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Translating non-standard language: Andrea Camilleri in English

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Abstract

With the flowering of literary works written in a non-standard variety, especially in dialect, translation studies have tried to partially delineate theories, methods, and models to apply when translating this kind of works. Despite this, translating a literary work written in dialect always represents a challenge for a translator. This difficulty is due to the main characteristics of dialect: it is spoken in a very restricted area and it depicts a specific cultural world. This causes certain words, expressions, and complex play of words to be untranslatable in other languages. An example is represented by the language of Andrea Camilleri's novels. In fact, by examining some linguistic features and expressions taken from the English translation of three of Camilleri's detective novels, this thesis offers an analysis of the linguistic choices made by the American translator Stephen Sartarelli, with a particular attention on Sicilian culture. The thesis also investigates the concept of non-standard language, especially regarding the Italian scenario, and tries to define its main characteristics and its use in literature. Accordingly, after a brief outline of dialect translation studies theory, a few models concerning non-standard translation of literary works are analysed.

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INTRODUCTION

Translating non-standard language in literature represents one of the most demanding tasks for a translator, who must find a compromise between the source text and the target text. The translator must take into account not only the unique linguistic characteristics of a non-standard variety, but also the extralinguistic and sociocultural aspects that that variety encompasses. This is why finding the right strategies and solutions requires much ability and a great effort on the translator's part. Hence, the aim of the present study, which intertwines aspects of sociolinguistics, theory of translation and translation, is to establish whether and to what extent features of a non-standard variety, such as dialect, can be rendered in translation and which strategies can be applied when translating. In this regard, the English translation of three of Andrea Camilleri's detective novels by Stephen Sartarelli will be illustrated. Extracts from the novels *La forma dell'acqua, L'odore della notte* and *La luna di carta* will be presented in order to reveal the linguistic choices made by the translator and the translation strategies he adopts in the target text, with a particular focus on Sicilian culture.

The thesis is made up of five chapters, whose main focus will be outlined in the following paragraphs. In Chapter 1, the nature of standard and non-standard language is investigated, and their main characteristics illustrated. Several definitions and studies of linguists and sociolinguists on the topic have been proposed and the various levels of variations introduced and analysed. Accordingly, concepts such as dialect, which includes geographical varieties, sociolects, idiolects, ethnolects and so on, are described in depth. Likewise, the concepts of accent, style and register are illustrated, and related examples are provided. The second part of the chapter narrows the broad topic of non-standard varieties focusing on the Italian scenario and on the particular nature of dialects in Italy. At the same time, a historical outline of Italian standard language and Italian dialects is provided. Moreover, the classification of Italian dialects by Giovan Battista Pellegrini has been reported. The remaining part of Chapter 1 proceeds with a digression on vernacular literature in Italy and with the concept of *letteratura dialettale riflessa*.

Chapter 2 investigates the place of dialect study in the translation theory. A number of translation theorists, such as Catford, Newmark, House have considered the topic of dialect translation and have tried to propose solutions and strategies that can be adopted by translators. Some of them consider the possibility of translating a dialect of the SL with a dialect of the TL; others oppose the use of dialect in the target text. Several

of them have suggested that the translator should exoticize the target text by maintaining some of the lexical features of the source text, whereas others argue that the translator may "create" a new variety in the target text by starting from what the target language offers. Despite the different opinions, almost all of them agree that neutralizing the non-standard variety in the target text means that the nuances of the source text are inevitably lost. They agree on the necessity for the translator to understand the role and function of dialect when translating a literary work written in a non-standard variety. Only in this way can the translator proceed with the translation; a dialect, in fact, can be used with many purposes and functions, such as that of highlighting a character's background, or in a polemical way, namely, in contraposition to the hegemony of the standard language, or simply in a humorous way, in order to amuse the readers. Having established the function of dialect, the translator can choose the strategies to adopt. In this regard, in the last part of the chapter four different frameworks are analysed. Berezowski and Ramos Pinto's models refer to the strategies that can be used in dialect translation; Aixela and Newmark deal in particular with culture-specific-items and try to identify possible solutions to render them in the target language.

The discussion in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 turns to Andrea Camilleri's non-standard linguistic mix in his detective novels, and how this language is transported in translation. Firstly, a biographical introduction to the author occupies the beginning of Chapter 3; then Camilleri's linguistic mishmash, called *vigatese,* which mainly consists of Sicilian dialect, standard Italian and the regional Italian of Sicily, is illustrated. Accordingly, the last part of Chapter 3 gives a brief overview of the lexical, syntactic, and phonetic forms belonging to the Sicilian dialect that can be found in Camilleri's novels. Chapter 4 moves on to the analysis of the novels; the extracts chosen are analysed from a linguistic and a socio-cultural point of view. The approach of the translator Stephen Sartarelli is first outlined; afterwards, the focus of the chapter is on the strategies he follows in the translation of the novels. The analysis begins with the renderings of the narrative voice and free indirect speech in the target text. The source text and the target text extracts are compared with the use of tables, and then commented on. Likewise, the translation of the various characters' varieties and idiolects is illustrated; finally, culture-specific items, such as the lexis belonging to the local gastronomy or that locating the story in Sicily, are seen in translation. The aim of the analysis is to observe how much of Andrea Camilleri's peculiar language is preserved in translation. The topic of translation

is further covered in the last part of Chapter 4, which briefly examines translators' choices in translating Camilleri into other languages.

CHAPTER 1: LINGUISTIC VARIATION

This thesis investigates the world of non-standard language, its use in literature and the difficulty of translating it. In particular, the aim of this discussion is to analyse extracts taken from Andrea Camilleri's translated books into English. For this reason, in this chapter I will first define standard and non-standard varieties, focusing in particular on dialect. The second part of this chapter is a historical outline of Italian standard language and Italian dialects. In the end, dialectal literature in Italy will be dealt with.

1.1. STANDARD AND NON-STANDARD VARIETIES OF LANGUAGE

When we refer to standard language, we usually mean that variety of language used by governments, media and in international communication. This is the general description that the online Cambridge Dictionary (accessed 12 October 2020) gives about standard language. Encyclopaedia Britannica (accessed 16 October 2020) adds further features: it is the variety of language used in administrative matters, literature and economic life and it is spoken by educated members of a society. The *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) defines standard language as the one codified in dictionaries, grammars, and usage handbooks. In connection to this, Trudgill (2000) adds, in fact, that it is the variety that we usually find in print, but also the one normally taught in school and to non-native speakers who want to learn the language. It is also the variety of language accepted and spoken by educated people, but also by those who hold powerful positions. Trudgill (2000) labels it as the "superposed variety" of language. Haugen (1997), Romaine (2000) and Wardhaugh (2006) define it the "superordinate variety" of language. Haugen (1997) also argues that a requirement for a variety to be called standard is that it needs to be written in order for the it "to establish models across time and space" (Haugen 1997:346). He also underlines, reinforcing Trudgill's definition, that a standard language must have a body of users and the norm must be accepted, even by a small but important and influential group. This means that everything that does not match these definitions and that does not have these features is expected to be classified as a non-standard variety of language.

Within the category of non-standard varieties, sociolinguists include dialects, accents, registers and styles (Hudson 1996). These varieties, which will be analysed in the next subsection, differ from the standard language because they usually have a different morphology, syntax and vocabulary. This does not mean that they have nothing

in common with the standard language. On the contrary, very often standard language is a non-standard variety which has been standardised because of its prestige and of that of its speakers. For instance, Crystal (2005) points out that "standard English is as much a dialect as any other variety". This is true in the case of standard Italian, which was actually a regional dialect chosen to become the standard national language.

According to Haugen (1997), a variety has to develop and to go through a process in order to be called "standard". First of all, it must be selected to be standard. As Hudson (1996) specifies, this choice is important from a political and social point of view, because the selected variety gains prestige. A variety can be chosen because it is spoken in a relevant commercial region but also as outcome of a political choice (Hudson 1996). For instance, in the 19th century Finns selected a spoken variety to be standard because they needed a standardized language in order for them to be independent from the Swedes and Russians (Wardhaugh 2006). Another example is when Classical Hebrew was chosen as the standard language in Israel, although it had no native speakers (Hudson 1996).

As Haugen explains (1997), the second part of the process of standardization implies a codification of the variety, which has to be fixed by written dictionaries and grammar books. Then, this codified variety must be used by the government, in scientific, educational, legal documents and in literature. The last passage includes the overall acceptance of the variety chosen to be the standard language. At this point, this new standard language becomes a national language, and symbol of a country (Haugen 1997). Another characteristic associated with the standard variety is that it is generally considered more prestigious and correct than any other variety. Hudson (1996) says that standard language is "widely considered to be 'correct', 'beautiful', 'nice', 'pure' and so on. Other non-standard, non-prestige varieties are often held to be 'wrong', 'ugly', 'corrupt', or 'lazy'" (Hudson 1996:8). He adds that the other varieties are seen to deviate from the norm and, for this reason, their speakers may be seen as lazy, ignorant and lacking intelligence (Hudson 1996). They are also seen as a "cultural threat" because they can contaminate the standard language and culture (Gates & Ilbury 2019). On the contrary, standard variety is perceived to be more "logical" (Mooney and Evans 2015) and "elegant" (Milroy 2001) than any other variety. For this reason, Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1972) talk of the "overt prestige" of the standard variety, referring to the positive value associated with standard language, which is overtly seen as "correct" by users and "socially acceptable" through public acknowledgement.

The way of evaluating non-standard varieties negatively and standard language positively has led many linguists to talk of the "ideology of the standard language" (Hudson 1996, Hodge and Kress 1997, Trudgill 2000, Milroy 2001, Mooney and Evans 2015, Gates and Ilbury 2019). They do not agree with the labels "standard" and "non-standard", although as Weinreich says: "It is much easier to deal with samples of a standardized language, to make generalizations about it and to know the limits of their applicability" (Weinreich 1954: 396). Nevertheless, these scholars do not agree above all with the connotation of prestige and correctness connected to the standard language because, as Milroy (2001) argues, the standard variety of language has no prestige in itself, but it is labelled "high" because it is identified with high-status speakers. Trudgill (2000) adds that the evaluation about the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties is indeed social, not linguistic. In fact, non-standard varieties have always been marginalised because those who speak them were marginalised. They use non-prestigious forms which were rejected as wrong; therefore, they were stigmatized as uneducated, vulgar, ignorant. Ramos Pinto underlines: "Non-standard varieties easily become associated […] with a lower sociocultural status" (Ramos Pinto 2009:3). Trudgill reinforces this idea: "There is nothing at all inherent in nonstandard varieties which makes them inferior. Any apparent inferiority is due only to their association with speakers from under-privileged, low-status groups" (Trudgill 2000:9). Crystal gives an example of the English language and its history:

> Sometime in the past – during the eighteenth century, to be precise – the most powerful people in society began to speak and write in a way which they felt to be especially elegant. They heard ordinary people on the streets say such things as 'ain't got no', so they decided that they would speak and write differently. […] No upper-class person would ever say such things as 'I were sat down' or 'We was eating', because that's the way 'ordinary' people spoke. Well, once the royal family, the aristocrats, the bishops, the professors, and all the other important people chose such patterns as 'does not have any' as their normal way of speaking and writing, there was huge pressure on anybody who wanted to be somebody in society to do the same thing. So a big gap opened up. […] The gap is still there today. (Crystal 2010:68).

This is an example that shows that there is no intrinsic reason that leads to label non-standard varieties as being wrong. Non-standard varieties, like any other language, have their own phonetics, phonology, grammar and so on. It is a mere social reason that led

them to be marked as wrong or ugly and, as Greenbaum (1975) says, there has also been a normative tradition that has prescribed some uses and varieties and proscribed others.

A relevant example of a non-standard variety which has long been stigmatized is African American Vernacular English (also known as Ebonics or AAVE), spoken by above all lower-class African-Americans in the urban communities. As Wardhaugh (2006) points out, it is still debated whether AAVE is a variety of American English or a creolised variety of English with some residual Africanisms and certain way of speaking, such as fancy talk or rapping, which have African origins. Either way, it has always been stigmatised and never legitimised because it deviates from the lawful structure of the English language, but not only for this reason. Milroy (2001) suggests that this linguistic discrimination reflects the history of racial discrimination, of slavery and segregation. For example, in schools children speaking African American Vernacular English were often labelled as having "learning disabilities" (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton and Richardson 1993). This shows that this misconception towards this variety can have dangerous consequences in education, but also in access to employment and so on (Mooney and Evans 2015). This is not the place to further investigate this language variety, but my point was to show once more that linguistic evaluation is almost always linked to social evaluation. Fortunately, the process of legitimization of AAVE is in course and the study of this variety represents an active area of research (Milroy 2001).

In general, non-standard varieties have been recently reconsidered and re-evaluated, especially by linguists, as Coupland and Jaworski (1997) point out. Linguists became aware of the limits of a study of language that ignores variation and the social and contextual basis of language. In the past, language was seen as a code with a set of established rules (Coupland and Jaworski 1997). This was an idealised way to see language, but linguists soon realised that variation is inherent in language. This awareness has led many of them to change perspective and to develop a socially based view of language. Yet, as Mooney and Evans argue, there are still scholars that think "that if language changes, if 'rules' are broken, the heart of language will be torn out" (Mooney and Evans 2015:8).

The widespread interest in language change and variation dates back to the 1960s. This does not mean that the study of language variation did not exist before. Before that, in fact, at the end of 19th century, important authors as Hermann Paul (1846-1921) and William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894) investigated the variational nature of language and

recognised it as a natural process, although they considered it a destructive force, as Labov (2001) points out. Language variation continued to be studied in relation to society and in the 1960s a branch of linguistics was founded and called *sociolinguistics.* This discipline is the study of language closely connected with social contexts and the study of society through language (Coupland and Jaworski 1997, Hudson 1996). One major sociolinguist, William Labov, refuses to use the term "sociolinguistics" because, in his view, it implies that a successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social is possible (Labov 1972). Sociolinguistics is different from linguistics because it does not take into account only the structure of the language, but also social constraints determining language in its contextual environment (Hudson 1996). For this reason, among its main concerns, language variation occupies an important place. This topic will be dealt with in depth in the next subsection.

1.2. NON-STANDARD VARIETIES AND DIMENSIONS OF VARIATION

In the previous subsection, the term "variety" was introduced and used as a general and neutral term referring to different manifestations of language. Many sociolinguists such as Hudson (1996), Trudgill (2000), Wardhaugh (2006) and others use it is as an umbrella term that embraces notions such as "dialect", "accent", "register", "style" or other forms of language, as well as the standard variety. All these terms show how languages are not stable entities, but they change continually. This change is due not only to internal features, but also to extralinguistic factors. They change through the various historical stages, but not only: they change according to the individual, according to social context and the social group or the different place or region where they are spoken, but also according to the medium (written or spoken). These dimensions of variety have been deeply studied and analysed in sociolinguistics. However, in this discussion the two models that will be analysed are that of Flydal and Coseriu and that of Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens. Other important contributions were given in the field of language variation during the 1960s and 1970s by William Labov, Dell Hymes (1927-2009), John Gumperz (1922-2013), Joshua Fishman (1926-2015), M.A.K. Halliday (1925-2005) and later on by many others (Crystal, Lesley and James Milroy, Trudgill, Hudson and so on) whose work will be cited very often throughout the chapter.

As reported in Viggo (2012), the first to introduce the term *variety* was the Swiss linguist Uriel Weinreich, who also talked about *language architecture* made up of

different dimensions of variety, which were analysed later on by the Norwegian linguist Leiv Flydal (1904-1983) and the Rumanian linguist Eugenio Coseriu (1921-2002). Flydal (Viggo 2012), starting from the dichotomy introduced by De Saussure between synchrony and diachrony[1], distinguishes between two dimensions of variations on the synchronic level: *diatopic* (spatial) and *diastratic* (social). Coseriu, as reported in Kabatek (2020), introduces a further dimension: *diaphasic* (stylistic or situational). The last dimension was introduced by Alberto Mioni in 1983 and it is the *diamesic* one (Mioni 1983), which refers to the kind of medium of communication used. The various levels of language variation overlap very often and sometimes they include each other. In fact, each dimension should be seen as part of a whole that has no interruption or clear boundary between one dimension and the other.

The other framework for the description of language variation is that of Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964), who establish two dimensions of variation. The first has to do with the *user* and the other with the *use* of the language. The user-related varieties include non-standard varieties and the standard one, while the use-related varieties are made up mainly by registers. As in the previous model, the two dimensions are not separate; they interfere one with the other according to the speaker's use of language (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964).

These two perspectives show how difficult it is to distinguish between one variety and another and also to find criteria for delimiting varieties. Sociolinguists have tried to label varieties and to group them, but quite loosely, as Hudson (1996) admits. Languages change, as we have just seen, according to a number of factors and in some societies (but also in some individuals) it is hard to identify a variety and label it with the traditional notions. Nevertheless, the following subsections will deal with these notions, trying to define them and providing examples which may clarify them.

1.2.1. DEFINITION OF A VARIETY CALLED "DIALECT"

The first dimension we will deal with is the diatopic one. It refers to regional or local varieties of language, which are usually defined "dialects". For instance, Saxonian

[1] Synchrony and diachrony are two different perspective in linguistic analysis. The former refers to the study of a language at a single point in time, usually the present. The latter studies language in its development and change across time.

German or Sicilian in Italy could be included in this definition. The word "dialect" comes from the Greek word *dialektos*, which means "discourse, language". In Classical Greece, there were a number of different varieties of Greek, each associated with a different region or place (Haugen 1997). This is why the term "dialect" is traditionally considered a regional or locally based variety. But, as many sociolinguists and dialectologists (Hudson 1996, Romaine 2000, Chambers and Trudgill 2004, Crystal 2005) have recently pointed out, the term "dialect" is a general and sometimes unprecise one and includes varieties of language such as *geographical dialects, sociolects*, *idiolects, ethnolects* and others, which will not be taken into account in this discussion. These terms imply that the many levels of variation introduced above interact with each other. In fact, these varieties are the outcome of the influence of various factors on language, such as social class, age, sex, profession, ethnicity and geographic origin of the speaker(s). For this reason, as we will see, the word "dialect" is used in a general way by sociolinguists, referring to all kinds of dialect, from the geographical ones to the individual ones. The following parts of the chapter will tackle the thorny issue of dialect.

1.2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL DIALECT

Perhaps, the most straightforward difference between the varieties named above is based on geography. The demarcation line between geographical (or often "regional") dialects is drawn by the so-called *isoglosses* (from Greek *iso*- "same" and *gloss*- "tongue") which represent a boundary of any linguistic feature or group of features which separate one regional variety from another (Romaine 2000). The definition of isoglosses given by Chambers and Trudgill is the following: "the lines marking the boundaries between two regions which differ with respect to some linguistic feature (for instance, a lexical item, or the pronunciation of a particular word)" (Chambers and Trudgill 2004:89). These lines are thus drawn where differences in vocabulary or pronunciation and even in grammatical usages occur between an area and another. Isoglosses are not always regular lines, but they sometimes can be compared to a spider's web (Holmes 2013). An example of a bundle of isoglosses is the Rhenish Fan, which divides Low German in the north from High German in the south. The division concerns mainly the pre-Germanic stop consonants *p, *t, and *k, which have remained stop consonants in Low German, but have become fricatives [f,s,x] in High German (Chambers and Trudgill 2004).

Another feature of geographical dialects is that they are part of a *dialect continuum.* For instance, if a person decides to travel from the South of Italy to the North, it will be clear to this person that he/she began the journey hearing one language and ended it hearing something completely diverse (Wardhaugh 2006). Yet, as Wardhaugh remarks, "there was no one point at which the changeover occurred, nor is there actually any way of determining how many intermediate dialect areas that person passed through" (Wardhaugh 2006:45-46). This situation is called dialect continuum. It means that, across some geographical area, neighboring geographical dialects diverge only slightly one from the other. They tend to merge together without a definable boundary. On the Enciclopedia Treccani online, Gaetano Berruto defines the concept of dialect continuum concerning, in particular, the Italian reality:

> Il concetto di *continuum* implica che i confini fra le categorie che lo formano (nel caso, le diverse varietà di lingua) non siano netti e drastici, ma graduali e sfumati, con punti focali ben distinti ma margini in sovrapposizione [..] Un carattere di molte situazioni italiane è la presenza di un continuum di varietà italiano-dialetto, avente ai poli estremi da un lato l'italiano standard e dall'altro la parlata locale, fra cui si collocano varietà intermedie (dovute all'interferenza reciproca fra i due sistemi) via via più distanti dall'italiano standard e più vicine al dialetto. (Gaetano Berruto in the Enciclopedia Treccani online [accessed 19 October 2020])[2]

The differences between geographical dialects accumulate as the distance increases, so that varieties that are far away are not *mutually intelligible.* This means that speakers of two dialects that are not mutually intelligible cannot understand each other. The criterion of mutual intelligibility is often used to distinguish a dialect from a language, but it is not simple as it seems. In fact, it is a problematic criterion (Hudson 1996). It implies that if two linguistic varieties are mutually intelligible, they are considered dialects of the same language; if they are not, they constitute distinct "languages". Yet, as Hudson (1996) says, it cannot be taken seriously because its application implies many problems. First of all, the term "language" is a thorny one, this is why the term "variety" is used throughout the chapter. For example, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish are considered three different languages, although they are mutually

[2] "The concept of *continuum* implies that the boundaries between the various categories that form it - so the different language varieties - are not strict and clear, but gradual and blurred. In the continuum there are distinct focal points but also overlapping margins […] One typical Italian aspect is the presence of a continuum Italian-dialect, with standard Italian on one extreme pole and local dialect on the other extreme pole. In between there are intermediate varieties - originated by the interference between the two systems – that are gradually farther from standard Italian and closer to dialect" (my translation).

intelligible. According to the criterion of mutual intelligibility, they should be considered dialects of the same language. Yet history and political borders cannot allow them to be viewed as dialects of the same language. Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian are in the same situation: they are seen as three separate languages although entirely mutually intelligible (Trudgill 2000), but deliberately distanced for extralinguistic reasons. Another example is the linguistic situation in China: Chinese consists of hundreds of local varieties, many of which are completely mutually unintelligible. Nevertheless, they are considered "dialects" of Chinese just because they share a common writing system (Romaine 2000). The result is that, in Scandinavia, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have three different standard languages, while China only one (Hudson 1996, Chambers and Trudgill 2004). Therefore, as Trudgill (2000) says, the labels "dialect" and "language" do not necessarily have much to do with actual linguistic differences, but rather with political, historical, economic reasons.

Another problem with this criterion is that mutual intelligibility is a matter of degree (Hudson 1996). How close should two varieties be to be considered instances of the same language? How much must speakers of two varieties understand to be considered speakers of two different languages? The answer is not simple and perhaps it does not exist because it is difficult to draw a line and delimit geographical varieties. As Hudson (1996) says, "the search for language boundaries is a waste of time". The term "language" is thus a fuzzy one, as Trudgill and Chambers (2004) underline, and it is used by lay people in a nontechnical way. Generally, in sociolinguistics when the term "language" is used, it usually refers to "standard language". Otherwise, the term used is "variety" which, as we have seen, includes a number of instances of language.

1.2.3. SOCIOLECT

Among non-standard varieties, we can also find *sociolects.* When we talk of sociolects or social dialects, the main level of variation is the diastratic one. This level of variation is influenced not only by the socio-cultural origin and status of the speakers, but also by their age, sex and level of education (Lo Duca 2012). Different social groups tend to use different varieties of language as a way of feeling to belong to a group (Wardhaugh 2006). A relevant example of social dialects is represented by the so-called *caste dialects* spoken in India. The social dialects in India are associated with the caste system, which means that every caste speaks its own sociolect. There is a clear-cut distinction between these

dialects as there is a rigid division into distinct groups in the Indian society (Trudgill 2000). These differences between Indian sociolects are often greater than geographical differences, as Trudgill (2000) underlines.

Another example of social dialect may be represented by Cockney. As the Encyclopaedia Britannica[3] (accessed 24 November) reports, it is a dialect spoken by working class Londoners, especially from the East End. This sociolect is notable because it includes rhyming *slang* which is used to replace certain words (Crystal 2010), e.g. *apples* and *pears* for 'stairs', *lean* and *lurch* for 'church'. The term "slang" refers to a variety of colloquial language "characterized by the innovative use of common vocabulary as well as newly coined words" (Bussmann 2006:1084)[4]. Many social groups make use of slang in order to establish group identity and exclude people outside the group. For example, in the canton of Ticino, in the Italian Switzerland, communities of craftsmen used to speak a specific slang in order to exclude people that were not part of their community (Lurà 1987).

To sum up, we can say that the variety of language spoken is a great marker of our social position. Trudgill explains this in a practical way:

> Everyone knows what is supposed to happen when two English people who have never met before come face to face in a train - they start talking about the weather. In some cases this may simply be because they happen to find the subject interesting […]. There is also a second explanation. It is quite possible that the first English person, probably subconsciously, would like to get to know certain things about the second - for instance what sort of job they do and what social status they have […] What he or she can do […] is to engage them in conversation. The first person is then likely to find out certain things about the other person quite easily. These things will be learnt not so much from what the other person says as from *how* it is said, for whenever we speak we cannot avoid giving our listeners clues about our origins and the sort of person we are. Our accent and our speech generally show where we come from, and what sort of background we have (Trudgill 2000:1-2).

[3] https://www.britannica.com/topic/Cockney

[4] The concept of "slang" is often mistakenly associated with that of "jargon" and "argot". According to Bussmann (2006), "jargon" is a variety of language not accessible to non-specialists. It is characterised by the use of terminology and technical words. It is usually used by people belonging to certain professions (computer scientists, linguists, doctors and many others). The term "argot" refers to "a secret language, used by beggars and thieves in medieval France. More broadly, argot may refer to any specialized vocabulary or set of expressions used by a particular group or class and not widely understood by mainstream society, e.g. the argot of gamblers or the argot of the underworld" (Bussmann 2006:85). The three terms are often associated and used interchangeably, yet they mean three different concepts.

Within the category of sociolects, we can also find the so-called *genderlect*, a recently coined term that stands for a sociolect associated with a particular gender. In many societies, differences between men and women from the linguistic point of view can be overtly clear and noted, for example, at various levels of grammar, in phonology, in syntax, in pragmatics and in choice of lexical items (Trudgill 2000). Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) point out that this is typical of Aboriginal languages of Australia, where completely different varieties of language are used by men and women. An example of a closer society where these linguistic gender differences are evident is the Japanese society, where women show to be women when they speak through the use of particles, or the use of specific forms exclusive for them (Hudson 1996). However, in most societies women and men speak with no evident difference in speech, as Cameron (2008) argues. On the contrary, Cameron (2008) underlines that speech within the same category varies more often than between categories. She also observes that since the mid-1990s, research has corrected the generalizations that had been made about the way men and women speak and that differences in speech are not sex-specific traits, but they rather depend on different factors, such as the activities men and women are involved in or their relation to power (Cameron 2008).

As for the language variation associated with age, researchers (Labov 1972, Rampton 1991, Eckert 2003, Tagliamonte 2005 and others) have deeply focused on the so-called *youth speak*. As Eckert says, "language plays a key role in the creation and maintenance of social groups in general, hence of adolescent peer groups" (Eckert 2003:113). What mostly characterises this sociolect is above all the divergence from the parents' speech, especially concerning lexical items and phonological forms (Mooney and Evans 2015). Tagliamonte (2005) also shows that youth speak is continuously characterised by discourse markers, such as "like", "just", "really, "so". In addition, teenagers are innovative from the linguistic point of view because they adopt newer forms they hear and read in social media and on the Internet, especially foreign words (Lo Duca 2012).

1.2.4. IDIOLECTS

An idiolect is the variety of language of a single speaker, a "personal dialect", as Crystal (2005) defines it. Any attempt to study how an individual speaks is rather difficult because they may have different background and exposure to different ways of speaking which

may influence their speech. I have decided to report Wardhaugh and Fuller's attempt to describe an idiolect:

> The first author of this book, Wardhaugh, speaks in such a way that he is regarded as North American almost everywhere he goes but in certain aspects shows his origins in the north of England. He pronounces *grass* and *bath* with the vowel of *cat*, does not pronounce the *r*'s in *car* and *cart*, and distinguishes the vowels in *cot* and *caught* (and pronounces the latter word exactly like court). He also distinguishes the vowels in *Mary*, *merry*, and *marry*. […] He now says words like *tune*, *duke*, and *news* like *toon*, *dook*, and *nooz* (but when, as a young man, he served in the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, he used to say *Jook*). In vocabulary he knows Geordie dialect words like *bumler* 'bumble bee,' *canny* 'nice,' *gob* 'mouth,' *hinny* 'honey,' *lug* 'ear,' *plodge* 'wade,' and *tettie* 'potato' but no longer uses them. His grammar, both written and spoken, is that of Standard English (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015:9-10).

This shows how difficult studying idiolects would be. Each individual uses a set of speech habits, including sounds, words, grammar, which inevitably differ in some respects from that of everyone else within the same community. Hence, we cannot talk of individual grammars or phonologies or study them. In fact, as Labov (2001) argues, an individual speaker cannot be considered as a single linguistic object, but as part of all the social groups and categories that influence that individual.

1.2.5. ETHNOLECTS

Language varies according to age, sex, gender and other factors, but also according to ethnicity. In this case, we talk about *ethnolects*. As underlined by Holmes (2013), minority ethnic groups often use their own linguistic variety because they want to keep and show their cultural distinctiveness and they are reluctant to abandon their language in favour of the dominant one. Holmes (2013)'s example is that of Maori, who can speak fluent English, but they insist on using Maori in court and an interpreter for the English language. Another example of ethnic group who speaks an ethnolect is the indigenous group of Lumbee in North Carolina. It is an English-speaking tribe, but who spoke Cheraw Dialect of the Eastern Siouan language before adopting English (Mooney and Evans 2015). Their variety is a form of American Indian English, considered an ethnolect. However, the most famous and studied ethnolect is African American Vernacular English, which was briefly investigated at the beginning of the chapter.

1.2.6. ACCENT

Dialect differences do not only have to do with vocabulary and grammar, but also with pronunciation. Pronunciation differences are part of what sociolinguists call *accent.* Chambers and Trudgill define it as "the way in which a speaker pronounces, and therefore refers to a variety which is phonetically and/or phonologically different from other varieties" (Chambers and Trudgill 2004:4). Although it refers solely to the differences in pronunciation, accent is considered within the category of language variation. Accents tell us which country or which part of a country someone comes from, but also about the social background or the speaker's kind of job. As Crystal (2010) says, all dialects have an accent and even though we speak the standard variety, we do it with an accent. In fact, we can rather say that everyone has an accent.

In the case of English language, there is one accent that has or at least had a certain prestige and reputation: the so-called "Received Pronunciation" or RP for short. It is the pronunciation of less than 3% of those who live in England (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015). It developed fairly recently, at the end of the 18th century, among people with high social or educational background (Crystal 2010). There are many names for this accent, such as "BBC English", "the Queen's English" or "Oxford English". It was, in fact, the accent used by BBC journalists until recently because it was considered the most neutral and elegant, while now regional accents can be heard by BBC journalists (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015). It is called "the Queen's English", but there is no agreement among scholars whether she keeps using it (Holmes 2013). Finally, it may be called "Oxford English" because it was the variety that could be found at Oxford, although today a broad variety of accents can be also found (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015).

As a final observation, we may say that it is difficult not to speak any variety of language without accent and that accents are usually evaluated in a positive or negative way depending on the "reputation" of the accent. The same happens with any variety of language, as we saw in the first part of the chapter.

1.2.7. REGISTER AND STYLE

In addition to the dialects, two other varieties often discussed by sociolinguists are *register* and *style*. Register and style have mainly to do with the diaphasic dimension, the one that has to do with the various communicative settings and the circumstances where the communication occurs. Until now, we have seen variations in language according to

the user (language varies according to the social background, age, sex, geographical origin of the speaker and so on), but variations in language happen also according to the use, if we consider Halliday's model. A person may use different linguistic features to express an idea on different occasions (Hudson 1996) and he/she changes register according to the situation. The following quotation about register is taken by Halliday and Hasan:

> The linguistic features which are typically associated with a configuration of situational features - with particular values of the field, mode and tenor- constitute a register. The FIELD is the total event, in which the text is functioning together with the purposive activity of the speaker or writer; it thus includes the subject-matter as one element in it. The MODE is the function of the text in the event, including therefore both the channel taken by the language - spoken or written, extempore or prepared - and its genre or rhetorical mode, as narrative, didactic, persuasive, 'phatic communion' and so on. The TENOR refers to the type of role interaction, the set of relevant social relations, permanent and temporary, among the participants involved. Field. mode and tenor collectively define the context of situation of a text (Halliday and Hasan 1976:22).

The two scholars propose a three-dimensional model, and they provide practical examples, given some information about the three categories of field, mode and tenor (Halliday and Hasan 1976):

- Field: personal interaction, end of the day, familiar events
- Mode: spoken monologue, imaginative narrative
- Tenor: intimate, mother and child.

Given this clear scenario, one might say that a familiar register is used and that a "language of bedtime story" can be reconstructed (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Another example can be that of a lesson of biology or physics (Halliday 1988). The scenario would be the following: a specialist who speaks to students or to other specialists (tenor) and tries to transmit knowledge in biology or physics (field) and does so mainly using spoken language, but also written language with graphic channels in an expository, polemic, imaginative way and so on (mode). As Halliday (1988) argues, in this case we can say that a scientific register is used. These examples can fit into recognizable categories, but there will always be borderline cases or cases that are less easy to classify. Nevertheless, Halliday has never provided a set of registers, nor is it clear how they can be divided one from another. This is because, as he says, classifying registers is as impossible as classifying dialects, but the important aspect is that people are aware that language varies

according to the context of use and that they are ready to recognise the differences between one context and another (Halliday 1989).

Dell Hymes (1974) developed a model similar to Halliday's, but with eight dimensions which help to categorise registers. These components are: setting, participants, ends, acts sequence, key, instrumentalities, norms and genre (Hymes 1974). "Setting", "participants" and "ends" mean respectively the time and place where the communication occurs, the speaker(s) and the audience, the goal or purpose of the utterance. "Acts sequence" refers to the sequence of speech acts included in the communication, while "key" refers to tone and the manners of the speech act. "Instrumentalities" are the channels of communication, "norms" are the social rules between the participants and "genre" stays for the kind of speech act (anecdote, conversation, gossip). In his opinion, there are other patterns that were not yet classified.

