

Travelling words: *Languaging* in English tourism discourse

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1. Introduction

This article analyses instances of the use of *languaging* in a small corpus of English tourism materials about Italy. The use of *languaging* is investigated in three written genres, namely guidebooks, expatriates' travel blogs and travel articles or travelogues. The main goal of this study is to evidence once more the fundamental role of language in tourism (Dann 1996) and to present cases of Italian-English language crossing in tourism discourse and their functions.

The Italian expressions retrieved from the corpus are first classified according to the main topic areas to which they belong and then according to the discursive environment in which they occur in the three genres (i.e., expert talk, phatic communication, naming and translating – Jaworski *et al.* 2003). Then, the question of whether the individual examples can be considered as cases of language crossing (Rampton 1995, 1998) or real code-mixing (e.g., instances of insertion or congruent lexicalization – Muysken 2000) is addressed. The differences in the use of *languaging* in the three genres at issue are finally discussed in order to show how this technique is intended to attain several pragmatic effects, which are fundamental in the specialized type of discourse represented by the language of tourism (Cappelli 2006, Gotti 2006, Nigro 2006,).

2. What is *languaging*?

In the linguistic and sociolinguistic literature *languaging* has received different definitions. In Cortese and Hymes (2001), *languaging* is essentially seen as the way in which individuals “give voice” to their own identity in a specific social context and as the “rooting of the psychological and moral individual in the local social dimension” (p.199). Following Hymes (1996) and Bourdieu (1991), *languaging* is associated with “‘positioning’ oneself within the repertory of customary practices of a local culture” and with acquiring a “linguistic sense of place” (p.194). The authors also define *languaging* as “language rooted in memory” (p.199) and underline how “evoked memory and affect are powerfully involved” in it (p.200).

In this article, however, *languaging* is used in a sense akin to that found in Boyer and Viallon (1994:46), who define it as the use of foreign words to provide local colour or to flatter the pseudo-linguistic abilities of the reader. This study is also significantly indebted to Dann's (1996) use of the term. The author builds on Potter's (1970) analysis of the phenomenon (i.e., “a form of scoring over one's rivals through the use of real or fictitious foreign words of which they have scant knowledge, thereby inducing feelings of inferiority in one's opponent”, p.90-91) and expands on it. Dann (1996) sees *languaging* in tourism discourse as “the impressive use of foreign words, but also a manipulation of the vernacular, a special choice of vocabulary, and not just for its own sake” (p.184) and as “the use of particular expressions shared by writer and reader, with their occasional poetic treatment” which can be “both ego-enhancing and memory sustaining” (p.184).

As is evident, despite the different approaches to the phenomenon of *languaging*, all these definitions seem to share a common core, namely the connection of *languaging* with emotions, memory, the definition of one's identity and with specific (socio)linguistic and pragmatic functions. Cortese and Hymes (2001) do not use the term in Dann's specialized sense nor do they refer to travel literature or to any other travel-related genre in particular, but they highlight the role of *languaging* in building one's experience of the world and underline how “through joint

‘linguaging’, memory reverberates onto new contexts; our own experience of the world, and the network of mental representations which builds on it, expands by appropriating the experience of others within powerful motions of affect.” (p.200). In this sense, a connection between Cortese and Hymes’s (2001) use of the term and the more specialized sense found in tourism studies can be drawn. Such connection also emerges in the role that the authors assign to linguaging in “the discursive negotiation of cultural difference *qua* sociolinguistic difference, interpersonal and intergroup, as well as intrapersonal and intragroup” (Cortese and Hymes 2001:210).

In this article, the term *linguaging* refers to the use of foreign words in a text. More specifically, *linguaging* is defined as the use of local language in tourism material, that is, as the use of Italian words in the English texts which make up the corpus.

3. Corpus and methodology

The corpus used for the present study includes texts from guidebooks, travel articles and expatriates’ blogs for a total of approximately 500,000 running words. All the texts included in the corpus were published between 2003 and 2007. Guidebooks represent the larger section of the corpus (57%), followed by travel articles (35%) and expatriates’ blogs (8%). The disparity in percentage is due to the fact that the corpus, although small, is meant to represent the availability of the different genres to English readers at the time of the corpus creation. We can reasonably assume that tourists come more often in contact with guidebooks, than with travel articles and expatriates’ blogs respectively, and that a larger amount of texts within the first genre is produced every year with respect to the other two. This might however change in the future.

The Italian lexical items and expressions retrieved have been first classified according to their topic and then to their discursive function. Section 3 describes the thematic classification. A word of caution is necessary. The classification does not take into account the level of integration of the individual lexical items within the L1 system. Words which come from Italian but are now well integrated in the English system (e.g., *opera*) are listed side by side with words which are not part of the English language (e.g., *campanile*). This issue will be discussed in section 5. Section 4 presents the classification according to the discursive function performed.

