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Sites of Scottish Heritage in Translation.
Representing Memory, History and Culture for the French speaking visitor.

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A Thesis submitted in the fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration of authenticity and author's right

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

P. Côme-Laing

28th September 2023

Abstract

Scotland boasts an extensive variety of castles, museums and other heritage sites which attract large numbers of domestic and international visitors each year. Such sites contribute significantly to the circulation of knowledge across linguistic and cultural borders and, in this context, interpretation (in the form of labels, wall panels, audio-guides, etc.) and interlingual translation play an essential role in ensuring that both domestic and international visitors can access and understand the past.

This thesis is formed around a multiple case study carried out in six Scottish heritage sites. Focusing specifically on translations from English into French, the primary aim of this research project is to gain a better understanding of how translation choices can influence the experiences of French-speaking visitors and their overall perception of Scottish heritage. A secondary aim of the project is to get a better sense of the considerations which might drive or hinder translation provision for heritage bodies. This thesis thus explores heritage translation from three perspectives: (i) translation as a process, looking at the conditions under which translations are commissioned and produced; (ii) translation as a product, using Halliday's model of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to identify translation shifts between source and target texts; and (iii) translation reception to discern whether and how language provision and translation shifts might impact the experience of visitors and their representation of Scottish cultural and historical heritage. Together, these three strands make it possible to pinpoint areas where translation is already well-utilised and well-received and those where it can be improved, thus allowing the formulation of recommendations for best practice.

Dedication

Je dédie cette thèse à mon grand-père

Pierre Bailly

(10 avril 1938 – 19 décembre 2023)

Tailleur de pierre passionné, je garde de lui le souvenir de visites sur ses anciens chantiers où les histoires de restauration se mêlaient à l'Histoire. Je lui dois de m'avoir transmis son amour pour le patrimoine. Il y a tant de lieux que j'aurais voulu lui faire découvrir en Écosse, dont certains font partie de ce travail de recherche.

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List of abbreviations

AHI	Association for Heritage Interpretation
BSL	British Sign Language
BT	Back translation
CAT	Computer assisted translation
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
HS	Heritage Studies
ITI	Institute of Translation and Interpreting
LSP	Language services provider
MGIVE	Museums and Galleries and the International Visitor Experience
MOCA	Museum of Chinese in America
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
PC	passé composé (equivalent to the present perfect tense in English)
PS	passé simple (equivalent to the preterite tense in English)
QA	Quality assurance
SC	Source culture
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SL	Source language
ST	Source text
TC	Target culture
TL	Target language
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target text
VS	Visitor Studies

Key for the citation of primary sources

Throughout this work, the following typography is used to signal original citations in French and their back translation into English:

Italics for French

[Square brackets] for back translation

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background: translation and Scottish heritage

Telling the past often involves translation. While translation is traditionally thought of as an act of linguistic transcoding and cultural mediation, at heritage sites it is the mediation of culture, time and space that can be considered as an act of translation. In the heritage and museum industry, this type of mediation is, however, not called translation but 'interpretation' and encompasses all the forms of communication deployed to engage visitors and share stories about the past.[1] The Association for Heritage Interpretation (AHI) thus defines heritage interpretation as follows:

> Interpretation is a communication process that shares interesting stories and experience's [sic] that help people make sense of, and understand more about, a site, collection or event.
>
> Interpreters come from all walks of life. They can be teachers, storytellers, writers, artists, curators, designers and scientists. However, they all share a passion for crafting engaging memorable experiences that connect people to our heritage. It is through these experiences that we can enhance people's appreciation and understanding of their heritage. (AHI, 2023)

It thus appears that translation and heritage interpretation share a significant role in the circulation of knowledge and in allowing an encounter with the 'other'. In many heritage sites, interpretation is traditionally provided through verbal texts supported by different media (e.g., wall panels, audio-guide, guidebooks) but it can also take other forms such as games or visual art. However, because interpretation often relies heavily on verbal texts, it can go unnoticed or unused by a lot of visitors if it is only offered in one language and/or format.

The democratisation of international travel since the second half of the twentieth century, and greater attention to matters of accessibility and inclusivity in heritage means that heritage sites must also now cater to the needs of visitors from different

[1] Although the term can easily be confused with the form of 'live translation' with which it is often associated in Translation Studies (TS), throughout this thesis, and unless stated otherwise, the term 'interpretation' is always used in reference to heritage interpretation, as understood by AHI (2023).

social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. These include international visitors, but also members of local minority groups, as well as people with disabilities (e.g., the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing or the Blind and Visually Impaired). One way of achieving this higher degree of accessibility is translation. Translated heritage interpretation is thus the result of two distinct mediation processes. The first is operated by the heritage interpreter. Here, the 'communication process' alluded to in the AHI definition is far from straightforward and neutral as it entails a lot of selection in terms of which stories are told and how they are presented. The second mediation process is the result of the translator's linguistic and cultural mediation and, here again, it is far from a neutral process given the potential for the translator to be influenced by their own experience of the world.

The heritage industry is of course closely connected to tourism activities, with visitor-related income being used, among other things, to subsidise the conservation and restoration of heritage. In many countries, cultural heritage is considered as an essential part of the tourism offering. UNESCO defines cultural heritage as comprising "artefacts, monuments, and groups of buildings and sites that have a diversity of values including symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2009, p.25). In Scotland the *People Make Heritage* strategy defines such heritage as a critical asset for the Scottish tourism industry (2016, p.1), a fact which is supported by visitor data since the lists of the most visited tourist attractions in Scotland (for free entry and paid attractions) are in large part heritage-related sites (VisitScotland, 2020b, p.11). While domestic tourism is Scotland's largest tourism market (this was already true before the COVID-19 pandemic and international travel restrictions), France has been a key inbound market for Scottish tourism for many years now, in third place behind the USA and Germany in 2018 and 2019 (VisitScotland, 2019a, p.4; VisitScotland, 2020a, p.4), and in second place behind the USA in 2022 (VisitScotland, 2023). And while a number of English-speaking countries (i.e., Australia, Ireland, Canada) are high up on the list of Scotland's key overseas tourism markets, this list also includes a number of other non-English-speaking markets such as China, the Netherlands, Spain and Italy (VisitScotland, 2020a, p.4). With international visitors showing a particular interest in Scottish heritage (JumpResearch, 2016a, pp.122-23), many Scottish heritage sites are aware of the need to provide their foreign visitors with translated interpretive material in languages which are representative of their key overseas tourism markets.

Despite the essential roles played by translation in the context of heritage tourism, in Scotland and around the world, heritage translation remains an underexplored, though burgeoning, area of research. Amongst the investigations which have been carried out so far and have contributed to the development of this field of research, some have raised concerns over translation quality (Neather, 2005; Quétel-Brunner and Griffin, 2014), while others have focused on issues of memory (Deane-Cox, 2014), ideology and the representation of national identity (Sturge, 2007; Valdeón, 2015; Chen and Liao, 2017). A number of scholars have also considered translation in the context of multimodal heritage sites, focusing on the interactions between text, space and objects (Neather, 2008; Liao, 2018). However, it is important to note that the majority of these studies focus on museums or art galleries, and few actually consider other forms of heritage sites (i.e., monuments, landscapes, etc.); one rare exception is the study led by Liao and Bartie (2021) at Edinburgh Castle which will be discussed at greater length in the following chapters. It is thus expected that this thesis will contribute to the development of this research area in three significant ways: (i) by extending the understanding of heritage translation beyond the realm of museums and galleries to include other types of heritage sites; (ii) by investigating the context in which translations are produced; and (iii) by striving to understand how heritage visitors use and receive translated interpretation material.

1.2 Aims and objectives

Drawing upon a corpus of translated interpretive texts available in French in different formats (i.e., printed or audio) and in various heritage sites across Scotland, as well as on insights from Scottish heritage professionals, translators, and on visitor responses, the present thesis aims to understand how translation choices can influence visitor experiences and their overall perception of Scottish heritage, with a specific focus on French-speaking visitors. This deeper understanding in turn makes it possible to provide the heritage industry with insights into the strengths and weaknesses of current translation provision. One of the aims of this research is thus to provide advice on best practice for translation directed to a Francophone market, based on the areas where there is scope for positive reinforcement and on those where there is room for improvement.

In this context, the objectives of this research are to answer the following questions:

1. What translation strategies are in evidence across the selected Scottish heritage sites? And how do these reflect particular policy imperatives and rationales for interlingual heritage interpretation in Scotland?

2. How might those strategies impact visitor perception and understanding of Scottish heritage, culture, and identity?

3. How can our understanding of these strategies help to shape best practice guidelines for translation specifically for the heritage industry?

Objective 1 focuses on understanding the rationale underpinning the translation policies deployed across different sites of Scottish heritage. Objective 2 evaluates how translation strategies and translation shifts in the English to French language pair might impact translation quality, and in turn affect the representation and the visitor's understanding of Scottish heritage. Objective 3 builds on the findings from objectives 1 and 2 in order to propose best practice guidelines for heritage translation.

1.3 Scope

This research project takes the form of a multiple case study which includes different types of heritage sites (i.e., museum, castle, monument, landscape, ruins) managed by a variety of heritage bodies. For obvious reasons of time and feasibility, six sites of Scottish heritage have been selected for this multiple case study: Balmoral Castle in Ballater, the Culloden Battlefield near Inverness, Edinburgh Castle, the Glenfinnan Monument in Lochaber, the Riverside Museum in Glasgow, and Urquhart Castle in Drumnadrochit. The rationale for the selection of the sites is further developed in chapter 3 (see section 3.2.2). The analysis of interpretive material includes all translated material potentially available to the public at the time of the visit (i.e., audio-guides, booklets, guidebooks). To better understand the translation strategies at play in a heritage context, the project also includes research on heritage professionals and translators in the form of semi-structured interviews. Finally, the project turns to visitor response in the form of collection and analysis of visitor reviews posted on TripAdvisor.

1.4 Outline

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews and synthesises current relevant knowledge in the Translation Studies (TS) and Heritage Studies (HS) disciplines. Discussion in this chapter centres on issues surrounding the translation of heritage interpretation, namely questions of ownership, (co-)construction of meaning, memory and identity.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes and justifies the research strategies and methods for data collection and analysis used for this project. After developing the rationale for the selection of the heritage sites which make up the cases in this study, discussion turns to the methodological frameworks used for the collection and analysis of translated interpretive texts, of the heritage sites as intersemiotic spatial texts, and of contextual data (i.e., interviews with heritage professionals and translators, and visitor reviews).

Chapter 4: Heritage institutions and language provision

Based on interviews with heritage professionals and with translators who have experience translating for the heritage and tourism sectors, this chapter presents and discusses the findings related to translation processes and practices.

Chapter 5: The translation product – a comparative analysis

This chapter presents and discusses the findings arising from the comparative analysis of translated French interpretive material in comparison with the English source texts (ST) based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Drawing on Ravelli's extension of SFL to the analysis of spatial texts, this chapter also integrates the intersemiotic analysis of the different heritage sites.

Chapter 6: Visitor’s response to language provision in heritage sites

This chapter covers the findings resulting from the analysis of TripAdvisor reviews published in English and French for each of the six sites in the case study, together with the results of a visitor survey conducted on social media, to better understand how (translated) interpretation is used and received by visitors.

Chapter 7: Conclusion, key findings and contributions

This chapter provides a synthesis of key findings emanating from the multiple case study before formulating recommendations for best practices in relation to translation provision in the heritage industry and finally discussing potential areas meriting further research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Translation and heritage have in common the fact that they play an essential role in the circulation of knowledge by enabling encounters with the 'other' through the mediation of cultures, time, and space. However, it is only in the last twenty-five years or so that an increased interest in heritage translation can be observed. Before that, Translation Studies (TS) scholars had turned their attention to tourism translation. Although it is possible to draw a link between tourism and heritage activities, and thus between tourism and heritage translations, it must be stressed that research into tourism translation often focuses on marketing texts, such as brochures, leaflets or websites promoting a destination or attraction. However, heritage interpretation is more informative in nature; the aim is not to promote the site *per se* but to "help people make sense of, and understand" (AHI, 2023) the past. As such, it is not unreasonable to expect that the translation of interpretation material might require that different strategies be adopted by heritage bodies and linguists for the translation of such texts.

As with tourism texts, and despite their differences, TS research on museum and heritage interpretation also reveals translation quality to be an issue. However, quality is far from being the main focus of research in museum translation. Instead, museum translation research is more concerned with issues of representation and ideology, leading scholars to investigate translation in museums from a variety of perspectives, bringing TS, Museum Studies and Heritage Studies (HS) into dialogue with Semiotics and with Memory Studies. This chapter thus addresses these different perspectives and parallels, in an attempt to bring HS and TS into closer dialogue.

Section 2.2 considers heritage as a form of tourism activity. Section 2.3 addresses the origins of heritage interpretation before discussing interpretation and its translation as a form of authorized discourse, and then moving on to consider heritage interpretation from an intersemiotic point of view, where meaning is understood as being co-constructed by visitors. Section 2.4 turns to the negotiation of memory and identity through heritage translation and points to themes which merit further attention both from HS and TS scholars.

2.2 Global heritage tourism

The years following the end of the Second World War saw a rise in conservation movements aimed at preserving heritage and driven by the creation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 1945 and subsequently that of the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1972. Together with the democratisation of international travel, these conservation movements have led to the increasing popularity of heritage tourism in the second half of the twentieth century (Cameron, 2010, p.204) and to the recognition of heritage tourism as a form of special interest tourism taking the form of "an encounter with or an experience of being part of the history of a place" (Zeppel and Hall, 1992, p.53). Many HS scholars (e.g., Hewison, 1987, p.10; Zeppel and Hall, 1992) are critical of heritage tourism as being rooted in a form of "nostalgia for the past", in the words of Zeppel and Hall (1992, p.47). However, other researchers are less critical and note that engagement in heritage tourism can be driven by factors other than nostalgia. Indeed, some observe that visitors might engage in heritage-related activities for educational or entertainment purposes (or a combination of both) (e.g., Timothy, 2011, p.4; Urry and Larsen, 2011, p.132). In the United Kingdom in particular, VisitBritain notes in its 2010 Culture and Heritage Topic Profile report that "culture and heritage is the most important part of Britain's tourism offering as at some point it touches every visitors' [sic] trip to Britain" (2010, p.4). The report adds that "almost all tourists are interested to learn and experience the culture of the destinations they visit" (*ibid*., p.4), either purposefully or incidentally (*ibid*., p.11), thus suggesting that heritage tourism is highly popular, and that people engage with heritage for a wide variety of reasons.

The democratisation of international travel also means that tourism attractions, including heritage attractions, face growing numbers of international visitors with varying linguistic abilities and needs which are often met through translation. Translation Studies (TS) has long been concerned with translations in the tourism sector and a number of TS scholars have pointed out the poor quality of translated tourism texts (Snell-Hornby, 1999; Sumberg, 2004; Pierini, 2007; Valdeón, 2009; Durán-Muñoz, 2012). Often these issues around quality are explained by the specificities of tourism texts. One such specificity is the translation of culture specific content (or realia) discussed by Alizadeh (2011), Agorni (2016) and Ajtony (2015). All three scholars advocate finding a balance between the domestication and foreignization (Venuti, 1995) of such culture specific content. Other scholars use Katharina Reiss' functionalist approach (1981) to think of translation quality in terms of the target text (TT) meeting its intended function through the adherence to target culture (TC) text conventions. For example, Sumberg (2004) explains that English tourism texts tend to reduce the distance between author and reader with the use of informal language, while French tourism texts are often more formal and place the author in a position of authority (*ibid*., p.338). Thus, functionalist studies by Sumberg (*ibid*.), Pierini (2007) or Sulaiman and Wilson (2019) argue that the non-respect of TC conventions in the TTs lead to translations which fail to meet their intended function in the target language (TL). As the present research project features questions around translation reception and user expectations, it will be interesting to see whether the data supports the arguments of those scholars who argue in favour of respecting TC conventions.

Despite the challenges related to the translation of realia and those associated to text function and conventions, many scholars consider that the reason for the poor quality of tourism text translation is associated with tourism texts being perceived as deceptively simple (Pierini, 2007, p.99) and lacking the respectability of other more prestigious forms of translation such as medical or legal translation (Sumberg, 2004, p.330). This lack of prestige in turn means that there is little tourism-specific translator training (Durán-Muñoz, 2012, p.348). Other scholars are also critical of a gig industry in which “anyone can call themselves a translator” (Pierini, 2007, p.99) and where commissioners have little awareness of translation, leading them to believe that being bilingual is the only requirement to being a translator (*ibid*., p.99; Durán-Muñoz, 2012, p.336; Napu, 2016, p.59) or to use machine translation (MT) as a cheaper alternative to human translation. Alarmingly, this attitude is perfectly illustrated in the International Tourism Toolkit published by the British Council, which advocates the use of Google Translate (2015, p.12) and the recruitment of non-professional international students to carry out translations (*ibid*., p.15). These questions about translation policy and translator profile are highly relevant to the present study as they are essential to understanding the rationale for the strategies used by heritage institutions in their choice of language providers. They are also crucial to fully appreciating the strategies used by linguists when faced with the task of translating heritage interpretation.

2.3 Translating heritage interpretation

2.3.1 The origins of heritage interpretation

In their article on paleoart in natural history museums, Jordan Kistler and Will Tattersdill (2019) note that in the early museums of the nineteenth century objects were often presented unlabelled based on the expectation that displays "could evoke a 'larger world'" to the public without the need for explanations (2019, p.377). This view of the museum changed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with critics like Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel (1969), followed by Laurajane Smith (2006), arguing that a person must have attained a certain level of cultural literacy to ensure that "the meanings and 'messages' believed to be contained within or represented by various heritage forms may be read and understood" (*ibid*., p.49). Similarly, in their book *Heritage Tourism*, Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd (2003) note that it would be wrong to assume that people possess enough knowledge to understand a site without help (2003, pp.195-6). Thus, to ensure that visitors can fully engage with and make sense of museum objects and heritage, sites often use interpretation, a form of mediation which is defined by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) as:

> the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site [sic]. These can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site and directly related off-site installations, educational programmes, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself. (ICOMOS, 2008, p.4)

It is now common to encounter different forms of verbal texts around museums and heritage sites. From printed object labels, wall panels and leaflets, to audio texts such as video voice overs and audio-guides. Aside from this variety of media, it must also be considered that interpretive material can be used to accomplish different goals with various effects on the visitors. For example, an institution might promote a highly controlled narrative of the past created on their own terms and leaving the visitor with little freedom of interpretation, what Laurajane Smith (2006) terms Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). Alternatively, the institution might decide to co-create knowledge with visitors to better engage with them, an approach which reflects the participatory turn in museum and heritage management. Both AHD and participatory strategies will be discussed further throughout this chapter.

However, the increasingly international nature of the heritage tourism market (notwithstanding global pandemics) also means that these texts have to be accessible to foreign visitors. Baker and Jones (1998, p.274) note that there exists an assumption, which is not always true, that all foreign visitors have a basic understanding of English. In English-speaking countries, this view is illustrated by the absence of translated documentation for foreign visitors, while in non-English-speaking countries English is used as *lingua franca* for translation provision. The case study by Quétel-Brunner and Griffin (2014) on translation provision in top heritage sites in the Dublin area points to the same issue, as the following excerpt from their interview with an Irish Tourism Board Representative clearly shows: "I think a lot of English speakers are under the illusion that everybody can speak English" (2014, p. 104). The authors also remark on the existence of assumptions linking education level and English language proficiency (*ibid*., p.104) or that younger visitors tend to have better English language skills (*ibid*., p.105). These beliefs are not, however, based on any solid research data and it is also important to note that language proficiency does not always go hand in hand with cultural awareness, and so might be insufficient to understand interpretive texts containing cultural or historical references unknown to the foreign visitor. The authors thus argue that international visitors may have a different experience of a site than English-speaking visitors because of cultural and linguistic differences (*ibid*., p.96) and that the inferior quality of foreign language provisions in heritage sites is disadvantaging those individuals whose comprehension is being "dumbed down, due to linguistically mediated limitations" (*ibid*., p.98), thus making a strong case for better quality heritage interpretation. Timothy and Boyd also argue in favour of providing multilingual interpretation; using a study of Welsh heritage sites, they remark that the linguistic and cultural adaptation of interpretation material is a matter "of common courtesy" (2003, pp.213-14). Yet, they fail to provide any more practical comments and advice on exactly how to adapt translated interpretation for international visitors. The present study hopes to contribute to filling this gap by not only describing adaptation strategies used for the translation of interpretive material, but also by offering suggestions for best practice in this field.

There are two different approaches to heritage interpretation which both have implications on how translation might then be addressed (from language choice to translation strategy). The first considers interpretation as a form of authorized discourse whereby interpretation is crafted by professional experts and delivered to a passive public. The second approach stems from progress in Visitor Studies (VS) and recognises interpretation as a process which co-constructs meaning, a sort of dialogue between the heritage institution and the visitor. Each approach is addressed below in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3, respectively, bringing them into dialogue with TS concepts and research into museum translation.

2.3.2 Interpretation, Authorized Heritage Discourse and translation

The use of the word 'interpretation' to talk about the mediation of heritage and memory is significant. Indeed, the AHI definition of interpretation (2023, see also section 1.1 above) recalls a form of what Roman Jakobson (1971) terms 'intersemiotic translation' (e.g., from the visual to the verbal). Michael Ames also defines verbal interpretation in the (ethnographic) museum as a form of intralingual translation, another concept borrowed from Jakobson, where scholars (curators, anthropologists, etc.) have to translate academic texts into an accessible language (streamlined, shortened, simplified) (1992, p.33; cited in Sturge, 2007, p.159). The word 'interpretation' also suggests a certain degree of subjectivity. Larry Beck and Ted Cable, who have written extensively on the subject, note that interpretation as a form of art means that "[e]ach interpreter's product will be different – personalized by one's background, experience, knowledge, imagination, creativity, and tenacity" (2002, p.8). Peter Howard thinks of interpretation in a similar, albeit more critical way as he writes that:

> the interpretive planner usually selects only one storyline, or a very few, and usually from one paradigm or one disciplinary position. When the interpreter decides that the appropriate story to tell about a church is about its architecture, other possibilities become immediately obscured. (2003, p.247)

This point of view is also shared by other HS scholars, such as Timothy and Boyd, who note that interpretation has at times been criticised for interfering with the way visitors experience a site or an exhibit by presenting a restricted view of the past (2003, pp.195-

6). These reflections and criticisms are the perfect illustration of what Smith (2006) has termed 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD). Smith defines AHD as a form of discourse specific to heritage which grants professional experts the power to establish what should be preserved, how it should be preserved and how it should be presented to the public (*ibid*., pp.29-34). As such, AHD impacts the form and content of heritage interpretation and serves to reinforce a perception of the visitor as an uncritical and passive receiver of information (*ibid*., p.32). With so many heritage scholars arguing that heritage interpretation is ideologically charged and liable to the subjectivity of professional experts, it is essential to ask ourselves whether and how the translation of heritage interpretation affects AHD. As is discussed immediately below, some TS scholars (Sturge, 2007; Valdeón, 2015; Chen and Liao, 2017) have started to address this question and it is one which will also be addressed in the comparative translation analysis of heritage interpretation material in the multiple case study in this thesis.

In her study of ethnographic museums as, and in, translation, Kate Sturge (2007) notes that, just like the authors of museum texts, the translator remains anonymous, and she argues that this anonymity serves to reinforce the power of the institutional voice, allowing little room for objection (*ibid*, p.159), and thus strengthening AHD. The narratives of heritage institutions may well be endorsed by the ethnographers, historians and curators responsible for writing the interpretive material; however, it is important to acknowledge that heritage institutions rarely hire in-house translators and are more likely to outsource translations. In cases where the translator is independent of their client, it can be argued that the heritage institution runs the risk of losing control over the AHD, as suggested by Neather (2012). This makes it difficult to frame heritage translation as a form of institutional translation, as Sturge seems to imply (2006, p.159). Indeed, heritage interpretation, even when guided by institutions, is also deeply subjective and depends on the individual interpreter (see Beck and Cable, 2002; Howard, 2003). Similarly, TS scholars who focus on ideological and sociological approaches to translation have shown that translations are influenced by the translator's background and experience of the source culture (SC) (see, for example, Maria Tymoczko, 2003 on the positionality of the translator). So, in the same way that no two interpreters will produce the same interpretive material, no two translators will produce the same translation of that material. Rather interestingly, in his research on ideology in the translation of political discourse, Jeremy Munday argues that the shifts which might be perceived as being motivated by translator ideology might also be explained by unconscious translation choices resulting from the translator's own experience, or 'lexical priming' (2007, p. 2013). Whether translation shifts are the result of conscious or unconscious choices, the fact remains that translated interpretation material is influenced not only by the interpreter, but also by the translator. In this case, it can be argued that the distance between the heritage institution and the translator, combined with the translator's own subjectivity, can all serve to de-authorize the heritage discourse, thus promoting a divergent reading of the ST and threatening the level of control the organisation has over its translated interpretation.

One area of interest when considering the issue of ideology in the context of heritage translation is that of the colonial past. In a study of translations in colonial museums in the United States, Roberto Valdeón (2015) points out that (non-)translation can contribute to a narrative of exclusion. Based on Myers (2003), Valdeón criticises poor translation quality in museums as a way of communicating simplified knowledge to a passive and uncritical public (2015, p.369), while non-translation is understood as a "metaphor of the imposition of a certain representation of reality, where a dominant ideology selects and arranges material to perpetuate official narratives" (*ibid*., p.374), thereby replicating colonial ways of thinking through the hegemonic dominance of the English language. Although Valdeón does not mention Smith's concept of AHD, the parallels he draws between non-translation or poor translation quality, and the reinforcement of national and colonial narratives clearly show how translation can serve to reinforce the AHD.

In contrast, Chia-Li Chen and Min-Hsiu Liao (2017), in their case study of the translation provision at the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum, show that translation can also serve to de-authorize the AHD. The museum retraces the history of the incident of 28th February 1947 in Taiwan which was heavily repressed and led to one of the worst massacres known in modern Taiwan (2017, p.59). Chen and Liao point out that international visitors are more likely to receive the interpretation in a less questioning manner than visitors who are cultural insiders (*ibid*., p.57). This is very reminiscent of the supposed passivity of visitors criticised by Smith (2006) and suggests that there is a greater distance between the institution and its international visitors than between the institution and its local visitors. Analysing the museum's Chinese guidebook and its English translation, the authors find that there are inconsistencies in the way the English text constructs the 228 Incident, at times from a Taiwanese-centred perspective, and at other times as a civil war which seems to better correspond to a Chinese-centred narrative (2017, p.65). This ideological shift clearly shows that translation can threaten the degree of control a heritage institution has over its interpretation and de-authorize its discourse.

These studies by Valdeón (2015) and Chen and Liao (2017) underscore the ambiguous role that ideology and translation can play in the context of heritage interpretation, at times reinforcing AHD as it is promoted by the institutions, at other times threatening this same discourse and causing the institution to lose control over its narrative and its reception by visitors. The above discussion of AHD, ideology and translation is largely based on the assumption that the visitor receives the information passively. Yet this is unlikely to be the case; as with the heritage interpreter and the translator, how the visitor engages with the (translated) heritage discourse is influenced by their own experience of the world. This is one of the areas on which this research project hopes to shed more light by engaging with heritage bodies and visitors in order to get a better sense of how translated interpretive texts are valued by visitors. The following section turns to what has been dubbed the 'visitor turn' in museum and heritage management, and how the new perspectives offered by VS into the co-construction of meaning by visitors can be harnessed in heritage translation research.

2.3.3 The visitor turn and translation

In his book on *Learning in the Museum*, George Hein (1998) notes that the educational role of museums and heritage sites in passing down knowledge to visitors led to the emergence of a new field of studies: VS (1998, p.41). Reflecting on a variety of early studies on visitors, Hein observes that how and what visitors learn in the museum is highly dependent on "culture, social values and personal attributes" (1998, p.x). Yet, he explains that for a long time

> concerns about the 'subjectivity' of respondents, inability to develop reproducible data, or doubts about their capability to be reflective have prompted researchers to

> reject the most human of all qualities, our ability to speak and to reflect on our activities, as a research tool. (1998, p.114)

This meant that research on visitors was mostly behaviourist in nature, that is to say it focused on the observation of visitors and the collection of demographic data, rather than on asking visitors directly about their experiences.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2006) and John Falk (2006) are both very critical of this type of behaviourist study. For Hooper-Greenhill, it fails to provide information on why people choose (not) to visit museums (2006, p.364-5), and relies on the expectation that visitors absorb and retain the interpretive message because it does not distinguish "between the competent production of effective communication media and the use made of this media" (2006, p.367). Similarly, Falk argues that traditional studies on visitors fail to capture the complexity of museum-going (2006, p.111). Based on a study of museum visitors' motivations, he proposes the categorization of museum visitors into five types, depending on their motivation to visit: explorers, facilitators, professional/hobbyists, experience seekers, and rechargers (*ibid.*, p.117). He argues that "being able to segment visitors [...] gives museum practitioners key insights into the needs and interests of their visitors" (*ibid.*, p.121). In turn, Falk argues that this segmentation of visitors would make it possible for museum professionals "to customise and personalise the visitor's experience" (*ibid.*, p.122), and there is no doubt that this form of personalisation could include the customisation of interpretive material to better respond to the visitors' needs and interests. However, Emily Dawson and Eric Jensen are critical of Falk's model which they consider to be essentialist and which dismisses demographic variables (2011, pp.136-137), and indeed, in the context of the present research project, the *a priori* dismissal of demographic variables, especially those which have the potential to shed light on the visitor's linguistic needs, appears as a form of oversight.

The slow move away from behaviourist visitor studies comes with the realisation that, although visitors may passively and uncritically receive the messages provided by heritage institutions, they "may also engage in their own performances or equivocation or rejection in which authorized meanings are adjusted, negated and/or new meanings and identities created" (Smith, 2006, p.70). This idea finds a strong echo in the earlier work of Freeman Tilden (1957), considered by many as the father of heritage interpretation. Commenting on his work, Sam H. Ham explains that, according to Tilden, “the main thing interpretation should aim to accomplish is provoking visitors to think for themselves, and in doing so, to find their own personal meanings and connections” (2009, p.51). Tilden was certainly a precursor to this constructivist approach to interpretation, recognising that visitors have the ability to reflect on the interpretation, and on their experience of the site to form their own representations of the past. Nowadays most heritage and museum studies scholars (Hein, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 2006; Ravelli, 2006, to name a few) agree with this constructivist view of communication in the context of heritage sites and museums.

The case study of Bella Dicks (2000) at the Rhondda Heritage Park in Wales is one of those studies that confirm that visitors do indeed perform their own negotiation of meanings in heritage sites. Already critical of the fact that heritage interpretation is “assumed to inculcate a particular understanding of the past” to the visitor (*ibid*., p.63), Dicks goes on to demonstrate through a series of interviews that the visitor’s interpretation of life in the Rhondda varies, based on the visitors’ own life experiences (*ibid*., p.73). Revisiting her 2000 study through the lens of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, Dicks goes on to explain that although visitors to the Rhondda Heritage Park “reproduced the same meta-narrative regardless of their social class position, gender, age locality, ethnicity”, there were however “many lower-level differences” in the way visitors identified with the story, even when they belonged to the same social class (2016, pp.56-60). This is also echoed by Smith (2006) in a case study surveying visitors to three UK industrial heritage sites (the National Coal Mining Museum in Wakefield, the Tolpuddle Martyrs Museum in Dorset and the colliery village exhibit of the North England Open Air Museum in Beamish). In her study Smith notes that the responses of visitors to the sites are emotionally charged (*ibid*., p.220); she also adds that the meanings and values engaged in remembering are “actively deployed and used by many respondents to critically evaluate and reflect on both past and present social and economic inequities and experiences” (*ibid*., p.235), thus making a point that visitors are not merely receiving the museum messages uncritically, but also co-constructing their own meanings based on those messages and on their individual experiences.

This shift in thinking of visitors as co-creators of meaning as opposed to passive receivers of information coincides with a shift in heritage management where heritage institutions are no longer authoritative figures of knowledge, but instead become more democratic spaces. This constructive representation of heritage and museums goes hand-in-hand with notions of accessibility (Hein, 1998, p.166). For Hein, accessibility in the constructivist museum originally means being able to accommodate for the disabled (*ibid.*, p.166), for example, by enabling physical access to the site with ramps or elevators, or by providing audio-description for the Visually Impaired, or interpretation for the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing. However, he observes that this type of accommodation also makes the museum more accessible to all, by allowing for what Gardner calls different "types of intelligences" (1985, cited in Hein 1998, p.165). Besides accommodating different learner types, Hooper-Greenhill thus notes that the UK has seen "strong government emphasis on increasing social inclusion", a pressure which is making it important to understand how visitors perceive the museum (2006, p.374). Concerns over accessibility thus appear to be a combination of a paradigm shift in thinking of museums and heritage sites as constructivist spaces, and of government pressures.

For Linda Young (2005), the accommodation of different learning styles means offering visitors "a variety of products to be chosen and perhaps mixed by the visitor in the proportions that suit each individual or party" (2005, p.19). This is quite reminiscent of what is on offer in a lot of heritage sites in Scotland. As will be discussed in the following chapters, most of the sites considered in the multiple case study have adopted a strategy whereby wall panels, labels, audio-guides, guidebooks and guided tours co-exist without being mutually exclusive, thus offering visitors a variety of media and content to mix-and-match as they please. The idea of intellectual accessibility has also prompted researchers and heritage professionals to think about the complexity of the language used in heritage interpretation. Scholars such as Ravelli (2006) and Gob and Drouguet (2014), remark that this approach has led to the flourishing of, at times rather prescriptive, guidelines regarding interpretation texts calling for variety, the use of active verbs, short sentences and the avoidance of jargon. Ravelli is particularly critical of these guidelines, calling them fallacies which reveal "a profound misunderstanding of the nature of language" (2006, pp.65-6) and arguing too that such a conception of language perpetuates prejudices about linguistic and cultural literacy (*ibid.*, p.67). Yet these guidelines have been eagerly adopted by museums, as exemplified by the *Gallery Text at the V&A* guide (Trench, 2013) which calls for interpreters to write as they would speak (2013, pp.31-33) and to follow Orwell's six rules of writing (1946, cited in Trench, 2013, pp.36-38). The problem with these guidelines is that, in the long term, their adoption by heritage practitioners shapes text conventions and can impact visitor expectations as well as the translation of the interpretive material itself.

The participatory turn or visitor turn observed in heritage management and heritage studies is yet to be fully harnessed in museum translation research. Although there is a strong body of work on translation for access in the museum (see for example Jiménez Hurtado et al., 2012 on audio description and Neves, 2018 on universal access), these fall somewhat out of the scope of the present research project. Other research projects on interlingual translation in the museum have tended to focus on perceived, rather than actual visitor need, with a particularly strong emphasis on notions of cultural and linguistic expectations. This is illustrated in a case study by Marie-Noëlle Guillot (2014) on linguistic and cultural transfer in museums. Guillot's study is based on the responses of university students to British, French, and Spanish museum texts, as well as on a study of labels from the Freud exhibitions in the UK and in France. In her work she observes that students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds react differently to British museum texts. She notes that French and Spanish students tend to find British museum texts overly simple, both in terms of form and content, and that German students generally find the same texts too implicit. In the meantime, English-speaking students find French and Spanish museum texts to be formal and specialised, creating a certain degree of distance between the institution and the reader (2014, p. 74). Dwelling specifically on the differences between English and French museum texts, she adds that it is usually the combination of "syntactic and lexical simplicity, interpersonal mode of address and other interactive markers" (e.g., exclamation or interrogation marks) that seem to trigger French students into thinking of English museum texts as overly simple (*ibid*., p.81). Comparing the labels of the UK and French Lucian Freud exhibition, Guillot finds that the students' comments are not unjustified. Indeed, she notes that for the same paintings the content of the UK labels is more descriptive and does not rely on pre-requisite specialised knowledge (*ibid*., p.85). In contrast, she observes that the French labels are longer, syntactically, and lexically more complex, and the comments more subjective and evaluative of the artwork (*ibid*., p.87). However, she argues that the French labels, while more complex are also more engaging for visitors: "the evaluative stance in the French version also inevitably triggers an evaluative response that makes the text intensely interactive", adding "[o]ne may or may not concur with the comments that are made, or with the way they are made. But the de facto involvement that they promote is an invitation to engage with them in [sic] their terms" (*ibid*., p.90). In calling for a more user-centred approach to translation guided by a careful consideration of foreign visitor's motivations and expectations (*ibid*., p.91), Guillot echoes many VS scholars (e.g., Young, 2005; Falk, 2006) who propose a user-centred approach to heritage interpretation.

Reflecting on the Museums and Galleries and the International Visitor Experience (MGIVE) project which was a collaboration involving six London museums (Tate Britain, National Gallery, V&A, Westminster Abbey Museum, National Portrait Gallery and British Museum), Robin Cranmer (2016) notes that visitor expectations in terms of content and form can vary hugely across cultures. In terms of content, he argues that differences in common cultural or historical knowledge can result in forms of "non-equivalence", and he also observes that differing cultural perspectives (on, for example, different sides of a given conflict) have the potential to generate different reactions from visitors from different backgrounds (2016, pp.92-93). In terms of form, he indicates that elements such as the type of media used for communication, the sequencing of ideas as well as visual elements can be different from one linguistic or cultural background to another (*ibid*., pp.93-94). As part of the MGIVE project, linguists worked with focus groups of native speakers to re-work existing information leaflets (both in form and content) for the participating museums, with the revised texts then being tested on groups of international visitors. Cranmer remarks that the revised texts "were consistently perceived by visitors to constitute improvements on the original translated texts" (*ibid*., p.94). Cranmer argues that "culturally 'customised' texts", such as those produced as part of the pilot project, can better meet the "linguistic and cultural needs" of the visitors (*ibid*., p.98). However, he observes that other factors can also be a barrier to the production of such texts, the first and most obvious being cost, and the second less obvious, yet more important, being the loss of control of the institution over its text (*ibid*., p.99). This final observation echoes the ambiguous role which translation can play in reinforcing or threatening AHD, as discussed above in section 2.3.2 in relation to the studies by Valdeón (2015) and Chen and Liao (2017).

Meeting visitor's expectations through cultural adaptation has become intrinsically linked to the more general idea of translation quality. For example, in a case study on the quality assessment of translated catalogue entries in the Taipei National Palace Museum, Chengzhi Jiang (2010) argues that translation quality should be judged by the audience based on the purpose for which the translation is intended or which it is expected to meet (2010, p.111). However, Jiang's definition of quality, in being centred on text function, ignores other and more obvious quality problems, which have less to do with writing style and more to do with spelling, morphology and choice of lexis.

While Jiang, Guillot and Cranmer all make important points when thinking about visitor expectations with respect to the linguistic and cultural adaptation of museum texts, there is scope for these findings to be complemented by further empirical research on how visitors use and respond to cultural adaptation in translated heritage texts (echoing Deane-Cox and Côme 2022, p.195, and Neather 2005 and 2022a), as research in this domain remains scarce. This is a gap that this thesis attempts to address through a study of international visitors' experience of Scottish heritage attractions and their uses and responses to translated interpretive material.

Furthermore, the cultural adaptation of heritage interpretation also poses a number of issues. First, as Guillot points out, such adaptation can contribute to hiding the principles which guide heritage interpretation in the source culture (SC) (2014, p.91). For the translation of British heritage texts, it means hiding the efforts made by heritage institutions to appear as accessible for people of all intellectual abilities, while also hiding the influence of British and American heritage interpretation practices on French museology which is increasingly responsive to recommendations in favour of the simplification and adaptation of French museum texts to non-specialist audiences (Gob and Drouguet, 2010 cited in Guillot 2014, p.79).

In turn, Melisa Palferro, a professional translator specialising in translation from English into Spanish in North American museums, argues that to culturally adapt museum texts for an international audience is to alter the museum's public image (2022), and so threatens to de-authorize the institution's discourse, as discussed above in section 2.3.2. Similar anxieties were also raised by participants in the Translating Scotland's Heritage research network, especially in relation to translation quality which the institutions were unable to evaluate (Deane-Cox and Côme, 2021). To protect the voice of the institution, and all the while satisfy the expectations of international visitors, the production of culturally adapted texts would then require the close collaboration of the translator with the site management team.

In his study of non-expert translation in the Chinese museum community, Neather (2012) notes that museum translation is defined by a form of "expertise anxiety", meaning that the museum community and the translation community both lack "the complete set of competencies to produce a fully competent piece of translation" (2012, p.266), resulting in the production of flawed translations (*ibid*., p.266). Yet, collaboration between translator and heritage institution is not always easy, or even feasible. Indeed, Quétel-Brunner and Griffin (2014) criticise the lack of awareness of tourism industry stakeholders about translation (2014, p.95), and even when sites are alerted to quality issues they do not "[initiate] any formal complaint procedure" (*ibid*., p.106). In parallel to this lack of awareness from the translation commissioners, translator to client contact can often be challenging. Indeed, in a study of translators' working environment and networks, which consisted in conducting a series of interviews with six Finnish translators, Abdallah and Koskinen note that "the original client may be several links away from the translator and direct contact is not facilitated, or it may even be prohibited" (2007, p.680). This is something which I have also found to be true in my own professional experience, especially when the intermediary between client and translator happens to be an agency, or even several. The multiple case study in this thesis is another opportunity to investigate the issue of communication between client and service provider, not only in relation to project briefing, but also concerning the reporting of quality issues. As such it is hoped that interviews with heritage and translation professionals will shed more light on communication issues; this is further discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Related to the issue of accessibility is that of inclusivity and ownership. Recognising that international tourists are not the only heritage visitors who may need interpretation in a different language than that of the host culture, has led some heritage scholars to consider language provision in relation to the linguistic needs of local minority communities. In her book on translation as representation in the museum, Kate Sturge (2007) reflects on the case studies of Nima Poovaya Smith and John Kuo Wei Tchen on, respectively, a Bradford exhibition of South Asian Jewellery, and the Chinatown History Museum in New York, respectively, to show how institutions must respond to various linguistic needs if they wish to attract ‘new’ audiences who would not traditionally visit the museums (Sturge 2007, p.174). In these cases, the new audiences are not international visitors but members of the local community who do not use English as a first language, and so translation provision is less a matter of courtesy to these visitors, and more a matter of accessibility and inclusivity (Poovaya Smith 1991 and Tchen 1992, both cited in Sturge 2007, p.174). Similarly, in a case study observing bilingual Spanish/English intergenerational groups in bilingual exhibitions, Steven Yalowitz, Cecilia Garibay, Nan Renner and Carlose Plaza found that bilingual interpretation played an essential role in engaging visitors, in this respect, visitors having the opportunity "to interact in the language they were most comfortable in was indeed a huge benefit” (2015, p.43). The authors also found that as English proficiency varied between the generations, having interpretation available in Spanish also allowed adults to facilitate the children’s visit, rather than children being forced into the role of mediators as is often the case in bilingual households (*ibid*., pp.44-45). It is this same concern for inclusivity which has prompted the Multilingual Museum initiative, a collaboration between the University of Manchester and Manchester Museum (Ludolini, 2021). Recognising the linguistic diversity of the population living in the area, the museum adopted a participatory approach to encourage members of the public to submit their translation of the interpretation relating to various objects and collections belonging to the museum, and the project has been very positively received by museum users (*ibid*.).

Professional translation, however, remains expensive, and unless they are to call on community initiatives similar to that of the Multilingual Museum, heritage institutions cannot hope to provide translated interpretation in all existing languages. As a result, when language choice becomes synonymous with having to choose between accessibility for local non-native English speakers and courtesy to international tourists, there is a real potential for translation language choice to be a point of tension for heritage institutions. The multiple case study in this thesis is an opportunity to better understand these tensions and pressures and these are further discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3.4 Interpretation and intersemiotic translation

Thinking of museum and heritage interpretation in a constructivist way and recognising that visitors play an important role in negotiating meanings when visiting heritage sites has also led some scholars to study heritage from an intersemiotic point of view, considering the relationships between space, objects, texts, and any other sign system that might be encountered in the heritage site.

In the specific context of the museum, Gob and Drouguet (2014, p.124) note that an exhibition's language is made up of the combination of verbal and non-verbal elements and that none of these elements is entirely significant on its own. This perception of museums as intersemiotic spaces has led to some insightful new studies on how different semiotic systems (i.e., verbal, visual, spatial, etc.) combine to create meaning. For example, Bal (2001 cited in Sturge 2007) analyses the American Museum of Natural History from a semiotic point of view where the visual, the verbal and the spatial all combine to build a narrative. The work of Louise Ravelli on communication in museums (2006) also builds on this trend. Ravelli bases her work on Halliday's SFL (1961) to look in turn at museum texts and museums as texts in an attempt to explain how meaning is co-constructed in the museum with the potential for different meanings to emerge depending on the receiver. In her book *Museum Texts: Communication Frameworks* (2006), she considers how the placement of objects, lighting, and architectural elements all combine to create meanings, including to establish pathways for visitors and generate emotional responses. With Robert McMurtrie, Ravelli goes on to expand the application of this framework in *Multimodality in the Built Environment* (2015) to all spatial texts. It is this framework which informs the methodology of this multiple case study in relation to the analysis of heritage sites as texts and as such it is discussed at greater length in Chapter 3, section 3.3.