These prominent linguists have devoted themselves to find and theorise about a way of understanding registers, but this topic is still a quagmire, as Lee (2001) defines it, and many linguists disagree on the definition and, as a consequence, on the way of classifying registers. In fact, in linguistics and sociolinguistics there are a number of definitions. For example, in Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), in Trudgill (2000), in Romaine (2000) and in Holmes (2013) the definition of register overlaps with that of "jargon" and it is "the language of groups of people with common interests or jobs, or the language used in situations associated with such groups" (Holmes 2013:262). According to these scholars, register affects only vocabulary. In fact, Trudgill (2000) says that the register of law, for example, is different from the language of engineering and of that of medicine because the of vocabulary differences.

Other scholars such as Mooney and Evans (2015), Hudson (1996) consider "register" a term meaning roughly "style". On the other hand, The *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) associates it to what many scholars define "genre"[5]. Crystal and Davy criticise the way how "this term has been applied to varieties of language in an almost indiscriminate manner, as if it could be usefully applied to situationally distinctive pieces of language of any kind" (Crystal and Davy 2013). In this

[5] In the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999), registers are defined as "institutionalized varieties or text types within a culture, such as novels, letters, editorials, sermons and debates" (The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English 1999:15). For many scholars, this definition is the one corresponding to that of "genre". For further explanation about genre and register, see Lee (2001).

regard, Halliday's definition of register might clarify the concept: it is what we are speaking in a given moment, determined by what we are doing in the same moment (the social activity we are taking part in) and it expresses the diversity of the social process. In other words, registers are "different ways of saying things" which differ not only in semantics, but also in lexicogrammar, and sometimes in phonology (Halliday 1978). Eggins (2003) continues on this context-based analysis of register, following Halliday's model and reinforces the idea that language cannot exist without social context, which influences not only vocabulary but also grammar, intonation, and the style of communication.

A notion, in fact, strictly connected with that of register, is that of "style". What "style" stands for is still debated as well (Lee 2001). Generally, it is considered the language variety that has to do with formality and informality. For this reason, we can compare it to Halliday's category of "tenor". However, very often the term "style" is used with the meaning of "register", as already shown above. Bussmann (2006) defines "style" the "more or less the controlled choice of linguistic means". Style, in fact, can be ranged on a continuum that goes from the very formal to the very informal (Trudgill 2000), so it changes according to degree of formality of the social situation.

Labov (1972) argues that style is measured by the amount of attention paid to speech and that speakers change regularly their linguistic forms according to the situation. He distinguished between a "casual style", when the speaker pays less attention to its utterances, and a "careful style", when the speaker pays attention to language (Labov 1972). Bell (1997) reinforces this idea and underlines the importance of the audience in choosing the style to adopt when speaking. In his opinion, speakers "design their style primarily for and in response to their audience" (Bell 1997: 244). To sum up, style changes according to the individual, register according to the context and the situation.

1.2.8 CONCLUSION

This brief outline of the main non-standard varieties does not exhaust the complex reality within the world of language variation. Nevertheless, this is not the place to further investigate language varieties for matter of space and time. In the category, we might include other types of language varieties, such as those used on social networks, or pidgin languages, studied by many sociolinguists as varieties of language. Yet for the sake of my argument, the notions introduced are those that will be dealt with in the next chapters

and that will come into use in my analysis. I have cited many sociolinguists throughout this section, and I refer readers to them for further information.

As a final remark, I would like to underline that in the next subsection the term "dialect" will be used exclusively in the meaning of "geographical dialect". This is because dealing with Italian linguistic panorama means dealing mainly[6] with geographical dialect and, in order not to repeat the entire expression, I will make use of the word "dialect".

1.3. ITALIAN STANDARD LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

As Maiden and Perry (1997) state, Italy is the only place in Europe in which there is such a "profusion" of linguistic varieties concentrated in a small geographical area. If dialects are often seen "as satellites that have orbits at various distances around a central body – the standard" (Milroy 2001: 534), this is not the case of Italian dialects. In order to explain why the notion of dialect has a particular connotation on the Italian scene, Bonaffini (1997) brings the Anglophone world into the discussion. In Anglophone areas, the term dialect stands for irregularity and deviation from the standard language. For this reason, even a regional or local pronunciation is regarded as a dialectal form. The Italian phenomenon of dialects cannot be intended as a simple deviation from the national standard language but as "an autonomous linguistic system, historically determined through well-known mechanisms, as all linguists recognise" (Bonaffini 1997:281). For this reason, Italian dialects could be placed in the same position as the standard language. Moreover, they all come from a common ancestor: Latin. They originated not from the standard, as happened with dialects in other countries, but from Vulgar Latin. Hence, they are not varieties of Italian, but independent language systems (Cerruti & Regis 2014). This is why Pellegrini (1997) prefers to talk of *dialects of Italy* rather than Italian dialects.[7]

In order to understand where standard Italian came from and the role that dialects have in Italy, a brief historical outline will be necessary. The varieties of language spoken today in Italy are in fact the outcome of profound linguistic changes over many centuries.

[6] The Italian dialectal variation 'incorporates' each of the levels of variation described thus far.

[7] In this case, scholars talk of "dialetti primari", namely, independent language systems. They differ from "dialetti secondari", which represent a "corruption" and an alteration of the standard language (Loporcaro 2013). In the case of Italy, an example of "dialetto primario" is the local dialect of Agrigento (Sicily); an example of "dialetto secondario" is the regional Italian of Sicily.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476, Classical Latin remained only a written language, while on the oral level Vulgar Latin took on different innovative forms in the different regions of the peninsula (De Mauro 1970). Vulgar Latin diverged from Classical Latin because it became "il latino parlato dell'uso familiare così com'era venuto atteggiandosi nell'età della decadenza"[8], as Serianni (2011) defines it. It is also relevant to remember that, before Latin, other languages had previously been spoken and they constituted the linguistic substrate[9]. In fact, in the north, where a Celtic language had probably been spoken, linguistic scholars suppose that Celtic phonetic trends and lexical elements influenced Vulgar Latin, though it is still a hypothesis. Germanic languages, such as Gothic and Langobardic, brought to the Italian peninsula by the Germanic conquerors, exerted a certain influence on Vulgar Latin, especially in areas such as Tuscany and in the northern part of Italy (Loporcaro 2013). These trends did not manage to infiltrate and spread in the central and southern part of Italy, where dialects remained immune to such innovations and therefore closer to Latin, to which they have remained faithful in particular in the lexicon and phonology. On the other hand, in the central and the southern half of Italy other languages were spoken. In the south, for example, Vulgar Latin was also influenced by Byzantine Greek (Loporcaro 2013), which constituted though not the substrate of that area rather a linguistic interference. However, once established, Vulgar dialects continued to develop in different directions for centuries, also influenced by the different idioms spoken by the conquerors arriving in the peninsula over the centuries. On the other hand, Classical Latin continued to be adopted in legal use until the 16th century, and in ecclesiastical use even longer (De Mauro 1970; Migliorini 1971).

As De Mauro (1970) explains, the various dialects were supposed to be on the same level; there was no one dialect which was more important or prestigious than the others. This, at least, was true until the 14th century, when the Florentine variety started to gain a certain prestige thanks to authors such as Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. Yet the first "vulgar" dialect that managed to achieve a great literary prestige was not

[8] "The Latin spoken in familiar contexts and in the period of the decline of the Roman Empire" (my translation).

[9] The linguistic substrate is a kind of linguistic interference that occurs when language A is replaced by language B and it exerts influence on the replacing language. For instance, when Latin started to spread in the Italian peninsula, people spoke very different languages and they had to learn their conquerors' language: Latin. Their languages (Etruscan, Celtic and Osco-Umbrian languages and perhaps others), which became the substrates, influenced Latin in various ways (the phonetics was affected, but also the vocabulary and so on) and contributed to differentiate it according to the area where they were spoken. The outcome was the formation of the various dialects (Poggiogalli 2011).

Florentine, but the Sicilian, the variety used by the writers and poets of the so-called "Scuola Poetica Siciliana" (Caserio 2011), which flourished in the 12th century thanks to King Fredrik II (1194-1250), the Holy Roman Emperor. It undoubtedly influenced the future national language, especially on a lexical and phonetic level, when Italian poets started to imitate the literary instances of the Scuola Poetica Siciliana (Enciclopedia Treccani online[10]). Yet it was in the 15th and 16th centuries that the necessity of establishing a sort of national language was felt. In other countries, such as Spain, France and Germany, a national language was establishing itself throughout the territory (De Mauro 1970). Italy, at that time, was not a unified nation, but was made up of different small states or conglomerations of city-states, republics, and other small independent realities. As Sabatini (2001) points out, at the start of the 15th century, scholars felt the need to create a standard language as means of cultural identity because there was no geographical or political identity. Nor was there a place, such as a court, which could promote a national linguistic model, which would be elaborated in the written and oral form at the same time.

Scholars and grammarians such as the Venetian Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) and Gian Francesco Fortunio (1470-1517), who came from Pordenone, saw in the Florentine dialect of the 13th century a possible model to use as a standard language (Paccagnella 2017). Bembo praised the stylistic and grammatical uniformity of Petrarch's language and the classicism of Boccaccio's narrative but not Dante's varied and realistic language in the Divine Commedia (Sabatini 2001). According to Bembo, Dante's style was too low and the words the poet used were "rozze e disonorate" (coarse and non- prestigious) (Caserio 2011). On the other hand, he considered Petrarch's language elegant and sophisticated. Bembo, in *Le prose della volgar lingua*, suggests that everyone who wants to write in Italian must imitate Petrarch and Boccaccio's language (Migliorini 1971). Gian Francesco Fortunio wrote *Le regole grammaticali di la tersa vulgar lingua*, which was a small book with a series of "rules" that took inspiration from Petrarch's language. The book included the morphological and orthographic rules of the language (Migliorini 1971; Paccagnella 2017). In their view, Petrarch's literary language had to be established as the canon for the future national language.

[10] https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scuola-siciliana/ (accessed 10 December 2020).

Yet this idea was questioned by many scholars: some proposed the variety of Rome spoken at the Roman court as a possible standard variety (Paccagnella 2017), while others criticized Bembo because they thought that it would be impossible to spread Florentine in the entire peninsula. Haller (1999) depicts the opposite position assumed by many scholars to Bembo's idea in defense of dialects against the expansion of Florentine. Many scholars from various parts of Italy opposed the linguistic "colonialism" of the Florentine dialect. They wanted a provincial Italy, not an Italy whose language was imposed by a group of scholars who decided that Florentine was the best choice. Haller writes: "It is not exaggerated to state that for those grown outside Tuscany, the dialects represented the genuinely known register, while Tuscan was perceived more or less as a second language, to be acquired through study and imitation" (Haller 1999:16). Others, such as Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529), disagreed with Bembo's view because his linguistic ideal was the archaic Florentine of Petrarch and Boccaccio (Paccagnella 2017). Castiglione, in fact, did not want to imitate an archaic language, but preferred the contemporary Florentine, the one spoken and used in literature by Poliziano (1454-1494), Lorenzo De' Medici (1449-1492) or Francesco Diaceto (1466-1522).

Bembo was supported by the Accademia della Crusca, a Florence-based society of scholars of the Italian language. This institution was founded in 1583 and it began a process of codification of the language, starting from Bembo's position and from the re-consideration of Dante's language by the philologist Lionardo Salviati (1540-1589), who was also one of the founders of the Accademia. As Caserio (2011) reports, Salviati thought that not only the authors of the 1300s were to be imitated and included in the canon, but also the contemporary speakers of Florentine and not only literate people. The members of the Accademia della Crusca also produced a dictionary, called *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca,* published in 1612 and based on Florentine dialect, enriched with Latinisms and freed from local traits (Sabatini 2001). This dictionary would be an important linguistic tool for non-Tuscan authors, but it would help to increase the divergence between the written language (the Florentine used in the literature) and the spoken language (dialects spoken in the various parts of the peninsula) (Caserio 2011). Naturally, the debate around the national Italian language, the so-called *"*Questione della lingua*",* was not over. On the contrary, it continued over the centuries and is still open.

The Italian standard language was not created overnight by Pietro Bembo and the Accademia della Crusca and people did not start to speak Florentine as a national

language from that moment. It started to be used by many scholars, writers, and intellectuals, but not by common people, who continued using regional and local varieties even long after the birth of the unified Kingdom of Italy in 1861. Italy continued to be divided into regional states and during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries many of them experienced foreign control and rule under the Spanish, French and Austrians. This situation did not help the spread of a common language throughout the territory. In fact, as Migliorini argues, "nelle città e nelle campagne del Settentrione e del Mezzogiorno si parla di regola il dialetto: e non soltanto i popolani, ma anche i borghesi e i nobili: solo eccezionalmente […] la lingua di conversazione è l'italiano venato di dialetto"[11] (Migliorini 1971:454). Furthermore, the foreign invasions brought new linguistic trends, especially in the late 1800s. In fact, as De Mauro (1970) highlights, during the middle of 19th century in the entire peninsula, when the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy did not speak dialects, they spoke French as a language of culture.

Th 19th century, as Haller (1999) reminds us, was also characterised by the spread of the movement of Italian Purism, which rejected dialects and dialectal literature in favour of the national language. The main representative of this movement was Antonio Cesari (1760-1828), who wrote *Dissertazione sullo stato presente della lingua italiana* in 1808. Other important figures in that period were Vincenzo Monti (1754-1828) and Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873). They were all involved in the national debate about the standard language (Questione della lingua). Cesari believed that bringing back the language of 1300s was the only solution to avoid linguistic "pollution", which dominated the scene in his view in those days (Migliorini 1971). He was supported by many followers, but also criticized by other authors. For example, Monti underlined many times that the language of the dead had to be separated from that of the living. For this reason, he did not support Cesari's idea (Migliorini 1971). The debate around the Italian language was moved onto the political stage by Manzoni, who wanted all people of the Italian peninsula to speak a national language, which was Florentine. Manzoni wrote *Promessi Sposi*, his masterpiece and he is also famous because he decided to '*risciacquare i panni in Arno'*, which literally means to wash his clothes in the river Arno, which flows in Florence. This meant that he reviewed and re-checked his masterpiece many times from

[11] "In the towns and in the countryside of north and south, dialects are usually spoken and not only by common people, but also by the bourgeoisie and noblemen. Italian is used exceptionally and always tinged with dialectal traits" (my translation).

a linguistic point of view. He wanted his *Promessi Sposi* to be linguistically pure, that is to say, close to Florentine, but the Florentine spoken by the upper class, free from archaisms or forms that were not in use. In his view, Florentine was the only language comprehensible for all Italians and the only one that was to be used. He was convinced that dialects, or as he called them the "malerba dialettale", had to be eradicated. His view was shared by many scholars and writers of that time (Haller 1999; Migliorini 1971). Another important figure in the language debate was Isaia Ascoli (1829-1907), who rejected the linguistic theories about Florentine and, above all, Manzoni's ideas (Morgana 2010). In his view, Manzoni's theories led to the use of an artificial language and to focus excessively on the form and style of the language. He suggested that the cultural level of the population increased; in this way, an Italian common language would be spoken (Morgana 2010). One of his most important contributions was the foundation of the *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, a journal of linguistics.

After 1861, the year of Italian unification, only 5% of population spoke true Italian language (Balma 2011), which was still a literary language. This percentage started to increase slightly at the beginning of the 20th century. Social factors contributed to the spread of the Italian language: the military draft and the World War I, industrialisation, the creation of a national railroad system, migration from rural areas to the cities and many others (De Mauro 1970). A relevant contribution was given by writers and poets who believed that imitating old and fixed literary models of the past was no longer synonymous with writing well (Migliorini 1971). An important role would be played later on also by the mass media, such as radio and cinema, especially during fascism (Lo Duca 2012). At the first, schools were not among the factors that helped to create a national language. Very often teachers spoke dialect or a mix of dialect and literary language, as De Mauro (1970) points out. Yet during fascism, the regime used schools in its harsh campaign against dialects and their use (Coletti 2011).

It was only during the second half of the 20th century that Italian started to be spoken by a larger part of the population. This was due to World War II, the economic boom and the crisis of dialects, because they were not functional in the communication between people from different regions. In this period, schools played an important role: education until 14 years old started to be compulsory for everyone (De Mauro 1970). Television was also relevant to the process of mass education and spread of the national language (Antonelli 2011). This does not mean that dialects disappeared, as Sabatini

(2001) explains, but the number of exclusive speakers of dialect decreased. Sabatini (2001) reports data of the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) of 1991: 11.5% of Italian population used dialects within the family context. This percentage has been 51.5% in 1974. In 2015, according to a survey conducted by ISTAT in 2015 and published in 2017[12], only 14% of the population speak predominantly dialect, while 32.2% speak Italian and dialect and 45.9% speak mainly Italian.

The presence of both standard language and dialects in the Italian peninsula has led many scholars to talk about *diglossia*. Cortellazzo states: "i dialetti, lontanissimi dall'estinzione, continuano ad essere usati in circostanze diverse, non come parlata esclusiva, ma in situazioni di diglossia e/o bilinguismo, con acquisti sempre più numerosi e fitti, e non solo nel lessico, dall'italiano" (in Antonelli 2011:27)[13]. Berruto (1987) explains what diglossia means*:* it means that Italians use a written formal linguistic variety, very prestigious, and a low variety in informal oral situations. Yet Berruto (1987) explains that standard Italian and dialects are not varieties, one high and the other low, of the same language, but they are independent linguistic entities. Perhaps the most appropriate definition is that the linguistic Italian repertory is a *dilalìa* (Berruto 1987). This means that the domains of use of the two languages are not divided, as in diglossia. Their use is not limited to formal and informal communicative situations, but they are used in everyday conversation and very often they overlap. In fact, it is not rare for Italian speakers to mix or alternate between elements from dialect and those from standard Italian. This phenomenon is called *code switching* or *code mixing* (D'Achille 2010). In the first case, the speaker "willingly makes use of it" (Berruto 1997:396); in the other case, the speaker switches languages because he/she is unable to continue in one of the two languages because of lack of proficiency (Berruto 1997). According to Alfonzetti (1992) and Sobrero (1992) Italian speakers tend to make use of code switching rather than code mixing because they choose to switch language in order to convey information which is semantically relevant in the other language.

The use of both standard language and dialects has led to what linguists call *regional Italians*. Poggiogalli gives a definition: "l'italiano regionale è il punto di arrivo di un processo attraverso il quale una parlata locale egemone si è via via avvicinata

[12] https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/207961

[13] "Dialects, which are far from extinction, continue to be used in different occasions, not as exclusive languages though, but in situations of diglossia and/or bilingualism. In addition, many aspects of standard Italian are continuously being acquired in the dialectal world" (my translation).

all'italiano, perdendo i contrassegni più particolari"[14] (Poggiogalli 2011:81). In other words, regional Italian is a variety close to the standard language and influenced at the same time by dialect, especially on a phonetic level (Lo Duca 2012). As Antonelli (2011) explains, this variety is also spoken by educated people in informal situations. In fact, many scholars such as Michele Cortelazzo and Francesco Sabatini believe that these regional varieties are influencing the standard language, which is gaining and welcoming new traits and characteristics which are typical of regional Italians. However, at the same time, the regional varieties are losing their marked traits and becoming closer and closer to standard Italian (Lo Duca 2012).

As for dialects, they are part of a continuum as well (Lo Duca 2012). Within a dialect, we can distinguish between a high variety and a low variety. High varieties include urban dialects and the so-called dialectal *koinai,* that is to say, varieties used in the regional or sub-regional communication (Lo Duca 2012). An example may be represented by Venetian, which is considered the most prestigious variety in Veneto and used as *koinè* from the 15th-16th centuries on. On the other hand, low varieties include local dialects (Lo Duca 2012).

Dialects have been re-considered and revived over the last few years. Especially during the 1990s, they started to lose their negative connotation. They were not seen as signal of a bad socio-economic situation (Poggiogalli 2011). They started to be considered neutral. This is because, as Lo Duca (2012) points out, dialects started to be used in various ways and contexts in which they had never been used. Restaurant and food-shops introduced dialectal terms to designate their products, in commercial advertisements and in music dialects are used. Today, knowing and speaking a dialect is often seen in a positive way, as a personal enrichment. An example of the importance of knowing a dialect is found in the results of a survey conducted in 31 different countries by IEA during 1990-1992 in order to establish the level of education of students whose age was between 9 and 14 years (Lo Duca 2012). The results are significant. I report Lo Duca's words: "I ragazzi che dichiaravano di parlare 'quasi sempre' italiano a casa ottenevano risultati migliori di coloro che dichiaravano di parlare 'sempre' italiano, e questi ultimi ottenevano praticamente gli stessi risultati di coloro che non lo parlavano

[14] "A regional Italian is the outcome of a process in which a hegemonic local variety has gradually come nearer to the Italian language and has lost its most marked characteristics" (my translation).

'quasi mai'" (Lo Duca 2012: 66)[15]. This means that knowledge of a dialect, together with fluency in the standard language, produced positive results at school. The knowledge of both standard variety and dialect found to be a stimulus and a linguistic advantage for the students who were interviewed.

1.3.1 CLASSIFICATION OF DIALECTS OF ITALY

It is difficult to decide how many dialects are spoken in the Italian territory. Over the years, many Italian and foreign scholars have tried to classify them. The first ones were the German scholar K.L. Fernow and the Italian F. Cherubini, who wrote *Prospetto nominativo di tutte le lingue note e dei loro dialetti* in 1824 (Pellegrini 1977). The idea of classifying dialects is a consequence of the birth of dialectology as a discipline at the beginning of the 19th century. In this attempt at classification, an important contribution was given by G. Bertoni in 1916. He wrote a textbook, *Italia dialettale*, which was also taken as a model in this field by Enciclopedia Treccani. Pellegrini (1977) sums up the historical excursus of Italian dialectology, but I have decided to cite only the most relevant contributions given over the years, which are those by Carlo Battisti in 1914, Gerhard Rohlfs in 1966-1969, Oronzo Parlangeli in 1969, and Carlo Tagliavini in 1972. They have all attempted to give a clear classification of Italian dialects and have all influenced Pellegrini in his classification. Pellegrini (1977), with the help of the surveyor A. Mello from the University of Padua, has drawn a map of the dialects of Italy (Fig.1). In his map, we can distinguish five linguistic macro-areas:

- Northern dialects, which include Gallo-Italic varieties (Emilian, Piedmontese, Lombard and Ligurian) and Venetian varieties.
- Friulian dialects.
- Tuscan dialects.
- Mid-southern dialects, which include Middle dialects (Central Marchigiano, Umbrian and Laziale), Upper Southern dialects (Marchigiano-Abruzzese, Apulian, Southern Laziale and Campidanian including the dialect spoken in Naples and in the area of Basilicata and North Calabria) and Extreme Southern dialects (Salentino, Calabrian, Sicilian);

[15] "Students who said that they 'almost always' spoke Italian at home used to obtain better results than those who said that they 'always' spoke Italian. In fact, they used to obtain practically the same results as those who 'almost never' spoke it" (my translation).

- Sardinian dialects.

(Figure 1) Carta dei dialetti d'Italia, Pellegrini 1977.

He divided the different vernacular areas through the use of colours. The strong contrast between one colour and another indicates an important division between the different linguistic areas. The northern part was given the colour yellow, which fades into light yellow in the Venetian area. The orange stands for the Friulian dialects, while other colours (orange, red, blue and grey) stand for Franco-Provenzale varieties, Ladin, German and Slovenian, which are not considered in this discussion because they are not part of the dialects of Italy, but recognised languages with an official status spoken above all in other countries. Pellegrini (1977) does not describe them but decides to indicate them in order to give a clear idea of the languages spoken within Italian borders. The central part

of Italy is coloured green, which covers Tuscany. The broad system of central and southern dialects is divided into a pink area, in a fuchsia one and into a purple one, which stand respectively for the Middle dialects, the Upper Southern dialects and the Extreme Southern dialects. Sardinian is represented with a light brown tone. This division is not a strict one because, as explained before, dialects are part of a continuum and, in addition, every area has its subdialects or varieties. Naturally, two varieties that find themselves are the very opposite of the continuum are mutually unintelligible. In other words, a speaker of Sicilian and a speaker of Venetian hardly understand each other if they speak dialect. Balma (2011) emphasises this: "Ask any reasonably educated person raised in Turin to read and interpret a poem written in the dialect of Bari and, in all likelihood, they will be unable to successfully complete the task at hand. This kind of experiment could be repeated hundreds of times over by exposing Italian citizens to the speech patterns of their more physically distant compatriots, and the results would often be disappointing at best" (Balma 2011:1).

Pellegrini's (1977) attempt to classify the dialects of Italy is the one I found most suitable for this discussion. In 1997, Sabatini produced a map, starting from Pellegrini's model, with some significant modifications. Although more recent, Sabatini's map is more technical, whereas Pellegrini's use of colour helps the reader to have a clearer idea of the Italian situation. Nevertheless, I refer the readers to Sabatini's (2001) map[16] for further information. This is not the place to analyse in detail the various dialects of the Italian peninsula; in fact, the scenario introduced above is a general one. The variety that will be briefly analysed later on is the Sicilian one.

1.3.2. DIALECTS OF ITALY IN LITERATURE

The literary use of dialects in Italian literature dates back to the origins of the different vernacular forms. Dialectal literature originated before a standard language was decided and codified (Bronzini 1995). In fact, Italian literature then developed in parallel with dialectal literature. As Vignuzzi and Bertini Malgarini (1997) and Paccagnella (2017) underline, scholars talk of "vulgar"[17] literature rather than "dialectal" literature. This was

[16] Sabatini, Francesco. 2001. *L'italiano nel mondo moderno*, vol. 1. Napoli: Liguori editore, p. 8.
[17] The term "vulgar", associated with literature, will be used throughout this subsection with the meaning of "vernacular" or "dialectal" literature. When the term is associated with a variety of language (for instance Tuscan vulgar or Roman vulgar), it simply means "dialect".

at least the case until after the publication of Bembo's *Le prose della volgar lingua*, when a common language was established, though only in the written form and for a small group of educated people and scholars. Haller (1999) observes that "after Pietro Bembo's codification of Tuscan […] the bilingualism of language and dialect was felt consciously and that writing in the dialect became a conscious choice" (Haller 1999: 32). This idea is what Croce defines *letteratura dialettale riflessa*, referring to those writers and poets that deliberately used dialect in opposition to the Tuscan literary variety (De Blasi 2010). The use of dialect in a literary work was not spontaneous or dictated by ignorance of the literary language, rather it was a conscious and voluntary choice of the writer. Paccagnella (2017) partly questions Croce's view and argues that national literature and vernacular literature were and still are closely connected and, above all, vernacular literature is at the basis of national literature. Considering this, Paccagnella (2017) sees dialectal literature as a variation of the national one and the use of the dialect as a cultural choice made by the writer who, in using dialect, selects a different variety and attempts to convey realism and expressiveness.

As Paccagnella states, "i primi indizi di una cultura volgare con piena intenzione letteraria […] vanno ricercati nei ritmi collocabili verso la metà del XII secolo"[18] (Paccagnella 2017:38). He cites the *Ritmo laurenziano,* written in the Tuscan vulgar between 1188 and 1207 and the famous *Laudes creaturarum* written by San Francesco (1181 ca.-1226) between 1224-1226 in the Umbro vulgar as the first instances of a vulgar literature. Bronzini (1995) names Cecco Angiolieri (1260 ca.- 1313 ca.), who wrote *Pelle chiabelle di Dio, non ci arvai*[19], a sonnet describing a group of women who meet at the market and speak different dialects (Bronzini 1995). Another relevant author, a contemporary of Dante and Cecco Angiolieri, is Rustico Filippi (1230 ca.-1300 ca.), who started the so-called "vituperia" movement, characterised by a language with a strong dialectal connotation and by satire against real or imaginary characters. Filippi also wrote sonnets in the illustrious vulgar used by poets and writers of the Scuola Poetica Siciliana (Paccagnella 2017).

However, during the 1300s a vast range of vernacular literature developed throughout the peninsula, especially in the north-western part of Italy. In the Lombardo-

[18] "The first signs of a vulgar culture with full literary intention [...] are to be found in literary instances of the mid-12th century" (my translation).
[19] It is still debated whether this sonnet belongs to Cecco Angiolieri or not (Paccagnella 2017).

Venetian area, in fact, didactic and moralistic poetry was mainly written in dialect and it was called "proverbia*"* (Paccagnella 2017). Yet the vernacular language was not only used for didactic-allegorical poems, but also with a humorous function. An example is Niccolò de' Rossi's (1290- 1348ca.) *tenzone*[20] written in three different vernaculars: the Paduan, the Trevisan and the Venetian. Even Boccaccio experimented with linguistic varieties in the *Decameron*, but not only here: he wrote the so-called *Epistola napoletana,* which was a letter written half in the Tuscan vulgar and half in the Neapolitan vulgar. Boccaccio played with the two varieties: the former was the literary and high one, the latter a vulgar which suited the light-hearted topics of the letter (Paccagnella 2017).

The above are only a few examples of how the various vernaculars started to be used in a recreational way by poets and writers who were also perfectly able to write in the literary language. Besides, as Paccagnella remarks, "il rapporto fra i motivi popolareggianti e la loro lingua comporta che il dialetto di per sé diviene genere, con una precisa funzione umoristico-ambientale"[21] (Paccagnella 2017:48). Using dialect became synonym of using a literary genre that had to do with parody and comedy, in contrast with the Tuscan vulgar, which was becoming a literary model (De Blasi 2010). As De Blasi (2010) says, Boccaccio is an example of a Florentine writer who writes in Florentine but at the same time observes and uses other varieties in literature with the purpose of achieving parody and entertaining the audience. During this period and beyond, writers and poets often produced both vernacular literature and literature that followed the Tuscan canon. This is typical of other authors from the 1300s such as Francesco di Vannozzo (1330 ca.-1389), Franco Sacchetti (1332-1400), from the 1400s such as Lugi Pulci (1432-1484), Giorgio Sommariva (1435-1502 ca.), Lorenzo Il Magnifico (1449-1492) and from the 1500s such as Francesco Berni (1497-1535), Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane (1568-1646) (Paccagnella 2017). These and other authors contributed to the formation of genres and subgenres in dialect, such as the *nenciale*, the *canti carnascialeschi*, the *villanelle, strambotti* and *barzellette* and *facchinesco* (Paccagnella 2017), where very often the vernacular language and illustrious literary variety were mixed in order to

[20] A *tenzone* is a poetic dispute typical of the medieval Provencal literature. The poets involved in the dispute used to address each other stanzas or poems in a polemical way. The tone could be elegant but also bitter and the topics were various (love, politics, morality).

[21] "The relationship between folkish motifs and their language means that the dialect itself becomes a genre, with a precise humorous function" (my translation).

emphasise the contrast between the two varieties, which were useful, for example, to distinguish between a commoner and an aristocrat in a literary work.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, Italian regional states were continually at war between each other and they had also to face foreign invasions. This situation strengthened the use of dialects in literature as means of revenge and as symbol of linguistic shelter from the foreign invasion (Bronzini 1995). In addition, the separation between a national literary language and vernacular literature became sharper and sharper. Paccagnella underlines this: "a fine Quattrocento si costituisce un vero e proprio filone di letteratura riflessa basata sulla separazione netta fra lingua (letteraria) e dialetto rustico"[22] (Paccagnella 2017:309). In this scenario, a significant author is Ruzante (1496 ca.-1542), a Venetian playwright. His main pieces were written in "Pavano" which was the vulgar spoken in Padua and in the surrounding rural areas at that time. He used this vernacular in a parodic way but without those marked traits that characterised it as a rural vernacular. In addition, for Ruzante the "Pavano" vulgar was a means to represent the linguistic contrast between the countryside and the town, but also between the Venetian culture and the Tuscan culture (Paccagnella 2017). Ruzante and the "Pavano" would be seen as a symbol of free expressiveness against the "fiorentinesco" of those literate and scholars that followed Bembo's ideal (Paccagnella 2017).

The use of dialect also characterised the so-called "Commedia dell'Arte" during the 16th and 17th centuries. The characters of the commedia represented fixed social types, with a specific costume, a precise social condition and, above all, a dialect. Dialect was thus a tool for conveying stereotyped characters. In fact, Caniato states:

> È fatto noto che i diversi personaggi della Commedia dell'Arte parlano lingue diverse. Gli Innamorati si esprimono in toscano, gli Zanni o servitori in dialetto bergamasco, i Vecchi spesso rendono riconoscibili le loro maschere utilizzando il dialetto della città di provenienza […] L'accostamento di lingue e dialetti diversi è uno degli elementi comici più importanti" (Caniato 2004: 50).[23]

[22] "At the end of the 15th century, a true movement of a vernacular literature written in rural dialects was established in opposition to the (literary) language" (my translation).
[23] "It is well known that the different characters of the Commedia dell'Arte speak different languages. The Lovers express themselves in Tuscan, the Zanni or servants in Bergamo dialect, the old men often make their masks recognizable using the dialect of the place where they come from [...] The combination of different languages and dialects is one of the most important comic elements" (my translation).

Dialect continued thus to be used with a humorous function and not only in the Commedia dell'Arte. Authors such as Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) were convinced that dialect was the right choice when a writer or a poet had to deal with ridiculous or humorous topics (Caniato 2004). Haller (1999) notes that until the 19th century, much of the dialectal literature always included the same motifs and forms such as the burlesque, parody, satire, comedy.

In the field of theatre, a relevant contribution to elevate the condition of dialect was given by Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793). For Goldoni, communication had a central role in his pieces and therefore he chose the language to use in a prudent way. In Goldoni's plays, the dialogue had to be at the same time narrative and expressive, and dialect was used not only to make the audience laugh but to depict reality in a faithful way. Dialect in Goldoni's works moves between the various stylistic levels; it does not belong to a low register but represents the reality in toto. Dialogues pass from the lowest to the most elegant dialect, depending on the degree of expressiveness required in that moment by the show. The dialect that Goldoni chose, the one spoken in Venice, suited this purpose because it was a dialect spoken not only by common people but also by the aristocracy and used even at a legal-administrative level, by politicians and even in oral discussions of science and philosophy.