The question of whether the cases analysed can be considered as instances of lexical borrowing, language crossing or code switching is addressed in section 5. Finally, section 6 discusses the functions of linguaging in tourism discourse and way in which its use in guidebooks, travelogues and expatriates’ blogs contributes to the very definition of the three genres of tourism discourse.

3. A thematic classification of Italian words in English tourism material

As could be expected, Italian words and expressions in the corpus only account for a small percentage of the total number of words, namely 0,37% in expatriates’ blogs, 0,22% in travel articles and 0,93% in guidebooks. It should be noted that Italian words used in names of buildings and streets (e.g. *Via Rossi*, *Palazzo Gambacorti*) were not included in the total count unless they substituted in form and function the corresponding English word (e.g., *each of these palazzos has its own fascinating story of life, love and intrigue* vs. *each of these buildings/palaces has its own fascinating story of life, love and intrigue*).

Despite the limited number of occurrences, the thematic classification shows some differences in the use of linguaging in the three genres. The use of Italian words in the blogs tends to be associated with the cultural gap existing between the expatriates’ native culture and the host culture in which they happen to live. Most words refer to everyday interaction with the locals and to the local way of life and can be classified in 8 main categories. A few examples from each category are provided in table 1 below.

Table 1: Linguaging in Expatriates' Blogs	
Food and drink	<i>antipasti, antipasto, riso in bianco, cappuccino, cappuccinos, esprso, espressos, gelato, pasta, primi, primo, ricotta, secondo, tagliatelle, torta, vino.</i>
Everyday life	<i>antifico telefonate, bollo, lire, passo carrabile, sagra, sagre.</i>
Objects	<i>cotto, salsa, soprannome, terracotta, vista.</i>
Quotations	<i>"ti caccio gli occhi", "perché sei una bella ragazza", "vuoi dire un...?"</i>
Places	<i>agriturismo, corso, villa</i>
Qualities	<i>bella, cornuto, mammome</i>
Social routines	<i>"buon giorno"</i>
People	<i>mamma, nonno, signora</i>

In travelogues too, languaging is obviously connected with the local culture (e.g., food and drink). However, instead of the “real” culture, many of the Italian words found in this genre refer to stereotypes about the country and its inhabitants. Social routines (e.g., “*arrivedercis*”) are also present. Examples organized in 9 main categories are provided in table 2 below.

Table 2: Linguaging in Travel Articles	
Food and drink	<i>acqua cotta, antica cucina elbana, antipasti, antipasto, piatti assortiti, biscotti, bistecca alla fiorentina, bresaola, brunellos, bruschetta, prosecco, camparis, cantucci, cantuccini, carciofi, carpaccio, carta da musica, cicorielle, cinghiale, prima colazione, crostini, crostone, espresso, far(r)o, fettuccini, fettunta, focaccia, fritto misto, frutti di mare, gallina livornese, gamberoni, gelato, gelati, gnocchetti con sep(p)ia, gnocchi, granita, grappa, lasagne, linguine, pancetta, panna cotta, pappardelle, pasta, pecorino, pesto, piatti assortiti, piatto, pici, polenta, radicchio, ravioli, ricotta, risotto, salami, salatini, vin santo, scampi, schiuma, semolina, sep(p)ia, sorbetto, tagliatellini, tagliolini, tartufo, telline, tortellini, vongole, zabaglione.</i>
Everyday life	<i>autostrada, dolce vita, bella figura, passeggiata, pennichella, sagra.</i>
Objects	<i>medaglie d'oro, pedalos, putti, steccato, vista.</i>
Quotations	<i>"quarrenti anni", "basta", "ciao bella", "cos'è?", "dove?", "Il integrismo non è lontano - abbiamo il Vaticano",</i>
Places	<i>casa, creta, gelateria, osteria, pensione, pizzeria, pizzerias, rifugio, rifugios, rivieras, riviera, studio, trattoria, vaticano, villa.</i>
Qualities	<i>bravo, al dente.</i>
Social routines	<i>ciaos and arrivedercis.</i>
People	<i>americani, bambini, bambino, capos, carabinieri, cognoscenti, escursionisti esteri, guardia di finanza, mafia, mamma, nona or nonna, paesano, paparazzi, pentiti, ragazzi, bravo ragazzo, signora, stranieri.</i>
Architecture	<i>campaniles, cappella, cattedrale, cupola, duomo, fortezza, palazzi, palazzo, pergola, piazza, piazzas.</i>

As one would expect, most of the Italian words found in guidebooks are expressions which are supposed to be useful for the tourist. They have been classified in 11 categories. Examples are provided in table 3.

