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ELF Users' Attitudes and Orientations in Tourism Interaction

Abstract

Tourism English is an interesting domain of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research because it can provide sociocultural, discursive, and sociolinguistic insights into a kind of professional genre that has not been extensively researched within or under the ELF branch of Applied Linguistics so far.

The proposed investigation involves some tourist industry service providers and tourists interacting for a variety of reasons (e.g. leisure, culture, entertainment, sport, cuisine, etc.) in order to probe their orientations and attitudes towards the use of English as a Multilingua Franca (Jenkins 2015). Adopting a poststructuralist approach and drawing upon the ethnographic interviews taken from among 27 participants in a study conducted in Italy, I explore evidence of participants' consciousness of intercultural accommodation and attitudes towards multilingual resources in ELF encounters (Cogo 2016). Moreover, I scrutinise their cognizance of the strategic potential of pragmatic resources to enable them to achieve effectiveness in communication and overcome cultural characterizations (Baker 2011; 2012; 2015).

This article has the additional capacity to provide more information concerning the perspectives of employees within Italy's tourist industry, along with tourists themselves, toward the multicultural use of English as a Lingua Franca.

Keywords: *multilingual resources in ELF, intercultural accommodation, speakers' attitudes, tourism English, interactional sociolinguistics*

1. Introduction

A recent stream of sociolinguistic enquiry converges upon speakers' orientation toward emerging communicative resources co-constructed and shared in the community, which can nevertheless disclose some ideological bias in language use and identity characterisations. Undoubtedly, this fact can reveal culturally marked choices in language performance.

As a matter of fact, the tourist industry is a key sector, where the use of intercultural communication among language users can be observed. In fact, interaction is enhanced for the specific purpose of conducting business of tourism.

In accordance with this "sociolinguistics of globalisation" (Blommaert 2010, 197) where "[t]he fundamental image of language shifts from a static, totalized, and immobile one to a dynamic,

fragmented and mobile one." Wilson's (2018) evidence of *in situ* interaction among tourism stakeholders, highlights the clear trend of prioritising the establishment and maintenance of "common ground" (Stalnaker 2002) among users. His small corpus of recorded natural-occurring conversations, MITo (Wilson 2016), offers a snapshot of face-to-face interaction for the specific purpose of international tourism. In this context, as any occurrence of language practice, ELF interaction is a social act, and therefore it carries implications for the personal involvement of participants in their immanent arrangements, correlating physically and psychologically with their entertained preconceptions and reception of societal norms, constructs and meanings. All in all, qualitative data-analysis shows that co-construction of meaning, repetition and reformulation clarify the process of utterance building in transactional conversations. In other words, the strategy of engaging in collaborative work, through different turns on the level of discourse, helps the display of shared background knowledge that allows the establishment of a common ground.

Further support to the notion that communicative practice in tourist ELF is highly context-bound is provided by Jaroensak and Saraceni (2019), who observed the nature of the tourist encounters highlighting their brevity and practical essence. On the whole, speakers' focus was transactional, whereas interactional encounters also occurred. Although findings mainly concentrate on phonological and lexicogrammatical features, the clear trend is finalising communication attaining meaning. Erstwhile, making and negotiating meaning, rather than producing English standard forms in these types of lingua franca situations, have already emerged in other ASEAN ELF (Kirkpatrick 2010a) studies. By the end of the investigation, results endorse this paper premise confining effectiveness of communication to work-related purposes despite users' grass-root level of English.

Remarkably, Guido, Errico and Iaia's study (2017) provides evidence of: (1) how situated practices and contextual values, judgements, and dispositions correlate, (2) how they are performed, (3) how they may show a discernible bias in accordance with spatial/temporal factors and the speaker. Namely, in the context of responsible-tourist market, they record encounters among African migrants, who speak their own nativized outer-circle ELF variations, conversing with tourists playing the role of 'intercultural mediators' speaking expanding-circle ELF variations. The analysis reveals power asymmetries through ELF. Although mediators are non-native speakers of English, their linguacultural schemata are still deeply pervaded by a dominating dichotomy between the prestigious model of language use, represented by NS-use, and the discriminated NNSs non-standard variation. Consequently, the migrants' native pragmalinguistic and socio-cultural behaviours to their use of ELF is perceived as formally

'deviant' and pragmatically 'marked' by western users, who reveal a certain linguistic mystification influencing their attitude towards their interlocutors.