Goldoni's linguistic solution was adopted in other literary genres such as poetry, which flourished particularly between the end of the 16th century and the end of the 18th century throughout the peninsula, from the north with Gian Giacomo Cavalli (1590-1657), Carlo Porta (1775-1821), Giuseppe Berneri (1637-1701) to the south with Giambattista Basile (1566-1632), Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli (1791-1863), the Domenico Piro (1660-1696) and others (Paccagnella 2017). These poets felt the need to give voice to characters and stories that represented the common people and the way of doing it was using dialect, but a dialect that had not only a humorous function but also the purpose of depicting the humanity of common people (De Blasi 2010). Yet the genre that had most success in its dialectal variant was represented by theatrical plays, in particular comedies. Comedies in dialect were performed everywhere in Italy and were more successful than those in the standard language because of their faithfulness to reality (Paccagnella 2017). The 19th century was characterised by the development of the prose in dialect. Writers chose to express themselves in a vernacular language as a way to keep a distance from Manzoni's and the purists' positions about the standard language (Paccagnella 2017). An

example is the prose used by authors such as Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936) and Giovanni Verga (1840-1922), whose Sicilian did not deviate completely from the standard language; it was rather a means to embellish the literary language and give it vivacity. Other linguistic mixes were experimented with by Carlo Dossi (1849-1910) and Giovanni Faldella (1846- 1928), whose works were characterised by the contamination of the literary language by dialect, especially on a syntactic level (Paccagnella 2017). As for the dialectal poetry of this period, Salvatore di Giacomo's (1860-1934) realistic style represented an important instance also on the European scenario. In fact, his poetry reached a vast audience, and it was also set to music (De Blasi 2010). Yet the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th saw the reduction in the literary use of the dialect. This was mainly due to the spread of standard language in the peninsula, as explained in the previous subsection.

It was the second half of the 20th century which was strongly characterised by the revival and the blossoming of dialectal literature. It was a singular phenomenon because the Italian standard language had started to be spoken by a great part of the Italian population. In order to better understand the phenomenon, I report Pier Paolo Pasolini's (1922-1975) words, cited in the online version of Enciclopedia Treccani (accessed 20 October 2020). He pointed out:

> l'assai maggiore difficoltà teorica del dialetto in un tempo in cui […] l'italiano che non era mai stato una lingua strumentale (se non in misura esigua) ma solo istituzionale e letteraria, comincia a essere effettivamente una lingua parlata […] Parlata, intendiamo dire, nei rapporti più umili: della famiglia e quindi dell'infanzia. Estremamente più complessa è dunque oggi la ragione di un ritorno al dialetto, a questa non più unica ma seconda lingua parlata. (Pasolini in Enciclopedia Treccani online). [24]

Pasolini said those words in 1952 and Italian would become more and more widespread in the following years. This return to forms of dialectal literature and to dialect in general was due to many factors. According to Brevini (1986), the most relevant were the return to cultural particularism and the ethnic revival after World War II. Marshal Berman (in Brevini 1986) was convinced that one of the main themes in the 1960s and 1970s

[24] Pasolini pointed out "the great difficulty dialect found itself in at a time […] when Italian began to be a spoken language. Italian had never been an instrumental language (perhaps only to a small extent) but only institutional and literary. It started to be spoken in more intimate situations: within the family and by children. That is why nowadays the revival of dialect is a complex reality: it is no longer the only language that is spoken, but it has become the second one" (my translation).

concerned the recovery and the study of history and historical memory as a part of personal identity. In the 1970s, Pasolini admitted that he felt the need to go back to the past, to dialect (in Brevini 1986). This need was general and also due to the expansion of the English language as international language, as Brevini (1986) explains. Pasolini was just one of the many writers, playwriters and poets whose work was characterised by the use of dialect. Yet he played a very important role with his *Poesia a Casarsa* published in 1942 and written in Friulian dialect. Venturi (2020) analyses Pasolini's link and relation to dialect:

> The vision of dialect in Pasolini is inextricably linked to the ideal of the Friulian world, the immaculate land of his summer holidays, the place where he wished to belong with all his might: however, at the very moment he moved permanently to Friuli, during the war, therefore coming into a deeper contact with that archaic and pastoral world, he also became aware of his painful intellectual, sexual and socio-cultural estrangement, thus dialect would have always remained, in his perception and poetry, the language of *others*, the language of his mother and of Friulian boys, the language of a pure and perfect world where he was not allowed to belong completely (Venturi 2020:445).

Pasolini's *Poesia a Casarsa* was relevant to his dialectal turn, but above all to the beginning of the so-called *poesia neo-dialettale* (neo-dialectal poetry) (Pegorari 2005). As mentioned above, he was not the only one who wrote in dialect, although his contribution was a relevant one because he was the one who brought dialect to be accepted as a literary language in the 20th century and gave it the same prestige as the Italian standard variety.

Paccagnella (2017) underlines the impossibility to outline a description or a classification of the latest instances of dialectal literature. He cites important poets of the 20th century such as Delio Tessa (1886-1939), who dedicated himself to the search for an exquisite phonetic expressivity in his works, Franco Loi (1930), who uses the lexical richness and the immediacy of dialect, and the Venetians Giacomo Noventa (1898-1960) and Andrea Zanzotto (1921-2011), who translated poems for Fellini's Casanova. In the theatre, other important figures were Raffaele Viviani (1888-1950) and Eduardo de Filippo (1900-1984). In the prose, a remarkable instance is *Quer pasticciaccio brutto de Via Merulana* by Carlo Emilio Gadda (1893-1973), whose work is marked by the use of the vernacular language both in the narrative and in the dialogues as a faithful representation of reality. Finally, a contemporary instance of the mix between the

standard variety and vernaculars, though not the only one, is that of Andrea Camilleri's (1925-2019) series of Montalbano, which will occupy the central part of this discussion.

The re-discovery of dialects was not only due to the factors listed above, but also to the very essence of dialects and to the world they are linked to, as Venturi's (2020) analysis of Pasolini's dialectal poetry shows well. Venturi states: "Only within dialect, in fact, it is possible to find words that can really evoke the original images, since the dialectical lexicon seems to be able to establish a direct, unmediated connection with the referent, thus putting the speakers in direct contact with the out-of-themselves" (Venturi 2020:446). Dialect is a tool, as Accorsi (1978) defines it, which is useful to represent with realism spaces and realities that have to do with everyday life. This can be achieved using proverbs, similes, metaphors, which are very often pompous and load the speech with rhetoric, but which are relevant to depict local realities. Buonocore (2003) reinforces this concept by defining dialect as the "language of reality". Brevini (1986) sees dialect as a maternal language, as a forgotten variety and as language that has always resisted profound transformations, but above all, it is a *lingua sacrale,* a holy language.

From this brief and general picture of dialectal literature, we can see an Italy that has always been anchored to its dialectal patrimony. Although the number of dialectal speakers has decreased over the last few years and although dialects have always been labelled as negative languages, they have never disappeared (Lo Duca 2012). They have always been challenged by the presence of a standard language, which was considered more prestigious. In fact, on the one hand we can look to the history of dialects and dialectal literatures, and on the other to the history of a national language and its literature, sometimes as separate systems and sometimes as complementary pieces of the same culture.

CHAPTER 2: TRANSLATING NON-STANDARD LANGUAGE

Translation studies appeared as a discipline in the 1970s and since then the centre of every translation theory has been the problem of transfer between two languages. Many scholars and translators have also tried to reflect on the difficulty of translating non-standard varieties, but no one has succeeded in elaborating strong theories and principles but only general models and strategies, which could be applied to the translation of non-standard language. This is due to the particular nature of non-standard varieties, which has been discussed in the previous chapter. As seen, as every other language variety, they depict a cultural world, which the translator must be aware of when translating. The translator should know not only the language variety but also the culture that it conveys.

Since what is relevant to this discussion is dialect, this chapter will first illustrate the several works of theorists who touch upon the issue of dialect translation. Then, the problems of translating dialect, the characteristics of dialect in literary works[25] and the strategies used by translators will be described as well. Throughout the chapter examples of translations from non-standard varieties are provided.

2.1. THE PLACE OF DIALECT STUDY IN TRANSLATION

Translation of dialect, and generally of non-standard varieties, has been discussed within the greater world of translation theory. Scholars such as Catford (1965), Newmark (1988), Juliane House (1997 and 2015) and many others have touched upon this topic, but have not explored it and examined it in depth, as we will see.

In 1957 Olgierd Wojtasiewicz, the father of Polish translation studies, tried to give dialect translation a little space in translation theory. He considered dialect as an untranslatable variety of language. This is because dialect includes very specific linguistic characteristics and cultural connotations, which may be beyond understanding for an audience who are not familiar with that subvariety (Wojtasiewicz in Berezowski 1997: 28). In Wojtasiewicz's view, the untranslatability derives from the fact that a dialect in the SL activates cultural associations in the readers which cannot be transferred in the SL. He also considers the possibility to translate the dialect in the SL with a dialect in the TL, but he soon realises that the dialect in the SL would activate associations in the target readers that are completely different from those that the SL dialect would bring into the

[25] In the chapter, I will mainly refer to prose. Dialectal poetry and theatre in translation imply other issues and problems that will be not treated in this discussion.

readers' mind. Wojtasiewicz considers translating the variety spoken in South Poland with the variety of Scottish Highlanders. Berezowski (1997) reports Wojtasiewicz's explanation: "The speech of Scottish Highlanders with the variety spoken in the mountainous South of Poland is thus seen as doomed to fail, since the dialectal usages are bound to be associated with Scotland by the SL readers, and with Podhale region by the TL readership respectively" (Berezowski 1997:28). Like Wojtasiewicz, many translation scholars opposed the use of dialect in the target text, as we will see in a moment.

A relevant contribution in this field was given by Catford (1965). First, Catford (1965) tried to differentiate the various types of language varieties because, in his opinion, it was more "operationally useful" for translators and linguists to deal with them. He differentiated them according to the various levels of variation described in the first chapter (diatopic, diastratic, diamesic and diaphasic). Among all the different language varieties, what is relevant to this discussion is dialect. In his view, a dialect is "a language variety marked by formal and/or substantial features relatable to the provenance of a performer or group of performers in one of the three dimensions – space, time and social class" (Catford 1965:86). He makes a further distinction by separating *unmarked dialect* from *marked dialect.* The markers, according to Catford (1965), are those features which are peculiar to a certain variety; they can be phonological, lexical and syntactical. As for unmarked dialect, this is the definition given by Catford (1965): "many languages have a 'standard' or 'literary' dialect, which shows little variation (in its written form at least) from one locality to another. It is convenient, particularly in connection with translation, to regard such a dialect as *unmarked"* (Catford 1965:86). For instance, he considered American English, British English or Australian English as unmarked dialects: they are all geographical dialects of English, but they are unmarked since they share the common core with English.

Catford's (1965) solution when translating unmarked dialect is simple: texts written in the unmarked dialect of the SL can be translated into a similar or equivalent unmarked dialect of the TL. In other words, a geographical dialect such as Australian English can be translated with a geographical dialect of the TL. Yet if the TL does not have an equivalent unmarked dialect, the translator should find other solutions, such as selecting a dialect of the TL, manipulating it and "creating" a new unmarked dialect of the TL. Among dialects of English, Catford (1965) also includes Cockney. In this case, it is not only a geographical dialect of English but above all a social one and it is particularly

marked phonologically. According to Catford's (1965) distinction, it is a *marked dialect*. In this case, translation becomes much more problematic. As Catford (1965) says, Cockney was very often translated into French with Parigot, a social dialect spoken in the French capital. In this case, the equivalence would be between two social and geographical dialects which are spoken in the area of the most important metropolis of the country, respectively London for Cockney and Paris for Parigot. Yet the equivalence is limited to this. Parigot is marked lexically, whereas Cockney, as explained before, is marked phonologically. This means, as Brandimonte (2015) underlines, that there is no phonological or lexical equivalence in translation between Cockney and Parigot. However, Catford (1965) states that the criterion is simply that translation equivalence is between social varieties, irrespective of the dialect markers employed. The choice to use Parigot to replace Cockney in the TL is simply functional. Berezowski questions Catford's analysis because he considers it as "irrespective to the different language specific features relatable to a dialect" (Berezowski 1997:31). In other words, the equivalence exists only because they both belong to the category of "social" dialect. (Berezowski 1997).

Catford's proposal was challenged and questioned by many authors, for instance by Newmark (1988). In the 1980s, he pointed out one main point: the translator has to identify the function that dialect has in the original text. According to Newmark (1988), the replacement of SL dialect with a dialect of the TL is inappropriate and risks being "antiquated". This is Newmark's solution:

> If dialect appears metalingually, i.e. as an example of language, you normally transfer it, translate it into neutral language, and clarify the reasons why it is cited. However, when dialect appears in fiction or drama, the problem is different. In my opinion there is no need to replace a coalminer's dialect in Zola with, say, a Welsh coalminer's dialect, and this would only be appropriate, if you yourself were completely at home in Welsh dialect. (Newmark 1988:195).

In other words, in Newmark's view, Catford's idea of replacing dialect with dialect is possible only when the translator has good command of the TL dialect.

In the 1990s, Hatim and Mason (1990) further investigated translators' options of texts written in dialect. In their view, translators' solutions may change according to the type of dialect. If a translator is dealing with a geographical dialect, the rendering of dialect with dialect could create "unintended effects" (Hatim and Mason 1990:41). As for

temporal dialects, translators may have problems with archaic language and, in particular, with the meaning of words that has changed throughout the centuries, or even years. Social dialects also present difficulties: how can a translator fully render the ideological, political, and social implications of these kinds of dialect? As Hatim and Mason (1990) report, many translators faced with social dialects try to neutralise them in translation and this also happens in the case of idiolects. The two scholars underline though that, in this way, the use of non-standard speech in the source text is lost.

In a later study, Hatim and Mason (1997) argue that idiolect could be relayed according to three different alternatives: translators may opt for translating with a standard language; they may choose a vernacular language; or they may mix standard language and the vernacular. Yet these three solutions will still not fully reflect the source text and its variations. Using the standard language does not reflect the language of the source text at all. Translating with vernacular language may help to preserve the language variation but other problems come into play. For instance, which dialect is suitable? The last option would be to mix the standard language and dialect, but sometimes this practice can be insufficient because it is not faithful to the source text either. Finally, they offer for consideration another alternative: creating an artificial non-standard language or a language that comes from the standard but deviates from it, and trying to remove any marked geographical connotation, which is inherent to the SL. However, they think that neutralizing non-standard speech in the source text is not the most appropriate solution (Hatim and Mason 1997).

Nida and Taber (1969) comment upon the translators' habit of adopting a "democratic method" when they have to translate geographical dialects: while translating, they select certain expressions or forms from one dialect of the TL, other words or expressions from a second dialect of the TL and so on. The result is a mix of dialects of the TL that Nida and Taber (1969) define "a hopeless mélange" or rather "a kind of language that no one speaks, and all persons unanimously reject" (Nida and Taber 1969:138). They reject this mix, and they suggest that the translator should choose a dialect of the TL which is culturally and linguistically more important than the other dialects. They add that perhaps it could be possible to include certain forms that are shared by other dialects of the TL. Hence, they do not consider rendering a dialect with the standard language (Nida and Taber 1969).

Juliane House in 1997 and in 2015 includes dialect translation in her definition of *overt translation*. In overt translation the source text is strictly tied to the source language community and its culture and, consequently, to its addressees. In this category, House (2015) also includes "overt historically linked source texts", namely those texts tied to a specific event or occasion in a specific moment in history. House's example is the speech given in 1942 by Winston Churchill in Bradford. But in this category, texts written in dialect are also included because they are marked texts from a linguistic and cultural point of view: they are, in fact, products belonging to a specific community (House 2015). In this case, House notes that "any direct match of the original function of the source text is not possible in overt translation" (House 2015:55). For this reason, looking for dialect equivalents in the TL is useless. The translator's task is to provide the text with explanatory notes to the readership of the target text and culture.

Briguglia (2009) suggests that a translator of a dialectal text should adopt a functionalist approach, according to which the fundamental principle of any translation is the *skopos,* the purpose of the text. Reiss and Veermer (1984), the main theorists of the skopos theory, consider translation as a process in which the function (skopos) of the text plays an important role. Hence, the translator must understand and decide the function(s) of the text, which can be multiple and different, and be faithful to them. Briguglia (2009) notes that, for example, a text written in dialect with the purpose of representing the multilingualism of a society must be translated with the same purpose, even if that means translating with a dialect of the SL.

In Berman's (2000) view, the classic method to preserve dialect is to "exoticize" it. This procedure implies two alternatives: the first is to maintain certain dialectal words in italics, which is a device that helps to emphasise the vernacular forms; the second is to render a foreign vernacular with a local one, for example replacing Parigot with the Lunfardo spoken in Buenos Aires. Yet, Berman is convinced that a "vernacular clings tightly to its soil and completely resists any direct translating into another vernacular […] An exoticization that turns the foreign from abroad into the foreign at home winds up merely ridiculing the original" (Berman 2000: 295).

Landers (2001) dedicates very little space to the analysis of dialect translation. The reason is that he firmly believes in the impossibility of translating dialect because it is a variety deeply steeped in the source language culture. This is his explanation:

> Deep inside, the conscientious translator believes, *wants to believe* that there exists some apposite way of rendering the speech of the Polish *shetlt* into equivalent English. What if I give them a Yiddish accent? […] No dialect travels well in translation. However reluctantly, the translator must recognize that dialect, at least at the level of one-to-one transference, is untranslatable […] Dialect is inextricably rooted in time and space. Whether based on vocabulary or on accent, the listener unconsciously associates such speech pattens with a region or a chronological period […] Dialect is always tied, geographically and culturally, to a milieu that does not exist in the target-language setting. Substitution of an 'equivalent' dialect is foredoomed to failure. The best advice about trying to translate dialect: don't" (Landers 2001:117).

Fawcett (2003) partially shares Landers' view. The scholar analyses different translations of literary works that present the use of geographical dialects, sociolects but also slang and states that the solutions and strategies adopted differ from translator to translator. He underlines that "in this kind of translation the entire approach is determined by a social ethos of what is right and proper" (Fawcett 2003). In particular, he warns translators that a bad translation of sociolects and dialects can have odd repercussions and "laughable results" or, even worse, they can lead to creating stereotypes. These types of non-standard varieties are strictly connected to a particular culture and this makes translation more and more complex. In fact, in Fawcett's (2003) view, the translator has to "decide whether the target language has anything comparable" to what the translator finds in the source text.

In this scenario, Berezowski (1997) raises the following issue: if the target reader is foreign to the world conveyed in the source text, is it really necessary to render the target text in all its aspects at all costs? Target readers are rooted in a different world, in a different society, culture and values than the source text readers. Most likely, they would never appreciate the text translated with a dialect that does not belong to the source text. In other words, would it make sense to translate a text with a dialect of the SL that evokes a different cultural world? (Berezowski 1997). Brandimonte (2015) underlines the very same idea: the target reader would be sceptical when reading a text written in a dialect that they are familiar with but that is spoken by characters that live in a distant geographical space. Every dialect is closely connected with extralinguistic and sociocultural aspects, which are not universal. This means that the simple replacement of a dialect of the SL with a dialect of the TL is not as natural and obvious as it may seem.

Unlike Berezowski (1997) and Brandimonte (2015), De Martino (2011) believes that the use of a dialect or a localized accent in the target text is not always inappropriate.

For example, Peter Tinniswood translated Eduardo De Filippo's *Napoli Milionaria* written in Neapolitan with Scouse[26] in the English version. As De Martino (2011) points out, this solution was accepted by most critics, who believed that this decision showed similarities between Naples and Liverpool, and "contributed distancing the production from previous representations of Italian characters which put great emphasis on mockery of Italians" (De Martino 2011:54). The setting was still Naples, the characters maintained their original names, everything reproduced faithfully Neapolitan atmosphere; yet the language variety was a different one; in other words, Neapolitan characters with a Liverpool accent. Similarly, Mike Stott translated the Neapolitan dialect of De Filippo's play *Natale in casa Cupiello* with Lancashire dialect. De Martino (2011) claims that:

> the choice of West Lancashire operated a geographical as well as a cultural transposition, since the northern accent spoken by the actors gave a clear regional connotation, and some of the actors were chosen for their distinctive accent. Interestingly, the reason for setting the play in that particular area was linked to the supposedly impassioned spirit of the people from that region, prone to easy arguments and animated relationships (De Martino 2011:59).

The examples presented by De Martino (2011) may be an example of what Brodovich (1997) has labelled as "scenic dialect". She defines it as "a collection of stereotyped forms generally used by authors to portray a character using non-standard language" (Brodovich 1997:26). The scholar gives the example of the translation of the Greek comedy *Lysistrata*, which included a character speaking Spartan. A British translator rendered it with a charactering speaking Scots, an American translator used Southern American varieties, and an African English translator used a pidgin of English (Brodovich 1997). The same strategy was used by Tinniswood and Scott in the translation of Eduardo De Filippo's plays. According to Brodovich (1997) this is possible in those countries where there are different non-standard varieties. In addition, it is a strategy that has to do with stereotypes and with cultural connotations linked to the target variety which are not necessarily shared by the source language variety and vice versa. Miszalska (2014) highlights that it is a strategy which may be suitable for theatre in dialect, which makes use of sound, gesture, mimicry and other aspects that a narrative work cannot rely on.

[26] The Scouse is a non-standard variety spoken in Liverpool.

In addition, a translator, as well as the author, of narrative pieces must also take into account the so-called "reader resistance" to dialect (Hodson 2014). First of all, there could be parts or dialogues of the literary work that are densely marked through non-standard respelling, grammar, vocabulary and so on, and this could present difficulties for the reader. Moreover, there could be a bias for most readers against characters who use dialect and, as Hodson adds, "it is perhaps impossible to represent a character who uses dialect without opening up the potential for readers to judge the character stereotypically" (Hodson 2014:111). However, this could happen only if the translator, as well as the author, employed dialect exclusively in his/her work. There are many other solutions and strategies adopted and suggested by translators when they have to face a dialect piece, and they will be investigated in the subsection 2.4.

This brief revision of the main theorical solutions proposed by some of the most important translation theorists shows that in most cases translating dialect with dialect is not recommended, although not excluded a priori. They proposed other solutions and made other suggestions such as mixing standard and non-standard, adding explicatory footnotes or creating an artificial language with dialectal traits. However, an important issue to consider when translating non-standard varieties is the function that these have in the source text and, as Briguglia (2009) remarks, the skopos of the translated text. As Izabela Szymanska says: "It is commonly assumed in translation studies that the treatment of nonstandard language varieties [..] depends on the translator's interpretation of the functions they are ascribed and effects they are intended to serve in the original text" (Szymanska 2017: 62). Only by taking into consideration these two fundamental aspects can a translator choose what method to use for the translation of the source text. With respect to this, in the subsection that follows I will deal with the function that dialect has in a literary work and the difficulties in rendering that function in the target text.

2.2. FUNCTIONS OF DIALECT IN A LITERARY WORK

Many scholars remark how important it is to understand the function that a dialect may have in the text, before translating it. In fact, as Newmark (1988) points out, the most relevant factor in translating non-standard varieties is the identification of its functions in the original text. Hence, he tried to identify three main functions that a dialect usually has in the ST. It can be used to show a slang use of language, to highlight social class contrasts, and to indicate local cultural features. Once they have been identified and

established, the translator can choose what language to adopt in the target text, keeping in mind that these functions should be maintained in the target text (Newmark 1988).

Similarly, Pym (2000) asks himself whether the markers of linguistic varieties should be translated or not. He admits that the "question is a chestnut allowing any number of platitudes" (Pym 2000:1). He states that the translator has first to distinguish between the two main functions that a vernacular language may have in a literary text. These categories are: "parody" and "authenticity". In the first case, vernaculars are used to "lubricate the less intelligent characters" and to amuse the readership (Pym 2000:2). In this case, the translator is not faced with a linguistic variety as such, but as a "functional representation of the variety, shorn to just a few stereotypical elements" (Pym 2000:2). The markers of the variation are a few and they are continually repeated and reproduced. When markers are seen as "typical" elements of a variety, then parody occurs. In the case of authenticity, the markers of variation are balanced between lexis and syntax in order to make the linguistic variety a "real thing" (Pym 2000). Pym's (2000) solution is to render the linguistic variation from the norm, but he points out that it is not the source-text variety that is to be rendered, but a kind of variety, no matter what it is. The translator has to be careful in the modulation of parody and authenticity when he/she chooses how to render variety because, as Pym (2000) underlines, the difference between parody and authenticity must be valued and present in the target text as well. He gives a practical example:

> To take a perennial test case, the rendering of the seven varieties proclaimed in Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn need not be a case of deciding which target-culture variety is the closest to slavery, or which is the most backwoods-bound, as if the class and regional differences of colonial society were those of all society. It might more productively be a question of grasping when parody is at work (as often seems to be the case of the character Jim) and then introducing elements that mark parody (including, in this day and age, elements borrowed straight from the Black American Vernacular, as calques rather than translations, in corresponding or compensatory position). Alternatively, when the thing to be rendered falls within the dimension of authenticity, the translator's task is paradoxically all the easier: one need only judiciously sprinkle the text with elements that should remain relatively unknown to the target receiver, and the unknown is common to all cultures (Pym 2000:72-73).

Ramos Pinto observes that generally dialects appear in dialogues, rather than in the narrative voice and their main function is to define the sociocultural background of the characters and their "position in the sociocultural fictional context" (Ramos Pinto

2009:3) and to contribute to the social stratification of the various characters. Likewise, in 2010 Hejwowski (in Szymańska 2017) stresses that the functions of the language varieties signal differences of the characters concerning social status, education, ethnic identity, the character's knowledge of a language or his/her foreign origin, but they also signal temporal distance or introduce linguistic humour. Hodson (2014) also underlines that the most canonical part of a literary text where one can find dialect is in direct speech; in that case, its main function is to associate a character to a social group. Nevertheless, it is quite common to find dialect or non-standard varieties in the narrative voice and in free indirect speech. In the case of the narrative voice, Hodson (2014) names the novel *Castle Rackrent* written by Maria Edgeworth as example. In her novel, the narrator is Thady Quirk, an Irish uneducated servant who tells the story from his point of view and in part using his own variety, Irish. As for the free indirect discourse, Hodson's (2014) example is Alan Sillitoe's novel *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, whose protagonist's point of view is rendered through non-standard free indirect speech. This "heteroglossia", as reported in Hodson (2014), is a choice of the writers, who decide to compose their works of multiple voices and languages, including the narrative voice, which adopts a different style to tell the story. Hodson describes the effect of the narrative voice in dialect as "often highly oral, as if the narrator were speaking directly to the reader" (Hodson 2014:86).

Miszalska (2014) sums up the various functions that the use of dialect may have in a literary work[27]. The first is *cultural* and *symbolic*. The use of sayings, proverbs, expressions typical of dialect evoke stories, beliefs, myths linked to the culture that the dialect conveys. The second function is *expressive* and *aesthetic*, especially in poetry. In this case we may also include what Hodson (2014) defines "eye dialect". It is a kind of respelling that "gives the impression of being dialectal when the reader looks at it, but it does not convey any information about the pronunciation when the reader sounds it out" (Hodson 2014:95). It is used to mark the speech of a character as non-standard, though only visually (that is why it is called "eye dialect"). Dialect may also be used on purpose with the function to contrast the hegemony of the standard language, thus in an *ideological* or *polemical* way. Another function may be *intimate* or "psychoanalytical", as Miszalska (2014) defines it. The use of dialect in this case sets in motion feelings and

[27] These functions are also investigated by Accorsi (1978).

thoughts belonging to our subconscious; the dialect is thus a tool that allows the writer to express what is usually considered "taboo". Writers may use dialect in a *comical* way, that is to say to amuse the audience and the readers. This is typical of the dialectal theatre. Last function may be represented by the *realism* that authors want to convey to a text. Therefore, they use dialect to depict everyday life experiences.

Like Miszalska (2014), Balma (2017) also points out the strong expressiveness of dialect and its function of reflecting intimacy. In Bonaffini's (1997) view, dialect is used in literature as opposed to the language of the higher classes and as bearer of "witness to the injustices of history and […] voice to the excluded and the oppressed" (Bonaffini 1997:279), so in a polemical and ideological way, according to Miszalska (2014)'s list. Both Balma (2017) and Bonaffini (1997) believe that the translator's task is to preserve these functions of the dialect.

In connection to the last function identified by Miszalska (2014), Accorsi (1978) and Hodson (2014) also observe that dialect is used to convey realism and to describe situations from everyday life. Hodson (2014) notes that that writers began to use dialect with the function of depicting reality, especially from the beginning of the 20th century, when they started to question the omniscient third person narrator and realistic novels and when innovators such as James Joyce (1882-1941) and Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) developed techniques such as free direct speech or stream of consciousness. In this way, the role of narrator and characters became blurred and, in some cases, the main protagonists of the novels were dialect speaking characters, who used dialect to represent lived experiences on the margins of society. As Adamson (2016) points out, the effect of realism is stronger if the reader is already familiar in some way with the language variety used. She states:

> The existence of Varieties provides the linguistic resources for the act of literary illusionism by which the reader is persuaded that what s/he is reading is not a collection of words on a page but the transcription of a human voice endowed with a specific social identity. There are two aspects to this illusionist enterprise. First, since no real utterance takes place outside a social context, the presence of a recognizable Variety in a text persuades us of its authenticity as utterance or address. Secondly, the specificity of the Variety invoked allows us to categorize and characterize the imagined source of the utterance; to infer, that is, that we are hearing or overhearing a speaker of provenance X, performing role Y or adopting attitude Z (Adamson 2016:271).

In this regard, Szymańska reports Wojtasiewicz's view on the use of dialect in literature: it is used to convey "linguistic allusions", whose purpose is to evoke "culture-specific associations in the reader" (Szymańska 2017:64). The closer to the reader these culture-specific associations are, the more the reader enjoys the literary works. Hatim and Mason (1997) give an example of the Cockney dialect of the characters in George Bernard Shaw's play Pygmalion. They state that a British audience would immediately recognise the syntactic, lexical and phonetic features of the Cockney variety and would label the characters of the play as working-class London characters. Szymańska (2017) underlines how important it is to evoke similar associations also in the reader of the source text. This is the translator's task, and the scholar emphasises the difficulty that a translator has to deal with. In fact, as Wojtasiewicz states, the main obstacle when translating dialect is the culturally-determined knowledge. House (2015) argues that the major difficulty in dealing with dialect in translation has to do with finding linguistic-cultural "equivalents". She introduces the expression "cultural filter", which is "a means of capturing socio-cultural differences in expectation norms and stylistic conventions between the source and target linguistic-cultural communities" (House 2015:68). The study of the cultural transfer between two languages has become an important aspect of translation theory; in fact it applies not only to texts written in non-standard varieties but to every text that has to be translated into another language. De Martino (2011) underlines that the cultural filter is stronger in the case of dialect because of its local nature. In fact, a dialect represents a marginal language with its world of values and cultural references, which the translator must be aware of when translating and that "the extent of cross-cultural transfer is linked to and dependent on choices made in translation" (De Martino 2011:47). Tymoczko makes this concept clear:

> There are often, in fact, massive obstacles facing translators who wish to bring the texts of a marginalized culture to a dominant-culture audience: issues related to the interpretation of material culture (such as food, dress, tools) and social culture (including law, economics, customs, and so forth), history, values, and world view; problems with the transference of literary features such as genre, form, performance conventions, and literary allusions; as well as the inevitable questions of linguistic interface. For all these reasons the information load of translations of such marginalized texts is often very high – in fact it is at risk of being intolerably high. Because neither the cultural content nor the literary framework of such texts is familiar to the receiving audience, the reception problems posed by marginalized texts in translation are acute (Tymoczko 1999:47).

Dealing with the cultural aspects of dialect is not the only problem a translator has to tackle. They have to deal with characteristics inherent to the variety, such as the phonetics or syntactical patterns of a dialect, as well as its stylistic features and so on. In the section that follows, in fact, I will briefly present some of the features that characterise dialect, which are reflected in the literary text.

2.3. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF DIALECT[28]

As Gavurová (2020) underlines, dialects belong to the world of oral tradition and they present many features that distinguish them from the standard variety. Gavurová (2020) points out that the differences are usually not just phonetic, but dialects are characterized by an original expressive word order, which is the word order of the spoken discourse and orality. Buonocore shares this idea: "la scrittura dialettale, anche quella poetica, ha privilegiato le caratteristiche dell'oralità"[29] (Buonocore 2003:23). Moreover, dialects are strongly characterised by the use of idiomatic expressions, which are language-specific and unique (Buonocore 2003). Buonocore (2003) observes that idiomatic expressions, allusions, elliptical constructions, metaphors, adverbial phrases and metonymies represent the thorniest problem for a translator. Bonaffini (1996) believes that the "punte idiomatiche troppo accentuate"[30] do not allow the translator to produce a good translation and they must be removed, if they cannot be rendered. Nevertheless, these elements contribute to the expressiveness of the text, which is one of the major characteristics of a text written in a vernacular form, but also to its implicitness.

The characteristics mentioned above were also illustrated by Accorsi (1978), who noted the constant presence of proverbs and similes in dialectal texts, used in a pompous way in order to embellish the discourse. All this "densità semantica"[31], as Buonocore (2003) defines it, is used with the function of representing and recreating concrete and everyday life experiences, showing how the specific features of dialect always tend to reflect the extra-linguistic reality (Accorsi 1978). Buonocore (2003) adds other features:

> Ricorrenti fenomeni linguistici come quelli appena menzionati e la tabuizzazione, la paretimologia, la proverbialità, il modo di dire sono l'immediata conseguenza di fattori culturali peculiari e mostrano

[28] I will mainly refer to the Italian situation.
[29] "The writing system of dialects, even the one used in poetry, reflects the characteristics of orality" (my translation).
[30] "Too accentuated idiomatic peaks" (my translation).
[31] "semantic density" (my translation).

> come riflessi di cultura siano in grado di condizionare la forma della lingua al punto di modificarla […] Anche i fenomeni di fonosimbolismo, come quello definito da Lurati "onomatopeizzazione secondaria", sono molto frequenti nel dialetto e, come le figure di pensiero, legati al mondo delle esperienze (Buonocore 2003:31). [32]

However, all the characteristics mentioned above are not always found in every dialect used in literature and the way dialect is used depends on the choices of the writer.