Table 3: Linguaging in Guidebooks	
Food and drink	<i>acqua minerale, coniglio in salsa di aglio e vin santo, agnello, caffè freddo amaro, anatra arrosto alle olive, antipasti, biscotti, bistecca, burro, bussini, caciotta, caffè, calcio, cantucci, cappuccino, cena, cinghiale, colazione, cucina contadina, contorni, coppetta, corretto, crostini, cucina, espresso, fagioli, focaccia, focaccias, gelati, gelato, gnocchi, grappa, gusto, macchiato, magro, maiale, minestrone, noci, olive, pane, panini, pappa, pappardelle, pasta, pasticcini, pecorini, pecorino, piatti, piatto, primi, ragù, salamis, salsicce, secondi, pizza al taglio, vino</i>
Everyday life	<i>coperto</i>
Objects	<i>biglietto</i>
Plants and Animals	<i>pino marittimo</i>
Places	<i>agriturismi, alimentari, cantina, cantinas, cantine, casa, comune, comuni, contrade, discoteca, enoteca, enoteche, fiaschetteria, fienile, gelaterias, gelateria, musei, osteria, osterie, pasticceria, pensioni, pizzeria, pizzerie, ristorante, strada, strade, studiolo, superstrada, terme, trattoria, trattorie, trippaio</i>
Qualities	<i>ben caldo</i>
People	<i>bambini, mafia, mamma, ragazzi</i>
Architecture	<i>battistero, borgo, abbazia, campanile, cupola, fortezza, loggia, loggias, palazzo, palazzi, piazza, piazzale, piazzas, pozzo, rocca</i>
Events	<i>carnevale, festa, fiestas, sagra</i>
Art	<i>crocifissione, santi angeli</i>
History	<i>medieval</i>

Some of the main categories are present in all three genres (e.g., “food and drink” and “places”) and include words which represent a “cross-section” of some of the most popular cultural-specific aspects of the Italian way of life. Other “topics” seem to be relevant only in one or the other genre. Thus, in expats’ blogs no architecture, history or art-related terms were found, whereas these thematic areas are present in guidebooks, as they are supposedly more relevant for the tourist than for the resident. For the opposite reason, quotations and social routines seem to find no place in a more “neutral” and formal genre such as the guidebook, but are present in both blogs and articles, which tend to present a livelier “real-life” picture of the host country and try to provide the reader with some “local colour”.

These apparent specificities of the three genres also seem to influence the type of words and expressions which fall into the common categories. Thus, whereas in expats’ blogs we find everyday items such as *anticipo telefonate* (an advance on the telephone bill) and *bollo* (official tax-stamp) which are of no interest for the tourist who, supposedly, does not need to deal with Italian bureaucracy, in the same thematic category in guidebooks we find *coperto* (restaurant service fee), which is an aspect of Italian culture that tourists are likely to come into contact with. Expatriates’ blogs and travelogues seem to share the “insider’s perspective”, and the same desire to show a picture of the authentic local life. Quotations play a major role in this regard, but whereas in blogs they are quotations which are hard for the reader to understand unless he or she speaks Italian or unless they are translated, most quotations in articles are easily accessible to the target audience. They are either common expressions that have entered English via the Italian-American communities or simple routines which most people who have taken some basic Italian lessons or spent a holiday in Italy are very likely to have learnt.

Another interesting difference between the three genres is the level of correctness in reporting Italian words or expressions. Blog and guidebook authors seem to be more careful in this respect, although for different reasons. Expatriates probably have a good understanding of the local language; guidebook writers are probably required to maintain a high level of accuracy, as their work is supposed to be reference material. Unexpectedly, Italian words and expressions in travel articles, on the other hand, are often either spelt wrong or transcribed in an approximate way, as if the journalist had tried to remember something or had tried his hand at Italian without mastering the language well enough¹. Finally, an interesting phenomenon is the use of English morphology on Italian words (e.g., *ciaos* and *arrivedercis*) and, on occasion, the confusion with other Romance languages (e.g., *fiesta* instead of *festa*).

4. A classification of the discursive environments of Italian in the corpus

Following Jaworski *et al.*'s (2003) analysis of the use of languaging in British TV holiday programmes, the majority of the data have been classified as occurring in three main types of discursive environment: expert talk, naming and translating and phatic communication. Expert talk is not common in written texts and the border with naming and translating is often very thin and even blurred. The Italian words and expressions classified as instances of expert talk occur in contexts in which “experts” on some matter are quoted or in which the writer acts as an “expert” or as an authority and describes and explains local customs. The reader can be seen as a “learner”, whose possible questions are anticipated.

(1)-(3) present examples of Italian used in expert talk in the three genres. The foreign expressions include some inaccuracies (e.g. *gambas* for *gamberi* – shrimps) and are sometimes translated.

