden would note) with what they hear. The patriotic exclamation "*¡Visca Catalunya!*", which in the guidebook only appears in the "survival phrases" section, is used here to enhance the picture of demonstrators demanding independence from Spain, especially when it is uttered in unison by Rick and Lyssa.

The result of this type of appropriation is a good example of the trend towards reducing social amnesia and telling a more accurate story of historical events, albeit within the conceptual narrative of redressing the wrongs of colonialism. In terms of prosody, pauses basically reflect punctuation, but a distinct pause can be detected before the Catalan expression "*Si us plau*", probably to better mark the diversity between the two languages involved (Fina 2017b). Thus, the discursivization of culture (Littau 2016) capitalizes on the modal affordances of the audio guide by using two different human voices (the materiality of speech). The technical aspects of the audio guide as a physical medium are also taken into account. Throughout the script, the narrators regularly indicate when to stop and resume the narration when needed or convenient, which matches the technical features of the audio guide.

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7 Lyssa's role is clarified at the beginning of the tour.

Tab. 2: The Catalan language in the clip *Barcelona and Catalunya* (Steves 2008).[8]

Sequence	Key visual frame	Represented participant	Contact	Size of frame	Perspective	Camera movement	Verbal content	Music/ Sounds
00:03:02 00:03:05	1	Locals involved in social practices in the cultural environment	No direct gaze	Long shot	Eye level	Truck from left to right	*The Catalan language is irrevocably tied to the spirit and history*	Outdoor environmental sounds Voices of kids playing
00:03:06 00:03:08	2	Locals involved in social practices in the cultural environment	No direct gaze	Long shot	Eye level	Still, then truck from left to right	*of the Catalan people. Sure, everyone speaks Spanish,*	Outdoor environmental sounds Voices of kids playing Song begins in the background at min. 3:07
00:03:09 00:03:15	3	Locals involved in cultural practices	Direct gaze	Close-up	Eye level	Still	*but these kids speak Catalan first.*	Song

8 From min. 00:03:02 to 00:03:15.

5.2.3 Audiovisual medium: Video clip

The sequence in which the Catalan language is discussed (Tab. 2) has been annotated drawing on Visual Communication Grammar (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) and by adapting the multimodal transcription methods provided by Baldry and Thibault (2006) and Taylor (2003).

The concept of Catalan language acquisition since birth has been reshaped and actually re-semiotized from the written and aural modes to the visual, a motion picture of three little girls singing a Catalan song. We can clearly see that, in line with Littau's view (2016), the "discursivization of culture" is focused not only on meaning itself (i.e., the importance of Catalan) but also takes into account the modal affordances and the technical aspects involved in the audiovisual medium. Indeed, the verbal–visual interplay can be clearly seen in the semiotic match between the direct gaze (involvement), framed in an eye-level close-up, and the deictic adjective used by Rick Steves to introduce the children in the utterance "these kids speak Catalan first", with a distinct pause before the word "Catalan".

The examples provided in this section represent only a tiny part of the multitude of practical implications involved in interlingual transmediation. Other possibilities include the use of creative subtitling (Katan 2014) or, when translating the printed page into a digital page, hyperlinking (e.g., see Basaraba 2018), digital page turning, zooming, etc. In all these cases, the heritage translator is looking to exploit the affordances of the various media to improve informativity and achieve the goal of enrichment through solutions that can be understood as calibrating the flow (see, e.g., UNESCO Bangkok 2020).

6 Conclusions

In light of the issues highlighted in the previous sections, we can now state that potential heritage translators need to have as their mission two basic conceptual narratives. The first is the belief in the ability to pass on the enshrined and socially valued heritage in question creatively, while the second will be that of tempering the first with the understanding that however much a translator may want to pass on the heritage, the operation will be refracted though languacultural issues as well as those translator's own values and beliefs. Also, the heritage itself as promulgated by the public narrative cannot be assumed to be without the ideological questions discussed above (and previously by Liao 2022). The key to this dilemma, to quote the writer Scott Fitzgerald (in Fitzgerald and Wilson ([1945] 1993, 57), is for the translator "to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function" (see also Marais 2009: 229; Sadler 2022: 43). This ability has also been well discussed in terms of cultural mediator disassociation, and "switching perceptual positions" (Katan 2009: 89; Katan 2019). In order for

the creative process to take place, the heritage translator is expected to acquire and master diversified skills and competences, in particular those relating to visitor enrichment, insider–outsider awareness and interlingual multisemiotics.

This profiling of the heritage translator poses three crucial issues. The first relates to translator training in higher education. University training of heritage translators should enlarge the focus beyond the monomodal text to the realities of multisemiotic communication, including transmediation, and with regard to specific languacultures. In particular, course design should be concerned with the role of multimodal literacy and the way it intertwines with language, cross-cultural competences and narrativity. Training should also include introducing collaborative practices, which is the second issue involved. Once heritage translators have overcome expertise anxiety through soft-skill training, they would be expected to collaborate at two levels. The first would be the practice of collaborating with the ever-changing set of specialists according to the heritage project in hand. Secondly, ST authors and heritage curators, whenever possible, should be part of the collaboration as well – which leads to the third issue. Heritage translators can only begin to intervene on the ST in terms of the functions of heritage communication once they have acquired translator *plus* capabilities. Not only would the translators be optimizing translations, but by playing the role of ideal readers they would also be in a unique position to improve the original texts and hence increase appreciation of the heritage site by insider visitors as well.

To conclude, there are two levels of competence at stake here. The first level involves cross-cultural sensitivity and what can be defined as "cross-medium sensitivity", that is the sensitivity to changes in the medium of communication. The former allows the translator to identify what needs remediating and reshaping in compliance with the receivers' expectations, while cross-medium sensitivity allows the translator to reshape contents in terms of what is (and what is not) affordable in a given mode. The second (more meta) level involves the *plus* component, which is determined by the full integration and alignment of cross-cultural sensitivity and cross-medium sensitivity, along with the ability to function or act within a situation in which competing narratives operate.

Clearly, the heritage translator is still very much an idealized construct. At the same time there is an increasing internationalization of tourism and need for translation, along with an increase in the pressing need not only to channel the tourist experience towards sustainability but also to uncover other tellings of the heritage. This can be realized in many ways, but enriching understanding of heritage, especially through a multisemiotic approach, is certainly one way to improve respect for the fragility of communities today, for those of the past and for the places we value.

Inroads have already been made. The heritage interpreter is already a reality and works to this end. Furthermore, as we have seen, museum translation is a lively area of research; and the translator *plus* examples that have been mentioned are also a reality, albeit a fledgling one. So, now is the time for universities to collaborate with heritage institutions and produce the heritage translators we have begun to profile.

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