2.4 STRATEGIES ADOPTED IN DIALECT TRANSLATION

Several strategies have been identified by the many scholars that have investigated translation of dialect. First of all, a translator should identify where dialect is used in the literary work and its function. As already mentioned, dialect may be used only in the direct speech, or in both the narrative part and in direct speech (Hodson 2014). Then, as Berezowski (1997) notes, the translator has to find out how various non-standard markers are distributed among the different levels of language (phonetics/phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax). Once the translator has a satisfactory measure of how and how much dialect is used and which parts of the speech it affects, he/she will partially realise how to handle dialect and how to translate it.

Berezowski (1997) proposed ten different strategies that can be applied when translating dialect. However, only the most relevant will be analysed. The first is *neutralization,* which means that the target text is rendered with the standard language. In this way, As Berezowski (1997) states, those characters speaking a dialect forgo their distinct connotation and everything is irretrievably lost. The second one is *lexicalisation,* which implies that the target text does contain traits of dialect markers, but only for the category of lexis. Berezowski (1997) identifies four different types of lexicalisation: rural (the translator tries to maintain the lexical dialectal markers identifying a character coming from a specific geographical area or region, e.g. the country), colloquial (the social status of a character is conveyed in the target text through the choice of lexical dialectal items), diminutive (if the source text includes young and old characters speaking

[32] "Recurring linguistic phenomena such as those just mentioned and tabooization, folk etymology, adverbial phrases, idioms derive from peculiar cultural factors and show how culture can influence the form of a language to the point of modifying it. Sound symbolism phenomena, such as the one defined by Lurati as "secondary onomatopoeia", are also very frequent in dialect and, like figures of thought, linked to the world of experience" (my translation).

non-standard varieties, in the target text they are rendered through the use of diminutives) and the artificial lexicalisation (if the source text presents an artificial variety, the translator of the target text can choose to render it with an artificial variety that implies neologisms or invented lexical markers).

Other strategies, according to Berezowski (1997)'s model, are *partial translation* and *transliteration.* The former implies that some parts of the target text remain untranslated, that is to say, in the language of the source text. The items not translated are usually lexical and they always belong to a third language. They are often formulae or expressions that are well-known. This is the example taken by F.J. Cooper's *The Pioneers,* reported in Berezowski (1997:60):

> "Ah! oui; ees, sair," returned Monsieur Le Quoi, with a slight shrug of his shoulder, and a trifling gri mace, "dere is more. I feel ver happi det you love eet. I hope dat Madame Doleet is in good 'ealth" […]
> "It ees ver apropos of saircurmstance", said the Frenchman, "ver judgment, but it is in de Catholique country dat dey build de – vat you call it – ah a ah-ah- la grand Cathédrale- de big church".

The Polish translator maintained the expression "Ah! Oui*"* and "la grand Cathédrale" in the Polish version. This is an example of what Berezowski calls "partial translation". On the other hand, the strategy of "transliteration", inspired by Catford (1965)'s definition of transliteration, implies that ST phonological units are translated into TL graphological forms (Berezowski 1997:62). Berezowski's example is taken from a novel written by Saul Bellow, "Herzog", and from its translation in Polish:

> *Alein, alien, alien, alein*
> *Elend vie a shtein*
> *Mit die tzen finger – alein.*

In Polish it becomes:

> Ałajn, ałajn, ałajn, ałajn
> Ełend wi a sztajn
> Mid di cen finger – ałajn. Berezowski (1997:61).

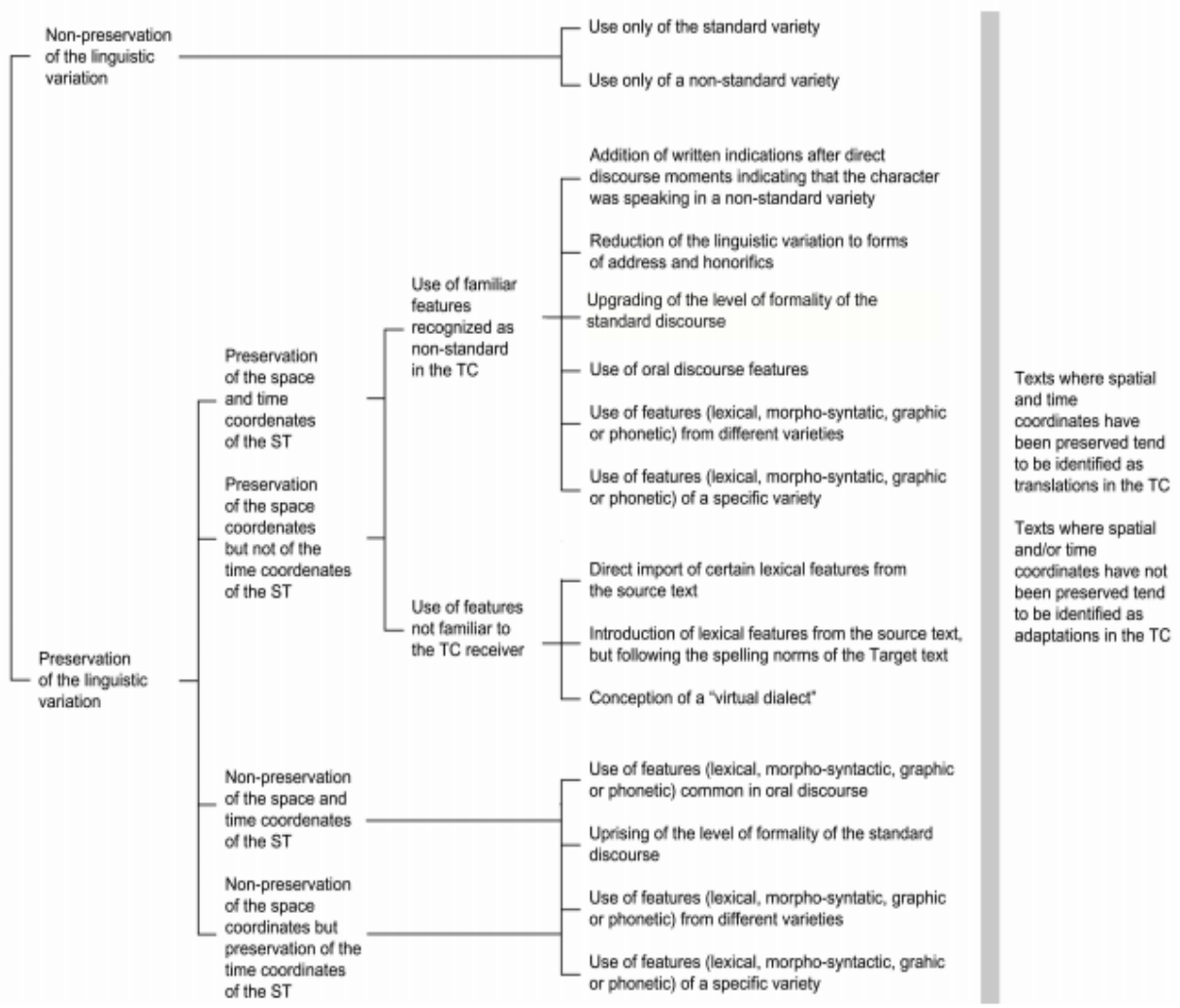
A further strategy is called *speech defect* and it consists of emphasising some phonological deformation in the speakers' utterances that do not correspond to a concrete variety of the target text. It is what Hodson (2014) defines "eye dialect". The strategy

called *artificial variety* is characterized by the creation of an artificial dialect, a non-existing non-standard variety in the target text. Berezowski (1997) suggests that the translator may invent lexical items, syntactic patterns, but he/she should adopt the TL spelling conventions and phonology. Other strategies identified by Berezowski (1997) are *relativization, pidginization, colloquialization* and *rusticalization.* I refer to Berezowski (1997) for further details concerning these substrategies.

Another model that will be analysed is that proposed by Ramos Pinto (2009). According to the scholar, when faced with a literary text written in a non-standard variety, the translator has first to choose whether or not to maintain or not the linguistic variation in the target text as well. If the choice is not to preserve the linguistic variation and to translate it with a standard variety, the translator has thus opted for *normalization.* In the other case, if a non-standard variety is chosen, he/she has drawn on the *dialectalization* of the discourse (Ramos Pinto 2009). She distinguishes between two main reasons why translators may choose the normalization strategy over dialectalization. The first is when non-standard speech appears in non-relevant or secondary characters; in this case, it may be not relevant to the purpose of the plot. Another reason is state censorship, which imposes the translation with the standard variety of a literary work written in a non-standard language[33]. On the other hand, dialectalization is chosen by translators when non-standard speech is central and relevant in the plot and it belongs to important characters. In the case of dialectalization, preserving linguistic variation implies a process of different choices, for example, preserving the spatial and/or the time coordinates of the source text. As Ramos Pinto states, "the re-allocation of the plot can be seen as a tactic to reduce the "strangeness" effect caused by the use of a specific regional or social variety in a foreign environment. The placing of the plot in contemporary times might help the translator to avoid the difficulty of writing in a past-time variety of the target language" (Ramos Pinto 2009:8). Since the options that a translator has, having or not decided whether or not to preserve or not spatial and/or time coordinates, are various and numerous, I have decided to report Ramos Pinto's (2009) model directly (Figure 2).

[33] Ramos Pinto refers to "contexts of authoritarian regimes or societies where there exists a broad gap between standard and non-standard varieties in terms of prestige" (Ramos Pinto 2009:6).

(Figure 2) Strategies identified in the translation of linguistic variation in literary text. (Ramos Pinto 2009)



As we can see, if the translator chooses to preserve both the spatial and time coordinates of the ST, then he/she can use familiar features recognised as non-standard in the target text. As the model shows, the are several strategies. They vary on a sort of continuum that goes from the simple addition of expressions such as "said in dialect" to the employment of features of a specific non-standard variety; these features can be lexical, morpho-syntactic, graphic or phonetic. If the translator decides to preserve only the spatial coordinates of the ST, but not the time coordinates, then he/she can opt for using features not familiar to the target readers. These options can include the use of certain lexical features of the source text, which can also be introduced following the

spelling norms of the target text, but also the creation of a "virtual dialect", which is a "new dialect based on the target language, but full of lexical items or syntactic constructions strange to the target text reader" (Ramos Pinto 2009:9).

The translator can also decide not to preserve either kinds of coordinates, or just the time coordinates. In that case, he/she can use solutions such as using features common in oral discourse or features typical of a specific variety or others, as showed in the model. As Ramos Pinto (2009) underlines, these strategies depend on the translator's choice and on the kind of literary text. In addition, they should be seen in context. Ramos Pinto (2009) makes a final remark, which concerns how translation is seen according to the choices of the translator. If the target text maintains spatial and time coordinates in the target language, it is seen as a translation, whereas if spatial and/or time coordinates are not rendered, the text is seen as an adaptation.

Translating implies the problem of dealing not only with two or more varieties of language but with two or more cultures. In the case of dialect, the culture conveyed is a local one and connected to a local reality. For this reason, I have decided to report Aixela's (1996) translation strategies, which focus on translating culture specific items (CSIs) rather on translating the language variety. Aixela (1996) states: "in a language *everything* is culturally produced, beginning with the language itself". He observes that each linguistic community is made up of a series of habits, values, judgments, classification systems and so on, and all these features characterise the culture of that linguistic community. Two linguistic communities share cultural asymmetry, and the translator has to take it into account. Each linguistic community has its culture specific items, which are those items always presenting difficulties to a translator; for instance, local institutions, streets, works of arts, place names, specific expressions, objects and many others. Aixela explains where the difficulty of the translator lies:

> In translation a CSI does not exist of itself, but as the result of a conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem due to the non-existence or to the different value (whether determined by ideology, usage, frequency, etc.) of the given item in the target language culture (Aixela 1996:57).

The problems that CSIs pose to translators are several and, for this reason, Aixela (1996) tried to group different strategies to apply to CSIs when translating them in order to obtain a target text that is both faithful to the source text and a valid text itself. Aixela

(1996) specifies that the various strategies sometimes may be fuzzy, or they can even overlap. The translation strategies are included in two major operations, which are *conservation* and *substitution*. I will analyse conservation strategies in the first place, whereas substitution strategies will be showed subsequently. The examples showed by Aixela (1996) and used in this analysis are taken from the English and Spanish versions of *The Maltese Falcon* by the American writer Dashiell Hammett.

Conversation includes *repetition*, *orthographic adaptation*, *linguistic (non-cultural) translation*, *extratextual gloss* and *intratextual gloss*.

1) Repetition implies that the translator tries to keep as much as possible of the original element in the source text. The example provided by Aixela (1996) is the treatment of toponyms, such as "Seattle" that is maintained as "Seattle" in the target text. It is considered the most "respectful" strategy.
2) Orthographic adaptation includes transcription and transliteration, strategies adopted by the translator when the original reference is written in a different alphabet.
3) Linguistic (non-cultural) translation occurs when the translator uses a reference that is denotatively very close to the original. For instance, the English word "dollars" becomes "dólares*"* in Spanish. The target language version is at the same time recognizable as being part of the cultural system of the source text.
4) Extratextual gloss is a procedure used by the translator together with the aforementioned strategies. When the translator thinks that further information about an item is needed, then he/she adds it in footnotes, in brackets, in italics or by using other devices.
5) Intratextual gloss is a similar procedure as the extratextual gloss, however the difference is that the explanation is part of the text. An example is: St. Mark → Hotel St. Mark.

Substitution includes *synonymy, limited universalization*, *absolute universalization*, *naturalization*, *deletion* and *autonomous creation*:

1) Synonymy occurs when the translator decides to draw on some kind of synonym of a CSI, in order to avoid its repetition.
2) Limited universalization implies that the translator replaces a CSI with another reference because the CSI is too obscure for the target reader. The new

reference belongs though both to the source language culture and the target language culture. An example is “five grand” that becomes “cinco mil dólares” in Spanish.

3) In the absolute universalization the procedure is similar to the one that occurs in the limited universalization, but the translator chooses to use a neutral CSI and to remove any foreign connotations of the CSI of the source text. For instance, “a Chesterfield” becomes “a sofá” in Spanish.
4) Naturalization involves the substitution of the CSIs for those belonging to the target culture. For example, “dollar” is turned into “duro”, which is an old Spanish currency.
5) Deletion is the procedure that involves the omission of the CSI in the target text. This happens when the item is too obscure and complicate to be transferred in the target text.
6) Autonomous creation is the least used strategy. The translator decides to create a cultural reference in the target text that did not exist in the source text in order to make the TT more interesting for the readers.

Aixela (1996) identifies three more strategies, namely *compensation*, which is a combination of deletion plus autonomous creation; *dislocation*, which occurs when the same reference is displaced in the text; *attenuation,* which is used when the translator replaces a reference that may be “too strong” and tries to soften it in order to make it appropriate for the target readers.

These strategies may be useful for a translator dealing with non-standard varieties. They can be applied when he/she has to deal with culture-specific items that are difficult to render in the target text. However, at the end of his analysis, Aixela (1996) remarks that the translator must consider figures such as publishers, literary critics, etc. when he/she decides which strategies to use. These figures are, in fact, those that will guarantee the success of a translation and its acceptance.

A scholar, whose viewpoint on non-standard varieties in translation has been presented in the first part of this chapter, is Peter Newmark (1988), who endeavoured to group a few strategies to translate culture-specific items. Before outlining his proposal of strategies, I report his definition of culture and of cultural items:

> I define culture as the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression. More specifically, I distinguish 'cultural' from 'universal' and 'personal' language. 'Die', 'live', 'star', 'swim' and even almost virtually ubiquitous artefacts like 'mirror' and "table' are universals - usually there is no translation problem there. 'Monsoon', 'steppe', 'dacha', 'tagliatelle' are cultural words - there will be a translation problem unless there is cultural overlap between the source and the target language (and its readership) (Newmark 1988: 94).

In Newmark's (1988) view, CSIs can be grouped in five different categories: *ecology, material culture, social culture, organisations, customs and concepts, gestures and habits.* The first category includes CSIs linked to the flora and fauna, such as "scirocco, tundra"; the second category has to do with food, clothes, houses, towns and transport; the third, *social culture,* deals with CSI as "reggae", "rock", and other items related to work and leisure. The category defined as *organisations, customs and concepts* deals with CSIs of politics, religion and arts; the last group concerns gestures and habits, for instance the CSI "cock a snook".

Newmark (1988) identifies many translation strategies for CSIs, yet only the most relevant ones will be analysed; they are defined as *transferenc*e, *cultural equivalent*, *neutralisation*, *functional equivalent, literal translation*, *label*, *naturalisation*, *componential analysis*, *deletion*, *couplet*, *recognised translation*, *paraphrase*, *gloss*, *notes* etc., and *classifier*. The first one is used mostly in literary texts to give them "local colour and atmosphere" (Newmark 1988:96) and it consists of borrowing the CSI from the source text and inserting it into the target text (Aixela defines it as *repetition*). According to Newmark's (1988), this strategy is not considered as such by most translators. The strategy identified as *cultural equivalent* is a translation of the source language CSI into a target language CSI. This strategy is seen as inaccurate by Newmark (1988), though necessary sometimes. An example may be the word "Montecitorio" translated as "Westminster", or "tea-break" rendered as "pausa-caffè" into Italian. On the other hand, *functional equivalent* neutralises or generalises the source language CSI. For instance, "Roget" in English becomes "dictionnaire idéologique anglais" in French. In the case of *naturalisation,* the source text term is turned into a lexical item of the target language, such as in the case of "avocado", which becomes "avocat" in French or "mango", which is turned into "mangue" in French. *Recognised translation* implies that the translator draws on CSIs translation that are officially recognised and widely known

(e.g. “Rechtstaat” is known as “constitutional state” in English). Newmark defines the strategy *componential analysis* as a process whereby the translator “compares a SL word with a TL word which has a similar meaning, but is not an obvious one-to-one equivalent, by demonstrating first their common and then their differing sense components” (Newmark 1988:114). The other strategies, which are not illustrated in this paragraph, are quite self-explanatory (addition, deletion, literal translation, gloss, paraphrase and so on); nevertheless, I refer to Newmark (1988) for further details.

These strategies provided by different scholars present advantages and disadvantages, yet they represent guidelines for a translator facing a text written in a non-standard variety. Naturally, only a few strategies have been illustrated in this discussion. As Pym (2000) remarks, there are no established strategies to follow and to apply when translating language varieties and, after all, the individual translator is free to act as he/she wants (Pym 2000). A similar path of thinking is followed by Bonaffini (1997), who draws the following conclusions: “In the end, however, we are forced to acknowledge the obvious: namely, that it is impossible to find a conclusive answer to the problems of translating dialect […] the success of any attempt can ultimately depend only on the linguistic and literary sensibility of the translator” (Bonaffini 1997:288). De Martino (2011) points out that translation is always a challenge, in particular when the ST is characterised by varieties, and she is convinced that sometimes translators have to accept the fact that dialects present features that are “simply untranslatable” (De Martino 2011:61).

CHAPTER 3: CAMILLERI'S LANGUAGE IN THE MONTALBANO NOVELS

This chapter focuses on the language Camilleri makes use of in his novels. Before investigating his linguistic mishmash, some biographic information about the writer of Montalbano is provided. Finally, the last part of the chapter presents a brief outline of the linguistic features belonging to the Sicilian dialect adopted by Camilleri.

3.1. ANDREA CAMILLERI: INTRODUCTION TO THE AUTHOR

Andrea Camilleri[34] was born in Porto Empedocle, in the province of Agrigento, on 6th September 1925. He spent most of his life in Rome, where he died on 17th July 2019. He was a film and theatre director, radio presenter, television producer and writer. Between 1945 and 1952 he published short stories and poems; from 1949 he worked for Italy's state broadcaster, RAI, as television producer and director, working on tv series such as *Tenente Sheridan* and *Commissario Maigret*. From 1948 to 1950 he attended the Accademia Nazionale D'Arte Drammatica (National Academy of Dramatic Arts), of which he became the head of the Film Direction section in 1977. In 1967 he wrote his first book *Il corso delle cose,* which was published only eleven years later. In 1978 Camilleri published *Un filo di fumo,* the first of his historical novels. Yet he achieved great success in 1992, after the publication of *La stagione della caccia*.

In 1994, *La forma dell'acqua,* the first novel featuring Inspector Salvo Montalbano, appeared. Between 1994 and 2019 Camilleri wrote 31 detective novels set in the imaginary town of Vigàta, in Sicily, where Montalbano investigates criminal acts. This series contributed to the creation of the so-called "fenomeno Camilleri" or "caso Camilleri"[35] (Sorgi 2019). Television adaptations of his detective novels started to appear in 1999, produced by RAI and greeted with much critical acclaim. The character Salvo Montalbano is played by the actor Luca Zingaretti.

Andrea Camilleri also continued to write historical novels, such as *Il birraio di Preston* (1995) or fantasy novels, such as the trilogy of *Maruzza Musumeci* (2007), *Il casellante (2008)* and *Il sonaglio* (2009), but also critical essays, theatre adaptations and much more. Camilleri's success is not limited to the Italian peninsula; his books have

[34] The biographical data are taken from the website http://www.vigata.org/biografia/biografia.shtml, edited and updated by Camilleri's Fan Club and authorized by Camilleri himself. The website includes articles, interviews, reviews, latest news concerning the author.

[35] The expressions refer to the literary phenomenon of Camilleri and his success.

been translated into more than 120 languages, and the television series featuring Montalbano has also been aired in many countries[36], bringing Camilleri international renown. This worldwide success, thanks to the widespread translation of his books, leads to the issue of translating Camilleri's unique language and invites reflection on how his books can be welcomed by a readership that finds itself far away both geographically and culturally. In the subsections that follow, I will deal with the issue, focusing on the Montalbano series.

3.2. A LINGUISTIC MISHMASH

In his detective novels, Camilleri juxtaposes different language varieties. In fact, the books featuring Montalbano teem with a consistent number of characters with different social and cultural backgrounds and many of them make use of one or more linguistic varieties or of their own idiolect. Nevertheless, the linguistic mishmash experimented by Camilleri mainly consists of three different varieties: Sicilian dialect, standard Italian and the regional Italian of Sicily. His language, often called *camillerese* or *vigatese*[37] (Cerrato 2018; Marci 2019), is a "personal language" (Marci 2019) made up of Sicilian words and elements, of words and expressions taken from his familiar idiolect, but also of invented words[38]: all this occurs with the interference of the Italian language. Camilleri alternates and mixes standard Italian and Sicilian dialect; sometimes the readers find dialectal words and expressions used in an Italian structure, and it is not unusual to come across a hybrid word whose basis is Sicilian, yet it is influenced by Italian morphology[39]. At other times the characters of the novels speak entirely in dialect while others make use of the code-mixing and code-switching phenomena and so on. This mix is evident everywhere in the novels, both in the narration and in the dialogues, as we will see in the analysis of the texts.

[36] In England, the series has been aired on BBC 4 with English subtitles.
[37] The term comes from the town "Vigata", the fictional town where Montalbano lives and investigates. Vigata is at the same time an invented and a typical Sicilian town. It is in the province of Montelusa (invented as well). Vigata corresponds to Porto Empedocle, while Montelusa corresponds to Agrigento (Marci 2019).
[38] Camilleri himself stated that he made use of invented words. Yet it is relevant to say that he plays with both Italian and Sicilian dialect, he does not coin neologisms (Matt 2020).
[39] For instance, the verb *taliare* comes from the Sicilian *taliari,* yet it is italianised in his morphological ending (i > e)

Camilleri's choice to use this blend of varieties is explained by him in the last pages of his novel *Il corso delle cose:*

> Mi feci presto persuaso, dopo qualche tentativo di scrittura, che le parole che adoperavo non mi appartenevano interamente. Me ne servivo, questo sì, ma erano le stesse che trovavo pronte per redigere una domanda in carta bollata o un biglietto d'auguri. Quando cercavo una frase o una parola che più si avvicinava a quello che avevo in mente di scrivere immediatamente invece la trovavo nel mio dialetto o meglio nel «parlato» quotidiano di casa mia.[40] Che fare? A parte che tra il parlare e lo scrivere ci corre una gran bella differenza, fu con forte riluttanza che scrissi qualche pagina in un misto di dialetto e lingua. Riluttanza perché non mi pareva cosa che un linguaggio d'uso privato, familiare, potesse avere valenza extra moenia. Prima di stracciarle, lessi ad alta voce quelle pagine ed ebbi una sorta d'illuminazione: funzionavano, le parole scorrevano senza grossi intoppi in un loro alveo naturale. Allora rimisi mano a quelle pagine e le riscrissi in italiano, cercando di riguadagnare quel livello d'espressività prima raggiunto. Non solo non funzionò, ma feci una sconcertante scoperta e cioè che le frasi e le parole da me scelte in sostituzione di quelle dialettali appartenevano a un vocabolario, più che desueto, obsoleto, oramai rifiutato non solo dalla lingua di tutti i giorni, ma anche da quella colta, alta[41] (*Il corso delle cose*, 141-142).[42]

As shown in this long quotation, Camilleri felt a sort of unfamiliarity with Italian, and this is why he did not use it in an exclusive way for the kind of novel and narrative style he had in mind (Matt 2020). After all, his family, which belonged to the old Sicilian middle-class, communicated in a blend of Italian and dialectal elements, as many Italian families used to do and still do (Matt 2020). Many words, metaphors or idioms are those heard at home when he was a child and from people from different parts of Sicily and

[40] The diamesic and diatopic dimensions intertwine; rather than referring on the very dialect, he talks of "parlato di casa mia", which stands for "my family's everyday speech".

[41] In this last part of the quotation, Camilleri distinguishes between an everyday language and an elevated and high language within the Italian language. This distinction reflects the one between the standard Italian and the so-called neo-standard Italian, which is a new form of standard Italian which includes forms, structures and phenomena that did not belong to the canon of grammars. These forms belonged to the familiar or popular language and they are now being accepted as forms belonging to the standard language (Berruto 2006). Nevertheless, in this thesis the term "standard Italian" has been used.

[42] After a few attempts at writing, I realised that the words I was using did not belong to me entirely. I made use of them, but they were the same words I used when I wrote a document on stamped paper or a greeting card. When I looked for an expression or a word to write that resembled what I had in mind, I immediately found it in my dialect, or rather in my family's everyday 'speech'. What could I do? It was with great reluctance that I wrote a few pages in a mixture of dialect and language, because I kept in mind that there is a big difference between speaking and writing. I was reluctant because I did not think that a private, familiar language could have any value outside the walls of my house. Before tearing the first pages into pieces, I read them aloud and had a sort of epiphany: they worked, the words flowed smoothly in their own natural way. So, I went back to those pages and rewrote them in Italian, trying to obtain that level of expressiveness I had previously achieved with dialect. Not only did it not work, but I made a disconcerting discovery, namely that the phrases and words I had chosen to replace the dialectal ones belonged to a vocabulary that was more than obsolete, and by now rejected not only by everyday language, but also by elevated and high language (my translation).

thus having a different pronunciation. In many interviews, in fact, Camilleri explained that this language came from his childhood and, through the novels, he tried to reproduce it. He tried to make his "mother tongue" live again in order to recall the past (Cerrato 2018). Moreover, the use of this mixed language is a way of avoiding a flat and anonymous Italian and of conveying more expressiveness (Caprara and Plaza González 2016), which is achieved through a process of functionalisation of his language, which adjusted to the literary world he was building. As Camilleri himself admitted, the invented words we find in his books are the result of his creativity and imagination, inherited from his grandmother Elvira. Very often she used to address him with words that she had completely made up to play with her grandson, who had to guess their meanings (Sanna 2019).

As said before, the linguistic mishmash between dialect and Italian penetrates both the narrative structure and the dialogues of Camilleri's detective novels. The narrator is omniscient; his point of view is in part external, yet he gives judgments, expresses opinions and evaluations, very often in an ironic way. As Caprara and Plaza González (2016) argue, the narrator sometimes uses the language that the characters use and this leads us to say that, though not involved in the story, he is always there. In Cerrato's (2018) view, the linguistic strategy adopted by Camilleri, who wants to place the narrator at the same level as the characters, is due to the feature of orality that the writer wants to give to his novels. Spinazzola notes that Camilleri's intention is the following: "Conferire al discorso narrativo un accento spiccato di naturalezza orale: come di chi racconta a una cerchia di interlocutori familiari, coi quali ha confidenza e intende conversare alla buona"[43](Spinazzola 2001:119). He is thus a *contastorie*[44], a storyteller, as Camilleri himself stated in an interview with Walter Nicoletti (2017)[45]. According to Nigro (in Marci 2018), the space that Camilleri gives to the orality in his books is derived from his long career in theatre and television. He remarks that Camilleri's novels are "voce su

[43] "Giving the narrative discourse a strong feature of oral naturalness: as if the narrator were to tell a story to a couple of familiar interlocutors, with whom one wishes to converse in an informal way" (my translation).

[44] Many scholars (Serkowska 2006; Caprara and Plaza González 2016; Marci 2018 and others) have used the term *tragediatore*, introduced by La Fauci (2001), to define the narrative voice in Camilleri's novels, and Camilleri himself. Yet Camilleri prefers the term "contastorie" because "tragediatore" has a negative connotation, as he explains in his book *Il gioco della mosca* (2019).

[45] http://www.vocespettacolo.com/contastorie-andrea-camilleri-sul-palco-dipasquale (accessed 13 January 2021).

carta, pura rappresentazione: "teatri".[46] He adds that his language is not only a hybrid, but "una parlata felicemente viva e fluente nel mondo strutturato di Vigàta e nelle sue ordinarie recite all'improvviso: senza copioni e senza palchi[47] (Nigro in Marci 2018:101).

As Cadeddu (2017) points out, Camilleri's language is also characterised by the use of different registers. Camilleri's multilingualism is made up not only of diatopic and diastratic variation, but also of diaphasic variation. While reading, in fact, we can notice that the writer makes use of all those register variations, ranging from the colloquial one to the bureaucratic one[48]. Yet Caprara and Plaza González (2016) admit that sometimes it is difficult to understand whether the writer makes use of a register or of a diatopic and diastratic variety. According to Cerrato (2018), Camilleri moves within the linguistic *continuum* both of the standard language and of the dialect and makes use of every variety within it as he pleases.

Vizmuller-Zocco (2001) observes that Camilleri's linguistic mixture has three functions: the first one is *humorous*, the second is *casual*, the last one is *definitory*. The particular language used by the writer clearly creates a comic and humorous effect; he achieves this effect by scattering Sicilian terms or invented words without any reasonable criterion. As for the last function, the *vigatese* defines the characters and helps to separate "i concetti dai sentimenti". Italian is the language of "concepts", of reality, while dialect is the language of "feelings and emotions"; so when Camilleri uses exclusively Italian, he is referring the concepts, while when he uses dialect, feelings and emotions are usually at play. Briguglia (2009) underlines that this colourful linguistic framework has the function of representing reality: every character has a different voice because he/she represents the diversity of reality. In addition, Brigulia (2009) observes that Camilleri is convinced that the language is a means allowing us to express our Weltanschauung*;* this is why he makes use of dialect. In the book-interview with Sorgi (2019) he said:

> Per me il dialetto, meglio sarebbe dire i dialetti, sono l'essenza vera dei personaggi […] il personaggio […] nasce, quasi, dalle parole che deve dire […] la sua lingua è il suo pensiero. […] Ho bisogno di

[46] "His novels are like voice on paper, pure performance: "theatre pieces" (my translation).
[47] A living language in the structured world of Vigàta and in its ordinary and sudden performances that are without scripts and without stages (my translation).
[48] This aspect will be shown in the analysis later. The character of Montalbano is the one who switches from one register to another within the continuum of the Italian language. The reader can notice that he uses a high and formal language when he addresses a judge or a prefect; yet he speaks an informal Italian when he speaks to Livia, his girlfriend.

costruire il personaggio nel suo linguaggio (Sorgi 2019:128).[49]

As Spinazzola (2001) points out, the reader, especially if not Sicilian or from the south of Italy, might have some difficulty while reading Camilleri's hybrid language. Yet Camilleri draws on linguistic stratagems to make his text more readable. First of all, the narrative part is never written completely in dialect. In fact, the syntactic structure of the prose is usually faithful to the Italian syntax. A very usual linguistic device is the use of *glosses*, namely brief explanations of the meaning of a word. For example, in *L'odore della notte,* in a conversation with Livia[50], Montalbano explains the meaning of the word "spinno".

> "Sei andato per François?"
> "Si."
> "Sta male?"
> "No."
> "E allora perché ci sei andato?"
> "Avevo **spinno**".
> "Salvo, non cominciare a parlare in dialetto! Sai che in certi momenti non li sopporto! Che hai detto?"
> "Che avevo desiderio di vedere François. **Spinno** si traduce in italiano con desiderio, voglia" (*L'odore della notte*, 123).

The voice telling the story or the characters themselves use the standard language to explain a vernacular word that has been previously used. At a certain point in the novels, the use of this strategy is interrupted and is replaced by another one: the repetition of the Sicilian terms. As Matt (2020) points out, repetita iuvant; Camilleri repeats the vernacular terms in order to make them more and more familiar to the readers. In addition, the writer inserts a term that might be obscure to a non-Sicilian reader in a context that may help the reader to understand it. Another strategy is identified by Matt and it is:

> […] l'impiego via via più intenso di sicilianismi fonomorfologici, o di forme ibride siculo-italiane. È evidente che in questo modo si può saturare la pagina di dialettismi senza che ciò comporti un reale sforzo interpretativo da parte dei lettori: va considerato non solo che le forme in questione per lo più non si distanziano in misura eccessiva dalle corrispettive italiane, ma anche che esse presentano una

[49] "For me the dialect, or rather the dialects, are the true essence of the characters [...] the characters [...] come into existence from the words they pronounce [...] their language is their thought. [...] I need to build the characters following their language" (my translation).
[50] Livia is Montalbano's girlfriend.