1. Luciana, his wife, started shrieking and waving a knife at her husband from the meat case on the other side of the store, “Egidio, if you give that poor little lamb a slice of white bread, ti **caccio gli occhi** (*I'll pluck your eyeballs out*). He hasn't pooped in two days and you know what white bread will do to you!!” Egidio immediately grabbed a whole wheat roll, doused it with a little olive oil, and handed it to my son, with the comment, “**Questo scioglie.**” (*This loosens*). [Expatriates' blogs]
2. He [*a local chef, i.e., the expert*] chooses our menu: “**crostone al lardo; gnocchi speck e carciofi; and ravioli di tartufo**. There is also codfish and **gnocchetti** with **sepia**, **tagliolini** with **radicchio** and **gambas**, and crisp **focaccia** with rosemary”. [Travel articles]
3. Water. Despite the fact that tap water is reliable throughout the country, most Italians prefer to drink bottled **acqua minerale** (mineral water). This is available either **frizzante** (sparkling) or **naturale** (still), and you will be asked in restaurants and bars which you would prefer. If you just want a glass of tap water, you should ask for *acqua dal rubinetto*, although some Italians still equate this with asking to run a glass through the toilet. [Guidebooks]

Languaging in (3) was not classified as a case of naming and translating because the author was openly acting as an expert on Italian culture, contrary to what happens in more “neutral” cases. Naming and translating consist in providing “labels” for local concepts, artefacts or dishes, and translating local place names. This function can be performed in a number of ways. Italian words and expressions can be used alongside with an English translation as in (4), (5) and (6) or they can be paraphrased as in (7) or explicitly explained as in (8) and (9). They can also occur with a familiar

¹ This might depend on the fact that most travel articles – even those published in reputable newspapers or magazines – are often written by free-lance journalists rather than by experienced staff and are generally relegated to minor sections of the publication which might not be thoroughly checked by editors.

English word referring to a comparable or equivalent entity or concept in the reader's culture as in (10), (11) and (12).

4. We have lunch in her sitting room: pasta with **cinghiale (wild boar)**, cheese and three types of wine. [Travel articles]
5. Here he joined the local virtuosos at the **casa del popolo (town's social center)** perfecting that distinctly Tuscan dramatic technique of improvised rhyming stories. [Guidebooks]
6. Rather than paying admission to each attraction, it's a good idea to pick up a pass or **joint ticket (biglietto cumulativo)** covering entry to several sites. [Guidebooks]
7. Tuscany: every Tuscan meal begins with antipasti, and **crostini (coarse liver pâté on crusty unsalted bread)** is a regional speciality; as is **bruschetta, slices of tomato on olive oil-soaked toast**. [Travel articles]
8. Most documents needed for any sort of official transaction, from renting a property to applying for a driver's license, must be presented "**in bollo**", **meaning with a tax stamp affixed**. [Expatriates' blogs]
9. If you really want to see how the Italians in rural Italy live, your best bet is to head to the nearest **sagra**. **A sagra is a festival organized by a community, either an entire town or a smaller subdivision within a larger municipality, which almost always centers around a specific food or dish**. [Expatriates' blogs]
10. [...]or perhaps you would prefer one brought to you on a tray, already cooked, accompanied by Chianti wine and **crostini (a Tuscan specialty, like the famous soups "Ribollita" and "Acqua cotta")**. [Travel articles]
11. [...] the secrets of the Vin Alto, the amber dessert wine into which Tuscans like to dunk their **cantuccini biscuits**. [Travel articles]
12. What you think of as a **bar** back home is actually more of a **neighbourhood fast-food and hang-out spot** in Italy. They do serve alcohol, but most people only stop in for a quick **panini (sandwich)** or to chat with friends. **Restaurants** come with many different names, so you might end up at a **ristorante** that's more of an **osteria**, or vice versa. [Guidebooks]

In the corpus, languaging is also found in instances of (reported) phatic communication (e.g., exchanging greetings and thanking). The writer reports situations in which specific Italian expressions are used with a pure interactional purpose. Reported phatic communication is quite common in expatriates' blogs and in travel articles but, as could be expected, no instances of this discursive environment were found in guidebooks. (13)-(16) exemplify the use of Italian phatic expressions in the corpus.

