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Insights in (inter)cultural and cross-cultural communication

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The translation of Canarian culinary cultural terms – A case study

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Canary Islands depend to a large extent on the tourism sector, where, for example, the number of tourists entering by air during the period January–September 2022 was 1,143,839. Of these tourists, 951,658 were foreigners, while national visitors numbered 192,181 (ISTAC, 3/11/2022). The language of tourism has a broad communicative dimension oriented towards the public that benefits from the services offered (Barbagallo, 2009, p. 394). Restaurants and hotels are a fundamental part of the tourism sector. For this reason, restaurants should consider translating their menus as an additional service, more particularly into English, since, as ISTAC (3/11/2022) also reports, tourists entering the Canary Islands from the United Kingdom accounted for the highest number of entries (428,461), followed by Spanish or national residents (192,181) and residents from Germany (165,008). Given the importance of tourism activity and, specifically, tourism from the UK to the Canary Islands, it is essential that public and private companies offer products and services in line with the tourists' expectations in order to continue to improve and gain market share (Rivero & Rodríguez, 2015). English is also the vehicular language for many tourists who are not provided with translations in their mother tongue. Therefore, it is important to rely on professional translations that add value to communications with customers. Undoubtedly, this service that aims to facilitate communication with customers is profitable by developing their trust and loyalty, which can also have an impact on the promotion of the place.

1.1. Objectives, corpus description and methodology

Restaurant menus, at least those that make up our textual corpus, represent a very similar textual type that is easily identifiable not only by their structure (starters, main courses and desserts) and visual elements (images, photos, logos, etc.) but also by their orthotypographic resources (letter size and types and colours) that reinforce the referential and conative functions of the discourse. From a morphosyntactic point of view, menus are usually made up of the enumeration of nominal syntagms whose nucleus is constituted by the main ingredient characterised by a culinary technique or mode of preparation and its corresponding garnish (Bugnot, 2006). These statements refer to the culinary preparation followed by the main ingredient(s), such as *huevos rotos con chistorra* or *ropa vieja de pulpo* and also *sancocho canario de cherne* or *potaje de lentejas*. Romero (2020, p. 258) points out that the lexicon of the menus includes culinary terms and terms from the general language, which acquire a specific meaning in this thematic area. Such is the case of *papas arrugadas* or *ropa vieja*. Translators as cultural mediators need to develop biculturalism in tourist translation because they must account for the cultural differences so that communication is achieved.

In this article, we part from the hypothesis that errors are found in restaurant menus translated into English. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to determine the quality of tourist translation through the analysis of the Canarian gastronomic *realia* in a textual corpus made up of restaurant menus in English and Spanish obtained in a tourist-rich area such as the island of Gran Canaria, Spain. We intend to determine the procedures used in the translation of the Canarian gastronomic *realia* in order to discriminate and explain the translation errors detected in the selected textual corpus. With regard to the description of the corpus, the researcher compiled 42 randomly chosen menus from catering establishments regularly visited by tourists on the island of Gran Canaria. Ten of the 42 menus selected, i.e., 23.8% of the establishments did not offer the corresponding English translation. Since the terms under

study are culture-specific items (Aixelá, 1997) in the gastronomic field, Canarian starters, main courses and desserts were located in Spanish as well as their respective translations into English. Obviously, some dishes appear in a more recurrent form, and not all dishes are present on all menus. The most repeated are the following: *papas arrugadas*, *mojo*, *ropa vieja*, *potaje* and *gofio escaldado*. In total, we have found the following Canarian *realia*: *ropa vieja*, *almogrote*, *huevos moles*, *papas arrugadas*, *mojo*, *gofio* and *gofio escaldado*, *queso herreño*, *carajacas*, *polvito uruguayo*, *potaje*, *sancocho canario*, *garbanzada*, *bienmesabe*, *cherne fresco* and *plátanos escachados*. Other Spanish gastronomic words have also been found, such as *ensaladilla rusa*, *puntitas de calamar*, *arroz con leche* and *huevos rotos*. As can be seen, these are culturally marked terms or expressions that are unknown in the Anglo-Saxon culture, which is the focus of our study.

