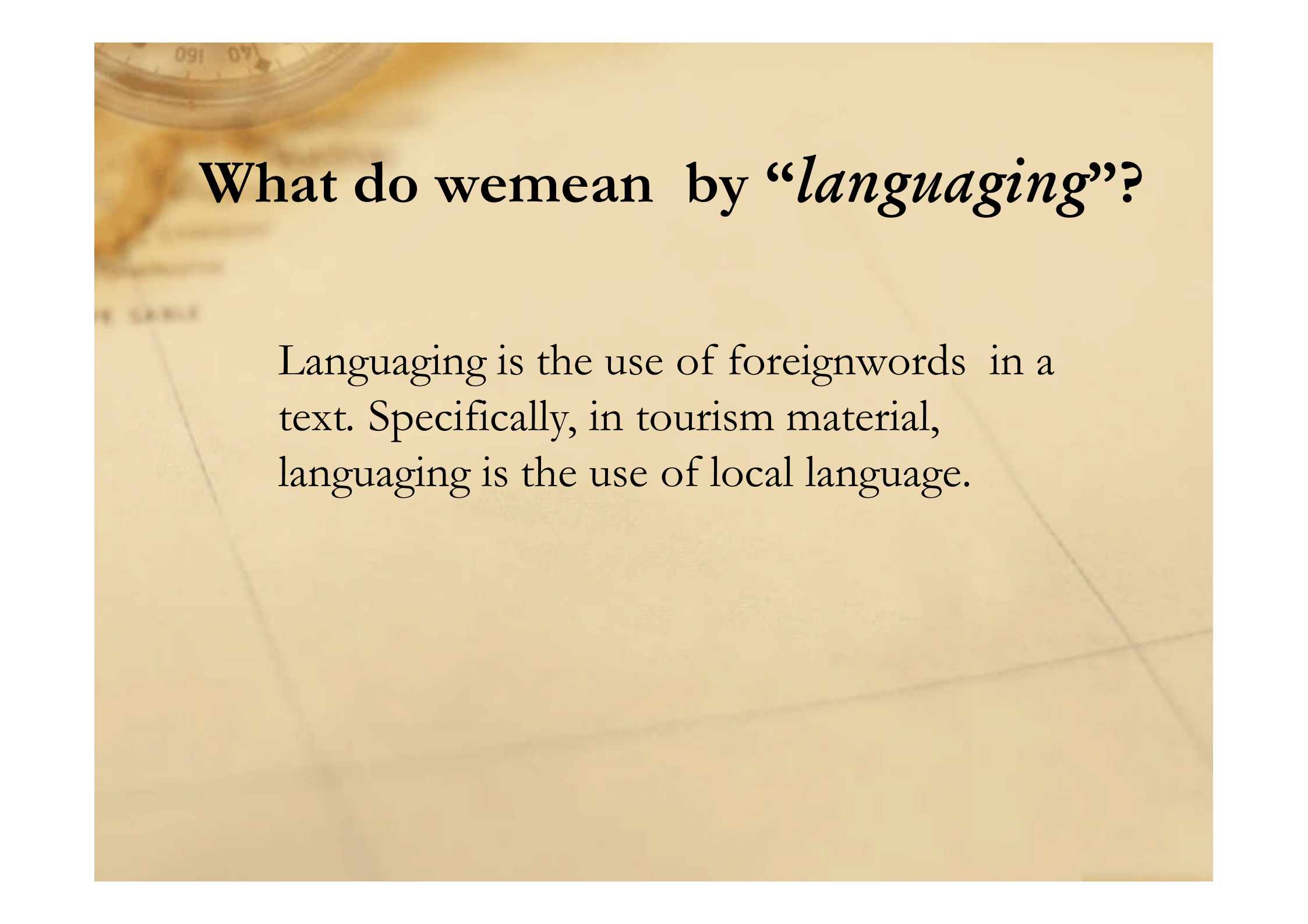


Travellingwords:
Langaging inEnglish
tourismdiscourse.

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What do we mean by “*linguaging*”?