13. So, the other day I marched confidently into my doctor's office and deployed a preemptive strike before the good Doc even got out "**Buon Giorno**". [Expatriates' blogs]
14. A few turns later a friendly Italian honks a greeting as he zips past me, and I lift my left hand off the handlebars to wave to him. "**Ciao, bella,**" I call out even though the driver can't possibly hear me, and even though it is very odd to say "Hello, beautiful" to a stranger in a passing car. But these are two of the only Italian words I know and the sounds they make are wonderful. "**Ciao, bella,**" I tell a cow. [Travel articles]
15. Mr. Tognazzi cajoled, commanded, praised and reprimanded him in a rapid staccato: "**Dove?**" (Where?), "**Cos'è?**" (What is it?), "**Bravo ragazzo**" (Good boy), "**Fai la finita**" (Stop that). [Travel articles]
16. Eventually, the crowd left in a boisterous peal of **ciaos** and **arrivedercis**. We left on foot toward town. The Italians took off in their Alfas. [Travel articles]

The examples from travelogues are often inaccurate and can unveil a poor knowledge of the language on the part of the journalist as in (15). The journalist reports the expression *falla finita* (i.e., *stop that*) as *fai la finita* which is meaningless in Italian but sounds similar to the correct one and it is therefore likely to be what the journalist "heard" and jotted down in his notes. In (14) the journalist's poor understanding of Italian results in an awkward and involuntarily amusing reading

of her anecdote. The journalist, a woman, cries out “ciao bella” to an allegedly “friendly” Italian male driver who honks while passing her on the road. Her translation of what she thinks she said to him is *hello beautiful*, and this is likely to be what she had herself been called on occasions since the adjective has the morphological suffix of the feminine singular form. However, had he heard her, this comment would likely not have been very flattering for the appreciative and daring male driver!

Another extremely rare type of discursive environment in which the Italian expressions in the corpus may occur is service encounters. These cases are generally found in narrations of times when the writer had to interact with some local shop assistant, waiter, etc..

17. [...] the Italian server marches up to your table and with great economy of words barks, “**Per Antipasto? Per Primo? Per Secondo? Vino?**” [Expatriates’ blogs]

Some instances of languaging seem to be hard to place in one of the categories. These “borderline” cases are generally words which are integrated in the English text and substitute their English equivalent completely. Thus, in (18) “una bella signora” could be considered an instance of naming and describing, whereas the following use of the adjective *bella* (beautiful) appears rather to be a metalinguistic use of the term only meant to highlight a specific concept. The same complete integration of Italian words in the English text is found in (19) and (20). Languaging here does not seem to have any other function but to add authenticity and colour to the narration, with the sole exception of the use of *casa* in (20) which might be an echoic use of a previous mention of “Casa Puccini”, hence an instance of naming.

18. I have heard Alessandra Mussolini described as "**una bella signora**", the poor thing. Imagine Benito with a tacky blond wig, loud lipstick, and in drag, and you've got his granddaughter. [...] But the important thing is that at that moment in my life, I needed to hear that I was **bella**. I needed to feel **bella**. I needed to be treated **bella**. [Expatriate’s blogs]
19. We laughed as we split up the harvest, ate the semiforbidden fruit, and went our separate ways with a wave and a giggle. **Nonna** and **bambino** ventured farther into the valley while I headed back to the heart of the city.
20. We lost ourselves and each other wandering in its alleys, listened to the strains of Puccini echoing from his former **casa**, now a music school and museum, and scoffed **gelati** in the Piazza dell'Anfiteatro, one of Italy's most delightful squares.

To sum up, the functional classification of Italian words and expressions in the corpus unveils further differences within the three genres. As could be expected, the most common discursive environment of Italian expressions is naming and translating. This can be traced to the leading function of tourism materials such as guidebooks and, to a certain extent, travel articles (Dann 1996, Urry 2002, Fodde e Denti 2005, Cappelli 2006). These genres are meant to bridge two cultures and to lead tourists and readers in their discovery of the host country while, at the same time, “protecting” them by making the unknown familiar and desirable. In addition, they help them better understand the host culture by reducing the cultural gap. In expatriates’ blogs, naming and translating is often the only way to provide a more comprehensible picture of life in a foreign country, given the culture-specificity of some of the items mentioned.

Overall there are only few occurrences of (reported) expert talk, service encounters and phatic communication. In guidebooks, expert talk overlaps with naming and translating. This depends on the fact that the defining feature of guidebooks is that they are books about a destination written by experts who do not necessarily reside in the destination country. On the other hand, blogs’ and most travel articles’ authors are more or less steady guests in the host country and often place themselves on the same level as their readers. There is therefore a complex relationship between the writers and their fellow countrymen and the writers and their hosts, with whom they inevitably interact. Service encounters and expert talk are meant to report on these encounters with

“representatives” of the host country. Guidebooks on the other hand, seem to lack this “dialogic” nature, and represent rather a sort of monologue of a knowledgeable author for the benefit of his or her inexperienced reader. It is therefore no surprise that no instances of reported service encounters or phatic talk were found in this genre.

It should be noted that blogs and travel articles differ with respect to the type of phatic expressions found and to their correctness. In blogs we mostly find social routines such as greetings (e.g., *buon giorno*), generally reported in their correct form and function. In travel articles, we generally find stereotypical social routines, which might or might not have been actually heard by the journalist while in Italy and which are sometimes reported in a wrong way either in form (e.g. *fai la finita*) or in function (e.g. *ciao bella* to a man or *bravo ragazzo* to a 40 year old man).