Reflecting the trend in HS to study meaning making in the museum from an intersemiotic point of view, where the visual, verbal, and spatial signs all combine to form the museum's narrative, some translation studies scholars have focused their research on the interplay between translated texts, objects, and space in museums. One of the main contributors to the study of intersemiosis in the context of museum translation is Robert Neather. In his study of interlingual translation at the Hong Kong

Museum of Tea Ware (2008), Neather grounds his argument in the principle that museum texts interact with one another as well as with the objects and the space in which they are displayed. As a result, he notes that visual elements have the power to influence the translation of verbal texts (2008, p.218). Among the elements that can shape translation, he mentions "issues of spatial and visual aesthetics" (i.e., the length and position of texts in relation to objects and space), "code preference" (i.e., the preferred language in a bilingual or multilingual context), "genre conventions" (see the discussion of cultural adaptation above) and the extent to which visitors follow the pathway intended by the exhibition curators (*ibid*., p.238).

Drawing this time on the concept of geosemiotics as developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003), Min-Hsiu Liao (2018) explores how translations interact with the museum as a three-dimensional space. Based on her case study of the Saint Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art in Glasgow, she finds that translated museum labels can act as physical objects that attract the attention of the visitor when they are unfamiliar with the other visual cues in the space; in turn, the translated labels can guide visitors to focus on other visual signs in the space (2018, p.96). She also warns that failure to provide translated labels can hinder the ability of the visitor to focus on other visual signs (*ibid*., p.96). Interestingly, Neather and Liao both focus their case studies on translated object labels or wall panels in the museum, and in Liao's case also on the absence of such labels. However, as the multiple case study in the thesis will show, in Scottish heritage sites, translations are very rarely displayed (instead being available in the form of audio-guides or booklets to collect at the admission desk). Since Liao warns that the absence of translated labels can have an impact on how visitors interact with other visual signs, it will be interesting to reflect on the lack of visibility of translated interpretive material and on its impact on the visitor experience; this is further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.4 Heritage translation, memory, and identity

The previous section has considered heritage translation in turn as an ideologically charged form of discourse that can either reinforce or contradict AHD and as a tool for inclusivity, with museums using heritage texts to construct their own representations of the world. Attention then turned to the role of translation in the multimodal heritage space. There are, however, other issues at play in considering the implications of translating heritage, namely those of memory and identity-building, which are discussed in the following sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2.

2.4.1 Heritage, memory, and identity

Heritage is usually understood as elements of historical or cultural value (i.e., buildings, languages, traditions) that originate in the past and can be preserved and passed on to the next generation. Although museums and their collections are the traditional objects of HS research, Laurajane Smith prefers to think of heritage not as things or sites (2006, p.44). Instead, she suggests that heritage is “a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present” and, she adds, “the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process” (*ibid.*, p.44). Smith’s vision implies that heritage, instead of being a thing, can be considered to be embedded in tangible objects (from buildings to everyday items); in landscape; as well as in intangible practices (such as languages, traditions, food and drink, etc.) that facilitate the public’s engagement in acts of remembering.

For many scholars, these acts of remembrance in which people engage when visiting heritage sites are linked to identity-building. For example, Maurice Halbwachs ([1926] 1992, cited in Smith 2006, p.59) argues that groups construct their identity through shared memories, while Pierre Nora writes that “there are as many memories as there are groups” (1989, p.9). In their book *Scotland – the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage* (1995), David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely also argue that there exists a strong link between heritage and national identity. Based on interviews with life members of the National Trust for Scotland, they show that in Scotland, heritage has come to be strongly associated with national and cultural identity, even when respondents are not in favour of Scottish independence (1995, pp.160 and 182). The aim of this thesis is certainly not to discuss the matter of Scottish independence, but it is important to caveat the findings by McCrone, Morris and Kiely by saying that their research predates the establishment of the Scottish Parliament by three years and the 2014 Scottish independence referendum by nearly two decades, and that the relationship between heritage, national and cultural identity and political independence now might be different from what they were in 1995.

This vision of heritage, memory, and identity construction as all being linked raises some very important questions over ownership. To be able to pass on the cultural values embedded in heritage sites and objects to the next generation, these elements must be preserved. Yet, the idea of preserving something for the future implies that choices have to be made over what to preserve, which traditions to keep, which buildings to maintain. Who then gets to decide what ought to be preserved as heritage? Who owns heritage? Smith argues that these choices have traditionally fallen under the remit of professional experts who alone are deemed to have the authority to identify and understand the values and knowledge embedded in historical objects and places. This authority and power granted to experts serves to endorse the AHD discussed above in relation to heritage interpretation (see section 2.2.2). For Smith, if AHD promotes a sanctioned and unchallenged vision of the past (2006, pp.29-30), it can then be used to regulate collective identity by helping individuals to bind themselves or become bound to groups or communities (*ibid*., p.66). However, many scholars now agree that visitors are not passively engaging with heritage (see section 2.2.3), which means that the regulation of collective identity through heritage might not be quite that simple.

Indeed, many scholars point out that the links between heritage, memory and identity construction are not clear. For example, John Urry (1996) points to the little knowledge we have of the processes involved in remembering the past (1996, p.46). Similarly, Smith argues that the link between memory and identity is largely assumed (2006, p. 58), suggesting that if heritage and acts of remembrance do indeed play a role in the construction of identity, the mechanics of how exactly this is achieved remain elusive. Attempting to explain the process of remembrance and identity building, Urry observes that:

> [seeing] certain scenes or artefacts functions to reawaken repressed desires and thereby to connect past and present. It is also to remember how some collective dreams have failed or have faded from memory – while others have at least been partly realized (material abundance, educational qualifications, the opportunity to travel and so on). To reminisce is to open up possibilities of what might have been, of how events or relationships or careers, could have turned out differently. So,

> while visiting museums and heritage sites is to experience an essentially artefactual history, it is not one which is necessarily received passively. To reminisce is collectively to effect a performance. There is no single or simple history conveyed through the performances of heritage. (1996, p.55)

By noting that the narratives of heritage sites can convey multiple and complex stories, Urry echoes the constructivist school of VS scholars, and thus further stresses the importance of studying visitor responses to get a sense of how the past is remembered.

The case study by Gaynor Bagnall (2003) at the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester and at Wigan Pier in Wigan, offers some elements of response to the question of how visitors remember at heritage sites. After observing and interviewing groups of visitors at these two sites, Bagnall finds that for visitors to perform acts of remembering and identity construction they "required that the sites generate emotionally authentic responses" (2003, p.88). Although, Bagnall suggests that this performance is also linked to levels of cultural literacy (*ibid*., pp. 87 and 92), and despite providing some demographic information on the visitors she interviewed (gender, age, and profession) (*ibid*., pp.98-101), her study makes no mention of visitors belonging to foreign cultural groups and how this specific public might negotiate memory and identity at the sites.

When visiting a heritage site, minority groups and international visitors (in other words cultural outsiders) may have no vested interest in identifying with the collective memories and identity of the host group. Yet, to date little research has been carried out to investigate how such groups engage with heritage. This lack of attention is surprising considering that the global attraction of heritage sites is widely acknowledged in the literature and in the industry (see section 2.1 above). Building on Apostolakis (2003), Smith argues that heritage tourism is "part of the wider cultural process of heritage meaning making and identity work (2006, p.123). Yet, in her critique of the "Manored Past", based on Urry (1990), Smith notes that the use of the term 'tourist' to designate visitors has come to be associated with a certain degree of distance where the tourist is equivalent to the 'other'. Considerations over how international tourists negotiate acts of remembrance and identity-construction in the host culture appear as secondary and relegated to the background in favour of marketing where the tourist is only considered for the income they bring to the site and as a passive receiver of the site's message (Smith, 2006, p.123-4). This distance is obvious both in the heritage industry and in the literature where little attention is given to how cultural outsiders interact with heritage and memory and how this impacts their own identity-construction and sense of belonging.

Peter Howard notes that visitors "may have difficulty manufacturing an identity with a far-distant place with which [they] have no connection" (2003, p.150), and it seems highly unlikely that heritage and memory should, or indeed do, serve the same role in shaping a sense of collective group identity for minority groups or for international visitors as they do for local and indigenous populations. Taking the example of the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters as one of my case studies, a visit to the site might serve to build a sense of belonging to a 'Scottish group' for Scots, for members of the Scottish diaspora and even, to some extent, for new citizens who have come to live in Scotland and are looking to build a new life there. But what would visiting Culloden do for the international tourist with no specific ties to Scotland? Does this mean that cultural outsiders are less likely to fully engage with heritage and heritage interpretation and that their emotional responses won't be the same as the responses of local groups?

Attempting to explain how memory and identity-construction functions for international visitors to heritage sites, Urry argues that viewing other cultures (through foreign travel) can serve "to reinforce one's own cultural attachment" by being confronted with the other (1996, p.56). Philipp Schorch in his research at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (2015) makes observations which go some way to confirm Urry's claim. Indeed, through a series of interviews with international visitors (Australian, American and Canadian), Schorch shows that visitors relate to the cultural Other through their own identity and reference points (e.g., cultural, social, professional identities) (*ibid*., pp.76-77). However, Schorch's research focuses on groups which if they do not belong strictly to the same culture, are culturally and linguistically close, all being former British colonies. His study thus fails to address how visitors from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds (i.e., non-Anglo) might create links with the Other. In this case, the potential for translation to reinforce or threaten the AHD, as well as the ability of visitors to negotiate their own meanings from heritage and heritage interpretation, means that more attention should be paid to the relation between the translation of heritage interpretation and memory and identity-construction.

2.4.2 Translating memory and identity

Sharon Deane-Cox (2014) is one of the few TS scholars to address the impact of the translation of heritage interpretation on memory. Deane-Cox uses Alison Landsberg's concept of prosthetic memory to understand how the translated English audio-guide at the Centre de la Mémoire at Oradour-sur-Glane (France) can shape the response of visitors. Landsberg (2009) defines prosthetic memory as resulting from a technology-mediated experience of past events which in turn has the ability to influence emotional and ethical responses (2009, pp.221-222). Deane-Cox argues that the inherent partiality of translations has the potential to influence prosthetic memory and in turn the response of visitors (2014, p.274). Yet, she also highlights the difficulty for the translator to represent the past to a linguistic and cultural outsider who has "no 'natural' affinity" with the history of a specific site (*ibid*., p.277). Deane-Cox bases her analysis of the French and translated English audio-guides at Oradour-sur-Glane on the interpersonal metafunction of the SFL model, to show that impersonal statements, grammatical tenses, and mood can serve to increase or decrease the engagement of visitors (*ibid*., pp. 277-280). She also highlights the lack of fluency of the English audio-guide, noting that the translation is literal; although such a strategy risks creating distance between the visitor and the past, she also argues that the alterity can "encourage empathy, as opposed to over-identification" (*ibid*., p.282) by drawing attention to the otherness of the events.

The relation between heritage interpretation, translation and identity construction is also an issue addressed by Chen and Liao (2017) in their case study of translation provision at the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum, which I have already briefly discussed at the end of section 2.2.2 in relation to the de-authorization of heritage discourse. Chen and Liao argue that, since museums take an active role in the construction of national identity through the objects they display and the verbal interpretation they offer, then interlingual mediation can play a role in how international visitors understand the identity of the host nation (2017, p.56). The authors note that the 228 incident is deeply entangled with questions of national identity (*ibid*., p.59) and, as such, it "became both the source and the most important point of reference for the formation of Taiwanese identity" (Fleischauer 2007, p.375; cited in Chen and Liao 2017, p.60). Chen and Liao find that the inconsistencies in the way the English text constructs the 228 Incident not only de-authorize the discourse of the institution but can also "lead to a different narrative of national identity in the translated texts" (*ibid*., p.65). Thus, the authors show that the translation of heritage interpretation can have an ideological impact on how groups of cultural outsiders perceive the identity of the host nation.

Drawing on Landsberg's prosthetic memory and on Arnold-de Simine's concept of the 'memory museum', Kyung Hye Kim also investigates translation and memory in the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul (Kim, 2020). Kim explains that Arnold-de Simine's concept of memory museum considers the ability of museums to trigger an emotional response (empathy) in the visitor to generate in the audience a "more moral, ethical, and political engagement with the past" (*ibid*., p.554). In her analysis of the translated audio-guide of the museum, Kim notes that the English guide contains more background information than the Korean audio-guide (*ibid*., pp.557-8). However, she also observes that the language of the ST is more emotional, whereas the English translation tends to be more informative (*ibid*., p.557). Kim also comments on the choice of the English translator to consistently use the word 'halmoni' (an affectionate term for 'grandmother' in Korean which has become a less offensive synonym for 'comfort women'), which she interprets as a politically charged choice (*ibid*., p.559). Kim's study is also one of the few to include a visitor survey to test her findings from the comparative translation analysis. Despite the use of more informative language in English and the term 'halmoni' not being explained in the English audio-guide, she found that international and Korean visitors experienced similar emotions (anger and sadness chief amongst them) and that international visitors appeared very willing to engage in awareness-raising activities (*ibid*., pp.561-2), thus suggesting that the observed translation shifts had a limited impact on the emotional engagement of international visitors.

More recently, Anneleen Spiessens and Sophie Decroupet have investigated the role of translation in the circulation of memory at the Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp (Spiessens and Decroupet, 2023). Their analysis shows that the museum successfully uses materiality (e.g., the reproduction of original tickets as museum tickets) and space (with visitors following the same route through the building as the migrants did) to activate memory (2023, p.491). Their study also shows that verbal translation, although it generally sustains the framework created by the physical space, can also at times weaken the links created between past and present (i.e., in the case of shifts between second- and third-person address, or between the preterite tense and the historical past) (*ibid*., p.498). This increased distance between past and present in turn has the potential to negatively affect the activation of memory in the visitor.

Although they draw on slightly different concepts of memory, these studies all show that translation can have an impact on the potential level of emotional engagement experienced by visitors, and in turn on the activation of memory and construction of identity potential, Kim's study is the only one to include a visitor survey. The present research project hopes to contribute to the body of knowledge on the intersection between heritage, translation and memory by considering the potential impact of translation shifts on the activation of memory and also by engaging with visitors to gain a better understanding of their emotional experience when visiting a heritage site.

2.5 Conclusion

The first section of this chapter provided an overview of heritage tourism as a global practice. Although translation plays an essential role in the circulation of knowledge, TS research shows that in the context of tourism, translation quality is often poor, thus undermining the cross-cultural encounters it is supposed to facilitate. In the following sections of the chapter, I turned my attention more specifically to heritage interpretation and its translation. Based on Laurajane Smith's concept of AHD (2006), and on studies by Roberto Valdeón (2015) and Chia-Li Chen and Min-Hsiu Liao (2017), I have discussed how translation can serve either to reinforce or to threaten authorized meanings in heritage interpretation. Considering how visitors also contribute to the co-construction of meaning in heritage sites, I have discussed existing research on heritage translation in relation to visitor expectations (Jiang, 2010; Guillot, 2014; Cranmer, 2016), arguing that more needs to be done to understand how visitors use and respond to translated heritage interpretation. I have also discussed more recent research which focuses on intersemiotic meaning making in the museum (Neather, 2008; Liao, 2018).

Finally, considering the intrinsic links which exist between heritage, acts of remembering and identity construction, I have discussed how translation can impact memory construction and the representation of national identities (Deane-Cox, 2014; Chen and Liao, 2017).

However insightful these studies are, it is important to note that research on heritage translation often fails to fully engage with: (i) the sites and institutions researched to better understand the drivers and obstacles to translation provision; (ii) professional translators to gain a better understanding of the specificities of heritage translation and training requirements; and (iii) visitors to better understand how their use of the translated material influences their experience and understanding of the heritage site. In this respect, the Translating Scotland's Heritage research network (2019-2021), funded by the Royal Society of Edinburgh and co-led by Deane-Cox and Historic Environment Scotland, is an example of new collaborations between academics and professionals researching and working in the fields of heritage and translation (see Deane-Cox and Côme, 2022). It is possible to leverage the new links forged through and thanks to my involvement in the networks activities to engage with each of the three groups mentioned above in order to inform the present research project.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The empirical qualitative research that underpins this multiple case study aims at exploring the issues related to the translation of heritage interpretation as developed above in Chapter 2. These issues relate (i) to the influence of translation on AHD and on co-constructed heritage interpretation; (ii) to the impact translation might have on acts of remembering, and on identity construction and representation; and (iii) to language choice in relation to questions of access and inclusivity in heritage. And these questions can all be approached from the different perspectives of the three stakeholder groups (heritage professionals, translation professionals and visitors) mentioned earlier.

The purpose of this chapter is to develop the rationales and describe the methods that are used in this study. Section 3.2 addresses the multiple case study approach as well as the selection of the sites which form each case, before concluding with an introduction to each site to set the scene. Section 3.3 describes the framework used for the translation analysis, focusing first on the method used for the comparative analysis of translated interpretation texts, before turning to the intersemiotic analysis of heritage sites. Section 3.4 sets out the framework for the analysis of contextual data, that is to say, the analysis of interviews with heritage and translation professionals on the one hand, and the analysis of visitor response through online reviews and survey responses on the other hand.

3.2 Site selection and presentation

3.2.1 Rationale for the multiple case study approach

The case study is a common research strategy in TS. Bill Gillham (2000a) defines a case as:

> A unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw. (Gillham, 2000a, p.1)

More specifically, in TS, Susam-Sarajeva (2009) describes a case as “a unit of translation or interpreting related activity, product or person, etc. in real life, which can only be studied and understood in the context in which it is embedded” (2009, p.40). Koskinen (2008) argues that understanding the context of a translation is essential because “translations do not take place in a vacuum”, further adding that “they need to be interpreted and evaluated in their relevant context” (2008, p.72 cited in Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013, p.205). In other words, case studies are particularly suited to TS research when the focus is on naturally occurring data, which is exactly what I am setting out to do.

In the following multiple case study, the naturally occurring data is the translated interpretation currently available to the public in a small selection of Scottish heritage sites. Exploring multiple cases across multiple sites makes it possible to compare and contrast a number of contextual issues susceptible to influence the translation strategies and processes in place in each site. The rationale for the selection of the heritage sites included in this study is detailed in section 3.2.2 below. Although this study aims to offer recommendations and guidelines for best practice for the translation of heritage interpretation, it does not aim to make predictions as to how translation policies in heritage institutions will evolve in the years to come.

The present multiple case study is based on a multimethod analytical approach to allow for a better triangulation of findings as it seeks not only to analyse translated data but also to understand the how translation is received by visitors and how it impacts their understanding of Scottish heritage. In this context, besides the analysis of translation data, field trips allow for an intersemiotic analysis of the translated texts in relation to the sites themselves. Interviews are conducted with (i) heritage professionals, as clients, to better understand the translation commissioning process in the context of heritage, and (ii) translation professionals to gain insight into the specificities of heritage translation when compared to translation for other industries. Finally, online visitor reviews and a visitor survey distributed to Scottish heritage sites visitors make it possible to gain insights into how translated interpretation material might impact the visitor experience.

The design of this multimethod, multiple case study makes it possible to answer the following research questions:

1. What translation strategies are in evidence across the selected Scottish heritage sites? And how do these reflect particular policy imperatives and rationales for interlingual heritage interpretation in Scotland?
2. How might those strategies impact visitor perception and understanding of Scottish heritage, culture, and identity?
3. How can our understanding of these strategies help to shape best practice guidelines for translation specifically for the heritage industry?

The following subsection addresses the selection process for the sites included in the multiple case study.

3.2.2 Rationale for the selection of Scottish heritage sites

As discussed at the beginning of the previous section, case studies require the establishment of clear boundaries. For obvious constraints of time and scale, it would be impossible to carry out this study across all Scottish heritage sites currently open to the public. For this reason, it is necessary to restrict the number of cases in this study.

As discussed in the previous chapter, heritage can be embedded in sites, objects or practices, which makes heritage somewhat universal since potentially anything can then serve as a vehicle for heritage. This universality of heritage and the immense variety of sites which can be considered to fall within the scope of heritage make it difficult to draw an exhaustive list of Scottish heritage sites. In its *Culture and Heritage: Topic Profile* report, which outlines the motivations for visitors to participate in cultural and heritage tourism, VisitBritain (2010) attempts to provide a typology of heritage that allows for the identification and classification of heritage into three categories or pillars (2010, p.2). These pillars divide Britain's heritage into 'built heritage', 'cultural heritage' and 'contemporary culture'; Table 3.1 below provides examples of heritage for each of these categories. These three pillars have subsequently been adopted in Scotland by the

Scottish Tourism Alliance (STA) and HES as part of the *People Make Heritage: Heritage Tourism 2020* strategy (2016, p.4).

However wide the spectrum of heritage might be, VisitBritain considers that tangible heritage remains the main motivator for heritage tourism in the UK (2010, p.19) and this is best illustrated by the examples provided in Table 3.1, most of which indeed refer to tangible heritage sites or objects.

Table 3.1: The Three Pillars of Culture and Heritage (People Make Heritage, 2016, p.4, based on VisitBritain, 2010).

BUILT HERITAGE	CULTURAL HERITAGE	CONTEMPORARY CULTURE
World Heritage Sites Famous Buildings and Monuments Castles and Stately Homes Churches and Cathedrals Heritage Attractions Cities and Towns Iconic Sights	Museums & Art Galleries Performing Arts Gardens Pubs Food & Drink Shared Historical Connections & Ancestry Watching Sport Literature Education & Learning Monarchy	Music & the Arts Nightclubs and Bars Films and TV Locations Design and Fashion Festivals Modern British Food Cosmopolitan Britain

The attraction of built heritage sites is also felt in Scotland (JumpResearch, 2016a, p.129), and more particularly by French visitors who "expect that **castles**, and various **historical sites** will add to the authentic experience of the legends and the undiscovered in Scotland" (VisitScotland, 2019a, p.10, my emphasis). An option for the selection of the sites under study could then be to focus only on built heritage sites. However, limiting the study to built heritage sites would mean ignoring other types of heritage sites, such as museums, which figure amongst the most visited attractions in Scotland. For example, in 2019, the most visited attraction was the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (VisitScotland, 2020b, p.11), and the list of the top visited sites for that same year also includes the Scottish National Gallery (Edinburgh), the

Riverside Museum (Glasgow) and the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (Glasgow) (*ibid*., p.11).

In recent years a number of TS research projects have investigated translation in the museum. But again, museums are only one type of heritage site among many others and expanding this multiple case study to heritage sites beyond the museum is an opportunity to further understanding of how translation is done and used in the wider heritage tourism context in a more representative way. So instead of focusing only on built heritage or on museums, this study aims to consider a wider variety of sites, each with a different signification in relation to Scottish heritage (e.g., built heritage, battle-scarred landscape, filming locations, myths and legends, etc.). Interestingly, most of the sites eventually selected to form the cases of this study fall within more than one of these categories.

Representativeness also meant choosing sites located in different regions of Scotland (Central Belt, Highlands, etc.). Although all the sites selected are of varying size and importance, the Covid-19 pandemic prompted a change of direction in that selection, giving priority to popular sites registering high entry numbers as these would be more likely to offer translated interpretation in the first place and would be expected to recover faster from the repeated lockdowns to welcome back international visitors. At this stage, it is essential to highlight that the pandemic and successive periods of lockdown experienced in the UK from March 2020 have made the undertaking of the present research project more complex than had been anticipated. Indeed, the issues did not simply arise from sites being closed and not being able to organise field trips, but with most of the staff being furloughed it also made it difficult to gain remote access to interpretive material while the sites remained closed.

Care was also taken to select sites managed by different trusts, or self-run. As the two most important heritage organisations in Scotland, HES and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), each have two sites on the list. This offers yet another analytical dimension to this investigation as it facilitates a comparative approach to the effects of the different translation strategies adopted by different heritage institutions. Table 3.2 below lists all the sites which form the cases of this study, along with the rationale for choosing the site, its location and managing trust. The next section, 3.2.3, provides further background on each site.

Table 3.2: List of sites for the multiple case study.

Site	*Rationale*	*Location*
Balmoral Castle (Balmoral Estate)	- Built heritage - Cultural heritage - Monarchy	Ballater
Culloden Battlefield (NTS)	- Battle-scarred landscape - France's role in the Jacobite rising - Increased popularity in relation to *Outlander* novels and series (The National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA, 2022)	Inverness
Edinburgh Castle (HES)	- Built heritage - Defensive castle - Second most visited site in Scotland in 2018	Edinburgh
Glenfinnan Monument (NTS)	- Relation to Jacobite rising - Proximity to Glenfinnan viaduct (film location: *Harry Potter*, *Skyfall*) - Steep increase in visitor numbers in last decade	Lochaber
Riverside Museum (Glasgow Life)	- Cultural Heritage - Museum - One of the most visited museums in Scotland - Industrial heritage - Translation on interactive screens	Glasgow
Urquhart Castle (HES)	- Link to Scottish Myths and Legends (Loch Ness) - High visitor numbers	Drumnadrochit

3.2.3 Presentation of the sites

This section provides further background information on each of the sites investigated as part of this case study.

Balmoral Castle, Balmoral Estates

Balmoral Castle is located near Ballater in the Cairngorms National Park. The estate was bought by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1852 and the new castle was built between 1853 and 1856. Although the castle is the King's private residence, the grounds are opened to the public usually between April and July and later in the year from September/October to November. It seems like the Balmoral Estate is not publishing figures for visitor entries and revenues; for this reason, reliable visitor data is difficult to find for this site. However, press articles suggest that visitor numbers peaked over 70,000 in 2014 (*The Telegraph*, 2014), the same year Glasgow City hosted the Commonwealth Games. Although there are no figures available, an article on the local online news website AberdeenLive also suggests that more recently the Balmoral Estate has been enjoying a "tourism boost" thanks to the Netflix series *The Crown*, thus making a healthy recovery from the pandemic (Murray and Britton, 2022). The impact of the series is quite interesting as it potentially places Balmoral as not only a site linked to the monarchy but also one linked to TV and film, yet without being a filming location since in the series the scenes supposed to take place at Balmoral are actually shot at Ardverikie Castle.

Visitors have access to the grounds and to one room in the castle (the Ballroom), the other rooms all being private. In the spring and summer, visitors have access to audio-guides, either as handsets to collect from the admissions desk or as apps to be downloaded onto their personal devices. The audio-guide is available in English, Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish and takes visitors around the gardens and grounds, finishing in the Ballroom. During the autumn, visits follow the same circuit but take the form of a live guided tour. The Balmoral audio-guide dates from 2014; it was updated sometime between August 2021 and February 2022 and then again between September 2022 and August 2023. The version of the audio-guide used in the comparative translation analysis is the second one (updated between August 2021 and February 2022). As will be discussed in Chapter 4, although they did not object to the study as a whole, the Balmoral Estate is the only site to have declined participating directly in this research, which means that I was unable to make contact with any member of staff there to organise an interview. In turn this has prevented me from finding out the rationale for the choice of languages included in the audio-guide, as well as the reasons which prompted the first update of the audio-guide. However, with respect to this last point, two hypotheses can be formulated to justify the update: (i) it is possible that, as the site has seen an increase in visitor numbers (as discussed above), the management team felt an update to the audio-guide was needed; (ii) as 2022 was the year of the Queen's Platinum Jubilee celebrations, the site managers might have expected an increase in visitor numbers and decided to update the audio-guide for this reason. These two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, and it could also be a combination of both which prompted the update. The reason for the second and last update is easier to surmise as it followed not long after the Queen's death. For the version considered in this case study (the 2021-22 version), the content of the audio-guide is organised along two axes. The first relates to the management of the estate itself, with interventions from the gardeners, caretaker, etc. The second relates to the Victorian period, providing insights into the kind of life the Royal family of the time led during their visits to Balmoral.

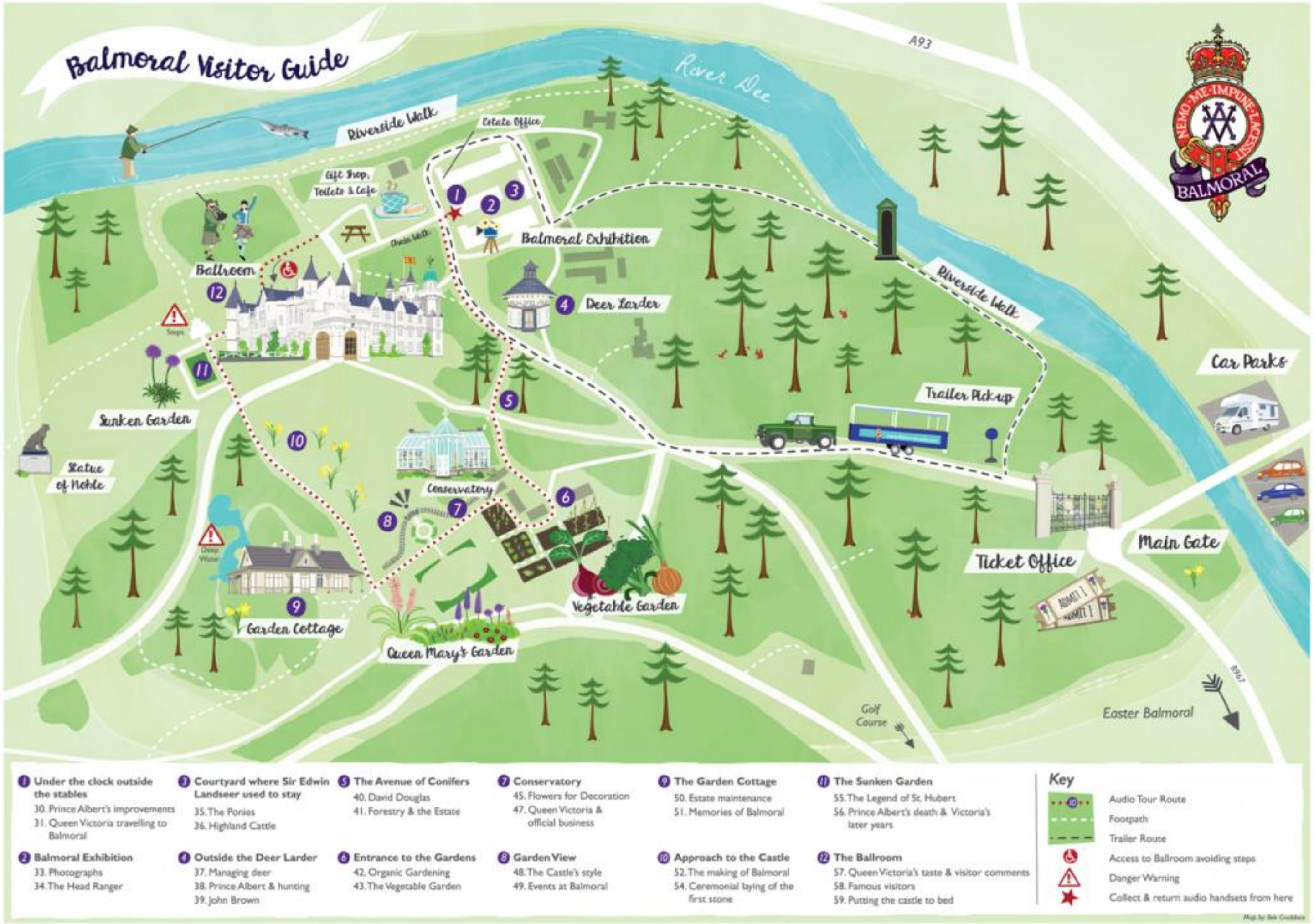

Figure 3.1: Map of the Balmoral Estate by Bek Cruddace (2019). Reproduced with permission from the artist.

The Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, NTS

The Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre is located a few kilometres east of Inverness on the site of the battle which took place on the sixteenth of April 1746 and brought to an end the 1745 Jacobite Rising led by Charles Edward Stuart. In 2019 the site recorded 209,011 entries which makes it the sixteenth most visited paid tourism attraction in Scotland (ASVA, 2020). In the last thirty years, the site has seen an increase in visitor numbers driven by the very successful *Outlander* book series (Gabaldon, 1991-2021) and the even more popular *Outlander* TV series (2014-onwards).

Parking at the Visitor Centre is charged (although it is possible to park for free further along the road), access to the battlefield itself is free and access to the visitor centre exhibition is charged at £11 for a single adult with a complimentary multilingual audio-guide which informs the visit of the centre and of the battlefield.

The new visitor centre at Culloden opened in 2007 and the permanent exhibition features artefacts and stories from both sides of the battle: the Jacobites on the one hand and the governmental army on the other. In the first part of the exhibition (relating the narrative of the events leading up to the battle), a real effort is made to give voice to the two opposing sides in the conflict, with a chronological and symmetrical layout that displays on the left-hand side objects related to the governmental army and on the right-hand side objects related to the Jacobites.

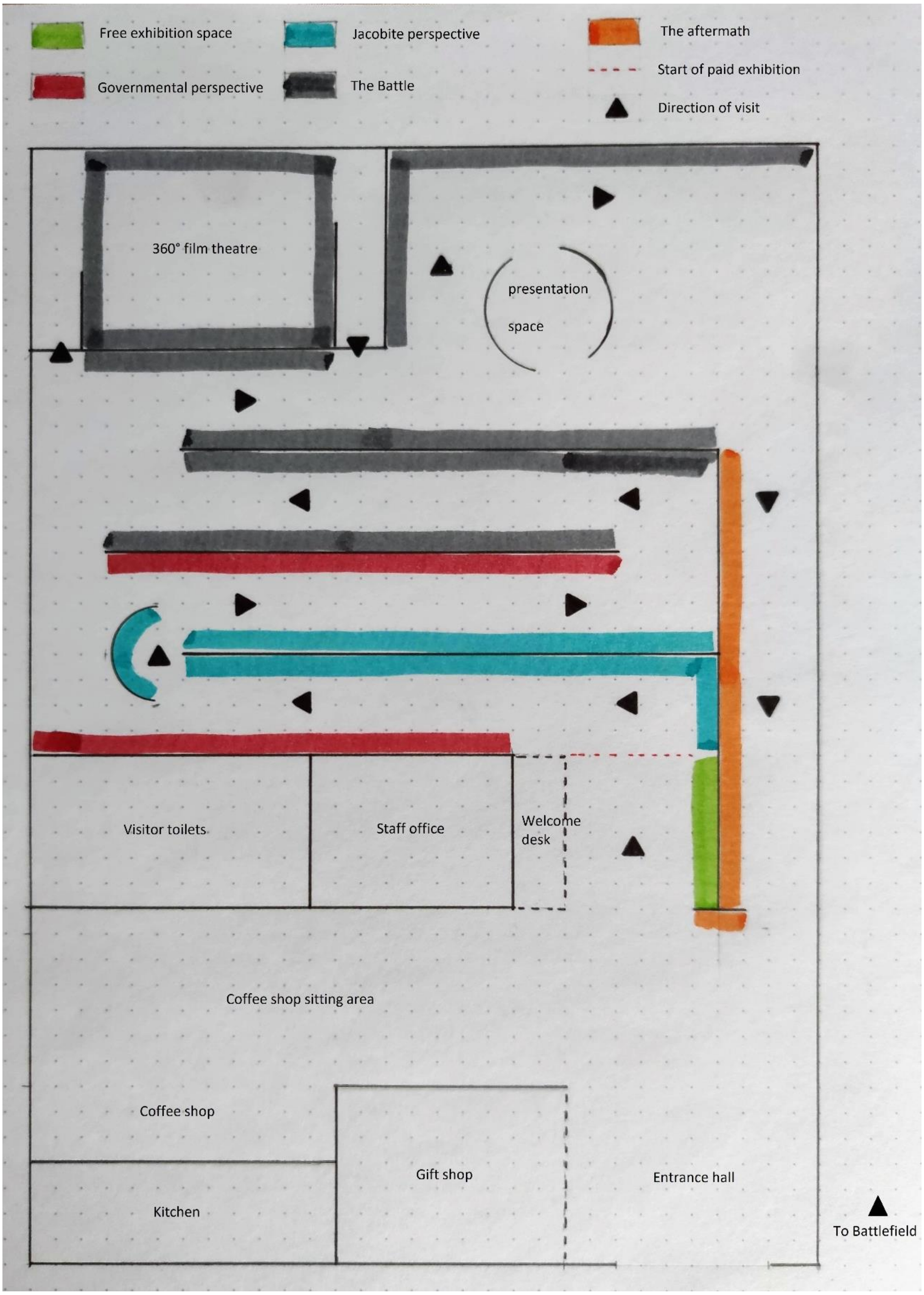

Figure 3.2: Sketch of the Culloden Visitor Centre floor plan (my sketch from memory, not to scale).

Edinburgh Castle, HES

Edinburgh Castle is Scotland's most visited paid heritage and tourist attraction with visitor numbers at pre-pandemic levels reaching over two million entries per year (VisitScotland 2020b, p.11). Located at the top of the Royal Mile, the castle sits at the heart of Edinburgh's Old Town and is part of the UNESCO's Old and New Towns of Edinburgh's World Heritage Site. Because of its location the castle offers visitors fantastic views over Edinburgh and its region, something that HES are clearly keen to highlight since it is mentioned on the castle's website (HES, 2023), on its VisitScotland web page (VisitScotland, nd.-a) and in the *Official Souvenir Guide* (Yeoman *et al*., 2014 and 2017, p.4).

The castle is a paid entry site managed by Historic Environment Scotland. A single adult ticket, at the time of writing, will set you back between £18 (when booked online) and £21 (when purchased at the gate to the Castle). There are a limited number of interpretive wall panels throughout the complex. Guided tours (in English only) are complimentary (although these were interrupted during the pandemic) but other forms of interpretation such as multilingual audio-guides and translated guidebooks are only available for an extra fee.

The castle is first and foremost a fortress, which also served as a Royal residence and later as a military garrison and as prisons of war. The castle is a complex made up of several buildings, built at different periods and for different purposes. While some of these buildings continue to serve a military purpose, others are open to visitors. Two of these buildings now house regimental museums: the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards Regimental Museum and the Museum of the Royal Scots and the Royal Regiment of Scotland. Another building also houses the National War Museum which is run by National Museums Scotland. Among the other buildings which are open to the public are the prisons of war, St Margaret's Chapel, the Argyle Tower that houses the exhibition 'Fight for the Castle', the Royal Palace where the Honours of Scotland are displayed, the Great Hall and the Scottish National War Memorial. A site map is available on the Edinburgh Castle website (HES, 2019).

The Glenfinnan Monument, NTS

The Glenfinnan Monument is located at Lochaber, about twenty-five miles outside of the town of Fort William. The Monument stands on the shore of Loch Shiel and was built in 1815 as a tribute to the clansmen who died fighting for the Jacobite cause. Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) had raised the Scottish standard here in 1745, thus marking the beginning of the 1745 Jacobite Rising. The monument is quite small, and a visitor centre can be found across the road offering a small exhibition, gift shop and coffee shop. Visitors have to pay for parking and must pay another fee if they wish to climb the Monument; however, access to the exhibition is free.

The exhibition space is quite small and located at the back of the gift shop. Running through the middle of the room are two tables with a large selection of books on the Jacobites which can also be purchased, thus making the exhibition space an extension of the giftshop. The exhibition otherwise consists of wall panels and images. The texts are only displayed in English and Scottish Gaelic, but two audio-booths stand in a corner of the room offering an audio recording in English, Scottish Gaelic, Dutch, French, German and Spanish. The recording briefly recounts the landing of Charles Edward Stuart in Glenfinnan in 1745 and the subsequent march towards London followed by the retreat up North culminating in the battle of Culloden in April 1746.

Quite interestingly, the Glenfinnan Monument is not the main motivator for people to visit the area. Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, a viaduct was built behind the Monument to link the towns of Fort William and Mallaig. And today it is for this viaduct, figuring most famously in the *Harry Potter* films as well as in other films and TV productions, that visitors flock to Glenfinnan, to such extent that a new larger car park had to be built by the Highland Council in 2020. One tell-tale sign of the viaduct being a motivator for visitors is the fact that the giftshop stocks a large range of *Harry Potter* merchandise.

The Riverside Museum, Glasgow Museums

The Riverside Museum opened to the public in the summer 2011. The building is the creation of architect Dame Zaha Hadid and stands on the banks of the river Clyde in the West End of Glasgow. The museum is run by Glasgow Museums which is part of Glasgow Life, a charity that delivers cultural, sporting and learning activities on behalf of Glasgow City Council (Glasgow Life nd.-a). With ten venues to manage, Glasgow Museums "is the largest museum service in the UK outside of London" (*ibid*.). Barely two years after opening to the public, the museum won the European Museum of the Year Award in 2013. The museum is free to visit (donations are suggested) and displays over 3,000 objects from its collections, from prams to locomotives, thus reflecting Glasgow's contributions to heavy industries, such as shipbuilding (Glasgow Life nd.-b). Visitors can also walk down a reconstructed nineteenth century cobbled street with different shops, an old subway station, tramway tracks and a horse-drawn carriage. The museum space is very open, with few rooms, high ceilings, and openings from the first floor allowing most of the ground floor to remain in sight. A floor plan of the Riverside Museum is available on the Glasgow Life website (Glasgow Museums, 2012).

Interpretation is provided through object labels, panels and interactive touch screens. The museum offers two types of touch screens; the first is used to display an introductory text in relation to a specific exhibit with the possibility for visitors to explore an image bank and further information by tapping different tabs underneath the text. These screens have a language option which allows the visitor to select either English, British Sign Language (BSL), Chinese, French, German, or Urdu as the display language for the introductory texts. The other texts (image captions, further information, etc.) are not translated. The second category of screens is used to display films or games which are all subtitled in English but not translated in any other language.

Urquhart Castle, HES

Located in Drumnadrochit, on the banks of Loch Ness, Urquhart Castle is the ruin of a thirteenth century fortress. The castle welcomed over 500,000 visitors in 2019 (VisitScotland 2020b, p.11) which makes it Scotland's fourth most visited paid visitor attraction. A single adult entry to the castle currently costs between £12 (when booked online) and £13 (when purchased at the gate). As well as focusing the interpretation on the history of the castle, and in parallel with the strategy used at Edinburgh Castle, HES are keen to play the scenery card as suggested on the Urquhart Castle page of their website (HES nd.) and on the castle's VisitScotland page (VisitScotland, nd.-b).

Because the castle is now a ruin there are very few displays as such for visitors to consider. There are a small number of display cases in the visitor centre containing objects relating to life at the castle (e.g., transport and communications) and to conflict (e.g., weapons) which forms a big part of the castle's history. Some of these objects are replicas (e.g., a bow, a crossbow, and arrows) while others are clearly archaeological objects found on the castle's grounds (e.g., crossbow bolts or a horseshoe). Although this small exhibition inside the visitor centre provides interpretation in English, none of the labels or wall panels are translated for non-English speaking visitors. The visitor centre also offers an introductory eight-minute video which staff can set to run with different languages for voice over and/or subtitles and which provides some useful background information on the castle's history.

When visiting the ruins, visitors can rely on panels (English only) which explain the use of each area of the castle. Guides are also on hand to answer any questions or provide fully guided tours – mostly in English, foreign languages being dependant on staff skills (HP02, 2021). International visitors have the option to purchase a translated eight-page booklet which provides general information on the castle's history, and the content is very similar to that of the introductory video. A site map of Urquhart Castle is available on the HES website (Historic Scotland, nd.).

3.3. Framework for translation analysis

The collection and analysis of translated heritage interpretation includes interpretive leaflet, guidebook, audio-guide etc., available to adult visitors to any of the six sites investigated as part of this study. As will appear in the following chapter, some sites provide translated interpretation aimed at children. Although there is unquestionable value in investigating translated texts aimed at children in heritage sites, these were not examined as part of this study. More specifically, the analysis of interpretive texts focuses on translations from English into French, although other translated languages are discussed in the analysis of contextual data through discussions with heritage and translation professionals, as well as through the analysis of visitor reviews and survey responses.

I would normally have collected translated data as part of my field visits to each of the sites. The Covid-19 pandemic, however, made this impractical. For the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, Edinburgh Castle, and Urquhart Castle, I was able to obtain the translated data by requesting it from members of staff at each site. Staff at the Glenfinnan Monument and at the Riverside Museum were willing, but ultimately unable, to assist in providing me with the translated data, so collection for these sites was delayed until a field visit was judged safe. At the Glenfinnan Monument, with the permission from the operations manager, I used my mobile phone to record the English and French audio tracks available to visitors in the exhibition space, and I then transcribed the recordings into a Word document. At the Riverside Museum, I took pictures of each interactive touch screen in English and French, which I then also transcribed for easier analysis. Translated data for Balmoral Castle, as indicated above, was freely available by downloading the audio-guide app, which allowed me to transcribe the English and French recordings.

The verbal texts which make up this study are multimodal in essence (i.e., printed, touchscreens, audio). However, in this study multimodality is principally addressed in respect of the spatial dimension of the sites. In this context, field trips to each of the sites were an opportunity to consider the interpretation in relation to the space, layout and objects surrounding them. This additional layer of analysis makes it possible to consider the interplay between verbal and spatial texts from an intersemiotic point of view. Where possible, I strived to take pictures or videos as supporting evidence, the only exception to this being the Visitor Centre at Culloden where photography was not permitted.

In this section I describe the frameworks used for the analysis of the data collected from the sites. In section 3.3.1 I address the framework for the comparative textual analysis of translated data, before turning to the framework for the intersemiotic analysis of heritage sites in section 3.3.2.

3.3.1 Comparative analysis of translated heritage interpretation

The comparative translation analysis of the original English and translated French interpretive texts draws on Michael Halliday’s (1961) SFL, a model of meaning-making that is often integrated into critical discourse analysis (CDA), where language is understood not as “a neutral conduit for information about the real world it encodes” but where “any account of experience is a form of interpretation” (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013, p.51). CDA is also particularly alert to the links which exist between language and power (Halliday and Webster, 2009, p.20). These ideas are strongly reminiscent of some of the themes discussed above in Chapter 2 in relation to heritage interpretation. Indeed, a number of scholars argue that heritage interpretation is subject not only to the subjectivity of the interpreter (Howard, 2003) but also to that of the visitor (Hooper-Greenhill 2001; Ravelli 2006; Falk 2006). This is an idea also shared by translation scholars such as Sturge (2007) who argue that just as no two interpreters would produce the same interpretation for the same object, no two translators would produce the same translation of a same single text. As discussed in the previous chapter, several scholars also argue that heritage interpretation and its translation can serve to promote certain ideologies and reinforce the power of certain groups over others (Valdeón, 2015; Chen and Liao, 2017). Since the present case study is also concerned with questions of representation in heritage, SFL appears as a particularly suitable tool which will make it possible to both compare the choices made in the source with those made in the target languages and to identify the ideologies and power relations at play in translated heritage interpretation.