> sostanziale regolarità che ne facilita la ritraduzione (non è difficile abituarsi a trovare sistematicamente *i* e *u* in luogo di *e* e *o*, *-ddr-* e *-nn-* in luogo di *-ll-* e *-nd-,* e così via) (Matt 2020:64).[51]

La Fauci (2001) reinforces this idea, underling that there is a contrast between lexical elements in Sicilian and morphological items, which undoubtedly belong to Italian. In La Fauci's (2001) view, this is the reason why Camilleri had and has success also among non-Sicilian readers. Brandimonte (2015) underlines the very same idea: Camilleri expresses himself in his familiar language, but he makes it readable through a sort of "artificio linguistico"[52], that is to say the creation of a language which is apparently Sicilian but influenced deeply by Italian structures, especially on a morphological level.[53] Brandimonte (2015) gives some examples with the typical final vowel -u- in Sicilian: "evita, dunque, la ripetizione ossessiva […] delle u in posizione finale, creando quelli che vengono definiti come ibridismi lessicali: piccato (piccatu peccato); quanno (quannu de quando); criato (criatu de creato); voliva (vulìa de voleva); aviva (avìa de aveva), etc" (Brandimonte 2015:42).[54]

It is relevant to say that Camilleri's language has not always been the same; it developed gradually, and it has gradually become the protagonist of his novels (Caprara and Plaza González 2016). An example may clarify this point. If we report the incipit of *La forma dell'acqua*, his first Montalbano novel, we can notice that the dialectal elements in the narrative part do not penetrate the text completely:

> Lume d'alba non filtrava nel **cortiglio**[55] della «Splendor», la società che aveva in appalto la nettezza urbana di Vigàta, una nuvolaglia bassa e densa **cummigliava** completamente il cielo come se fosse stato tirato un telone grigio da cornicione a cornicione, foglia non si **cataminava**, il vento di scirocco tardava ad **arrisbigliarsi** dal suo sonno **piombigno**, già si faticava a **scangiare** parole. Il caposquadra,

[51] The more and more intense use of phonomorphological elements from Sicilian, or hybrid Sicilian-Italian forms. It is evident that in this way the writer can fill the page with dialectal words; it does not mean though that it implies a real effort of understanding from the readers' side. It is important to say that not only are most of the forms in question not far from their Italian translations, but they also present a certain regularity that helps the reader to translate them (it is not rare to find i and u rather than e and o, -ddr- and -nn- rather than -ll- and -nd-, and so on) (my translation).
[52] Linguistic artifice.
[53] Most of the scholars cited in this section believes that Camilleri shaped this variety "a tavolino", namely created the language he made use of. This is because in Camilleri the literary aspect is a relevant one. He had to create a "variety" for his expressive purposes. Yet, we have also to take into account the fact that Camilleri grew up in an educated, middle-class family, where Italian and Sicilian intertwined and, perhaps, many forms we find in his novels are the result of this linguistic mix, where very often Sicilian words are "italianised" and Italian words are "sicilianised" (my note).
[54] "He avoids, therefore, the obsessive repetition [...] of -u- in the final position, creating the so-called lexical hybridisms: piccato (piccatu peccato); quanno (quannu quando); criato (criatu creato); voliva (vulìa voleva); aviva (avìa aveva), etc" (my translation).
[55] I decided to put emphasis on the dialectal terms by making them bold.

> prima di assegnare i posti, comunicò che per quel giorno, e altri a venire, Peppe Schèmmari e Caluzzo Brucculeri sarebbero stati assenti giustificati. Più che giustificata infatti l'assenza: i due erano stati arrestati la sera avanti mentre tentavano di rapinare il supermercato, armi alla mano (*La forma dell'acqua,* 9).

In Camilleri's last book on Montalbano, whose title is *Riccardino*[56], the incipit reveals a great number of dialectal terms:

> Il **tilefono** sonò che era appena appena **arrinisciuto** a **pigliari** sonno, o almeno **accussì** gli parsi, **doppo** ore e ore passate ad **arramazzarisi ammatula dintra** al letto. Le **aviva spirimintate** tutte, dalla conta delle pecore alla conta senza pecore, dal **tintari d'arricordarisi** come **faciva** il primo canto dell'Iliade a quello che Cicerone **aviva scrivuto** al comincio delle Catilinari. **Nenti**, non c'era stato verso. **Doppo** il Quousque tandem, Catilina, nebbia fitta. Era **'na** botta d'insonnia senza **rimeddio**, **pirchì** non **scascionata** da un eccesso di **mangiatina** o da un **assuglio** di mali **pinseri**. (*Riccardino,* 15).

This is the result of his continuous linguistic experimentation, which affects every part of his novels: the narrative voice, the free indirect speech and the characters' language. Matt (2020) makes the comment that follows:

> Se si guarda all'insieme della produzione narrativa camilleriana, si ha quindi l'impressione di scorgervi una progressiva immersione nel siciliano. Soprattutto seguendo gli sviluppi del ciclo di Montalbano si può dire che dopo un avvio tutto sommato prudente, una volta che i lettori […] hanno preso dimestichezza con quote moderate di dialetto è stato possibile aumentare la dose, fino agli esiti estremi dei libri recenti (Matt 2020:49).[57]

Marci (2019) sees in Camilleri's linguistic development a sort of attempt made by the writer, who wanted his reader to deal with succeeding learning levels of his language, as if they were learners of his *camillerese.* This is why, for my analysis in Chapter 4, I have chosen to take into account three books that were published in 1994, 2001 and 2005 respectively, in order to understand how the language developed and how the translator faced it. Before turning to the core of this discussion, I will present the principal linguistic

[56] *Riccardino* was written in 2005 and rechecked in 2016 from a linguistic point of view. Hence, it cannot be really considered Camilleri's last novel. Nevertheless, I decided to report it because its incipit shows how Camilleri's language has developed over the years.

[57] If we look at Camilleri's whole narrative production, we have the impression that we are witnessing a gradual immersion in Sicilian dialect, in particular in the series of books on Montalbano. In fact, we can say that after a cautious start, once the readers [...] have become familiar with moderate amount of dialect, it was possible to increase the quantity, up to the extreme results of the recent books (my translation).

features characterising Sicilian dialect that we can find in Camilleri's novels on Montalbano.

3.3. SICILIAN DIALECT IN CAMILLERI

In 2001, in an interview with Barbara Palombelli[58], Camilleri said the following:

> Io non scrivo in dialetto, io scrivo in un italiano bastardo. Non si può dire che io scrivo in dialetto, altrimenti si casca nell'errore di scrivere, come è stato scritto, che il mio dialetto è assai diverso dal dialetto che adopera Pirandello in Liolà, per esempio. Quello è dialetto vero, io adopero il dialetto quando mi sento di adoperarlo, lavoro sulla struttura della frase dialettale, ma non sono un autore dialettale.[59]

Though not being a writer who writes only in dialect, Camilleri undoubtedly makes wide use of it (Matt 2020). As Matt (2020) points out, Camilleri draws on different Sicilian varieties (his variety, that of Porto Empedocle, in the province of Agrigento, does not play an exclusive role). Nevertheless, the purpose of this section is not to analyse the different varieties of Sicilian, but rather to present a few features identified in Camilleri's Montalbano novels that can be found in most Sicilian dialects.

As seen previously, the use of dialectal elements in Camilleri's production about Montalbano has gradually increased. In fact, in *La forma dell'acqua*, written in 1994, Camilleri scatters dialectal words here and there, yet standard Italian predominates over dialect. Later on, in his novel *La luna di carta,* published in 2005*,* we can notice that Sicilian forms are not limited to single words or expressions, but they pervade the Italian. In *La luna di carta,* the language is a hybrid between Italian and Sicilian (Matt 2020). Moreover, in *La forma dell'acqua*, Catarella[60] does not feature yet and, therefore, the reader does not meet his peculiar idiolect, whose basis is undoubtedly Sicilian.

Cerrato (2018), La Fauci (2001) and other scholars have observed that the syntax in the novels is built according Italian rules. This may be true for the narrative part; yet Matt (2020) disagrees with this view and observes that dialectal elements are rather to be found in the microsyntax of the text. For instance, in the dialogues we can notice a quite

[58] https://www.angelfire.com/pa3/camilleri6/gen01.html.
[59] I do not write in dialect; I write in a "bastard Italian". It cannot be said that I write in dialect, otherwise someone might state, as it has already happened, that my dialect is completely different from Pirandello's dialect featuring in *Liolà*, for example. That one is true dialect, while I use dialect only when I feel to; I work on the structure of the dialectal phrase, but I am not a dialectal writer (my translation).
[60] A policer officer working with Montalbano.

typical syntactic trait of Sicilian dialect and of regional Italian of Sicily, which is the verb at the end of a sentence, as in the famous expression "Montalbano sono". Other examples are: "lei comunista **è**"[61] or "Salvo **sono**"[62]. Furthermore, since dialect belongs to the world of orality and maintains the features of orality even in the literary productions, it is quite unusual to find complex structures and formulas; one is rather likely to come across simple structures (Matt 2020).

Another typical dialectal feature, which can be also found in the regional Italian of Sicily[63], is the use of the "passato remoto" instead of the "passato prossimo", which is rather a tense used in the standard language and in particular in the Northern Italian dialects, and in the regional Italian in the North (Maiden and Perry 1997). Maiden and Perry (1997) explain how the two tenses differ:

> Standard Italian has two perfective past tenses both opposed aspectually to the imperfect tense: 'passato prossimo' and 'passato remoto'. […] Roughly, PPr. is used when there is a connection between past and present time, such that the event or the effects of the action endure into the present: *ho comprato questa macchina cinque anni fa* lit. 'I have bought this car five years ago' = 'I bought this car five years ago'. PR expresses a past event or action, completely concluded, lacking any connection with the moment of the enunciation: *l'anno scorso Paolo comprò una macchina nuova* 'last year Paolo bought a new car'. Almost all northern dialects have lost the distinction between these two past tenses, replacing PR by PPr. […] The same tendency is attested in Sardinian. The PR survives south of the Po (but is much in retreat throughout Emilia- Romagna), and is widely employed in Tuscany and S. Italy. In S. Calabria, Sicily and Salento the PR also performs the functions of the Italian PPr. Thus (Rohlfs (1969: 48f.)): Calabrian ['komu dor'misti] 'how did you sleep?' (to somebody who has just this moment awoken), ['oji un 'potti stu'djare] 'I haven't been able to study (so far) today', Sal. [tor'nasti] 'you've returned' (to somebody who has just walked in), [$e bbi'visti] 'what have you (just) drunk?'. In these far southern dialects, the PPr. strongly emphasizes the present relevance of some past event or action: Calabrian ['aju 'jutu] lit. 'I have gone', '(I know the place because) I went (there once)'; [l 'aju 'fattu] 'I *have* done it (at some time in the past)' (Maiden and Perry 1997:88).

[61] *La forma dell'acqua,* 180.
[62] *La luna di carta,* 101.
[63] As stated in the previous subsection, in Camilleri's production we can witness structures that belong both to Sicilian dialect and to the regional Italian of Sicily.

In Camilleri we find examples of the use of "passato remoto" as such:

> "Che **fu**?"
> "Che **successe**?"
> "Che **capitò**?"
> "Nenti, nenti" fece Montalbano assittandosi. "Tornate ai vostri posti, mi è venuto un attacco di nirbùso. **Passò**" (*La luna di carta*, 77).

A classic feature of Sicilian dialect and of southern Italian dialects is the prepositional accusative (Maiden and Perry 1997; Loporcaro 2013), as the following sentences show: "Si vede che Ingrid aviva attrovato **a** qualichiduno" (*La luna di carta*, 166) or "Lei **a** Gargano lo conosceva da prima?" (*L'odore della notte,* 67). Other dialectal features that can be found in the novels are the use of the conjunction "che" together with other conjunctions, such as *mentri che* or *appena che*, or the reduplication[64] (Mazzarisi 2020): *casa casa, chiano chiano, leggio leggio, in pizzo in pizzo, zara zabara*. Finally, the present subjunctive is usually replaced by the present indicative in the subordinates, and by the imperfective subjunctive in the main clause (Loporcaro 2013): "penso che siete" (*L'odore della notte,* 31), "mi scusasse" (*L'odore della notte,* 12).

From a lexical point of view, there is a certain recurrency of the same words in all Montalbano novels. For instance, the reader can often find the nouns reported in the table below:

armuàr (wardrobe), *babbiata* (mockery), *bonarma* (dear departed), *burdello* (brothel/mess, chaos), *cabbasisi* (vulg. testicles, balls), *camurria* (vulg. pain in the ass), *catojo* (a one-room ground floor house), *cicerone* (big cup), *cristiani* (people), *facenna* (matter), *forasteri* (strangers), *gana* (desire), *minchia* (vulg. fuck), *minchiata* (bullshit), *nunnàto* (a type of fish), *nzinga* (nod), *pizzino* (piece of paper), *picciotto* (boy), *prescia* (rush), *pruvulazzo* (dust), *putìa* (food shop), *sciarra/sciarriatina* (fight), *scannatina* (slaughter) *sciauro* (smell), *seggia* (chair), *spinno* (strong desires), *timbulata* (slap).

[64] In Sicilian dialect, reduplication is used not only in an expressive way but also with a prepositional function (according to which verb it is linked to, it expresses place or movement to a place) or adjectival (Mazzarisi 2020).

Camilleri makes use of a great number of Sicilian nouns, though the Sicilian ending in -u is replaced by the standard Italian ending in -o for masculine singular nouns[65], as in the following examples:

arbulo (tree), *armàlo* (animal), *càvudo* (heat), *cantàro* (quintal), *catùnio* (bother, annoyance), *frivaru* (February), *masculo* (male), *moccaro* (mucus), *nicareddro*[66] (little one, child), *pircoco* (apricot), *ralogio* (clock), *scanto* (fright, fear), *scecco* (donkey/ a fool), *signo* (sign), *zito* (fiancé).

We can find the same pattern in the adjectives, whose usual ending is -u but it is replaced by the Italian -o; the most common adjectives are:

affruntato (ashamed), *astutato* (turned off/ killed), *ammammaloccuto* (astonished), *chiesastrico* (a devout man), *fimminaro* (womaniser), *fituso* (dishonest), *imparpagliato* (speechless), *incaniato* (mad, furious), *infatato* (miraculous), *intifico* (same), *laido* (in bad shape), *murritiuso* (hyperactive), *mutanghero* (muto, taciturno), *nico* (little), *scantuso* (fearful), *schetto* (bachelor), *strammato* (confused, disoriented), *vastaso* (vulgar, rude).

The adverbs the reader can often come across with are the following:

abbascio (down), *addritta* (upright), *accussì* (so, in this way), *ammucciuni* (secretely), *arré or darré* (behind), *cchiù* (more), *fora* (outside), *indovi* (where), *macari* (as well, even), *nonsi* (no), *picca* (little/few), *sutta* (under), *tanticchia* (some) *vasannò* (otherwise).

The verbs belonging to the Sicilian dialect are many throughout the books. Those that occur very often in the books are:

[65] The ending in -u is considered an extreme trait of the dialect and thus Camilleri avoid it (Matt 2020).
[66] But also in the variant "nicareddo".

acchianare (to go up), *acciuncare* (to hurt), *accumenzari* (to begin), *addrumare* (to turn on/ to switch on), *addrumiscire* (to fall asleep), *addubbare* (to feed/to eat), *affruntarsi* (to feel ashamed), *amminchiare/-si* (discourage/to be discouraged), *apprisintarsi* (to show up), *astutare* (to turn off/ to switch off), *arrisbigliare* (to wake someone up), *babbiare* (to joke) *catafottere* (to ruin), *cataminare/-si* (to make someone nervous/ to be restless), cummigliare (to hide), *distrubbare* (to bother), *inzertare* (to guess), *puliziare* (to clean), *scantarsi* (to be frightened), *stinnicchiarsi* (to stretch), *susirsi* (to get up), *taliare* (to look), *tambasiare* (to wander), trasere (to get in), *travagliare* (to work).

It is evident that the ending of the verbs in the infinitive form is -e; yet it is not the natural ending of the verb in Sicilian, which is actually -i. Camilleri italianises the morphological ending -i and turns it into the Italian -e in order to make the text more readable[67]. Camilleri does also the opposite: he makes many Italian words more "Sicilian"; for instance, the Italian noun *gomito* becomes *gummito*: the writer does not draw on the Sicilian noun *guvitu* but makes the Italian noun more Sicilian.

On the phonetic level, we can notice a few linguistic phenomena belonging to Sicilian dialects. For instance, the vowel raising of -e to -i identified in the southern Italian dialects (Loporcaro 2013) can be found in Camilleri's production. In fact, it is frequent both when the vowel is stressed and when it is not. For instance: *fresco>frisco; lenzuolo> linzolo; presenza>prisenza; segno> signo; teatro>tiatro; tremolare>trimolare; vedere>vidiri.*

The cacuminal resolutions of -LL- (Loporcaro 2013), typical of the Sicilian dialects, are also represented quite well. These below are only a few examples that can be found in *La forma dell'acqua, L'odore della notte* and *La luna di carta.*

Sicilian dialect	**Standard Italian**	**English translation**
agniddruzzo	agnellino	lamb
angileddro	angioletto	little angel

[67] At least for his first novels. If we read *La luna di carta* (2005), we can already notice that the endings in -e start to figure together with those in -i; in *Riccardino*, the endings in -i replace almost completely those in -e.

beddo/a	bello/a	handsome/beautiful
ciriveddro	cervello	brain
cutiddrazzo	coltellazzo	big knife
gaddrina	gallina	chicken
risateddra	risatella	laugh
viddrano	villano	lout

Represented likewise is the assimilation of the clusters -nd- and -mb-, which become -nn- or -mm- (Loporcaro 2013; Ruffino 2018):

Sicilian dialect	**Standard Italian**	**English translation**
addimannare	domandare	to ask
biunna	bionda	blond
cumanno	comando	order
quanno	quando	when
dumanna	domanda	question
faccenna	faccenda	matter
granni	grande	big
sprofunnato	sprofondato	sunken
strammata	strambata	disoriented, confused

Another feature is the word-initial gemination, especially with the rolling -r-. The -r- is reinforced by the vowel -a- (Rohlfs 1966), as in the following examples:

Sicilian dialect	**Standard Italian**	**English translation**
arricampò	ritornò a casa	he/she returned home
arricordarsene	ricordarsi	to remember
arrifriddato	raffreddato	having a cold
arriniscire	riuscire	to succeed
arrisbigliare	svegliare	to wake up
arrisolse	decise	to decide
arrispunnì	rispose	to answer

arrisultare	risultare	to turn out to be

The same pattern can be seen with -c-, -d-, -g-, -b-, -p-, which are preceded by the -a-:

Sicilian dialect	**Standard Italian**	**English translation**
accanosceva	conosceva	to know
accussì	così	so, in this way
addecise	decise	he/she decided
addimostrò	dimostrò	he/she proved
addivintati	diventati	they became
aggiarniò	diventare giallo	to turn yellow
aggilàta	gelata	frozen
abbadari	badare	to look after
abballano	ballano	they dance
abbastano	bastano	they are enough
apprioccupò	preoccupò	he/she was worried
s'apprisintò	si presentò	he/she showed up

The examples provided are only a few and many others could be reported; yet the purpose of this subchapter was to show how dialect is present and how it "infiltrates" Italian, as Salvatore Nigro states in the foreword of *Riccardino*. The use of dialect will continue to be illustrated as well in the following chapter, which moves on to the analysis.

CHAPTER 4: CAMILLERI IN TRANSLATION

This part of my thesis presents an analysis of the cultural and linguistic solutions adopted by Stephen Sartarelli in the English translations of three of Andrea Camilleri's books: *La forma dell'acqua* (1994)*, L'odore della notte* (2001) and *La luna di carta* (2005). The purpose is to understand and analyse the strategies adopted by the translator, who is faced with complex language issues, as the source text presents a mix of dialect and standard Italian. The last part of the chapter presents a brief outline of the renderings of Camilleri's *vigatese* in other languages, such as French, German, and so on.

4.1. CAMILLERI'S DETECTIVE NOVELS IN ENGLISH

Camilleri's novels on Montalbano, which are edited by Sellerio, have been translated into English by Stephen Sartarelli for the publishing house Penguin. Stephen Sartarelli is an American poet and translator; he has translated important Italian authors such as Umberto Saba and Pier Paolo Pasolini, and he has been working on the translation of Stefano D'Arrigo's *Horcynus Orca* for fifteen years.[68] He is the translator of Camilleri's novels on Montalbano both for the American and British book market. Both Camilleri and Sartarelli were awarded the CWA International Dagger Award for Translated Crime in 2012 for the *Il campo del vasaio* (*The Potter's Field)*. Thanks to Sartarelli's translations, Camilleri is greatly appreciated by English readers.

In this section, three of Sartarelli's translated novels will be analysed; they were translated into English with the titles *The Shape of Water, The Scent of the Night*[69] and *The Paper Moon* and were published in 2002, 2007 and 2008 respectively. The purpose is to analyse both the strategies and the solutions adopted by the translator and to understand the reasons for the success of Sartarelli's translated versions.

[68] http://www.vigata.org/convegni/convegno_palermo_sartarelli.shtml

[69] The version for the American public was entitled *The Smell of the Night* and it was published in 2005 by Viking Penguin, New York. The version used for the analysis is the one published in 2007 in Great Britain by Picador. As for *The Shape of Water* and *The Paper Moon,* I used the versions published by Viking Penguin, New York.

4.1.1. SARTARELLI'S APPROACH

In order to illustrate Sartarelli's approach, I decided to report his words in the preface of Gutkowski's (2009) essay on Camilleri, where he underlines how he found it hard to remain "invisible", as he usually does when he is faced with prose translation:

> I have always believed—at least when translating prose—that a literary translator should be like the arbiter or umpire of a sporting event: the less noticed the better. Whenever readers and critics praise, for example, the stylistic elegance of an author I happen to have translated, I take this as a compliment to my own quiet work, an implicit acknowledgement of the grace of my invisible hand. Translating an author with the immediate appeal of Andrea Camillieri, however, I'm finding it harder to remain anonymous (Gutkowski 2009:7).

Sartarelli is faced with Camilleri's multilingualism, which renders his role full of difficulties; the translator must take into account that the language used by Camilleri cannot be overlooked. However, as Sartarelli (2002) remarks, the dialectal forms used by Camilleri are inherently local and they cannot be rendered with local English varieties in translation.[70] He observes that "Montalbano's world of cops, hoods, lovely ladies and eccentric petit-bourgeois could hardly be made to speak American ghetto jive or Scots or Faulknerian Mississippian or any other geographically specific idiom without appearing absurd" (Gutkowski 2009:8). This does not mean that the translator cannot intervene and nudge the language in a certain direction. In fact, Sartarelli decides to create "new spaces" in the target language; for instance, he managed to coin a new expression, *curse the saints,* whose original Sicilian expression was *santiare*, and he noticed that many reviewers cite this expression when praising his work (Sartarelli 2017).

Yet, as Sartarelli (2002; 2009; 2017) has reminded his readers on many occasions, the book market in the USA is a rigid one, especially as regards translations. Unlike the British book market, the American one is not tolerant of linguistic experimentation and foreign works need to be "Americanised"[71] in order to be accepted. As he points out, the majority of Americans do not read translated books, do not watch foreign movies or listen to foreign music (Sartarelli 2002); on the other hand, American authors are constantly translated worldwide. In Sartarelli's view, the issue is that American publishing houses are reluctant to take on the works of writers whose mother tongue is not English; and when they do decide to publish their work, they push the translators to make the language

[70] http://www.vigata.org/convegni/convegno_palermo_sartarelli.shtml

[71] Sartarelli (2017) cites the *Chicago Manual of Style*, which is a style guide for American English. It deals with grammar and usage in writing and with aspects of editorial practice.

conform to the standard (Sartarelli 2002). This means that a translator such as Sartarelli, who is faced with the hard task of translating Camilleri, cannot risk creating a linguistic patchwork in translation. Rather than playing with the language in the way Camilleri does, he decides to preserve and reproduce the same fluency, rhythm, and musicality, and in particular the irony that can be found in the original (Sartarelli 2017). This does not mean that he does not manipulate the English language sometimes. For instance, he does not decide to have Catarella's speech cleaned up in translation; he rather shapes a particular variety to create an English-speaking Catarella. In other case, he draws on different strategies to render Camilleri's language as closely as possible, as we will see in the analysis.

4.1.2. THE NARRATIVE VOICE AND FREE INDIRECT SPEECH

The first chapter of *L'odore della notte* opens with Montalbano's awakening caused by a shutter slamming outside the window of his bedroom (Table 1). The verb *slammed* in Sartarelli's version is the translation of *sbattì*. The same procedure is used with verbs such as *s'arrisbigliò, s'arricordò, aveva addeciso, principiò*, which are rendered respectively with standard English *woke up, reminisced, decided* and *began.* Nouns such as *sciato* and *moccaro,* are translated as *breath* and *mucus.* It is relevant to note that from the first pages Sartarelli prefers standard English renderings for the narrative voice; the English equivalents, in fact, belong to standard language. It is inevitable that the non-standard elements of the source text are lost. In her analysis, Gutkowsky (2009) argues that the translator might have opted for less standard terms, such as *snot* rather than *mucus,* which has a more scientific connotation. Yet, as seen before, Sartarelli (2009) himself stated that he preferred to maintain the fluency and naturalness of the discourse rather than creating a linguistic mishmash, which could negatively affect the quality of Camilleri's stories.

TABLE 1

Original text	**English translation**
La persiana della finestra spalancata **sbattì** tanto forte contro il muro che parse una pistolettata e Montalbano, che in quel **priciso** momento si stava sognando d'**essiri** impegnato in un conflitto a fuoco, **s'arrisbigliò** di colpo **sudatizzo** e,	The shutter outside the wide-open window slammed so hard against the wall that it sounded like a gunshot. Montalbano, who at that moment was dreaming he was in a shoot-out, suddenly woke up, sweaty and at the same time freezing

'nzemmula, **agghiazzato** dal **friddo**. Si **susì santiando** e corse a chiudere. […] Si fece forza, si **susì** e **raprì** l'anta dell'**armuar** dove c'era la roba pesante. Il feto di un quintale o quasi di naftalina **l'assugliò** alla **sprovista**. Prima gli mancò il **sciato**, poi gli occhi gli **lagrimiarono** e quindi principiò a **stranutare**. Di stranuti ne fece dodici a fila, col **moccaro** che gli colava dal naso, la testa intronata e **sintendosi** sempre più indolenzire la cassa toracica (*L'odore della notte,* 9-10).	cold. He got up, cursing, and ran to close everything. […] Making an effort, he got up and opened the armoire where he kept his heavy clothes. The stink of several tons of mothballs assailed his nostrils. At first it took his breath away, then his eyes started watering and he began to sneeze. He sneezed some twelve times in a row, mucus running down from his nose, head ringing, the pain in his chest growing sharper and sharper. (*The scent of the night*, 3-4)

As seen in the previous sections, Camilleri's language does not remain the same over the years; it develops gradually and the dialectal elements increasingly pervade the entire linguistic texture, as the Table 2 below shows. Nonetheless, Sartarelli continues to render it with a standard language. Mayor (2017) observes that translating a series of novels implies not only many difficulties, but also many responsibilities; the translator must be aware that what he/she decides today may have consequences in a few years' time. In addition, the translator must continually take into account what he/she has done before. This means that if the translator decides to render the narrative voice of the target text in a standard variety, he/ she will have to continue to do so with the subsequent novels translated, especially in the case of a successful series, such as Montalbano's (Mayor 2017). In addition, Camilleri's novels are intended for readers of crime novels; this means that the readers might not be willing to make an effort to understand a language that causes the reading to be less fluent.

TABLE 2

Original text	**English translation**
Qualichiduno doviva aviri[72] scoperto **indovi** stava l'interruttore che **addrumava** le **dù** lampade che davano luce a una parte del terrazzo, quella **cchiù** vicina alla **càmmara** ex lavatoio. Il giudice Tommaseo **sinni** stava a **passiari** avanti e **narrè**	Somebody must have found the switch for the two lights that lit up the part of the terrace nearest the former laundry room. Judge Tommaseo was walking back and forth in the illuminated area, carefully avoiding the surrounding darkness.

[72] I decided to put emphasis on the dialectal terms by making them bold.

nella zona illuminata, evitando accuratamente di sconfinare nello scuro circostante; **assittati** sulla balaustra, con le **sicarette addrumate**, c'erano **dù** omini in **càmmisi** bianco, **dovivano essiri** quelli dell'ambulanza che **aspittavano** il via libera per agguantare il **catafero** e portarselo all'obitorio. Fazio e Gallo **sinni** stavano **addritta** vicino alla **trasuta** della **càmmara**. La porta **l'avivano** levata dai cardini e **appuiata** al muro. Montalbano vitti che il dottor Pasquano **aviva finuto** la ricognizione del corpo e ora si stava **lavanno** le mano […] (*La luna di carta,* 37).	Sitting on the balustrade with lighted cigarettes in hand were two men in white smocks. They must have been ambulance workers, waiting for the go-ahead to pick up the body and take it to the morgue. Fazio and Gallo were standing near the entrance to the room. They'd removed the door from its hinges and propped it against the wall. Montalbano saw Dr. Pasquano washing his hands, which meant he'd finished examining the body […] (*The paper moon,* 32).

In many cases, despite using standard language, Sartarelli renders the idea conveyed in the source text faithfully enough, drawing on colourful terms and expressions belonging to a more colloquial register, as in the case below (Table 3). *Si sbafò* is translated as *he wolfed down; sbafarsi* stands for eating greedily and abundantly, while *to wolf down* means eating something very quickly and in big pieces. On the other hand, the translated equivalent of *liccò,* which stands for flirting[73], is *he reveled in,* which means gaining pleasure from an activity. Though not perfect equivalents, the English verbs used by Sartarelli give the target text the same nuance of meaning that can be found in the original.

TABLE 3

Original text	**English translation**
Conzò il tavolino della verandina e **si sbafò** la caponatina mentre il pasticcio si quadiava. Appresso, si **liccò** col pasticcio.	He set the table on the veranda and **wolfed down** the caponata as the pasticcio was heating up. Then he **reveled in** the pasticcio (*The paper moon*)

Sartarelli decides to *neutralize* (Berezowski 1997) the non-standard variety of the source text and to translate it with the standard language also in the case of the free indirect speech, which gives voice to Montalbano's thoughts and points of view. The free indirect speech presents more features of orality than the narrative voice; the features are

[73] The idea conveyed by Camilleri is that Montalbano enjoys eating so much that he "flirts" with the food.

maintained by Sartarelli, who endeavours to reproduce the same irony the reader can find in the source text (table 4).

TABLE 4

Original text	**English translation**
Macari questa ci voleva a **conzargli** bona la giornata! Lui che **trimava** di **friddo** e Livia che **sinni** stava **biatamente stinnicchiata** al sole! Ecco un'altra prova che il mondo non **firriava** più come prima. Ora al nord si moriva di **càvudo** e al sud arrivavano le gelate, gli orsi, i pinguini. (*L'odore della notte,* 12).	This was all he needed to make his day. Here he was, shivering with cold, while Livia would be lying blissfully in the sun. Still further proof that the world was no longer turning the way it used to. Now up north you died of heat, and down south you'd soon be seeing ice, bears and penguins. (*The scent of the night,* 6).

The same strategy of neutralization of Camilleri's language is applied for many of the characters featuring the novels, as the next section illustrates.

4.1.3. INSPECTOR MONTALBANO AND OTHER MAIN CHARACTERS

The main character of Camilleri's detective novels is Inspector Salvo Montalbano. He is not the classic police inspector; his approach to investigations is not the usual one and he adopts very often irregular, and often even non legal, procedures; nonetheless, he is an honest and upright man and has a strong sense of fairness and justice. The character of Montalbano speaks standard Italian, Sicilian dialect, a hybrid Sicilian-Italian language; his language is characterised by the phenomenon of *code-switching* and *code-mixing* and he shows himself to be a perfect bilingual speaker. His language is very often sarcastic. Moreover, he switches registers depending on the interlocutor; he adapts his language to the context and to the communicative situation and he chooses the variety to adopt driven by emotional reasons. He expresses himself in a standard, highly formal and bureaucratic register with the judges and commissioners (Table 5), in a standard language with his girlfriend Livia who comes from Genoa (Table 6), and during his investigations; in a mixed language with his colleagues Fazio and Mimì (Table 7), and understands Catarella's incomprehensible idiolect. Camilleri experiments with the character of Montalbano, who is linguistically versatile. However, in translation Montalbano loses all his linguistic peculiarities because Sartarelli decides to neutralize his variety by adopting standard language.

TABLE 5: Montalbano and Prefect Squatrito

Original text	**English translation**
S: "Dottor Montalbano? Sono il prefetto Squatrìto. Il giudice Lo Bianco mi ha testé comunicato che lei ha chiesto altre ventiquattr'ore, o quarant'otto, non ricordo bene, per chiudere il caso del povero ingegnere. […] Lungi da me l'idea, che dico l'idea, meno ancora, di una qualsiasi interferenza, che poi non ci sarebbe ragione alcuna, ma sono a domandarle: perché questa richiesta?" M: "La mia richiesta, signor prefetto, come ho già detto al dottor Lo Bianco e ribadisco a lei, è dettata da una volontà di trasparenza, allo scopo di troncare sul nascere ogni malevola illazione su una possibile intenzione della polizia di non acclarare i risvolti del fatto e archiviare senza i dovuti accertamenti. Tutto qui." (*La forma dell'acqua*, 44)	S: "Inspector Montalbano? This is Prefect Squatrito. Judge Lo Bianco communicated to me just now that you asked for another twenty-four hours or forty-eight, I can't remember, to close the case of the late Mr. Luparello. […] Far be it from me to think, what am I saying, to even dream of interfering in any way, since in any case there'd be no reason to do so, but do let me ask you: why this request?" M: "My request, sir, as I have already explained to Justice Lo Bianco and will now reiterate, was dictated by a desire for transparency, to nip in the bud any malicious supposition that the police department might prefer not to clarify every aspect of the case and wish to close it without due verification of all leads. That's all." (*The shape of water,* 28).

As the table above shows, Sartarelli recreates the same formal language used by Montalbano with the Prefect Squatrito in the source text. He makes use of terms as *communicate, interfere, sir, reiterate, dictate*, *clarify*, *due verification,* which signal a certain degree of formality between the two interlocutors.