Finally, all genres display a number of cases of Italian words that are integrated in the text for no specific reason as in (18)-(20) above. In guidebooks this phenomenon is rare and mostly limited to place and architecture terms, often found as echoic or anaphoric elements after they had already been used as names of places (e.g., “a visit to *Casa Puccini*” and, few lines later, “listened to the strains of Puccini echoing from his former *casa*”).

5. *Languaging: code mixing, language crossing, code-switching, or...?*

Languaging is a manifestation of language contact. Given the large terminological overlaps in the literature on this topic, a brief clarification of what is meant by code-mixing, code-switching, lexical borrowing and language crossing in this paper seems in order. Following Muysken (2000) “Code-mixing” is here used as a “cover term” for all those cases in which lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear side by side in one sentence (Grosjean 1982, Gumperz 1982, Muysken, 2000).

Code-switching is a type of code-mixing and it can be defined as the juxtaposition of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems within a same speech exchange or a stretch of text (Gumperz 1982), that is, as “the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event” (Muysken 2000). According to Muysken (2000), there are different processes through which code-switching is performed and the three main ones are: the insertion of material (lexical or entire constituents) from one language into the structure of another language, the alternation between structures from different languages and the congruent lexicalization of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure (Muysken 2000). Insertion is said to be similar to spontaneous lexical borrowing and it may involve single bare nouns, bare noun phrases (p.95) or adverbial phrases (p.3-5). With alternation there is a true switch from one language to the other, both in grammar and lexicon. Finally congruent lexicalization describes “a situation where the participating two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language” (p. 6) and in this sense, it is compared to style shifting and variation within a language². Despite the similarities, in Muysken’s (2000) account, code-switching is in fact distinguished from lexical borrowing, which is seen as the complete integration of lexical items in the borrowing system.

A useful tool for the discussion of code mixing in tourism material is the notion of language crossing. Language crossing is the use of the language or the linguistic variety of a group which the speaker cannot legitimately claim membership of (Rampton 1995, 1998, 1999). Jaworski *et al.* (2003:23) summarize the features of language crossing in a few points. First, language crossing

² It should be noted that Muysken’s (2000) tripartite distinction has been criticized because it might introduce unnecessary terminological innovations without adding to the general understanding of the processing regulating code mixing (Kamwangamalu 2001). Insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization would reproduce the classical distinction between code-mixing, code-switching and lexical borrowing. Muysken (2000) is not clear in this concern. Moreover, it should be noted that other specifications of what falls under the label “code-switching” have been proposed, as for instance Auer’s (1995) model which identifies four different patterns.

occurs in liminal activities which involve a suspension of every day norms (Turner 1977), and tourism can be considered one of such activities. Second, it occurs at peripheral stages of interaction which require the negotiation of the participants' status (e.g., greetings and service encounters) and in playful interaction as evidenced by many of the instances of languaging in expatriates' blogs and travelogues. Third, in language crossing the "code crosser" is generally not very proficient in the foreign language, as seems to be often the case in the corpus. Finally, contrary to code-switching, which tends to go unnoticed and unmarked, language crossing is likely to be flagged as such by the speakers/writers themselves: "it may be marked by pauses, hesitation phenomena, repetition and metalinguistic commentary" (Romaine, 1988:141). Flagging of language crossing might have the function of calling the readers' attention to the extra meaning attached to the foreign words chosen, or to the writer's choice to use them. Jaworski *et al.* (2003:23) observe that "the uses of host languages transcend their propositional meaning, their main inferential value lying in invoking the images of authenticity and exoticisation on the one hand, and familiarity and trust in a holiday destination on the other". For this reason language crossing may on occasion require extra inferential work, since the minimal relevance of the propositional meaning encoded is generally compensated by a great significance of the expressive meanings which need recovering.

The instances of languaging found in the three genres investigated exemplify different forms of code-mixing. Some of the Italian words in expatriates' blogs are cases of real lexical borrowing, they are words which have an Italian origin but which are now fully integrated in the English system and are part of the English lexicon (e.g., *espresso*, *cappuccino*, *pasta*, *vista*). They are often found with English morphology as in (21). Lexical borrowing is not as common in travel articles and guidebooks, yet it can be found.