From a theoretical point of view, the process begins by contextualising the object of the present study, defining cultural terms and presenting their taxonomy. Later, the strategies (Venuti, 1995) and translation procedures or techniques (Graedler, 2000; Harvey, 2003; Newmark, 1988) used for the translation of Canarian gastronomic cultural terms are reviewed. All this will facilitate the objectives set here, i.e., a corpus-based contrastive analysis (Spanish and English) of Canarian gastronomic cultural terms found and the detection of possible translation errors or inadequate translations as well as the procedures applied.

2. GASTRONOMIC REALIA AND THEIR TRANSLATION

Tourist activity offers visitors a variety of options, some of which also allow them to get to know the customs rooted in the daily life of the inhabitants of the geographical areas they visit, such as those related to their gastronomy (Milán et al., 2012, p. 827). In each country, we find culinary differences and particular elements that pose a translation problem due to the lack of symmetry between the source and target cultures. These culture-specific items (Aixelá, 1997) —also known as *culturemes*

or cultural references in translatology, *realia* or cultural terms— pose concrete problems of translation into another culture because they refer to ‘particularities of the original culture that are not understood at all or are understood partially or differently by the members of the target culture’ (Mayoral, 1999). Mikutyté (2005), in turn, defines *realia* as ‘unique items or experiences, material and spiritual elements of a culture, inherent to a specific ethnic group, a country or a region, which usually have no equivalents in other cultures or languages’. As Fernández Guerra (2012, 121), among other researchers, points out:

One of the problems a translator can face when dealing with different places arises from the fact that certain words and expressions may refer to objects, facts and diverse phenomena deeply rooted in their source culture (SC), often so specific (and perhaps exclusive or unique) of the culture that produced them, that they have no ‘equivalent’ in the target culture (TC), be it because they are unknown, or because they have not been codified in the target language (TL).

Newmark (1998, p. 95-96) goes further and puts forward his classification of foreign cultural words, establishing five categories among which food is included:

- (i) ecology (flora, fauna, winds, climate, etc.);
- (ii) material culture (food, clothes, houses, towns, transport);
- (iii) social culture (work and leisure);
- (iv) organisations, customs, activities, procedures or ideas, which include artistic, religious, political and administrative subcategories and;
- (v) gestures and habits.

Thus, it seems obvious that in the language of tourism, the weight of cultural terms is strong, especially in the description of the tourist product in which the weight of local tradition is valued (Bargaballo, 2009, p. 396).

There is also a clear need to improve the quality of tourist translation in general and of menus in particular as shown in the works of

various scholars (Bugnot 2006; Darias, 2022; Jiménez, 2015; Kelly, 1998; Muñoz, 2012; Santana & García, 2015). Translators must bear in mind that the predominant functions of both the original and the translated versions of restaurant menus are those of tourist texts as a whole: referential and conative (Newmark, 1988). Gastronomic culturemes are lexical units that reveal popular local cuisine (Park, 2021, p. 122). Therefore, the absence of ingredients or the loss of information that clarifies what dish a foreign customer will consume, or an erroneous or inadequate translation, results in the non-fulfilment of these functions and customer dissatisfaction. The problem is aggravated when the establishment manager does not understand, does not know or does not weigh up the negative impact this may have on the customer and the consequent loss of the opportunity to attract him or her. In this regard, it has been noted that some establishments do not have a translated version of their menus. Although some owners have acknowledged the convenience of having their menus translated, other owners of establishments, according to a study carried out by Darias (2022), claim that this shortcoming is remedied with multilingual staff, photos or (in the case of franchises) the knowledge that the customers know for certain what they are going to consume.

The Spanish Norm EN-15038 establishes and defines the requirements for the provision of a quality service by translation service providers. It also includes the specific competencies the translator of tourism texts must develop: translational, linguistic and textual, heuristic–documentary, cultural and technical. This underlines the need to professionalise translation. Contacts with unfamiliar, foreign and sometimes even alien cultures are an unavoidable part of contemporary life due to globalisation and other factors that enhance international and intercultural relations. Such cultural differences pose great challenges to translators, who need to understand the source text (ST) and notice such cultural items to adequately translate them for people of a different culture and thus avoid misunderstandings. Therefore, in relation to the translation of Canarian gastronomic cultural terms, the translator, in his or her role as intercultural mediator, must consider the Canarian

socio-cultural context in which the text is framed and decide how to translate them into the target culture so that the receiver understands the dish he or she intends to consume. This means that these culturally marked expressions sometimes have to be changed, adjusted or adapted to the new communicative situation in order to ensure the correct transmission of the message.