TABLE 6: Montalbano and Livia

Original text	**English translation**
L: "Pronto, amore? Sono Livia. Mi dispiace telefonarti in ufficio, ma..." M: "Tu puoi telefonarmi quando e dove ti pare. Che c'è?" L: "Niente d'importante. Ho letto or ora su di un giornale della morte di un uomo politico delle tue parti. È appena un trafiletto, dice che il commissario Salvo Montalbano sta svolgendo	L: "Hello, darling? It's Livia. Sorry to call you at work, but…" M: "You can call me whenever and wherever you want. What is it?" L: "Nothing important. I was reading in a newspaper just now about the death of a politician in your parts. It's just a brief notice. It says that Inspector Salvo Montalbano is conducting a thorough investigation of the possible causes of

accurati accertamenti sulle cause della morte. […] Questa morte ti porta rogne?" M: "Non tantissime." L: "Quindi non cambia nulla? Sabato prossimo mi vieni a trovare? Non mi farai avere qualche brutta sorpresa?" M: "Quale?" L: "L'impacciata telefonatina che mi comunica che l'indagine ha avuto una svolta e che quindi io dovrò aspettare, ma non sai fino a quando e che magari è meglio rimandare di una settimana. L'hai già fatto, e più di una volta." L: "Stai tranquilla, questa volta ce la farò." (*La forma dell'acqua*, 45-46).	death. […] Is this death causing you any problems?" M: "Not too many." L: "So nothing's changed? You're still coming to see me Saturday? You don't have some unpleasant surprise in store for me?" M: "Like what?" L: "Like an awkward phone call telling me the investigation has taken a new turn and so I'll have to wait but you don't know how long and so it's probably better to postpone everything for a week? It certainly wouldn't be the first time." M: "Don't worry, this time I'll manage." (*The shape of water,* 28).

Montalbano addresses Livia in standard Italian because she comes from Boccadasse, Genoa, and does not understand dialect; hence he rarely adopts dialect when he talks to his girlfriend. When he draws on dialect, she seems rather annoyed because she sees dialect as a barrier between them, and a means of excluding her. Livia and Montalbano have a long-distance, sometimes stormy, relationship. Livia's greatest desire is to marry Montalbano, who she engages in frequent and endless fights and discussions on this subject because he does not want to. Sartarelli's translation of Livia's Italian is rendered with standard English, characterised only by lexical forms belonging to the colloquial language. Livia's standard language is not a problem for the translator, nor is the language Montalbano uses when addressing Livia.

On the other hand, Montalbano addresses his closest collaborators in a mixed language. His collaborators are his deputy Domenico Augello, called "Mimì", and the detective Fazio. Mimì is a self-proclaimed womaniser and a lazy person at work and his laziness annoys Montalbano; Fazio is sincere, efficient and has what Montalbano defines as the "records office complex" (il complesso dell'anagrafe), which means that he has the habit of noting down on a scrap of paper every single piece of information he manages to gather in his investigations, even those useless and pointless. This represents the main source of the hilarious lines between Fazio and Montalbano. Despite that, Montalbano sees Fazio as his right-hand man. As Table 7 shows, Montalbano, Mimì and Fazio's

conversations reflect the ability of the three to switch from one linguistic code to another and to mix them. This code-mixing and code-switching is completely lost and neutralized in translation.

TABLE 7: Montalbano, Mimì Augello and Fazio

Original text	**English translation**
M: "Vogliamo continuare domani con la seconda puntata? Sapete, mi vado **addunando strata** facendo che più che un romanzo è uno sceneggiato televisivo" […] F: "Posso **contare** il finale?" s'intromise Fazio. E continuò: "I due hanno una discussione e Gargano, vistosi perso perché capisce che il **picciotto oramà** lo tiene in pugno, **scoccia** il **revorbaro** e gli spara." […] A: "Perciò secondo te l'ha ammazzato **fora** dalla macchina?" M: "Certo. Poi lo **piglia** e **l'assistema** al posto **allato** del guidatore, il **catafero** scivola di lato, si mette **per longo** sui due sedili. Ecco perché quando passa il professor Tommasino non vede il morto e pensa che la macchina sia vacante. Gargano **rapre** il bagagliaio, tira **fora** la sua valigia (che **macari** si sarà portato appresso ad ogni buon conto, come oggetto di scenografia, per dimostrare, se ce ne fosse stato bisogno, che era pronto a partire), al suo posto ci mette il motorino dopo averne **rapruto** il bauletto e **pigliato** la valigetta coi documenti, la sua valigia invece la colloca sui sedili di **darrè**. A questo punto arriva il professor Tommasino, Gargano gioca con lui ad **ammuccia-ammuccia**, aspetta che quello si allontani, poi **inserra** gli sportelli e si mette ad **ammuttare** la sua macchina fino a quando non precipita di sotto. Immagina, e immagina giusto, che ci sarà qualche stronzo che incomincerà a cercare il suo **catafero**, fattosi **pirsuaso** che si tratta della vendetta della mafia. Con la valigetta in mano, dopo manco un quarto d'ora è su una strada dove passano macchine.	M: "Shall we continue tomorrow with part two? You know, I'm beginning to realize as I go along that, more than a novel, this is a TV script." […] F: "Can I tell the rest?" Fazio butted in. And he continued: "They have an argument. Gargano at this point knows he's done for, since the kid's got him in the palm of his hand, so he whips out the pistol and shoots him." […] A: "So in your opinion he killed him outside the car?" M: "Of course. Then he grabbed him and put him behind the steering wheel. But the body probably slid to one side, so he laid it down over the two seats. That's why when Tommasino walked by he didn't see the body and thought the car was empty. Gargano then opens the boot, pulls out his suitcase - which he probably brought along for good measure, as a prop, in case he needed to show that he was ready to leave – then he puts the motorbike in its place, not forgetting, of course, to remove the briefcase with the documents from the bike's little baggage box. His own suitcase he puts on the back seat of the car. This is when Tommasino shows up. Gargaro plays hide-and-seek with the schoolteacher, waits till he's a safe distance away, closes the car's doors, and proceeds to push the vehicle off the edge of the cliff. He's imagining – correctly, I might add – that some idiot will start looking for his body, convinced that the whole crime is a vendetta on the part of the Mafia. Briefcase in hand, he begins walking, and in less than half an hour he's on a road with cars driving

Domanda un passaggio a qualcuno che **macari** paga profumatamente perché non parli". A: "Finisco io" fece Mimì. "Ultima inquadratura. Musica. Vediamo su una **strata longa e dritta**...". M: "Ce ne sono in Sicilia?" spiò Montalbano. A: "Non ha importanza, la scena la giriamo in continente e facciamo finta, col montaggio, che si trovi da noi. La macchina si allontana sempre di più, addiventa un **puntolino**. Fermo immagine. Appare una scritta: 'E così il male trionfa e la giustizia va a **pigliarsela nel culo'**. Titoli di coda." F: "Non mi piace questo finale" disse Fazio serio serio. M: "**Manco a mia**" commentò Montalbano "Ma ti devi rassegnare, Fazio. Le cose stanno proprio **accussì**. La giustizia, di questi tempi, può andare a **pigliarsela in culo**. Bah, **lassamo perdiri**". […] F: "Ma **nenti nenti** possiamo fare contro Gargano?" M: "Vai a **contare** il nostro sceneggiato a Guarnotta e vedi che ti dice." (*L'odore della notte,* 184-189).	by. He hitches a ride with somebody, whom he probably pays handsomely not to talk". A: "I'll finish" said Mimì. "Final shot. Music. We see a long, straight road…" M: "Are there any in Sicily?" asked Montalbano. A: "It doesn't matter. We film the scene on the mainland and pretend, with a little montage, that it's here. The car drives farther and farther away, till it becomes a tiny little dot. The frame freezes. On the screen appear the words: 'And thus evil triumphs and the forces of justice get fucked'. Credits." F: "I don't like that ending" Fazio said very seriously. M: "I don't either." Montalbano chimed in. "But you'll have to resign yourself, Fazio. That's exactly the way it is. Justice, nowadays, can go and fuck itself. Bah. Let's forget about it." […] F: "But is there really nothing we can do to get Gargano?" M: "Go and tell our screenplay to Guarnotta and see what he says." (T*he scent of the night,* 191-196)

Another important character, who speaks perfectly sounding Italian despite being Swedish, is represented by the Ingrid Sjöström, Montalbano's friend. She lives in neighbouring Montelusa and they meet for the first time in *La forma dell'acqua,* the first novel of the cycle. In the novel, she is investigated in a case led by Montalbano, who eventually finds out that she is innocent. They become friends and Ingrid will help Montalbano in his future investigations. Like Livia's language, Ingrid's Italian is not a problem for the translator, who renders it with standard English.

4.1.4. CATARELLA'S IDIOLECT

The most hilarious character is Agatino Catarella, one of the police officers working with Montalbano. His main job at the police station of Vigàta is to receive phone calls and to report them to Montalbano. As Cerrato (2018) remarks, at a certain point in the novels it

is revealed that Catarella managed to become a policeman thanks to his contacts in politics. Most likely, he was given the job of phone operator because it was the easiest task (Cerrato 2018). Yet his awful relationship with the standard language and its grammar prevents him from doing his job well. In fact, Catarella is "the desk sergeant who answers the switchboard at the police station and mishears almost everything he is told" (Bailey 2006).[74] Catarella's language, or *catarellese* (Vizmuller-Zocco 2010), is a linguistic stew, whose basis is the so-called "italiano popolare". This variety is also labelled as "semi-literate Italian" (italiano dei semicolti) and it is the kind of Italian spoken by dialectal speakers, who learned it during the few years of school (D'Achille 2010). Catarella's semi-literate Italian, blended very often with bureaucratic formulas and attempts to use formal language, generates malapropisms, linguistic misunderstandings, mispronunciations, solecisms, and hypercorrection phenomena. In an interview, Sartarelli (2014) tried to outline the *catarellese*:

> People also often seem mistakenly to believe that with Catarella it's only a question of dialect. It's actually quite a bit more complicated than that. Catarella is an example of a dying breed of provincial Italians who don't really speak Italian, but only their regional dialect. And since he's a policeman, an employee of law enforcement, the majority of the Italian he comes into contact with is bureaucratese, which in Italy can be very convoluted and ornate, and it is, moreover, the only form of Italian he really knows. Thus he tends to conflate proper Italian with bureaucratic Italian, to predictably comic effect. If you then throw in a good dose of heavy dialect (also often misused) and a sort of written and oral dyslexia, you get the sort verbal chaos that is Catarella.[75]

Among Catarella's main expressions, the reader can find pleonasms, such as the typical *Vossia di* ***pirsona pirsonalmente*** *è?* (*L'odore della notte,* 12), which is usually rendered by Sartarelli, who tries to reproduce the same pleonasm in English, as *Is that* ***you yourself*** *in person, Chief?* (*The scent of the night,* 7). Catarella's language is characterised by a hotchpotch of pronunciation and meaning mistakes, which create extremely ironic situations. Sartarelli shapes a linguistic mixture to render Catarella's idiolect; this mixture is grammatically incorrect, made up of invented words and short forms. In an interview with Tomaiuolo (2009), Sartarelli explains that he used a Brooklynese accent "with occasional echoes of the character of Curly from the old

[74] https://www.theguardian.com/books/2006/oct/14/featuresreviews.guardianreview31
[75] http://detectivesbeyondborders.blogspot.com/2014/04/casanova-to-catarella-detectives-beyond.html

slapstick comic series of short film of *The Three Stooges*" (Tomaiuolo 2009:16) in order to create an English version of *catarellese.* He adopts some of Brooklynese forms because many of the policemen working in New York City used to come from Sicily or were of Southern-Italian origin, as he states in the preface to Gutkowski's essay (2009). By adopting these solutions, the translator reproduces the same puns and ironic situations we find in the source text, as the conversations between Montalbano and Catarella show:

TABLE 8

Original text	**English translation**
C: "Maria santissima, dottori! Maria, chi grannissimo scanto che mi pigliai! Ancora attremo, dottori! Mi taliasse la mano. Lo vitti come attrema?" M: "Lo vedo. Ma che fu?" C: "Tilifonò il signori e Quistori di pirsona pirsonalmenti e mi spiò di vossia. Io ci arrisposi che vossia era momintaniamente asente e che appena che fosse stato d'arritorno ci l'avrebbi detto a lei che lui ci voliva parlari a lei. Ma lui, cioeni il signori e Quistori, mi spiò se c'era un superiori ingrato." M: "In grado, Catarè". C: "Quello che è, è, dottori, basta che ci si accapisce" (*L'odore della notte,* 80-81).	C: "*Maria santissima*, Chief! What a scare I got! I'm still shaking all over, Chief! Look at my hand. See it trembling, see it?" M: "I see it. What happened?" C: "The c'mishner called poissonally in poisson and axed for you. I tole 'im you's momentarily absint an' a soon as you got back I'd a tell you he wants a talk t'you. But then he axed, the c'mishner did, to talk to the rankling officer." M: "The ranking officer, Cat". C: "Whatever is, is, Chief. All 'at matters is we unnastand each other" (*The scent of the night,* 81-82).

TABLE 9:

Original text	**English translation**
M: "Ci sono altre novità?" C: "Nenti di nenti, dottori". M: "Dove sono gli altri?" C: "Fazio è in via Lincoln che c'è stata una sciarriatina, Gallo nel negozio di Sciacchitano che ci fu una piccola arrapina...". M: "In che senso piccola?". C: "Nel senso che l'arrapinatore era un picciliddro di tridici anni con un revorbaro vero granni quanto il mio vrazzo. Galluzzo inveci è indovi stamatina	M: "Any other news?" C: "Nuthin' at all, Chief." M: "Where's everybody else?" C: "Fazio went over to Via Lincoln for a brawl, Gallo's at the Sciacchitano store 'cause there was a little hold-up there…" M: "What do you mean, "little"?" C: "I mean the holder-upper's a little boy, thirteen years old, with a gun as big as my arm. An' Galluzzo's at the place where they found a bomb

attrovarono una bumma che non sbummò, Imbrò e Gramaglia inveci si trovino...". M: "Va bene, va bene" fece Montalbano. "Hai ragione tu, Catarè, niente di nuovo sul fronte occidentale". E se ne andò nella sua càmmara mentre Catarella principiava a toccarsi perplesso la testa. "Quali è la fronti oncidentali, dottori? La mia?" (*L'odore della notte,* 81-82).	this morning that never bombed, and Imbrò and Gramaglia went to…" M: "OK,OK." said Montalbano. "You were right, Cat. All quiet on the western front." And as he went into his office, Catarella scratched his head. "It's not too quiet in the Westerns I seen, Chief!" (*The scent of the night,* 82).

In the first odd dialogue between Catarella and Montalbano, the translator renders the same misunderstanding, which takes place because of Catarella's mispronunciation of the expression *in grado,* which is turned to *ingrato.* In translation, Catarella's mispronunciation of *ranking*, which becomes *rankling,* creates the same pun in the text. In this case, the pleonasm di *pirsona pirsonalmenti*, which is usually translated as ***you yourself*** *in person*, becomes *poissonnally in poisson*; the translator's purpose is to maintain the repetition of the sound, no matter whether *poissonnally in poisson* does not make any sense to an English-speaking reader. The distorted form "in poisson" used by Sartarelli creates a double cross-reference; on the one hand, it recalls the expression "in person", on the other, the term "poison". The purpose of the translator is to recreate the same oddity we can find in the target text. Moreover, Catarella's language is redundant and the translator tries to convey the same redundancy in the target text, as in *but then he axed, the c'mishner did.* In addition, Montalbano addresses Catarella with the diminutive *Cat,* which is closer to an English form, and not *Cataré,* typical of Sicilian noun short forms. Finally, we can notice that the term *dottori* is domesticated and rendered as *chief*, which is the English equivalent.

In the source text, the second instance (Table 9) mainly concerns the pun around the word *fronte*. Catarella does not understand Montalbano's line about the *fronte occidentale* and muddles "il fronte" and "la fronte", which denote the frontline and the forehead respectively. In the English text, Sartarelli cannot play with these two words and focuses on the "western" and creates the same misunderstanding; Catarella does not understand that Montalbano is referring to the frontline and only catches the word "western", which is a recall of the Western movies for him.

In the example that follows (Table 10), the *password* in the original text is manipulated by Catarella, who turns it into la *guardia ai passi*, which does not have any meaning. Sartarelli renders the same effect in the target text, turning the *password* into the *lass word*. In this example, we can notice how the translator renders Catarella's ungrammatical way of speaking by scattering mistakes here and there.

TABLE 10

Original text	**English translation**
Catarella aviva addrumato il portatile e macari lui armiggiava. C: "Dottori, difficillimissimo è". M: "Pirchì?". C: "Pirchì c'è la guardia ai passi". […] M: "Catarè, che minchia dici?". C: "Dottori, ora ci lo spiego. Quanno uno non voli che uno gli talia le cose intime che ci ha dintra, ci mette una guardia ai passi". Montalbano accapì. M: "Una password?" C: "E io che dissi? La stissa cosa dissi. E si uno non ci dice la palora d'ordine, la guardia non ti fa passari".	Catarella had turned on the laptop and was fiddling around himself. C: "Iss rilly difficult, Chief." M: "Why?" C: "Cause iss got the lass word." [..] M: "Cat, what the hell are you saying?" C: "Iss like diss, Chief: When summon don't want summon to look at the poissonal tings he got inside, he gives it a lass word." Montalbano understood. M: "You mean a password?" C: "Ain't dat what I said? And if you don't got the lass word, y'can't get in."

In Table 11, Catarella's mistake is reported in the same way as in the original text; the pun is thus not understandable for the English readers. For this reason, the translator adds an *extratextual gloss* (Aixela 1996), in the appendix explaining the word play to the English-speaking readers. The note reports: "Dacter Arquaraqua: Catarella's mangling of Dr. Arqua's name suggests the Sicilian term quaquaraqua, which variously means "worthless individual," "blabbermouth," and "squealer" or "informant." Only by reading the note can the English reader understand the pun, which is not lost in translation.

TABLE 11

Original text	**English translation**
C: "Dottori ah dottori!" vociò Catarella dallo sgabuzzino. "Ci devo diri una cosa d'importanzia!"	C: "Ahh, Chief, Chief!" Catarella yelled from his closet. "I got some importance to tell ya!"

[…] Ci voliva diri che tilifonò il dottori Arquaraquà." M: "Arquà, Catarè, si chiama Arquà". C: "Come si chiama si chiama, dottori, tanto vossia lo capisce lo stesso." (*La luna di carta,* 184)	[…] What I wannet a say is 'at Dacter Arquaraqua called." M: "Arqua, Cat, his name's Arqua." C: "His name's whatever 'is name is, Chief, you got the pitcher anyways." *(The paper moon,* 174)

As these examples show, Catarella's macaronic language (Tomaiuolo 2009) is an opportunity for the translator to create the same humorous effect in the target text and to experiment with the language. As Sartarelli (2014)[76] himself points out, cleaning up Catarella's language in translation would be a mistake; after all, he is supposed to be incomprehensible in the source text and he is rendered incomprehensible as well in the English version.

4.1.5. EYE-DIALECT IN TRANSLATION: ADELINA

Adelina is Montalbano's housekeeper, who expresses herself almost exclusively in dialect.[77] As in the examples below, in Adelina's speech we can thus find dialectal lexical features (*dumani, figliu, spitali, quattru, peju, adenzia, picciotta*) and also morphosyntactic ones (*Adelina sugnu*). Adelina's dialect in the dialogues is rendered in translation with expressions and ways of speaking typical of colloquial, informal register, such as *gotta*; the sounds at the end and at the beginning of the syllables are often omitted, as in *an'* (and), *'is* (his), *'em* (them), *er'* (her), *don'* (don't), *younges'* (youngest), as in table 12. Moreover, in the original text, Adelina addresses Montalbano with title *dottori*, which is a mix between the dialect *dutturi* and the Italian *dottore*. The solution Sartarelli adopts for Catarella's *dottori* cannot be applied for Adelina's as well, because the English term *chief* denotes someone who is higher in rank; in Adelina's case, Montalbano is not her chief, rather her employer. Sartarelli does not find an equivalent in English and prefers to maintain the Sicilian nuance, borrowing the Italian term *Signore* and not translating it as *Sir,* which is the English equivalent.

[76] http://detectivesbeyondborders.blogspot.com/2014/04/casanova-to-catarella-detectives-beyond.html
[77] Camilleri tends to italianise morphological endings, as shown in this chapter, even in the case of a completely dialectal speaker, as Adelina's case. In fact, *moglieri* becomes *mogliere, patri* becomes *patre*.

TABLE 12

Original text	**English translation**
A: “Nun m'arriconosci, dottori? Adelina sugnu”. M: “Adelina! Che c'è?” A: “Dottori, ci vuliva fari avvirtenzia che oggi non pozzo avveniri.” M: “Va bene, non...”. A: “E non pozzo avveniri né dumani né passannadumani”. M: “Che ti succede?” A: “La mogliere di mè figliu nicu la portaro allo spitali ch'avi malo di panza e io ci devu abbadari 'e figli ca sunnu quattru e il chiù granni ch'avi deci anni è unu sdilinquenti peju di sò patre”. A: “Va bene, Adelì, non ti dare pinsèro”. (*L’odore della notte,* 57).	A: “Don’ you rec’nize me, signore? Is Adelina.” M: “Adelina! What’s the matter?” A: “Signore, I wanted a tell you I can’t come today.” M: “That’s OK, don’t…” A: “An’ I can’t come tomorrow neither, an’ a day after that neither.” M: “What’s wrong?” A: “My younges’ son’s wife was rush to the hospital with a bad bellyache and I gotta look after ‘er kids. There’s four of ‘em and the oldest is ten and he’s a bigger rascal than ‘is dad. M: “It’s OK, Adelina, don’t worry about it”. (*The scent of the night,* 56).

On the scraps of paper she leaves for Montalbano (Table 13), Adelina’s dialect is adjusted to the written form and becomes a pseudo-dialect; almost none of the forms she writes down belong entirely to Sicilian dialect (*totori, manno, anichi, amangiari, tonno*). She tries to write in what she thinks might be a more correct variety of language, perhaps closer to Italian, because she wishes to appear educated or formal; yet the result is the hyper-correction phenomenon. When translating Adelina’s notes, Sartarelli tries to reproduce a non-standard variety in the target text, or rather an “eye-dialect”, as Tomaiuolo (2009) points out. He makes use of what Berezowski (1997) identifies as a strategy, which is the *speech defect* strategy, which implies the creation of lexical items, syntactic patterns, with the adoption of the TL spelling conventions and phonology. In fact, Sartarelli takes forms that belong undoubtedly to an informal register (*workin, gonna*), but he also manipulates words and endeavours to find phonetic stratagems in order to give the impression of being dialectal (*Im, neece, somtin, beck, afta, tomorra*). Sartarelli’s intention is of marking visually the speech of Adelina as non-standard, as he does with other only-dialect-speaking characters that feature in the novels.

TABLE 13

Original text	**English translation**
"Totori, ci manno a dari adenzia a la me niputi Cuncetta ca è piciotta abbirsata e facinnera e ca ci pripara macari anichi cosa di amangiari io tonno passannadumani" (*L'odore della notte,* 88).	Mr Inspector, Im sending my neece Concetta to help out. She's a smart an hard workin girl an she gonna make you somtin to eat too. I come beck day afta tomorra. (*The scent of the night,* 89).

4.1.6. BORROWINGS FROM THE SOURCE TEXT

The main strategy adopted by Sartarelli is borrowing or *repetition,* according to Aixela's (1996) framework analysed in Chapter 2. It is a common strategy when the translator is faced with culture-specific items. Sartarelli draws on this strategy when the original text includes typical Sicilian words and expressions, exclamations to do with the Church, professional titles and other aspects that will be analysed in this section.

In the novels there is a wide use of professional titles. As seen, Catarella addresses Montalbano with the term *dottori*; yet, as Gutkowski (2009) underlines, the term *dottore* has to do with the fact that Montalbano is an educated person and has an important position in his job. Its English equivalent, *doctor* does not have the same meaning; it is reserved for those with a medical degree or those who have completed a PhD (Gutkowsky, 2009). Therefore, Sartarelli uses the term *chief* in his translation and the borrowing *signore* from Italian when Adelina speaks to Montalbano. As for other titles[78], a relevant example can be taken from *The Scent of the Night,* where Montalbano must track down the *ragioniere* Emanuele Gargano, a financial manager who has disappeared. Sartarelli borrows the term *ragioniere* from the original text and places it in the target version. The English translation of *ragioniere* is *accountant,* but the translator prefers to use the Italian term because the term *accountant* would convey a different meaning. In this case, as with *dottore*, the title indicates the level of education of that person, who is a graduate from an Italian commercial technical institute qualified to practise accountancy as a profession.

[78] Sartarelli does not always choose to borrow terms indicating professional titles from the original text. In fact, he replaces them very often with English equivalents or sometimes neutralizes them, as in the case of *notaio Carlentini*, which becomes *Mr. Carlentini* (*The scent of the night,* 44).

Other cases of borrowing concern those exclamations of annoyance or astonishment that have to do with the Church and the saints. Sartarelli leaves some expressions as they can be found in the original text and writes them in italics, as in the examples below (Tables 14 and 15). Finding an equivalent in English might have been sounded odd, since these expressions and references are typical of Italian culture.

TABLE 14

Original text	**English translation**
M: "Voglio notizie su Mariastella Cosentino." F: "O Gesù biniditto!" fece Fazio. (*L'odore della notte,* 198).	M: "I need some information on Mariastella Cosentino." F: "*O Gesù biniditto*!" said Fazio. (*The scent of the night,* 206).

TABLE 15

Original text	**English translation**
C: "Maria santissima, dottori! Maria, chi grannissimo scanto che mi pigliai! Ancora attremo, dottori! Mi taliasse la mano. Lo vitti come attrema?" (*L'odore della notte,* 80-81).	C: "*Maria santissima*, Chief! What a scare I got! I'm still shaking all over, Chief! Look at my hand. See it trembling, see it?" (*The scent of the night,* 81-82).

In many cases, Sartarelli decides to borrow entire Sicilian expressions, as in Table 16:

TABLE 16

Original text	**English translation**
L: "Sei andato per François?" M: "Si." L: "Sta male?" M: "No." L: "E allora perché ci sei andato?" M: "**Avevo spinno**". L: "Salvo, non cominciare a parlare in dialetto! Sai che in certi momenti non li sopporto! Che hai detto?"	L: "Did you go because of François?" M: "Yes." L: "Is he sick?" M: "No." L: "So why did you go?" M: "***Aviva spinno***" L: "Don't start talking in dialect, Salvo! You know there are times when I can't stand it! What did you say?"

M: "Che avevo desiderio di vedere François. Spinno si traduce in italiano con desiderio, voglia. Ora che capisci la parola, ti domando: a te non è mai venuto spinno di vedere François?" (*L'odore della notte,* 123).	M: I said I felt like seeing him. *Spinno* means "wish" or "desire". Now that you understand the word, let me ask you. Have you never felt the *spinno* to go see François?" (*The scent of the night*, 127).

Sartarelli left the dialectal expression untranslated; in fact, the original "avevo", which belongs to standard Italian, is replaced by the Sicilian past "aviva" and placed in italics in order to emphasise the dialect. The reader finds out the meaning of the word because Montalbano explains it through a gloss, so that it is not necessary for the translator to add extratextual glosses, as happens in other situations.

As the Table 17 below reports, in the source text Camilleri uses a gloss, which is an opportunity for the translator to maintain the original Sicilian expression and explain it with an *intratextual gloss* (Aixela 1996).

TABLE 17

Original text	**English translation**
Si ricordò che era sempre stato goloso e ingordo fin da picciliddro, tanto che suo patre lo chiamava "liccu cannarutu" che significava esattamente goloso e ingordo. (*L'odore della notte,* 93).	He remembered he'd always been a glutton and gourmand, ever since childhood. In fact his father used to call him *liccu cannarutu,* which meant just that, glutton and gourmand. (*The scent of the night,* 94).

Very often, Sartarelli borrows entire sayings from the original text, such as in the example that follows.

TABLE 18

Original text	**English translation**
Nottata persa e figlia femmina, si disse deluso Montalbano (*L'odore della notte,* 144).	*Nottata persa e figlia femmina,* Montalbano thought to himself, disappointed. (*The scent of the night,* 150).

Sartarelli, in this case, adds an extratextual gloss at the end of the novel, specifying the meaning of the saying. The note reports:

> *Nottata persa e figlia femmina* – Literally: "a night lost, and it's a girl". A Sicilian saying first quoted by Camilleri in *Excursion to Tindari*, it means more or less "what a lot of wasted effort". As the narrator explains in that book, it is the "proverbial saying… of the husband who has spent a whole night beside his wife in labour, only to see her give birth to a baby girl instead of that much-desired son" (*The scent of the night*, 232).

Sartarelli's decision to draw on borrowings exoticizes the target text, which expresses the nuances of meaning that can be found in the source text. The borrowed words and expressions become part of the target text, which remains rooted in Sicily, and the readers discover their meaning thanks to the context or to the various glosses inserted by the translator.

4.1.7. CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS: FOOD

Culture specific items related to food occupy a relevant part of the novels on Montalbano. One of the main strategies adopted by Sartarelli when is faced with food terms is borrowing. For instance, in *The Scent of the Night,* Sartarelli rarely translates the terms related to food, he rather borrows them from the source text. *Pirciati,* (48), *nunnatu* (83), *tumazzo* (94), *patati cunsati* (94), *biscotti regina* (114), *pasta 'ncasciata* (179) are left untranslated in the target text. Sartarelli very often adds extratextual glosses to explain the borrowings, such as in the case of *pasta 'ncasciata*:

> One of the main forms of southern Italian *pasta al forno,* that is, a casserole of oven-baked pasta and other ingredients. *Pasta 'nscasciata* generally contains small macaroni, *tuma* or *caciocavallo* cheese, ground beef, mortadella or salami, hard boiled eggs, tomatoes, aubergine, grated Pecorino cheese, basil, olive oil and a splash of white wine (*The scent of the night,* 233).

Even in the extratextual gloss, whose purpose is to explain the foreign term, Sartarelli draws on borrowings from Italian; this shows how the items related to food are closely connected and rooted in the culture they belong.

On many occasions, the translator decides to "italianise" the Sicilian terms; for instance, *mustazzola* (*L'odore della notte,* 111) is turned into the more Italian *mostaccioli* (*The scent of the night,* 114). Sartarelli decides to bring the word phonetically closer to

an Italian form, rather than maintaining the dialectal one. In other cases, when the terms are less culture specific or denote dishes whose ingredients are widely recognizable, Sartarelli prefers translation (Table 19), though does not find always right English equivalent, as in the case of *pasta di mandorle* (*L'odore della notte,* 111) which becomes *marzipan pastries* (*The scent of the night,* 114), which stands for another kind item, different from the original one. Most likely, Sartarelli decides to translate them because otherwise the target text readers would find themselves overwhelmed by foreign words.

TABLE 19

Original text	**English translation**
triglie di scoglio freschissime (*La forma dell'acqua,* 73)	very fresh striped mullet (*The shape of water,* 74).
pasta ad aglio e olio gamberetti bolliti (*La forma dell'acqua,* 87)	pasta with garlic and oil boiled shrimp (*The shape of water,* 90).
Salami, capocotte, sosizze (*L'odore della notte,* 27)	a variety of sausages and salami *(The scent of the night,* 22).

In rare cases, Sartarelli seems to overlook the connotation related to food items; an instance is the term *passuluna* (Table 20), which stands for black olives soaked in salt, cooked in an hoven and then dressed in olive oil, fennel, and red chili pepper. It is a culture-specific term, perhaps complex to render in translation and for the sake of a fluent text, the translator decides to render it as *black olives.* He opts thus for a neutral term, removing any foreign connotations of the CSI of the source text; this strategy is defined as *absolute universalization* by Aixela (1996). The extracts below also show that Sartarelli sometimes adds intratextual glosses[79], such as *cheese* after *caciocavallo* in order to explain the term to the foreign reader.

[79] According to Aixela (1996), an intratextual gloss might also be a minimal gloss, which does not disturb the reader's attention. In this case, Sartarelli adds *cheese* in order to describe the kind of item and clarify it for the reader.

TABLE 20

Original text	**English translation**
Raprì il frigorifero e lo trovò vacante fatta cizzione di **passuluna**, angiovi condite con aceto, oglio e origano, e una bella fetta di caciocavallo. (*L'odore della notte,* 172).	He opened the fridge and found it empty, except for some **black olives**, fresh anchovies dressed in olive oil, vinegar and oregano, and a generous slice of caciocavallo cheese (*The scent of the night,* 178).

Sartarelli's strategy to foreignize the target text with the borrowings of food-related terms and with the use of extratextual and intratextual glosses demonstrates how relevant the semantic field of food is in the novels. In fact, it plays an important role in particular for Montalbano, who has a continual *wolflike hunger* (*pititto lupigno*). The world of food and cooking is an important part of Montalbano's life; his mood is deeply influenced by what he eats, and the moment of the meal is a sacred one. In the novels, the reader constantly comes across Montalbano's mealtime, which takes place at Enzo's restaurant, where the Inspector savours his favourite dishes. Demontis describes the importance of mealtimes for Montalbano:

> Il pasto è un'esperienza mistica e sensuale nel contempo, uno dei piaceri irrinunciabili della vita e si può facilmente notare come l'autore, per descriverla, faccia spesso ricorso ad aggettivi che si rifanno alla sfera soprannaturale e oltreumana. Assaporare certi piatti comporta un coinvolgimento di tutta la sfera sensoriale, per cui si apre una "parentesi paradisiaca" […]" (Demontis 2019:72-73).[80]

As shown in the table (Table 21), Sartarelli tries to translate faithfully the same hyperbolic expressions used in the original text. In this way, the function that food has in the source text is perceived by the English readers in the same way as it is by the source readers.

TABLE 21

Original text	**English translation**
E arrivarono i pirciati. **Sciauravano di paradiso terrestre.** (*L'odore della notte*, 51)	The *pirciati* arrived. **They smelled like heaven on earth** (*The scent of the night,* 49).
Più che una nuova ricetta per cucinare i polipetti, l'invenzione della signora Elisa, la moglie del	More than a new recipe for baby octopus, the dish invented by Signora Elisa, the commissioners

[80] A meal is both a mystical and sensual experience, one of the essential pleasures of life. It is easy to see how the author often uses adjectives connected to the semantic field of heaven or God in order to describe the mealtime. Enjoying certain dishes means that all five senses engage in the "heavenly moment" of the mealtime. (my translation).

questore, sembrò al palato di Montalbano una vera **ispirazione divina.** (*La forma dell'acqua, 168)*	wife, seemed to Montalbano's palate a truly **divine inspiration.** *(The shape of water,* 189).
E in quel momento, leggio leggio, gli arrivò col venticello della sera un sciauro che gli fece allargare le nasche: sciauro di cucina genuina e saporita, sciauro di piatti cotti **come u Signiruzzu comanda** (*L'odore della notte,* 49).	But at that moment, borne ever so lightly on the evening breeze, an aroma reached his nostrils and opened them up; it was a scent of genuine, savoury cooking, of dishes cooked **the way the Lord intended them to be** (*The scent of the night,* 47).