Linguaging is the use of foreign words in a text. Specifically, in tourism material, linguaging is the use of local language.

What do we mean by “*linguaging*”?

- Cortese and Hymes (2001)

Linguaging is essentially “giving voice” to one’s own identity in a specific social context.

It is the “rooting of the psychological and moral individual in the local social dimension”

What do we mean by “*linguaging*”?

[...] “*linguaging*” as the discursive negotiation of cultural difference *qua* sociolinguistic difference, interpersonal and intergroup, as well as intrapersonal and intragroup.

What do we mean by “*linguaging*”?

Potter (1970):

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.

Boyer and Viallon (1994)

Use of foreign words to provide local colour or to flatter the pseudo-linguistic abilities of the reader.

What do we mean by “*linguaging*”?

Dann (1996)

Extension of Potter’s (1970)

Linguaging 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.

“The use of particular expressions shared by writer and reader, with their occasional poetic treatment, can be both ego-enhancing and memory sustaining”.

Aims of this case study

- To investigate languaging in a small corpus of English tourist materials with focus on three written genres:
 - guidebooks
 - expatriates' blogs
 - travel articles or travelogues
- To evidence the fundamental role of language in tourism (Dann 1996) and to present cases of Italian-English language crossing in tourism discourse and their functions.

Organization of the case study

- 1) Classification of the instances of languaging according to their topic
- 2) Classification of the instances of languaging according to the discursive environment in which they occur
- 3) Language crossing, code switching, borrowing?
- 4) Functions of languaging in tourism discourse.

The Corpus

472,754 running words :

- Expatriates' blog : 38,458
- Travel articles : 164,439
- Guidebooks : 269,857

All texts published between 2003-2007.

Italian words in English expats' blogs

8 main categories:

- Food and drink
- Everyday life
- Objects
- Quotations
- Places
- Qualities
- People
- Social routines

Italian words in English expats' blogs

- Food and drink:

*Antipasti, antipasto, **riso in bianco**,
cappuccino, cappuccinos, esprso,
espressos, **gelato**, pasta, **primi**,
primo, ricotta, secondo, tagliatelle,
torta, vino.*

Italian words in English expats' blogs

- Everyday life:

anticipo telefonate, bollo, lire, passo carrabile, sagra, sagre.

- Objects:

cotto, Folletto, Bel Paese, salsa, soprannome, terracotta, vista.

Italian words in English expats' blogs

- Quotations:

un po' fa, disse l'uomo mentre che faceva la pipì nel mare

ti caccio gli occhi

perché sei una bella ragazza

sessantamila

vuoi dire un...?

scioglie, sciogliere, sciogliono, stringe

Italian words in English expats' blogs

- Places:

*agriturismo, **corso**, villa*

- Qualities:

bella, cornuto, mammone

Italian words in English expats' blogs

- Social routines:

Buon giorno

- People

mamma, nonno, signora

Italian words in English travelogues

9 main categories :

- Food and drink
- People
- Places
- **Architecture**
- Quotations
- Objects
- Everyday life
- Qualities
- Social routines

Italian words in English travelogues

Food and drink:

*acqua cotta, antica cucina elbana, antipasti, antipasto, piatti assortiti, biscotti, bistecca alla fiorentina, bresaola, brunellos, bruschetta, prosecco, campari, camparis, cantucci, cantuccini, carciofi, carpaccio, carta da musica, cicorielle, cinghiale, prima colazione, colonatta, crespolino, crostini, crostone, espresso, faro, fettuccini, **fettunta**, focaccia, fritto misto, frutti di mare, gallina livornese, gamberoni, gelato, gelati, gnocchetti con sepia, gnocchi, granita, grappa, lasagne, linguine, pancetta, panna cotta, pappardelle, parmigiano, pasta, pecorino, pesto, piatti assortiti, piatto, pici, polenta, radicchio, ravioli, ricotta, risotto, salami, salatini, vin santo, scampi, schiuma, semolina, sepia, sorbetto, tagliatellini, tagliolini, tartufo, telline, tortellini, vongole, **zabaglione**.*

Italian words in English travelogues

People:

americani, bambini, bambino, capos, carabinieri, conoscenti, escursionisti esteri, guardia di finanza, mafia, mamma, nonna or nonna, paesano, paparazzi, pentiti, ragazzi, bravo ragazzo, signora, stranieri.