2.1. Translation strategies and translation procedures or techniques

The main difference between the concepts 'strategy' and 'technique' is the scope of application. Translation strategy affects the macrotext and the translator's attitude towards the text, while translation techniques affect the microtext and the problem-solving of these small units (Laita, 2012, p. 45-46). Therefore, the translation strategy determines the overall approach that the translator will adopt towards the text to be translated versus the application of translation procedures (Deslile et al., 1999, as cited in Laita, 2012, p. 41). In the translation of cultural references, the strategies of foreignisation and domestication postulated by Venuti (1995, p. 19-20) are particularly relevant. They determine if a translation is oriented towards the source or target culture. With foreignisation or exoticisation, the translation retains the foreignness of the ST in the target text (TT), whereas with domestication the opposite occurs, i.e., the culture-bound terms are adapted to the target culture. Although domestication brings more fluency to the text, it reduces the cultural influence, while the foreignising solutions or the source culture-based solutions may hinder comprehensibility (Venuti, 1995, p. 21-22). However, due to the difficulty in finding a cultural equivalent, translators sometimes offer combined solutions that are more target culture oriented that will be explained below.

Translation procedures for culture-specific items have been suggested because cultural items are considered a troublesome area. These are methods applied in the translation process that lead to optimal solu-

tions of translation problems. Hurtado (2001, p. 256-257) defines the concept of a translation technique as 'a concrete verbal procedure, visible in the translation output' which 'affects minor units of the text'. Vinay & Dalbarnet (1965) and Vázquez Ayora (1977) base their procedures on comparative linguistics. While the former proposes one of the leading taxonomies in the field of translation, the latter distinguishes between direct methods (loan, calque and literal translation) and oblique translation procedures (transposition, modulation, adaptation, amplification, equivalence, compensation, explicitation and omission). Other scholars (Newmark, 1998; Hurtado, 2001) expand such taxonomies, which also become representative in the field. Newmark (1988) classifies them thus: transference, cultural equivalent, functional equivalent, descriptive equivalent, naturalisation, literal translation, componential analysis, synonymy, through-translation, shifts or transpositions, modulation, recognised translation, compensation and paraphrase. Couplets or the combination of two or more procedures as well as notes are also included in Newmark's proposal to account for the translation of cultural terms. The choice of one or another will depend on the creativity of the translator. Graedler (2000) suggests the following translation procedures: making up a new word, explaining the meaning of the source language (SL) expression rather than translating it, preserving the SL term intact and replacing the SL term using any term in the target language (TL) with the same relevance as the SL term. Harvey (2003, as cited in Guerra, 2012, p. 125) also proposes four translation solutions for cultural terms: (i) functional equivalence, using a term with the same 'function'; (ii) formal or linguistic equivalence, or word-for-word translation; (iii) transcription or borrowing, which may include notes; and (iv) descriptive or self-explanatory translation. Having seen some of the most relevant translation procedures for the translation of cultural terms, the researcher considers that the following translation procedures or methods will allow an analysis of the translation solutions applied for the translation of the Canarian gastronomic culturemes studied here. As may be seen, some of them are more source culture oriented and others are more target culture oriented.

- (i) SL cultural and linguistic borrowing or transference (Newmark, 1988) or preserving the SL term intact (Graedler, 2000).
- (ii) Borrowing plus description or an explanation (couplets) or notes in order to account for differences between SL and TL cultures (Newmark, 1988).
- (iii) Literal translation (Newmark, 1988); formal or linguistic equivalence or word-for-word translation (Harvey, 2003).
- (iv) Description or explanation of the meaning of the SL expression instead of translating it (Graedler, 2000); descriptive or self-explanatory translation (Harvey, 2003).
- (v) Equivalence or replacement of the source cultural term using any term in the TL that has the same 'relevance' as the SL term (Graedler, 2000; Newmark, 1998).
- (vi) Borrowing plus equivalence (personal proposal).