4.1.8. ITALIAN AND SICILIAN CULTURE SPECIFIC ITEMS

Many elements, which are culture-specific items, indicate and locate the story in Italy and Sicily. These elements may be toponyms, references to Italian/Sicilian culture, history and literature or terms referring to current events taking place in the Italian/Sicilian society. As in many other cases, the strategy of borrowing can be noticed. Two terms that the reader can find in many of Camilleri's detective novels are *Carabinieri,* which stands for one of Italy's various police forces, and the word *lira*[81]*,* the currency of Italy before the conversion to the euro. Sartarelli maintains them untranslated, though he adds extratextual glosses at the end of the novels in order to clarify their meaning.

Other culture specific items are rendered in English with a *linguistic (non-cultural) translation* (Aixela 1996). In the first example (Table 22), the *selva oscura* becomes *dark wood,* which is unrecognisable by the reader as being part of the cultural system of the source text; the translator must add, in fact, an extratextual gloss explaining that it is a direct quote from Dante's Inferno. The second instance (Table 23) presents the same problem; the reader might understand the irony behind the quotation, but he/she becomes aware that the line belongs to the Italian national anthem only thanks to the extratextual gloss at the end of the novel. Likewise, the third case (Table 24) is explained through an extratextual gloss. However, the translator adds an intratextual gloss, which gives more information about the line. For an Italian reader, it might be clear that the debate is about the building of a bridge over the *Stretto*, which is located between Messina and Villa San Giovanni. However, the translator feels the necessity to specify that it is the *Strait of Messina* because it could be unfamiliar for an English reader. In such cases, if the translator decides to leave the original forms found in the source text, he has to compensate the missing information through the use of glosses.

[81] The *lira* features above all in the first novels.

TABLE 22

Original text	English translation
Era fatta. Trasire in quel sottobosco scuroso fatto di radici intricciati, di serpenti, di tarantole, di nidi di vipere, di erba sarbatica, di troffe spinose era stato facile. Penetrare dintra alla **selva oscura** non aviva prisintato difficoltà. Ma caminaricci dintra esigeva coraggio (*La luna di carta,* 247-248).	He'd done it. Penetrating that shadowy undergrowth of intertwined roots, snakes, tarantulas, vipers' nests, wild grasses, and thorny brambles had been easy. He'd had no trouble entering the **dark wood**. But walking through it would take courage. (*The paper moon,* 239).

TABLE 23

Original text	English translation
E che succedeva? Il capo della Scientifica gli telefonava? **Si scopron le tombe, si levano i morti...** (*La luna di carta,* 247-248).	What was going on? The chief of Forensics called for him? ***The tombs shall open, the dead shall rise…*** (*The paper moon,* 174).

TABLE 24

Original text	English translation
Il preside Burgio gli aveva telefonato una decina di giorni avanti per invitarlo a un dibattito tra favorevoli e contrari **al ponte sullo Stretto**. (*L'odore della notte,*109-110).	Burgio, the retired secondary-school headmaster, had called the inspector some ten days earlier to invite him a debate between those in favour of and those against building **a bridge over the Strait of Messina** (*The scent of the night,* 112).

In the example below (Table 25) Sartarelli specifies that the *Cinquecento* is a Fiat car and turns the term *Cinquecento* into *500*, which might sound more familiar to the English readership. The translator makes the term less obscure for a foreign reader, who will recognise the brand name *Fiat.* As Gutkowski points out, "each culture keeps its own symbols" (Gutkowski 2009:67) and the translator's job, in these cases, is to be a mediator between two cultures.

TABLE 25

Original text	English translation
M: "È la Cinquecento giallo, no?" (*L'odore della notte,* 207)	M: "It's the yellow Fiat 500, isn't it?" (*The scent of the night,* 216).

Other culture specific terms, such as *Punta Raisi,* which stands for Palermo's airport, is left as it is in the original in *The Scent of the Night* and the extratextual gloss "The airport of Palermo" is added; in *La Luna di Carta* it is rendered as *Punta Raisi Airport*. The term *trattoria* is borrowed from the source text, and the translator decides to write it with a capital -t-, as in the case of *the Trattoria San Calogero,* as if the term *trattoria* were part of the restaurant name. The Sicilian CSI *lupara*, which is associated with the mafia, stands for a sawn-off shotgun; Sartarelli leaves it untranslated but in italics and with an extratextual gloss. In this way, the target text is foreignized and teems with these borrowings, which allow the target reader to come across culture-specific items that the source text reader constantly finds.

There are clearly exceptions, or otherwise the target text would not be readable if it were completely made up of borrowings. As already seen in other cases, Sartarelli opts for a translation of CSIs. For instance, he turns *Mani Pulite* into *Clean Hands* and *Democrazia Cristiana* into *Christian Democratic Party*:

TABLE 26

Original text	**English translation**
Sittantino, vidovo, senza figli, il senatore Nicotra, vigatese, era una specie di gloria locale e patria. Una volta ministro dell'agricoltura e dù volte sottosegretario, aviva abilmente navicato tra tutte le correnti della vecchia **Democrazia cristiana** arriniscendo a ristari a galla macari in mezzo alle cchiù spavintose tempeste. Durante il tirribilio dell'uragano di **Mani pulite** si era trasformato in sottomarino, navicando sott'acqua a quota periscopio. Era assumato solo quanno aviva visto che c'era la possibilità di gettare l'ancora in un porto sicuro […] (*La luna di carta,* 41)	A seventy-year-old widower with no children, Senator Nicotra, a Vigata native, was sort of a local and national hero. A former minister of agriculture and twice undersecretary, he had skilfully navigated all the different currents of the old **Christian Democratic Party**, managing to stay afloat even through the most frightful storms. During the horrific hurricane **"Clean Hands"**, he had turned into a submarine, navigating underwater by means of periscope alone. He resurfaced only when he'd sighted the possibility of casting anchor in a safe port […] (*The paper moon,* 33)

The English translation *Clean Hands* is written in quotation marks by the translator, who adds two long extratextual glosses at the end of the novel, reporting the meaning of both the Mani Pulite judicial investigation and of Democrazia Cristiana's story. A simile strategy is used for the translation of *tabaccaro,* a Sicilian culture-specific term rendered as *tobacco shop* in English. The extratextual gloss reports: "tobacco products are

controlled by the government in Italy and sold in specially designated shops" (*The scent of the night,* 231). The strategy adopted in such cases is labelled as *limited universalization* (Aixela 1996); the translator replaces a CSI with its translation in the target language because the CSI is too obscure for the target reader.

A further example of a culture specific item that can be found in *The shape of water* is the *mànnara,* which comes from the term *mandria,* as explained by the narrative voice. In that place, a shepherd used to lead his goats to pasture. Sartarelli decides to find an English equivalent and render the term *mànnara* with *Pasture,* written with a capital letter in order to designate a specific place. However, the connotation of the word *Pasture* is different from the one that the term *mànnara* could have. The former could evoke a land or a field with grass where animals can feed; the latter is described by the narrative voice as an abandoned place where the ruins of a large chemical works lay. The choice to translate *mànnare* is perhaps due to the fact that it is not a specific or an official known toponym but a dialectal term that designates a place.

4.1.9. IDIOMS AND VULGAR EXPRESSIONS

Camilleri's novels teem with idiomatic expressions; many of them are spread in the entire peninsula, others belong to the Sicilian culture. In the target text they are rendered sometimes with literal translations, sometimes with English expressions conveying more or less the same idea; other times, they are simply borrowed from the source text, as shown in section 3.4.6. The reader of Montalbano's novels becomes immediately aware that the protagonist hates stock phrases; he is continually exasperated with people's clichés, as this conversation with Livia shows:

TABLE 27

Original text	**English translation**
M: "Livia, non irritarti, ti prego, non perdere la pazienza, ma..." L: "Tu la pazienza **la faresti perdere a un santo**!" Oddio, no! Le frasi fatte no! **Correre la cavallina**, **mangiare a quattro palmenti**, **vendere la pelle dell'orso prima d'averlo ucciso**, con la variante	M: "Come on, Livia, don't get upset, try to be patient." L: "You would **try the patience of a saint."** Oh, God, not another cliché! **Sow your wild oats, count your chickens before they hatch,** or **eat like a horse, when you are not putting the cart first**!

incomprensibile **non dire quattro se non l'hai nel sacco**! (*L'odore della notte,* 89).	(*The scent of the night,* 91).

In the target text, we can notice more or less exact English equivalents of the Italian stock phrases. The translator was able to occupy the same semantic space in the target language. Since Camilleri writes two consecutive clichés both meaning *counting your chickens before they hatch*[82], Sartarelli inverts the order, citing *eat like a horse* amid them, and adding *when you're not putting the cart first*[83]; therefore, he cites two English expressions involving a horse. He plays with the language as Camilleri does; he wants to convey the same humour as Montalbano's climax of irritation and exasperation.

In the table below (Table 28), the equivalent in the target text is a literal translation, which corresponds to an idiom used in English as well. In other cases (Table 29), the source text proverbs, or clichés have no English equivalent and must be replaced with English expressions which convey a similar meaning.

TABLE 28

Original text	**English translation**
Bisogna **battere il ferro finché è caldo**, si disse Montalbano odiandosi e per la frase fatta e per la parte di carnefice che stava recitando (*La luna di carta,* 202).	One must **strike while the iron is hot**, Montalbano told himself, hating himself for the cliche and for playing the tormentor (*The paper moon,* 198)

TABLE 29

Original text	**English translation**
Q: "**Non faccia lo gnorri,** Montalbano!" Furono proprio quelle parole, "non faccia lo gnorri", a scatenarlo. Odiava le frasi fatte, i modi di dire, gli facevano venire un nirbuso irrefrenabile […] Q: "Eh! Eh!" sghignazzò il Questore. "**Abbiamo il carbone bagnato**, Montalbano?" Sentì che se dopo lo gnorri e il carbone bagnato arrivava un'altra frase di quel tipo avrebbe pigliato Bonetti-	C: "**Don't play dumb with me,** Montalbano!" It was those very words, *Don't play dumb,* that finally set him off. He hated clichés and stock phrases; they around an uncontrollable rage in him. [...] C: "Hey, hey!" the commissioner sneered. "**Nose not too clean**, Montalbano? He felt that if, after the *playing dumb* and the *nose not too clean*, the commissioner were to come out

[82] The clichés are: *vendere la pelle dell'orso prima d'averlo ucciso* and *non dire quattro se non l'hai nel sacco.*
[83] The cliché is: *put the cart before the horse.*

Alderighi per il collo e l'avrebbe fatto morire assufficato. Arriniscì miracolosamente a non reagire, a non raprire vucca. (*L'odore della notte,* 39-40).	with another of these expressions, he was going to grab Bonetti-Alderighi by the neck and strangle him to death. By some miracle he managed not to react or even to open his mouth (*The scent of the night,* 37).

The idioms reported in the table below (Table 30) provide examples of literal translation from the source text. Sartarelli decides to translate literally both idiomatic expressions and to explain their meaning through extratextual glosses. The first extratextual gloss reports: "to play the fool to avoid going to war: Fa u fissa pi nun iri a la guerra. A Sicilian-Calabrian expression that essentially means to "play dumb," i.e., to feign ignorance"; the second extratextual gloss reports: 'May you bear only sons'- The full expression, uttered often as a toast at weddings, is *auguri e figli maschi* (literally, 'best wishes and male children')". The translator prefers to maintain the original meaning and connotation of the expressions, though translating them literally, and to explain them to the foreign reader.

TABLE 30

Original text	**English translation**
L'unica da fari era **fingersi fissa pi non andari alla guerra**, dare la 'mpressioni di non aviri capito. (*La luna di carta*, 200)	His only hope was **to play the fool to avoid going to war**, and pretend not to have understood. (*The paper moon,* 191).
A: "Ti prego di scordarti di quello che ti ho detto stanotte. Sono più che deciso a maritarmi con Beba. Sono minchiate passeggere che ogni tanto mi vengono in testa." M: "**Agùri e figli màscoli"** murmuriò torvo Montalbano (*L'odore della notte,* 97).	A: "Please forget everything I said to you last night. I've more than made up my mind to marry Beba. It was all bullshit, the kind of passing doubts that get into my head sometimes." M: "**May you bear only sons**" Montalbano sullenly muttered. (*The scent of the night*, 99).

Another particular feature of Camilleri's novels is the repetition of vulgar terms or "parole vastate", as the Sartarelli (2002) himself labels them. A typical and recurrent term in the novels is *minchia*, a dialectal word, from which another word is derived, *minchiate.* It is relevant to observe that the vulgar terms have a different connotation and can have a different meaning across cultures (Eco 2010). In many cases, in the dialogues

we read in Camilleri's novels, vulgar terms are used to emphasise the discourse; they can also be used in friendly conversations and as means of offence. Montalbano and the other characters draw on vulgar terms continually as the extracts below show:

TABLE 31

Original text	**English translation**
M: "Come l'hanno ammazzato?". F: "Non lo sappiamo. Anzi, non sappiamo manco se è stato ammazzato". M: "Brigadiè, non ho capito. Tu m'arrisbigli senza sapere una **minchia**?" (*La forma dell'acqua,* 20).	M: "How was he killed?" F: "We don't know. Actually, we don't even know if he was killed. M: "I don't get it, Sergeant. You woke me up to tell me you don't know a **goddamn** thing?" (*The shape of water,* 12)
M: "E Gallo non ha taliato prima, come ho raccomandato cento volte di fare? Non lo volete capire che tagliarci le gomme è lo sport nazionale di questo **minchia** di paese? Digli che non si presenti oggi in ufficio perché se lo vedo gli **spacco il culo**." (*La forma dell'acqua,* 160-161)	M: "And did Gallo check, as I had told him a hundred times to do? Can't you **clowns** understand that slashing tires is the national sport in this **goddamned** country? Tell him he'd better not show his face at the office or I'll **bust his ass."** (*The shape of water,* 183)
Squillò il telefono, sollevò il ricevitore, deciso. M: "Non mi **rompere i cabasisi**, Catarè" (*L'odore della notte,* 57)	He picked up the receiver with determination. M: "Don't be **breaking my balls**, Cat." (*The scent of the night,* 55).
F: "**Cornuti e figli di buttana**!" esplose il brigadiere. Montalbano s'arrabbiò sul serio. M: "Ma se lo sapete tutti che una volta ogni quindici giorni ci tagliano le gomme! Cristo! E io ogni mattina v'avverto: taliàtele prima di partire! E voi invece **ve ne fottete, stronzi**! Fino a quando qualcuno non ci rimetterà l'osso del collo!" (*La forma dell'acqua,* 22)	F: "**Goddamn sons of bitches**!" bellowed the sergeant. Montalbano got angry in earnest. M: "But you all know they cut our tires twice a month! Jesus! And every morning I remind you: don't forget to check them before going out! But you **assholes don't give a shit**! And you won't until the day somebody breaks his neck!" (*The shape of water,* 14).
Montalbano sperimentò quanto fosse difficile mettersi la muta a bordo di un gommone che filava su un mare che tanto calmo non poteva dirsi. Mimì, al timone, pareva teso e preoccupato. M: "Soffri di mare?" gli spiò a un certo momento il commissario. A: "No. Soffro di me."	Montalbano learned how hard it was to put on a wet suit while in a dinghy speeding over a sea that wasn't exactly calm. Mimì, at the helm, looked tense and worried. M: "Getting seasick?" the inspector asked him at one point. A: "No. Just sick of myself."

M: “Perché?” A: “Perché certe volte mi capita di rendermi conto quanto sono **stronzo** a seguirti in certe tue alzate d'ingegno.” (*L’odore della notte,* 149).	M: “Why?” A: “Because every now and then I realize what a **stupid shit** I am to go along with some of your brilliant ideas.” (*The scent of the night,* 155).
Mimì Augello tornò con una bottiglia d'acqua minerale, na poco di bicchieri di carta e il cellulare impiccicato alla grecchia. A: “Sissignore, sissignore, glielo passo subito”. Tese l'aggeggio al commissario. “per te. Il Questore”. Bih, che **camurrìa**! I rapporti tra Montalbano e il Questore Bonetti-Alderighi non si potevano definire improntati a reciproca stima e simpatia. (*L’odore della notte,* 24).	Mimì Augello returned with a bottle of mineral water, a few paper cups, and his mobile phone glues to his ear. A: “Yessir, yessir, I’ll put him on right away.” He handed the contraption to the inspector. What a **pain in the arse**! Relations between Montalbano and Commissioner Bonetti-Alderighi could hardly be said to be characterized by mutual esteem and sympathy. (*The scent of the night,* 19).

Sartarelli does not neutralize the vulgar terms; on the contrary, he tries to find English equivalents and, sometimes, in order to convey more expressiveness he adds further terms, such as the term *clowns* in the second example of the table above. The English equivalents are not exact equivalents, but it would be rather difficult for a translator to convey the meaning that a vulgar item has in the source text. For instance, the term *cornuti,* whose meaning is “cuckolds”, is not rendered in translation, while the expression *figli di buttana* is rendered with an English equivalent expression. Perhaps the term *cuckolds* is not seen as an offence as *cornuto* is in the source text.

4.1.10. METALANGUAGE

By means of free indirect speech, Camilleri plays with his main character, Montalbano, who meditates very often on the language he uses and makes linguistic observations. As Vizmuller-Zocco (2010) remarks, these metalinguistic observations are shrouded; yet the translator has to deal with them. I decided to report the extract below, where Montalbano reflects on the meaning of the verbs *tambasiàre* and *accuttufare.*

TABLE 32

Original text	**English translation**
“Ora mi metto a **tambasiàre**” pensò appena arrivato a casa. Tambasiàre era un verbo che gli	“And now I’m going to dawdle a bit, he thought as soon as he got home.” He liked the verb ***dawdle***,

piaceva, significava mettersi a girellare di stanza in stanza senza uno scopo preciso, anzi occupandosi di cose futili. E così fece, dispose meglio i libri, mise in ordine la scrivania, raddrizzò un disegno alla parete, pulì i fornelli del gas. Tambasiàva. […] Poi Montalbano si stufò di quel chiacchierare a vuoto, spense il televisore, chiuse le persiane per lasciar fuori la luce del giorno, si gettò sul letto vestito com'era, rannicchiandosi. Si voleva **accuttufare**. Altro verbo che gli piaceva, significava tanto essere preso a legnate quanto allontanarsi dal consorzio civile. In quel momento, per Montalbano erano più che validi tutti e due i significati.	tambasiare in Sicilian, which meant poking about from room to room without a precise goal, preferably doing pointless things. Which he did: he rearranged his books, put his desk in order, straightened a drawing on the wall, cleaned the gas burners on the stove. He was dawdling. […] Finally Montalbano got tired of all the empty chatter, turned off the television, closed the shutters to keep the daylight out, threw himself down on the bed, still dressed, and curled up. What he wanted to do now was **accuttufarsi,** another verb he liked, which meant at once to be beaten up and to withdraw from human society. At that moment, for Montalbano, both meanings were more than applicable.

Sartarelli renders the same metalinguistic considerations in the target text. In the first part, the focus is on the English verb *dawdle;* Sartarelli decides to translate *tambasiàre* into *dawdle,* and to specify that the meaning of *dawdle* in Sicilian is *tambasiàre.* In the second part, he does not translate the verb, but rather he borrows it; the metalinguistic observation is thus on the very Sicilian verb *accuttufarsi*, explained by the translator with an intratextual gloss, which reflects the same gloss as the source text.

4.1.11. CONCLUSIONS

Translating Camilleri's *vigatese* undoubtedly represents a difficult task. Yet the language is just one of the problems the translator has to tackle. As Sartarelli (2002) observes, the translator must take into account that the text is located in Sicily; this means dealing with its inhabitants' odd habits, with the "dietrologia" of politics and bureaucracy and with the exoticism that the stories depicted by Camilleri convey. Despite this, Sartarelli has adopted effective and successful solutions in the target text: a standard language with occasional colloquialisms, borrowings, literal translating; through the uses of intratextual and extratextual glosses he has rendered those nuances typical of the Italian and Sicilian

culture. He mediates between the Sicilian/Italian culture and the American one[84], often reluctant to accept a non-American product. Yet Sartarelli (2002) wonders how far Camilleri can become "American" in order to be accepted by strict editors and readers unwilling to make an effort to identify themselves with what he writes. He tries to give an answer:

> Ma credo comunque una risposta parziale si possa trovare nell'accenno fatto in partenza: che l'alterità stessa del linguaggio di Camilleri sia sempre in via di diventare comune, che la facciamo comunque nostra, noi lettori, leggendolo, per via del contatto che l'autore ci fa avere con questo suo mondo, che è anche nostro o che diventa nostro grazie proprio all'amore che lui prova per questo mondo e per questo linguaggio. La distanza che si sperimenta leggendo, via via che si comincia a capire, diventa presto piacere; e l'amore dell'autore, diventato nostro pure esso, diventa immedesimazione. Se riesco almeno in parte a trasmettere al lettore anglofono questo procedimento dell'autore, questa sua specie di traduzione linguistica e morale dei valori umani universali che fa sì che l'altro diventi sempre noi stessi, allora non avrò del tutto fallito nel mio compito.[85]

In trying to convey the "spirit of Camilleri's vision" (Sartarelli in Gutkowski 2009:8), the translator cannot remain "invisible". The linguistic and stylistic strategies he adopts in translation shape a text that is both fluent and original, reflecting Camilleri's personality and intention. Behind the effect of transparency and fluency, the text is the result of the ability of the translator to play and experiment somehow with the language, as Camilleri does.

4.2. CAMILLERI'S TRANSLATIONS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

In the following section, I give a brief outline of the various methods and choices made by translators of Camilleri in other languages. As seen in the previous chapters, Camilleri's novels, especially the detective novels, achieved tremendous popularity

[84] His translations of Camilleri were meant for an American audience and only successively published by the English publishing house Picador.

[85] However, I believe that a partial answer can be found in what I said at the beginning; the otherness of Camilleri's language becomes more and more familiar when we readers get in contact with his world and his language, for which he feels a great love, which he transmits to his readers. The distance we might experience when reading Camilleri becomes soon pleasure, as we begin to understand. In addition, the writer's love becomes our love as well and leads to a wish of identification. If I succeed, at least in part, in transmitting all this, together with the writer's human and moral values, to the English-speaking readers, then I will not have entirely failed in my task (my translation).
http://www.vigata.org/convegni/convegno_palermo_sartarelli.shtml

abroad. This success around the world has encouraged a rich debate around the various ways of reproducing Camilleri's language, and the world he depicts, in translation. Different translators have adopted dissimilar strategies in the process of translating Camilleri; the varying approach depends on many factors, especially the target language, as seen in the analysis of Sartarelli's translation.

4.2.1. CAMILLERI IN FRENCH

The French translator of Camilleri's mystery novels is Serge Quadruppani, a French writer and journalist. He is the author of detective novels, like Camilleri. Quadruppani observes that being a writer before being a translator is an advantage that the translator has when is faced with novels such as those of Camilleri (Quadruppani 2017). In fact, the writer-translator already knows how to treat the target language and how far it can be pushed in order to achieve a satisfactory result. Yet Quadruppani (2004)[86] warns that the writer-translator should not "dare" to take the original author's place by creating a language that may reflect the original one, especially if the original is a linguistic mishmash and the language of translation is a language such as French. In France, linguistic unity plays an important role and deviations from that unity are not peacefully accepted (Quadruppani 2017). Dominique Vittoz, the other French translator[87] of Camilleri, explains that the very nature of the French language is an obstacle for the translator of Camilleri because in France there is a "fortissima esigenza di rispetto della norma, sintattica (le famigerate "fautes de français"), ortografica (il nostro è Paese dove è possibile fare appassionare la gente con gare nazionali di dettato), lessicale (basti pensare all'obbrobrio che suscitano i neologismi). In altre parole, il codice linguistico francese è ferreamente strutturato […]"[88] (Vittoz 2011)[89].

Despite being aware of the strong linguistic unity, Quadruppani does not renounce giving the target text a particular nuance with forms and structures that belong to the non-standard language. Quadruppani draws on words and expressions belonging to the

[86] http://quadruppani.samizdat.net/spip.php?article15

[87] Serge Quadruppani is the translator of all Camilleri's mystery novels and other few novels such as *Il birraio di Preston,* whereas Dominique Vittoz has translated mostly Camilleri's historical novels.

[88]"a very strong demand to respect the syntactic (the notorious 'fautes de français'), orthographic (our country is a country where it is possible to get people thrilled about national dictation contests), lexical (think of the rejection of neologisms) rules. In other words, the French linguistic code is firmly structured" (my translation).

[89] http://www.vigata.org/convegni/convegno_palermo_vittoz.shtml

Occitan language or to the French region of Midi. These forms "portano in francese un profumo di Sud"[90], as the translator states[91]. This solution helps to locate the story in the South and to maintain the readability of the text because many words and expressions belonging to the *français du Midi* are widely known across the country. He also draws on a colloquial register through the constant use of the French pronoun *ça*, which is used mostly in oral language (Cadeddu 2017). As Sartarelli does in his English translation, Quadruppani also uses fully and effectively the glosses he finds in Camilleri and transports them to the target text (Cadeddu 2017).

Another strategy used by Quadruppani is the recreation of Catarella's language in the target text. He tries to manipulate the lexis of the source text to obtain forms as such: *s'apprisenter,* which reminds *apprisentarsi,* or *quistions,* derived from *quistione*. From a syntactic point of view, Quadruppani manipulates the standard French word order and inverts it. In Catarella's idiolect we find structures as the following: "Oh que non, dottori, le mort, ici, il **est**" (Cadeddu 2017 :62). Quadruppani (2017) argues that the language Camilleri uses represents his point of view on life; for instance, in Sicily the word for "asking" is "spiare", which implies that when someone asks something, he/she is probing into someone's affairs. This is why Quadruppani states that a translator of Camilleri must be "scomodo": "dobbiamo 'scomodare' il francese perché questa lingua piatta […] è la cosa peggiore. Montalbano non può essere tradotto in un buon francese, "en bon français", ma in un francese camillerizzato che, diciamo, funziona" (Quadruppani 2017:19).[92]

4.2.2. CAMILLERI IN GERMAN

Camilleri is one of the most representative writers of Italian literature in Germany (Boarini 2017). His detective novels have been translated into German by Moshe Kahn[93], who was the first to succeed in the formidable challenge of translating D'Arrigo's *Horcynus Orca* into a foreign language. Moshe Kahn is known in Germany to be the translator of "difficult Italian authors" (Boarini 2017) such as Levi, Malerba, Pasolini. As

[90] "bring a scent of South in French" (my translation).
[91] http://quadruppani.samizdat.net/spip.php?article15
[92] "we have to "bother" the French language because this flat language [...] is the worst. Montalbano cannot be translated into standard French, "en bon français", but into a "camillerised" French that, let's say, works" (my translation).
[93] The other translator of Camilleri's novels into German is Christiane von Bechtolsheim.

he states, the translation of Malerba's *Il pataffio* and Pasolini' *Ragazzi di vita* have prepared him for the challenge of translating Camilleri's novels (Kahn 2004)[94].

As the translator has underlined in many interviews, those literary works characterised by the presence of dialect, among other varieties, should be "treated", not "translated" (Kahn 2004). This means that they should be adapted to the particular features of the target text. Translating a dialect of the SL into a dialect of the TL means facing the risk of obtaining a barbarous result. For instance, translating the Sicilian elements of the source text with a geographical dialect of Germany would mean "trasferire l'italianità o […] la sicilianità in qualcosa di simile a una bavaresità o a una prussianità, con le conseguenze che ben possiamo immaginare"[95] (Kahn in Boarini 2017: 39). For this reason, Kahn tries to build a language starting from what German could offer him; the language he shapes is a familiar and colloquial one and, most important, plausible for the readers, though not attributable to a specific geographic area (Boarini 2017). As he states, words such as *dutturi* are maintained in order to "colour" the target text. What Kahn found very hard to translate were the vulgar words, especially when they are used for expressive purposes; German speakers, in fact, would never use vulgar terms with the function of interjection or would never draw on vulgar words continually as they speak (Boiani 2017).

4.2.3. CAMILLERI IN SPAIN: THE SPANISH AND CATALAN TRANSLATIONS

Camilleri's detective novels have not been rendered into Spanish by one single translator, but by a series of translators (Teresa Clavel Lledó, Elena de Grau Aznar, Juan Carlos Gentile Vitale, Marìa Antonia Menini Pagés, María de las Nieves Muñiz Muñiz, Carlos Mayor). Almost all these translators chose to neutralise the non-standard variety and the linguistic mix of the source text and opted for a translation in a standard language (Brandimonte 2015). Segnini (2018) argues that this choice is due to editorial reasons; the publishing house Salamandra, in fact, would not have allowed the translators to use a non-standard variety because the translated text was meant to be read by all Castilian speakers, both in and outside Spain.

[94] http://www.vigata.org/convegni/convegno_palermo_moshe.shtml
[95] "to transfer Italianness or Sicilianness into something looking like a Bavarianness or a Prussianness, with all the consequences that we can imagine" (my translation).

María de las Nieves Muñiz Muñiz and Carlos Mayor are the only two who have tried to save some nuances of the source text. Yet they are the most recent translators; in fact, Mayor (2017) highlights all the difficulties of "jumping up on a moving train" represented by all the previous Spanish translations of Camilleri. The translator who is faced with a series of novels must be aware of the previous choices made by preceding translators. As Mayor (2017) points out, the discrepancies between the various translations are not of little importance; the translators have to take into account the internal coherence of the text. In the example reported below and proposed by Mayor (2017:25), it is shown how the solution of translating "Dottor Lattes, chiamato lattes e mieles"[96] changed in the various detective novels translated by Marìa Antonia Menini Pagés.

TABLE 33

Ya se imaginaba lo que diría Lattes, el responsable del gabinete del jefe superior, **apodado el «leches y mieles»** por sus empalagosos y clericales modales.
¡Vaya por Dios! El dottor Lattes, el jefe del gabinete, **llamado «Lattes y mieles»** por su empalagoso carácter, era lector asiduo de «L'Avvenire» y «Famiglia Cristiana».
¿Sería posible que, cada vez que iba a Jefatura, la primera persona con quien se tropezaba fuera siempre el dottor Lattes, **apodado Latte e Miele**?
La primera persona que encontró en el pasillo que conducía al despacho del jefe superior fue el jefe de su gabinete, el dottor Lattes, a quien **llamaban Latte e Miele (leche y miel)** por su clerical melifluidad. En cuanto lo vio, Lattes extendió los brazos como si fuera el papa cuando saluda a la gente desde la ventana.

In Italian, the pun involves the surname "Lattes", which is close to *latte* (milk) in Italian.[97] As we notice, the Spanish translator Marìa Antonia Menini Pagés adopts different solutions (Table 33) to render the pun in the different novels she translated, giving away the internal coherence of the subsequent texts. Mayor, the latest translator of Camilleri's

[96] Dottor Lattes is the commissioner Bonetti-Alderighi's secretary.
[97] As for the translation of puns, Newmark (1988) dedicates a brief section of his work. In his view, a pun of the source text can be "compensated" by another pun in the target text, even if with different words but with "associated meaning". Newmark (1988) considers puns as elements of marginal importance. However, if the pun is used in the source language in a way that is strictly connected to the meaning of a part of the source text, it has to be transferred or translated or explained (Newmark 1988).

novels, aware of these discrepancies, adopted a solution (Table 34) that could harmonize all the various translations the reader comes across when the character of Dottor Lattes is introduced.

TABLE 34

El dottor Lattes, jefe de gabinete del jefe superior, **recibía el apodo de «Leches y Mieles»** por su clerical modo de hablar y comportarse.

As Caprara (2019) observes, the translator feels the responsibility to continue and to respect the work of the preceding translators; yet on the other hand he tries to take a chance and experiments with the language. In fact, "Mayor introduce nelle sue traduzioni novità sintattiche e lessicali che rompono quel senso di 'apatia' nei confronti della sperimentalità traduttiva"[98] (Caprara 2019: 34).

A completely different approach is embraced by Pau Vidal, the Catalan translator of Camilleri. First, Vidal considered the possibility to translate Camilleri's *vigatese* with a geographical dialect of Catalan, precisely the one spoken on the Balearic Islands, which could evoke the same Mediterranean atmosphere conveyed in the target text by Sicilian (Caprara 2019). Yet he soon realised that Camilleri's language was not made up of one variety, but rather of many linguistic codes, and opting for a single variety for the target text was not the proper solution. Therefore, he decided not to choose a variety, but to play with many varieties of Catalan; he makes use of a simple and colloquial lexis, pleonasms, linguistic focuses, and mixes varieties of Catalan. The hybrid result he obtains is greatly appreciated by critics and readers. His translated characters speak Vidal's own variety of Catalan, mallorquí (dialect of Mallorca), Perpignan variety, Barcelona dialect and lleidatà (dialect of Lleida).

[98]"In his translation, Mayor introduces syntactic and lexical innovations which contribute to soften the feeling of apathy for linguistic experimentation in translation" (my translation).

4.2.4. A SCANDINAVIAN MONTALBANO: DANISH AND NORWEGIAN TRANSLATIONS

Camilleri's mystery novels are also appreciated in Scandinavia, in particular in Denmark and Norway. In Denmark, the translator Cecilia Jakobsen translated *La Forma dell'Acqua, Il Cane di Terracotta* and *Il Ladro di Merendine* for the publishing house Fremad. Jakobsen tried to manipulate the Danish language in order to render the "polyphony" of Camilleri's stories in the target text (Brandimonte 2015). She states that the most difficult character to translate was Catarella; yet she managed to render the character in the target text thanks to borrowings of expressions such as *madunnuzza beddra* or *calia e simenza*.[99]

The Norwegian translator of Camilleri's stories is Jon Rognilien. Translating the Montalbano novels into a language like Norwegian is a complex task and the linguistic framework used by Camilleri is almost impossible to maintain in the target language (Rognilien 2017). The Norwegian language is made up of many varieties, also used in literature; nevertheless, the translator cannot choose a variety of Norwegian and use it in translation, otherwise all the nuances of the source text would be lost (Rognilien 2017). Rognilien considered the idea of translating Camilleri with a standard language and adding small quantities of a dialect of the TL or borrowing Sicilian terms. However, as Rognilien points out, the publishing houses expect the novels to be sold, and using a particular language does not guarantee the success on the book market. He states: "È bello parlare del profumo linguistico e dire di voler lasciare le cose siciliane, ma la lingua è anche un fatto di mercato. Il libro deve vendere e noi abbiamo il dovere di assicurare questo obiettivo al meglio che possiamo (Rognilien 2017:13)[100]. Therefore he chose to leave some of the linguistic nuances of Italian, rather than Sicilian, for instance the word *commissario* or all those references to writers, poets, and authors of Italian literature, though they might not be understood[101]. Finally, he endeavoured to maintain the same irony we can find in the source text.