Italian words in English travelogues

Places:

casa, creta, gelateria, osteria, pensione, pizzeria, pizzerias, rifugio, rifugios, rivieras, riviera, studio, trattoria, vaticano, villa.

Architecture:

campaniles, cappella, cattedrale, cupola, duomo, fortezza, palazzi, palazzo, pergola, piazza, piazzas.

Italian words in English travelogues

Quotations:

quarrenti anni

basta

ciao bella

cos'è?

dove?

*Il integrismo non è lontano – abbiamo il
Vaticano*

mamma mia

piano piano

Italian words in English travelogues

Objects:

medaglie d'oro, pedalos, putti, steccato, vista.

Everyday life:

autostrada, dolce vita, bella figura, passeggiata, pennichella, sagra



Italian words in English travelogues

Qualities:

bravo, al dente.

Social routines:

ciao and arrivederci.



Italian words in English guidebooks

11 main categories:

- Food and drink
- Places
- Architecture
- Events
- People
- **Art**
- **Plants and animals**
- Objects
- Qualities
- **History**
- Everyday life

Italian words in English guidebooks

Food and drink:

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.

Italian words in English guidebooks

Places:

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.



Italian words in English guidebooks

Architecture:

*battistero, borgo, abbazia, campanile,
cupola, fortezza, loggia, loggias,
palazzo, palazzi, piazza, piazzale,
piazze, pozzo, rocca.*

Italian words in English guidebooks

Events:

carnevale, festa, fiestas, sagra.

People:

bambini, mafia, mamma, ragazzi.

Art:

crocifissione, santi angeli.

Plants and animals:

pino marittimo.

Italian words in English guidebooks

Objects:

biglietto.

Qualities:

ben caldo.

History:

medievale.

Everyday life:

coperto.



Some preliminary observations

- **Languaging in Expats' talk:** cultural gap, everyday interaction with the locals and the local culture.
- **Languaging in travelogues:** contact with the local culture (e.g., food and drink) but mostly words which are connected with stereotypes about Italy and Italians, and routines.
- **Languaging in guidebooks:** mostly words that might be useful to tourists.

The most common discursive environments of Italian words in the corpus

The majority of the data can be classified according to the discursive environment in which they occur in the three genres:

- expert talk
- naming and translating
- phatic communication

(Jaworski *et al.* 2003)

The primary discursive environments of Italian words in the corpus

Expert Talk:

explanations, instructions, etc.

Data occurring in contexts in which the writer acts as an 'expert' or as an authority and describes and explains local customs. The reader becomes a learner, whose possible questions are anticipated.

Examples of expert talkin expat'sblogs

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*). Now, part of this whole bowel obsession is that every Italian (on the face of the Earth, not just Italy) has a mental catalogue of all existing foodstuffs, each of which is assigned to one of two categories: those which **stringono** (*tighten*) and those which **sciogliono** (*loosen*). Really. I think it is part of the required elementary school curriculum.

Examples of expert talk in expat's blogs

[...] the Italian server marches up to your table and with great economy of words barks, "**Per Antipasto? Per Primo? Per Secondo? Vino?**"

Examples of expert talkin travelogues

He 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”.

Examples of expert talking guidebooks?

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.

The primary discursive environments of Italian words in the corpus

Naming and translating:

providing “labels” for local concepts, artefacts or dishes, translating local place names.

Data occurring in contexts in which the Italian word is used alongside with the English translation.

Naming and translating in expats' blogs

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**.

Naming and translating in expats' blogs

I find it interesting that the most offensive curses in English have to do with sex, and the most offensive in Italian, religion (followed closely by "**cornuto**", or the **word for cuckolded**, but I have to say that I hear that one less and less.)

Naming and translating in expats' blogs

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.**

Naming and translating in travelogues

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**.