In sum, misunderstanding is caused by schematic divergences which result in accommodation failure leading to an unsatisfactory communication. Conversely, tourists should have developed accommodation strategies that endorse social practices to promote a "co-construction of a just and ethical intercultural action" (Guido 2009, 139).

In accordance with this perspective some studies provide an overview of language attitudes and orientations in ELF interaction. For instance, Jenkins states that "people tend to evaluate language varieties in a hierarchical manner" (2007, 70). This causes a direct impact of standard language ideology on attitudes toward speakers' language use (their accent, in particular). It is striking that English speakers are compelled to refer to NS norms denoting any non-standard uses of English as derogatory (Cogo 2012): an attitude that stood out particularly strongly to researchers.

A more sensitive and receptive disposition towards ELF is recorded among multilingual Erasmus communities of practice in numerous settings in Europe. Research (Peckham et al. 2012; Kalocsai 2009) highlighted the use of creativity as a pragmatic strategy to achieve communicative efficiency, rather than any distinctive inclination toward grammaticality and NS ideology among users.

Cogo (2010) investigated young multilingual participants' ELF perceptions in the UK. Her study revealed the manner in which the negotiation and expansion of meaning and its co-construction were core components of their use of English as a lingua franca. Moreover, participants who were continually exposed to situations of linguistic and cultural diversity were shown to entertain sympathy for the ELF paradigm, which reportedly played a significant role in their identity construction. That is to say, participants' use of English was oriented toward the satisfaction of their own communicative purposes and to display creatively their identities.

It is commonly underlined that research in the field seeks to reveal the conscious and unconscious prejudices second-language learners entertain of native English speakers from around the world (McKenzie 2016; Jenkins 2007). From the point of view of sociolinguistics, standard language ideology can crucially influence language policy in contexts in which very different linguacultural backgrounds are involved (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003). Especially in domain-specific contexts attuned to the cognitive and communicative processes involved in the production and reception of discourses in ELF, language users still suffer severe assessments of their "'performance' varieties that should look to Britain or North America for their norms" (Jenkins 2007, 33).

As has been demonstrated by empirical studies of intercultural communication through ELF, identity is as relevant an issue in ELF as in any other form of communication. In fact, a growing number of studies in this area have recurrently substantiated ways in which speakers may perform a variety of different identities through ELF. Regardless of a marginal group of scholars who describe ELF as culture and identity neutral, assuming a certain essentialist interpretation of identity correlating it to world nation-state borders, a preponderant number of ELF researchers have a poststructuralist and post-modernist perspective on identity. This point of view has revealed ELF users utilising English to create and index multiple identities (Baker 2015; 2011; 2009). Thus, generating some tensions between participants' L1 cultural-national identities and the pull of 'native speaker ideologies,' and this chiefly in ELF practice, which predominantly associates the use of English with Anglophone nations and cultures (Cogo 2012). On the other hand, recent ELF studies have highlighted how participants construct their identities within the prominent multilingual and multicultural nature of ELF communication as multilingual users. Their reference to culture does not imply any specific ethnic heritage or societal identification, but identity is acknowledged as a more fluid and liminal human condition constructed from different personal and group experiences. At other times, ELF users have adapted and adopted the role of mediators, being 'in-between' cultures and different identities, in situations of intercultural communication.

By analysing interview data (Irvine 2002), it has emerged that the way speakers refer to language or try to describe it—i.e. through metalanguage—provides evidence of normative beliefs, thus clarifying an individual's specific social position on conceptualising language norms. From the point of view of the notion of language regulation, interlocutors can provide a socially situated representation rather than a straightforward description of community norms. In these terms, language is generally evaluated in relation to the context of use or its illocutionary force. This course of action is able to clarify the user's purpose in producing that utterance. Results in ELF studies (Hynninen and Solin 2017; Hynninen 2016; Kalocsai 2014) reveal that speakers evaluate the relevance of language norms in relation to the setting of the interaction and its participants. This kind of research raises the issue of what kind of English could be perceived as socially advantageous and functional for the purpose of influencing, in some ways, the regulatory practices of speakers (see Wang 2013).