21. I mean, I live in Italy. Not Milan, Italy. Umbria, Italy. A slow place. A lingering over **cappuccinos** in the morning place. A three hour lunch place. A napping all afternoon place. [Expatriates' blogs]
22. Afterward we rewarded ourselves with a lunch of **fettuccini** with truffles or roast pork with crispy skin. [Travel articles]
23. A fabulous bakery - very high quality. The bread is excellent. Also **biscotti** and other bakery things. [Travel articles]

Code-switching seems quite frequent in expats' blogs, but no instances of it were found in either travelogues or guidebooks. (24) exemplifies a case of alternation in a quotation, followed by a translation and (25) presents a case of congruent lexicalization in the body of the text.

24. "Egidio, if you give that poor little lamb a slice of white bread, **ti caccio gli occhi**" (I'll pluck your eyeballs out). [Expatriates' blogs]
25. The worst that can happen is that you are politely told no, and the best is that you find yourself with extra **gelato** money at the end of the day. [Expatriates' blogs]

Language crossing is by far the most common form of code mixing and is generally flagged via punctuation or meta-comments as in (26). The writer often admits that he has not mastered the language as in (27). In guidebooks most instances of languaging represent examples of explicit language crossing, generally following more or less closely an instance of naming or translating as in (28) and (29):

26. Even if you want to put up an index card at the local grocer's to try and sell your used skis, the thing has to have a "**bollo**" on it. [Expatriates' blogs]
27. I had no idea what they were saying and simply answered "**quarrenti anni**", 40 years, hoping they were asking how old it was. [Travel articles]
28. [...] treasures that once adorned the Duomo, baptistry and **campanile**. [Guidebooks]
29. [...] a broad range of creamy **gelati**. [Guidebooks]

There are however some cases in the three genres when the writer intersperses the text with Italian words without introducing them beforehand and which are difficult to classify. This is quite common in expats' blogs: (25) above is an example. These cases were classified as instances of insertion. However, some cases can also be found in the more informal travelogues as in (30) and, although rarely, in guidebooks as in (31):

30. **Nonna** and **bambino** ventured farther into the valley while I headed back to the heart of the city. [Travel articles]
31. Higher penalties hit repeating offenders and those who light up in the presence of pregnant women, lactating mothers and **bambini** under 12. [Guidebooks]

As is evident, classifying the instances of languaging in the corpus in a clear-cut way was often difficult, especially the cases of lexical borrowing and congruent lexicalization. All the words which are steadily part of the English lexicon and have no English alternative were classified as lexical borrowing. The cases in which Italian words substituted their English equivalent were classified as cases of congruent lexicalization or of language crossing when the substitution was clearly voluntary and somehow flagged.

This difficulty in the classification of data derives from the very nature of language-mixing itself, which, rather than being made up of unitary and clearly identifiable phenomena seems rather to be a sort of "continuum". This is a debated issue in the literature, and some scholars have highlighted how code-switching is a "fuzzy-edged concept" which "should be viewed as an analyst construct rather than as an observable fact. It is a product of our conceptualisation about language contact and language mixing, and it is not separable, either ideologically or in practice from borrowing, interference or pidginisation" (Gardner-Chloros 1995:70).

5.1. Can a continuum in the data analyzed be identified?

The classification of the instances of languaging in the corpus according to their topic, to their discursive environment and to the type of code-mixing phenomena that they represent seem to unveil clear differences between the three genres of tourism discourse. These latter are ideally placeable on a continuum ranging from a quite formal genre, i.e. guidebooks, to a very informal one, i.e. blogs. Guidebooks are clearly the most formalized genre: the authors are authorities but on occasion, they can become fellow travelers. Travelogues represent the middle ground. They are less formal, divulgative material whose author, despite acting as an authority in the field, generally takes on the role of "Every Tourist" (Jaworski *et al.* 2003). Finally, expats' blogs are personal journals which display a low level of formality and which wish to present the experience of those who chose the total immersion in the host culture. Expatriates' blogs are a bridge between three worlds: the homeland, the host country and the expats' community who lives in between those two worlds (Cappelli 2008).

This progression is mirrored by the ideal continuum represented by borrowing, code-switching and code-crossing to the extreme of the mere display of "erudition". Lexical borrowing can be seen as the final stage of code-mixing, in that it involves lexical items which can be now rightfully considered to be part of the English lexicon. Borrowings are therefore found in all the three genres, but whereas in blogs they are quite varied given the need of the writers to mention many cultural-specific items for which no other word but the Italian one exists, articles and guidebooks tend to avoid lexical borrowing or to choose the most obvious and inevitable items (e.g. *espresso*, *pizza*). Real code-switching is only found in expatriates' blogs, as could be expected, given that expatriates are the only ones who actually live in the host country and therefore have a higher exposition to the language. What's more, blogs being the most informal genre, authors can afford to exert a lower control over their style and be more colloquial and spontaneous in their writing. Most occurrences of Italian in the three genres, however, appears to be a case of voluntary

language crossing, which is the form of language contact which requires the least knowledge and the lowest interaction with the everyday language.