[...] 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")**.



Naming and translating in travelogues

[...] the secrets of the Vin Alto, the amber dessert wine into which Tuscans like to dunk their **cantuccini biscuits**.

We have lunch in her sitting room: pasta with **cinghiale (wild boar)**, cheese and three types of wine.



Naming and translating in guidebooks

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.

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.

Naming and translating in guidebooks

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.

The primary discourse environments of Italian words in the corpus

Phatic communication:

exchanging greetings, thanking, etc.

Data occurring in contexts in which the writer reports situations in which he or she used specific expressions with a pure interactional purpose.

Phaticcommunication in expats' talk

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**".

Phaticcommunication in expats' talk

My husband's word, or phrase I should say, is sixty thousand. I know, it's weird in English, but in Italian it really does glide off the tongue quite gratifyingly ... **sessssSANTAMEEEEEIIIIa!!!**. When he starts going on about how the phone must have rung **sessantamila** times in the past half hour, or how that new dent in the car is going to cost at least **sessantamila** big ones to fix, or how he must have told so-and-so **sessantamila** times such-and-such, it means it is only a matter of minutes before we have a total meltdown on our hands and he starts bringing out the power tools.

Phaticcommunication in travelogues

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.

Phaticcommunication in travelogues

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).

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.

Another discursive environment of Italian words in the corpus

Another possible function is **Service encounters**:

Data occurring in contexts in which the writer tells a story in which he or she had to interact with some local shop assistant, etc.

Extremely rare.

[...] the Italian server marches up to your table and with great economy of words barks, "**Per Antipasto? Per Primo? Per Secondo? Vino?**"

Some borderline cases

Cases in which Italian words are integrated in the English text and substitute the English “equivalent”.

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**.

Some borderline cases

I have found that it never hurts to ask if there is a possibility of a small discount. 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.

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.

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.

Summing up...

The **most common discourse environment** of Italian words in the three genres is **naming and translating**.

Naming and translating seems to be the only reason why languaging is used in guidebooks.

Overall, there are only a few occurrences of service encounters and of expert talk.

There are no occurrences of phatic talk or service encounters in guidebooks.



Summing up...

All genres display a number of cases of Italian words that are integrated in the text.

In guidebooks this phenomenon is rare and limited to place and architecture terms, often found after they had already been used as names of places.

Langaging: code mixing, language crossing, code -switching, or ...?

Langaging is a manifestation of **language contact**.

Large terminological overlaps in the literature.

Code mixing: cover term for all those cases in which lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence.

(Gumperz 1982, Muysken, 2000)

Langaging: code mixing, language crossing, code -switching, or ...?

Code switching: the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange or passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical system or subsystems (Gumperz 1982); the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event (Muysken, 2000).

- **Insertion** of material (lexical or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language.
- **Alternation** between structures from languages
- **Congruent lexicalization** of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure.

Langaging:code mixing, language crossing,code -switching,or ...?

Code switching is different from **lexical borrowing** (complete integration in the borrowing system).

Language crossing: the use of a language or variety of a group which the speaker cannot legitimately claim membership of (Rampton 1995, 1998, 1999; Jaworski *et al.* 2003).

Langaging: code mixing, language crossing, code -switching, or ...?

Language crossing:

- occurs in liminal activities which involve suspension of every day norms
- occurs at peripheral stages of interaction requiring negotiation of participants' status
- occurs in playful interaction
- is likely to be flagged as such (contrary to code switching)
- requires extra inferential work because the uses of the “second” language generally transcend its propositional meaning
- characterized by minimal proficiency of “code crosser”.
- minimal propositional meaning, great significance of expressive meaning.

Languaging in the corpus

Expats' talk:

- A few cases of **borrowing** (espresso, cappuccino, pasta, vista), often with English morphology (espressos, cappuccinos).

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.

- numerous instances of **code crossing**

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.

Languaging in the corpus

Expats' talk:

- numerous instances of **code switching**
 - In quotations, with translation (*alternation*):
"Egidio, if you give that poor little lamb a slice of white bread, **ti caccio gli occhi**" (I'll pluck your eyeballs out).
 - In the text (*insertion*):
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.