Halliday’s model allows for an account of the creation of meaning through language choice in a social context. Indeed, SFL considers that there is no one single way to express an idea, but that each enunciator has got a range of linguistic options available, and it is the choices operated by the enunciator that create meaning. The systemic functional model considers three metafunctions which work together to create meanings at clause level. The representational metafunction (sometimes also called ideational) construes our experience and understanding of the world through the creation of experiential meanings as realised through transitivity (i.e., participants, processes and circumstances). The representational metafunction makes meaning through logical connections as realised by conjunctions that can expand or restrict meanings at clause or discourse level. The interactional (or interpersonal) metafunction expresses social relationships and attitudes through mood (i.e., giving or receiving information) and modality (i.e., probability, habit, obligation, etc.). Finally, the organisational (or textual[2]) metafunction refers to the organisation of ideas at the clause level through Theme (the point of departure of the message)/Rheme (the remainder of the message) and New/Given information. Most often the Theme is also the Given information, while the Rheme contains the New information. Importantly, the metafunctions work together, which means that one element of language can have an impact at more than one metafunctional level. For example, Saldanha and O'Brien note that the repeated use of personal pronouns can be related to the interactional metafunction by establishing a relationship between author/speaker and reader/listener but can also serve to increase the cohesion of the text at the organisational level (2013, p.81).

The three metafunctions described above directly relate to three overarching linguistic dimensions, respectively field, tenor, and mode, which make it possible to identify patterns of text types called register. Field is directly related to the representational metafunction and is concerned with what the text is about. Tenor relates to the interactional metafunction and describes social interactions and power dynamics. As for mode, it is related to the organisational metafunction and describes the type of discourse (i.e., spoken or written). On the sociolinguistic level, register translates into genre. which in the words of Martin (2002) "represents the system of staged goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives" (2002, pp.56-7). In other words, genre can be considered as moving beyond register in the sense that it is embedded in a cultural context (Banks, 2017, p.4).

In her book *Museum Texts: Communication Frameworks*, Louise Ravelli (2006) uses a framework based on SFL to analyse museum texts. She considers communication as "an active, social process" where "meaning is understood in relation to issues of choice", "complex in nature" and "always embedded in context" (2006, p.5) which makes SFL particularly suited to the analysis of museum texts. Drawing on examples from multiple museum exhibitions Ravelli starts by exploring the organisational metafunction of museum texts, arguing for example that for a text to flow smoothly the Theme position needs to coincide with the Given information (*ibid*, p.39). She addresses language

[2] Although all three metafunctions are often referred to with either of their two names, I am here consistently using the terms representational, interactional and organisational. This choice of terminology is due to the fact that these terms better reflect how each metafunction can be applied to other semiotic systems as discussed in section 3.2.

complexity under the organisational metafunction in relation to the mode of language (written or spoken) (*ibid*., pp.50-61). Ravelli also includes genre in the organisational metafunction. She explains that genre usually serves to define a text type based on its purpose (e.g., a procedure gives instructions in sequence to accomplish certain actions, a narrative tells a story) (*ibid*., p.19). Genre is closely related to the organisational metafunction, Ravelli argues, because the sequencing of information impacts the text type, but it is also culturally defined (*ibid*., pp.19-20) and as such has the potential to be highly relevant to a discussion on the translation of interpretive material in heritage sites. However, Guillot mentions in her own study on English and French museum labels that French museum texts are heavily influenced by Anglo museum texts (2014, p.79). Furthermore, as the discussion will show in Chapter 5, the corpus of texts in this study contains very few instances of organisational translation shifts at the macro level and there are thus very few changes to the overall structure of the texts between ST and TT. As a result, organisational translation shifts in this corpus have no impact on the overall genre of the texts and so genre is not discussed further in the analysis. In her investigation of the interactional metafunction of museum texts, Ravelli illustrates how mood, speech roles (statements, questions, offer and commands, as defined by Halliday 1994 and Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and the use of personal pronouns relates to issues of power and social distance and impacts interactions between author/speaker, visitor, exhibitions, and institutions (*ibid*., pp.71-94). Finally, Ravelli explores the representational metafunction in relation to technicality (i.e., providing sufficient and accurate detail for lay people to understand specialist terms) as well as in relation to alternatives (i.e., what else could have been said on a given object? What has been left unsaid?) (*ibid*., pp.95-118). Indeed, she argues that "issues of ideology are clearly foregrounded" in the representational metafunction since "representational meanings are the ones most likely to be open to contestation" (*ibid*., p.117). Considering alternative representations in the present case studies will make it possible to identify ideologically charged choices.

Besides Ravelli's use of SFL as a framework for the analysis of museum texts, SFL is also used in TS for comparative translation analysis. As such, it is little surprise that scholars focusing on museum translation have also used this model. However, in TS research in general and in museum translation research more specifically, the application of the SFL framework is often limited to the interactional metafunction. For example, Jeremy

Munday (2012b) analyses interactional shifts in political speeches to identify signs of translator positioning (e.g., through the intensification or reduction of graduation). In the context of museum translation, Sharon Deane-Cox (2014) also uses SFL to identify shifts in interpersonal meaning and to discuss how such shifts may impact the creation of prosthetic memory (see above Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). Jiang (2010) uses SFL to propose a model for the quality assessment of translated museum texts. The model proposed by Jiang consists of three phases. The first phase is a contrastive analysis of ST and TT genre as defined by SFL, the second phase is based on the three metafunctions of SFL with the aim of identifying similarities and differences between ST and TT, finally, the third phase is based on the concepts of informativity, acceptability and intertextuality to describe how and why the TT fails or succeeds to meet its purpose (2010, pp.116-7). In the present multiple case study, I use the metafunctions of SFL to guide the identification and analysis of translation shifts between English and translated French interpretive heritage texts. The shifts are categorised based on the metafunction they impact most, and I discuss their wider impact on register and genre (i.e., do shifts change the register and/or genre of the TT?).

3.3.2 Intersemiotic analysis of heritage sites

SFL has also had a strong influence on multimodal analysis models such as the ones developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) on visual grammar and which considers the meaning-making potential of visual sign systems such as pictures and images. In turn, the model for the analysis of visual texts proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen has also influenced the framework of geosemiotics developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003). As Liao explains, geosemiotics proposes to analyse the creation of meaning in space based on four components: social actor, interaction order, visual semiotics and place semiotics (Liao, 2018, p.85). Geosemiotics is the framework selected by Neather (2008) and Liao (2018) respectively in their studies on translation at the Hong Kong Museum of Tea Ware and at the Saint Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art. However, as Liao points out, geosemiotics does not directly "address the role of translated texts in space" (Liao, 2018, p.86).

In contrast, the framework developed by Ravelli (2006) for the analysis of "museums as texts" (2006, p.149) provides a more repeatable benchmark similar to the SFL framework for the analysis of translated texts developed above in section 3.3.1. Although Ravelli is clear in saying that her book is not a manual, the illustrative examples she provides make the framework more easily applicable to the analysis of museums, and by extension heritage sites, as texts. I will provide below some examples of how spatial and visual elements might impact each of the SFL metafunctions for the purposes of illustration.

Organisational meaning in the museum

Ravelli explains that, in the museum, organisational meaning is realised through the placement of displays and the suggested pathways. In terms of object layout, she explains (following Kress and van Leeuwen 1996) that centre/margin placements emphasise the importance of the object at the centre, while objects at the margin all have equal value to each other (2006, p.126). She also explains that pathways are created by 'vectors' which can be realised through alignment, lighting and colours (*ibid.*, p.124). She argues that the combination of object layout and pathways can draw the visitor's attention to some elements or to encourage certain reading sequences (e.g., chronological, causal, etc.) (*ibid.*, p.123). Ravelli also evokes framing, explaining that strong framing (e.g., walls, colour contrasts, lighting changes) can serve to separate exhibits or spaces into distinct parts and as such highlight differences (*ibid.*, p.124). In contrast, weak framing (e.g., continuity in space, colour or even lighting) can serve to indicate a continuity between otherwise separate spaces. At the level of the museum as institution, she also notes that "organisational meanings are particularly important in terms of how they contribute to the general accessibility or complexity of the institution" (*ibid.*, p.140). She adds that from this perspective accessibility encompasses a multitude of factors, including for example admission fees, engagement with local communities, and the range of interpretive activities offered by the institution (*ibid.*, p.140). Analysing organisational meanings in each of the heritage sites in this multiple case study makes it possible to get a better sense of how suggested pathways are created for the visitors and of which objects and displays are meant to be central to the various spaces. At the institutional level, it will also be interesting to consider how organisational meanings impact the accessibility of certain sites or institutions by comparing differences in admission policies, access to interpretation, etc.

Interactional meanings in the museum

For Ravelli the creation of interactional meanings in the museum relates to issues of authority, informality, and emotional responses. For example, she argues that display cases and large objects that can only be gazed at indicate a high level of authority from the museum, creating distance with a passive visitor (*ibid*., p.130). In contrast interactive objects (touchscreens, games, etc.) invite the visitor to play an active role in the space, thus reducing the distance between visitors and the museum institution and, in turn, reducing the degree of authority of the institution (*ibid*., p.130). In terms of emotional response, she notes that interactional and less formal exhibitions are more likely to provoke marked emotional responses (e.g., sadness or joy) from the visitor whereas formal exhibitions are more often associated with unmarked responses (i.e., neutral) (*ibid*., pp.132-4). Thinking about museum architecture and design, Ravelli also notes that imposing buildings (large and tall) can also suggest a greater status and a higher level of authority (*ibid*., p.144). In the context of the present case study, considering each of these elements in turn for each of the sites and institutions will make it possible to evaluate how the interactional meanings created by and in the space fit in with the interactional meanings created by the (translated) interpretation.

Representational meanings in the museum

For Ravelli, representational meanings are essentially linked to the objects on display (*ibid*., p.134), with the selection of content and exhibits being the primary meaning-making resource. The displays and how they are brought together, she argues, are also significant "in terms of the *approach to knowledge* which is conveyed by the selection" (*ibid*., p.134), meaning that the nature of exhibits (i.e., archaeological artefacts, reconstructions, texts, etc.) is meant to cater to different learning types. She adds that the sequential structuring of the exhibition, although linked to the creation of organisational meanings, also impacts representational meanings by connecting with relationships of time or causal relationships (*ibid*., p.136). In the following case study, exhibits will make it possible to identify what each heritage site is about. Comparing the representational meaning-making potential of objects and exhibits with the representational meanings conveyed by the (translated) interpretation material available at each site then makes it possible to evaluate to what extent the interpretation complements the representational meanings of the exhibition and vice and versa.

Ravelli's framework for the analysis of museums as texts thus enables the analysis of each of the sites in this case study from an intersemiotic perspective. As such it facilitates understanding of how translated interpretive texts fit into each site in terms of the space occupied by the texts as well as in terms of how the texts interact with the objects and layout.

3.4 Framework for the analysis of contextual data

Contextual data pertaining to translation production and user response is collected through interviews, online reviews, and surveys. Two series of semi-structured interviews, the first with heritage professionals and the second with professional translators, allow me to gain a better understanding of the institutional context in which the translations exist, of the different approaches to translation and language provision adopted by different heritage bodies, and of any specific issues related to the translation of heritage texts. Online reviews and surveys make it possible to gather insight on visitor experience, with a particular focus on translated interpretation use and reception.

These data sets are essential to improving our comprehension of how meanings are created by heritage sites. On the one hand they provide insight into the intentions of heritage institutions in relation to meaning making, and on the other hand they provide insight on how users interpret these meanings to create their own representations of the past. This part of the study also compensates for one of the limitations related to the analysis of translated content, which is the researcher's subjectivity, since communicative acts can be interpreted in multiple ways. For this reason, Mason (2006 and 2009, cited in Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013, p.83) explains that he prefers to rely on the interpretation of those who partake in the communication rather than on his own interpretation. Involving visitors, heritage professionals and translators in this study thus makes it possible to draw a fuller picture of the environment in which the translations are produced, exist, and are received.

3.4.1 Interviews with heritage and translation professionals

From 2019 to 2021 I was the administrator of the Translating Scotland's Heritage research network, funded by the Royal Society of Edinburgh and led by Sharon Deane-Cox, with HES as co-investigators. This role allowed me to take part in all of the network's activities from the very beginning, at a stage when the present research project was only in its infancy. Initial discussions with the heritage bodies that participated in the network's activities have shown that heritage professionals can misunderstand translation activities and often have concerns over translation quality assessment. This anxiety over translation quality is described by Neather (2012) in relation to non-expert translation in the museum, but it is also addressed by other scholars in museum and tourism translation literature (see, for example, Quétel-Brunner and Griffin, 2014; Pierini, 2007; Sumberg, 2004; Valdeón, 2009 and 2015, as discussed above in Chapter 2, sections 2.1 and 2.2.1). With this in mind, I hoped that interviews with heritage professionals would help understand if and how the client's perception and expectations of translation activities influence the translation product. Interviews were organised remotely via video call from March to December 2021. These took the form of semi-structured interviews exploring a number of themes related to translation, including but not limited to language policy, translation budget, relationship with languages services providers (agencies and/or translators), processes for quality assurance (QA), common enquiries and feedback from international visitors. The sample schedule for interviews with heritage professionals is provided in Appendix I.

As part of the activities and discussion of the research network, translators had been able to alleviate the concerns of heritage professionals over translation quality, making a clear case for their level of training and expertise. The organisation of interviews with professional translators was then seen as a way to further discuss the specificities and challenges of translating for the heritage industry. As with heritage professionals, interviews were organised remotely via video call in the second half of the year 2021. Interviews were semi-structured and explored themes relating to qualifications, professional experience and development, relationships with clients (agencies or heritage institutions), QA processes and feedback. The sample schedule for translator interviews is available in Appendix II.

The main hurdle to recruiting participants and organising the interviews was being able to identify and initiate contact with the right people. My involvement in the Translating Scotland's Heritage research network allowed me to build contacts with HES staff and with professional translators who are members of the Scottish network of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI). However, as much as HES staff were enthusiastic about participating in the study, identifying professionals from other heritage institutions was a challenge and the recruitment of professional translators proved equally difficult.

For heritage professionals, my aim was to recruit volunteer participants working at each of the sites under study and/or for each of the heritage bodies responsible for running these sites. HES staff proved very willing to participate in the study, allowing me to recruit three volunteer participants, one from head office and one each for Edinburgh Castle and Urquhart Castle. With the help of my supervisor, Sharon Deane-Cox, I was also able to establish direct contact with a member of staff at Glasgow Life who helped me identify a suitable interview participant working with Glasgow Museums. My membership of the Museum Association Scotland (MA-Scotland) JISC Mail list had also allowed me to identify a suitable contact for Culloden Battlefield, who then directed me to a colleague to interview. Contact with the Glenfinnan Monument was more complicated; it was initiated on social media (Facebook messenger) and continued on this platform. Although my respondent was keen to help, they unfortunately explained that pressures due to under-staffing prevented them from taking part in the interview; they were, however, kind enough to answer some questions in writing. The only way to contact the Balmoral Estate was through their generic email and they declined twice to participate in the study. They rejected my first call for help on the grounds that the person who had been responsible for commissioning their audio-guides and translations was no longer working there. Upon contacting them at the beginning of the year 2022 after noticing the update to the audio-guide, they again declined direct participation saying that they were too busy with preparations ahead of the Queen's Platinum Jubilee. Arrangements had also been made to interview a professional working for an audio-guide production company. Unfortunately, the company was placed under administration only days before the interview was set to happen and the interview was cancelled. In December 2021, I was able to establish contact with a producer from another audio-guide production company and organised an interview with them. All in all, the recruitment of heritage professionals as participants in the study provided me with six interviewees and one correspondent, five females and two males, all with four to sixteen years of experience working in the heritage industry. The interviews were also an opportunity to gain insight from individuals in different organisations, sites and job roles including interpretation specialists, VS specialists and admissions managers. Amongst the heritage professionals who participated in this study, none indicated that they themselves or their colleagues ever acted as translators. There was thus a very clear-cut difference between the roles of heritage professionals and translators. However, as the discussion in Chapter 4 will show, it appeared that some heritage professionals occasionally vetted translations although this was never part of their job description and occurred only on an ad-hoc basis.

Professional translators were more challenging to recruit. My aim was not to identify the translators who had produced the translations under study (for confidentiality reasons, this would not have been easily feasible), but to interview any professional translator who specialises in heritage and tourism translation. However, because translators are often self-employed, this made the identification of potential participants more difficult. Here again I leveraged contacts created through my involvement with the Translating Scotland's Heritage research network and through the ITI's Art and Culture network. Five translators were recruited for the study, four of them females and one male. The most experienced translator had over 55 years of experience in the industry while the least experienced had only three years of experience at the time of the interview. Put together, the experience of the translators interviewed averaged to 23 years. Three of the five participants had made their entire career in translation, while two had operated a career change, one from being a Modern Language Teacher, the other from being a Tour Guide abroad. All translators interviewed were educated to degree or post-graduate degree level or equivalent in their country of origin. All had a language degree and one also had an Art History degree. Although, as stated above, I was not looking to identify the translators of the heritage texts included in this study, one participant volunteered information suggesting that they had translated one of the texts. However, because I wanted to maintain confidentiality and did not want my perception of this participant to influence my analysis of the translation and vice-versa, I did not press the participant further on this point.

Recruitment was voluntary and no incentives, financial or otherwise, were offered to interview participants, but it was made explicit to them that their contribution would significantly contribute to the current understanding of heritage translation. It is also expected that heritage professionals will benefit from the insights and findings of the investigation to inform their professional practice through the formulation of best practice guidelines.

In his research on 'non-expert' translators, Neather reflects on how his own associations might influence research participants in interviews and notes that "self-perceptions of expertise are often relational, depending on which community is talking to which" Neather (2012, p.259). As for any research involving human participants, there is, in the present study, a potential for the translation researcher to influence the responses or perceptions of expertise of participants, whether heritage or translation professionals. Although a complete absence of influence would be impossible to achieve, every effort was made to avoid influencing participants. Especially when interviewing heritage professionals, I was careful not to appear judgmental and instead strived to highlight that my aim was to understand the drivers and barriers to language provision in a heritage context. Similarly with translation professionals, I always presented myself as a translator as well as a researcher to try and establish a peer-to-peer relationship. When asking translators about their work, I took care to ask open questions, again making sure that I was not implying that one approach was better than another, and rather showing curiosity to understand their perceptions and the reasoning underpinning their choice of translation strategies.

As detailed previously, interviews were conducted remotely – most often via Zoom – recorded, and then transcribed. As this investigation aims to promote a free and open dialogue between heritage institutions (as translation commissioners), translation professionals (as producers) and international visitors to heritage sites (as translation users), there exists a potential risk of conflict of interest for the heritage and translation professionals participating in the study. Indeed, participants from these two groups may have concerns over how their participation might impact their employment, especially in instances where comments could have a negative impact on the participant's chances of continued or further employment. Consequently, each participant had the opportunity to sense-check the transcription. Only one participant suggested changes to the transcription, and these were only to clarify their expression as they felt that they had not conveyed their idea clearly enough. Once participants had approved the transcripts, these were anonymised and treated as confidential data to ensure that no participant is identified or identifiable from the data used in this thesis. The transcripts were then imported into NVivo for manual content analysis. This involved reading each transcript several times to identify key themes and then the systematic coding of the themes identified. The key themes identified include: linguistic and cultural awareness, accessibility and inclusivity, legal pressures and translation quality, and each will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. As a relatively new user of NVivo, I find it worth reflecting on the benefits and drawbacks of using such a tool, in the hope that it might be useful to other researchers. First, NVivo is a software developed for the analysis of qualitative data; as such, one of its advantages is that it can handle different formats of data (from text files and images to audio files). The software also allows the user to combine in one place different data sets, as is the case in the present research which combines translated data, interviews, online reviews, etc. While coding in NVivo might be just as time-consuming as manual coding, the software makes it relatively simple to draw links between different data sets and types of files. However, I found it particularly challenging to learn how to use the software, with very limited free resources being available online – even YouTube, normally a gold mine for software tutorials, was not particularly helpful in that instance. As a result, I often had to re-import data sets or re-do some coding because I had not imported the data properly or in the correct category.

3.4.2 Visitor response: TripAdvisor reviews and online survey

In a recent talk, Pym (2020) points to the lack of empirical knowledge in TS on how translations are received and read by (non-expert) users, noting at the same time that most often scholars make assumptions about the audience. This lack of research on how translations are received is particularly strongly felt in the fields of tourism and heritage translation, with Neather also calling for greater attention to be given to end-users (2022a, pp.165-6). A number of studies on translation reception have emerged in response.

Kim (2020) conducts research on visitor's experiences of the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul. Through surveys and post-visit interviews, she investigates the extent to which the translated English audio-guide may affect the visitor experience and their engagement with the museum's narrative (2020, pp.559-560). Her findings suggest that international visitors can develop as strong an emotional response to the museum's narrative as the response of native visitors. Even more recently, Liao collaborated with Bartie (2021) to investigate the responses of Chinese and English-speaking visitors to the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide. Their methodology involved equipping visitors with GPS trackers during their visit and conducting an exit interview with them. Their study suggests that a multi-level interpretation (i.e., in the case of Edinburgh Castle, an audio-guide containing first and second-level audio-tracks) that interacts with other semiotic sources might be more successful at engaging the attention of international visitors because they do not have the same choice of textual resources as English-speaking visitors and so are less likely to suffer from information overload (2021, pp.11-12). However, these scholars are also mindful of the challenges of undertaking visitor research, especially with regard to the recruitment of participants. For example, Liao and Bartie indicate that Edinburgh Castle was wary of the investigation disturbing day-to-day business operations, thus forcing the researchers to recruit participants through a call circulated on their university's social media channels (2021, p.6), which raises issues of bias in the selection of participants. In a recent IATIS training event (2022), Kim also indicated that in the context of her research at the War and Women's Human Rights Museum, asking the museum to distribute her questionnaire to visitors was inefficient, and that she had to spend a considerable amount of time on-site to be able to approach visitors directly and collect their feedback.

With direct access to visitors being so challenging and at times restricted, some scholars have also turned their attention to visitor books and visitor reviews. In a 2015 study of a John Thomson photographic exhibition, Liao uses visitor book entries to show that domestic and international visitors engage with visual and verbal signs to create their own meanings (2015, p.189). Liao's later case study of the St Mungo Museum of Religious Life & Art (2018) in Glasgow is another example of using visitor feedback to triangulate findings in the context of TS research. In her study Liao collected online reviews of the museum from TripAdvisor, Google Review and Qiongyou (a Chinese travel forum) (2018, p.88); her analysis of the reviews suggests that the spatial features of the museum play an important role in the visitor experience (*ibid.*, p.92) and that visitors can create conflicting meanings from the museum objects and interpretation (*ibid.*, p.93). More recently, Neather (2021 and 2022b) has also turned his attention to the end-users of the Museum of Chinese In America (MOCA), using a combination of visitor diaries and online visitor reviews to show that the visitors' experience of the language resources available varied depending on whether visitors used the ST or a translation.

In her discussion of the use of visitor books, Sharon Macdonald (2005) points out that being able to access visitors' opinion has become crucial for museums (2005, p.119). With this in mind, Liao also notes that online reviews are starting to be used more widely in museum studies (2018, p.88), pointing, for example, to the studies by Carter (2016), and Owens (2012). Carter (2016) argues that online reviews provide similar types of insight to that of visitor book entries (2016, p.239). That is to say, reviews provide insight into audience's views, understanding and expectations and are spontaneous and voluntary contributions made publicly with the expectations that others will read them (MacDonald 2005, pp.119 & 124). Spontaneous visitor comments are also made independently of research being undertaken, which means that these contributions are not shaped by the research context (Macdonald, 2005, p.120), and that there is no ethical dilemma in using such contributions for research and commenting on them (Macdonald, 2005, p.124). However, when it comes to using visitor contributions in research, Macdonald calls for a mixed methods approach, where spontaneous contributions can be used to leverage themes for further investigation which are then to be picked-up in visitor interviews (*ibid.*, pp.123 & 131). The reason for this need for triangulation is that there are several limitations to be taken into account when researching spontaneous contributions from visitors. The most important being the degree of representativeness of such contributions. Indeed, Macdonald notes that the lack of information on the identity of contributors makes it difficult to draw any sort of socio-demographic correlations (*ibid.*, p.123). This is also particularly true of

TripAdvisor reviews where users can apply various confidentiality settings to either display or hide demographic information (i.e., location, type of visit, etc.). Owens also remarks that many people on review websites “relish in posting scathing critiques of places they visit” (2012, p.26), thus suggesting that online reviews might be overly critical and not entirely representative of the opinion of the majority of visitors. This is an important point which will need to be considered in this thesis when analysing online reviews. However, the discussion of online visitor reviews in Chapter 6 shows that review ratings are generally positive.

TripAdvisor reviews

As part of my Master’s research project (Côme, 2018), I conducted a study on the French translation of the VisitScotland website and started to explore online visitor reviews on TripAdvisor. This part of the project unfortunately did not make it into the final dissertation due to a lack of findings; indeed, I had found that visitors, although they commented on the availability of translated interpretation material, rarely commented on their use of the material or its qualities (in terms of content and language use). This observation on the lack of qualitative feedback from visitors on their use of translated material is also confirmed by Deane-Cox (2019) in a provisional analysis of the top fifty French TripAdvisor reviews for Edinburgh Castle, Stirling Castle, Linlithgow Palace, Glasgow Cathedral, the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre and Doune Castle.

When planning the VS component of this current project, I thought it would be wise to return to TripAdvisor reviews and explore their content more thoroughly in the hope that any findings from this preliminary analysis would then inform the visitor questionnaires I planned to deliver. Although other online review platforms exist, TripAdvisor is by far the most popular one, with French and British visitors alike, meaning that there are very few tourist attractions that do not have a page on the website. TripAdvisor also allows reviews to be filtered by language, a feature that is not readily available on other platforms. Indeed, Google Reviews, although also very popular, does not offer a language filter, which makes it difficult to use this platform for research purposes. The reviews were downloaded and stored with all their associated metadata; the date of visit and the author’s country of residence (when displayed) are thought to be of particular importance. The date of visit can be matched to the rolling out date of new versions of the interpretation material (e.g., a new audio-guide). The author's location will be particularly useful in identifying those reviews written by international visitors, since English reviews can be posted by international visitors from other English-speaking countries or from non-English speaking countries who simply elected to write in English in this instance. Similarly, French reviews might not only be posted by French nationals but also by nationals from other French speaking regions around the world.

The reviews were collected in two phases between February 10th and 20th 2021. In the first phase, the twenty-five most recent English and French reviews published after January 2019 were collected for each of the sites. In some cases, especially for the French reviews, there were fewer than twenty-five reviews posted within this period, which explains why the number of French reviews collected is slightly less than the number of English reviews. As part of this phase, I collected 256 reviews. The details of the number of reviews per site and language is provided in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Detail of TripAdvisor reviews collected per language and site in phase 1.

Site	English reviews	French reviews
Balmoral Castle	25	5
Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre	25	18
Edinburgh Castle	25	25
Glenfinnan Monument	25	9
Riverside Museum	25	24
Urquhart Castle	25	25
Total	**150**	**106**

As will be discussed in Chapter 6, a preliminary analysis of the reviews collected in phase one showed that visitors rarely provided feedback on interpretation provision, irrespective of whether the interpretation was provided in English or translated into another language. This prompted me to collect a second set of reviews. In this second phase, I collected reviews in English and French posted between January 2016 and February 2021, based on a keyword search with words relating to interpretation and language provision. Table 3.4 below provides the list of English and French keywords used to filter the reviews in phase two. I limited my search to reviews less than five years old on the basis that the older the reviews were, the less pertinent they would be to the current interpretation and language provision on offer at the sites.

Table 3.4: Keywords used to filter TripAdvisor reviews in phase 2.

English keywords	**French keywords**
Translated/translation	Traduit/traduction
Language	Langue/français
Multilingual	Multilingue
Documentation	Documentation

The English and French reviews for each site were imported into NVivo for a manual content analysis, similar to the process described above in section 3.4.1. One part of the analysis aims to compare English and French reviews so that even if these do not directly mention translation, it might be possible to identify the differences and similarities between what visitors identify as the most salient points of their visit, thereby hinting at possible translation shifts between the interpretation provided in English and in French, or at possible differences in the visitors' engagement with the interpretation material. While this might be possible, however, it is worth bearing in mind that it might be difficult to make very conclusive comparisons at this stage.

Despite TripAdvisor reviews providing useful insight into the visitor experience, the use of this platform for research also comes with its own set of limitations. The first is that it is sometimes unclear whether visitors have actually visited the site in question or have just been 'hanging around', as suggested by this review of Edinburgh Castle: "amazing building didn't go inside this time but i would recommend going inside also just standing on the esplanade taking in the views" (Karen361, 2020). Another very important limitation in the context of research on translation, is that it cannot be assumed that the language visitors pick to write their review is the language they chose for the interpretation, if they used the interpretation at all. That is to say, writing in a language is usually more complex than listening or reading, and it is perfectly possible that visitors opt to write their reviews in their native language (although, again this is not always the case and demographic information is very limited), but they might use audio-guides or leaflets in English if they want to practice their skills. Finally, it must be acknowledged that the use of social media data is increasingly becoming a grey area in research (see Gerrard, 2021 for a discussion of ethical issues posed by the use of social media data). In the present case study, data was collected from a public domain where the majority of users post under a pseudonym, although there are a few cases where users appear to have posted under their real name. Because the topic is not sensitive and the posters are not vulnerable to harm; users have not been anonymised when citing examples.

Online survey

Visitor questionnaires are another, more targeted means of obtaining direct feedback on translation reception and visitor experience. It was originally intended that the results of the TripAdvisor reviews analysis would serve to refine a questionnaire to be administered to the visitors of these same sites during the spring/summer of 2021. However, the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns and social distancing measures meant some changes had to be made. Indeed, to be able to carry out face-to-face interviews, three conditions needed to be met: (i) interviews needed to be organised during the peak tourism season in Scotland (i.e., April to October, some sites being closed during the winter season), (ii) the university's ethics committee needed to approve resuming of face-to-face research with human subjects and (iii) travel restrictions between France and the UK needed to be lifted. These three conditions were only met in April 2022 which left too little time to carry out this type of research, analyse data and write up findings before the originally intended submission deadline for this thesis on September 30th 2022. Instead, it was decided that I would circulate an online survey to visitors with the help of participating heritage sites.

Gillham notes that people often do not respond appropriately to open questions due to lack of stimuli (2000b, p.13). This means that switching from face-to-face questionnaires to an online survey format required that the length of the questionnaires and set of questions was adapted to suit an online format and to maximise the chances of survey completion. The result was a shorter survey, mobilefriendly, with more closed questions (mostly multiple-choice and a few scales) and fewer free-text answers (often also non-compulsory). The survey questions and display logic can be seen in Appendix III. Although translation data analysis only considers the French translation of English material, the online format of the questionnaire offered the opportunity to survey a larger sample of visitors regardless of their country of origin or native language. This allowed for a better triangulation of findings and may prompt future research into the translation provision available in languages other than French. However, to maximise the chances of survey completion from foreign visitors, the survey had not only to be produced in English and French but also in Italian, German, Mandarin Chinese and Spanish to match the languages of the top or highest growth Scottish overseas tourism markets (VisitScotland, 2020b, p.16). The survey was also made available in Polish; although Poland is not a top market for Scottish tourism, insight from the Home Office on the nationality of EU Settlement Scheme applicants shows that Polish citizens form the most important group of EU migrants to Scotland (2020, p.6). For this reason, it is expected that including Polish as a language for the visitor survey might offer added insight on how immigrants to Scotland perceive and appropriate Scottish heritage to form new group identities. The translations (and back translations of responses) were carried out by me (French), Catherine Moore, a professional translator (German), and by the students on the MSc in Business Translation and Interpreting programme at the University of Strathclyde (all other languages). Responses from Home and English-speaking visitors form a control group in order to compare their reception of the material with international visitors' reception of the various translations available to them. While no financial incentives were offered to participants, it was made clear to them that their contribution would play a significant role in the advancement of heritage translation from both applied and theoretical perspectives.

The survey was launched in the summer of 2021 and was then shared on Facebook and Twitter. Although participating sites were solicited to help share this first survey, only HES and the NTS's Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre were able to do so on their platforms. The survey was subsequently picked up and shared by others and was left open for as long as possible, with the final response being recorded in January 2022. Despite all of this, the number of responses remained low and many responses were left incomplete. This means that the representativeness of findings related to visitor response is limited and may not be replicated in other groups. However, these findings may still be of use in that they can be tested and confirmed or contradicted in future research projects with larger samples. Table 3.5 below, provides a summary of the response numbers and level of completion.

Table 3.5: Survey completion rates.

Number of responses	36
Of which are complete	20
Of which are incomplete	16
Average completion rate	71.2%
Completion rate range	9% to 100%

To counterbalance the limitations due to the online format of the questionnaire, English and French-speaking survey respondents (for both surveys) were asked whether they would consent to take part in a follow-up discussion that would have taken the form of semi-structured interview via phone or video to clarify certain issues or ask complementary questions. However, only five of the survey respondents volunteered for a follow-up interview. All of them were native English speakers, which would have made them suitable to interview as a control group, but since no non(-native) English speaker volunteered for an interview, none were organised. It must also be added that the five participants who volunteered for the follow-up interviews had provided full answers to the survey that did not require further clarification.

Unfortunately, as detailed above, when all Covid-related restrictions finally lifted, it was too late to think about organising face-to-face interviews at the different sites. There is also no guarantee that the sites would have agreed to having a researcher standing at the door for several days to interview visitors as they came out. This much is suggested by Liao and Bartie (2021) in their study at Edinburgh Castle (discussed above) since they had to recruit participants for their study through their institution's social media channels. This method of recruitment adds a bias problem since it is not unreasonable to imagine that most followers of the social accounts for Heriot Watt University would be prospective or current students, or alumni, with a connection to

Scotland. This would leave out less educated participants and people who are not on social media.

3.5 Conclusion

The Covid-19 pandemic broke out in the UK about six months into this doctoral research project. The consecutive periods of lockdown led to the suspension of international travel to Scotland and meant that heritage sites had to remain closed for extended periods of time. As underscored throughout this chapter, the pandemic has had a strong impact on the planning and undertaking of the project. The amount of contingency planning that was needed has naturally caused delays to the project. But this was not the only impact.

Although it was initially planned that the sites incorporated into the case studies would be more varied in terms of popularity and visitor numbers, the pandemic led me to refocus on larger sites, i.e., those likely to recover faster from the pandemic once international travel resumed.

I had intended to visit each site before undertaking a detailed comparative analysis of the translated data in order to experience the sites as any other visitor would and to avoid being influenced in my expectations by having previously studied the translated interpretation material. However, the extended closure of all sites led me to collect translated data remotely and start the analysis before any visits were possible. This may understandably impact my subjectivity when undertaking the intersemiotic analysis of the sites.

Proposed interviews with heritage and translation professionals also had to take place remotely. While there are very few technological barriers to such an undertaking, it must be noted that, similarly to surveys, video interviewing can have an impact on interpersonal dynamics (e.g., because of lags, freezes, etc.) and this might have a negative impact on the interview, with the participants being less willing to develop their responses.

Access to international visitors has also been a point of concern. The varying progression levels of the pandemic in each country means that even when the travel ban was lifted in Scotland, international travel did not resume immediately. Instead of hoping I might be able to interview visitors face-to-face at some undefined point in the future, I turned to online surveys. A solution that, as discussed above, is not without its own limitations in a world where people are constantly solicited for their opinion and feedback and where the lack of interpersonal dynamics between the subject and the researcher (Gillham, 2007, p.10) can have negative consequences on the quality of the responses. Yet, as Gillham aptly remarks "like any other engagement with reality, research is often a matter of making the best compromise" (Gillham, 2007, p.vii) and in this case turning to online surveys instead of attempting to carry out face-to-face interview with visitors was indeed felt to be the best compromise.

Despite the limitations imposed by the pandemic, the research design makes it possible to combine multimodal translation analysis and contextual data (from professional groups and visitors) to draw a reasonably full picture of the drivers and obstacles to translation provision and reception in the context of Scottish heritage. It is hoped that this study will encourage further research into the impact of translated interpretation on international visitors' understanding of the past for other language pairs and in different cultural and geographical contexts.

Chapter 4: Heritage institutions and language provision

4.1 Introduction

Building on discussions from the Translating Scotland's Heritage research network, it was decided from the outset of this project that the research should include interviews with both heritage and translation professionals. The aim of interviews with heritage professionals is to better understand the approaches and decision-making processes of heritage bodies in relation to language provision, while it was hoped that interviews with translators would help identify specific issues associated to translating for the heritage industry and provide insight into the strategies developed by translators to cope with these challenges. The selection of participants and the ethical considerations related to these interviews are detailed in Chapter 3 (section 3.4.1). Although they stem from a limited sample, the findings from these interviews nevertheless make it possible to draw a detailed picture of the heritage translation process, from the project inception to the delivery of the translation product.

This chapter describes and analyses the key themes and issues that emerged from the interviews conducted with heritage and translation professionals. Section 4.2 addresses the degree of awareness that heritage bodies have of their visitor profile, from motivations to visit to linguistic needs. Section 4.3 then turns to how these insights into visitor profiles, combined with other pressures and constraints on heritage institutions, shape actual language provision at the heritage sites under study. Finally, section 4.4 focuses on the translation process itself from the perspective of heritage and translation professionals.

4.2 Visitor profile

As discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.3), when it comes to heritage interpretation, a number of scholars advocate tailoring the content of interpretation material to the site's audience. The increasing concerns of museums and heritage sites over accessibility and inclusivity have led some to argue in favour of the segmentation of visitors (comparable to market segmentation) to better understand the interests and needs of their audiences (Falk 2006; Young 2005). The interviews with heritage professionals, and specifically with professionals in visitor-facing roles (e.g., admission managers, etc.), show that there is, in the Scottish heritage industry at least, a strong awareness of the motivations of visitors to attend certain sites and of the international provenance of visitors, alongside their linguistic needs.

4.2.1 Visitor motivations

In the interviews, heritage professionals demonstrate a strong understanding of the motivation for visitors to visit specific sites. For instance, participants HP06 (2021) and HP07 (2021) point to the influence of popular culture on visitor numbers for certain sites. This is especially the case at those sites that are used as filming locations for popular films or TV series. One example of this is the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre where visitor numbers, both international and domestic, have significantly increased since the publication of the *Outlander* novels (Diana Gabaldon, 1990-), and to an even greater extent since the *Outlander* TV series (2014-) started to air. But Culloden is not the only site to profit from the popularity of the series; indeed, insights from the Visitor Attraction Monitor from the Moffat Centre for Travel and Tourism show that Outlander filming locations experienced an increase in visitor numbers by an average of 40% since the series first aired in 2014 (VisitScotland, 2019b, p.9). A similar phenomenon can also be observed at Glenfinnan, where visitor numbers have also rocketed in the past few years. Here visitors spend very little time at the visitor centre exhibition on the Jacobites or at the Monument; instead, the main attraction is the viaduct which features most famously in the *Harry Potter* movies (*Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, 2002; *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*, 2004; and *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, 2005) and more recently in Netflix series *The Crown* (*Cri de Coeur*, 2019, series 3 episode 10).

Research carried out on behalf of VisitScotland shows that the representation of Scotland's history in contemporary culture is certainly a motivating factor for international travellers to choose Scotland as a destination, particularly for visitors from Germany, France, the USA and Australia (JumpResearch, 2016b, p.11). This influence of popular culture, and film and TV programmes in particular, in turn influences visitor expectations of the interpretation to be found on site. A study by

Bąkiewicz *et al.* (2021) at Roslyn Chapel, another site of Scottish heritage that has gained in popularity following the release of Dan Brown's novel *Da Vinci Code* (2003) and its film adaptation (2006), shows that visitor expectations at such sites can vary greatly, ranging from visitors who actively look for the interpretation to make reference to the novel or film, to those who are only interested in the historical aspect of the site and do not want the interpretation to be based on fictional work. Thus, the large variation which exist between the expectations of different visitors can make interpreting the site a very complicated task for heritage professionals who are in the impossible position of attempting to please everyone.

Despite the variation in visitor expectations, many sites seem to endeavour to incorporate popular culture into their offerings, whether as part of their interpretation or in other ways, to better engage with their audience. For example, the audio-guide for Edinburgh Castle makes a number of references to some very popular authors, novels and associated TV shows and films, amongst which figure the series of novels *A Song of Ice and Fire* by George R. R. Martin (1996-), adapted on screen as the hugely successful *Game of Thrones* series (2011-2019), the film *Mary Queen of Scots* (2018) with lead actress Saoirse Ronan participating in the audio-guide as a guest speaker, alongside successful crime author Ian Rankin (Antenna Antenna International, 2020). What is interesting in the case of Edinburgh Castle, however, is that, contrary to the audio-guide, the guidebook (Yeoman *et al.* 2014 and 2017) does not make any such references. The guidebook thus potentially caters to the expectations of those visitors who have an interest in the historic site rather than in its links with popular culture. This suggests that the interpretation team for Edinburgh Castle are quite aware of the different expectations that exist amongst visitors and are endeavouring to appeal across the board by varying their content. In other sites, when the interpretation does not make direct reference to popular culture, the gift shops can be a good indication of the links between the site and film, TV or even literature. The shop at the Culloden Visitor Centre sells *Outlander* merchandise, while the gift shop at the Glenfinnan monument has a range of *Harry Potter* products to satisfy the many fans of the franchise who attend the site. Rather interestingly the Balmoral Estate is the only one not playing the popular culture card. Indeed, the interpretation makes no reference to the popular

Netflix series *The Crown* (2016-), although some of the action is set at Balmoral.[3] That said, and even though the series is fictional, it is perhaps understandable that the Royal Family might want to distance themselves from the TV programme. However, the local press suggests that the series has recently prompted an increase in visitor numbers at Balmoral Estate (Murray and Britton, 2022) and so the absence of any reference to the TV series at Balmoral might also be a lost opportunity. Of course, since the passing of HM the Queen at Balmoral Castle on 8th September 2022, it is highly likely that visitor numbers will skyrocket in the following year or years, with the interest of visitors moving towards the Queen and away from the TV series.

Understanding visitor motivations might thus help heritage bodies to tailor their interpretation offering. Although, as Bąkiewicz *et al.* (2021) point out, expectations can vary greatly from one individual to another. It seems that the majority of the sites in this case study are taking stock of visitor motivations and trying to incorporate these into their offering, be it in the content of their interpretation or in the gift shops.

4.2.2 Visitor provenance

If segmentation can be used to tailor interpretation content, it can also quite logically be used for language selection in the translation of interpretation material. Heritage bodies should thus ideally have a clear picture of their international audience to guide language selection before engaging the translation process.

The interviews of heritage professionals show that all participants are strongly aware of the attraction of Scotland and of Scottish heritage on an international scale. In addition, the participants also demonstrate a good knowledge of the key overseas markets for their respective sites. For example, participant HP02 (2021) points out that one element of their interpretation is translated in Japanese but that this language is not currently reflective of their international public and that, should the interpretation be updated, they would now get it translated in Chinese instead. This observation is not only revealing of the professional's understanding of their audience, but it also shows a critical and reflective attitude towards language provision.

[3] However, Balmoral is not used as a filming location and the series is instead shot at Ardverikie House.

For those interviewees who work in a visitor-facing role, this awareness is complemented by a strong consciousness of the linguistic needs of visitors depending on their provenance. Indeed, they often comment on the specific linguistic needs of certain groups. Participant HP03, for instance, remarks that Hindi-speakers often decline the offer for translated maps or leaflets and prefer to use documents in English (2021). However, the reason for this refusal is unclear: "I'm not sure if they don't trust our translation or if it's more that they've learnt English, so they'd rather use [it]" (*ibid*.). Similarly, the same participant remarks that they are occasionally asked for Dutch or Swedish documents but that, in the case of Dutch, translations had been withdrawn due to a lack of demand, thus suggesting that the expense of getting leaflets or booklets translated into Dutch, then printed and stored was not cost-effective. As for Swedish, translations have never been available in this language, but the participant said:

> occasionally we get asked about Scandinavian languages, but I don't think they really expect us to have them because they've been to other places, and they don't have them there either; it's just it would be nice if we could have had them. (HP03, 2021)

This suggests that the translation offer is not only dictated by visitor provenance but is also influenced by widespread and self-perpetuating assumptions regarding the English proficiency of certain visitor groups, as also suggested by Quétel-Brunner and Griffin (2014, p.104). Although these assumptions are rarely discussed or validated in the scholarly literature, their existence is confirmed in an interview with a translator from VisitScotland who explains that it is usually assumed that French, Spanish and Italian visitors' English language skills are not as high as that of Dutch or German visitors. These assumptions are further validated by the EF English Proficiency Index (Education First, 2021). Although none of the interviewees referred to this study, the Index shows that the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries are ranked in the top ten countries with the best level of English proficiency in the world while France (31), Spain (33) and Italy (35) lag behind (2021, p.6). This implies that, aside from visitor numbers and provenance, the perceived English language proficiency of certain visitor groups might also be a deciding factor in the selection of languages for translation. These comments also suggest that, while for some groups translation is a necessity, for others it is nice to have or simply not required at all.