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[99] http://www.vigata.org/traduzioni/bibliost.shtml

[100] "It is nice to talk about the linguistic nuances and to say we want to leave things in Sicilian, but language is also a matter of book market. The novels must be sold, and we have a duty to ensure this as best we can" (my translation)

[101] Rognilien comments "Per esempio, Camilleri ama citare Boiardo invece di Ariosto, ma in Norvegia nessuno sa chi è Ariosto, figuriamoci il Boiardo" (Rognlien 2017:17)
"For instance, Camilleri is fond of citing Boiardo, rather than Ariosto, but in Norway nobody knows Ariosto, much less Boiardo" (my translation).

4.2.5. AN EXOTIC CAMILLERI[102]

Camilleri's particular linguistic stew has not scared nor prevented many translators, whose language and culture are distant from Camilleri's, from translating it. For instance, for the Japanese book market, the translator Chigusa Ken created an artificial language; he drew from the great number of Japanese dialects and has invented a language including several features of many of them. The Finnish translator Helinä Kangas stresses the cultural differences between her culture and Camilleri's; this is why she has chosen to use the standard language with colloquial terms, drawing on archaisms at times. She left expressions in thick dialect untranslated in the target text and then explained them in Finnish; terms as *ciao, amore, signora,* reflecting the setting of the story, are borrowed from the source text. In Dutch, the translators and the publishers have agreed not to use a local dialect because it would have resulted odd, since the stories take place in Sicily. A difficulty they had to face were the number of vulgar terms in Camilleri's novels; in Dutch it is rather unusual to draw on such a great number of vulgarisms in a light-hearted manner.

Among the numerous translations of Camilleri's novels, it may be interesting to consider the Arabic one. The translator Ayman Mahmūd has completely neutralised the linguistic mix used in the source text; the language featuring in the target text is the standard Arabic. Narrative voice, free indirect speech and the characters' dialogues are all rendered in the standard language. Nicosia tries to explain the reason for this choice:

> In Nordafrica e Medioriente il mercato offre romanzi tradotti esclusivamente in arabo standard, compresi i loro dialoghi. In tal modo essi non vengono calati in una nuova precisa realtà araba, con connotati spazio-temporali definiti e riconoscibili, allo scopo di garantirne la massima diffusione in tutti i paesi arabofoni. Rarissimi sono gli esempi di traduzioni di opere letterarie straniere verso una varietà dialettale (Nicosia 2018:98). [103]

In any case, neutralising the language of the source text by adopting a standard and solemn language means renouncing all the linguistic nuances that a non-standard variety could have given to the target text. As Nicosia (2018) points out, the target reader may

[102] The main source of this subsection is the website page http://www.vigata.org/traduzioni/bibliost.shtml (accessed 05 February 2021).

[103] In North Africa and in the Middle East, the book market offers novels translated exclusively into standard Arabic, including their dialogues. In this way, they are not located in a precise and recognisable reality of the Arabic world; this allows the book market to sell them in all Arabic-speaking countries. Rarely the translations of foreign literary works are into a specific dialect (my translation).

find illogical those dialogues that in the source text were strongly imbued with irony and humour. As for the vulgarisms, which populate Camilleri's novels, the translator decides to clean them up; in addition, on the book cover the publisher has decided to insert a warning reporting "for adults only". This shows how distant the Arabic culture and the Italian/Sicilian culture are. Finally, the references to the Christian religion are domesticated or replaced with references to the Muslim world (Nicosia 2018).

In conclusion, it has been illustrated how Camilleri's *vigatese* is rendered in various languages. Each of these translators attempts and manages in their way to find a compromise between the source and the target languages and cultures. Translating into a romance language might appear easier and less problematic, while dealing with a language such as Arabic or Japanese could be harder. Nevertheless, the success of the translations shows how greatly Camilleri is appreciated abroad.

CONCLUSION

The overall aim of this thesis was to understand to what extent a non-standard variety in a literary work can be transported in translation and to investigate the strategies that a translator may adopt to render it. I have tried to do this by analysing extracts of three of the detective novels written by Andrea Camilleri and translated into English by the American translator Stephen Sartarelli. In his novels, Camilleri, in fact, draws on a non-standard variety, which is represented by the Sicilian dialect. The writer makes also use of standard Italian and the regional Italian of Sicily; this linguistic mishmash brought him incredible success. In fact, Camilleri is well known not only in Italy, but also in many other countries, and his novels have been translated into many languages. This success abroad has encouraged a rich debate around the various ways of translating Camilleri's *vigatese* and the culture behind it.

The analysis of Camilleri's language and its rendering in translation represents the core of this thesis. Yet, before proceeding with the analysis, a theorical background was provided; this thesis, in fact, begins by investigating the world of non-standard varieties and then it goes on with theorical frame of non-standard varieties in translation theory. In the first part, the difference between standard and non-standard language is shown; the focus is in particular on the concept of dialect. Afterwards, the Italian scenario concerning dialects is illustrated and a historical outline on the standard and non-standard language provided; furthermore, a picture of the use of dialects in the Italian literature is given. Then, the thesis investigates the role of dialect study in translation theory; in particular, translation theorists have insisted upon the function that a dialect has in a literary work and, thus, the literary translator's task is to try to maintain the same function in the target text.

Before analysing the extracts, I tried to outline the role of dialect in Camilleri's production; in many interviews, he stated that in writing he felt the need to draw on dialectal expressions and words, and that dialect was the right variety to convey the stories he wanted to write[104]. For Camilleri, using only the standard language would have meant writing in a flat and anonymous language; he needed a compromise which could give

[104] It is relevant to underline again that the language he uses is made up not only of dialectal forms, but also forms belonging to the standard language.

expressiveness to the text. However, the language he uses pervades the entire structure of the novels: we can find non-standard speech in the narrative voice, in free indirect speech and in the dialogues. The use of non-standard language has the function both of conveying irony and of representing reality through the different characters' voices.

The issues mentioned above cannot be overlooked by a translator. This is why Sartarelli tries to maintain faithfully the function of Camilleri's language. However, many linguistic features are lost in translation. In fact, Sartarelli neutralises[105] the narrative voice and the free indirect speech of Montalbano's thought and renders them in standard English. The reason is explained by him in many interviews: he preferred to maintain the rhythm and fluency of Camilleri's discourse in the source text. He also neutralises dialogues between many characters who draw on dialectal forms. Yet, despite using a standard language, Sartarelli attempts to recreate the same irony as the source text. He achieves it by using borrowings, literal translations, glosses within and outside the text, and colloquialisms. The text appears exoticized; for instance, the readers can easily come across Sicilian words referring to food, which are then explained by the translator; they can also find entire Sicilian idioms, which are sometimes left untranslated or translated literally and then explained. These strategies and others used by Sartarelli render many nuances typical of Sicilian, and also Italian, culture.

Sartarelli's ability to play with what the English language could offer him can be seen in the translation of Catarella's idiolect and of Adelina's language. Catarella's linguistic mixture is the result of dialect interfering with a poor knowledge of the Italian language and of a "melting pot" of pronunciation and grammatical mistakes, which generates malapropisms, pleonasms, and ironic misunderstandings. Sartarelli reproduces this linguistic stew in the target text by creating an English version of Catarella's language; he draws on forms belonging to the Brooklynese variety spoken by those policemen working in New York who have Sicilian origins. Moreover, he tries to manipulate the English language in order to shape the same puns and ironic misunderstandings that we can find in the source text. As for Adelina's dialect, he manages to create an "eye-dialect" in the target text using a "speech defect" strategy (Berezowski 1997). This means that he creates lexical items, and syntactic patterns by

[105] According to Berezowski (1997), *neutralisation* implies the translation of a non-standard variety in the source text with a standard language in the target text.

playing with TL spelling conventions and phonology. In the target text, Adelina thus gives the impression of speaking a non-standard variety of English.

By adopting these solutions, the translator manages to remain faithful to the role of Camilleri's language in the source text. Despite the neutralisation of ST dialectal features, in many cases, Sartarelli compensates by adopting strategies that foreignize the target text. It is relevant to underline though that readers of detective novels may not be willing to make an effort to understand a linguistic experiment; this is why Sartarelli considers fluency and readability more important than a possible linguistic attempt at recreating Camilleri's non-standard language. In this way, the American translator manages to balance readability and faithfulness to the source text.

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The Guardian https://www.theguardian.com/international

Summary in Italian

TRADURRE VARIETÀ NON STANDARD: CAMILLERI IN INGLESE

Questa tesi approfondisce il mondo della lingua non standard, in contrapposizione a quella standard, il suo utilizzo in letteratura e le difficoltà che un traduttore può riscontrare quando deve tradurre un testo letterario in lingua non standard. Si è cercato di studiare tutti questi aspetti per arrivare ad analizzare degli estratti tratti dai gialli di Andrea Camilleri, tradotti in lingua inglese dal poeta americano Stephen Sartarelli. L'obiettivo è quello di stabilire in che misura le caratteristiche del testo sorgente vengano mantenute nel testo d'arrivo e fino a che punto sia possibile tradurre una varietà non standard che, nel caso di Camilleri, è rappresentata dal dialetto siciliano. È necessario sottolineare che Camilleri non fa solo uso del dialetto, ma piuttosto di un codice misto, all'interno del quale il dialetto gioca un ruolo importante. Per capire in che modo sia possibile arrivare a tradurre la lingua di Camilleri e per comprendere le strategie adottate dal traduttore nel farlo, sono partita da lontano: ho cercato di inquadrare il mondo della lingua non-standard nel primo capitolo, passando poi alla teoria della traduzione e tenendo conto, in particolare, dello spazio dato in letteratura alla traduzione del dialetto. Una volta analizzate varie teorie e proposti vari modelli di traduzione, ho cercato di illustrare la lingua di cui si serve Camilleri nei suoi romanzi. In seguito, ho sviluppato un'analisi della traduzione inglese del *camillerese* o *vigatese,* come spesso viene definito, basandomi sui modelli teorici analizzati nel secondo capitolo. La parte conclusiva della tesi è occupata da un breve excursus su altre traduzioni di Camilleri in lingue diverse dall'inglese (francese, spagnolo, catalano, arabo, ecc.) e sulle strategie adottate dai vari traduttori. Nei prossimi paragrafi spiego più in dettaglio il contenuto della tesi, riassumendo capitolo per capitolo.

Nel primo capitolo, affronto il concetto di lingua standard e quello di varietà non-standard. La prima viene molto spesso considerata come varietà alta e prestigiosa, parlata dai ceti più istruiti, mentre le varietà non-standard vengono viste come varietà meno eleganti e, spesso, incorrette, e chi le parla viene etichettato come "rozzo" ed "ignorante". Come molti sociolinguisti sottolineano, quando ci riferiamo alla lingua standard, intendiamo quella varietà utilizzata dai media, codificata nei dizionari e nelle grammatiche e insegnata a scuola. Inoltre, per essere definita "standard" una varietà deve

essere passare attraverso un processo di "standardizzazione": deve essere, cioè, selezionata. Una volta selezionata, va fissata nei dizionari e nei libri di grammatica e usata in documenti scientifici, educativi, legali, e in letteratura. Infine, questa varietà deve essere accettata come lingua nazionale e adottata da un certo gruppo di persone. La decisione di elevare una varietà a lingua standard non deriva dalle caratteristiche interne alla lingua, ma per diversi motivi che possono essere, per esempio, di tipo politico o economico. Allo stesso modo, non c'è una ragione intrinseca che porta ad etichettare le varietà non standard come varietà sbagliate. Le varietà non standard, come qualsiasi altra lingua, hanno la loro fonetica, fonologia, grammatica e così via. Se vengono marcate come varietà sbagliate è anche a causa di una tradizione normativa che ha prescritto alcuni usi e varietà e proscritto altri. Come esempio, ho riportato quello dell'inglese afro-americano vernacolare (AAVE), che per molto tempo è stato stigmatizzato come variante inferiore dell'inglese americano. Anche in questo caso, le ragioni di tale discriminazione non sono di tipo linguistico, ma sono la conseguenza di un lungo periodo di discriminazione razziale nei confronti dei neri d'America. Dunque, molto spesso la valutazione linguistica è strettamente connessa alla valutazione sociale. Fortunatamente, le varietà non standard sono state rivalutate e gli studiosi di linguistica hanno preso coscienza dei limiti di uno studio del linguaggio che ignori la variazione, che viene ormai riconosciuta come un processo naturale della lingua. Grazie a questa presa di coscienza, negli anni Sessanta nasce una branca della linguistica chiamata *sociolinguistica,* la quale studia il linguaggio in relazione alla società. Nel raggio d'azione della sociolinguistica rientra l'analisi della variazione interna alla lingua, quindi lo studio delle dimensioni di variazione di una lingua. A livello sincronico si distinguono quattro assi di variazione: *variazione diatopica* (riguardante l'appartenenza geografica dei parlanti), *variazione diastratica* (relativa all'appartenenza sociale dei parlanti), *variazione diafasica* (riguardante le diverse circostanze in cui avviene la comunicazione), *variazione diamesica* (relativa al mezzo di comunicazione, che può essere scritto o parlato).

Partendo proprio da questi livelli di variazione, ho analizzato le varietà ascrivibili all'interno delle diverse dimensioni, dal concetto di dialetto a quello di registro e stile, adottando soprattutto le definizioni e i termini utilizzati dai sociolinguisti anglo-sassoni. Ho approfondito in modo particolare il concetto di dialetto all'interno del contesto italiano. Dopo un excursus storico sulla nascita dell'italiano standard e sul dibattito intorno alla Questione della lingua*,* ho riportato e analizzato brevemente la *Carta dei*

dialetti d'Italia di Giovan Battista Pellegrini, che divide l'Italia in cinque macro-aree linguistiche. I dialetti sono così raggruppabili: dialetti del Nord che includono le varietà gallo-italiche e i dialetti del Nord-Est, i dialetti friulani, i dialetti toscani, quelli centro-meridionali (che possono appartenere all'area mediana, l'area alto meridionale e l'area meridionale estrema).

Una volta delineata la classificazione dei dialetti da parte di Pellegrini e spiegati termini come *diglossia, continuum linguistico, isoglossa, code-mixing and code-switching, dialetti primari e secondari,* ho dedicato l'ultima parte del capitolo alla letteratura italiana dialettale, o meglio alla "letteratura volgare". L'uso letterario dei dialetti nella letteratura italiana risale alle origini dei diversi volgari. Questo significa che la letteratura dialettale ha avuto origine molto prima che una lingua standard venisse codificata. Molti studiosi ritengono che, dopo la codificazione del toscano, scrivere in dialetto era una scelta consapevole e voluta: l'uso del dialetto in un'opera letteraria non era cioè spontaneo o dettato dall'ignoranza della lingua standard/letteraria, ma piuttosto una scelta volontaria dello scrittore. Per questo motivo si parla di *letteratura dialettale riflessa* quando ci si riferisce alle produzioni di scrittori e poeti che impiegavano deliberatamente il dialetto in opposizione alla varietà letteraria toscana. Anche in questo caso, ho delineato un percorso storico sull'uso dei volgari in letteratura, partendo dalle prime produzioni come il *Ritmo laurenziano,* scritto in toscano volgare tra il 1188 e il 1207, o come *Laudes creaturarum* di San Francesco, arrivando alla poesia neo-dialettale di Pasolini con le sue *Poesie a Casarsa* e a produzioni più recenti come quelle di Andrea Camilleri.

L'argomento principale del secondo capitolo è la traduzione della lingua non standard, in particolare del dialetto. Ho passato in rassegna e riportato le varie proposte dei teorici della traduzione riguardo la resa del dialetto nel testo di arrivo. Ciò che ho riscontrato è la mancanza di proposte solide e approfondite riguardo la traduzione del dialetto. Studiosi e traduttori come Ian Catford, Juliane House, Eugene Nida e altri accennano alla traduzione del dialetto e indicano le soluzioni da evitare quando si traduce una varietà non-standard, ma non propongono validi modelli da applicare. Per esempio, Catford non esclude la traduzione del dialetto del testo di partenza con un dialetto della lingua di arrivo. Secondo lo studioso, un socioletto come il Cockney può essere tradotto con un socioletto come il Parigot: l'aspetto importante è l'equivalenza a livello funzionale (un

dialetto sociale che viene tradotto con un altro dialetto sociale, sebbene le due varietà evochino mondi completamenti diversi). Se nella lingua di arrivo non è presente un dialetto che possa avere la stessa valenza del dialetto della lingua di partenza, allora il traduttore dovrebbe trovare altre soluzioni, come quella di selezionare un altro dialetto del testo target, manipolarlo e crearne uno nuovo. Una volta proposta questa soluzione, Catford non spiega come "creare" questo nuovo dialetto. La sua proposta viene, infatti, messa in discussione da molti studiosi che vedono la traduzione del dialetto della lingua sorgente con un dialetto della lingua d'arrivo come una scelta rischiosa e, molto spesso, inappropriata. Inoltre, secondo autori come Newmark, per mettere in pratica la proposta di Catford, il traduttore deve avere una buona padronanza del dialetto della lingua di arrivo.

Altri studiosi come Nida e Taber escludono la resa del dialetto con la lingua standard, però criticano l'abitudine dei traduttori di tradurre con un dialetto della lingua target o di attingere a più dialetti della lingua target, creando un fastidioso "mélange" o piuttosto una lingua che nessuno parla. Suggeriscono, invece, di scegliere un dialetto considerato culturalmente e linguisticamente più prestigioso, se il traduttore dovesse optare per la traduzione del dialetto con dialetto. In disaccordo è Juliane House, che ritiene che cercare equivalenti dialettali nella lingua di arrivo sia inutile. La studiosa inserisce la traduzione del dialetto all'interno della cosiddetta "overt translation" (traduzione manifesta), nella quale il testo di partenza è strettamente legato alla comunità linguistica di appartenenza e alla sua cultura e, di conseguenza, ai suoi destinatari. Secondo House, il traduttore può solo limitarsi all'uso di note esplicative per i lettori del testo di arrivo.

Altri teorici della traduzione invitano il traduttore a capire la funzione che il dialetto ha nel testo sorgente. Il dialetto, infatti, può essere utilizzato per diverse funzioni: per esempio, per caratterizzare socialmente e culturalmente i personaggi, oppure in chiave comica, per far divertire chi legge. Una volta compresa la funzione del dialetto, il traduttore può decidere quali strategie utilizzare. A questo proposito, nella seconda parte del secondo capitolo, ho deciso di riportare dei modelli proposti da studiosi di traduzione. Si tratta di modelli messi a punto da professori universitari che insegnano traduzione, come Leszek Berezowski, professore di traduzione all'Università di Wrocław, in Polonia, e Sara Ramos Pinto, docente di Translation Studies all'Università di Leeds. Il modello proposto da Berezowski prevede dieci diverse strategie, come la "neutralizzazione" della

varietà non-standard, oppure la "lessicalizzazione", che prevede la presenza di tratti dialettali nel testo di arrivo, ma solo per la categoria del lessico. Il traduttore, quindi, sceglie un dialetto nella lingua di arrivo e ne prende in prestito il lessico, ma traduce il resto in lingua standard. Un'ulteriore strategia è lo "speech defect", che consiste in un insieme di modifiche all'ortografia delle parole della lingua standard con lo scopo di riprodurre una specie di varietà dialettale che, però, nulla ha a che fare con le differenze fonologiche dei dialetti reali. Questa varietà inventata viene definita "eye-dialect", letteralmente "dialetto dell'occhio" perché condiziona l'occhio del lettore che pensa di imbattersi in un dialetto reale.

Per quanto riguarda il secondo modello analizzato, quello di Ramos Pinto, il traduttore che si trova di fronte ad un testo letterario scritto in una varietà non standard deve innanzitutto scegliere se mantenere o meno la variazione linguistica anche nel testo di arrivo. Se la scelta è di rendere la varietà non-standard con la lingua standard, il traduttore opta quindi per la "normalizzazione". Se, invece, il traduttore sceglie di mantenere la variazione linguistica, mette in atto la strategia di "dialettalizzazione" del discorso. In questo caso, scegliere di preservare la variazione linguistica implica una serie di decisioni diverse: per esempio, il traduttore può scegliere di mantenere le coordinate spaziali e/o temporali del testo di partenza. Se decide di mantenerle entrambe, può ricorrere a diverse strategie, come la semplice aggiunta di espressioni come "disse in dialetto" oppure l'impiego di caratteristiche, che possono essere lessicali, morfo-sintattiche o fonetiche, di una specifica varietà non standard. Il traduttore può anche scegliere di non conservare nessuno dei due tipi di coordinate, o solo una delle due. In questo caso, Ramos Pinto suggerisce una serie di strategie che il traduttore può adottare. In ogni caso, Ramos Pinto fa un'osservazione che riguarda il modo in cui le scelte del traduttore incidono su come viene vista la traduzione. Se il testo di destinazione mantiene le coordinate spaziali e temporali nella lingua di destinazione, è visto come una traduzione, mentre se le coordinate spaziali e/o temporali non sono rese, il testo è visto come un adattamento. Ramos Pinto e Berezowski, sebbene utilizzino una terminologia diversa, condividono le strategie a cui un traduttore può affidarsi quando si trova davanti un testo scritto in una varietà non standard.

Oltre a questi due modelli, ho analizzato le strategie e le soluzioni proposte da Peter Newmark e da Javier Franco Aixela per la traduzione degli elementi culturali specifici (culture-specific items), che si possono anche definire *realia*. Tradurre, infatti,

significa avere a che fare non solo con due o più varietà, ma con due o più culture. Ogni comunità linguistica, infatti, ha i suoi elementi culturali specifici che rappresentano, molto spesso, uno scoglio per il traduttore che non trova equivalenti nella lingua di arrivo. Secondo Aixela, quando il traduttore si trova davanti a dei realia, può intraprendere due strade: la "conservazione" o la "sostituzione". Nel primo caso, può ricorrere al "prestito" (o "ripetizione") della parola o espressione del testo di partenza, può utilizzare glosse sia interne che esterne al testo, oppure può ricorrere ad una "traduzione linguistica" ma non culturale come, per esempio, nel caso della traduzione della parola inglese "dollars" con "dólares" in spagnolo. La versione in lingua d'arrivo è riconoscibile come parte del sistema culturale del testo di partenza ma non di quello di arrivo. La sostituzione, invece, comprende l'utilizzo di sinonimi, oppure la sostituzione di un realia della cultura di partenza con un realia di quella di arrivo, oppure la semplice omissione del realia del testo di partenza perché lo si ritiene troppo oscuro e complicato per essere trasferito nel testo di arrivo. Aixela suggerisce ulteriori strategie che non riassumo per questione di spazio, ma coincidono con quanto proposto anche da Peter Newmark. Tra le strategie di Newmark figurano l'equivalenza funzionale, la naturalizzazione e la traduzione riconosciuta. La prima strategia implica una neutralizzazione del realia della lingua di partenza: per esempio, "Roget" in inglese diventa "dictionnaire idéologique anglais" in francese. Nel caso della naturalizzazione, il termine del testo di partenza viene trasformato in un elemento lessicale della lingua di arrivo, come nel caso di "avocado", che diventa "avocat" in francese o "mango", che si trasforma in "mangue" in francese. Nel caso della traduzione riconosciuta, il traduttore attinge alla traduzione dei realia che è ampiamente riconosciuta nella cultura di arrivo. Altre strategie classiche sono l'aggiunta, la cancellazione, la traduzione letterale, le glosse e la parafrasi.

Queste strategie analizzate nel secondo capitolo rappresentano delle linee guida per il traduttore che si trova ad affrontare un testo scritto in lingua non-standard. Tuttavia, bisogna sottolineare che il traduttore è libero di agire come vuole e come crede e che è impossibile trovare una risposta definitiva ai problemi della traduzione dialettale. Come evidenzia Luigi Bonaffini, il successo di una traduzione dipende, infatti, dalla sensibilità linguistica e letteraria del traduttore e forse, come sostiene De Martino, a volte i traduttori sono costretti ad accettare che i dialetti presentino caratteristiche che sono semplicemente intraducibili.

Il terzo capitolo verte sulla descrizione della lingua che Andrea Camilleri utilizza nei suoi romanzi. Prima di studiare il suo pastiche linguistico, all'inizio del capitolo ho cercato di fornire alcune informazioni biografiche sullo scrittore. Camilleri non è solo autore dei gialli su Montalbano, ma anche di romanzi storici, adattamenti teatrali, saggi e tanto altro. I suoi libri sono stati tradotti in più di 120 lingue: questo successo mondiale, dovuto alla capacità dei traduttori di rendere il suo linguaggio, invita a riflettere su come i suoi libri possano essere accolti da un pubblico che si trova lontano sia geograficamente sia culturalmente. La lingua di Camilleri, infatti, è un guazzabuglio linguistico, frutto di una continua sperimentazione linguistica dello scrittore. Questa lingua mescidata consiste principalmente in tre varietà: il dialetto siciliano, l'italiano standard e l'italiano regionale della Sicilia. Inoltre, nella mescolanza di queste varietà, Camilleri aggiunge parole ibride, a volte inventante, o prese dal suo idioletto familiare o parole udite da bambino da persone provenienti da diverse parti della Sicilia. Questo miscuglio è evidente ovunque nei romanzi, sia nella narrazione che nei dialoghi, come ho cercato di mostrare nella parte dell'analisi. Per rendere questo linguaggio comprensibile, Camilleri ricorre a stratagemmi linguistici. Innanzitutto, la parte narrativa non è mai scritta completamente in dialetto. Infatti, la struttura sintattica della prosa è solitamente fedele alla sintassi italiana. Inoltre, fa uso di glosse interne al testo in modo da spiegare ai lettori termini o espressioni il cui significato non può essere dedotto dal contesto, oppure ripete un termine oscuro più volte nel corso del romanzo in modo da farne dedurre il significato. Infine, è da sottolineare l'uso di elementi lessicali chiaramente siciliani ma che mostrano una morfologia appartenente all'italiano. Per esempio, la vocale finale -u- tipica del sostantivo e dell'aggettivo maschile in siciliano viene evitata dallo scrittore perché molto probabilmente viene considerata un tratto estremo del dialetto. Questa viene sostituita con la finale tipica italiana -o- dei sostantivi e aggettivi maschili singolari. Questo "artificio linguistico", cioè questa lingua apparentemente siciliana ma influenzata profondamente dalle strutture italiane rappresenta il successo di Andrea Camilleri.

Per quanto riguarda la presenza del dialetto siciliano, ho cercato di fornire degli esempi di uso dei tratti dialettali all'interno dei romanzi. Per esempio, si possono riscontrare strutture come l'accusativo preposizionale, il che polivalente, la reduplicazione; molto spesso il congiuntivo presente è sostituito dall'indicativo presente nelle subordinate, e dal congiuntivo imperfetto nella frase principale. Dal punto di vista lessicale, Camilleri fa ampio uso di termini appartenenti al dialetto siciliano. Infine, si

può notare come i romanzi camilleriani siano foneticamente caratterizzati da tratti dialettali, basti pensare gli esiti cacuminali di -ll-, all'assimilazione dei nessi consonantici -nd-, -mb-, che diventano rispettivamente -nn- e -mm-.

Il quarto ed ultimo capitolo si concentra sull'analisi delle scelte e strategie adottate da Stephen Sartarelli, il traduttore americano di Andrea Camilleri. Le ultime pagine del capitolo rappresentano una breve digressione sulle scelte e le alternative individuate da altri traduttori di Camilleri, come Serge Quadruppani, traduttore francese, o da Moshe Kahn, traduttore tedesco di Camilleri, e molti altri.

I romanzi tradotti da Sartarelli e analizzati sono tre: *La forma dell'acqua,* scritta nel 1994, *L'odore della notte,* del 2001 e *La luna di carta*, pubblicata nel 2005. Sartarelli, oltre ad essere traduttore di importanti autori italiani come Saba e Pasolini, è un poeta. Il suo approccio in traduzione di prosa è quello del traduttore invisibile: secondo Sartarelli, il traduttore letterario deve essere come un arbitro in un evento sportivo, cioè meno si nota meglio è. Ma, come egli stesso ammette, con Camilleri è difficile rimanere anonimi perché la lingua che lo scrittore usa richiede al traduttore delle scelte rischiose. Tuttavia, il traduttore è consapevole che il *vigatese* di Camilleri non può essere reso in traduzione al cento per cento. Secondo Sartarelli, l'idea di utilizzare varietà inglesi da sostituire alla lingua di Camilleri sarebbe stata alquanto rischiosa e assurda. Però, come egli stesso dichiara, questo non significa che il traduttore non possa crearsi "nuovi spazi" nella lingua d'arrivo. Per esempio, nel discorso tenuto durante un convegno su Camilleri nel 2004, Sartarelli racconta di essere riuscito a coniare una nuova espressione in lingua inglese, vale a dire *to curse the saints,* che rappresenta la traduzione del termine *santiare*, cioè "bestemmiare", e ha notato che molti critici citano questa espressione quando elogiano il suo lavoro di traduzione. Tuttavia, come ha ricordato più volte in tante interviste, l'editoria americana è spesso restia ad accettare libri la cui lingua originale non sia l'inglese e non tollera la sperimentazione linguistica. Inoltre, quando in America si decide di pubblicare il loro lavoro di un autore straniero, gli editori spingono i traduttori a rendere la lingua conforme allo standard. Questo significa che un traduttore come Sartarelli, che si trova di fronte al difficile compito di tradurre Camilleri, non può rischiare di creare un miscuglio linguistico in traduzione. Come Sartarelli sottolinea, piuttosto che giocare in maniera "pericolosa" con la lingua come fa Camilleri, egli decide di preservare e riprodurre la stessa scorrevolezza, lo stesso ritmo e la stessa musicalità, e in particolare la

stessa ironia, che si trovano nell'originale. Questo non significa che a volte non adatti o manipoli la lingua inglese a suo piacimento.

Sartarelli decide di rendere la voce narrativa e il discorso indiretto libero in inglese standard. Utilizza lo stesso procedimento con molti dei personaggi dei gialli. Per esempio, Montalbano, che utilizza più varietà, che vanno dall'italiano formale e burocratico al dialetto vero e proprio, viene reso in lingua standard in traduzione. Allo stesso modo, Fazio e Mimì, che fanno uso di una lingua mista e del fenomeno del *code-switching* e *code-mixing,* vengono resi in inglese standard. Sartarelli ricorre a colloquialismi, a forme abbreviate, ma la lingua resta quella standard. Per esotizzare il testo, però, egli ricorre a prestiti dal testo originale, sfrutta le glosse utilizzate da Camilleri o ne aggiunge di extra testuali. Nella versione inglese, molto spesso, il lettore si imbatte in termini o espressioni siciliane. Per esempio, Sartarelli tende a lasciare i realia relativi al cibo in lingua originale: nel testo tradotto troviamo termini come *pasta 'ncasciata, nunnatu, tumazzo, patati cunsati.* Il traduttore spiega poi il loro significato attraverso una glossa extra testuale. Tuttavia, Sartarelli cerca, attraverso la traduzione letterale, di rendere in inglese concetti e fenomeni tipicamente italiani, altrimenti il testo sarebbe illeggibile con i soli prestiti dal testo originale. Per esempio, trasforma Mani Pulite e Democrazia Cristiana in *Clean Hands* e *Christian Democratic Party*.

Il vero gioco linguistico che Sartarelli cerca di creare è rappresentato dall'idioletto di Catarella. Catarella parla una lingua tutta sua, che è un misto di italiano popolare, formule burocratiche e tentativi non riusciti di usare un linguaggio formale: a tutto questo si aggiunge l'interferenza del dialetto. Questo miscuglio genera malapropismi, equivoci linguistici, storpiature, fenomeni di ipercorrettismo. Sartarelli cerca di riprodurre questo linguaggio nel testo di arrivo, plasmando un Catarella anglofono. Il risultato è un miscuglio linguistico grammaticalmente scorretto, fatto di parole inventate e termini presi dalla varietà inglese parlata a Brooklyn, con rimandi occasionali alla lingua utilizzata dal personaggio Curly delle serie di sketch dei comici *The Three Stooges*. Il traduttore cerca di riprodurre gli stessi giochi di parole e situazioni ironiche che troviamo nel testo di partenza. Anche per il personaggio di Adelina, Sartarelli sperimenta con la lingua inglese. Per Adelina, che parla dialetto siciliano, Sartarelli cerca di creare un "eye-dialect" nel testo target. Egli fa uso di quella che Berezowski definisce strategia dello "speech defect", ovvero del difetto di pronuncia. In traduzione, quindi, Adelina parla un dialetto che non esiste ma che viene plasmato dal traduttore, il quale parte dalle convenzioni ortografiche

e fonologiche della lingua inglese e si sforza di trovare stratagemmi fonetici per dare l'impressione al lettore di trovarsi di fronte ad un dialetto inglese.

In conclusione, possiamo dire che Sartarelli riesce a trovare un compromesso: un linguaggio standard con colloquialismi occasionali, prestiti, traduzioni letterali; attraverso l'uso di glosse intratestuali ed extra testuali ha reso quelle sfumature tipiche della cultura italiana e siciliana. Egli fa da mediatore tra la cultura siciliana/italiana e quella americana e non rimane invisibile perché riesce a trasmettere la personalità e l'intenzione di Camilleri. Le strategie linguistiche e stilistiche che adotta nella traduzione danno forma a un testo che è allo stesso tempo scorrevole e originale, e che mostra la capacità del traduttore di giocare e sperimentare in qualche modo con la lingua, così come fa Camilleri.