Languaging in the corpus

Travelogues:

- A few cases of **borrowing** (espresso, pasta, fettuccini, biscotti):

Afterward we rewarded ourselves with a lunch of **fettuccini** with truffles or roast pork with crispy skin.

A fabulous bakery - very high quality. The bread is excellent. Also **biscotti** and other bakery things.

Languaging in the corpus

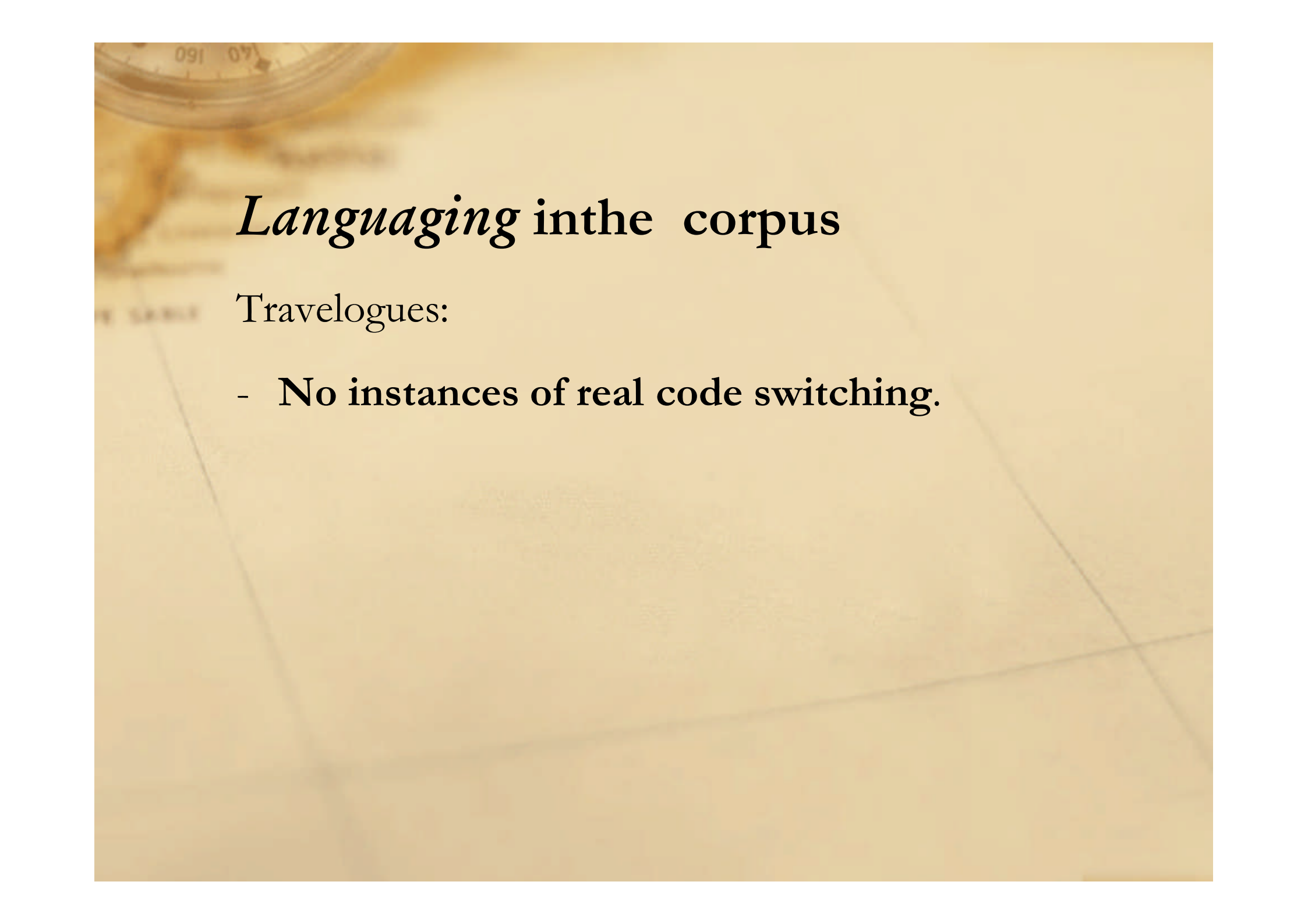
Travelogues:

- A large number of cases of **code crossing**, often with mistakes:

I had no idea what they were saying and simply answered "**quarrenti anni**", 40 years, hoping they were asking how old it was.