These comments on visitor motivation and provenance show that a lot of information must be taken into account when planning heritage interpretation. Not only must they reconcile the stories they want to tell with those the public want to be told, but they must also take stock of the provenance of their visitors and of their language needs.

4.3 Language provision

While having a strong understanding of what motivates people to visit a site impacts the content of the interpretation, a solid awareness of visitor provenance in turn informs language selection for the translation of the interpretation material.

4.3.1 Language selection

The insight of site staff regarding visitor provenance appears to play a key role in deciding which languages to make available at each site and, overall, when asked if they feel that their language offering is in keeping with their visitor profile, visitor-facing participants answer in the affirmative. For example, participant HP06 (2021) explains that it is very rare for visitors not to speak at least one of the languages in which interpretation is provided, even if this is not their native language. However, it also appears that this understanding of visitor profile and associated linguistic needs is mostly subjective as only Edinburgh Castle, and more recently the Culloden Visitor Centre, have processes in place to systematically record visitor provenance. Interview participants for these two sites have indicated that the data collected regarding visitor provenance already serve or will serve to inform language provision. The interview participant for the Culloden Battlefield, despite declaring that they feel the current language provision is adequate, is mindful of the shortcomings of previous criteria for language selection and of the potential advantages brought by the new booking system that allows visitor provenance to be tracked:

> So obviously, in the past, it was kind of just what we thought were the popular [languages]. And especially with Culloden, in the past, when there's not a pandemic, it's a very cult-rich site, so we get a lot of coach tourism from overseas and that sort of guides you a lot, because we saw a lot of people coming from France, from

> Germany and so those are the languages we knew we had to focus on. But now we get to see where all the independent travellers are coming from as well with this booking system, which is really useful for us, because we can see our demographic much clearer and that lets us know exactly what information we need to get if we haven't got it, or improve if we have already got some. (HP06, 2021)

The use of coach tours to identify key markets at Culloden, prior to the rolling out of their new booking system, is an interesting and sensible way to gather demographic data in the absence of an alternative. However, the Culloden Battlefield participant was the only one to mention the use of coach tours to benchmark visitor provenance. In other cases, language selection seems to remain somewhat less scientific, as suggested below:

> I think my colleagues in interpretation were looking at other languages they could add but they kind of did a study on what would be the most used. They were asking us what ones we get most requests for. (HP03, 2021)

It appears then that when sites are not systematically recording visitor provenance, the selection of languages for translation remains rather subjective and, although there is other data available to help guide language selection (e.g., VisitScotland reports on overseas visitor numbers and provenance), no interview participant referred to any external sources used to inform language selection.

However, visitor provenance and language proficiency are not the only criteria for selecting languages for translation. Indeed, two participants point out that local visitors, who live in Scotland, might not have English as a first language. These participants refer to the linguistic diversity of Scotland where English is only one of three indigenous languages, along with Scottish Gaelic and Scots, while many other languages are also being spoken in minority groups (i.e., community languages).

All heritage professional participants comment on the pressures on heritage bodies to provide some sort of interpretation in Gaelic as the direct result of specific legislation brought in by the Scottish Government, the *'Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act'*, 2005, from which stems the 'National Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023' (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2018) whose aims are to promote and increase the learning and use of Gaelic. Beyond the legal pressures surrounding Gaelic interpretation, some participants also observed that providing Gaelic interpretation was also an issue of inclusion for a minority and threatened language embodying a unique culture. Interviewee HP01 further comments that it is incumbent on heritage bodies “to promote the survival” of the Gaelic language and culture (HP01, 2021). Participant HP05 (2021) is the only one to comment on similar legislation and plans to provide BSL interpretation following the *British Sign Language (Scotland) Act*(2015) and the *British Sign Language (BSL): National Plan 2017 to 2023* (2017), which aim to promote full access to Scotland’s cultural life for BSL users. This participant also points out that similar pressures are also starting to be felt for Scots, as a result of the Scottish Government’s policy on Scots language('*Scots Language Policy*', 2015).

Legislation around Gaelic and BSL, as well as the ‘*Scots language policy*’ reflect a growing concern for inclusivity and accessibility in UK heritage (Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh 2013 cited in Guillot, 2014, p.89). Very interestingly, the recognition that some local visitors may not be native English speakers is also leading some heritage bodies to try and find out more about their local audience. This point was strongly emphasised by the participant from Glasgow Museums who explained that the focus was increasingly on ‘community languages’ (in opposition to ‘tourism languages’). This participant understands tourism languages as the languages spoken by overseas visitors to Scotland, whereas community languages are languages spoken by minority groups in the community. For this participant, the focus on community languages makes it possible to attract minority groups who would not normally visit heritage sites. The Riverside Museum providing interpretation in Urdu is the perfect illustration of this and reflects the importance of the Pakistani community in the city. Using the example of the Burrell Collection (another site run by Glasgow Museums which was being refurbished at the time of the interview and reopened in the Spring 2022), the participant explained that they used data from the Scottish Pupil Census (2020), which inventories the languages spoken by pupils in their home, to guide language selection and recommend that the interpretation at the Burrell Collection be translated into Punjabi and Polish to reflect the languages spoken in the local community. As with Gaelic, BSL and Scots, the conscious choice to promote community languages to attract a new public to the museum still reflects the strong focus of heritage bodies on inclusivity and ownership. As discussed in the case study by Yalowitz et al. in Chapter 2, in relation to the engagement of bilingual English/Spanish groups in bilingual exhibition (2015, p.49), it is likely that the inclusion of community languages in the museum space will make visitors feel more welcome and lead to increased engagement. This approach is also very reminiscent of the *Multilingual Museum* project, a collaboration between Manchester Museums and Multilingual Manchester (Manchester Manchester Museum, nd.) which calls for volunteer contributors to translate the narratives of the museum with the aim to "to promote inclusion and accessibility and mobilise pride in the city's multilingual diversity" (*The Multilingual Museum*, nd.).

The way government legislation and local communities shape language policy is, however, very difficult to accurately measure due to the lack of documentation of the language policies adopted by the various institutions and sites under study. Some participants were able to clearly explain their respective organisation's approach to language provision both in terms of number of languages and type of interpretation. Participant HP01, for example, stated:

> with a few exceptions for organisational reasons, every staffed site has a guidebook, and that is our policy. [...] Our current situation is that only two of our guidebooks are translated in full into other languages, and those are chosen on the basis that they are our most popular sites: Edinburgh Castle and Stirling Castle. [...] I think we have ten languages, including English [for Edinburgh Castle]. [...] Stirling, we translate into five languages, aside from English. [...] Our offer at other sites is an eight-page booklet of the type that you've seen for the Urquhart Castle guide. So, our target for the last two or three years has been to provide guidebooks in that style, miniaturized foreign language guidebooks, in a minimum of two languages, I think, always for the four kind of main visitor groups from Europe, so French, Spanish, Italian and German. And they are now available for our top twenty-five or thirty sites in terms of visitor numbers. (HP01, 2021)

However, it seems that this information remains largely unrecorded. Instead, knowledge seems to be shared informally, resulting in the absence of any official language policy documents. This is particularly problematic because it means the knowledge and rationale regarding the language policy of each institution is at risk of being lost if the person who is the repository of this information happens to leave the organisation. Glasgow Museums and the Riverside Museum in particular, as well as Balmoral Castle, are examples where the members of staff originally responsible for arranging the translation of the interpretation documents for each site have now left the organisation. In the case of Glasgow Museums, this meant that the participant who was interviewed was unable to answer or find the answer to many of my questions. In the case of Balmoral Castle, there was simply no one available to interview. Not only is this lack of documentation potentially problematic for the organisations themselves, but it is also symptomatic of the little consideration given to language provision and translation in the heritage tourism sector as pointed out by translator interviewee TP03 (2021) (see section 4.4.1 below). The absence of any institutional record also makes it very difficult for researchers to investigate how different heritage bodies approach language provision. As explained above in Chapter 3 (section 3.4.1), this made it particularly difficult to identify relevant participants and negatively impacts the representativeness and reliability of findings in the present study.

4.3.2 Types of media for language provision

Aside from language variety, the study also shows that there is a wide variety in the choice of media used to offer language provision, ranging from more simple printed leaflets to very popular audio-guides and more high-tech interactive screens.

A simple survey of the sites under study however reveals some trends in terms of which media are preferred for language provision:

- All the sites have interpretive wall panels in English, but these are never translated. An obvious reason for this is space and cost. For a site like Edinburgh Castle to have all its wall panels translated into over ten languages would be very costly and create a lot of visual clutter for the visitor.
- For the sites located in the Highlands, such as Urquhart Castle and the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, directional signs (e.g., gift shop, coffee shop, reception, bathroom, etc) are often translated into Scottish Gaelic. This choice to display some signs in Gaelic seems to stem from the necessity to comply with the '*Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act'* (2005).
- Audio formats seem to be the preference when it comes to language provision, with three out of six sites offering multilingual audio-guides (Edinburgh Castle, the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, and Balmoral Castle), while the Glenfinnan Visitor Centre offers a multilingual audio-booth.

- The Riverside Museum also leverages digital solutions, this time in the form of interactive screens to display interpretive texts and a language menu to display the translations.
- Only Edinburgh Castle offers a fully translated printed guidebook (ten languages). While Urquhart Castle, another HES site, scaled down its language offering from a guidebook to a leaflet a few years ago (the interviewee could not remember the exact year). Printed documents are also being phased out in other sites; for example, the participant for Glasgow Museums explained that the institution is currently phasing out its printed and translated maps.

The decline of printed material seems to be directly linked to the rise of digital solutions. Participants HP02 (2021) and HP05 (2021) explain that one of the reasons for this decline is that printed material requires an initial investment to purchase stock which then needs to be stored on site. In this context, content updates can be tricky to handle since stocks have to be sold off or otherwise disposed of before newer versions can be made available. Interviewee HP02 also points out that visitors are increasingly reluctant to buying bulky souvenir books that take up space in their (hand)luggage and end up cluttering their homes (2021). For participant HP05 a further reason to justify the decline of printed material in museums is environmental, with digital solutions perceived as greener (2021) – although we now know that digital solutions too, do require storage space and energy to be created and maintained. This same participant also pointed to the Covid-19 pandemic as the impetus for some institutions to reduce the amount of printed material available in order to limit touch points (*ibid*.). In contrast, digital solutions, although they require an initial investment, are relatively easy to update and space saving. This is even more so the case with an increasing number of sites that are making their audio-guides or other interpretation material available on visitors' personal devices. Examples of this practice include Edinburgh Castle, which made its audio-guide available on smartphone at the end of 2020, Urquhart Castle, which developed its first audio-guide (in English only) during the pandemic, and Balmoral Castle, whose audio-guide had already been available as a smartphone app prior to the pandemic. Other examples of Scottish sites which have adopted a similar approach, although they are not part of this case study, include the Royal Yacht Britannia and Glamis Castle. Table 4.1 below, provides an overview of the languages and media offered for each site in this case study.

Table 4.1: Overview of language provision per site.[4]

	Edinburgh Castle	Urquhart Castle	Glenfinnan Monument	Culloden Battlefield	Balmoral Castle	Riverside Museum
Visitor numbers	2,201,354	547,518	462,235	209,011	Figures unavailable	1,364,739
Digital	Audio-guide: DE, EN, FR, IT, JA, KO, PL, PT-BR, RU, SP, ZH	Video audio: EN Video subtitles: DE, EN, FR, IT, JA, SP Audio-guide: EN	Audio-booth: DE, EN, FR, GD, NL, SP	Audio-guide: DE, EN, FR, GD, IT, NL, SP, ZH	Audio-guide: DE, EN, FR, IT, NL, SP	Interactive screens: DE, EN, FR, UR, ZH, BSL
Print	Wall panels: EN Souvenir book and map: DE, EN, FR, GD, IT, JA, PT-BR, RU, SP, ZH Map only: HI	Panels: EN Souvenir book: EN Souvenir booklet: DE, FR, GD, IT, SP, ZH	Wall panels: EN	Wall panels: EN	None	Map only: DE, EN, FR, GD, PL, SP, UR, ZH
Print for children	CY, DE, EN, FR, IT, JA, PT-BR, RU, SCO, SP, ZH	EN, IT, SP, DE, FR, GD				Some digital displays tailored for children

[4] CY: Welsh; DE: German; EN: English; FR: French; GD: Scottish Gaelic; HI: Hindi; IT: Italian; JA: Japanese; KO: Korean; NL: Dutch; PL: Polish; PT-BR: Brazilian Portuguese; RU: Russian; SCO: Scots; SP: Spanish; UR: Urdu: ZH: Chinese.

4.3.3 Financial pressures on language provision

Table 4.1 above shows that Edinburgh Castle is by far the site which provides the most interpretation, in the largest variety of languages, including translated interpretation for children in the form of adapted guidebooks and/or quiz sheets. This is no real surprise considering that this site is the most visited attraction of all the sites considered in this study. The information from Table 4.1, taking into account only the language provision for interpretation material (i.e., audio-guides, leaflets and excluding site maps), can be summarised in the following graph:

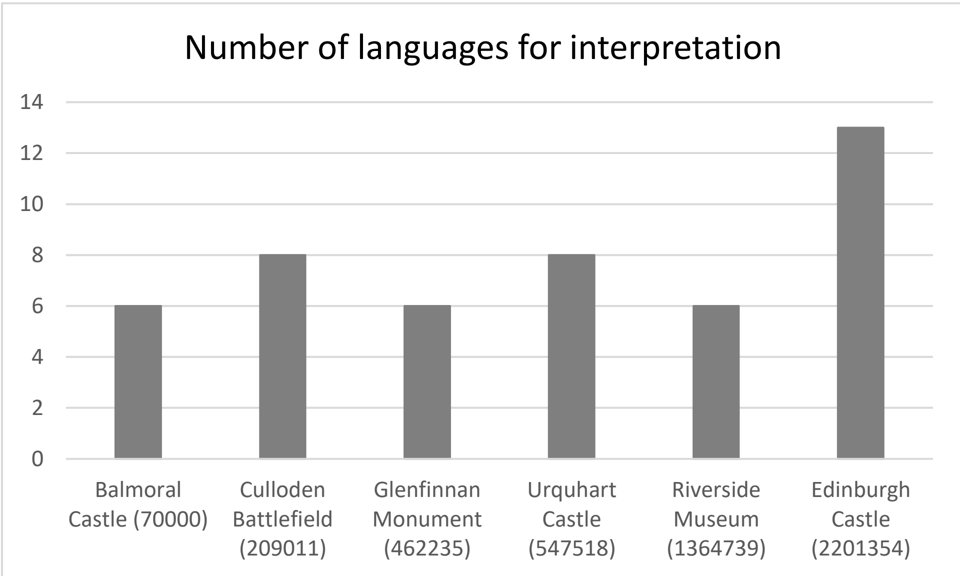

Figure 4.1: Number of languages for interpretation material per site in increasing order of visitor numbers.

Excluding Edinburgh Castle, which receives almost twice as many visitors per year than the Riverside Museum, the next most visited attraction in this study, the average number of languages provided for interpretation is seven. It then appears that, although visitor numbers have an influence on the number of languages on offer, it might not be the only parameter influencing language provision. Yet, visitor numbers alone cannot account for the staggering differences we can observe between the language provision of Edinburgh Castle and that of the other sites in this study.

The pressures placed on heritage sites to provide interpretation in Gaelic, Scots and BSL, on top of other tourism or community languages goes hand in hand with a significant increase in production costs. Heritage bodies spend significant human and material resources on the production and translation of interpretation material. This leads heritage bodies to adopt different strategies when it comes to the availability of (translated) interpretation. At Edinburgh Castle, for example, wall panels and guided tours (in English only) are complimentary, whereas audio-guides and guidebooks are only available for an extra fee. A similar approach can be observed at Urquhart Castle (also an HES-run site), where an introductory video is available dubbed and/or subtitled in a number of languages but wall panels are only in English and Gaelic. If visitors want a leaflet in another language (essentially a summary of the introductory video), then these are only available for a fee. For all other sites, however, audio-guides or interpretation leaflets (whether translated or not) are complimentary. This shows that different sites are adopting different strategies to finance the production and translation of their material, and it is likely that the choice of HES to provide interpretation for a fee at Edinburgh Castle and Urquhart Castle might allow the institution to offer more languages to its visitors.

This choice from HES to make interpretation available for a fee is clearly reflected in the interviews with HES participants. Indeed, all three interviewees comment on the commercial aspect of their interpretation material. This seems to be particularly the case for guidebooks or 'souvenir guides' which are seen not only as a means to inform the visit but also, as the name suggests, as a keepsake. However, as discussed further in Chapter 6, this choice to make foreign language interpretation available for a fee seems to be a sticking point for visitors. This is particularly the case for users of the audio-guide, while interestingly this does not seem to be a problem for users of the guidebook. Although both contain roughly the same number of words (about 21,500), the fact that the guidebook is presented as a keepsake and available from the gift shop seems to make having to purchase it separately from the admission ticket more acceptable. This coheres with a remark from Catherine Sell (2015) who, in her PhD thesis, notes that non-refundable rental charges for digital interpretation can be a hindrance for visitors (2015, p.45). Consumer research studies also suggest that digital goods are less valued than physical ones; indeed, in an experiment offering visitors to the Old North Church in Boston to pay what they wanted for either a printed or a digital souvenir photograph, Atasoy and Morewedge (2018) find that the visitors who have been offered a printed photograph consistently pay more than those who have been offered a digital one (2018, pp.1346-7). Although this attitude might be subject to change in the near future with the advent of non-fungible tokens (NFTs) and crypto currencies, the fact is that Edinburgh Castle's audio-guide is only a rental and does not become the property of the visitor who purchases it, which might increase the visitor's resistance to the cost.

4.3.4 Other forms of language provision

Aside from providing printed or digital material for international visitors, those interviewees who are in direct contact with visitors say that their institutions tend to encourage the recruitment of staff with foreign language skills, regardless of the language or of the level of proficiency. Visitor-facing heritage professionals seem to believe that international visitors positively value the presence of bilingual and/or multilingual staff, especially admissions staff and guides. As interviewee HP02 explains, language skills are not required as an essential criterion in job listings, but they were always desirable (2021).

HP02 (2021) and HP03 (2021) both remark that staff are keen to learn some phrases in other languages. In the case of HP02, this seems to be a collective and practical initiative where several members of the team have learnt some common phrases in different languages in order to be able to direct visitors around (2021). For participant HP03, on the other hand, language learning appears to be an individual initiative on the part of some members of staff (2021). Very interestingly, this same participant also indicates that one staff member in particular has been learning phrases, mostly in Mandarin Chinese, directly from visitors (*ibid.*). In either case, staff being able to speak a foreign language, even in a limited way, is perceived as having a positive impact on the visitor experience. Participant HP03 explains:

> it's a good way to break the ice with those visitors as well, and just instead of you just speaking in English to them and them having to do all the work, it's nice that you're actually trying as well, and I think visitors appreciate that. (2021)

The assumption that visitors appreciate the staff's effort to speak in their language is reasonable in light of other studies in tourism management and modern languages, carried out in the context of hotel online reviews, which suggest that linguistic accommodation from the hosts towards visitors is usually valued positively by international visitors (Goethals, 2016; de Carlos, Alén, Pérez-González & Figueroa, 2019). The use of the visitor's native language by the hosts helps making visitors feel welcome (Cocoa and Turner, 1997; Russell and Leslie, 2002; both cited in de Carlos et al., 2019, p.136) and, I would argue, to some extent contributes to reducing the distance and otherness often associated with international tourists as discussed above in Chapter 2 (sections 2.2.2 and 2.3.2). The extent to which visitors appreciate having the ability to speak their native language with members of staff at heritage sites, or to which interpretation material is available to them in their languages, is further discussed in Chapter 6.

4.4 The translation process

Although heritage professional participants demonstrate a strong awareness of the motivations and linguistic needs of visitors, as well as of the cost and pressures associated with interpretation and translation provision, they have little knowledge of translation practices. The only exceptions were one participant who directly acted as a client and commissioned translations as part of their role, and another who had some degree of understanding of the commissioning process after having been involved in a project for the production of an audio-guide.

4.4.1 Translation commissioning and translation brief

Because very few of the participants have any experience of commissioning translation, their knowledge of translation practices (i.e., briefing, CAT tools, QA) is limited. For this reason, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions as to the heritage translation process (from commissioning to delivery of the final product), especially in the case of print material. For this type of material, what transpires is that translations are generally directly commissioned by heritage bodies themselves. However, there seem to be differences in terms of supplier selection depending on the status of each institution. For instance, a participant for HES explained that as a public body, they had to commission translations from a limited list of approved language services providers (LSPs). It is very likely that the same would apply to other public bodies, such as Glasgow Museums, or that they would have to go through a formal tendering process, whereas private and charity institutions might have some more freedom in their selection of a supplier.

Regarding the translation of audio-guides, an interview with an audio-guide producer allowed me to gain a more defined idea of the translation process in this specific industry. The participant explains that it is standard for the production company to outsource the translations of the audio-guide scripts directly to freelance translators who have worked with them for a number of years and occasionally to LSPs (in the case of rarer language combinations). This step normally comes after the writing and recording of the English script to ensure all content is correct and accurate before sending it off to be translated. This preference to call on the services of the same individuals suggests a high degree of trust in the skill of the providers. Figure 4.2 below shows the ideal production workflow for a multilingual audio-guide according to participant HP08 (2021).

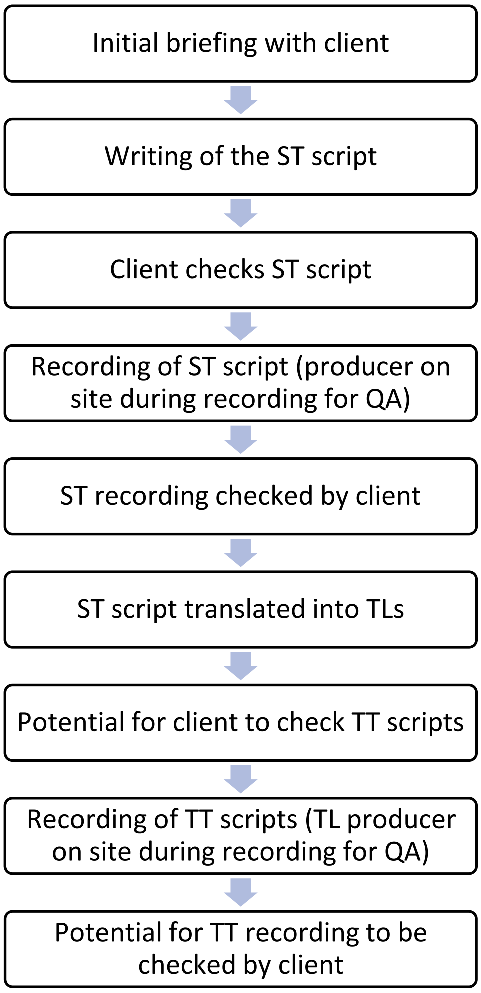

Figure 4.2: Ideal audio-guide production workflow according to participant HP08 (2021)

In this scenario we can see that the translation of the ST script into the various TLs should take place after the ST recording has been checked by the client. However, while this scenario reflects best practice, it is not always entirely respected. The participant explains that because of time pressures or other constraints imposed by, or on, the client, the translation of the script can take place simultaneously with the recording of the ST script. This slight deviation in the process can make it more difficult to implement changes that may come up while recording the ST version into the translated scripts and recordings.

This participant adds that another element of best practice when commissioning the translation of a script is to make "every effort to provide translators with as much information as possible" (HP08, 2021), such as existing guidebooks and pictures, because translators rarely have the opportunity to go on site. However, for one translator participant this type of information, although pertinent, could be further complemented:

> *Généralement, on m'envoie des photos. […] Mais c'est extrêmement rare qu'on me donne des instructions alors que je pense que c'est quelque chose qui me manque. […] Alors que je suis sûre qu'il y a plein de questions qui sont soulevées avant même la rédaction, lors de l'élaboration du guide […]. Rien de tout ça n'est relayé au traducteur. Le traducteur n'est qu'une toute petite partie dans le rouage qui est, on appuie sur un bouton et on obtient une traduction au bout. Et je pense qu'il y a encore peu de reconnaissance du travail de traduction.* (TP03, 2021)
>
> [Generally, I get sent pictures… But it's very rare that I'm given instructions, whereas I think that's something I'm missing… Whereas I'm sure that there are a lot of questions that are raised before writing the guide, during its inception… None of that is relayed to the translator. The translator is only a small cog in the wheel, you press a button and you get a translation. And I think that there is still little recognition of translation work.]

For this translator, a more comprehensive brief, including the initial project notes given to the author of the ST script to provide context, could help them decide on the appropriate tone and style of the translation. They also see this lack of briefing on the part of the client or commissioner as symptomatic of a lack of recognition of translation as an activity that goes beyond linguistic decoding and re-encoding.

4.4.2 Translation challenges

As explained above, the majority of participants have no experience of the translation commissioning process, and they also know little about translation practice. Only HP01, who has directly commissioned projects and been in contact with LSPs in the past, demonstrates an understanding of how translators work. They are able to provide an accurate description of computer assisted translation (CAT) tools as "special software which identifies certain phrases and will apply them consistently" (HP01, 2021) and comment on the usefulness of glossaries in a previous project, while they have also had experience of feeding translator queries to their team. In addition, they are mindful of certain dilemmas that are faced by linguists working on heritage projects, such as the choice to translate proper nouns (e.g., names of monarchs or names of buildings). They further demonstrate an acute awareness of the notion of cultural perspective. Positioning themselves as a visitor, they seem to favour the idea of adapting interpretation material to the visitor's cultural background, while recognising that this is difficult to do in practice and not what they request when commissioning translations. All these observations lead this participant to express a very strong understanding of translation as something beyond interlingual transcoding.

Participant HP01 (2021) was not the only one to mention the translation of proper nouns as a challenge; this was also echoed by participant HP08 (2021) and to an even greater extent by participant TP02 (2021). All three specifically commented on the French translation of proper nouns, including buildings and historical figures, titles, and toponyms. The French translation of the Edinburgh Castle Souvenir Guide is the perfect example of this, where the names of the different buildings that make up the castle are left in English but preceded by the French definite article "le/la/les", while other proper nouns, such as the name of sovereigns, are translated (this is discussed in further detail in section 4.2.3).

For heritage and translation professionals, there are no real guidelines regarding the translation of proper nouns and as participant TP02 points out the choice is often left to the translator (*ibid.*). This is also confirmed by Chiara Bartolini and Sandra Nauert in their study of translation practices respectively in European university and art museums (2020, p.B126). For participant TP02, the indication that French visitors are not as proficient in English as visitors from other markets can justify the choice to translate proper nouns. However, not translating proper nouns can actually be beneficial for visitors as it will help to refer to other signage on site such as signs or wall panels. Non-translation can also serve to emphasise *couleur locale* and acts as a reminder for the visitor of the destination they are visiting, as suggested by Liao and Bartie (2021, p.10). In the case of the Edinburgh Castle guidebook, it is not the translation or non-translation of proper nouns that is an issue, but rather the fact that an inconsistent approach can be confusing to the reader. This will be discussed further in the following chapter, but the issue was reported to the translation provider who accepted full responsibility for it.

Aside from discussions relating to the translation of proper nouns, some of the translators interviewed as part of the study openly said that they do not believe heritage translation presents any specific challenges. This type of declaration is quite surprising given the known quality issues associated with tourism and heritage translation, which will be discussed further in the two following sections (4.4.3 and 4.4.4) and in Chapter 5. Another of the translators interviewed, who is also an art history specialist, is quite critical of the attitude of other translators who judge heritage translation to be a 'simpler' form of translation:

> I think a lot of people don't give [tourism or heritage translation] the value that it deserves and think 'Oh well, you know I specialize in X, Y and Z and I also do a little bit of tourism or heritage translation'. And I think people don't necessarily take into account that it is a specialisation in its own right and that you do have to have certain skills. [...] And that's a shame that it doesn't get the recognition that it deserves. [...] I suppose it's harder to prove that you have any expertise in travel and tourism or heritage translation, and I suppose it also perhaps suffers from the fact that people think it's sort of linked to going on holiday and that it's a leisure activity, rather than a technical field. (TP05, 2021)

For this translator, it seems that the status of heritage tourism as a form of leisure activity means that heritage and tourism translation are often not considered as specialities in their own right because they lack a certain form of prestige. This is very reminiscent of a comment by Sumberg (2004) who notes in relation to the translation of tourist brochures that:

> brochures might seem innocuous documents lacking the intellectual weight of political, legal, scientific or medical texts. Yet they present significant challenges to the translator, making it likely that political, legal, scientific and medical texts, for all the associated demands relating to terminology and text type conventions, will be translated with greater effectiveness than the apparently unchallenging brochure. (2004, p.330)

By making this comment, Sumberg suggests that it is the very apparent simplicity of tourism texts which is the reason for their lack of efficacity and for the common translation quality issues reported by tourism translation scholars. And, as is the case with tourism translation, heritage translation is not immune to quality issues. This is a claim that is substantiated by the present thesis, as will be discussed in section 4.4.4 and in Chapter 5, and it strongly suggests that translation quality and QA need to be taken more seriously.

4.4.3 Translation Quality Assessment and feedback

Although most participants have no experience of the translation process, most acknowledge how difficult it is for heritage bodies to assess the quality of the translation product. This is partly explained by the lack of language and reviewing skills within the institutions themselves (Quétel-Brunner and Griffin, 2014, p.105). A number of participants (HP01, 2021; HP03, 2021; and HP08, 2021) suggest that institutions sometimes rely on their bilingual or multilingual members of staff to sense-check translations and, in most cases, it seems that these members of staff are indeed happy to help. Yet, as participant HP01 points out, the seasonal nature of roles in heritage attractions, the high staff turnover, and the role descriptions themselves prevent an over-reliance on multilingual staff to review translated material because these members of staff are not originally employed, or may not have the skills, to proofread translated material (2021). This same participant explains, "I speak a little French, a tiny bit of German, tiny bit of Spanish, I can usually work out which bit of which sentence means what. But that doesn't mean that I can judge the style and the appropriateness of the language" (*ibid.*). The argument that being a proficient speaker of a language does not make one a translator or a proof-reader is well known in TS and is discussed by many who have researched translation in tourism and heritage settings (e.g., Sumberg, 2004; Napu, 2016; Neather, 2012). For this reason, this participant explains that they normally ask the agencies they work to ensure the translations are proofread by a second linguist.

However, it appears from the rest of the interviews with heritage and translation professionals that proofreading is not a systematic part of the translation process. In relation to the translation of audio-guide scripts, participant HP08 explains that proofreading by another linguist, unless it has been required by the heritage institution (thus adding to project costs), is left up to the translator themselves as they state that "some translators work with a proofer, some don't" (2021). As for freelance translators, all explained that they work alone and will only occasionally work with a proof-reader when this has been requested by the client, or when they feel the need for a second opinion, as explained by participant TP05: "If [the client] specifically requested a proof-reader, if I felt that it was something that I needed, then I would raise [the issue of proofreading] with [the client]. But I don't systematically offer [proofreading]" (2021).

The same also holds true for translation agencies. Although I did not interview any LSP employees as part of this project, my own experience of working with agencies has shown me that LSP policies around QA can vary greatly, with some agencies not carrying out any QA process unless the client requests a full proof-reading, while others carry out systematic spot checks before deciding if content must be fully proofread, and only a very small number carry out systematic proofreading. These different approaches to proof-reading and translation QA indicate two things which I believe might both stem from the lack of standardisation of translation activities: the first being that there might be a lack of awareness on the part of the clients who might not know if proof-reading is included in the translation process. The second is that translation providers (whether individuals or agencies) need to be more open as to whether proof-reading or any other form of QA is systematically being carried out prior to project delivery. These of course are very general remarks and need to be substantiated by further research on QA processes in the translation industry. There exists a number of translation QA models and metrics which are or can be used in the industry for human and machine translation (for an exhaustive summary see Castilho *et al.*, 2018) but I have been unable to find studies that investigate the take up of QA processes in LSPs. The implications of this lack of clarity around proofreading and QA on heritage translation are that the translated interpretation is at risk of threatening the image of the heritage institution that commissioned it, either by threatening the AHD, as illustrated by Valdeón (2015) and Chen and Liao(2017) (both are discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2), or by threatening the face of the institution because of significant linguistic errors (as will be discussed in Chapter 5).

Aside from very confused translation QA processes, it appears that it is particularly difficult for heritage sites to obtain feedback from visitors regarding the translated interpretation on offer. This is an issue I was directly confronted with when trying to gain insight into how visitors use and receive translated material when visiting heritage sites (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.2 and Chapter 6). It can be particularly difficult for heritage sites to collect feedback from international visitors because of the language barrier (if the visitors using translated material are not asked for feedback in the same language, it follows that they are unlikely to respond). Participant HP01 observes that some visitors might sometimes comment on an insufficient depth of information, particularly for people with special interests in heritage and history, but that comments on language quality were more difficult to obtain (2021). This correlates with findings by Neather (2021) who investigates the role of translations at the MOCA and notes that the desired information density is dependent on the visitor's own social and educational backgrounds and interests. Similarly, in their study of English and Chinese-speaking visitors' use of the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, Liao and Bartie (2021) observe that the physical environment (space available, waiting time, etc.) has an influence on what visitors deem to be the ideal amount of information (2021, p.10). Although visitors comment on the depth and volume of information, obtaining feedback on the translation quality of heritage interpretation remains a challenge.

However, strategies do exist for sites to obtain feedback on their offer of interpretation material. For example, participants HP03 (2021) and HP06 (2021) explain that upon releasing new translated materials, visitor-facing staff are trained to ask visitors for their feedback. This measure is particularly easy to action when visitors are borrowing audio-guide devices since these have to be returned before leaving the site, but it is still difficult to action when asking feedback from visitors who are not English speakers. Participant HP06 also explains that, as their site receives a large number of coach tours, they occasionally call on the coach tour guides to get feedback on new material (*ibid.*). However, this appears to be an informal and exclusively verbal process, which can make it difficult to collect feedback from non-English speaking visitors. In addition, the fact that a lot of sites are now making their audio-guides available as downloads for smartphones is reducing points of contact with staff and feedback opportunities. The absence of a systematic and formal process to collect visitor feedback following the rolling out of new translated interpretation material is significant in itself and another symptom of the low consideration afforded to translation.

4.4.4 Responding to quality issues

Although feedback on language quality is difficult to obtain, it seems to be necessary since it appears that quality issues remain common. Indeed, four interviewees report having become aware of translation quality issues. This is consistent with findings by Quétel-Brunner and Griffin (2014), who in their study of top heritage attractions around Dublin also observed that "a considerable number of sites experienced quality shortcomings in the commissioned translations" (2014, p.105). However, in the present case, quality issues were often perceived as minor. For instance, participant HP01 observes that:

> if I'm overseas and I buy a guidebook in English, if there are imperfections in the translation it doesn't bother me a lot. You know I think well, this is published in a foreign country, and they've made a good attempt to translate it into English and I can understand that so I'm not going to make a fuss about a couple of words being wrong. (HP01, 2021)

As reasonable and understanding as this statement might be, it also suggests that this participant themselves might have experienced low tourism translation quality which has in turn lowered their expectations. As aforementioned, in the field of tourism translation, quality is often criticised as being poor (see, for example, Snell-Hornby 1999; Sumberg 2004; Pierini 2007; Valdeón 2009; Durán Muñoz 2012). For this reason, it is likely that many visitors will have experienced poor translations at some time or other in the past, and because tourism translation has come to be associated with poor translation quality, visitors might now not even notice or go to the trouble of mentioning quality issues.

All of the issues reported by interview participants had been brought to their attention either by members of staff or reported to members of staff by coach tours guides or visitors. In most cases the problem is a single mistranslated word. However, HES experienced issues on a larger scale in the French translation of the *Edinburgh Castle Official Souvenir Guide* (2017). One, which required a full retranslation because of inconsistencies in the translation of proper nouns and of some mistranslations (see Chapter 5, sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 for examples).

Those participants who have faced translation quality issues are able to explain their process for dealing with feedback, which was always the same, regardless of the institution: site staff would report to the person in charge of the interpretation project, who would then report to the supplier. All participants seem to have had a positive experience of dealing with translation quality issues, whatever the level of severity, with the suppliers accepting responsibility and promptly providing a corrected version of the material. Only participant HP01 has a more ambivalent attitude towards translation quality, expressing understanding that errors might happen but nonetheless saying: "we do make every effort to get it as right as we can, and it's disappointing when it's not." (HP01, 2021). This issue also caused this participant to question the supplier saying that they normally asked for translations to be undertaken by native speakers but that "maybe [the translator] wasn't really a native speaker" (*ibid*.), thus revealing that the issue has had an impact on their trust in the service provided, potentially causing them to call into question the quality of other translations delivered by the same agency in the past. For Pym (2021) trust is essential to the translator because the user of a translation (and often its commissioner too) cannot judge the "representational validity" of the TT (2021, p.15). Yet, as Palferro (2022) points out, heritage institutions shape their interpretation based on their values and missions, and so interpretive texts have an important representative role for heritage bodies. In that case, a loss of trust in the translator and in the translation provided also implies a loss of trust in the translation's ability to accurately represent the heritage institution.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that heritage professionals in general are very aware of the profile of their visitors, both in terms of motivations to visit and provenance, and this knowledge influences the heritage interpretation at each site both in terms of content and in terms of language provision. As Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 both show, language choice for translated interpretation can vary greatly from one heritage site or institution to the next. Although language selection is to some extent informed by visitor provenance, it is also influenced by other constraints. Some of these constraints are legislative, such as the need to provide interpretation Scottish Gaelic due to plans to safeguard and promote this heritage language. This is also the case for BSL interpretation following the legislation to promote the accessibility and inclusivity of Scottish Culture. Some institutions, such as Glasgow Museums, are taking these accessibility and inclusivity concerns further by striving to provide interpretation in the community languages spoken in minority groups in and around the city. However, the lack of documentation of translation policies in heritage institutions poses a threat to the continuity of translation provision. Translation cost is another constraint faced by heritage institutions that can limit the number of languages available for translation at some sites, in particular free-entry and/or publicly funded attractions. On the other hand, other institutions are openly treating language provision as a commercial product and charging visitors an extra fee for access and usage.

Heritage professionals have shown that, unless they had direct experience of commissioning translations, they generally have little knowledge of the translation process. However, they all declared themselves satisfied with translation quality despite small but recurrent quality issues. The interviews with both heritage and translation professionals show that QA processes are very ill-defined and not systematically offered by translation providers, while heritage institutions rarely have the resources to undertake QA in-house. This gap in QA process can potentially account for the recurring quality issues mentioned above.

However, it is essential to note that these findings cannot be considered representative of the general state of heritage translation. For one thing, the interviews carried out with heritage professionals only investigate six out of the many heritage sites open to the public in Scotland. Yet, it is important to note that the comments of interviewees in relation to translation quality, although they stem from a limited sample, correlate with other studies on heritage translation (Quétel-Brunner and Griffin, 2014) and on tourism translation (Snell-Hornby, 1996; Sumberg, 2004; Pierini, 2007; Valdeón 2009; Durán Muñoz, 2012, to name just a few). The number of interviews carried out with translation professionals is also too small for results to be truly representative. It would be interesting to see if future studies involving a larger sample of translation professionals specialised in heritage translation could confirm or disprove the present findings.

Chapter 5: The translation product – a comparative analysis

5.1 Introduction

In heritage interpretation, visitors are presented with one or several related stories. This is best exemplified in the mission statement about the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide that "the new guide is to help people understand that the castle is built from *stories*, as much as it is from *stones*." (Antenna International, 2020, emphasis in original). Stories are narratives, and like all narratives they are intrinsically subjective, based on choice (i.e., what stories to tell and how to tell them) and carefully crafted to capture the attention of the reader or listener. The importance of choice and subjectivity in the shaping of heritage interpretation then makes SFL – a model which is itself based on choice – a particularly appropriate tool for the analysis of heritage interpretation and of its translation. In her book *Museum Texts: Communication Frameworks*, Louise Ravelli (2006) uses an SFL-based model which she applies not only to the analysis of museum texts but also to 'museums as texts' by considering all the intersemiotic and multimodal elements which contribute to creating meaning in the museum space.

This chapter integrates a comparative textual translation analysis with an intersemiotic analysis of the heritage sites as texts. Although the three metafunctions of SFL (representational, interactional and organisational) do not function independently from each other, for clarity's sake the analysis will be split in three sections. Section 5.1 focuses on the analysis of shifts in representational meanings in text and space that have the potential to alter the representation of Scottish heritage to the visitor. Section 5.2 is dedicated to the analysis of shifts in interactional meanings that might alter the power relationship between the heritage institution and the visitor. Finally, section 5.3 explores shifts in organisational meanings in terms of impact on information flow and accessibility.

5.2 Representational meaning

In Halliday's functionalist system the representational metafunction construes our experience of the world through transitivity and conjunctions that allow for the creation of logical links between participants (who and what), processes (actions expressed through verbs) and circumstances (where and when). Although relevant to the application of an analytical framework based on SFL, these aspects are not specifically discussed in the analysis below, where translation shifts are instead categorised based on their potential impact in relation to the ST or TT (e.g., ambiguity, inaccuracy, consistency), rather than on whether they affect the participants, processes or circumstances described in the text. In intersemiotic terms, representational meanings in the museum or heritage space are essentially related to the selection and categorisation of exhibits. Specifically, the representational metafunction in heritage interpretation serves to portray a particular representation of the reality of the site and its past.

Throughout the different interpretation materials analysed as part of this study, a number of translation shifts impacting the representational meaning of the texts can be identified. These shifts can be grouped in different categories based on the way they impact on ambiguity (section 5.2.1), inaccuracy (5.2.2) and consistency (5.2.3). Finally, section 5.2.4 adopts an integrated approach to the representational meanings conveyed in translated interpretation material and those created visually throughout the sites.

5.2.1 Ambiguity

Ambiguity leaves things open to interpretation and can be notoriously difficult for the translator to render because it forces them to rely on their own subjective interpretation. Toury's law of growing standardization (1995) suggests that translations are simpler and less ambiguous than the ST. This is also supported by Munday (2012a and 2013) who posits that translators tend to move towards clarity and disambiguation (2012a, p.88, p.156 and p.158; and 2013, p.179), yet he notes that disambiguation depends on the translator's subjective interpretation of the ST (2012a, p.87) while also constraining the interpretation of the TT by the reader (2012a,p.96).

There are many reasons why heritage interpretation might be ambiguous, whether it is because some facts are unknown or unclear to historians or for more political reasons. The texts considered as part of this study are no exception to this and the way ambiguities are left untouched, resolved, or indeed added in translation can have an impact on the overall representational metafunction and on the visitor's understanding of the text and, by extension, of Scottish heritage.

The most notable example of a translator's attempt at resolving ambiguity can be found in the Culloden audio-guide (ATS Heritage, 2017, track 9). This section of the audio-guide introduces the visitor to an embroidered picture representing the Battle of Culloden whose origins are unclear. In the English and French versions of the audio-guide, the piece is introduced as follows:

> This tapestry is thought to have been worked by **women in the household** of Charles Hay of Hopes
>
> *On pense que cette tapisserie a été réalisée par* ***des femmes, employées comme domestiques*** *par Charles Hay*
>
> [It is thought that this tapestry was created by **women, employed as servants** by Charles Hay]

Here the representational meaning in the French translation changes in the sense that the agents (the women who embroidered the tapestry) are qualified in a completely different way. In the ST "women in the household of" is quite ambiguous and reflects the uncertainty surrounding the origins of the tapestry which is also exemplified by the phrase "is thought to". The ST suggests that the women would have been living in Hay's household but does not specify whether these women belonged to Hay's family circle or to his household staff. However, in the French translation the women are qualified as being servants. Here the translator has clearly opted to disambiguate the text by specifying the role of these women. There are, however, two implications to this choice to disambiguate the text. The first is that it is unclear whether the translator chose the right option. Indeed, further research on the origins of this tapestry has not allowed its producers to be identified. The second issue is that the disambiguation is constraining the visitor's interpretation of who was responsible for this work with potential repercussions on the visitor's representation of social classes and roles.

A more successful attempt at disambiguation can be found in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide (Antenna International, 2020, track 251) in a section which provides the visitor with some background on the reason behind the Jacobite Risings:

> the Jacobites strove to restore the deposed-king, **James VII and II**
>
> *les jacobites tentant par tous les moyens de rendre le trône britannique au roi déchu,* ***Jacques VII d'Ecosse et II d'Angleterre***
>
> [the Jacobites striving by all means to return the throne to the deposed-king**, James VII of Scotland and II of England**]

From James VI of Scotland's accession to the English throne, the numbering of the James kings becomes a little curious. In the English audio-guide, the title of James VII and II is given without any attempt to explain this double numbering. Looking at the French translation, it looks obvious that the translator felt a little more information was needed and so they followed each number with the country in which it used (i.e., James VII of Scotland and II of England). Although this does not provide a full explanation of the reason for this double numbering, at the very least there are some implicit elements which might help visitors make sense of it.

By way of anecdotal example, in the Mary Room of the Royal Palace at Edinburgh Castle a selection of portraits show the Stuart line of succession. When I visited this room (June 2021) a couple of American visitors appeared to be particularly puzzled by the title King James VII and II under the king's portrait, so much so that they asked a guide why the king bore two numbers. There was no sign in the room, nor any mention in the English audio-guide or in the guidebook to explain this fact. Visitors who have an interest in Scottish or British history might understand this, but it will certainly not be obvious to everyone. Here the fact that the question was asked by a couple of English-speaking international visitors shows that the naming of King James maybe should be explained more fully in the interpretation material, regardless of the language.