2.2. Error typology

In order to fulfill the objective set for this work, that is, to determine if errors are found in restaurant menus translated from Spanish into English or, in a broader sense, to know the quality of tourist translation through the analysis of Canarian culinary cultural terms in a textual corpus composed of restaurant menus, this section presents the typologies of errors on which this study can be based. As Hurtado (2001, p. 614-615) points out, when translating cultural references, it is important to consider the type of relationship between the two cultures, that is, the degree of rapprochement between them, the nature of the culture, the textual genre, the characteristics and expectations of the addressee, and the purpose of the translation. Apart from the difficulty involved in the translation of cultural words, another added difficulty for the tourist translator in the Canary Islands is the directionality of the translation, since reverse translation assignments (from Spanish into English), as is the case with the menus studied here, are often requested in order to

facilitate the integration of the foreign visitor. Cruces Collado (2001, p. 814) defines translation error as 'a breach of the rules of coherence of the TT, whether of grammatical type, lexical combinability, semantic congruence or conformity with the knowledge of the world and accumulated experience'.

The first type of error found in translations is strategy related, which involves the theoretical interdisciplinary lack of knowledge necessary to carry out a translation (Santana & García, 2015, p. 688). As has been pointed out above, these errors can range from foreignization (source oriented) to domestication (reader oriented). This type of error occurs when a translation excessively exoticises or domesticates (Venuti, 1995) or when the opposite is the case, i.e. when the TT suffers from exoticisation or domestication. The most common categorisation of translation errors is proposed by Deslile (1993, as cited in Hurtado, 2001): false meaning, contradiction, nonsense, addition, omission, hypertranslation, overtranslation and undertranslation. Cruces Collado (2001), in turn, groups the errors thus: coherence breakdown, terminological inadequacy, literal reformulation (non-recognition of idiomatic constructions and formal incorrectness). Odlin, 1989 (as cited in Santana & García, 2015, p. 687) also points out that transferences, omissions and interferences are the most frequent errors found in restaurant menus.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this study, the idea is entertained that quality translation options for gastronomic cultural terms are those that are appealing to the customer and include the idea that they are traditional dishes of the local culture. Since there is no exact cultural equivalent in the target culture for the Canarian culinary words studied here, it is assumed that finding an acceptable translation is not an easy task. With reference to the translation of gastronomic cultural terms, Kelly (1998, p. 37) points out that 'menus become one of the most challenging tasks, given the enormous differences existing regarding eating habits from one culture to

another and constraints (like, e.g., space). Below, the author comments on some of the most frequently observed Canarian *realia* in the textual corpus that was analysed. In order to do so, first, tables are presented where the translations and the translation procedures applied regarding the most peculiar Canarian dishes are analysed (*gofio escaldado*, *papas arrugadas*, *mojo*, *almogrote*, *huevos mole*). Second, a table is presented containing translation errors and procedures applied with regard to other typical Canarian culinary terms (*ropa vieja*, *garbanzada*, *carajacas*, etc.) found in our textual corpus that may prevent the reader from knowing the reality of the dish he or she intends to consume. In the left column of the tables can be seen the Canarian dish as shown in the ST, in the next column the TT proposals are presented followed by the translation procedure (TP) applied and in the right column the personal proposal (PP) that has been opted for is presented because it was found to be the most acceptable one, followed again by the translation procedure applied.

Table 1. Gofio escaldado.

ST. Gofio escaldado	TT. Gofio escaldado (meat broth) TP. Borrowing + ingredient?	PP. Gofio escaldado (Canarian toasted cornflour with tasty fish stock) TP. Borrowing + description
	TT. Gofio escaldado (2) TP. Borrowing	
	TT. Gofio escaldado (Canarian cornflour with fish stock) TP. Borrowing + description	
	TT. Corn toasted flour TP. Description	
	TT. Blanched gofio TP. Literal translation	
	TT. Scalded gofio (4) TP. Literal translation (calque)	
	TT. Gofio 'escaldado' (roasted cornflour mixed with fish soup) TP. Borrowing + description	

In view of the above translations, the translation procedure that seems to provide the most acceptable translations is the pairing of borrowing plus description. *Gofio escaldado* is a tasty smooth-textured mixture obtained when toasted cornflour, fumet or fish stock and a little peppermint are mixed. Thus, the translation options *blanched gofio* and *scalded gofio* are considered terminological inadequacies and informatively incomplete (*blanched* means 'to scald briefly and then drain' and also 'to whiten', while *scald* means 'to burn with or as if with hot liquid or steam' —www.wordreference.com). The first translation proposal, *gofio escaldado* (*meat broth*), does not convey the real cultural content either because, as mentioned above, the culinary technique consists of mixing *gofio* with fish stock rather than 'meat broth'. A better translation alternative might have been *gofio escaldado* (*Canarian toasted cornflour with tasty fish stock*). Both the borrowing *gofio escaldado* and the adjective 'Canarian' have an exotic effect that helps the reader to identify the dish as typical of the Canary Islands, while the description reveals its content. Finally, the translation description procedure applied in *corn toasted flour* results in an overgeneralised approximation and is a domesticated translation that does not sound attractive from the gastro-nomic point of view.