Nonna and **bambino** ventured farther into the valley while I headed back to the heart of the city.

Meanwhile, the **cognoscenti** are converging on the less-trampled truffle paths around the sleepy village of San Giovanni d'Asso



Langaging in the corpus

Travelogues:

- **No instances of real code switching.**

Languaging in the corpus

Guidebooks:

- Very few cases of **borrowing**
- No cases of real **code switching**
- **Most** instances of languaging represent examples of explicit **language crossing**, generally following an instance of **naming or translating**:
[...] treasures that once adorned the Duomo, baptistry and **campanile**.
[...] a broad range of creamy **gelati**.

Languating in the corpus

Some **borderline cases** in the three genres, when the writer intersperses the text with Italian words **without introducing them beforehand.**

This is very common in **expats' talk**, and can be found in the more informal travelogues (e.g. nonna and bambino) and, although rarely, in guidebooks:

Higher penalties hit repeating offenders and those who light up in the presence of pregnant women, lactating mothers and **bambini** under 12.

Langaging:code mixing, language crossing,code -switching,or ...?

“Code switching 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-Cloros 1995)

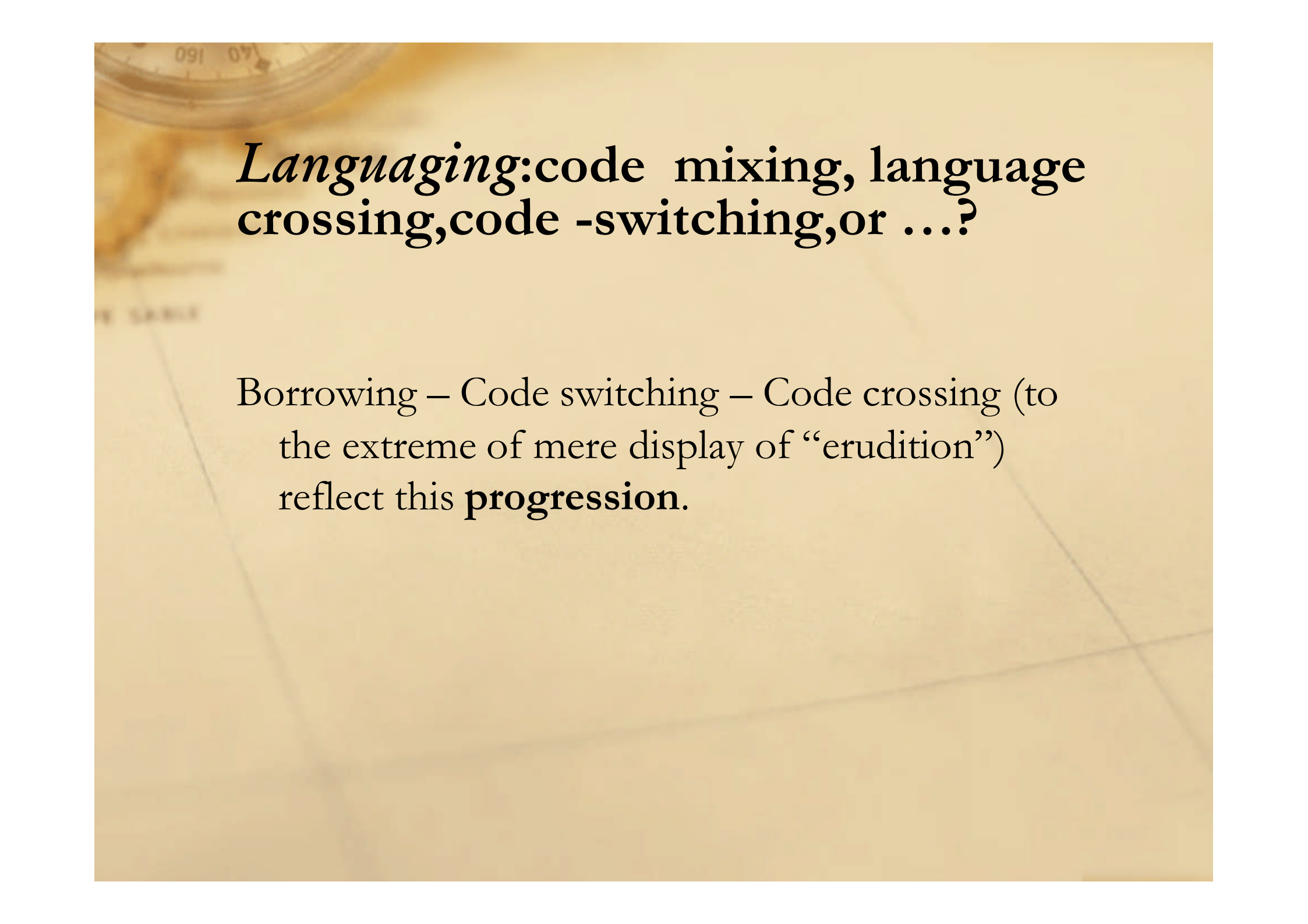
Language: code mixing, language crossing, code -switching, or ...?