In opposition, the audio-guide at Culloden adopts a different approach, where the visitors' possible gap in knowledge has been provided for in the form of a sub-track on the Hanoverian dynasty (ATS Heritage, 2017, track 411), available both in English and in French, thus recognising that not all English-speaking visitors have sufficient background on British history and the monarchy to make sense of the Jacobite rebellions. The sub-track, which contains 256 words in English and 287 in French, provides some very important information on the chain of events which led to the British throne being offered to George of Hanover and in turn to the Jacobite rebellions. At the same time, the fact that this is a sub-track means that visitors can easily skip it if they feel that they already know enough on the subject, something reminiscent of Ravelli's point on multi-level texts where information must be presented in decreasing level of importance (2006, p.35) .

Although the first example shows that disambiguation has the potential to be quite risky if the translator does not have enough background information, the attempt at clarification in the second example shows that it can also be beneficial to the visitor, providing them with valuable cultural information.

On another occasion, and perhaps more surprisingly, there was ambiguity in the TT when the ST did not leave room for interpretation. The following example, taken from the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, gives a summary of the 1715 Jacobite Rising (Antenna International, 2020, track 25):

> Just or not, **the year after Anne's death, the 1715 Jacobite Rising** plunged Scotland into civil war. **A plot** to capture the castle **was hatched** but betrayed before its walls were scaled.
>
> *Juste ou pas,* ***un an après la mort d'Anne, en 1715, la Rébellion jacobite*** *plongea l'Écosse dans la guerre civile.* ***Ils fomentèrent un complot*** *pour prendre le château, mais il fut éventé avant que ses murailles ne soient escaladées.*
>
> [Just or not, **a year after the death of Anne, in 1715, the Jacobite rebellion** plunged Scotland into civil war. **They hatched a plot** to capture the castle, but it was betrayed before its walls were scaled.]

There are two cases of ambiguity in this example. In the first sentence in the ST "the 1715 Jacobite Rising" is the nominal group and subject of the primary clause in this sentence. In French, the translator broke the nominal group into a circumstantial clause "*en 1715*" and a reduced nominal group "*la Rébellion Jacobite*". This is problematic on two levels. First, saying "*la Rébellion Jacobite*" instead of, for example, "*la Rébellion Jacobite de 1715*" could potentially mean that this was the only Jacobite Rising, whereas qualifying it with the year would imply that it is one rising amongst a number of others.

The second issue is the place of the circumstantial clause "*en 1715*" between "*un an après la mort d'Anne*" and "*la Rébellion Jacobite*" which makes it difficult to know to which clause the date refers. Is it that Anne died in 1715 and a year later a rising occurred? Or did Anne die in 1714 and the rising occurred in 1715? The meaning here is likely to be difficult for the visitor to detangle unless they already have a very solid knowledge of British and Scottish history.

The second case of ambiguity is in the second sentence. The passive structure "A plot…was hatched" is also ambiguous. Since there is no agent, it is unclear who hatched the plan to capture the castle. However, visitors with a good knowledge of the Jacobite risings will be able to fill in the blanks. The passive voice is less frequently used in French which is probably the reason why the translator opted for the active voice. Yet, in this case the use of the third person plural pronoun "*ils*" as the subject is even more ambiguous than in English. Indeed, the use of this pronoun as the subject of a new sentence means it would normally refer to an element in the previous sentence. Yet, in this case the preceding sentence does not contain any possible candidates, the only nominal group "*la Rébellion Jacobite*" being feminine and singular, it cannot possibly be replaced by a masculine plural pronoun in the following sentence. With a little research or by simply asking the translation commissioner, the translator might have been able to resolve this ambiguity by finding out which side (Jacobite or government) was trying to take control of the castle. Or, they could have simply used the indefinite pronoun "*on*" instead of "*ils*". In this example the insertions of two ambiguities in the TT when there were none in the ST goes against Toury's law of growing standardisation (1995) and Munday's (2012a and 2013) suggestion that translators tend to move towards clarity and to resolve ambiguities. For the visitor, this shift also creates uncertainty or even confusion over verified historical facts.

As the above examples show, although disambiguation can be successful in clarifying historical elements for the visitor, it also comes with a risk. Heritage interpretation, as the name suggests is subjective and ambiguous in nature. Resolving or inserting ambiguities in the translation risks representing the past in a different light by modifying the participants or circumstances of an historical event.

5.2.2 Inaccuracy

The corpus of texts under study also contained a number of inaccuracies. These are difficult to justify and seem to indicate either a lack of cultural knowledge, vocabulary or grammatical accuracy on the part of the translator. The literature in SFL is quite sparse when it comes to grammatical or terminological errors. Indeed, the premise of SFL is choice, one choice as understood amongst an almost infinite number of alternatives. Some scholars have used SFL for error analysis in the context of language learning (see, for example, Falkus, 2015; and Hamilton, 2015) but if we work on the premise that translators, if they are not native speakers of their respective TL are at least proficient users of their TL, then these models hardly seem appropriate.

One striking example of inaccuracy can be found in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, in a track which explains the duties of the garrison stationed at the castle (Antenna International, 2020, track 7):

> the garrison carries out administrative and ceremonial duties, not least looking after **the royal family in Scotland**.
>
> *la garnison s'acquitte de tâches administratives et cérémonielles, et veille notamment sur* ***la famille royale d'Écosse****.*
>
> [the garrison carries out administrative and ceremonial tasks, and in particular looks after **the royal family of Scotland**]

In the ST the phrase "in Scotland" is an adjunct and expands on "looking after the royal family" (i.e., the garrison looks after the royal family while they are in Scotland). In the French TT, the translator operated a rather significant shift and treated "in Scotland" as an object complement to "the royal family", thus creating a shift in representational meaning since the phrase "*la famille royale d'Écosse*" suggests that Scotland has its own royal family, different from that of the rest of the United Kingdom. This is a big shift and is likely to be confusing, especially for visitors who might have a limited understanding of the different nations which constitute the United Kingdom.

Another similar example can be found in the Culloden audio-guide, at the end of a track which introduces an optional sub-track on the Hanoverian dynasty (ATS Heritage, 2017, track 4):

> To find out more about the Hanoverians and how they came to rule **Britain** please press 411.
>
> *Pour en savoir davantage sur les Hanovriens et sur la manière dont ils en sont venus à diriger **l'Angleterre**, composez le 411.*
>
> [To find out more about the Hanoverians and how they came to rule **England**, type 411.]

What is interesting in the translation of this introductory sentence is the fact that "Britain" in the ST becomes "*Angleterre*" (England) in the TT. Like in the previous example, this shortcut, where England stands in for Great Britain, is typical of what can often be seen in the mainstream francophone media where Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales are still too often represented as regions of England. A recent example of this can be found in the francophone Belgian newspaper *Le Soir*, in an article dating from September 2021 that places Glasgow and Edinburgh in England (Delcour, 2021). The shift here is particularly problematic since it misrepresents who was ruling Scotland at the time of the 1745 Rising and, by extension, the reasons that led to the rising and to the battle of Culloden.

Other inaccuracies found in the corpus of translated texts consist of simple mistranslations of a noun or phrase, where an error is the result of an incorrect word choice by the translator, potentially denoting insufficient lexical knowledge. The print guide to Edinburgh Castle contains a couple of striking examples of this. In the first example (Yeoman *et al.*, 2014 and 2017, p.9), the terms "cartshed" and "carts" are respectively translated as "*hangar à charrues*" (plough shed) and "*charrues*" (plough). Consider the following example:

> This shed held 50 **carts** that brought provisions up from the town to the garrison.
>
> *Ce hangar abritait 50 **charrues** qui apportaient les provisions de la ville à la garnison.*
>
> [This shed held 50 **ploughs** which brought provisions from the town to the garrison.]

The mistranslation of "*cart*" as a plough in French is confusing mostly because of the subordinate clause in this sentence which shows that the carts were used to transport provisions, not to plough fields. If anything, the subordinate in this case should have given the translator an indication that the "carts" referred to "*charrettes*" and not "*charrues*".

A second example from the same source can be found in a passage describing the exterior symbolism of the Scottish War Memorial (*ibid*., 2014 and 2017, p.44):

> the figures on the Crown Square elevation signify Courage (mailed figure with sword and shield), **Peace** (a female figure with **doves**), Justice (blindfolded with scales and a sword), and Mercy (a warrior cradling a child).
>
> *les statues sur l'élévation de Crown Square signifient le Courage (une statue portant une cotte de mailles, une épée et un bouclier),* ***la Paix*** *(une statue de femme avec des* ***tourterelles****), la Justice (aux yeux bandés avec une balance et une épée), et la Miséricorde (un guerrier portant un enfant dans ses bras).*
>
> [the statues on the Crown Square elevation signify Courage (a statue wearing chainmail, a sword and a shield), **Peace** (a statue of a woman with **turtledoves**), Justice (blindfolded with scales and a sword), and Mercy (a warrior carrying a child in his arms).]

The TT indicates that Peace is represented as a woman with "*des tourterelles*" (turtledoves) instead of "*colombes*"; this is a rather surprising word choice. Thinking about the bird itself, a dove is a type of turtledove and so at the lexical level the word "*tourterelle*" in the French TT is only a hyponym of "*colombe*", and so we could say that the difference between the two is of little consequence. The issue appears at the metaphorical level, since in Western, Christian countries the dove (or "*colombe*" in French) is usually a symbol of peace. The choice to translate "dove" as "turtledove" in a sentence that describes a figure representing Peace then seems inadequate in this context and it suggests that the translator might have overlooked the symbolical element of the text.

The corpus of translated interpretive texts also contains some smaller grammatical inaccuracies. Some of them are sufficiently striking to be noted, though they may have little bearing on the visitor's understanding of the texts. One example of this can be found in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, in the section which introduces St Margaret's Chapel (Antenna International, 2020, track 14):

St Margaret's Chapel is the oldest building in Edinburgh, **dating** to the early 1100s. It's dedicated to Scotland's only royal saint,

La chapelle Sainte-Marguerite est le bâtiment le plus ancien d'Édimbourg. ***Construit*** *au début du 12e siècle, elle est dédiée à la seule sainte d'origine royale d'Écosse.,*

[St Margaret's Chapel is the oldest building in Edinburgh. **Built** in the early 12th century, it is dedicated to Scotland's only saint of royal origin,]

Here the translator opted to replace "dating" with "*construit*" (built). Going from date to build seems to be an appropriate choice when talking about the origins of a building and would be a very common occurrence in French heritage texts. This also allows to avoid using a present participle in -ant (*datant*), less common in French, replacing it instead with a past participle. However, the past participle should be made to agree with the subject. In this case it should agree with the pronoun "*elle*", the subject of the principal clause (referring to "*la chapelle*" in the previous sentence). This error appears both in the audio-guide and in the audio-guide script which I was provided by HES which suggests it is an error from the translator and that it was not noticed by the voice actor during recording.

Although they may not impact greatly on the comprehension of the text and could almost be considered as anecdotal or even amusing, inaccuracies – be they factual, lexical, or grammatical – raise the problem of trust. For Pym (2021) trust is important because the translator is tasked with representing the ST to a target public who "typically has no way of *testing* the linguistic validity of the representation" (2021, p. 15; emphasis in original). In this context, even small but repeated linguistic inaccuracies have the potential to harm the trust placed by the visitor – but also by the translation commissioners – in the translator. Pym thus talks of "credibility risk" (2021, p.15), with the loss of trust harming not only the translator's professional reputation but that of the institution. Indeed, from the perspective of the visitors, the translators are anonymous but the heritage bodies who publish the translations are not. Such inaccuracies also suggest that there are shortcomings in the current QA processes in place to evaluate the TTs.

5.2.3 Consistency – translating names

Naturally, heritage interpretation texts contain a large number of names from historical figures to buildings and places having to be translated into the visitor's TL. These are usually referred to as culture specific items or realia and their translation is often discussed at length in tourism and heritage translation literature (see Agorni, 2016; Ajtony, 2015; or Sell, 2015). The stake in the translation of such terms is to strike an appropriate balance between understanding for the TL reader, while also maintaining some degree of *couleur locale*.

Although there are no rules as such regarding the translation of proper nouns, there are certainly some language-specific conventions. Michel Ballard, author of a textbook dealing specifically with the translation of proper nouns between English and French (2001) argues that, for names of historical figures, the translator should aim to implement a "report" (2001, pp.19-20), a strategy that is equivalent to Newmark's concept of transference (Newmark, 1988, p.81), or an *emprunt* in the terms of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), that is to say, a direct borrowing from the source language (SL) into the TL. However, Ballard notes that there exist exceptions to this general principle that are justified by established precedents; among these he cites historical figures and monarchs and, more particularly British, monarchs, whose names are usually gallicized (2001, p.31-32). Across the corpus of texts under study, we can see that, this customary rule is respected more often than not. As such, across sites, the name "James" is consistently translated as "Jacques". The same goes for titles; for example, in the Culloden audio-guide "William Augustus Duke of Cumberland" becomes "Guillaume Auguste, duc de Cumberland" (ATS Heritage, 2017, track 4).

There are however a few exceptions to this. For example, the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide mentions a plaque to the memory of Queen Mary of Guise as follows (Antenna International, 2020, track 21):

> one of the most powerful women in Scottish history - Queen **Mary of Guise**, also known as **Mary of Lorraine**
>
> *l'une des femmes les plus puissantes de l'histoire écossaise, la reine **Marie de Guise**, également connue sous le nom de **Mary of Lorraine**.*

It is curious here that the name "Mary of Guise" was translated as "*Marie de Guise*", with the French spelling of the name and the French preposition "*de*" but "Mary of Lorraine" was not. This seems to be a particularly curious choice considering that both are referring to the same French figure. This being in the audio-guide is also very odd as the oral aspect makes the shift from French to English even more obvious and confusing for the listener. The fact is that Queen Mary of Guise is not generally known in France as either "*Marie de Lorraine*" or "Mary of Lorraine". Indeed, there has been more than one notable "*Marie de Lorraine*" in French history, so the use of the title in French would be highly ambiguous. It may be for this reason that the translator opted to keep the name in English, so as to disambiguate from other homonymous historical figures, but the least confusing might have been to simply remove the clause "also known as Mary of Lorraine" from the translation.

I now turn to the translation of names of monuments and places. Although Ballard observes that toponyms are usually translated (2001, p.25), he also notes that Newmark points out that the names of places inside cities (i.e., streets, squares, public places, etc.) are usually not translated (Newmark 1981/1984, p.73; cited in Ballard, 2001, p.25). In this respect, the main inconsistency to be found in the corpus under study concerns the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide and souvenir guide. Edinburgh Castle is a complex monument made up of a number of buildings, each with its own name. It is unclear whether the buildings of the castle complex belong to the exception categories defined by Newmark, which would justify their name not being translated and simply transferred. At any rate, in the case of Edinburgh Castle, the audio-guide and the souvenir guide each adopt a different strategy. In the audio-guide the translator opted to translate the names of the buildings. Thus, "Governor's House" becomes "*La maison du Gouverneur*" [the house of the governor] (Antenna International, 2020, track 6). On the other hand, in the souvenir guide, the same building becomes "*la Governor's House*" (Yeoman *et al.*, 2017, p.18). The most confusing thing here is not the fact that the translator opted to keep the name of the building in English, but rather it is the use of the French definite article "*la*" preceding it, which is questionable. Indeed, Ballard points out that if the name of a building, square or street is transferred in the TT without being translated then it should also conserve its original determiner (2001, p.57). This means that names preceded by the zero (Ø) article in English, when they are transferred into French, should not have an article or determiner either. Here the decision to translate or not translate building names is not the primary issue; rather, for HES interviewees, it is the lack of coherence between the audio-guide and the souvenir guides, an issue which is reminiscent of Neather's case study on translation at the Confucian Temple in Beijing where the Chinese wall panels and leaflets complemented each other but their English translations did not (2005, p.12). Yet, in the case of Edinburgh Castle, this issue is hardly surprising, considering that the translations of the souvenir guide and of the audio-guide are undertaken by different service providers (HP01, 2021). In this case, a glossary of building names, created in concert between HES and the translator(s), but owned by HES, would potentially have helped to avoid these inconsistencies.

Inconsistencies in the handling of names and proper nouns (whether they are translated or simply borrowed) can potentially be confusing for visitors. It also suggests that there is potential for further collaboration between heritage bodies and LSPs. The creation and sharing of glossaries or termbases that could be used by translators as support material could simplify the decision-making process regarding the handling of proper nouns and names, as illustrated by Neather in his study of translation practices in museums in Hong Kong and Macau (2012, p.260).

5.2.4 Integrating the representational meaning

Now that we have seen how different translation shifts might impact the creation of representational meanings and in turn influence the representation of Scottish heritage for the international visitor, it is interesting to consider how the written or spoken forms of interpretation interact with the space and organisation of sites themselves. For Ravelli, representational meanings in the museum is "conveyed primarily by what is 'in' the exhibition" and she adds that "[t]he very selection of content, the selection of exhibits, is in itself a meaning-making resource" (2006, p.134).

In this respect it is interesting to consider the example of Edinburgh Castle where the selection of military exhibits allows for a certain continuity between the content of the audio-guide, which focusses on stories of war and conflicts, and the role of the castle as a fortress and military barracks. In this case the choice of displays makes it very clear that Edinburgh Castle is a castle in the fortress sense, rather than a palace, regardless of what visitors' expectations might be in this respect, as will be further discussed in Chapter 6. The same goes for the Culloden Battlefield and visitor centre where, in the visitor centre the majority of displays are military weapons, together with representations of Jacobite and governmental soldiers, thus making it clear that the exhibition is about a battle, including the events which led up to and followed it. The link is even more clearly established as the Culloden audio-guide is the only interpretive text in the present study to ever refer directly to specific exhibits (e.g., "this tapestry" refers to the one the visitor should be looking at, at that moment). In the case of Edinburgh Castle and of the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, there thus seems to be a strong link between the nature of the objects selected to be on display for visitors and the narratives provided in the interpretation material. In these cases, the representational meanings created through verbal and spatial texts complement and reinforce each other.

In contrast, the complementarity between verbal interpretation and visual elements is less evident at Balmoral Castle and Estate since there is no display as such; rather, the castle and the gardens are on display. The ballroom, the only room to be opened to visitors, houses a few items which belonged to Queen Elizabeth II; this is in stark contrast to the content of the French audio-guide which hardly mentions the current royal family. However, the rest of the exhibits in the ballroom, including some Victorian paintings by Edwin Landseer, provide a more obvious link with the content of the audio-guide, which focuses on the estate in Victorian times.

At Glasgow's Riverside Museum, which houses the city's transport and technology collections, the link between the representational meanings of its verbal and spatial texts is also more complex. The museum gives pride of place to a number of transport-related exhibits (such as tramcars, locomotives, etc.), but some display cases, such as clothing displays, are more difficult to relate to the themes of transport or technology, and their presence could potentially be confusing for the visitor, especially as these displays are only labelled in English with no translated interpretive texts. These, albeit isolated, examples can create a discontinuity between the overall identity of the museum as being dedicated to transport and technology, the content of the interpretation provided and the objects on display for visitors.

Some discontinuity between interpretation and display is also evident at the Glenfinnan visitor centre. There, the exhibition is very text heavy with a lot of wall panels in English and Gaelic. The number of objects on display is minimal and these are mostly portraits of Charles Edward Stuart. From this perspective, the link between the exhibition and the content of the translated audio interpretation is clear since the text relates the landing of Bonnie Prince Charlie at Glenfinnan. In the centre of the exhibition space a large table is also covered in books on the Jacobites, here also creating a clear link with the iconography and interpretation but also creating confusion over the role of the space, is it an exhibition space, an extension of the gift shop, or both? The discontinuity continues in the giftshop where most of the merchandise relates to the viaduct rather than to the monument or the Jacobites. Instead, the predominance of *Outlander* and *Harry Potter* themed souvenirs suggests that visitors come with different expectations and representations of the site in mind.

These examples show that the link between the selection of exhibits and the interpretation of heritage sites can be evident to greater or lower degrees. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6, these links, their absence or their incompatibility with visitor expectations of the site can have a significant impact on the visitor experience and on their understanding of the sites.

5.2.5 Conclusion

As this section demonstrates, translation shifts relating to ambiguity, inaccuracies and inconsistency all have the potential to alter the representational meaning of heritage interpretation material, resulting in the visitor being presented with an altered image of Scottish historic and cultural heritage. As was also discussed, in a lot of cases, especially when considering ambiguities and inaccuracies, translation shifts seem to be caused by the translator misunderstanding the ST. This suggests that there is a lack of QA after the translations have been carried out. When translation shifts that are the result of translator error are too frequent, they can also cause a breakdown of trust in visitors that impacts not only the image of the translator but also that of the other stakeholders involved in the translation process (i.e., translation agency, audio-guide producer, heritage body). Finally, the displays can serve to create a sense of (dis)continuity amongst themselves and in relation to the interpretation material provided to visitors.

5.3 Interactional meaning

In Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, the interactional metafunction establishes the nature of the relationships that are created in the text, be they between the narrator and the reader or a third party. Focusing on interactional meanings, the corpus of heritage texts in this case study reveals that the majority of shifts impact on the position of the visitor in relation to the past and on the power relations being established between the heritage institution and the visitor.

As discussed in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3.3), Guillot, in her study of English and French museum labels (2014), points out that English museum texts tend to adopt an informal and casual register that is a result of accessibility and inclusivity policies in UK museums. French museum texts, on the other hand, tend to be more formal and evaluative and appear to rely on a high level of presupposed knowledge from the visitors. The result is that such texts can be perceived as authoritative, academic or even, at times, elitist, thus placing the visitors in a diminished position in relation to the institution. While visitors with a sufficient level of expertise on the subject of the exhibition might feel gratified at the level of information provided, those visitors who are less knowledgeable on the topic might also feel diminished when realising that they fail to fully grasp the content of the interpretation. Meanwhile, British museum texts tend to address visitors on a warmer, more equal footing, making fewer assumptions as to the level of prior knowledge of the visitors. While this approach reduces the distance between visitor and institution, there is also a risk that some visitors (who have a higher level of expertise on a particular topic) might find the tone of the interpretation to be rather condescending. In this section I identify four types of interactional shifts in the corpus of translated heritage texts which all have a bearing on the level or formality and power relations being established between heritage institution and visitors. Section 5.3.1 focuses on graduation, section 5.3.2 on the choice of grammatical tenses to translate the preterite tense, section 5.3.3 focuses on modes of address and section 5.3.4 concentrates on other indicators of formality. Finally, section 5.3.5 integrates the interactional meaning of the interpretive texts with those created intersemiotically by the exhibitions/sites themselves.

5.3.1 Graduation

Martin and White (2005) define graduation as the strengthening or diminishing of attitude or engagement (2005, p.135-160), a definition which is adopted by Munday (2012b) in his analysis of crowdsourced subtitles to a speech by Obama. Munday notes that graduation (i.e., the force or intensity of a statement) often reduces in translation but rarely increases (2012b, p.324-325). Like the minimization of ambiguity discussed above in section 5.2.1, Munday points out that the reduction of graduation in translation is consistent with Toury's (1995) law of growing standardization (2012b, p.325). However, Munday also notes that variation in graduation, although common, is not systematically observed (*ibid.,* p.331). Munday analyses graduation as a form of translator positioning and, in this respect, it is closely linked to the interactional metafunction in SFL; this is the perspective that is adopted in this section too. It is, however, worth noting that the metafunctions of SFL do not function in isolation; on the contrary, they influence and impact each other and so there is scope for shifts in graduation to impact on the representational metafunction as they alter the representation of the world for the visitor.

There are a few examples of reduced graduation in the corpus under study, where the translator has attenuated the meaning of the ST. Consider the following examples, both taken from the *Official Souvenir Guide to Edinburgh Castle*, relating to the circumstances of the death of James IV (Yeoman *et al*., 2014 and 2017, respectively on pages 42 and 65):

> James IV, who **was killed** at Flodden barely a year later
>
> *Jacques IV,* ***qui perdit la vie*** *à Flodden à peine un an plus tard*
>
> [James IV, who **lost his life** in Flodden barely a year later.]

> he **died in battle** at Flodden

il ***perdit la vie dans la bataille*** *de Flodden*

[he **lost his life at the battle** of Flodden]

In the first example the phrase "to be killed" suggests a violent death. In the second example, this violent death is confirmed by the words "to die in battle". In both instances, however, the translator opted to downplay the violence of James IV death by using the same phrase "*perdre la vie*" (to lose one's life), this form of attenuation is certainly a more delicate way to talk about death, but it also reduces the violence of the king's passing. Using a more palatable phrase affects the voice of the institution in turn, giving it a more dignified, less dramatic tone. This shift is consistent with Munday's suggestion that graduation often reduces in translation (2012b, p.324).

More surprisingly, there are also instances where the graduation increased in translation. Although this was by no means a trend, such instances are worth noting since they apparently go against Munday's working hypothesis. Consider the following example from the Culloden audio-guide (ATS Heritage, 2017, track 511). This track provides the visitor with an explanation of the Jacobite's recruitment methods (note that the track title in grey highlight appears on the audio-guide script but is not displayed or voiced in the audio-guide itself):

Forced to fight
Many of the rank and file in Charles's army joined in the rising because they were **told to** by their landlords, employers or clan chiefs.

Forcés à combattre
Nombreux sont les hommes qui ont rejoint l'armée de Charles durant le soulèvement ***forcés*** *par leurs propriétaires, employeurs ou chefs de clan.*

[Forced to fight
Many were the men who joined Charles' army during the rising **forced** by their landlords, employers or clan chief.]

In this example the use of "*forcés*" (forced) to refer to the conditions in which men enrolled in the Jacobite army reinforced the idea of a lack of choice, alternative or free will. This choice of translation reflects the title of the ST track but is somewhat stronger than "told to" which does not carry quite the same degree of obligation. This track of the audio-guide does not shed a particularly positive light on the Jacobites, and this might be the reason why, even unconsciously, the author of the ST may have felt the need to downplay the idea of obligation and command, whereas the French translator, as a cultural outsider, might not have felt the same need to do so, and, on the contrary, decided to emphasise the idea. This is an example of translator positioning that impacts not only the interactional meaning of the TT but also its representational meaning since it alters how the Jacobites a portrayed to the French-speaking visitors. In this case it would be interesting to see how other translators dealt with the translation of "told to" in other languages to see if the same pattern can be observed.

In sum, although we can identify some reduced graduations in the present corpus, there are also, more surprisingly, some increased graduations in translation. Such graduations are revealing of the translator's positioning and can impact on the relationships created between institution, translator and visitor. However, it must be noted that graduations also have a representational impact since they can alter and distort (even slightly) the representation of the past to the visitors by either attenuating or exaggerating the significance of certain events or facts.

5.3.2 Grammatical tense and mood

One way in which interactional meaning can be greatly impacted is through the use of different moods, with each mood serving to realise different speech functions. For example, as Ravelli notes, the imperative mood often correlates with a command (2006, p.77), where the degree of formality and power exercised by the author/speaker over the reader/listener is greatest. Similarly, in French the use of the subjunctive mood can serve to express doubt, there again also impacting the interactional meanings and the relationship between author/reader and/or third party.

However, in French, even within the same mood, a different choice of grammatical tense can serve to impact the interactional meaning of a text. This is particularly true of tenses that are used to talk about the past in the indicative mood. In English the preterite tense is used to talk about an action which started and finished in the past. In French this notion of a finished and generally brief action in the past has traditionally been expressed through the use of the *passé simple* (PS). However, the PS is now often considered as a formal tense, limited to the written form and to specific genres (Labeau, 2015, p.181), literature being chief amongst them. Following Engel (1990), Labeau notes that the PS as a narrative tense used to be particularly suited to historical texts because it creates a distance between the time of the speech and the events recounted (2015, p.165-166). However, there is still a lot of debate, with some experts arguing that the values of the PS are now enacted by the *passé composé* (PC) (Van Vliet, 1983; cited in Labeau 2015, p.165). Like the PS, the PC can indeed be used to talk about a finished action in the past, the only difference being that this action has an influence on the present (similarly to the present perfect tense in English) (Chuquet and Paillard, 1989 (1987), p.93). Others argue that, in historical texts specifically, the PS has been replaced by the historical present, also known as the *présent de narration* (Revaz, 1998: 45-46).

One of the key roles of heritage sites is to retell and represent the past to visitors, and so the question of the choice of tenses used to talk about the past in heritage interpretation is highly pertinent to this study. In the English interpretation materials, the preterite is the most frequently used tense. However, across the French translations of all these texts, a variety of strategies can be identified.

The audio-guide at the Glenfinnan Visitor Centre stands out as being the only one using almost exclusively the *présent de narration* to translate the preterite tense. This singularity is quite interesting since for Revaz the use of *présent de narration* has been slowly replacing the PS since the middle of the twentieth century (1998, p.45). Combined with the use of "*vous*" by the narrator, which directly addresses the listener and invites them to visualise and project themselves into the scene, the result is highly immersive and visual. The use of the *présent de narration*, as opposed to the preterite, in the English audio recording, combined with the second person pronouns somehow extends the potential for the visitor to engage with the past. The Glenfinnan Monument audio-guide thus enables the potential formation of what Landsberg (2004) terms "prosthetic memory", that is memories that are not the product of lived experiences but derived from experiential engagement with a technologically-mediated representation (such as an audio-guide in a heritage site) capable of suturing the visitor to the past and making it possible to influence the visitor's "subjectivity and politics" (2004, p.2; cited in Deane-Cox, 2014, p.273). It must be added that the signification of the Glenfinnan Monument is a highly political and symbolic one since it is a tribute both to the landing of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in this very place in 1745 and to those who fought for the Jacobite cause in the 1745 rising. In the current political context, with the idea of Scottish independence being increasingly present in the news and collective thought, the prosthetic memory that may result from engaging with the audio-guide may very well steer some visitors' opinion to perceive the idea of Scottish independence in a more legitimate and favourable light.

In the audio-guide for the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, the translator predominantly opted to use the PC when translating the preterite, with only a few instances of PS being used. Aside from being less formal than the PS, the PC is also easier to listen to. Labeau (2015, p.183) notes that the use of the PS is disappearing from spontaneous oral production, thus the use of the PC is likely to sound more natural to the visitor, despite the audio-guide being scripted. The predominant use of the PC then also shows that the translator had a very good understanding of the intended use of the text, which would be recorded as an audio-guide to be listened to by the visitors rather than a document to be read.

Rather surprisingly, for the audio-guide at Edinburgh Castle, I observed the opposite phenomenon; the French audio-guide predominantly uses the PS instead of the PC. This use of the PS makes the audio-guide sound oddly formal and deliberate, despite the project notes instructing the translators to use a "warmly authoritative" tone for the narrators and that the guest speakers should sound spontaneous and informal (Antenna International, 2020). The use of such a literary tense, most often used in writing, is striking when listening to the audio-guide and might contribute to making it feel somewhat more academic and formal than originally intended. The same also goes for the Balmoral Castle audio-guide (ATS Heritage, 2014) where the PS is also predominant and feels very formal. It is important to note that both the Balmoral Castle and the Edinburgh Castle audio-guides sometimes quote from historic letters or literary works and that in this case the use of the PS is appropriate as it is more adapted and common to historical and literary texts.

For the Riverside Museum interactive screens (nd.), we can observe different tenses being used to translate the preterite. This lack of coherence can be a little confusing for the visitor; yet, there are two hypotheses which could justify it: (i) if this change of tense was intended, as suggested by interviewee HP05 (2021), with different texts on different screens being tailored for different audiences , then the more informal texts using the

PC could be aimed at younger audiences, while the more formal texts, using the PS could be aimed at older adult audiences. And (ii) if this was an unintended shift, it suggests that there might have been more than one translator involved in the translation of all the screens, as well as a lack of clarity from the client in stating the tone and style of text they were expecting.

As for printed media, both the Edinburgh Castle souvenir guide and the leaflet for Urquhart Castle make predominant use of the PS. This is not surprising given the fact that the PS is more often used in writing, although it does go against Revaz's observation that the PS is increasingly being replaced by the PC and the *présent de narration* in historical texts (1998, p.45-46). The PS does feel more formal than the PC or the *présent de narration*, but, as interview participant HP01 (2021) explains, printed guides are often perceived as more academic than audio-guides, so the predominance of the PS is no surprise in this respect. What was more surprising, however, was the tendency to use the PC in the passive voice rather than the PS, which creates oddly heavy and long-winded sentences.

As I have discussed, the choice of tenses used to translate the preterite into French can have an impact on the visitor's experience of the site. The PS and the PC being both tenses of the past, they make it possible to retain a degree of distance between the narrative and the visitor's present experience. However, the informality of the PC over the PS can influence the interactional meaning of the texts by reducing the distance between the author/speaker and the visitor. In contrast, the use of the PS in audio-guides may appear a little surprising and overly formal. As for the *présent de narration*, it remains rarely used; in fact, it only occurs in the audio-guide for the Glenfinnan Monument. In this case, the use of the *présent de narration* to recount past events contributes to reducing the distance between past and present; as a result, it extends the potential for the activation of prosthetic memory by increasing the visitor's engagement.

Aside from the impact certain tenses can have on the relationship being construed between author/speaker and reader/listener, the translator's interpretation and use of different grammatical tenses can also impact how the visitor is situated in relation to the past. Consider the following example from the Balmoral Castle audio-guide on John

Brown's friendship with Queen Victoria and describing his attitude towards the queen as follows (ATS Heritage, 2014, track 39):

> On expeditions to the hills he **would walk** beside her, leading her pony and **would while** away the time by telling her jokes and gossip.
>
> *Il **marchera** à ses côtés au cours des expéditions vers les collines, dirigeant son poney et il lui **ferait** passer le temps en lui racontant des blagues et les dernières rumeurs.*
>
> [He **will walk** by her side during expeditions to the hills, leading her pony and he **would while** away the time by telling her jokes and the latest gossip.]

What is very interesting in this example is the choice made by the translator to translate the form "would + verb" by a future "*marchera*" and then by a conditional present "*ferait*". Here the modal "would" serves to indicate a past habit, an event that happened repeatedly in the past and is now over. In French, most often it is the *imparfait* tense that is used to express a past habitual action. The conditional can serve to translate the "would + verb" form but only to express the idea of future in the past, not to express a habit. The use of the future is even more puzzling as this tense is rarely used to translate a "would + verb" form. In this case, I would suggest that the translator also wanted to use the conditional for "*marcher*" but mixed up the tenses – indeed, the audio-guide transcripts contain other such examples of tenses being misused. Another hypothesis is that the translator may have actually used the *imparfait* tense but that the voice actor mispronounced both verbs in the recording. Since I did not have access to the scripts and transcribed the audio recording myself it is impossible to check which hypothesis is correct. However, the result is that the change in interactional meaning (altering the visitor's relation to the past) may also influence their understanding of the content and so modify the representational meaning since in English the narrator is talking about a habit whereas in French the process changes to express a future action in the past. The incorrect use of the tenses also causes coherence issues with the rest of the paragraph which expresses other past habits and events.

Another similar inaccuracy can be heard a little later in the Balmoral audio-guide (*ibid*., track 41) where the wrong morphology of the verb "*découvrir*" (discover) is used in the PS, with the verb taking the ending of a regular -er verb "*découvra*" instead of an irregular verb "*découvrit*". However, as with the previous example, I had no access to the script and so it is impossible to determine whether this mistake was made by the translator or if the voice actor mispronounced the word.

As the examples in this section have shown, the choice of grammatical tenses can have an impact on the interactional meanings created by heritage texts. With respect to the differences between PC and PS, the use of the PS in audio-guide scripts may make the interpretation sound more literary and formal than intended, whereas the PC may sound more spontaneous. The choice of grammatical tense may also place the visitor in a different time, with the PS and PC marking a clear distinction between past and present. In contrast the *présent de narration* reduces the distance by placing the visitors in the action, thus potentially encouraging the formation of prosthetic memory. As discussed towards the end of this section, shifts in grammatical tenses can also distort the representation of certain actions by altering their aspect (habitual or punctual) and the representation of time (placing actions in the future rather than in the past). As a result, these shifts not only impact the interactional meanings created by the TT, but they also have consequences on the representational meanings created by the TT since they influence how the declarative content is understood.

5.3.3 Personal and impersonal modes of address

As discussed above, the choice of certain grammatical tenses (mainly PS and PC) can influence the interactional meaning of the TT not only by placing the reader in a different relationship to the past but also by either increasing or reducing the perceived degree of formality of the text. Another element that has a strong impact on the formality of the text can be the form of address, more particularly the choice of personal pronouns used to address the reader/visitor.

Second person pronouns

As with the translation of the preterite, the translation of the personal pronoun 'you' into French requires the translator to make a decision: use either the *tutoiement* ("*tu*") as an informal singular second person pronoun or the *vouvoiement* ("*vous*") as a formal form of address in the second person (either plural or singular). As a result, the choice between the two pronouns not only impacts the expression of (in)formality but can also affect the activation of prosthetic memory. Table 5.1, below, provides a breakdown of each instance of *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* in the corpus under study.

Table 5.1: Instances of "tutoiement" and "vouvoiement" compared to the use of "you" in interpretation material.

Document	**You**	***Tu + toi***	***Vous***
Balmoral Castle audio-guide	62	0	68
Culloden Battlefield audio-guide	21	0	35
Edinburgh Castle audio-guide	121	3	88
Edinburgh Castle Print	19	0	27
Glenfinnan Monument audio-guide	9	0	8
Riverside Museum Screens	18	7	16
Urquhart Castle Print	0	0	0

It is worth noting that the three instances of *tutoiement* in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide are all quotes from letters, which can explain the use of such an informal form. Aside from this, it is clear that in most cases the translators have opted for the *vouvoiement*. As a formal mode of address, the *vouvoiement* creates distance between the narrators and the visitors; it is, however, the safest choice, since it is usually the preferred and expected mode of address for strangers, whether individuals or groups, when the use of the *tutoiement* carries a greater risk of causing offense and creating even more distance.

Interestingly, the *tutoiement* still makes an appearance at the Riverside Museum, but this is limited to only one of the interactive screens. This screen is located next to a telegram delivery motorbike and displays the text shown in Table 5.2 on page 121. This screen adopts a very informal tone which is replicated in French with the use of the second person singular pronoun "*tu*" (along with the associated reflexive and possessive pronouns). Combined with the use of the present tense (indicative and imperative) and of some informal verbs such as "*faucher*" [to steal/to nick] this creates a very informal and immersive screen text where the reader can project themselves as the 16-year-old telegram rider. Like in the Glenfinnan audio-guide discussed in section 5.2.2 above, this highly immersive combination has the potential to activate prosthetic memory in the visitor. Placing the visitor in the position of a 16-year-old motorbike messenger can make visitors reflect on issues of children and teenage labour past and present, at home and further afield.

Setting aside the difference of register between *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement*, Table 5.1 also shows that, with the exception of three texts in the corpus, all other interpretive texts contain comparatively fewer occurrences of the second person pronoun in French than in English. In contrast, the Balmoral and Culloden audio-guides, as well as the Edinburgh Castle guidebook, contain more instances of second person pronouns being used in French than in English. The more frequent use of the second person in these three texts seems to go against TL conventions. Indeed, French interpretation texts still tend to be somewhat formal and impersonal in their mode of address. In this context, even a formal "*vous*" tends to be associated with orality and lower degrees of formality (Guillot, 2014, pp.90-91). The more frequent occurrence of second-person pronouns in the Balmoral and Culloden audio-guides can then be explained as a marker of orality. However, it is more surprising to see in the Edinburgh Castle guidebook since, as suggested by interviewee HP01 (2021) (see Chapter 4), printed material is meant to be a more academic, formal and, by extension, impersonal type of text.

Another element which stands out from looking at Table 5.1 is that the Urquhart Castle leaflet contains not a single second person pronoun whether in English or in French. As indicated above, as a printed medium, it is expected that the leaflet would be more formal and would contain proportionally fewer instances of direct interpersonal address than audio-guides. However, the total absence of second person pronouns is still surprising. In this case, I would argue that the very impersonal form of the text has the potential to create distance not only between author and visitor, but also between the visitor and the narrative, making it more difficult for visitors to engage with the history and memories associated with the site. However, whether this is the case in practice needs to be verified and as the discussion of the VS research in Chapter 6 will show, more research is still very much needed in this respect.

Table 5.2: Riverside Museum, *(Almost) Instant Messaging* (nd.).

English ST	French TT	English BT
At last, promotion! **You**'re telegram elite now – the envy of **your** pals. No more walking or pushbike duties. But before **you** even touch this motorbike, there's a few things **you**'ve got to know. Sure, **pose** about, **go** flat out, but **remember** it's the telegram that matters, not **you**. **Keep your** motorbike safe, and **don't** get it nicked. **Keep** it clean. Same goes for **your** uniform. Bosses aren't as strict – no more 6am inspections – but they can still cop **you** a P18 for looking scruffy. So, **go** out and **enjoy** the ride. What **you** waiting for? No-one's 16 forever!	*Enfin une promotion ! **Tu** es maintenant l'élite des télégraphistes, tous **tes** copains **t**'envient. Finies les corvées à pied ou en vélo. Toutefois, avant de toucher à cette moto, **tu** dois savoir une ou deux choses.* *Bien sûr, **prends** la pose, **va** à toute vitesse, mais **souviens-toi**, l'important, c'est le télégramme, pas **toi**.* ***Prends** soin de **ta** moto, ne **te** la fais pas faucher. **Garde** la bien propre. Même chose pour **ton** uniforme. Les patrons ont beau ne pas être si stricts que ça (finies les inspections à 6 heures du mat), ils peuvent quand même **te** coller un P18 si **tu** as l'air négligé.* *Alors, **vas-y** et **profite** de **ta** moto. Qu'est-ce que **tu** attends ? **Tu** n'auras pas toujours 16 ans !*	At last a promotion! **You** are telegram elite now, all **your** friends envy **you**. No more walking or cycling duties. However, before touching this motorbike, **you** need to know one or two things. Sure, **strike** a pose, **go** flat out, but **remember** the important is the telegram, not **you**. **Take** care of **your** motorbike, **don't** get it nicked. **Keep** it very clean. Same for **your** uniform. Bosses might not be as strict (no more inspections at 6am), they can still cop **you** a P18 if **you** look neglected. So, **go** and **enjoy your** motorbike. What are **you** waiting for? **You** won't be 16 forever.

First person pronouns

If the use and frequency of second person pronoun has the potential to affect the positioning of the visitor in relation to the narrator and to the past, so too does the use of first-person pronouns. Here again, the choice between singular and plural pronouns can be a meaningful one. Table 5.3 below gives the detail of occurrences of first person singular and plural pronouns in the corpus. The use of a first-person singular pronoun "I" in English or "*je*" in French highlights the individuality of the narrator, suggesting that they are personally involved in the narrative (either as having an active role in the events recounted or by expressing their opinion). The choice of a singular first-person pronoun by the narrator thus also contributes to reducing the distance between narrator and visitor. The table below shows that the first-person singular pronoun is only slightly more frequent in French in the Balmoral and Culloden audio-guides and in the Edinburgh Castle printed guide. However, these differences in frequency are relatively few (in what are rather long texts), and so they probably have a minimal impact on the interactional meaning of the French texts.

Table 5.3: Frequency of first-person singular and first-person plural pronouns in the corpus.

Document	First-person singular EN	First-person singular FR	First-person plural EN	First-person plural FR
Balmoral audio-guide	34	41	120	116
Culloden audio-guide	9	14	19	29
Edinburgh audio-guide	137	136	64	54
Edinburgh Print	2	3	14	13
Glenfinnan audio-guide	0	0	3	2
Riverside Screens	0	0	16	6
Urquhart Print	1	0	1	1

In contrast, the use of the first-person plural is less frequent in French than in English in all the translations except for the Culloden audio-guide. This reduced frequency may somewhat diminish the interactivity of the translated texts, but it may also help reduce ambiguity over who exactly is included as "*nous*". Indeed, because they are plural, the "we" and "*nous*" systematically refer to the speaker/author and to someone else – except in the case of the "*nous de majesté*" or "Royal we". When the first-person plural is being used to refer to the narrator and to someone else, Guespin notes that this "someone else" tends to remain ambiguous (1985, p.46). In the case of heritage interpretation, this ambiguity means that it is impossible to be sure who this "someone else" is and whether it includes or excludes the visitor themselves. A perfect example of this ambiguity can be found in the introduction to the Balmoral audio-guide (ATS Heritage 2014, track 1)[5] which mentions King George V and Queen Mary, saying of them that:

> They were grandparents to **our** present queen.
>
> *C'étaient les grands-parents de **notre** reine actuelle.*
>
> [They were the grandparents of **our** present queen.]

Here the retention of the first-person plural possessive in French can be a little ambiguous and can be seen as either exclusive or inclusive of visitors. However, this can be a politically risky strategy as visitors from former Commonwealth realms and dominions might have ambivalent feelings towards the monarchy and the Commonwealth because of its colonial legacy. In contrast, French-speaking visitors, from any other country will probably not feel included in the statement. Here, the use of the first-person pronoun can generate distance between the narrator and the visitor and have an alienating effect on the visitor, highlighting that they do not belong and that the historical and cultural heritage they are experiencing is not theirs, in that case a less subjective word choice would be to replace the possessive pronoun with a definite article such as "la" [the] on the basis that Queen Elizabeth II was a sufficiently prominent personality on a global scale to allow the use of a definite article. However, it is also possible to consider this choice of pronoun as giving the foreign visitor a window into the SC or as showing a respect for people belonging to the SC.

Indefinite pronoun and impersonal constructions

Although the French and English languages both have an indefinite pronoun ("*on"* and "one"), the use of the indefinite "one" in English is highly formalised and its use has significantly diminished over time. In contrast, in French "*on*" is still commonly used, both as an indefinite and, increasingly, as an informal equivalent to "*nous*". The pronoun is used in all the corpus texts to lesser or greater extent, and the most

[5] As mentioned in Chapter 3, the data to the Balmoral Castle audio-guide was collected prior to the Queen's death. The audio-guide has since been updated.

occurrences are recorded in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide. Table 5.4 on the next page indicates the number of occurrences across the corpus.