Table 2. Papas arrugadas.

ST. Papas arrugadas	TT. Wrinkled potatoes (8) ⁶ TP. Literal translation	PP. Papas arrugadas (small unskinned and salted potatoes served with mojo sauce) Borrowing + description
	TT. Papas arrugadas (wrinkled potatoes) (2) TP. Borrowing + literal translation	
	TT. Papas arrugadas (Canarian dish made of potatoes) TP. Borrowing + description	

6. These figures refer to the number of occurrences when the translation proposal is the same in the textual corpus.

	TT. Canarian wrinkled potatoes (2) TP. Literal translation (particularisation)	
	TT. Papas arrugadas (2) TP. Borrowing	
	TT. Small jacket potatoes (2) TP. Equivalence?	
	TT. Canarian potatoes (7) TP. Description (reduction)	
	TT. Papas arrugadas (boiled salted potatoes) TP. Borrowing + description?	
	TT. Papas arrugadas (wrinkled potatoes with red mojo sauce) TP. Borrowing + literal translation (addition)	
	ST. Papas arrugadas (papas pequeñas hervidas de manera tradicional canaria [con mojo picón]) TT. Canarian wrinkled potatoes (small potatoes cooked in a traditional Canarian manner [with mojo]?) TP. Literal translation + description (particularisation)	

This cultural term may even be unknown to Spanish speakers who are not familiar with the local Canarian gastronomy. This is confirmed in one of the menus where the culinary expression *papas arrugadas* is paraphrased in brackets, both in the source Spanish text and in the target English text as follows: *Papas arrugadas (papas pequeñas hervidas de manera tradicional canaria con mojo picón)* and 'Canarian wrinkled potatoes (small potatoes cooked in a traditional Canarian manner with mojo)'. This way, both the non-local Spanish and British visitors, or others who understand the English language, can understand the Canarian culinary dish before deciding whether to consume it or not. Exoticised translations have also been found because the borrowing *papas arrugadas* is kept in the TT. There is also the case of a trilingual menu where

7. Although this Canarian ingredient is normally served with *papas arrugadas*, its translation will be studied here separately.

this gastronomic cultural expression is transferred into three target versions and no other translation procedure is put into effect. Consequently, the translations are excessively exoticised.

The most repeated translation options are *wrinkled potatoes* and *Canarian potatoes*. While the demonym *Canarian* used in the *Canarian potatoes* translation proposal seems to emphasise the characteristic of origin, the characteristic of *arrugadas* is ignored. The term *arrugadas* refers to the way the potatoes are cooked, which makes them become *arrugadas* (wrinkled). The dish consists of small potatoes, cooked with skin, ample salt and little water. Consequently, 'wrinkled' could be a characteristic resulting from the way they are cooked. However, 'Canarian' does not refer to a protected denomination of origin, since the variety of potatoes characteristic of the island of Tenerife is not always served in Canarian restaurants. Therefore, *Canarian potatoes* alone does not transmit the real meaning of the dish. Unlike the previous translations, *small jacket potatoes* is a domesticated translation, which results from the search for a cultural equivalent in the target culture. However, it seems erroneous because the way these are cooked, baked and stuffed (with butter, cheese and other ingredients) differs from the way the Canarian *papas arrugadas* are cooked and accompanied (by mojo sauce). *Boiled salted potatoes*, the author believes, is a translation that obviates the size of the potatoes and does not include the characteristic of being unskinned either. In summary, the most acceptable alternative is considered to be *papas arrugadas* (small unskinned and salted potatoes served with [Canarian] mojo sauce).

Table 3. Mojo.

Mojo	TT. Mojo sauce (8) TP. Borrowing + description (generalisation)	PP. Canarian mojo sauce Borrowing + description (particularisation)
	TT. Canarian green and red mojo sauce TP. Description (particularisation) + borrowing	

	TT. Spicy red mojo sauce TP. Description + borrowing	
	TT. Mojo (8) TP. Borrowing	
	TT. Red hot chili pepper sauce TP. Equivalence?	