Adding this social perspective to both language norms, ELF can provide a better understanding of the concept of normativity in English as a Lingua Franca.

In summary, ELF research needs to give prominence to contextual, relational, and indexical factors arising out of human social sensitivity, language, and behaviour because it investigates

those "semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010, 21). In fact, through ELF, language users are enabled to express cultural and personal values, even revealing inequality and inequity among people to the international public, thus casting light on their real-life conditions that might facilitate a process of self-revelation and rights acquisition among those who belong to minority groups.

2. Methodology

This paper is concerned with the participation of some tourist industry's stakeholders in a touring experience in the Calabria region of Italy (Fig. 1). The group were interacting for reasons of leisure, culture, entertainment and/or business. As a matter of fact, English played a central role in their interactions, having been selected as the lingua franca for conducting their business in the tourism context. Consequently, they were asked about their attitudes and orientations towards ELF communication in tourism.

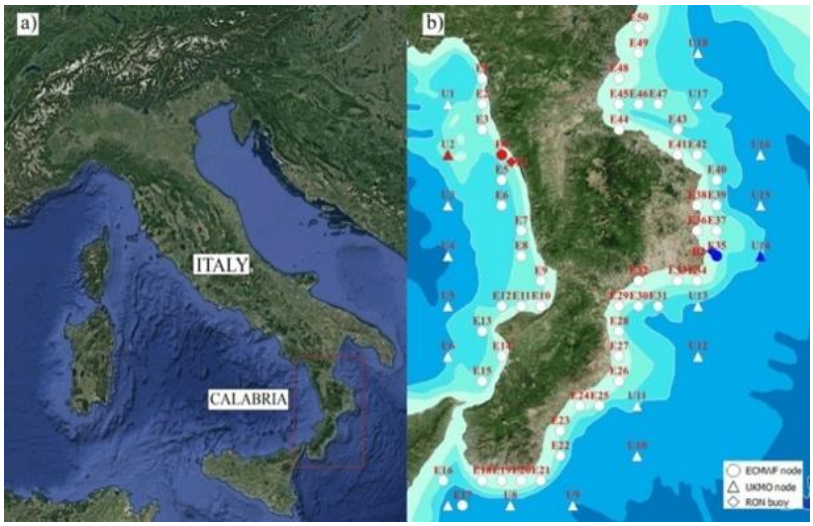

Fig. 1: Calabria Region in the Italian peninsula

The fieldwork lasted two months, from March to April 2016, including the administration of questionnaire surveys, interviews,[1] participant observation and the recording of natural-occurring conversation. In total, 15 hours and 25 minutes of recordings were collected that have not been made publicly available yet.

[1] Questionnaire surveys and the semi-structured interviews questions were purposely created by the researcher for the present study and they had never been published before (see Appendixes A and B).

These natural-occurring conversations were collected during the "Byzantine tour," which took place on the 2nd of June 2016 and lasted a day long, from 9am to 9pm. It consisted in a tourist itinerary to visit historical and cultural heritage sites in the Calabrian region. The researcher was always present conducting participant observation during the phases of fieldwork in order to catch the interactants' standpoints as well as recording their conversation.

Before the encounter took place, questionnaire surveys (see Appendix A) were administered in person or by email to the 27 people in the tour group, including some specialist tourist staff operators. After the tour, semi-structured interviews were also carried out (see Appendix B). Finally, the participants were informed of the confidentiality of data analysis and data storage and signed an informed consent permission form (Vaughn et al. 1996, 69). In order to assure anonymity of participants, pseudonyms were utilised. The audio recording has been fully transcribed for detailed analysis using VOICE transcription conventions. However, with the aim of capturing and making the complex nature of interaction relevant for the analysis, the Jefferson system of transcription annotation was also used since it can provide additional aspects of how the talk was delivered—e.g. pauses, sound stretches, hesitation markers, and cut-offs—(see Appendix C). My participatory observation facilitated the transcription of the different speaking modes (e.g. phonological variations, etc) and any non-verbal feedback.