Table 5.4: Occurrences of the indefinite pronoun "*on*" in the French corpus.

Document	**Occurrences of "*on*"**
Balmoral Castle audio-guide	20
Culloden Battlefield audio-guide	24
Edinburgh Castle audio-guide	67
Edinburgh Castle Print	65
Glenfinnan Monument audio-guide	7
Riverside Museum Screens	7
Urquhart Castle Print	20

Most of the time "*on*" is used as an indefinite subject when the translator is effecting a change of voice from a passive construction with no agent in English to an indefinite active form in French, as in the example below which introduces "The Field of the English" in the Culloden Battlefield audio-guide (ATS Heritage, 2017, track 103):

> The Field of the English takes its name from the fact that the soldiers of the government army **were thought** to be buried in this area.
>
> *Le champ des Anglais s'appelle ainsi parce que l'**on pense** que les soldats du gouvernement sont enterrés dans cette zone.*
>
> [The Field of the English is named as such because **it is thought** that the soldiers of the government are buried in this area.]

This is a very representative example of the use of "*on*" in the French corpus, replacing as it does a passive construction. The passive voice is not frequently used in French and can only be used with direct transitive verbs. As "*penser*" [to think] is an intransitive verb, this means it cannot be used in the passive voice, so using the active voice with the indefinite pronoun "*on*" is the most straightforward translation strategy. Although "*on*" is indeed an indefinite pronoun, it is still personal as it serves to designate a person or group of people, even if their identity is not known. In this case, the visitor will be able to infer from the context that "*on*" probably represents a group made of archaeologists and/or historians. In contrast the passive voice is more impersonal, and for Ravelli, its use may increase “the authority of the writer, and [...] the distance between the interactants” (2006, p.85). Here, as in most of the other instances in the French corpus, the use of the indefinite pronoun “*on*” instead of the passive voice helps reduce the distance between the narrator and visitor to deliver a message that is more interactive and less formal than in English. A side effect of the shift from passive to indefinite active voice is a shift in organisational meaning since it results in an inversion of theme and rheme that may be inconsistent with the order of given and new information. However, this rarely causes problems in the progression of the narratives in the corpus of texts.

Narrators and voice actors

It is also interesting to consider how the narrators and voice actors are presented in the different audio-guides in this case study. For example, whether in English or in French, the Glenfinnan audio-guide is narrated by a single, anonymous voice actor. The Culloden and Balmoral audio-guides have multiple narrators, all of them also anonymous. The use of anonymous narrators can be said to create, or at the very least maintain, a certain distance between the institution and the visitor, i.e., the voice actors are simply lending their voice to the institution and no immediate or personal connection is implied. The Edinburgh Castle audio-guide is altogether different. Both for the English and the French version, there are two narrators who are introduced as Sally and Eddie in the former, and Maud and François in the latter. This has the effect of making the audio-guide sound a lot more personal with stories told by named individuals rather than by the institution. There are many more voice actors involved in both versions of the audio-guide, with different actors reading out different quotes or authentic documents. In the English audio-guide, the intervention of each voice actor is prefaced by an introduction to the actor, such as the one in the example below. However, this is not the case in the French audio-guide where, aside from the two main narrators, the rest of the voice actors remain anonymous. This example is taken from the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, in the section that describes Charles Ewart’s capture of a French standard at the battle of Waterloo in 1815 (Antenna International, 2020, track 108):

In the thick of the fighting, the cavalryman spotted a French regimental standard known as an Eagle, which Napoleon himself had ordered be defended to the death. Ewart didn't hesitate. **These are his own words, read by actor Jack McMillan**.

Au cœur de la bataille, le cavalier aperçut l'étendard d'un régiment français, connu sous le nom d'Aigle, que Napoléon en personne avait ordonné de défendre jusqu'à la mort. Ewart n'hésita pas. **Voici l'histoire, telle qu'il l'a lui-même racontée**.

[At the heart of the battle, the cavalryman spotted a French regimental standard, known as Eagle, which Napoleon himself had ordered should be defended to the death. Ewart didn't hesitate. **Here is the story as he himself told it.**]

Of course, it is highly possible that at the time of the script being translated the names of the French voice actors were not yet known, thus forcing the translator to adopt an impersonal style. However, the effect of this is that the French audio-guide at Edinburgh Castle, although it does feel more personal than the other audio-guides, maintains a higher degree of distance from the visitor, compared to the original English audio-guide. Although it differs from that of the ST, this higher level of distance is not altogether inconsistent with what can be observed in French museum texts. Indeed, as exemplified by the reaction of Guillot's students to English and French museum texts (2014, p.74) the latter are often perceived as more formal and distant. Admittedly, this observation is a generalisation, but is also consistent with remarks from some of the participants in this study. In particular TP03 (2021) and TP04 (2021) acknowledged that French museum texts are more formal than English ones. Another way to look at this use of actors' names in the English audio-guide for Edinburgh Castle is that of cultural capital, since in this instance, Jack McMillan is indeed an actor. The idea of HES being in the position to hire such a personality can lend a certain level of prestige and therefore authority to the text thus suggesting a reassuring level of professionalism and potentially translating into trust. In that case, the distance can be said to be greater in the English version of the audio-guide.

As has been discussed throughout this section, the use and selection of personal pronouns to address the visitors and which the narrators use to refer to themselves can have an impact on the interactional meanings created by the interpretive texts. The more frequent use of the singular first-person pronoun "*je*" [I] in the Balmoral and Culloden audio-guides can help reduce the distance between narrator and visitor. In contrast, the use of the first-person plural is less frequent in French than in English in all the translations except for the Culloden audio-guide. This reduced frequency may somewhat reduce the interactivity of the translated texts, but it also helps lessen ambiguity over who exactly is included as "*nous*". In the second person, the use of the *tutoiement* instead of the *vouvoiement* can feel less formal and be another factor contributing to reducing the distance between narrator and visitor. In contrast, the less frequent occurrences of first and second-person pronouns in printed material, especially their near absence from the Urquhart Castle leaflet, make printed material feel more formal. Finally, the French allows for the use of the indefinite 'on' to sometimes reduce the frequency of passive voice constructions. A result of this shift is that the TTs may feel more interactive and engaging for visitors.

5.3.4 Informal language

Aside from shifts in tense and modality, and in the use of personal or impersonal modes of address discussed above, it is also possible to observe shifts at the lexical level, whereby certain words belonging to a different register or variety of language may also influence the interactional meanings created by the text. Although the boundaries between different language registers can be notoriously tricky to define, there are some obvious shifts between formal and familiar language registers in the corpus under study.

Referring once again to Toury's law of growing standardization (1995), it would be reasonable to assume that even where a ST contains marked language, its translated text will contain language which is less marked or unmarked. One example of such a shift can be found in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, in a section commenting on one of Cromwell's visits to the castle as follows (Antenna International, 2020, track 24):

> It was, **erm**, perhaps, a **wee bit less** of a raucous affair than usual.
>
> *Ce fut peut-être une soirée* ***un peu moins*** *animée que d'habitude.*
>
> [This was maybe **a bit less** animated evening than usual.]

In the ST, the use of "erm" to mark hesitation, alongside the Scots phrase "a wee bit", clearly mark this statement as oral and informal. In the French translation, the absence of any marker of hesitation and orality, in conjunction with the reduced graduation from “a wee bit” to “a bit”, makes the TT appear as less marked and more formal than the ST. It is also worth noting that, just as Liao and Bartie observed on the Chinese translation of a previous version of Edinburgh Castle’s audio-guide, markers of the Scots language are erased in translation (2021, p.7) This shift also means that the TT will probably appear as being better aligned with the style that French-speaking visitors might expect from interpretive material.

More surprisingly, there are also instances where shifts between marked and unmarked / formal and informal language are reversed. Perhaps one of the most obvious of these shifts can also be found in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, in a section which observes that the castle used to house an elephant that would be served beer by one of the officers (*ibid*., track 16). The narrator goes on to explain that:

> Afterwards, the unlikely drinking partners would retire to the stables together to **sleep it off**.
>
> *Après quoi, ces improbables compagnons de beuverie se retiraient dans les écuries pour **cuver**.*
>
> [Afterwards, these unlikely drinking companions would retire to the stables to **crash and recover**.]

In the ST the use of the phrase “sleep it off” in the context of drunkenness is already quite marked as informal language. However, in the French translation, “*cuver*” can be perceived as even more strongly marked since it is not just informal but plainly familiar. Here, the use of marked familiar language serves to reinforce the comical and the bizarre in what is already a quirky anecdote. However, for some French-speaking visitors who might be more used to the academic style of heritage interpretation in France, the use of familiar language may be surprising and seen as a departure from expected conventions.

The Edinburgh Castle audio-guide is not the only interpretation text where such shifts can be found. Indeed, at times the Balmoral Castle audio-guide can be found to contain a puzzling mix of formal and informal language. Consider the following which explains the improvements made by Prince Albert (ATS Heritage, 2014, track 3):

> the prince **wasted no time** in planning improvements

le prince ***ne perdit point*** *de temps avant de projeter des rénovations*

[the prince **wasted no time at all** before planning renovations]

In this example, the combination of the verb "*perdre*" [to lose] in the PS ("*perdit*") and the negation in "*ne … point*" (a more antiquated and forceful from of the standard negation in "*ne … pas*") adds a marked element of formality to the TT that cannot be found in the ST. Indeed, as mentioned in section 5.3.2 above, the PS is now considered to be a very literary form of the past tense and the PC tends to be used more often, especially orally, as it is easier to conjugate and recognise. As for the negation, the form in "*ne … pas*" is by far the most common form of negation in French. This combination of a rather formal grammatical tense with an antiquated form of negation gives this example a very marked formal and literary feel. It is possible that this section was written as if it were to be read rather than heard. Indeed, one of the translators interviewed as part of this study commented that, recently, audio-guide production companies had improved the quality of their content in terms of spoken language:

les textes se lisent bien mieux, ils sont bien plus adaptés à l'oreille que les autres pouvaient l'être avant. (TP03, 2021)

[the texts read much better, they are more adapted to listening than the others were before.]

It is possible that the Balmoral Castle audio-guide belongs to the category of older audio-guides, a relatively dated production that was originally made in 2014. Some parts were updated in 2022 prior to the Queen's Jubilee, but the bulk of the content remained unchanged. As explained earlier, since the Queen's death in September 2022, the audio-guide has undergone another more significant update and its content has been substantially altered.

However, the Balmoral audio-guide also contains a few instances where the TT is more informally marked than the ST. One such example is the repeated use of the noun 'coin' to refer to the local area (ATS Heritage, 2014, tracks 1, 6 and 9). The following example is the second instance of this phrase being used in track 6, which talks about a spot located at the back of the formal garden:

The slope behind the garden is one of the cold spots **in the area**

La pente derrière le jardin est un des endroits les plus froids ***du coin***

[The slope behind the garden is one of the coldest spots **in the area**]

In this example, the word "area" is translated as "*coin*" which in French is literally a "corner" but which, by extension, can also mean a "remote place" or a "small space" (*Le Robert poche*, 2015, my translation). The remoteness of the Balmoral Estate in the Scottish Highlands perfectly fits the use of "*coin*" in this example; however, in this sense it is also a rather informal term to use to talk about the area. This contributes to giving this example a more informal feel which stands out when compared to the previous example or to the overall feel of the audio-guide.

Such shifts as have been described above on the formal – informal terminology scale may have different effects at the interactional level, especially in how they define the narrator/visitor relationship. On the one hand, instances where French texts are marked as being formal and literary might increase the distance between narrator and visitor. Such shifts place the narrator, as the expert, in a position of authority. However, this attitude is also more common to French interpretive texts and so might feel more acceptable to French-speaking visitors. On the other hand, instances where French texts are marked as being informal or even familiar might erase any sense of hierarchy between the narrator and the visitor. However, because this degree of informality is not common in French interpretive texts, it could be surprising or unsettling for French-speaking visitors.

5.3.5 Integrating interactional meaning

As we have seen above there are a number of translation shifts in the interpretation material that have the potential to impact interactional meanings either by modifying the relationship between narrator and visitor, or by altering the positioning of the visitor in relation to the past. Aside from verbal elements, Ravelli identifies a number of ways in which spatial elements in the museum can also impact interactional meaning. For example, she notes that objects in display cases imply a passive role for the visitor, who receives information from the heritage institution as a figure of expertise and authority (2006, p.130). She adds that such exhibitions tend to be associated with a more neutral emotional response from the visitor (*ibid.*, p.132). In contrast, she explains that objects that can be interacted with (e.g., such as headphones, touch screens, etc.) allow the visitor to take on a more active role and suggest a more dialogic and didactic relationship between the institution and the visitor, with the result that they are more likely to elicit an emotional response (*ibid*., pp.130-2). In turn this level of emotional engagement has the potential to activate the generation of prosthetic memory in the visitor. In thinking of the interactional meanings created through the use of space, Ravelli also addresses the role of lighting and colours in generating emotional responses; she notes, for example, that dark colours and low-level lighting are usually associated with a more serious response from visitors (*ibid*., p.133). This section thus addresses how the various spatial elements visible and available to visitors across the sites in this case study interact with the verbal interpretation to shape the relationships between the different institutions and the visitors.

There are sites where the interactional meanings of the spatial texts complement that of the interactional meanings created by the verbal interpretation. One such example is Urquhart Castle. As discussed above, the Urquhart Castle interpretive leaflet is one of the most impersonal in the corpus, characterised by a very low frequency of first- and second-person personal pronouns and the exclusive use of the PS and imperfect tenses. This has the effect of distancing the visitor from the site and its history, while also placing its managing institution (HES) in a position of authority. In the space, a lot of elements also reinforce this positioning and relative lack of interaction. For example, in the visitor centre, most of the artefacts on display are held in glass cases, with the exception of some trebuchet stone balls. There are also two interactive items; one relief map area of land covered by the Lordship of Urquhart with LED lights, which can be activated from a board at the bottom, and one model of the castle, again with lights activated from a control panel. Despite offering some means of interaction, the potential level of engagement for the visitors remains low. The introductory film that can also be viewed in the visitor centre further suggests a more passive role on the part of the visitor, in that the film to be consumed represents a one-way system of communication. Once outside, although it is possible to explore the ruins, the very nature of the site prevents much interaction with the built elements. Despite the presence of panels to indicate the use of each room, it would require a real effort of imagination on the part of the visitors to visualise what these rooms would have looked like in the past. The fact that these panels are only in English, and do not correspond to the content of the leaflet, makes engagement for non-English-speaking visitors doubly difficult. Although, it is worth remembering that other resources exist which visitors might consult to inform their visit either prior or after visiting. Members of staff are also very present throughout the site, ready to speak and interact with visitors. Yet, as has been mentioned in Chapter 4, not all members of staff are multilingual, which also complicates interactions with international visitors.

A similar example is that of Balmoral Castle and Estate. As discussed above, the Balmoral audio-guide, despite containing occasional errors and instances of informal phrases, remains rather formal throughout, something that is reinforced by the use of the PS and of the formal "*vous*", which have the effect of distancing the visitor from the site. This impression of distance is also reinforced in the space. Indeed, while visitors are relatively free to explore the grounds in any order and for as long as they please, the access to indoor spaces is highly controlled and limited, with only the ballroom being accessible to visitors. Inside this large, high-ceilinged room, objects are either displayed in glass cases or behind a cord, thus restricting visitors' interactions with both physical and spatial elements. The limited access to this space places the visitor in a position of passive observer with limited agency, while the Estate remains in a position of power, which is reinforced by the grand dimensions and volume of the room.

At the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, the alignment between the interactional meanings created through verbal and spatial elements is more heterogeneous. Indeed, while the verbal elements in the audio-guide (such as the use of personal pronouns, and the PC) contribute to an overall interactive listening experience for the visitor, the spatial elements at play in the different parts of the site either serve to diminish or increase the distance between the visitor and the site and the institution. The first half of the exhibition inside the Culloden Visitor Centre is laid out along a long corridor that creates a strongly framed pathway and that is difficult for visitors not to follow since there is no alternative. This strong framing of the pathway suggests a high level of institutional authority and, as a result, might be perceived to create distance between the visitor and the institution. The degree of distance is also reinforced by the number of display cases that can be found throughout the exhibition space and that place the visitor in the passive role of observer. In addition, the low-level lighting in some of the indoor areas creates a subdued atmosphere and invites a sober emotional response from the visitor, as can be expected in a site dealing with memories of battle and death. This level of distance contrasts with some of the elements in the French audio-guide that tend to reduce the distance between past and present for the visitor (such as the use of "*vous*" to address the visitor or the use of the PC to relate past events).

However, there are also some audio-visual elements at play in the visitor centre that can be seen to reduce this distance and therefore have the potential to generate prosthetic memory for the visitor. The first of these elements is aural; sounds are played on speakers in two different parts of the exhibition area, including muffled yet heavily accented voices (notably Scottish ones), as well as rain, metal clanking and wood clattering. These background noises can serve as a prompt for the visitor to sense the life of the soldiers who fought at Culloden. The second of these elements is a 360° film theatre; this places the visitor quite literally in the middle of the battle, right in between the Jacobite and governmental lines as the order to charge is given. Here again the overload of sounds and images coming at the visitor from all directions strongly reduces the distance between past and present and has the potential to generate prosthetic memory. The following chapter, which discusses visitor response, will show that this 360° film is indeed perceived by visitor as a highlight of the exhibition (see section 6.2).

Outdoors, the lighting level is subject to the whims of the Scottish weather, and the quietness of the site highly depends on the number of visitors present at any one time. My own experience, in November 2021 when international travel restrictions were ongoing, was very silent and felt like a true invitation to reflect on the conflict and on its repercussions. The pathways on the battlefield are also less marked than indoors; a series of flags flying high marks the original position of the Jacobite and government lines, and dirt paths stretch out across the field. Although numbered stones placed on the ground suggest a pathway to follow for audio-guide users, it is merely a suggestion, and I found the numbered stones are easily overlooked since they are sitting low on the ground. This gives the visitor much freedom in how they decide to explore the outdoor area and is in strong contrast with the inside of the Visitor Centre. This being said, NTS has recently had to take steps to protect certain areas of the battlefield from excessive footfall (Campsie, 2023), but these are, for the time being, only temporary measures.

As at Culloden, the alignment between verbal and spatial elements at Edinburgh Castle is also more heterogenous. Defining the interactional meanings created through spatial elements at Edinburgh Castle is a challenging exercise since the site is a complex of several buildings. It must also be noted that, at the time of my visit (summer 2021), Covid-19 restrictions still applied and had a strong impact on the pathways around the site, which were in place to comply with physical distancing guidelines. For example, several of the smaller museums within the castle complex were closed to the public, while in other areas the number of visitors admitted into one room or building at one time was limited. The most striking example of such guidelines and their effects on the visitor response and interactional meanings could be experienced when seeing the Honours of Scotland and the Stone of Scone. The jewels and the stone are kept inside a display case in a small, low-lit room of the former Royal Palace at the castle. The light level is understandably kept low to preserve the artefacts, but all these elements combine to create a rather subdued and stately atmosphere for the visitor, where institutions (in this case HES and the Crown) appear as figures of authority. In Covid times, the small size of the room meant that only one group of visitors (one visitor or a group of visitors from the same household) could see the Honours of Scotland at any given time; this also meant a very long queue developed outside the building while visitors waited their turn to be let inside. In this case, it can be argued that the long queuing time and the intimate setting further increased the solemnity of the occasion. The National War Memorial is also an excellent example of how interactional meanings are created at Edinburgh Castle. Although the memorial can welcome altogether a larger number of visitors at any one time, the request to maintain a respectful silence within its walls (in track 26 of the audio-guide which introduces the memorial) also forms an invitation to reflection and contemplation of the lives lost to various conflicts.

In contrast, the Prisons of War offer the visitor a completely different experience. The prisons are one of the most furnished areas of the castle; the accommodation of early nineteenth century war prisoners has been recreated, complete with background noises (snoring, clattering, etc.) and voices speaking different languages (including French) to represent the different nationalities of the prisoners held at the castle. In this instance, the reconstruction of the prisons and the use of noises and sounds contribute to reducing the distance between past and present and creates potential for the activation of prosthetic memory, leading visitors to reflect on the living conditions of the prisoners at the castle. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this area of the castle also appears as a highlight in visitor reviews.

The Riverside Museum stands out from the other sites in this case study for its very high level of spatial interactivity. Although the museum is housed in a large and high-ceiling building that could be seen as a symbol of the institution's authority (Glasgow Museum and the City of Glasgow), the space is also very open, light and colourful, with no clear pathway for visitors to follow, and this is suggestive of a high degree of freedom. The museum is also highly interactive and technologically mediated. Touch screens of different types are omnipresent throughout the space. Some of these serve to present the interpretive texts (including their translation), others are used to display short films and some also offer video games. Aside from these screens, there are also a lot of opportunities for visitors to interact directly with the displays. For example, it is possible to quite literally 'get on board' train engines, tram cars or subway trains; in these cases, there are boundaries in place (usually in the form of plexiglass screens) to prevent people from going beyond certain points, but even these boundaries could be qualified as 'soft' since they are transparent and do not prevent visitors from seeing further into the display. The museum also comprises the reconstitution of a nineteenth century Glasgow street, complete with shops that can be visited. All these elements contribute to making the museum very interactive and the institution's authority over the public is unobtrusive. At the time of my visit (termtime weekday morning) a lot of the visitors were families with young children (pre-school age) and groups of disabled adults. Upon observing the visitors, it appeared that the majority looked at and interacted with the objects, while very few seemed to be reading the interpretation (either on the screens or on wall panels and labels).

I will conclude this section by briefly mentioning the Glenfinnan Monument because it is one of the most difficult sites to analyse in spatial terms. As discussed above, the French version of the audio-guide at Glenfinnan is perhaps one of the most interactive of the corpus. With its direct, though formal, address to visitors and its use of the present tense, the audio-guide has the potential to literally transport the visitors back in time. However, this potential is somewhat hindered by the spatial elements. First, the audio-guide is provided in a booth through the means of a corded phone receiver, which makes it impossible to move around the space while listening to the audio. These booths are also placed by a window that looks directly onto a fast and busy road, and the noise of traffic can at times make it difficult to clearly hear the narrator's words, while the constant flow of cars can visually obstruct the view onto the monument itself, as well as being a constant reminder that this is certainly not 1745. The rest of the display is very text-heavy, with very few possibilities for interaction, which contrasts with the interactivity of the audio-guide.

The interactive meanings created at the verbal level through the interpretation material can be either reinforced or downplayed by the spatial organisation of the sites and displays presented to the visitors. The examples discussed above show that there is often some contrast between verbal and spatial interactions. In some cases, such as at the Glenfinnan Monument, spatial and environmental elements can undermine the potential for the activation of prosthetic memory. In other cases, including the Culloden Battlefield or in some parts of Edinburgh Castle, some spatial elements can serve to complement or reinforce the interactional meanings created through the verbal interpretation to guide the visitor's emotional response.

5.3.6 Conclusion

As has been discussed throughout this section, translation shifts which relate to graduation, grammatical tense and modality, forms of address and language formality, have the potential to affect the interactional meaning of the interpretation material in heritage sites. While certain shifts suggest some form of translator positioning (i.e., graduations), others, such as grammatical tenses, modality and forms of address, influence the positioning of the visitor in relation to the stories being told about the past. Forms of address and language formality also influence the power dynamics between the institution and the visitor, with more formal forms of address and vocabulary placing the institution in a position of authority over the visitor. Finally, the last part of this section has shown how some spatial elements can serve to reinforce or, on the contrary, downplay the interactional meanings created through verbal interpretation, by exerting power over the visitor (i.e., strong pathways and boundaries), by triggering an emotional response from the visitor (low light, silence) or by allowing the visitor to interact with the space and objects.

5.4 Organisational meaning

In the model of SFL as developed by Halliday, the organisational metafunction refers to the organisation of ideas. At clause level, information structure mostly relates to the Theme/Rheme organisation. In English, this also corresponds to the order of Given and New information; Given information tends to be placed in the Theme position, while New information comes after, in the Rheme position. This pattern is an unmarked form of information structure. Conversely, the placement of New information in the Theme position is often considered as marked and draws attention to the beginning of the clause. The use of cleft or pseudo-cleft constructions are also marked since they serve to place emphasis on the Theme rather than on the Rheme. The organisational metafunction is studied at the level of the clause, but this can be easily scaled up to sentences, paragraphs and entire units of text. In her book, Ravelli notes that organisational meaning in museum texts can be achieved, for example, through the use of headings and sub-headings, multi-level texts and typographical features (e.g., bold, italics, etc.), which can all serve to signal key information and make it easier for visitors to scan the texts (2006, pp.30-36). The analysis of organisational meanings in the corpus of interpretive texts in this case study reveals a very low number of translation shifts at clause level. However, at a macro level, organisational shifts are more frequent and flagrant although they do not impact on genre

Because museum and heritage texts do not exist in a vacuum, it is also important to consider how they interact with the space around them to form a cohesive story overall for the visitor. Although there have been other methods developed for the study of spatial texts (e.g., Scollon and Scollon 2003), Ravelli (2006) builds on the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) on visual design to propose a comprehensive framework for the use of an SFL-based model for the study of museums as texts, and later, in Ravelli and McMurtrie (2015), for the study of other types of spatial texts in the built environment (with case studies on apartment lobbies, a university library, a shopping centre and an art museum). Ravelli argues that organisational meanings in the museum space are achieved through the placement of objects, framing (i.e., separations or connections between different parts of an exhibition) and pathways (2006, pp.123-130). Although pathways are also discussed in the previous section in relation to the interactional metafunction, it is important to note that in spatial texts, just as in verbal texts, the metafunctions do not function independently from each other and so a single element can have a bearing on more than one metafunction. Here, the emphasis is on how the organisation of space creates meaning that can impact on visitor understanding.

Section 5.4.1 focuses on information structure at clause-level. Section 5.4.2 scales up this analysis to consider information sequence at macro-level and in relation to space. Section 5.4.3 turns to the analysis of additions and deletions in the interpretive material and in the space and considers the impact of such changes on coherence and cohesion between text and space.

5.4.1 Information structure at clause-level

One of the key aspects of organisational meaning in verbal texts is information structure. At the text level, information structure relates to the sequential order of information (e.g., chronological, consequential, etc.) and to the organisation of texts into headings, paragraphs, etc. While at the spatial level, information structure is defined by pathways and framing. In this case study, the analysis of information structure at clause level reveals very few shifts between the English STs and French TTs. Interestingly, the TTs introduce no new pseudo-cleft constructions and only occasional new cleft constructions. Although cleft constructions are common in English, they are normally even more frequent in French, and it is interesting to reflect on the impact such additions have on the TTs. Below, I discuss three examples collected from the corpus of texts in this case study.

The first example is taken from the section of the Balmoral audio-guide which presents the kitchen garden (ATS Heritage, 2014, track 5):

> The young plants are then moved to the longhouse for growing on. **The longhouse** is also **where** we grow all the pot plants for the castle and the conservatory displays.
>
> *Les jeunes plants sont ensuite emportés dans la maison longue pour continuer de pousser.* ***C'est*** *là aussi* ***que*** *nous cultivons toutes les plantes en pots pour le château et les arrangements de la véranda.*

[The young plants are then taken to the longhouse to continue growing. **This is** also **where** we grow all the potted plants for the castle and conservatory displays.]

Here, the use of a cleft construction in the second sentence allows the translator to avoid repeating “the longhouse”. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere (Côme, 2018, p.32) repetitions are often considered poor style in French – something that is drilled into French school children from a young age. So, it is not surprising that the translator would opt to introduce a cleft in the second sentence to avoid the unnecessary repetition. Although the cleft construction of the TT avoids the repetition, it also maintains the focus on the longhouse and on its uses and so the impact of such a shift on the visitor is likely to be minimal.

A second example of a cleft construction being introduced in the TT can be found in the track of the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide about the mascot elephant (Antenna International, 2020, track 16):

Undoubtedly, the most bizarre regimental mascot was not a dog but an elephant, […]. The elephant – named Jumbo – **was looked after** by one Private James McIntosh.

*La mascotte de régiment la plus insolite n’était cependant pas un chien, mais un éléphant, […].**C’est** le soldat James McIntosh **qui** s’occupait de l’éléphant, nommé Jumbo.*

[The most bizarre regimental mascot, however, was not a dog but an elephant, […]. **It was** Private James McIntosh **who** looked after the elephant, named Jumbo.]

The introduction of a cleft in the TT is rather interesting here as makes it possible to switch from passive voice in the ST to active voice in the TT. As mentioned above, the passive voice is rarely used in French and in this case, the verb “*s’occuper*” [to look after] is an indirect transitive verb which is impossible to use in the passive voice. Although the shift could have been introduced in another way, it is very possible that the introduction of a cleft was one of the most efficient, least cognitively demanding solution for the translator to get around the use of the passive. The effect of this construction, however, is a more marked utterance which puts emphasis on the new information “Private McIntosh” by placing it in theme position with the addition of a cleft. To the French listener, the emphasis being put on Private McIntosh might make it sound as if he was an important, well-known figure of whom they should be aware.

One final example of a cleft being introduced in the TT can be found on one of the screens of the Riverside Museum. The text refers directly to the exhibit (an ambulance) that is displayed just behind the screen (Riverside Museum, nd.):

> Margaret Kingdon worked for Patient Transport Services at Paisley's Royal Alexandria (Alexandra) Hospital from 1990-1994. She used to drive **this** Bedford Ambulance.
>
> *Margaret Kingdon a travaillé pour les services de transport de patients (Patient Transport Services) à l'hôpital Royal Alexandria (Alexandra) de Paisley, de 1990 à 1994.* ***C'est*** *cette ambulance Bedford* ***qu'****elle conduisait généralement.*
>
> [Margaret Kingdon, worked for the Patient Transport Services at the Royal Alexandria (Alexandra) Hospital in Paisley, from 1990 to 1994. **It is** this Bedford ambulance **that** she used to drive.]

The use of "this" in English places emphasis on the ambulance, presenting it as evidence of Mrs Kingdon's career. The introduction of a cleft structure in the French translation, though by no means essential (a more literal translation would have also worked), reinforces the link between the ambulance and Mrs Kingdon.

As indicated above, there are in fact very few shifts in terms of information structure between the STs and TTs and so the previous three examples are rather isolated occurrences. Although one could have expected such shifts to be more frequent in the French TTs to avoid repetitions or the use of the passive voice, their absence is not altogether surprising. As a translator myself, I would suggest that shifts in information structure are the most difficult and the most cognitively demanding to implement, especially when the conditions of translation production are demanding (low pay, tight deadlines, etc.). As such, the cognitive load associated with such shifts would explain their relative low frequency in the present corpus. However, this is a subject that would warrant further attention and study.

5.4.2 Information sequence at macro level

At text level, very few shifts are observed in terms of information sequence. In fact, at this level, shifts in information sequence only occur in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide where some sections are swapped around, as in the following example in Table 5.5, which discusses the statue of Marshal Sir Douglas Haig in Hospital Square:

Table 5.5: Excerpt from the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide in English and French (Antenna International, 2020, track 4).

English ST	**French TT**
EN NARRATOR The courtyard is dominated by the 10-tonne bronze statue of one of the First World War's most iconic figures – Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, astride his horse Poperinghe, as military historian Allan Carswell explains.	FR NARRATOR Surplombant la cour, vous pouvez voir la statue en bronze de 10 tonnes représentant l'une des figures les plus emblématiques de la Première Guerre mondiale : le maréchal Sir Douglas Haig, sur son cheval Poperinghe. **La statue a été commandée en 1923 par un magnat indien de la marine marchande en témoignage de reconnaissance des actions de Haig en temps de guerre, bien que cela soit sujet à débat,** comme nous l'explique l'historien militaire Allan Carswell.
ALLAN CARSWELL Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig became commander of the British Expeditionary Force and commanded the largest British army that there had ever been and at the end of the war was widely acclaimed and credited for the British contribution to the allied victory.	VOICE ACTOR FOR ALLAN CARSWELL Le maréchal Sir Douglas Haig, devenu commandant du Corps expéditionnaire britannique, a dirigé la plus grande armée britannique n'ayant jamais existé. À la fin de la guerre, il fut largement reconnu et acclamé pour la contribution britannique à la victoire alliée. *Le rôle de Haig en qualité de commandant de l'armée britannique sur le front occidental a ensuite été passé au crible, particulièrement dans les années 1920 et 1930, lorsqu'une série de mémoires, de journaux intimes et de livres ont été publiés, qui critiquaient avec virulence la stratégie globale menée par Haig, et dénonçaient les pertes extrêmement lourdes que cette*

	stratégie avait fait subir à l'armée britannique. *La réputation de Haig, depuis lors, a suscité bien des polémiques, et l'homme a finalement été réhabilité, après avoir été considéré comme un commandant incompétent et sans cœur.*
EN NARRATOR **The statue was commissioned in 1923 by an Indian shipping magnate in recognition of Haig's wartime achievements, although some debate that.**	
ALLAN CARSWELL *Haig's role as commander of the British Army on the Western Front has since the end of the war come under a great deal of scrutiny, particularly in the 1920s and thirties when a series of memoirs and diaries and books were published which were widely critical of the overall strategy that Haig led and the consequently very, very heavy casualties that the British army suffered.* *So Haig's reputation, has since gone through various upheavals, from being seen as an incompetent and heartless commander, to being rehabilitated.*	

In this table the sections that are in bold face and in italics are the ones that have been moved around. In the French TT the shift in information sequence results in fewer but longer turns for both the narrator and voice actor. The information sequence of the French TT is also rather logical, starting with the statue (Given information) and moving on to tell the story of the figure it represents (New information, as Haig's history and the debates around his character is less likely to be known to non-British visitors). In contrast, the logic of the English ST is a little more convoluted, going from the statue to Haig's story, then back to the statue, and back to Haig. However, it is difficult to know exactly the reason for this alteration of information sequence. Given the rarity of information sequence shifts at text-level, and based on the discussion of the audio-guide production process in the previous chapter (see section 4.4.1), it seems likely that the information sequence of the English ST was originally the same as that of the French TT and that the sequence of the English ST was altered at a later stage (possibly at the recording/editing stage) and was simply not carried over onto the TT, either as a result of omission or because of lack of time and/or funds to request an amendment to the translation.

It is also important to consider that shifts in information sequence at text level only occur within individual tracks on the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide. The order of the tracks themselves never changes. In all the other verbal texts in this case study, information sequence at text-level remains unchanged between the English STs and the French TTs. One reason which could explain the lack of such shifts is directly related to the nature of heritage sites, in the sense that certain interpretive texts (particularly audio-guides) are constructed either based on a chronological narrative (Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, Glenfinnan Monument, Urquhart Castle) or on the recommended visitor pathway across the site (Edinburgh Castle, Balmoral Estate, the Riverside Museum). On some occasions the visitor pathway maps almost perfectly onto the chronological narrative; this is, for example, the case at the Culloden Battlefield. However, in most instances, the visitor pathway does not perfectly match the chronology of the narrative, as is discussed below.

In their study of visitors' experiences using the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, Liao and Bartie (2021) comment that "the Castle is an open space with no fixed circulation path, and the numbers [on the audio-guide] are not ordered in sequence" (2021, p.8), and they add that some visitors found this system confusing (*ibid.*). The fact is that the numbering of the audio-guide tracks (see Figure 3.3) at Edinburgh Castle corresponds to an intended or recommended pathway that does not necessarily match the actual pathway chosen by visitors. This pathway is not chronological; instead, the visitor is invited to follow a route which snakes its way from the bottom to the top of the site, to end at the National War Memorial. The resulting narrative may appear, to some visitors, to lack structure as the stories go back and forward in time. However, this constant to-and-froing in the chronology of the information also reflects the complexity of Edinburgh Castle's structure and history. The conclusion of the visit at the National War Memorial is also significant for the visitor after having seen and heard so much about the role of the castle in armed conflict. As the name suggests, the National War Memorial is a space dedicated to the memory of the Scottish men and women who have died in armed conflicts since the First World War. As discussed above (see section 5.3.5), this is an area of the castle that invites reflexion and contemplation, and, as the last point of the visit, it is also more likely to leave a lasting impression on visitors. This sequence of information is also the same across the audio-guide and the printed souvenir guide. In fact, HES made every effort to ensure that the order would be the same across all its interpretation, as interview participant HP01 explains:

> We have, around Edinburgh Castle, reference numbers for the audio-guide, and we use them in the guidebook as well [...]. So, when you're in point three, you're looking at a particular feature of the castle. And we worked very hard to get all of that coordinating across different media: audio-guide, guidebook, in-person guided tours, etc. It was working really well, and then a couple of years ago we completely changed the audio-guide and we had to change the numbering around the castle to correspond with that. And that meant that the numbering in the guidebook was completely wrong. In order to address that, I had to completely restructure the guidebook and even just doing that in English was quite complicated [...], and I then had to apply that across all the different translated versions. In fact, that's still an ongoing process. (HP01, 2021).

In the audio-guide as in the guidebook, the different elements (tracks or sections) function independently from each other, meaning that it would be possible for the visitor to skip one or more parts and still make sense of what comes after. In the audio-guide, this is particularly true of primary tracks, which all function independently from each other. However, sub-tracks tend to have strong links to their primary tracks. The same strategy with regard to information sequence is observed at the Balmoral Estate, where the audio-guide is structured around the recommended visitor pathway but goes back and forth between past and present. As in all the audio-guides, the primary tracks function almost independently from each other. However, although clear efforts are made to link primary and sub-tracks, the transition is not always fluid, as illustrated by the example below taken from the end of a track which describes the avenue of conifers that leads to Balmoral Castle (ATS Heritage, 2014, track 4):

> If you would like to know more about the botanist David Douglas press 40, and if you would like to hear more about forestry on the estate press 41.

> *Si vous souhaitez en savoir plus sur le botaniste David Douglas tapez 40 et si vous souhaitez entendre plus d'informations sur les arbres qui se trouvent sur le domaine tapez 41.*
>
> [If you would like to know more about the botanist David Douglas press 40, and if you would like to hear more information about the trees on the estate press 41.]

The audio-guide offers the visitor the opportunity to hear more about a figure (David Douglas). Rather interestingly, the botanist is mentioned just a little earlier in the same track of the English audio-guide, but he is not mentioned a single time previously in the French audio-guide. This is due to one of the many deletions of information that can be observed in the French audio-guide, and which are discussed at greater length below in section 5.4.3. In this case, the result is that, to the French audio-guide users, David Douglas seems to appear out of thin air. The following sub-track 40 also fails to draw a clear link between Douglas and his significance in this context, which makes the sub-track appear very random and unjustified.

The information sequence at the Riverside Museum is more difficult to define because there is no clear visitor pathway. The very wide variety of objects on display (not just cars or trains, but also everyday objects such as clothes) make it difficult to draw a clear and logical narrative. As such, the texts displayed on the interactive screens function independently from each other and only relate to the exhibit to which they are associated. The lack of a clear structure could be seen as highlighting the complex and non-linear nature of industrial development in Glasgow and Scotland. This paratactic approach also suggests that the institution (Glasgow Museum) is taking a voluntary step back, making the museum a space for the visitors to use as they wish. This is further reinforced by the very large volumes of the space in the museum and by the relative rarity of display windows, with a lot of the exhibits and interpretation being presented in an interactive way. Similarly, the interpretive texts (whether in the ST or translated) all function independently from each other, meaning that neither is more important than the other and that visitors are free to engage (or not) with the verbal texts as they desire.

In some sites, such as Culloden, the pathway of the visitor inside the visitor centre also coincides with the chronological order in which the events of the 1745 Jacobite rising took place. The result is a progressive audio-guide that maps onto the exhibition and where primary tracks are ordered chronologically, with sub-tracks offering additional, more detailed information on one or more points. As opposed to the Edinburgh Castle or Balmoral audio-guides, this sequence of information means that the primary tracks of the Culloden audio-guides are more hypotactic. The framing inside the visitor centre is also very strong in the first part of the exhibition which covers the period leading up to the Battle of Culloden. There, the displays are clearly categorised based on their association with the Jacobites or with the governmental army, with each side occupying opposite walls and different accent colours (left and red for the government in reference to the Red Coats and right and blue for the Jacobites in reference to the Saltire). Drawing further on the work of Kress and van Leeuwen on visual design (1996), Ravelli suggests that this type of symmetrical layout serves to give each element equal weight (2006, p. 126). In the case of Culloden, this is a particularly sensitive and sensible strategy that dedicates equal space and gives a voice to each side of the conflict. Outdoors, because the pathways are more flexible, the audio-guide tracks become more independent from each other. The first primary outdoor track provides a brief overview of the 1745 Jacobite rising, with a secondary track offering a summary of the previous Jacobite risings. The remaining primary tracks lead visitors around the battlefield and point to areas of interest, describing the actions which took place there, while the secondary tracks often include first-person testimonies, poems or songs written about the battle. The problem with the sequence of information here is that the direction to the next point of interest is only provided to visitors at the very end of the track (both in English and in French), and so this pathway and information sequence assumes that the visitor remains stationary while listening to the audio-guide. As Liao and Bartie (2021) discuss in their own case study of audio-guide use at Edinburgh Castle, there is such a thing as too much information in audio-guides. In line with observations by other researchers (Falk and Dierking, 2018; and Ham, 2013), they suggest that the length of a track should be proportionate to the size of the area or quantity of visual cues at each point, especially outdoors (2021, p.11). This is a view with which I also concur, and which was felt even more strongly when visiting Edinburgh Castle during times of Covid-19 restrictions: some people might be very aware and weary of standing for too long in the one position and impeding the flow of other visitors. My own experience of using the audio-guide out on the battlefield at Culloden was similar. Given the typically inclement Scottish weather, remaining stationary for too long on the moor can quickly feel a bit cold. If visitors prefer to keep moving and wandering throughout the site as they listen to a track, they may not be going in the direction which leads to the next intended point in the audio-guide. However, because the primary tracks function independently from each other, missing one, or mixing them up is not a real inconvenience.

Like the main part of the Culloden audio-guide, the narrative at the Glenfinnan Monument is also chronological and retraces the story of the landing of Bonnie Prince Charlie on the site in 1745 up to the defeat of the Jacobite army in 1746. Rather interestingly, the departure point in the narrative of the audio-guide is not the monument itself. Instead, the monument is relegated to a secondary-role and information about its construction is only provided at the very end of the recording. This final piece of information is introduced as follows (National Trust for Scotland, nd.):

> **By the way**, **this monument** was built in 1815 by Alexander MacDonald of Glenaladale, a descendant of the man in whose house the Prince had spent the night before raising his standard, it is dedicated to men who shared the hopes and hardships of Charles [unintelligible] Scotland, Bonnie Prince Charlie.
>
> ***Au fait**, **c'est Alexander MacDonald de Glenaladale**, un descendant de l'homme chez qui le prince avait passé la nuit avant de hisser son drapeau, **qui** fit construire le monument en 1815, il est dédié à tous ces hommes qui partagèrent les espérances et les épreuves de Charles Édouard Stuart, Bonnie Prince Charlie.*
>
> [**By the way**, **it was Alexander MacDonald of Glenaladale**, a descendent of the man in whose house the prince had spent the night before raising his standard, **who** had the monument built in 1815, it is dedicated to all the men who shared the hopes and hardships of Charles Edward Stuart, Bonnie Prince Charlie]

The introduction of this final section of the audio recording, with the phrase "by the way" ("*au fait*" in French) makes this piece of information sound like an afterthought, as if maybe this should have been at the beginning. In the French TT this impression is reinforced further by the use of a cleft construction "*c'est Alexander MacDonald de Glenaladale … qui*", which further delays mention of the monument itself, foregrounding the owner instead.

The chronological sequence is also adopted at Urquhart Castle. Although the translated French leaflet (HES, 2016) is only a condensed version of the English guidebook (Owen, 2012), both documents follow the same chronological structure. In the translated leaflet, this structure is made even clearer by the use of headings such as "*LES ANNÉES 500 À 1230*" [THE YEARS 500 TO 1230] or "*DE 1692 A NOS JOURS*" [FROM 1692 TO THE PRESENT DAY] (HES, 2016). Rather interestingly, this sequence of information does not correspond to the order of the visit and makes little reference to the parts of the castle that are still standing today. This discontinuity thus makes both the English guidebook and the French leaflet documents better read either before or after the visit as souvenirs.

The analysis of the source and target interpretive texts in this case study reveals that shifts in information sequence at text-level are relatively rare and, when they do occur, as in the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, they are always constrained to the limit of the information unit to which they belong (in this case, within the same track). The reason for these shifts is not clear but it is likely to be due to modifications made at the editing stage rather than at the translation stage. In all the other verbal texts, the information sequence remains the same between STs and TTs; this is most likely due to the very nature of heritage interpretation texts, which are carefully designed to map onto chronological events and/or a specific visitor pathway and where different sections need to function independently from each other.

5.4.3 Additions and deletions

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, there are instances where some information is deleted in translation. More rarely, there are also instances where information is added to the translation that is not in the STs. To clarify, additions and deletions here do not refer to single words or even clauses or sentences but to entire sections of text, equivalent to a paragraph. Although these types of shifts are related to information sequence, they are sufficiently important and frequent to deserve a more in-depth discussion in this section. Additions and deletions of information can frequently be observed in the Edinburgh Castle and Balmoral Castle audio-guides, in the Riverside Museum interactive screens and, to some extent, in the Urquhart Castle leaflet. I will discuss each site in turn below.