Mojo is a Canarian sauce, which is mainly made of paprika, garlic, bread and oil. Consequently, the replacement of the source cultural expression by the target equivalence *red hot chili pepper* does not suggest the same meaning because the ingredients are not the same (hot red peppers, garlic, cloves, dry mustard, etc.). The mojo borrowing alone is not an adequate proposal because it is an excessively exoticised and ST-oriented translation. The author considers that the translation proposals *mojo sauce* or *Canarian mojo sauce* might be the most accurate alternatives because these are both domesticating and foreignising translations, which provide a solution that enriches the target language while transmitting an idea of the dish content.

Table 4. Almogrote.

ST. Almogrote	TT. Almogrote (cured cheese with garlic and red pepper) TP. Borrowing + description	PP. Almogrote dip TP. Borrowing + equivalence
	TT. Almogrote dip TP. Borrowing + equivalence	
	TT. Almogrote TP. Borrowing	

Almogrote is the result of mixing cured cheese with mojo (as explained above, a Canarian sauce made mainly with garlic and paprika). The best translation option is the borrowing (*almogrote*) plus the equivalence (*dip*) because the exotic effect is maintained with the Canarian term, while *dip* is a sauce served with crudités or bread, the same as the *almogrote*. Etymologically, *dip* is a variety of language (used by a group

of speakers who are geographically or socially separated from others) that comes from the cockney dialect spoken in the East End of London (www.wordreference.com). Thus, the mental associations concerning this term in English and Spanish are similar in both cultures. Apart from this, it seems the borrowing alone is incomplete and the translation procedure borrowing plus description, although accurate, offers an overly long version. Thus, *almogrote dip* seems the most acceptable proposal.

Table 5. Huevos mole.

Huevos mole	TT. Huevos mole (sweet egg custard) TP. Borrowing + description?	PP. Canarian egg-based <i>huevos mole</i>
	TT. Eggs based 'huevos mole' TP. Description (generalisation) + borrowing	TP. Description + borrowing (particularisation)

This dessert is made of egg yolks and sugar alone with a culinary technique that makes it a very special dessert. *Custard*, however, is a dessert made with eggs, sugar, a tablespoon of cornflour, a pinch of cinnamon and full-cream milk and then baked or boiled until thickened (www.directoalpaladar.com). Thus, 'custard' seems to be an inadequate term to describe the dish. Egg-based *huevos mole* might be a suitable translation, although the idea that it is a traditional dish in the Canary Islands is ignored. Therefore, another version is recommended where the adjective 'Canarian' appears as follows: Canarian egg-based *huevos moles*. This way, the recipient not only identifies the dish content but also recognises it as typical of the area. This results in both an exoticised and domesticated translation, which encourages the reader to learn about a distinctive culinary feature of the source culture (*huevos mole* being typical of the Canary Islands) at the same time that he or she can understand the dish content.

Table 5. Translation errors.

ST. Plátano eschachado	TT. Banana reduction TP. Literal translation	PP. Canary-style smashed bananas TP. Literal translation (particularisation)
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ST. Cherne fresco	TT. Fish of the day TP. Description (generalisation)	PP. Local fresh white fish 'cherne' TP. Borrowing + description (particularisation)
ST. Ensaladilla rusa	TT. Russian salad TP. Literal translation (calque)	PP. Spanish Olivier salad / potato salad TP. Equivalence
ST. Garbanzada	TT. Garbanzada (soup) chickpeas with different kinds of meat TP. Borrowing + description? TT. Garbanzada TP. Borrowing	PP. Garbanzada (chickpeas and meat stew) TP. Borrowing + description
ST. Arroz con leche	TT. Rice with milk TP. Literal translation (calque)	PP. Rice pudding TP. Equivalence
ST. Ropa vieja de pulpo	TT. Old octopus clothes TP. Literal translation (Calque)	PP. Ropa vieja (octopus and chickpea stew) TP. Borrowing + description
ST. Queso herreño or majorero	TT. Herreño cheese from el Hierro/Fuerteventura TP. Description?	PP. Artesan cheese from el Hierro/Fuerteventura TP. Description
ST. Huevos rotos	TT. Scrambled eggs TP. Equivalence	PP. Spanish-style eggs (with chistorra sausage and French fries) TP. Description (particularisation)
ST. San Marcos	TT. Saint Mark TP. Literal translation	PP. Spanish San Marcos cake TP. Borrowing + description (particularisation)
ST. Helado con bienmesabe	TT. Ice cream with homemade 'bienmesabe' (sweet almond paste) TP. Borrowing + description?	PP. Ice cream with bienmesabe almond sauce TP. Borrowing + description
ST. Polvito uruguayo	TT. Uruguayan dust TP. Literal translation (calque)?	PP. Polvito uruguayo (mix of caramel, cream and meringue) TP. Borrowing + description
ST. Sancocho canario de cherne salado	TT. Omission TP. No translation procedure	PP. Canary-style 'sancocho' (boiled fish served with vegetables) TP. Borrowing + description (particularisation)