6. The function of languaging in tourism discourse

The analysis of languaging in the corpus shows that guidebooks, travel articles and expatriates' blogs differ minimally in terms of the domains to which the Italian words belong. However they differ in the discursive environments in which these words and expressions are used, and in the processes of code-mixing that are at work. These differences lead to hypothesize 4 main functions of languaging in tourism discourse, which are variably prominent in the different genres.

Languaging adds some local linguistic flavour to the experience of the writer. In expats' blog language mixing contributes to the expression of pragmatic meaning, in a way akin to Cortese and Hymes's (2001) definition. The ability to pass freely from English to Italian helps expatriates define their "linguistic sense of place" and to "position" themselves "within the repertory of customary practices of the local culture" (Cortese and Hymes 2001:194). This ability to switch between languages also seems to be iconic of their ability to switch between cultures and places. In travelogues, language mixing helps the writer to become a sort of "role model" for his readers. It shows that language is not a barrier, and that on the contrary it can help the tourist to mingle with the locals. Even in this case, affect and memory play a crucial role: many cases of languaging in travelogues seem indeed to be instances of "language rooted in memory" (Cortese and Hymes 2001:199). Finally, in guidebooks, language mixing contributes to fire imagination (Dann 1996).

Languaging gives authenticity to the destinations and to the episodes described by creating a sort of "linguascape" that contributes to the multi-sensory nature of tourism discourse (Dann 1996). This is equally true in the three genres. In expats' blogs and travelogues languaging helps the collocation of the writer within the scene that he or she describes. In guidebooks, languaging prepares the readers for the linguascape that he or she will find at the destination (Fodde and Denti 2005).

Languaging reduces the cultural gap between the two cultures by providing translations or paraphrases for cultural-specific linguistic elements and concepts (especially in guidebooks), thus making the "exotic" more familiar (Cronin 2000) and the contact with the local language a ludic experience. This aspect is particularly relevant in the case of travelogues and expats' blogs, where languaging is sometimes found with metalinguistic comments referring to some aspect of the host country or to some more or less amusing side of being a foreigner in Italy. Because living in a country may on occasion be less positive than simply visiting it as a tourist, in expats' blogs, languaging is sometimes used to emphasize the cultural gap and to allow the reader to experience the difficulty of closing that gap through the writer's words. In such cases, pragmatic meanings prevail over propositional meanings and the Italian elements tend to perform an expressive function.

Finally, languaging can act as *in-grouping* or – but only in the case of code-switching - as *out-grouping* device. Italian is used to draw the boundaries between the "self" (the community of actual or implied English-speaking tourists/expatriates) and the "other" (Italians, the locals), by underlining similarities and differences. Sometimes the use of the local language, especially when the difficulty of mastering it is highlighted, can bring the author closer to his or her readers. On other occasions, when an Italian word or expression is used without translation or any other previous mention it can become a way to separate those who belong to the inner circle of the locals or experts and those who are just simple lurkers or "tourists". Thus, in guidebooks, languaging can be used to reaffirm one's national identity away from home (Jaworski *et al.* 2003) or the authoritative status of the writer. In travelogues languaging can help create a bond between the writer as a role model and the readers versus the host culture. Finally, in expats' blogs, languaging

ends up mirroring the complex relation with compatriots, with the host country and with the other expatriates, whose identity is defined by “not being”, as they are neither tourists nor locals³.

7. Conclusions

Languaging is a pervasive phenomenon in tourism discourse. The present article intended to show that, despite the limited range of the phenomenon, its investigation can contribute to the definition of the specificities of different tourism genres. This case study also intended to provide support to the hypothesis that linguistic choices indeed play a fundamental role in tourism (Dann 1996), a fact that has only just started to arouse the interest of linguistic research. Dann (1996) highlighted that tourism is grounded in discourse: guidebook, travelogue, and blog writers, as model tourists/travellers, certainly feed back into such discourse (Cappelli 2006, Cappelli 2008). They build images, expectations, and stereotypes (Margarito 2000) and contribute to the creation of discourse communities, thus favouring language mixing and variation.

Because of the importance of the non-propositional expressive meanings, languaging in tourism discourse, just like humour (Cappelli 2008), also appears to pragmatically contribute to the definition of travellers' identities and of categories of travellers, whom the different genres seem to address. By acting as in-grouping and out-grouping devices, linguistic choices seem to create an ideal gradable scale of “being-a-person-who-travels”, ranging from the lowest rank, the “hop-on-hop-off tourist” (i.e. the ideal target of guidebooks), to the highest level, the expatriate (expats' blog), via the intermediate ranks of travellers and “seasonal residents” (i.e., the target and the authors of travelogues).

³ See Cappelli (2008) for a discussion of how linguistic choices in tourism discourse can help build different categories of travelers and different traveler identities.

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