Through these data I explore participants' attitudes towards ELF in general and multilingual resources in ELF encounters. Moreover, I investigate participants' awareness of the strategic use of pragmatic resources to clarify tourism employees and visitors' perspective toward the multicultural use of English as a Lingua Franca for tourism.

Detailed explanations concerning the participants and the methodology used in the analysis is presented in the rest of this chapter.

2.1 Population

This participants' group cannot be categorised as a speech community and it also rejects the boundaries of the model of Community of Practice (CoP). This concept has been used extensively in sociolinguistic research for the last ten years and firstly cited in association with ELF in the first part of the 2000s (Ehrenreich 2010; 2009; Kalocsai2014; 2009; Smit 2010; 2009) and then significantly also adopted in ELF research more recently (Ehrenreich 2018; Cogo 2016a; Vettorel 2014). Since the transitory and dynamic character of the social cluster taken into consideration for the investigation, the notion of Transient International Groups (TIGs) (Pitzl 2018) has been considered pertinent. In fact, whereas some of the present research participants were well acquainted with one another when the data collection was undertaken, they did not

isolate during the tour activities, but they mixed with the other trip members. The stability of their previous relationships lost their bias on interaction making them engage in substantial processes of negotiation, linguistic creativity and multilingual practice within each single conversation. These small-scale (social) clusters might have belonged to one (or more) ELF-CoPs in other contexts. However, they can be considered a TIG within the boundaries of this research according to some relevant features. For instance:

1. the international origin of its members and their intra-region-cultural differences involving individual multilingual repertoires
2. 10 different first languages brought into contact
3. a medium-size group, which facilitated interaction in the local context of the meeting
4. one full day of its duration
5. conversation purposefulness and content-orientation

As in many social ELF constellations, time has been the most crucial demarcating factor defining this ELF group that was so transient and impermanent to stabilise and become a CoP in Wenger's sense (1998). For this reason, the analysis of the interactions and interviews which follow has taken into consideration the frequency of language contact, the effort in engaging in shared practices and the duration of each single conversation among the members of this group of speakers.

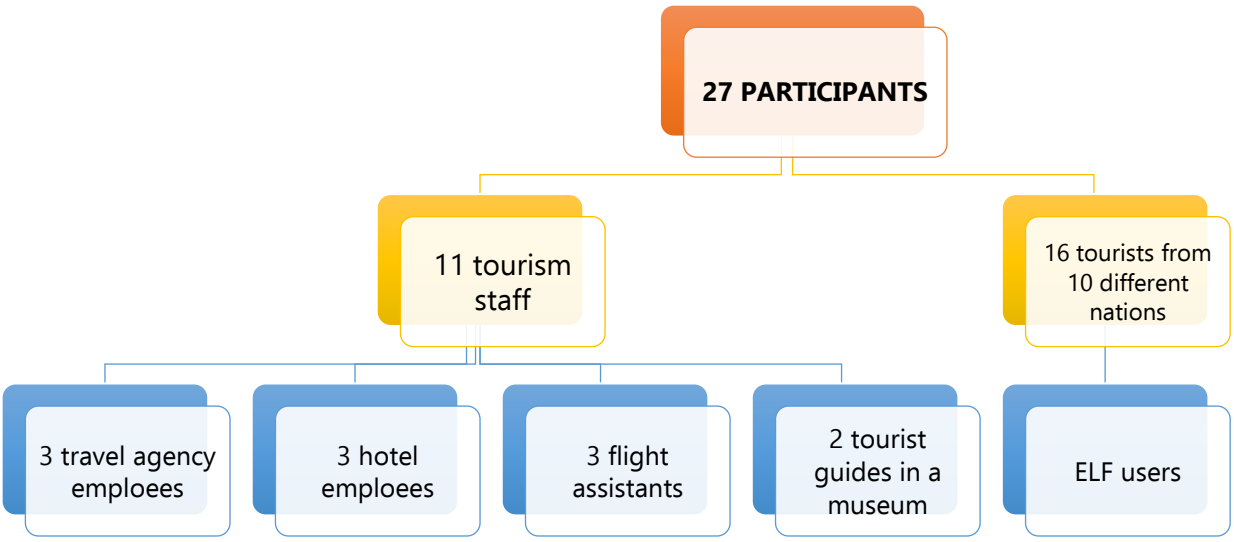

Fig. 2: Study population

This particular transient language contact involves different ELF speakers' entire Individual Multilingual Repertoires (IMRs), overcoming each speaker's lects (Mauranen 2012, 30) and merging into a Multilingual Resource Pool (MRP) explicating reference to languages, countries, places, etc. For the short amount of time of a day-tour, speakers engage prominently in ELF interactional strategies which have led to preferred patterns of speech act realization in this study of tourism communication.