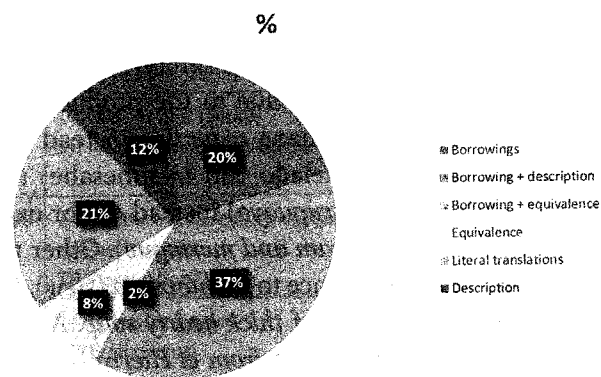
ST. Carajacas	TT. Carajacas (livers in a sauce) TP. Borrowing + description?	PP. Carajacas (marinated and sautéed liver) TP. Borrowing + description
ST. Potaje de berros / verduras	TT. Cream of vegetables TP. Description?	PP. Potaje (thick hearty vegetable / watercress soup) TP. Borrowing + description
ST. Puntillas de calamar	TT. Little fresh fishes TP. Description	PP. Spanish crispy fried baby squid TP. Description (particularisation)

As shown in the table, different types of errors have been found in the textual corpus, such as formal incorrectness related to orthographical errors such as little fresh *fishes*, *cheackpicks*, *seet* for sweet or russian salad with a lower-case 'r'. Additionally, it is not uncommon to find terminological inadequacies due to the production of overly literal reformulations such as banana *reduction* instead of Canary-style smashed bananas, *paste* (in helado con bienmesabe) rather than *almond sauce*, *dust* (in *polvito uruguayo*) instead of, for example, *polvito uruguayo* (*mix of caramel, cream and meringue*). Other terminological inadequacies are *soup* in reference to *garbanzada* (*stew*), *fishes* for squid or *cream* of vegetables instead of *thick hearty soup*. A redundancy has also been found in *herreño* cheese *from el Hierro* because *herreño* includes the idea that the origin of the cheese is El Hierro island, one of the Canary Islands. Other errors found are the repetition in *semi majore-ro* cheese or literal translations such as *Saint Mark*, *rice with milk*, *Russian salad* or *old octopus clothes* that result in nonsense proposals that do not help the target reader understand the real meaning of the dish. As shown in the table above, omissions of gastronomic cultural terms in the TTs, such as *sancocho canario de cherne*, incorrect cultural equivalents, such as scrambled eggs for *huevos rotos*, and additions such as *with red mojo sauce* for the translation of the cultural term *papas arrugadas* (wrinkled potatoes) have also been found.

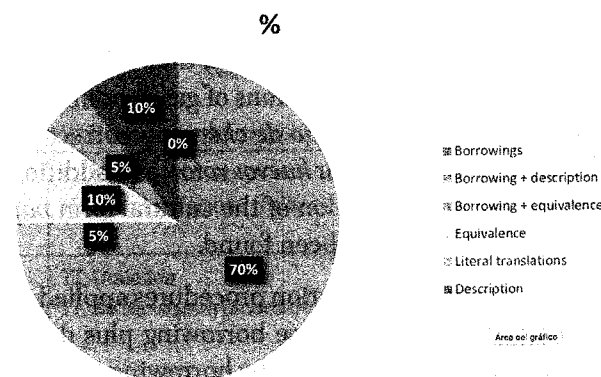
With reference to the translation procedures applied, the results also show a significant tendency to use borrowing plus description (37%), the explanation technique followed by borrowing (20%), literal transla-

tions (21%) and word-for-word translations. The description translation procedure is applied to a lesser extent (12%) followed by equivalence (8%) and borrowing plus equivalence (2%). Although the use of borrowings in various translation proposals is an indicator of exoticisation, it is nevertheless combined with culturally oriented target solutions to avoid misunderstandings. Some errors found may be due to overly exoticised versions (borrowings alone) or overly domesticated versions (mistaken equivalences) that do not provide acceptable translations.