When attempting to align the English and French transcripts of the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide, it appears that some sections of the English text did not make it into the French. Most of the time, these omissions equate to just one or two sentences in one track. For example, the very first track of the English audio-guide starts with a montage of different personalities (James Robertson; Rachel Pickering; David Allfrey; Ian Rankin; Hazel Dunn) talking about their memories of the castle. This montage does not appear in the French audio-guide which jumps straight to "*Bienvenue au Château d'Édimbourg*" [Welcome to Edinburgh Castle] (Antenna International, 2020, track 1). On several occasions, entire sub-tracks have disappeared in the French audio-guide. In total, the French audio-guide contains nine tracks fewer that the English one.

Most of these deleted tracks contain what could be qualified as anecdotal information, such as interviews with the stonemasons working at the castle (2020, track 103, English only) or on moving Mons Meg (*ibid*., track 151, English only). Some other English-only tracks are readings from poems (*ibid*., track 262, War Poem) or novels (*ibid*., track 111, excerpt from *St Ives* by Robert Louis Stevenson), and if these have not been translated or are not particularly popular in the TC, then it is understandable that they should be omitted in the TT. It is also possible that HES ran into translation copyright issues if the translations of the texts were too recent to be in the public domain and could not be included without the translator's permission or payment being made to them. Indeed, the recent row over the use of poems translated from Chinese at the British Museum (Kendall Adams, 2023) serves as a useful reminder that literary translation is an original work protected by copyright laws. Other tracks, however, contain some valuable historical background information, such as track 211 (Antenna International, 2020) which provides background on the Stuart Kings in the 1600s, the Civil War and the overthrow of James II, thus providing the visitor with information relating to the events which preceded and led up to the Jacobite risings. Given the content of this sub-track, it is very difficult to understand why it was not included in the French audio-guide. However, because of the layered structure of audio-guides, where sub-tracks offer additional information but are not essential, the deletion of some of them in French does not change the flow of information for the visitor in any perceptible way.

There also seem to be additions in the French version of the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide that are not present in the English version. Consider the following example which quotes an excerpt of a report from 1684 that tells of the violent interrogation and torture of the secretary to the Duke of Argyll (*ibid*., track 110):

> when he heard they were to put him in boots again, being frightened therewith, desired time, and he would declare what he knew.
>
> *quand il entendit qu'on allait de nouveau lui infliger le supplice de la botte, il prit peur, demanda un répit et dit qu'il allait avouer tout ce qu'il savait.* ***Après quoi on lui laissa un peu de temps, et on le garda séquestré au château d'Édimbourg.***
>
> [When he heard that they would again subject him to the torture of the boot, he got scared, asked for some time and said he would confess all that he knew**. After which he was given some time and he was kept imprisoned in the castle.**]

It must first be mentioned that this excerpt appears in Sir Walter Scott's *The Waverley Anecdotes* (1833), although this fact is not made explicit in either of the audio-guides. The nature of the addition is quite surprising with a longer quote in French compared to the English ST. In Scott's work, the passage referring to this scene is originally longer (1833, p.45) which seems to indicate that the excerpt used in the audio-guide was also longer and was shortened after the French audio-guide had already been produced. The same phenomenon could also account for some short passages having vanished from the French audio-guide elsewhere. These may have been added to the English script after the French recording had been completed.

Similar changes can be identified in the Balmoral audio-guide where an attempt to align the English and French scripts reveals many deletions in the French TT. Whereas, in the case of Edinburgh Castle, non-translated sections simply do not appear in the French audio-guide, in the Balmoral Castle audio-guide, these non-translated sections are still included, in English, in the French version of the audio-guide. These sections of the audio-guide are usually introduced as follows (ATS Heritage, 2014):

> *Si vous souhaitez entendre plus d'informations en anglais continuez d'écouter.*
>
> [If you want to hear more information in English continue listening.]

It is wise to flag the introduction of information delivered in English in the audio-guide, and this gives visitors the option to skip the end of the track if they cannot understand the English audio. The problem is that, in a few cases, these sections in English come in the middle of a track rather than at the end, as in the example below, which describes the view over the gardens (*ibid*., track 7):

> *Ce jardin fut conçu par la reine Marie, […]. Si vous souhaitez entendre plus d'informations en anglais continuer d'écouter.*
> The herbaceous borders in the main gardens host mostly perennials […]. As you walk through the gardens, you will see sweet peas are grown in abundance as these are one of the Queen's favourite flowers and their fragrance fills the air.
> *La pente derrière le jardin est un des endroits les plus froids du coin[…].*
>
> [This garden was created by Queen Mary […]. If you want to hear more information in English continue listening.
> The herbaceous borders in the main gardens host mostly perennials […]. As you walk through the gardens, you will see sweet peas are grown in abundance as these are one of the Queen's favourite flowers and their fragrance fills the air.
> The slope behind the garden is one of the coldest spots in the area […].]

In this case, if the visitor wanted to skip the track at the point it switched to English, they would also miss the point where new information is introduced in French. Because the tracks function independently, it is unlikely that missing that little bit of information would have consequences on the visitor's experience. However, the introduction of information in English in the French audio-guide remains a very curious editorial choice that somewhat defeats the purpose of multilingual language provision. Choosing the French audio-guide indicates that the visitor wishes to listen to the interpretation in French, not in English. When parts of the audio-guide are simply deleted in the translation, the chances are the visitor will not notice that information is missing. It is difficult to hypothesise as to the reasons why untranslated English information is maintained in the French audio-guide. At best, it might be to expose visitors to the English language, but the highly specific subject matter (in the case of the example above, gardening and botany) might be beyond the language skills of many foreign visitors. In the previous chapter, I explained how linguistic accommodation was valued positively by heritage bodies and visitors (see section 4.3.4). To some extent, the Balmoral audio-guide fails to fully accommodate the linguistic preferences of visitors; the code switching not only impacts the organisational meanings of the text but also runs the risk of impacting the interactional meanings by alienating the visitors in exposing them to English as well as to highly specific terminology and, at times, strong Scottish accents.

The Balmoral French audio-guide also contains information that is not present in the English version. This is illustrated in the example below which describes forestry on the estate (*ibid*., track 4).

> When Queen Victoria bought Balmoral estate, the west end, known as the Ballochbuie, was owned by the neighbouring estate [inaudible]. Shortly afterwards she discovered that an Aberdeen timber merchant had purchased the wood there. On hearing this, she decided to rescue the wood by buying the timber from the merchant. It is said to be of one of the first acts of conservation in Scotland. As it was only the trees she purchased at the time, the land still belonged to [inaudible]. She purchased the land at a later date and a greater price, ending up indirectly buying the Ballochbuie twice. The Ballochbuie remains very much as it was when purchased and is being managed as a site of natural regeneration with varying degrees of success. We've also had some of the trees dated, with the oldest at the moment being more than three 325 years old.

> *Peu après que la reine Victoria ait acheté le domaine de Balmoral elle découvra que les marchands de bois d'Aberdeen avaient acheté du bois aux Weston. Ainsi elle décida de sauver celui-ci en achetant le bois auprès des marchands de bois. Ce fut certainement la première action de préservation de la forêt en Écosse. À cette époque les arbres devaient s'étendre du jeune plant jusqu'aux arbres vieux de 300 ans, ce qui représentait une grande variation en ce qui concerne la structure selon l'âge. Principalement des pins sylvestres, quelques espèces associées à larges feuilles comme le sorbier, le tremble et le saule, un petit peu de houx, mais principalement des pins sylvestres. Il y a une scierie qui marche à l'aide d'une turbine à eau qui alternait entre la coupe du bois pendant la journée et la production d'électricité pour le château pendant la nuit. Le bois a toujours été coupé depuis l'époque de la reine Victoria. Une partie fut utilisée dans le château et dans plusieurs dépendances tout autour du domaine. L'une des raisons pour lesquelles les espèces de conifères se développent bien ici c'est qu'ils ont une bonne tolérance à l'ombre, ils peuvent pousser dans des endroits très sombres jusqu'à ce qu'ils trouvent de la lumière. À l'ère victorienne le bois mort qui se trouve autour du bois aurait été ramassé mais de nos jours on le laisse par terre*

afin de créer un habitat pour les invertébrés, qui à leur tour servent de nourriture pour les oiseaux.

[Shortly after Queen Victoria had bought the estate of Balmoral, she discovered that the Aberdeen timber merchants had bought wood from the Westons. So, she decided to save it by buying the wood from the timber merchants. This was certainly the first act of forestry preservation in Scotland. At this time the trees must have ranged from the young sapling to old trees over 300 years old, which represented a great variation in terms of age structure. Mostly Scots pines, some associated large-leafed species such as rowan, aspen and willow, some holly, but mostly Scots pine. There is a sawmill that functions thanks to a water turbine that alternated between wood cutting during the day and electricity production for the castle during the night. The wood has always been cut since the time of Queen Victoria. One part was used in the castle and in several outbuildings around the estate. One of the reasons why conifers developed well here is that they have a good tolerance to shade, they can grow in very dark places until they find light. In Victorian times, the dead wood found around the woods would have been picked up but nowadays it is left on the ground to create a shelter for invertebrates, who in turn serve as food for birds.]

Leaving aside some morphological and syntactical issues to be found in the French text, a quick look at the ST and at the French TT reveals that these are in fact two different texts, containing similar information at first and then heading off in very different directions. Given the variations between both texts, it is very unlikely that the French text is a translation of the English.

The reasons accounting for the type of shifts identified in the Edinburgh Castle and Balmoral Castle audio-guides in terms of addition and deletion of information can only be guessed at, and there are several plausible hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that it was decided not to translate certain sections either to save on costs and/or because it was felt they were not relevant to an international audience. The second is that some sections were added to or removed from the English audio-guide after the script had already been translated into French, and the changes were not carried over either due to time or budget constraints. This would be consistent with the alterations to the audio-guide production workflow described by interviewee HP08 (2021) in Chapter 4 (see section 4.4.1). In the case of the Balmoral audio-guide, it is also possible to imagine that the French translator/writer was working directly from the audio-guide, with no ST script and that, because of the poor sound quality, they might have needed to undertake their own research and develop the text based on that.

Another site where there are clear discrepancies between STs and French TTs is the Riverside Museum. In this case, there are no additions, only deletions, and these are clearly unintended. As explained earlier, the interpretation at the Riverside Museum is presented on interactive touchscreens. Only the main text on these screens is translated and other menus and contents are available solely in English. Most often the English text is quite short and fits onto one page of the screen, but there are a few instances of longer texts, in which case the visitor only needs to swipe to the right to read the rest of the text. It is generally agreed that French, being a less concise language, takes up more volume than English, and so it is not uncommon that, if an English text only just fits on one page, then the French TT would spill over to the next page. This, however, has not been taken into consideration at the Riverside, and so it is quite frequent for the French TTs at the museum to stop mid-sentence, with the visitor being unable to swipe to the next page, as in the example below on the Imp car (Riverside Museum, nd.):

> 1963 The Imp is officially launched. National newspapers give it glowing reviews. Hopes of reviving Scotland's car industry are high. But the dream is short-lived – production ceases 14 years later.
>
> *1963Lancement[sic] officiel de l'Imp. Les journaux nationauxluiconsacrent[sic] des*
>
> [1963Official launch of the Imp. The national newspapersdedicatetoit [sic] some]

A first minor issue has to do with the missing spaces which were a recurrent problem in this short text (twelve spaces missing across just over 100 words); although inconvenient, most readers would still manage to distinguish the individual words, but this might make the text difficult to understand for younger readers. The more important problem is the fact that the French text clearly finishes mid-sentence and, more precisely, mid-noun-group since the sentence finishes with an indefinite article. This abrupt end is likely to leave visitors waiting for more (quite literally!). The fact that this type of omission is repeated on sixteen of the thirty-two screens, means that 50% of the French interpretation is incomplete. And, in twelve of these sixteen instances, the French text ends mid-sentence as in the example above, thus making the omission obvious. The fact that this error is repeated so frequently suggests that the problem is related to typesetting rather than to translation. It also suggests that there is a lack of understanding (on the part of the client or of the vendor responsible for the typesetting) that translated texts can sometimes require more space than their originals and might need to be typeset accordingly. This is especially frustrating considering that the longer English texts have the capacity to span across two pages, so why this was not done when a translation did not fit onto one page is a real puzzle.

It is also interesting to consider the impact of additions and deletions at the spatial level. Earlier, I explained how the interpretation material making direct reference to the space or objects on display served to complement the representational meanings created by verbal and spatial texts (see section 5.2.4). This, however, is not always a successful means to create continuity between the interpretation and the space or objects. For example, at the time of my visit at the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, some of the objects referred to in the audio-guide had been removed from their cases or sent on loan to other institutions. This is, for example, the case in track 13 of the audio-guide, which refers to the contents of a display case, and more particularly to a compass that is nowhere to be seen in the case (ATS Heritage, 2017). A piece of paper, which seems to have been placed over one of the labels in this same case, suggests that the compass has been removed and replaced by another object, while the content of the audio-guide was not updated. Such incoherencies can make the visitor wonder whether they are looking at the right case and create occasional breakdowns in communication. However, it is understandable that the audio-guides and any other interpretation text cannot be updated to reflect every single slight change in the display as the costs of even updating a text and its translations – and in the case of an audio-guide, re-recording – would add up very quickly. It is also worth considering that such instances as the one described here remain rare and are unlikely to have a strong effect on the visitor's overall experience of the site.

As has been discussed in this section, the addition or deletion of information in translated audio-guides has little impact on the organisational meanings created by the texts because these changes usually occur in sub-tracks that are designed to complement the visit but are not essential. As such, these changes are unlikely to be noticed by visitors. The deletions that are observed at the Riverside Museum, however, are a lot more noticeable because they occur mid-sentence, making it very clear to the visitor that some information is missing. As such, these are likely to be due to a lack of experience on the part of the designer who imports the TTs onto the display software, and they highlight the need to better educate all the parts of the supply chain about translation (i.e., not just the clients but also the other vendors participating in the project) and to establish clearer and more systematic procedures for QA.

5.4.4 Conclusion

The discussion in this section shows that shifts in information structure are relatively rare in the corpus. At clause-level, the absence of such shifts is slightly surprising, especially when it comes to the use of cleft or pseudo-cleft structures, which normally occur more frequently in French than in English. Although few in number, these shifts appear to be used by translators to get around the use of the passive voice in French or to avoid inelegant repetitions. Although there is no apparent reason that might explain the scarcity of these shifts, it is possible to hypothesise that translators avoid them as they are cognitively more demanding and so impractical when working under pressure.

At the macro-level, information structure almost always remains the same across the English STs and French TTs. The reason for this is that the interpretation materials appear to be structured around a chronological narrative and/or a preferred visitor pathway. On very rare occasions, the information structure is altered in some of the audio-guide content, either through swaps or through additions or deletions. In all cases, these changes seem to be the result of modifications to the STs at the audio production stage that have not been carried over into the TTs. The breadth of such shifts is also limited to a few sentences in an audio track or to a full sub track that is not essential to understanding the narrative of the site.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter offers an attentive consideration of a wide range of translation operations and their potential impact on visitor experience. It offers new insights into how translated interpretation interacts with spatial texts in Scottish heritage sites, underpinned by an appreciation of what happens behind the scenes, considering the different agents involved into the interpretation and the translation production processes.

In terms of representational meanings, at the verbal level, it appears that translation shifts can either reduce or increase ambiguity and may also insert inaccuracies or inconsistencies in the interpretation, with the potential impact of altering the visitor's representation of the narratives presented to them. The occurrence of such shifts, in all the interpretive texts analysed as part of this study, suggests a relatively frequent rate of translator error. Errors as and of themselves are not a problem – after all every human being makes mistakes. However, frequent errors become an issue when nothing is done to mitigate them, that is to say when QA processes are unclear and/or inexistent. Such a frequent rate of errors has the potential, if it is apparent to the visitor, to affect their trust in the interpretation and so not only their trust in the translator themselves but also in the other stakeholders involved in the process (e.g., the heritage body, translation agency, etc.).

Shifts in interactional meaning (i.e., graduation, mood, modes of address and formality) are also frequent in the corpus. Some of these shifts are likely to be the result of the translator's take on genre conventions, especially with respect to forms of address and formality, and they are also likely to impact the perceived relationship created between the visitor and the heritage institution (e.g., placing the institution in a position of power over the visitor, or on equal footing). However, other such shifts, (especially graduation and mood) might impact the positioning of the visitor in relation to the past. In this respect, when the distance between past and present is reduced (e.g., through the use of the *présent de narration* in the Glenfinnan audio-guide), there is a higher likelihood for the activation of prosthetic memory. In contrast, the use of the PS anchors the narrative firmly in the past and makes it less likely for the visitor to be 'transported' back in time. Similarly, inconsistencies in the use of mood can cause a breakdown in the narrative, potentially also affecting the visitor's trust in the material. The analysis of heritage sites as spatial texts shows that spatial elements can also impact on interactional meanings, either by reinforcing or lessening the sense of power of the institution over the visitor (e.g., strong or soft pathways, interactive displays, etc.), or by encouraging an emotional response (e.g., low light, immersive video, etc.).

Shifts in organisational meaning were relatively few in the corpus. The reason for the lack of such shifts at clause level can only be guessed at and could be the result of the translators' anxiety at the quality of their work being questioned or be explained by the high cognitive load associated with attempting to swap elements of a clause. At macro level, the relative absence of organisational shifts is easily justified by the fact that the interpretation material, in all the sites, is structured either around the recommended visitor pathway and/or the chronology of the narrative. Occasional swaps, additions and deletions in some of the French audio-guides seem to suggest that modifications were made to the STs after they had been translated and that the translations were simply not updated to reflect the change, either due to lack of time and/or budget. In some rare cases, there are some breakdowns between the verbal and spatial texts caused, for example by missing displays which are still mentioned in the interpretation.

Inconsistency appears as a running theme throughout this chapter, with varying degrees of impact on the visitor. Inconsistencies in organisational meaning are probably the least problematic, in the sense that the visitor does not know how information is presented in the other language. However, inconsistencies in representational and interactional meanings have the potential to have a stronger impact on the visitor experience, perhaps sometimes affecting their emotional response to the stories being told, and at other times plainly distorting the narrative and altering their representation of Scottish heritage and history. As discussed above, inconsistencies can also impact on the visitor's trust in the interpretation, in the skills of the translator, and in the heritage institution, in turn altering the power dynamics created by the interactional meanings. The frequency of inconsistencies across the corpus suggests that there is a need for more collaboration between heritage interpretation professionals and translation professionals (LSPs and individuals) with a particular focus on QA processes since, as discussed in the previous chapter, heritage bodies often do not have the possibility to vet translation quality themselves.

Chapter 6: Visitors' response to language provision in heritage sites

6.1 Introduction

This chapter turns to visitors' responses to language provision in Scottish heritage sites. From the outset of this research, I have been set on incorporating VS into the project. My reasoning for this is that I alone could not evaluate the quality or effectiveness of translated interpretation material. I might be able to read the texts and deduct potential responses based on their analysis but, as Ravelli (2006, p.14) aptly points out, it is essential to account for the "potential variety of responses to a given text". Based on this premise, it was established that gathering and analysing the responses of actual international visitors to Scotland would allow me to gain a more objective and balanced understanding of how visitors use and interact with translated interpretation material, since they are the intended receivers and users of this material. My original plan was to conduct a preliminary study using English and French TripAdvisor reviews for each of the sites. The results of this study would then inform and shape questionnaires to be delivered to visitors. Unfortunately, as is explained in Chapter 3, the Covid-19 pandemic forced me to constantly rethink and replan the component of the project that focuses on visitors. As such, this chapter, more than any other in this thesis, is essentially reflective as it considers how the research plan was continuously adapted to respond to restrictions and to what extent these adjustments were successful.

Section 6.2 focuses on the preliminary analysis of TripAdvisor reviews in English and French for each of the cases. Section 6.3 turns to the visitor questionnaire, which was originally intended to be delivered in person at heritage sites but was eventually released online as a survey due to the ongoing Covid-19 restrictions. Section 6.4 concludes this chapter by summarising the impact of the pandemic on the visitor studies component of this project and by providing directions for future research.

6.2 Online reviews

Online TripAdvisor reviews were collected in two phases between February 10th and 20th 2021. In the first phase, I collected the twenty-five most recent English and French reviews published after January 2019 for each of the sites. In the second phase I collected reviews in English and French posted between January 2016 and February 2021, based on a keyword search with words relating to interpretation and language provision. For a fuller discussion of the review collection process, see Chapter 3, section 3.4.2. I address the analysis of both groups of reviews below.

6.2.1 Analysis of the 25 most recent TripAdvisor reviews

As part of this first phase a total of 256 reviews were collected and analysed. The analysis of these reviews for each of the sites confirmed previous provisional observations by Deane-Cox (2019) that French-speaking visitors rarely provide feedback on translated interpretation provision. However, using English reviews as a control group, it is possible to observe a similar lack of feedback on the interpretation material. This pattern, repeated as it is across both English and French reviews, suggests that the lack of feedback from French-speaking visitors on the translated interpretation is just a logical extension of the lack of feedback from English-speaking visitors on ST interpretation. On the rare occasions where visitors do provide feedback on the interpretation material, their comments usually focus on interpretation availability, cost or volume. In French reviews, this feedback on interpretation material relates to language availability and costs, as illustrated by the two examples below that are representative of the type of comments found in the rest of the reviews, where complimentary audio-guides are always welcome, but where paid audio-guides are very frequently seen negatively. The first example is an excerpt from a five-star review of the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, while the second example is the full text of a three-star review of Edinburgh Castle.

10£ l'entrée par adulte, audio guide inclus dans plusieurs langues. [£10 admission per adult, audio-guide included in several languages.] (Kzal, 2019)[6]

Audio guide payant, commentaires en langue française pour la partie extérieure au château et seulement en langue anglaise pour le musée !!! [Audio guide for a fee, commentary in French for the outdoor part of the castle and only in English for the museum!!!] (Nathalie M, 2020)

There are some reviews that describe the availability of paid audio-guides in more neutral terms. However, these are the exception rather than the norm. In comparing the content and rating of the two reviews above, it is possible to see that a free (or complimentary) audio-guide is more highly valued by visitors as opposed to a paid-for audio-guide which the visitor also considers to be incomplete. In this case, the use of multiple exclamation marks is a further indication of the visitor's criticism. These examples suggests that there are some implicit expectations on the part of most visitors in terms of having access to translated interpretation material.

Other comments regarding the interpretation material relate to the volume or density of information. For example, one reviewer of the Culloden Battlefield states that "[t]here was so much information it was a bit overwhelming." (Jodielou, 2020). This comment is also echoed in a French review of the battlefield with another visitor saying that "*Pour un novice comme moi, il y avait beaucoup beaucoup à lire/apprendre*" [For a novice such as myself there was a heck of a lot to read/learn] (Séraphin Séraphin P, 2019). The content of these two reviews suggest that a large volume of interpretation material can feel taxing to some visitors. Interestingly, these comments also suggest that some visitors feel obliged to read or listen to all the interpretation provided, instead of picking and choosing the content in which they are most interested. The two examples above suggest that the ideal volume of interpretation depends on individual preferences, as also suggested by Poria, Biran and Reichel (2009) in their study of visitors' interpretation preferences at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. More recently, Liao and Bartie (2021) in their study of English and Chinese visitors' use of audio-guides

[6] Throughout this chapter, the names of TripAdvisor contributors are treated as pseudonyms. As such, citations always show the full pseudonym and these are displayed similarly in the reference list.

at Edinburgh Castle also showed that the "right" amount of information was a matter of individual preference (2021, p.10).

Despite some comments on the availability of interpretation and language provision, and on the volume of information presented to visitors, feedback on museography, interpretation and language provision remains rare in this set of reviews. There were only two exceptions to this in reviews of the Riverside Museum and the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre.

One element that is frequently mentioned by reviewers of the Riverside Museum is the reconstitution of a late nineteenth century street "Clyde Street", which includes cobbles with tramway tracks, a horse-drawn carriage, a subway station and subway train and several shops, some of which the public can actually visit (a public house, a leatherworker, a photographer's studio). Below are some excerpts from English and French reviews making specific reference to this part of the museum.

> The old street with the shops and the subway **feels surprisingly real**. **It's like a time warp**. (Elvisgraham, 2020; my emphasis)
>
> We love Clyde Street with its **original shops, subway etc**. (Kate K, 2020; my emphasis)
>
> La **reconstitution** d'une ancienne rue marchande avec ses véhicules de l'époque , **on s'y croirait vraiment**. [**Reconstruction** of an old shopping street with its period transport, **you'd think you were really there**.](Magella D, 2019; my emphasis)
>
> Le **clou du musée** : la **reconstitution** d'une rue au 19ème siècle, avec ses boutiques (notamment celle d'un photographe dans laquelle vous pourrez revêtir des vêtements d'époque mis à votre disposition dans une malle en osier pour prendre la pose). [The **highlight of the museum**: the **reconstitution** of a 19th century street with its shops (including a photographer's where you can put on period dress available from a wicker trunk to strike a pose)](Anne, 2019; my emphasis)

While the last review excerpt suggests that the reconstitution is a highlight of the museum, the three other examples go a step further in implying that although the street is obviously a reconstitution, its interactivity gives it a sense of authenticity and allows visitors to be transported into the past – or at the very least reduces the distance between past and present. This shows that the reconstitution of spaces with which visitors can interact (go into and explore) also facilitates visitor engagement and is received very positively. Despite the absence of translated interpretation in this reconstructed street, the level of engagement from the French-speaking visitors suggests that at times verbal translation is superfluous. As was the case of the Red Star Line Museum (Spiessens and Decroupet, 2023) where visitors follow the path taken by European migrants as they prepared to make the journey across the Atlantic, here it is the physical experience of the space (shared in the case of the Red Star Line Museum, recreated in the case of the Riverside Museum) that serves to activate memory.

The Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre stands out even further in terms of the type of response it elicits from visitors; reviewers comment on the interpretation and on the layout of the site, while also indicating an emotional response. What is also very interesting is that these comments co-occur. In other words, visitors who comment on the interpretation and layout also indicate an emotional response. Below are some excerpts from English and French reviews of the site:

> The **information was in small paragraphs** from **both the jacobite [sic] and the English point of view** following the **timeline** to the battle [...] At the end of the tour you walk out onto the battlefield and you can **cut the atmosphere with a knife**. The **hairs on the back of your neck stand up** as you can **physically feel the emotion in the air** of **how it would feel on that day of the battle**. **The silence is deafening**. An absolute wonderful afternoon spent here and would highly recommend to anyone who is in the area of inverness. (Kayleigh H, 2020; my emphasis)

In the above example, the reviewer starts by providing very detailed information on the structure of the exhibition inside the visitor centre; for them the visit seems to culminate after all this information has been absorbed when walking out onto the battlefield and being able to picture it on the day of the battle. While it is possible to visit the Culloden battlefield without going through the visitor centre, the centre has clearly been designed to provide visitors with elements of context to help them understand the events that led to the battle and generate an appropriate emotional response. In this respect, the multimodal experience that unfolds in the Visitor Centre is crucial, as this other review suggests:

> The centre is interesting but **the bits that stick is [sic] the 360 video of the battle with you stood in the middle** and **the artefacts relating to the battle and the aftermath**. The battlefield itself has a few small boards explaining where each army was and a line of red and blue flags marking the front lines. **Chilling** to think of the destruction in less than an hour- and then the barbaric aftermath. (Calhorn, 2020; my emphasis)

This visitor seems to have been profoundly marked by the 360-video of the battle, as well as by some of the objects on display. This seems to elicit in them a strong emotional response (chilling) and to influence their opinion of the event that followed the battle (barbaric). The following excerpt of a review from a French-speaking visitor also suggests a strong response to the immersive movie theatre:

> *La salle de la bataille en immersion est très bien faite, très réaliste. On en ressort forcément touché.* [The immersive battle room is very well done, very realistic. One is bound to be affected.] (Fabrice Lg, 2019)

What the above comments show is that the multimodal experience at the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, combining objects, wall panels, audio-guide, 360-video experience and a walk on the battlefield itself, serves to elicit a strong emotional response from visitors. More specifically, the 360-video experience seems to be one of the most effective at generating empathy in the visitors. Landsberg argues that certain film-making techniques can serve to position the viewer in a specific position to elicit an emotional response to an event through which they did not live and, in turn, generate an ethical response in the visitor (2009, p.221-2). Although the ethical response is difficult to measure in the context of online reviews, the 360-film at Culloden does generate a strong emotional response. By projecting a re-enactment of the battle on the four walls of the theatre, visitors find themselves quite literally in the middle of the battle, trapped in between the Jacobite and Governmental lines.

Aside from the immersive movie theatre, visitors also often comment on the layout of the exhibition, where the Governmental and Jacobite perspectives are presented on opposite walls. This feature seems to be seen positively by most visitors, who appear to value the balance of information, as suggested in the following excerpts:

> *Le musée est* ***très bien fait****, présentant successivement* ***les points de vue des anglais et des écossais face à face****. Le champ de bataille prend* ***une autre ampleur***

après avoir visité le musée. [The museum is **very well done**, presenting successively **the perspectives of the English and the Scots face to face**. The battlefield takes on **a different dimension** after visiting the museum.] (Camillefrancelucie, 2019; my emphasis)

Another visitor said that "[t]he Jacobite and Government arguments are well presented with both sides being given more or less equal amounts of space in the exhibition area." (Victoria B, 2020). While for another reviewer the area offers a "sympathetic interpretation with a well balanced [sic] record of events" (Ael66, 2020). Only one visitor was more critical of this choice of layout saying that:

> Both sides of the story - Jacobite and Government are told in parallel on opposite sides of display spaces. This can be inconvenient, because you have to flit from side to side to keep the opposing views in sync. (George K, 2020)

It is difficult to know whether the visitors' critical and emotional response to Culloden is due to the site dealing with difficult memories or because its museography and interpretation are just exceptionally successful in comparison to the other sites in this study. At any rate Culloden does stand out in the reviews, with visitors reflecting on the structure of the exhibition as well as on their emotional response to Culloden's narrative.

Despite the lack of feedback on the quality of the interpretation and language provision, the analysis of this first set of TripAdvisor reviews also allowed the identification of other key themes in both French and English reviews, namely: scenery and practical information. Both themes are discussed further below.

The vast majority of both English and French reviews contained comments on the landscape and views of and from the various sites. Coding together words belonging to the lexical fields of landscapes, views and scenery, I found that 48% of the English reviews and 40% of the French reviews mentioned the scenery or the photogenic nature of the sites. Visitors are prompt to comment on the scenery at Urquhart Castle, the Glenfinnan Monument, Balmoral Castle and even the Riverside Museum with its modern architecture and its ideal location on the banks of the river Clyde, with one visitor saying of the site that "*[l]e bâtiment dessiné par une architecte mondialement connue (Zaha Hadid) embellit la Clyde*" [the building designed by a world renowned architect (Zaha Hadid) embellishes the Clyde] (Leon C, 2019). The only exception to these comments on beauty and scenery is the Culloden Battlefield. As was discussed above, the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre elicits a strong emotional response from visitors and maybe it is because the site deals with particularly difficult memories and generates such strong emotional responses in the public that visitors chose not to comment on the scenery in such positive terms. Indeed, comments on the "instagrammability" of such a site would seem inappropriate when compared to the subdued atmosphere described by most visitors. This same logic could also explain the lack of comments on translation provision at a site like Culloden, although it does not explain the lack of such comments for the other sites in this case study.

Elsewhere, comments on scenery and landscape are often qualified with positive adjectives and superlatives. Below are two representative examples; the first in English is a review about Urquhart Castle, the second in French is a review of the Glenfinnan Monument:

> **Most beautiful** place we've ever been. The intro video was informative. Staff was very nice. **Views** of Loch Ness are **stunning**. Even though it's technically ruins, this castle has the **most** character out of all the castles. (Sarah K, 2020; my emphasis)

> *Ce n'est pas le monument en lui même*[*sic*] *qui est **super** mais la **vue** lorsque vous le regardez en attendant l'arrivée du train sur la bute en haut* [It is not the monument in itself which is **great** but the **view** as you watch it from the top of the hill while waiting for the train to arrive] (Palquia, 2019; my emphasis)

It is interesting that for a lot of visitors just the view of and/or from a site can suffice to make the visit worthwhile. In addition, 48% of the French reviews contain comments such as "*incontournable*" (unmissable), "*à voir"* (must see), "*à ne pas manquer*" (not to be missed), which suggest that some of the sites must absolutely be visited (this is particularly the case for Edinburgh Castle and Urquhart Castle but applies to all the sites of this case study to some lesser or greater extent), as if the Scottish experience could not be complete without visiting some of these iconic sites. This focus on scenery is not entirely surprising as this type of observation is a common trend in tourism discourse and even a powerful selling point for some of the sites in this case study. For example, the introductory paragraph on the official webpage for Edinburgh Castle concludes that "[t]he scenery will take your breath away." (Scotland, 2023). Similarly, the webpage for the Glenfinnan Monument speaks of "dramatic Highland scenery"

(National Trust for Scotland, 2023). Drawing on the work of Hoey (2005), Munday (2007) talks of this phenomenon as “lexical priming”, whereby words become “cumulatively loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which it is encountered” (Hoey, 2005, p.8 cited in Munday, 2007, p.199). Insights into tourist motivations to visit Scotland indeed show that scenery and landscape are strong motivators for both domestic and international visitors to Scotland (JumpResearch, 2016a, p.24). Accordingly, visitors are likely being primed through marketing material to focus their expectations and in turn their reviews on elements of scenery and landscape.

Another key theme to emerge from the reviews in both languages is practical information. However, English-speaking visitors and French-speaking visitors seem to focus on different types of practicalities, a phenomenon also observed by David Katan (2012), who claims that tourists from different cultural backgrounds will attach importance to different elements of the tourism experience. In the corpus of reviews for this case study, English-speaking visitors, for example, tend to comment on facilities including parking, coffee shops and gift shops. The example below is an English review of the Culloden Battlefield and visitor centre:

> NTS Visitor centre offers great **facilities** including **tour**, **toilets**, **shop** and **cafe**. Battlefield very well looked after and **accessible via public transport** (number 2 Piperhill Stagecoach bus from Inverness centre). Well worth a visit. (Claire B, 2020; my emphasis)

Reviews relating to visits having taken place after the first COVID-19 UK lockdown also often contain comments over the cleanliness of sites, physical distancing guidelines or any other measure taken to limit the spread of the COVID-19 virus, as the following review of the Riverside Museum illustrates.

> Took our 5 year old [sic] grandson today and had a really good time, he loved the place and seeing all the cars, trains and trams. Due to covid the interactive stuff was closed off but that was to be expected. Staff were excellent staff were cleaning everywhere [making you] feel safe. (Keith Y, 2020)

This comment suggests that the COVID-19 pandemic and associated physical distancing restrictions have had an impact on visitors’ expectations when it comes to hygiene and cleanliness in sites that are used to welcoming large numbers of visitors daily. Indeed, in total, 22% of the English reviews (equating to thirty-three reviews) mention the pandemic. In contrast, only one French review mentions COVID-19. The fact that this type of comment is less forthcoming in French reviews is not altogether surprising, since, at the time the reviews were collected, international travel was still subject to strong restrictions and most of the French reviews collected (101 of 106) date back to visits undertaken before March 2020, the month during which the UK entered its first lockdown.

While French reviews also regularly mention available facilities, French-speaking visitors are also more likely to comment on admission charges. After a detailed analysis of the reviews, I found that only 18% of the English reviews mentioned admission charges and, of these reviews, only 21% commented negatively on the admission charges. In contrast, 25% of French reviews contained comments on admission charges and over half in negative terms, as illustrated below respectively in reviews of Urquhart Castle and Balmoral Castle:

> *Alors c'est la visite à faire il parait Ok mais beaucoup de ruines [quand] [m]ême !!! 12 £ l'entrée malgré tout* [So I hear it is a must to visit Ok but a lot of ruins still!!! £12 entry despite everything] (Alticlo, 2019)

> *11,50£ pour un parc certes très grands et une seule pièce , c'est vraiment excessif !!!! Vraiment dessus [sic] je m'attendais à mieux* [£11.50 for a parc, albeit very large and a single room, it's really too excessive!!!! Really disappointed I expected better] (Verlhac S, 2019)

These two reviews are quite representative of negative comments made regarding entry fees for all the paid attractions in this case study (i.e., Balmoral Castle, Culloden Battlefield, Edinburgh Castle, Urquhart Castle). In most cases such comments focus on rates being too expensive and/or offering poor value for money in comparison to how much there was to see or do at a particular site.

In contrast, free sites are also often flagged positively in the reviews. This is particularly the case of the Riverside Museum for which over 50% of the French reviews collected mention that the site is free as in the excerpt below from a five-star review of the site:

> *Quelle belle découverte. Un musée gratuit, propre, bien organisé avec de belles choses à voir.* [What a beautiful discovery. A free museum, clean, well-organised with beautiful things to see.] (Pitahaya67, 2019)

This review is very representative of the positive associations made between free entry and other aspects of the site (beautiful, well-organised, clean). Indeed, all the French reviews which mention the Riverside Museum as a free attraction give it a four- or five-star rating suggesting that this is having a positive impact on the visitor experience.

The analysis of this first set of TripAdvisor reviews thus reveals that reviews tend to focus on scenery and on practical information (i.e., costs, facilities, etc.). However, in terms of practical information, English and French reviews tend to focus on different aspects. When reviewers comment on heritage interpretation, they tend to provide information on the availability and cost of different interpretation materials in various languages, but translation quality is never discussed. However, English-language reviewers also do not comment on the quality of the interpretation provided, suggesting that interpretation and language provision, though positively valued, are not essential to the visitor experience, but rather nice to have once other, more basic, needs have been met. The strong focus of reviews on facilities and practical information could also be explained by the fact that neither of the sites in this case study have a translated webpage (only a Google-translated listing on the VisitScotland website). Thus, it is possible that visitors choose to comment on facilities available at the site because they wish to help other visitors, having found this type of information to be lacking when planning their own visit. Comments on the museography more generally are also rare. The only exceptions to this rule were the Riverside Museum and the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre. In the case of the Riverside Museum, the highly interactive reconstitution of a nineteenth century street seems to help visitors bridge the gap between past and present. At the Culloden Battlefield, visitors also respond positively to interactive interpretation, in particular the 360° theatre, but they also comment on the museography (e.g., balance of information between the two sides of the conflict) and reflect on their own emotional responses to the site and its history.

6.2.2 Analysis of TripAdvisor reviews filtered and collected by keywords

Because the reviews collected in the first phase of the study showed visitors rarely provided feedback on the quality of interpretation provision, irrespective of whether the interpretation was provided in English or in a foreign language, a second set of reviews was collected, this time going back five years, in both English and French, and based on whether they contained certain keywords with a particular focus on language provision (for a list of the keywords and discussion of the data collection criteria, see Chapter 3, section 3.4.2). The analysis of this second set of reviews shows that the same key themes emerge. That is to say, language provision is most often mentioned in terms of availability and costs. These two themes are further discussed below.

Like the previous set of reviews, this one shows that language provision seems to be generally valued positively. In the previous set, however, few English entries made any mention of language provision. There are more English reviews mentioning foreign language provision in this new data set, and the content analysis of these reviews suggests that visitors who chose to write their review in English also value foreign language provision in a positive way, as illustrated by the following review excerpts (all emphases are mine):

> Edinburgh Castle four-star review:
>
> Great place to bring your family for a walk in history. A bit expensive, though. It has a nice war museum, so the price can be defended. Great view of the entire city of Edinburgh. Audio tours/ headsets provided in **most languages**. (Dan Jøran Hågensen, 2019)
>
> Edinburgh Castle five-star review:
>
> They also have maps and helpful audio guides in **all languages** to help you along. (Thecrazyindianfoodie, 2019)
>
> Riverside Museum five-star review:
>
> The museum provides excellent detail on the items and much is available in a **variety of languages** including **sign language**. (Steve W, 2019)
>
> Riverside Museum five-star review:
>
> **There are several interactive screens with **SEVERAL languages** including **BRITISH SIGN LANGUAGE**!! I was **MIGHTILY impressed AND moved**!!** (Mariaaquinn, 2017)
>
> Glenfinnan Monument four-star review:
>
> I thought it was all in English and Gaelic but then I saw two large interpretation stations; here the story was available to listen to in **many different languages**. (Carrie G, 2017)

> Urquhart Castle four-star review:
>
> Before entering the castle you were encouraged to watch a 8 minute film about the castle's history from when it was first built and its importance as a stronghold, very fascinating and available with **subtitles** in **almost every language** (including English). (Itstenshi, 2016)

These are just a few of the English reviews that mention foreign language interpretation, and these often correlate with positive four- or five-star reviews. This is not a surprise and is mostly coherent with observations from the analysis of the first set of reviews. What is surprising, however, is the fact that language provision seems to be exaggerated in these English reviews. From some of the examples above, it is possible to see that reviewers state that interpretation is available in "most", "all", "many different" or "almost every" language. In contrast, some visitors who wrote their reviews in English but explicitly identified themselves as non-native English speakers seemed to be more moderate in their comments on the number of languages available, with one reviewer even saying that the Edinburgh Castle audio-guides "are available, unfortunately only in few [sic] languages" (Dominika Dominika D, 2017). It is difficult to account for this difference of perception, but it could suggest that native-English speakers might be more easily impressed with the number of foreign languages available, either because of a relative lack of exposure to modern languages and/or due to an over reliance on the English language as *lingua franca*. In contrast, non-native English speakers seem to be more aware of the vast variety of languages that exist around the world. However, this is only a hypothesis, and it is necessary to acknowledge that further research is needed here. Indeed, TripAdvisor reviews lack demographic data; for example, users may choose to display their country of residence, but this is not systematic and there is no data on the nationality or native language of reviewers who might chose to write a review in a language other than their mother tongue.

Aside from comments on availability, a lot of visitors also comment on the cost of accessing multilingual material. In the analysis of the first set of reviews (see section 6.2.1 above), it appeared that French-speaking visitors perceived the offer of free or complimentary translated interpretation positively, whereas translated interpretation that was available for an additional fee was valued in less positive terms. Rather unsurprisingly, the same pattern is observed in this second set of reviews. Edinburgh Castle and Urquhart Castle are the two sites that receive the most negative comments in this respect. Indeed, at Edinburgh Castle the audio-guides and guidebook are the only forms of foreign language provision and only available for an extra fee. At Urquhart Castle the introductory video is included in the admission charge and is available subtitled in different languages, but leaflets in foreign languages are also only available for a fee.

Having to pay to access interpretation in their native language is perceived in a particularly negative way by French-speaking reviewers. However, although visitors mention this as an issue in their comments, this does not necessarily have an impact on the star rating. The following five-star review of Edinburgh Castle is an example of this:

> *Très belle visite où il y a un panorama sur la ville. Par contre si l'on veut des explications il faut payer 3,50£ pour avoir une traduction alors qu'ailleurs c'est inclus* [Very beautiful visit with a panorama on the city. However, if you want explanations you have to pay £3.50 to have a translation whereas elsewhere this is complimentary] (Jacqueline T, 2016)

Other visitors, despite highlighting the additional cost to use the audio-guide at Edinburgh Castle, noted that it was worthwhile to get a better sense of the history of the site, as illustrated in the following examples:

> five-star review:
> *2 conseils : prendre l'audio guide multilingues [sic] car malgré le surcoût cela permet de bien comprendre ce que l'on voit.* [2 pieces of advice : take the multilingual audio-guide for despite the extra cost it allows you to understand what you are seeing.] (Valérie R, 2016)

> four-star review:
> *Nous avons pris un audioguide(3.90£) qui nous a aidé à comprendre les différents endroits du château car tout est marqué en anglais* [We took an audio-guide (£3.90) which helped us to understand the different parts of the castle because everything is written in English] (Marion C, 2018)

Some visitors, however, clearly show that this extra cost had an impact on their experience, as illustrated by the following excerpt from a three-star review of the castle:

Je n'ai certes pas pris l'audioguide (mais vous me pardonnerez, avec une entrée à 19£ on attend quand même des explications assez fournies tout au long de la visite, et aussi en français…). [I certainly did not take the audio-guide (but you'll forgive me, with an entrance fee of £19, you should be able to expect a lot of explanations throughout the visit, and also in French…).] (Manon1297, 2019)

This reviewer suggests that the lack of availability of free interpretation in their native language clearly goes against their expectations and has had a negative impact on their experience of the site. In contrast, in most of the English reviews, the cost of the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide is considered as "fair" because it is an extra that complements the interpretation provided on wall panels and through free guided tours. Some English reviews, however, are also critical of the choice to make audio-guides available for a fee as they are the only form of foreign language interpretation available. For some visitors this is perceived as an inclusivity issue, as illustrated by the two examples below:

five-star review of Edinburgh Castle:

There's a free guided tour but the headsets will cost you, which seems a little unfair to foreign visitors. Other places don't charge for them. (Wendy C, 2017)

four-star review of Edinburgh Castle:

You can hire an audio guide whilst in the castle but this is at additional cost which would have increased the cost for a family to around £64 which I think is excessive and would make it more costly for foreigners who may need this facility. (274ain274, 2016)

The fact that the audio-guide is only available for an extra fee did not seem to detract from these visitors' experience. However, their comments suggest that this policy is unfair to international visitors, who may not have a good-enough grasp of English to use the wall panels and/or attend a guided tour in English. As Wendy C points out, this approach also goes against accessibility and inclusivity policies which are implemented in other heritage sites across Scotland and the UK. It is clear that these visitors consider it unfair that people with limited English language skills should have to pay more to access interpretation in their native language. And it must be stressed that this approach to foreign language interpretation is not only a barrier for international visitors, but also for local members of minority groups who might not have English as a first language, as pointed out above in section 4.3.1. The approach of HES in terms of language provision is all the more surprising when we know that Braille interpretation for the Blind or visually impaired, or printed scripts of the audio-guide for the Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing are available for free at the Castle and suggests that the institution understands accessibility in a narrower sense, in terms of disability, rather than in terms of social inclusion. Although it is true that the production of interpretation material (whether in the form of audio-guides or printed documents) comes at a price and that translation adds further to these costs, it is clear that at Edinburgh Castle specifically the lack of translated complementary information poses problems in terms of accessibility, even for British residents who might not have English as a first language. The fact is that, even if accommodations have been made to ensure a broad level of accessibility for visitors relying only on wall-panels and labels, it is unlikely that these will be understood by all visitors (allowing for a great variation of English reading skills).