Concerning the limitations of this research, I am conscious that this study participant sample does not represent a given population, and further investigation would be necessary to generalise its results. However, the applicants significantly represent people, activities and organisations involved in the tourist industry. Moreover, their meaningfully answers to this study investigation questions can contribute to the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research framework theoretically.

2.2 Method of analysis

This study adopted a poststructuralist approach relying on Conversation Analysis (CA) tools and techniques combined with emic accounts of communicative and cultural contexts to collect relevant information provided by the participants and the participants/researcher themselves. With this purpose in mind, Ethnography of Speaking has supported CA to detect speakers' attitudes towards ELF in an international tourist communication domain in Southern Italy.

First of all, Ethnography of Speaking has provided this study data analysis with an ethnographic approach which has highlighted the interdependence of language use and the whole social situation trying to understand the meanings and practices of the particular cultural environments in which interaction occurred (Green and Bloome 1997; Hymes 1996).

Moreover, research was done in a naturalistic setting, part of the organised visiting tour, aiming at collecting both factual data and contextual features. In addition, some ethnographic standpoints (Green and Bloome 1997) and directions (Blumer 1969, 148) were respected. For example, the researcher during her participant-observation was able to provide eyewitness accounts of participants' perspectives instead of accepting any pre-constructed etic interpretations. Consequently, analytical categories at the point of data collection were made starting from an internal point of view rather than adopting a general and objective stance.

Taking part in the observed group of international tourists gave me the opportunity to become close to the research participants, both physically and socially. This enabled me to formulate fact-finding enquiries by means of semi-structured interviews in order to support my data collection made up of naturally occurred conversations, whereas not all of the participants gave

permission to be recorded during the interview. By way of example, interviews were made up of a combination of some descriptive questions regarding linguistic behaviour; in addition to some probing, comparative, evaluative and explanatory questions. These were discursive tools designed to catalyse a fuller appreciation for the multiple realities and perspectives at play. It was possible to make participants speak from their own perspectives, and using their own ideas, meanings and frames of reference. They showed understanding of the project's aims and this facilitated the building of rapport with the interviewer.

In order to detail the investigation in concurrence with the ethnography of speaking, I relied on Conversation Analysis (CA) as a 'microanalytical' approach to reveal the unsuspected complexity of our mundane turn-by-turn unfolding of social interaction (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1978; Schegloff and Sacks 1973). In particular, it provides reference to the wider context in which interaction occurs, the relationship between participants, and the superficial meaning or 'obvious' significance of what they say. Most notably, the highlighting of some inferential frameworks and procedures that are typical of tourist institutional contexts, where people engaged in talk may utilize their familiarity with the institution's aims and thereby derive knowledge of otherwise unusual language forms and functions, was of particular importance here.

As far as this study applies CA's principles, interaction was also analysed to reveal the participants' orientation to research phenomena by the use of sequences organisation and turn-taking, repair work and organisational preferences (Seedhouse 2005, 252-253).

Moreover, dialogical moves have been considered in line with speakers' desire to manifest their social stance and action. Consequently, data were analysed from this emic perspective (Pike 1967) highlighting users' specific orientations to language considering participants' endogenous code of norms that determines acceptability standards in contrast with exogenous benchmarks of correctness.

On the whole, this approach has been essential to explain and clarify the extent to which ELF awareness belongs to the selected participants in order to avoid any incongruous evaluation of the object of the examination.

3. Data analysis

In this section I present some data collected to answer this article research question. The first part is dedicated to naturally-occurring conversation extracts micro-analysis; the second one reports on in-depth interviews conducted with this study participants.