Graphic 1. Translation procedures applied in restaurant menus.



Graphic 2. Translation procedures applied in personal proposals.



As can be seen in the graphic above, the most frequently used translation procedure is borrowing plus description (70%). Foreignising the translation by using borrowings of these cultural terms can be a good option when the term does not exist in the target culture because it contains an exotic effect, while the language can be enriched. This, however, should be done cautiously to avoid overusing loan words and to ensure communication by implementing other translation procedures, such as description. Other translation procedures that are applied to a lesser extent are description (10%) and equivalence (10%), followed by literal translation (5%) and borrowing plus equivalence (5%). Borrowing alone has not been a translation option in the personal proposals.

4. CONCLUSION

At this point, it can be concluded that errors are found in restaurant menus translated into English. Thus, broadly, translations of restaurant menus in the Canary Islands can be improved. In some cases, the cognitive domain of the Canarian terms is ignored (*gofio, papas arrugadas, cherne, ropa vieja*) and thus domesticated translation options are proposed in the form of the culinary descriptions. Conversely, some exoticised translation options, consisting of the transference of the Canarian cultural terms alone, are offered. In either case, one wonders to what extent the desired communicative effect is achieved. As Venuti (1995) points out, the author believes that communication errors occur when a translation is excessively exoticised (borrowing) or domesticated (mistaken equivalence). Therefore, it would appear that the most acceptable translation options are both ST and TT oriented (borrowing plus description). Apart from this, and regarding text conventions, there is a tendency towards adjectivisation in restaurant menus (wrinkled, Canarian, scalded, local, etc.) whereby, for example, characteristics related to state or origin can be emphasised. Additionally, in some translations offered by restaurants (as well as in some personal translation proposals) an adjective has been added as a way to make the dish more engaging. Such is the case with 'Gofio escaldado (*Canarian toasted corn flour*

with *tasty* fish stock) for the original text version '*Gofio escaldado*', 'Carajacas (*tasty* marinated and sautéed liver)' for '*Carajacas*', 'Canary-style sancocho' for '*Sancocho*' and 'Potaje (*thick hearty* vegetable soup)' for '*Potaje de verduras*'.

Additionally, literal translations respond to a structuralist view of the linguistic sign for another linguistic sign, whether consciously or unconsciously, which does not measure the result or how the TT is perceived. This is typical of the non-professional translators who, immersed in their own culture, often unconsciously transfer language or cultural terms and cultural concepts or customs to the foreign culture. This may lead to misunderstandings because these cultural terms are completely unknown to the target recipient (e.g. *scalded gofio* or *Saint Mark*). Some translation options lead us to believe that the translator may have made use of machine translation without any further revision (e.g. *old octopus clothes* for *ropa vieja de pulpo* or *Uruguayan dust* for *polvito uruguayo*).

In summary, the author believes that transferences or borrowings are positive aspects of translation proposals because they enrich the target language and knowledge in the target culture. Transferences alone, however, can lead to translation errors if effective communication is not achieved (Clouet, 2018, p. 62). Overcoming the linguistic and cultural distance between languages requires awareness of the linguistic and cultural elements of both cultures and knowledge of how to communicate or translate them effectively in the TT according to the parameter of acceptability, which is the aim of a translation. By and large, couplets such as borrowing plus description seem to offer good solutions when translating the Canarian culinary cultural terms because descriptions or explicative paraphrasings introduce details that are not present in the ST but do facilitate communication. With regard to foreignising the TT by using borrowings or maintaining the SL terms, it seems that this will permit the visitor to recognise the dishes as original or traditional, while the target language is enriched. Finally, the author believes that most of the errors could be avoided if restaurants would employ professional translators or carry out a thorough revision or postediting of the existing translations.