In this second phase of data collection, the use of the keyword "translation" and its derivatives, whether in English or in French, yielded very few results, suggesting that even when visitors expect foreign language provision, an association with the act of translation is not automatic. The analysis of those reviews that mention language provision also reveals that visitors never comment on language quality, suggesting that the many issues mentioned above, throughout Chapter 5, either go unnoticed or that expectations on translation quality are low. Indeed, it has become widely accepted that translation quality in the tourism industry is usually quite poor, as exemplified by the TS literature investigating this specific field (see for example Snell-Hornby 1996; Sumberg 2004; Pierini 2007; Valdeón 2009; Durán Muñoz 2012). Thus, it is possible that the public, through sustained exposure to translations of questionable quality, now have low expectations when it comes to translation quality in a tourism setting.

Just as in the first set of reviews, comments regarding the interpretation more generally remain rare. Indeed, French speaking visitors rarely remark on the content of the interpretation. In fact, for English and French reviews alike, observations relating to the interpretation material remain rather generic as illustrated in the examples below:

four-star review of Edinburgh Castle:

Fantastic views from the castle. Very **Iinteresting** [sic] displays. Better to visit early morning on a week day because it is a very popular place to visit with foreign tourists. (Maggie532017, 2019; my emphasis)

three-star review of the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre (excerpt):

[…] The displays in the visitors [sic] centre are excellent and **informative**, and the talk given by one of the staff on how the prisoners were dealt with after the battle was fascinating. […] (Simewiz, 2016; my emphasis)

four-star review of the Glenfinnan Monument:

Jolie stèle… histoire bien expliquée gratuitement et en français… jolie vue… ***très intéressant****. Un audio guide est accessible par la boutique tout au fond avec une vue imprenable sur le monument.* [Pretty stele… well explained story free and in French… nice view… **very interesting**. An audio-guide can be accessed through the shop right at the back with a breathtaking view over the monument.] (Belette02810, 2019; my emphasis)

four-star review of Urqhuart Castle (excerpt):

[…] Le prix du billet (élevé) comprend la visite du site lui-même [sic] et l'accès au "Visitor center" qui réunit boutique,cafétéria,terre [sic] panoramique sur le site, quelques explications ***intéressantes*** *sur le château [sic] lui-même [sic], et une salle de projection. […]* [The price of the ticket (high) includes the visit of the site itself and access to the 'Visitor center' which brings together gift shop, coffee shop, panoramic viewpoint over the site, some **interesting** explanations about the castle itself and a cinema room.](Patrick D, 2019; my emphasis)

In these examples, the reviewers use very generic adjectives, such as "informative" or "interesting" in English, and "*intéressant"* in French, to describe their experience. The use of such keywords is picked up by Neather in his study of the visitor experience at the MOCA in New York (2022), where "informative" appears very frequently in TripAdvisor reviews of the museum. Neather contrasts the use of such generic terms by the visitor to describe their experience with that of more emotionally loaded lexis such as "moving". In a study of TripAdvisor reviews at Tintagel Castle, Hodsdon makes a similar observation on the use of generic terms by visitors to describe their experience. According to her, the use of words such as "interesting" or "informative" is associated with a “relatively un-transportative and un-immersive experience” (2020, p.418). Such generic qualifiers appear in about 34% and 36% of English and French reviews, respectively. In contrast, words associated with learning and understanding appear less frequently in 14% of English reviews and 20% of French reviews. Finally, words associated with a more immersive experience, such as “emotional” or “moving” occur in 2% of English reviews and 6% of French reviews. Even considering that the differences between English and French reviews are not statistically significant, comments from visitors regarding the interpretation at the sites are often very generic. However, this does not necessarily suggest a limited level of engagement with the past. Indeed, if, as suggested above (see section 6.2.1), visitors are primed to follow the conventions of tourism and review texts, then it is possible that the use of generic adjectives might hide a richer and stronger internal response.

The analysis of this second set of TripAdvisor reviews, based on the occurrence of certain keywords associated with interpretation and language provision, shows that visitor feedback focuses mostly on practical information relating to the availability and cost of interpretation and translated material. In this respect, sites that offer free or complimentary multilingual interpretation receive more positive reviews, while charging an extra fee for this type of material is perceived rather negatively. Although it is necessary to account for the lack of demographic information available from TripAdvisor reviews, it also appears that visitors who clearly identify as non-native English-speakers can be somewhat more critical of the limited number of languages in which interpretation is provided in some sites. Just like in the first set of reviews, feedback on the quality of the interpretation and translation is very rare. The lack of feedback on translation quality is puzzling considering some of the issues flagged throughout Chapter 5; however, it is possible that this lack of feedback simply reflects the low expectations that have become to be associated with translation quality in the tourism industry. Feedback on the interpretation material is often limited to the use of generic terms such as “interesting” or “*intéressant”,* which suggest that visitors might be primed to use generic words that mask a deeper response to the sites. It is also possible that visitors might not fully engage with the interpretation, as suggested by one of the heritage professionals who participated in this study. They stated that the behaviour of visitors could be quite surprising and that, when looking closely at visitors, they had realised that they were only pretending to read wall panels or labels and were actually just scanning information instead (HP05, 2021). Extrapolating on this, it is possible that the same applies to leaflets and even to the listening of audio-guides, especially considering that a lot goes on at a cognitive level when visiting a site and trying to read and/or listen to interpretation, while also locating objects or features in the space, trying to move forward and/or figure out which direction to go next. Other sensory aspects – for example, if an area is too crowded and noisy, exposure to cold and/or rain (as mentioned earlier in section 5.4.2) – might also distract the visitors from the content of the interpretation and from what there is to experience at the site.

6.2.3 Conclusion

Although the sample of TripAdvisor reviews analysed as part of this study is too small to be statistically significant, the content of reviews reveals a certain number of trends. The first is that many reviews are not concerned with interpretation but focus on providing visitors with practical information regarding the facilities available at each site. Given the fact that neither of the sites in this case study have translated websites, it can be hypothesised that the focus of reviews on practical information aims at bridging an information gap for international visitors in helping them plan their visit. A second trend observed in this analysis is the focus of reviews on scenery, which suggests that some sites are worth visiting only for the experience and the views they offer rather than for their historical or cultural importance, thus making the interpretation and language provision seem almost redundant. However, this focus on scenery and experience is also likely to be the result of priming rather than of a real lack of interest in the interpretation provided. The fact that the availability of translated interpretation is generally viewed positively would tend to confirm the priming hypothesis.

Those reviews that mention interpretation and/or language provision also tend to focus on practical information, providing visitors with an idea of the type of interpretation available and whether it is free/complimentary or available for an extra fee. In this respect, the offer of free or complementary multilingual interpretation is always valued positively by visitors, while fee-paying interpretation is most often perceived very negatively. However, comments on interpretation and translation quality remain rare, with the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre standing out as one of the only sites where visitors reflect on the museography and on their emotional response to the site, suggesting a high degree of engagement with the past. In other sites, comments remain highly generic, thus also confirming the hypothesis that visitors are being primed by the use of default words or phrases, a priming that might mask a deeper level of engagement.

6.3 Surveys and interviews

The initial research proposal for this project included a study of visitors' use of translated interpretation material. The aim of this study was to get a better sense of how the use of such material might influence the visitor experience. It was originally intended that visitor response would be investigated through a questionnaire, which would be delivered to visitors in person as they exited the heritage sites. However, as explained above in Chapter 3, due to the pandemic, this plan was deemed unrealistic, and the study instead took the form of an online survey, which was shared on the social media channels of some of the participating sites. However, heritage bodies were unable to further promote the survey – for example by emailing it to their visitor database – because of the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR), which limits the use institutions can make of their customers' data. Consequently, the survey only reached a very limited audience, and, as a result, the response rate was also quite low. Although the number of responses was limited, this section attempts to provide some insight into the data collected in a survey, first in relation to visitors' language use and choice and then in relation to feedback regarding the quality of the interpretation and language provision. Even if these findings are not representative, they nonetheless provide some pointers for reflection and future research on visitors that can be harnessed by TS scholars.

6.3.1 Language choice

As mentioned above, the collection and analysis of TripAdvisor reviews had revealed a grey area in the sense that certain visitors opted to write reviews in a language other than their mother tongue, or that the country of residence shown on a profile might not correspond to the country of origin/native language spoken by that visitor. For this reason, when designing the survey, it appeared important to differentiate between the visitors' native language, nationality, country of residence and language choice at the site visited.

Eighteen participants reported using interpretation material in English, five of whom were non-native English speakers (three native French speakers, one German speaker and one Italian speaker). Another native French-speaker opted to use the interpretation material provided in Gaelic. The fact that some visitors opted to use interpretation material in a language other than their native language is quite interesting. However, because the survey did not provide a space for participants to explain their language choice, it is only possible to formulate hypotheses to explain this phenomenon. A first hypothesis is that, even if English is not the native language of the visitor, it might be their active language. For example, one of the native French-speakers who used interpretation in English said they were resident in the UK and, as such, it is possible that they have a level of fluency in English which meant that they felt just as much at ease with English as with French interpretation. Another hypothesis is the visitor's quest for authenticity. For example, the participant who chose to use interpretation in Gaelic described themselves as a history enthusiast; while it is impossible to know how or why this visitor learnt Gaelic, and to what level of competence, the choice of using interpretation in a minority indigenous language could be explained by a search for a more authentic experience of the site, or it could be based on a cultural and/or political affinity with its usage (e.g., this visitor might be a speaker of a regional language such as Breton). A third hypothesis is simply that visitors might have been confronted with poor translations in the context of their tourism and cultural activities in the past and, as a result, prefer or find it easier to use material in the SL. Unfortunately, it is difficult to verify either of these hypotheses; since no one in this group of participants volunteered for a follow-up interview, it was impossible to collect any further information to explain their personal preferences.

Although this study is extremely limited due to the sample size, it suggests that visitors may not always default to their native language for interpretation material when visiting a heritage site, even if it is available. This is reminiscent of a comment by heritage participant HP03, who noted that that Dutch guidebooks had been discontinued because Dutch visitors preferred to use interpretation in English (2021). Even though the reasons for visitors not using interpretation in their native language when it is available are unclear, it is an area worthy of further investigation.

6.3.2 Feedback on quality of interpretation and translation

All the participants rated their visit positively (sixteen as 'extremely good'; seven as 'somewhat good'). For eleven of the participants the interpretation had a strong positive impact on their experience, while eight participants said the interpretation only had a moderate or small impact on their experience. Overall, the participants who used English interpretation were positive in their evaluation of the texts. They agreed that the texts were accessible (i.e., easy to understand) (ten strongly agreed; six somewhat agreed), relevant (twelve strongly agreed; four somewhat agreed) and found the language quality adequate (thirteen strongly agreed; three somewhat agreed). The same levels of satisfaction can be observed for the participants who relied on translated material. Only three participants reported using translated interpretation material when visiting a heritage site: one in French, one in Gaelic, and one in German. These three participants strongly agreed that the translated content was accessible and relevant. They also agreed that translation quality was satisfactory (two strongly agreed; one somewhat agreed). The participant who rated translation quality at the lowest explained their rating by saying that they had found some differences between the English and the translated material. Very interestingly, this suggests that the participant has been actively using and comparing the interpretation material in both languages. Although these findings cannot be claimed to be representative, they are coherent with the observations of Liao and Bartie (2021) who found that Chinese-speaking visitors at Edinburgh Castle were generally satisfied with the interpretation and did not require further cultural adaptation (2021, p.12). It could also be argued that the visitors' previous exposure to substandard translations in the context of tourism and leisure activities may have lowered their expectations in terms of language quality. However, here again, due to the very low number of participants who reported using translated material and to the impossibility of organising interviews with them, it is difficult to do more than hypothesise, and more research is certainly needed to better understand the expectations of visitors in terms of the quality of language provision.

The non-native English-speaking participants were also asked about the importance of being provided with interpretation in their native language when visiting heritage sites abroad. Three of these participants rated this as important (one as extremely; two as somewhat), while one participant rated this as unimportant, saying that as long as English was provided, they were able to understand the interpretation. In contrast, native English speakers were asked about the importance of being provided with documents in English when travelling abroad and most participants rated this as important (ten as extremely; eleven as somewhat). One participant also commented that "The only language I read well is English. I learn best by reading. Audio tours are too slow for me and they are distracting", suggesting that the provision of interpretation in different formats and media is as important as translation availability, thus echoing the works of scholars as Hein (1998) and Young (2005) on the varying needs of different learner profiles. This is interesting given that, of all the participating sites, Edinburgh Castle is the only one to offer translated material in two formats (audio-guide and souvenir guide). All the other sites have only one, which means that, if visitors want to use a translation, they might not have any other choice than to use an audio-guide, even if it is not their preferred medium. This is by no means to say that heritage sites should offer translated material in multiple formats. Quite obviously, the multiplication of media would also increase production costs for heritage institutions. However, this raises the question of accessibility beyond language provision (e.g., what use would a French sign language user have for a French audio-guide?). Although this question is beyond the scope of the present study, it is one that must be acknowledged and that certainly warrants further attention.

Overall, the study shows similar levels of satisfaction between the participants who used English interpretation and those who relied on translated material. However, it must be stressed that feedback on translation quality was limited, with only three participants reporting using translations and subsequently declining to participate in a follow-up interview.

6.3.3 Limitations

In essence, this part of the study cannot provide any generalizable findings because of the very limited response rate. There are many reasons that could explain this. The first is that, being a novice survey designer, and despite putting careful thought and reflection into the design of the survey (see section 3.4.2), the design might have been flawed. Indeed, some participants may have found the survey too long or struggled to understand some questions. The fact that some responses do not match the corresponding question could be an indication of that. For example, when asked what the last Scottish heritage site they visited was, one participant listed all the sites they had visited during their trip to Scotland instead of the last site visited. Another participant responded to this question by saying that they had watched "youtube videos on highland culture and primitive camping skills". Understandably highland culture is part of Scotland's intangible heritage, and watching videos might have been an alternative to travel during the pandemic, but this made a lot of the following survey questions irrelevant for this participant. Some responses to the survey questions also revealed that certain follow up questions could have been included in the study, for example, a question asking participants to clarify why they chose to use interpretation in a language other than their mother tongue; this would have provided a lot of insight and would merit inclusion in future questionnaires on the topic.

Another reason for the low response rate could be the inadequate circulation of the survey. Reflecting on her own visitor research in the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, Kim (2022) remarks that unless the researcher is actually on site to interview visitors, the response rate to surveys and questionnaires remains very low. Obviously, the pandemic prevented this, but it is then no surprise that the decision to circulate the survey on social media yielded such a small number of responses. Indeed, some heritage professionals confessed that their social media channels had small followings and that there were no guarantees the survey would be noticed by the public. Interviewee HP05 also commented on the difficulty of reaching out to visitors, even as part of their professional role (2021). Added to the fact that during the pandemic a lot of researchers likewise turned to social media to advertise surveys, it is possible that members of the public felt overwhelmed by the requests to complete online questionnaires.

Finally, the low response rate can also be explained by a certain lack of interest in the topic of the survey. As discussed above in the analysis of TripAdvisor reviews there seems to be a certain degree of insouciance when it comes to heritage interpretation and translation, with a lot of reviews mentioning interpretation and translation in practical terms but providing no real feedback in terms of their quality or of their impact on the visitor's understanding of Scottish heritage and memory. Translation in heritage sites thus seems to be perceived as a matter of course, with visitors positively valuing language provision availability but not being otherwise critical of translation quality.

6.4 Conclusion

The study of visitors' responses to translation provision in Scottish heritage sites consisted in the analysis of TripAdvisor reviews of the participating sites and of an online survey.

The analysis of the TripAdvisor reviews revealed that visitors have a tendency to focus their reviews on practical information, which for language provision means whether translated material is available, what type of material it is and what it costs. The reviews show that language provision is generally valued positively by visitors. However, this value declines when visitors are required to pay an extra fee to access translated resources. The reviews also reveal that visitors rarely offer reflections on the museography of the site, on the quality of the interpretation (translated or not), or on their emotional response to the site – the only exception to this being the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre. For all other sites, the use of generic terms to describe the visitor experience suggests that visitors might be primed to focus the content of their reviews on specific aspects of their visit.

The analysis of survey responses shows that visitors do not always opt to use interpretation in their native language when it is available, and the participants who do report using translated material during their visit display a level of satisfaction similar to that of those participants who used interpretation in English.

Although these findings provide some insight into visitors' use of (translated) interpretation material in heritage sites, these findings cannot be regarded as being representative, first because they are limited to the context of Scottish heritage and focus on French-speaking visitors, but also because the number and quality of responses to the survey in particular makes it impossible to draw too many conclusions.

The content of the TripAdvisor reviews must also be recognised as potentially outdated since the lack of international travel during the time of the study meant focusing on historical data and so older reviews. The same issue also applies, to some extent, to the survey since visitors had to rely on their memory of their visit rather than on immediate impressions.

All these issues serve to highlight the need for further research to be conducted on how visitors use and receive translated interpretation material in heritage sites. In planning such investigations, researchers should consider a number of points which have been highlighted throughout this chapter and by other scholars. The first is the necessity to conduct visitor research in-person and face-to-face for better engagement, as also highlighted by Kim (2022). However, as pointed out by Liao and Bartie, it may at times be difficult to obtain the consent of heritage institutions to carry out visitor research on-site as institutions might be "concerned about any disruption of their business operations" (2021, p.6). As such, conducting visitor research also requires better engagement with heritage sites in the first place, as also suggested by Deane-Cox and Côme (2022), to better explain what heritage institutions stand to gain from such research on their visitors.

Chapter 7: Conclusion, key findings and contributions

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this multiple case study was to investigate how translation provision and translation choices at Scottish heritage sites can influence visitor experiences and their overall perception of Scottish heritage. In order to do so, translation was considered from three different perspectives: (i) translation as a process, (ii) translation as a product, and (iii) translation use and reception. The research into each of these strands was carried out respectively through interviews with heritage and translation professionals, a multimodal analysis of translated interpretation material and the investigation of visitor feedback regarding their experience in Scottish heritage sites. It was hoped that the triangulation of findings from each of these three strands would allow for a better understanding of the state of language provision in Scottish heritage sites with the objective of answering the following research questions:

1. What translated material and translation strategies are in evidence across the selected Scottish heritage sites? And how do these reflect particular policy imperatives and rationales for interlingual heritage interpretation in Scotland?
2. How might those strategies impact visitor perception and understanding of Scottish heritage, culture, and identity?
3. How can our understanding of these strategies help to shape best practice guidelines for translation for the heritage industry?

This chapter brings together the findings from Chapters 4, 5 and 6 in order to formulate a response to each of these research questions. Section 7.2 addresses questions 1 and 2, while question 3 is treated separately in section 7.3. Finally, section 7.4 reviews the different limitations of this study and provides suggestions for further research in the field of heritage translation.

7.2 Translation strategies and impact on visitors

This section provides a summary of the key findings from the multiple case study as they relate to research questions 1 and 2. More specifically, section 7.2.1 describes the translation strategies which have been observed in the participating sites, while section 7.2.2 addresses the way these strategies impact the visitor experience and their understanding of Scottish heritage.

7.2.1 Translation strategies at Scottish heritage sites

The multiple case study shows that heritage professionals are acutely aware of the linguistic needs of international visitors. However, discussion with all these professionals also showed that language provision in Scottish heritage sites is influenced by other constraints, both material (with translations costing money to produce, print, record, store, maintain etc.) and legislative (with measures being put in place at a national level, such as the BSL and Scottish Gaelic language plans, to promote access to Scottish culture). Because of these constraints, sites must carefully consider the languages they want to make available to their visitors, and the data show that the variety of languages on offer depends not only on visitor numbers and provenance but also on whether the site is free-entry or fee-paying. When it comes to the extent of language provision, two sites stand out in this case study. The first is Edinburgh Castle; as the top visited fee-paying attraction, it is the site that has the most extensive language provision, not only in terms of variety of languages but also regarding variety of media (with both audio-guides and souvenir guidebooks). The second site to stand out is the free-to-enter Riverside Museum; the second most visited site in this case study, it offers fewer languages than less visited fee-paying sites (e.g., the Culloden Battlefield, Urquhart Castle), but the language selection itself is significant, with a strong focus on providing translations for minority groups living in the community (e.g., Urdu, BSL video interpreting) in order to attract a specific audience to the museum.

Unless they had direct experience of commissioning translations, the participating heritage professionals had little knowledge of the translation process, although they all understood translation as a complex exercise that goes beyond simple transcoding.

While all heritage professionals expressed themselves satisfied with translation quality, yet and rather paradoxically, they also often disclosed recurrent translation quality issues. This observation on translation quality is consistent with the findings from the comparative translation analysis in Chapter 5, which shows that inaccuracies (factual and grammatical) are rather frequent in the corpus of texts in this study. These findings also echo many other studies that are quite critical of the quality of heritage and tourism translations (Quétel-Brunner and Griffin, 2014, Snell-Hornby, 1996, Sumberg, 2004; Pierini, 2007; Valdeón, 2009; Durán Muñoz, 2012, to name only a few). It is not my intention to blame translators for making mistakes; after all, translation is a very cognitively demanding process and when carried out under tight deadlines, as with all such processes, mistakes are unavoidable. However, the comments from heritage professionals, the findings from the comparative translation analysis and even comments from translation professionals themselves all tend to suggest that QA processes are hazy and not always systematic. Indeed, it appears that proofreading (by someone other than the translator) is not offered, let alone performed, systematically by translation providers. At the same time, heritage bodies may not have the necessary resources or skills to undertake the QA process in-house. This issue is not specific to translating for the heritage sector, but rather applies to the whole translation industry. The simple fact that the ISO17100:2015 standard for translation services, which sets out the requirements for translations processes and QA for LSPs, is paywalled at about £110 (International Organisation for International Organization for Standardization, 2020) is not conductive to transparency and dialogue around QA processes.

Although heritage professionals showed a good understanding of the complexity of translation, the comparative analysis of translated texts reveals very few shifts that would fall under the category of cultural adaptation. From the point of view of the translators, it certainly seems like very little is said about cultural adaptation in translation project briefing notes. The analysis of responses to the visitor survey also suggests that international visitors do not seem to find cultural adaptation to be a problem in translated interpretation. This confirms the initial findings of Liao and Bartie (2021) regarding the translation of the previous version of the Edinburgh Castle audio-guide. In this study, the researchers describe the Chinese audio-guide as "a *literal translation*" (2021, p.6; emphasis in original) of the English version. However, they also note that Chinese-speaking visitors are quite satisfied with the content of the audio-guide without it requiring further cultural adaptation because the ST itself lends itself well to translation (*ibid*., p.12) (e.g., uses simple sentence structures, no jargon, etc.). This observation also finds an echo in one of the strategies defined by Cranmer for the translation of museum texts, where interpretive texts are written in the ST but with an international audience in mind before being translated into different languages (2016, p.97). Perhaps the only examples of cultural adaptation to be found in the corpus of texts in this study are those shifts that impact on interactional meanings and more specifically on the relationship established between the heritage institution and the visitor. As Guillot experienced with her students when working on museum labels (2014) and as acknowledged by some of the translators who participated in the present study, French museum texts still tend towards more formality than English museum texts (Guillot, 2014, p.74; TP02, 2021; TP03; 2021; TP05, 2021). However, shifts impacting on the relationship or level of distance between the visitor and the institution are not systematic, nor are they always consistent throughout a same document. For example, in the Balmoral Castle audio-guide there are instances where the French TT is in turn more or less formal than the English ST. This lack of consistency suggests that these shifts might not be the result of any active decision on the part of the translator and might instead be the result of lexical priming, that is to say, deeply rooted linguistic and cultural habits. Although shifts in interactional meanings might be considered as a form of cultural adaptation (adapting the tone of the text to increase the distance between visitor and institution), they can have a strong impact on the image the heritage institution presents to its visitors. As Melissa Palferro (2022) points out, it might be culturally acceptable to modify the tone of a museum text to be more in line with TC expectations, but that museum has spent a lot of time working on their interpretation and coming up with their own style and voice to present a specific image of themselves, so to change the tone effectively means changing the image that the institution wants to present to the world. Modifying the tone would also, by extension, affect the image that the visitor has of the institution.

7.2.2 Impact on visitor understanding of Scottish heritage, culture and identity

The comparative translation analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that translation shifts, whether they occur at the representational, interactional or organisational levels, all have the potential to affect how visitors understand Scottish heritage sites, the narratives associated with them and even how heritage institutions present themselves.

At the representational level, translation shifts can potentially alter the narrative presented to international visitors and consequently distort their understanding of the Scottish past. In this respect, introducing ambiguities and inaccuracies perhaps presents the highest risk of representational distortion. Inaccuracies, if they are noticed, can also affect the degree of trust that the visitor places in the interpretation material and by extension in the heritage body itself. At the interactional level, translation shifts can impact on two aspects of the visitor experience. First, shifts that alter the distance between past and present (e.g., shifts of grammatical tense) may trigger or hinder the activation of prosthetic memory and the emotional response of visitors to past events. Second, shifts in modes of address or the use of informal language might impact on the power dynamics at play between the heritage body and the visitor. These shifts, though they do not impinge on the representation of the past, have an impact on the image of Scottish heritage and cultural institutions. Organisational shifts, although rare, may potentially cause a communication breakdown, especially when they stem from discrepancies between verbal and spatial texts. In these cases, such discrepancies may cause some initial confusion but are unlikely to have a strong impact on the visitors' understanding of Scottish heritage.

However, despite the potential for certain types of translation shifts to impact on the experience of visitors or on their understanding of the Scottish past and/or their perception of heritage and cultural management in Scotland, the visitor studies component of this study shows that translation shifts seem to have a negligible impact on visitor experience. Indeed, the analysis of TripAdvisor reviews suggests that English-speaking and French-speaking visitors tend to experience the sites in the same way, choosing to comment on the same aspects of their visits (e.g., facilities, scenery, etc.). The analysis of TripAdvisor reviews also suggests that for the vast majority of visitors translation availability is more important than translation quality. The survey responses, though limited, show that international visitors do not always opt to use translated material in their native language, even when it is available, though the reasons for this are yet to be investigated. Those visitors who did report using translated material display levels of satisfaction similar to that of participants who used interpretation in English. This is not to say that TS scholars who research translation in a heritage context are worrying about nothing. Rather, as suggested in Chapter 6 above, it is possible that translation is expected as a matter of course and that translation users are being primed (possibly by previously experiencing quality issues in translated texts) to lower their expectations of translation quality.

This discrepancy between the potential impact of translation shifts and translation quality on the one hand, and the experience of translation users in Scottish heritage sites on the other suggests either one of two things: (i) visitors have assimilated the low expectations that have come to be associated with tourism translation in general and so do not give much thought to the material they are using in heritage sites. Or (ii) the cognitively complex nature of heritage sites visits, with visitors having to continuously shift their attention between spatial and verbal texts, means that for different types of learners different elements of the visit will have a longer lasting impact (e.g., visual learners might remember more about the space and objects, reading learners might better remember verbal texts, etc.). However, as indicated above and throughout Chapter 6, the preliminary nature of these findings points to the need for further research on the use and reception of translation provision by visitors to heritage sites.

7.3 Industry recommendations

As indicated above, one of the key objectives of this multiple case study was to provide best-practice guidelines for translation commissioners and translation providers with a focus on the heritage industry. The following section thus offers some industry recommendations. Section 7.3.1 addresses the translation commissioning process, before moving on to the subjects of QA processes and risk management in section 7.3.2. Finally, section 7.3.3 proposes some ideas for specialised translator training.

7.3.1 Commissioning translations

The interviews with heritage and translation professionals, as well as the comparative analysis of translated interpretation materials in this study, all suggest that several steps can be taken to improve the communication between the heritage institutions and the translators. The interviews revealed that heritage clients usually thought they provided the translators with enough information to carry out the task, while most of the translators declared that they received insufficient information at the project inception stage.

It seems common for heritage institutions to distribute pictures and visuals, and this can be extremely helpful. However, one translator participant made the point that the heritage interpreters responsible for writing the audio-guides/guidebooks in the ST must have had project notes and instructions and that these would be very useful if they were communicated to the translators (TP03, 2021). Providing translators with this type of information would indeed be beneficial as it would allow them to get a better sense of the scope, aims and tone of the interpretation material they are tasked to translate.

The creation of a glossary of key terms (e.g., nouns, technical terms, etc.) would also be beneficial and would ensure the coherence and continuity of the content. This is especially true for those sites that offer translated information in more than one format, or for heritage bodies that operate across multiple sites. If the heritage body is unable to provide a glossary, then it is possible to work with the LSP, or directly with a translator to create one.

Also, key to ensuring coherence and continuity is the need for heritage institutions to document their language policy and language providers. This case study has shown that interpretation material might not be updated on a very regular basis, so if the person in charge of commissioning translations five years ago has now moved on, there is no easy way to find out which LSP had been contracted last time or why translation was carried out in some languages and not others. Thus, documenting an institution's language policy does not mean that it can never be changed, but it helps to ensure that the rationale underpinning language choice, the choice of provider, etc. is not lost and can be continued if so desired.

In addition, most LSPs and freelance translators use CAT tools. One of the main features of these tools is that they allow translators to create translation memories, which are a repository of all the sentences translated for a certain client or a certain industry. When commissioning a translation from an LSP or directly to a freelance translator, it is very much worth asking whether they are using a CAT tool. The use of such a piece of software would mean that when commissioning another translation in the future, the LSP/translator would be able to retrieve past translation projects undertaken for the same client. The use of CAT tools is even more important when commissioning through an LSP since using the same agency for two different projects does not guarantee that the same translator would undertake both. Similarly, if a heritage body is using a translation agency for the first time but has some previously translated material, this will prove a valuable resource for the translator (either as an example of what to do or not to do). It is also important to agree on who owns the translation memory. This is a very grey area of copyright because literary translation, for example, is considered as original work, which means that the owner of the copyright would normally be the translator. However, when translations are commissioned as part of a commercial deal, it can be argued that it is the client who owns the copyright to the translation and associated translation memory. As such, the client would have the right to retain a copy of the said memory and be able to send it to another service provider if need be. For the sake of clarity, it might thus be judicious to agree from the start, in a contract, or through an addendum to the terms of service, on who owns the translated information.

7.3.2 Quality assurance and understanding risk

Although this is unconfirmed by visitor feedback, the comparative analysis of translated interpretation material in this multiple case study points to various risks associated with translation shifts. The first risk is the misrepresentation of the Scottish past. The second risk is a loss of trust not just in the translation, but also in the institution (e.g., "this text contains too many factual/linguistic errors to be taken seriously"). Closely linked to this second risk is a third one, the distortion of the institutional voice and image, an issue which is echoed by Melisa Palferro during her talk at the "Museums as Spaces of Cultural Translation and Transfer" conference (2022) and on her professional website (2021).

The main difficulty in managing risk in translation is QA, because, more often than not, translation clients are not the intended audience of the translations they commissioned and do not have the linguistic skills to check the translations themselves. This is confirmed by the heritage professionals interviewed for this study. Even in those cases when heritage bodies hire multilingual staff, these members of staff do not necessarily have the expertise to review translations, nor is it part of their job requirements. Actively seeking feedback from visitors is a good alternative but is not always enough; ultimately, visitors are not there to proofread the material and their attention is engaged elsewhere during their visit.

These barriers mean that QA must be undertaken during the project and with the support of the translator and/or LSP. Yet, we know that processes such as proofreading are not systematic. Some of the translation professionals who participated in the study explained that they neither carry out, nor systematically offer proofreading (by a third party) to their clients. In my own experience, the same is true of LSPs, which will not undertake full proofreading unless asked to do so by their client. The problem, as Walker (2023) points out, is that, in the case of translation services, the service provider knows more about the service than the client, a discrepancy he calls "information asymmetry". So, this begs the question: does the client know that their material is not going to be proofread unless they ask for it? I do not have the definitive answer to that question, but I suspect it might be a resounding "no"'. It is thus essential that heritage clients ask as many questions as possible at the inception of a translation project, and questions about proofreading and QA processes are essential.

7.3.3 Translator training

Although the interviews with professional translators indicated that the translation of heritage interpretation presented few perceived challenges, the reality of the translation quality in the corpus seems to indicate that the translation of heritage interpretation is more challenging than it might appear. With this in mind, there is an opportunity expand current training provisions for translators wishing to work with the heritage industry. This training provision could take the form of optional modules to be included by universities as part of their translation degree programmes, or of CPD courses to be offered to already-qualified translators.

Such modules or courses could serve to raise the translators' awareness of the concerns of heritage professionals, especially regarding ownership. More specifically, these courses could focus on specific the features and challenges of heritage interpretation (i.e., as differing from promotional tourism discourse). They could also help address culture-specific issues by comparing SC and TC conventions regarding such things as the translation of proper nouns, tone and mode of address. Depending on the public, the discussion of the use of CAT tools, especially translation memories and glossaries, would also be beneficial to promote consistency.

Such additional training could help translators address the concerns of heritage clients and in turn promote the establishment of a relation of trust between service provider and client.

7.4 Limitations and future research

Several limitations must be considered in respect of the findings of this multiple case study and to inform future research into translation practices and outcomes in the heritage industry.

The first of these limitations relates to the scope of the project. Indeed, this multiple case study provides only a snapshot of the state of language provision in a limited number of Scottish heritage sites and institutions. These heritage sites are also quite popular with visitors, and as such may have a larger budget available to dedicate to translation, allowing them to translate their interpretation material in more languages and across more media, than smaller, less popular heritage attractions. Indeed, my experience of visiting other Scottish sites for my personal enjoyment over the past several years has shown me that the state of language provision can vary greatly. As such, further research focusing on a larger sample of sites, including smaller independent ones, would certainly complement the present study and contribute to drawing a more comprehensive picture of the state of language provision in Scottish heritage sites. There is also a potential for further research to delve deeper into the analysis of translation processes for sites of different scale, in particular a better understanding of the different processes in place for the vetting of LSPs or translators would be insightful. Further investigation into the roles of other agents involved in the translation process would also be interesting. For example, in the present case study, it is noted that one of the institutions relied on the services of an LSP and requested the translation to be proofread. As such a better understanding of the workings of LSPs and their vendor selection, as well as an understanding of their proofreading practices would be welcome.

It goes without saying that such research could also be complemented by projects focusing on other languages. Although the present case study also discusses provision into other languages than French, the focus of the comparative analysis on French only is an important limitation. It would be very interesting to consider the translation shifts observed in translations into other languages and their potential impact on international visitors.

Translation use and reception is also an important issue. Scholars are calling for further research to be carried out on translation users. This, for example, is the case with Pym (2020) who calls for more research on how translations are received, and with Neather (2022a), who points to the need for further research on how museum visitors use translated interpretation. Consequently, one of the aims of this multiple case study was to add to the existing body of work (Kim, 2020; Liao & Bartie, 2021; Neather, 2022b) investigating how translated interpretation material is used and received by international visitors and its impact on the visitors' perception and understanding of heritage. However, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 6, this objective was only partially achieved, mostly because of difficulties in reaching and engaging with visitors. Although the pandemic is largely to blame for the difficulties faced in reaching out to international visitors, it is also very likely that the design of the online survey had room for improvement, being potentially too long and with some questions appearing ambiguous to participants. The mode of circulation of the survey was also a problem, reaching only a limited number of international visitors. As such, and even though this part of the study yielded interesting findings, these cannot in any way be regarded as representative of how visitors use and receive translated material in heritage sites. However, as limited as these findings might be, they also raise several questions that warrant further research, not least as to why certain visitors opt to use material in the SL when it is available in their native language. Given that heritage institutions might be reluctant to give researchers direct access to their visitors for fear of disruption to normal operations (Liao and Bartie, 2021, p6), it is essential for researchers to better engage with heritage institutions (see Deane-Cox and Côme, 2022) so that they fully understand how such research might benefit them and the heritage industry in general.

In sum, this multiple case study contributes to the understanding of current translation practices in the context of Scottish heritage. It shows that while heritage institutions clearly understand the need for language provision in heritage attractions, the translation product would benefit from some adjustments of the commissioning and QA phases of the translation process. The limited findings that can be drawn from engaging with visitors also serves to highlight the need for more research to be undertaken into translation use and reception.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Heritage professional interview schedule

Demographics

1. Please state your name
2. What gender do you identify as?
3. What is your age?
4. What is your country of nationality?
5. What is your native language?

About your professional experience

6. What is your highest education level?
7. What is your employment status? (FT/PT, employed /freelance)
8. Which institution do you work for?
9. Which site do you work at, if any?
10. What is your position/job title?
11. What does this role involve?

Language selection and visitor profile

12. Does your organisation provide translated material for non-English speaking visitors? If yes, into how many languages? Can you list them?
13. What sort of translated material do you provide? (i.e. leaflets/pamphlets, audio-guide, wall panels, guided tours, etc.)
14. Are there any differences in the languages catered for digitally and in print?
15. In which languages is your website translated, if at all? If no website translation, why not?
16. What motivates the selection of languages for translation?
17. Do you have multilingual staff? Do you make a point of hiring multilingual staff? Are you looking for specific languages?
18. Does your organisation track visitor numbers and provenance?
19. To what extent would you say that your foreign language provision matches the profile of your visitors?

Translation/language policy

20. Does your attraction have an official language/translation policy?

21. Do you know when your site first started to provide translations?

22. When was your English interpretation material last updated?

23. When was your translated interpretation material last updated? What prompted the update?

24. Who carries out the translation(s) for your organisation? (i.e. staff member, agency, translator)

25. What is the usual process for commissioning translations? (i.e. tendering, regular agency and/or translator, etc.)

26. What sort of support do you usually offer translators? (brief, TM, glossaries, etc.)

27. Do translators often get in touch with specific queries during the project?

    If yes, what do they generally ask about?

28. Do you have a process for translation quality assessment?

    If yes, what is it?

29. Have visitors volunteered feedback (in person or online) about the quality of the translations available at your institution? If yes, what sort of feedback do you usually receive?

30. Have you experienced issues with translation quality? If yes, what steps were taken to resolve these issues?

Appendix II: Translation professional interview schedule

Demographics

1. Please state your name
2. What gender do you identify as?
3. What is your age?
4. What is your country of nationality?
5. What is your native language?

About your professional experience

6. What is your highest education level?
7. Do you have a translation qualification/training? (ITI or CIOL certificate/diploma or university degree)
8. How many years of experience do you have as a translator?
9. What is your employment status? (FT/PT, in-house/freelance)
10. What is your position/job title?
11. What does your role involve? (i.e. translation, post-editing, revising, etc.)
12. Which language pair(s) do you work with?

Working relationship with heritage sites

13. What is your experience of providing services to the heritage sector? (in Scotland, in the UK, or internationally)
14. How do you usually win projects with heritage clients? (direct or via an agency)
15. What sort of instructions/brief do you usually receive from heritage clients? (information type, usefulness, supporting documentation [glossary, TM…])
16. What sort of information/advice do heritage clients ask you about?
17. Do you/can you get in touch with the client if you need further information? If yes, how fast do you get a response?
18. Do you have a process for translation quality assessment? If yes, what is it?
19. What sort of feedback do you usually get from heritage clients?
20. Have clients come back to you because of quality issues in the work provided?
21. Do you feel at times you would have benefited from additional training/support before carrying out a heritage translation project?

22. Have you ever taken part in continued professional development (CPD) activities focused on working with the heritage/tourism sector? If yes, how frequently do you take part in such CPD activities? What are the benefits? If no, would you consider participating in such CPD training? What would be your expectations of these activities?

Translation strategies

23. What types of document do you usually translate for heritage clients?

24. What would you say are the most common difficulties of translating for the heritage sector?

25. How would you describe your approach when it comes to translating for the heritage sector? (cultural adaptation, language use, etc.)

Appendix III: Visitor Survey

Demographics

Q1 What gender do you identify as?

- Female (1)
- Male (2)
- Gender Neutral (3)
- Other (please specify) (4)
- Prefer not to say (5)

Q2 What is your age?

- 16 to 24 (1)
- 25 to 34 (2)
- 35 to 44 (3)
- 45 to 54 (4)
- 55 to 64 (5)
- 65 + (6)
- Prefer not to say (7)

Q3 What is your country of nationality?

▼ Afghanistan (1) ... Zimbabwe (1357)

Q4 What is your country of residence?

▼ Afghanistan (1) ... Zimbabwe (1357)

Q5 What is your native language?

- Dutch (1)
- English (2)
- French (3)
- German (4)
- Italian (5)
- Mandarin (6)
- Polish (7)
- Spanish (8)
- Swedish (9)
- Other (please specify) (10)

Q6 What is your highest education level?

- Less than high school (1)
- High school graduate (2)
- Professional diploma (3)
- University degree (4)

Q7 What is your employment status?

- Employed full time (1)
- Employed part time (2)
- Unemployed (3)
- Retired (4)
- Student (5)
- Disabled (6)

About the site you visited

Q8 Which of the following sites did you visit?

Note: if you have visited more than one of these sites, please only select the one you visited most recently.

- Edinburgh Castle (1)
- Culloden battlefield (2)
- Riverside Museum (3)
- Glenfinnan Monument (4)
- Urquhart Castle (5)
- Balmoral Castle (6)

Before your visit

Q9 Which of the following did you use to plan for your visit?

- VisitScotland website (1)
- Travel guide (Lonely Planet, Green Guide, etc.) (2)
- Attraction's official website (3)
- I did not use anything (4)
- Other (please specify) (5)

Q10 Why did you choose to visit this attraction?

____

About your visit

Q11 Did you visit on your own or as part of a group?

- Solo (1)
- Couple (2)
- Family with children (3)
- Group of friends (4)

Q12 How would you rate your visit?

- Extremely good (1)
- Somewhat good (2)
- Somewhat bad (3)
- Extremely bad (4)

Q13 In a few words, can you explain your reason(s) for your rating above?

____

Q14 What will you remember from your visit?

____

Q15 Did you use any of the documentation provided during your visit?

For example: leaflets, audio-guides, etc. (please select all that apply)

- Audio guides (1)
- Wall panels (2)
- Leaflets (3)
- Other (please specify) (5)
- I didn't use anything (4)

Display Q16 if Q15 answer (4) is selected

Q16 Why not?

- I prefer to roam than read or listen to an audio guide (1)
- There was no information in a language I could understand (2)
- I would have had to pay an extra fee for an audio guide or for a guidebook (3)
- In my previous experience, I found the documents to be of poor quality (4)
- Other (please specify) (5)

____

Skip to end of survey if (1) or (5) is selected

Skip to Q23 if (2) or (3) is selected

About the documentation you used

Display Q17 if Q15 answer (4) is not selected

Q17 Did you use this documentation in English or in another language?

- English (1)
- French (2)
- German (3)
- Italian (4)
- Mandarin (5)
- Polish (6)
- Spanish (7)
- Other (please specify) (8)

Display Q18 if Q17 answer (1) is selected

Q18 Thinking about the English language documentation you used during your visit, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Strongly disagree (4)
Content was accessible (1)	O	O	O	O
Content was relevant to the site visited (2)	O	O	O	O
Content made sense (3)	O	O	O	O
Language use was satisfactory (4)	O	O	O	O

Display Q19 if Q17 answer (1) is selected

Q19 In a few words, can you explain the reason(s) for the ratings of the above question?

____

Display Q20 if Q17 answer (1) is not selected

Q20 Thinking about the translated documentation you used during your visit, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Strongly disagree (4)

Content was accessible (1)	O	O	O	O
Content was relevant to the site visited (2)	O	O	O	O
Content made sense (3)	O	O	O	O
The quality of the translation was satisfactory (4)	O	O	O	O

Display Q21 if Q17 answer (1) is not selected

Q21 In a few words, can you explain the reason(s) for the ratings of the above question?

____

Display Q22 if Q15 answer (4) is not selected

Q22 Overall, to what extent would you say the documentation you consulted during your visit influenced your experience of the site?

- A great deal (1)
- A lot (2)
- A moderate amount (3)
- A little (4)
- None at all (5)

Display Q23 if Q17 answer (1) is not selected and Q5 answer (1) is not selected and Q15 answer (4) is not selected

Q23 When visiting a heritage site abroad, how would you rate the importance of being provided with material translated in your native language (i.e. translated leaflets, audio guides, etc.)?

- Extremely important (1)
- Somewhat important (2)
- Somewhat unimportant (3)
- Completely unimportant (4)

Display Q24 if Q17 answer (1) is not selected and Q5 answer (1) is not selected and Q15 answer (4) is not selected

Q24 In a few words, can you explain the reason(s) for your answer to the previous question?

____

Q25 When visiting a heritage site abroad, how would you rate the importance of being provided with material translated in English (i.e. translated leaflets, audio guides, etc.)?

- Extremely important (1)
- Somewhat important (2)
- Somewhat unimportant (3)
- Completely unimportant (4)

Q26 In a few words, can you explain the reason(s) for your answer to the previous question?

____

Following up

Q27 Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your responses will help us understand how visitors interact with the supporting documentation available when visiting heritage sites, as well as help us learn more about international visitors' needs in terms of translation provision.

Would you be happy to be contacted for a follow up conversation (over the phone or via video call)?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Display Q28 if Q27 answer (1) is selected

Q28 If yes, please provide your name as well as an email address and/or phone number that can be used to contact you.

Note: your email address will not be shared with any third party and will only be used to organise the follow-up interview.

Name (1)

Email address (2)

Phone number (with international country code) (3)

End page

Your responses have been recorded. Thank you for your participation in this survey.

END OF SURVEY