As a matter of fact, the participants were divided into two groups: staff operating in the tourist industry in the South of Italy and international tourists. In detail, among tourist staff 10 out of 11 received formal English instruction at school and privately. One of them was bilingual (English and Spanish), one was native (Irish), and another interviewee lived in an international family, where his parents spoke English, Italian, and Russian to their children. In addition, 6 out of 11 had experiences abroad to improve their language competence and professional expertise. All of them were employed in the tourist industry due to their high English language proficiency. According to a self-evaluation grid, the participants in the research assessed their English language skills as ranging from adequate (1 respondent) to more than good (3 respondents), to excellent (7 respondents).

Their interlocutors were likewise divided into two percentiles: 70% of respondents were international tourists, who use English for their communication during their vacations; 30% were native English speakers. In the data collected from this group, a majority of respondents indicated they use of English in their work endeavours extensively, with a majority of respondents (8/11) likewise indicating that they use English in their work environment "always or often". Only one participant in the study reported using English in the workplace "rarely".

3.1 Naturally-occurred conversation data analysis

What follows is an extract of a conversation between a group of tourists and a professional tourist guide in the Archaeological Park of Sybaris that focuses on an ancient Greek artefact used for food preparation and preservation.[2]

From a microsocial perspective, this passage provides evidence of the negotiation of meaning, where ELF users capitalize on linguistic means and pragmatic strategies as shared resources to achieve understanding. This process of negotiation highlights the speakers' evaluations of the strategic use of language whenever they encounter or foresee diverging linguacultural misunderstandings. Negotiation embodies both their intentional decision-making at the micro-level of turn-taking and relational aspects, which imply co-construction.

(1) *"The fridge" – first part* – (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: French

41 S1 start to produce this ceramic called **<L1it> figurina </L1it> figurine** (.) and er is this type of er (.)

[2]Further information about this site can be found at: https://www.sitiarcheologiciditalia.it/en/park-of-sybaris/. Last visited 15/12/2021.

42 S1 are **these type of vases with a decoration** and er erm
43 S1 **start t-to use a particular tool er to make er these vases** the er (1)

In the example above, the tourist guide describes an object in the display case and codeswitches key terminology (line 41 and 42) to emphasize references to the pieces' historical context. Foreign words are sided with parallel translation—"<L1it> figurina </L1it> figurine" (line 41)—and paraphrasing—"these type of vases with a decoration" (line 42)—when a new piece of information is introduced. This communicative situation has a strong pedagogical force, engrossing the audience in the narration of historical and technical details that would have been lost if the guide had been interrupted. The group appears captivated by this specific terminology which adds to their multi-linguacultural background as souvenirs of their journey. However, in line 43, the tourist guide's use of a hesitant paraphrase, "start t-to use a particular tool er to make er these vases" indicates an attempt to search for a specific word in English. The next part of the extract highlights the tourists' reaction when their guide switches to Italian to introduce the technical term for what she means.

(2) *"The fridge" – second part* – (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: French.

44 **S1:** @ <@> **<L1it> tornio </L1it>** </@> **the ur- oow** (.) **I don't know (.hhh) <sighing> (.hhh)**
45 **</sighing> (2) the use of <L1it> tornio </L1it>**
46 **S2:** Don't worry about that <whispering> </whispering>
47 **S1:** @@@ I don't remember the name@@
48 **S2:** **{parallel conversation between S2 and S3 starts}** have you understood what she said?
49 <whispering> </whispering> (.)
50 **S3:** yeah **{parallel conversation between S1 and S3 ends}** <to S1> It's ok <nods (1)> </to
51 S1>
52 **S2:** <to SS> ok <nods (1)> </to SS>