Can we hypothesize a continuum?

Guidebooks are the most **formalized** genre, the authors are **authorities** but on occasion, they become fellow travelers.

Travelogues are **less formal** divulgative materials, in which the author is an authority in the field by reason of his or her status of “**Every Tourist**” (Jaworski *et al.* 2003)

Expats’ blogs: personal journals, **low level of formality**, total **immersion** in the host culture, **bridge** between two worlds.



Langaging:code mixing, language crossing,code -switching,or ...?

Borrowing – Code switching – Code crossing (to the extreme of mere display of “erudition”) reflect this **progression**.

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

The genres differ minimally in terms of the domains to which the Italian words belong.

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.

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

1) 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 of languaging.

In travelogues, language mixing helps the writer to become a sort of 'role model' for his readers.

In guidebooks, language mixing fires imagination (Dann 1996).

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

2) 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.

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.

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

3) Languaging **reduces the cultural gap** between the two cultures by providing translations or paraphrases for cultural-specific linguistic elements and concepts (**guidebooks**), thus making the “exotic” more **familiar** (Cronin 2000) and the contact with the local language a **ludic experience** (travelogues and expats’ blogs – sometimes metalinguistic comments).

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

In expats' blogs, languaging is sometimes used to highlight the cultural gap and to allow the reader to experience through the writer's words the difficulty of closing that gap. (Expressive function, pragmatic meanings).

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

4) Languaging acts as *in-grouping* or *out-grouping* device (just as code switching). It 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.

The functions of languaging in tourism discourse

In guidebooks: to reaffirm national identity away from home.

In travelogues: to create a bond between the writer as a role model and the readers vs. the host culture.

In expats' blogs: complex relation with compatriots, host country and other expatriates (neither tourists nor locals).

Tourism is grounded in discourse

- Writers, as model tourists, **feed back into tourism discourse**. They build images, expectations, stereotypes. They contribute to the creation of discourse communities thus favouring language variation.
- Languaging in tourism discourse, just like humour, seems to pragmatically create an **ideal gradable scale of “being-a-person-who-travels”**, ranging from the lowest rank, the “hop-on-hop-off tourist” (guidebooks), to the highest level, the expatriate (expats’ blog), via the intermediate ranks of travellers and “seasonal residents” (travelogues).

A vintage map with a compass rose in the top left corner. The map is aged and yellowed, with faint lines and text visible. The compass rose shows numbers like 091 and 07. The word 'TABLE' is partially visible on the left side of the map.

Grazie!

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