The guide's muffled chuckle is not due to any amusing situation (line 44), but instead, shows embarrassment. It is an attempt to fill the time while she searches for the correct word. This type of backchannel (Meierkord 2002, 120-122; Lesznyak 2002, 189) is meant to fill a gap, an instinct to avoid losing face. In addition to enacting a self-defence mechanism (Fuki 2002, 109), her laugh reveals her frustration at the difficulty of reaching a native-speaker standard of English. She is aware of the fact that she cannot stop her speech, and therefore decides to

pronounce that term in Italian laughingly. Consequently, codeswitching occurs at line 44: "@ <@> <L1it> tornio </L1it> </@>." Moreover, the false start ("the ur-") and the discourse markers ("oow") show her disappointment and disapproval of her performance in front of her listeners. After a short pause, she makes the decision to overtly declare that she does not remember how to translate that concept in English (line 44): "I don't know (.hhh) <sighing> (.hhh) </sighing>." After pausing to check for her audience's understanding, she repeats the term in Italian (line 45). The tourist guide openly embraces the language difficulty and reveals that she is unable to use the exact terminology for the pottery-making process because she does not remember it. One of the international tourists immediately relieves her struggle by whispering (line 46), "Don't worry about that," which reiterates a sense of closeness already revealed in previous exchanges. The tourists do not lose concentration, and even check each other's attention and understanding through streaming parallel conversation to the tourist guide's explanation in order to avoid misunderstanding among themselves (line 48). A strong sense of solidarity emerges from this conversation, which ends with a direct comforting statement by S3, who functions as a spokesperson for the entire tourist group (line 50): "<to S1> It's ok <nods (1)> </to S1>." The guide accepts this reassurance and responds, "<to SS> ok <nods (1)> </to SS>." All of the speakers involved in this exchange reveal affective participation in the interaction by visibly nodding their heads in assent to show appreciation.

(3) *"The fridge" – third part* – (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: French.

53 S1: From another part of the same archaeological site er come two particular type of vases <pvc>
54 colled {called} <ipa>kɔːld</pvc> er erm **<L3gr> pitoi {pithoi} <ipa> ˈpɪθɔɪ </pvc>**
55 **</L3gr>** (.) it's a Greek term pitoi (3) the pitoi were used to store the food (.) to store food wine
56 and er er you must <pvc> immage {image} <ipa> ɪmɪdʒ </pvc> this type of vases in the ground
57 (.) **just this part <points to the object>** the upper part is on the ground (1) is like a modern
58 (.) a modern (1) room to store food but in the underground=</2>ok? </2>
59 S4: =</2>to keep it fresh </2>
60 S1: yes. to keep it fresh
61 S5: like a fridge
62 S1: yes. @@**the oven the fridge** (.) **all like now**@@

The above passage shows that non-conformity to the standard English pronunciation of many of the words in the guide's sentences (e.g., line 54—"colled {called} <ipa>kɔːld</pvc>;" line 56—"<pvc> immage {image} <ipa> ɪmɪdʒ </pvc>") is not under scrutiny by the audience because it is not seen as an impediment to their learning. The guide's explanation at line 56 asks the listeners to picture how people in ancient Greece used this object to store food underground. To help explain, the tourist guide points to the display case where the object sits and visually completes her description (line 57): "just this part <points to the object>." This is effective, and the tourists are able to imagine the use of the original Greek artefact both from the guide's words and from its presence in the museum. To check understanding and prevent any breakdown in communication, the tourist guide ends her remarks with a question (line 57): "=</1>ok? </1>."

Notwithstanding her deviation from the exonormative model represented by standard English (SE) norms, the guide is able to cope with the audience's communicative needs. The sociolinguistic evidence of her lingual capability is shown by one of the tourists (S4), who can authenticate his understanding by declaring the function of the ancient object described (line 59): "=</1>to keep it fresh </1>." His interjection does not represent an interference in the guide's flow of words, but, on the contrary, completes it with additional information and shows close participation in the presentation, which has become interactive. The guide does not seem disturbed or offended by the interruption. On the contrary, she finds the remark supportive of the message she is trying to convey and even repeats it (line 60), providing positive feedback and her approval.

The cooperation of the participants continues with a figure of speech drawing on cross-cultural knowledge from the tourists' everyday life. S5's use of the simile (line 61) "like a fridge" provides evidence of the ability of ELF speakers to be creative in their language use for effectiveness. In addition, it supports intelligibility. In the flow of the conversation, the tourists are able to integrate the systemic dimension of the language (the *langue*) with their own creative contribution in relation to the communicative functions they want to fulfil in their context of interaction. In transcending syntax and eliding grammatical categories in sentence construction (subject and verb word class items), the speakers perform a "conversational duetting" (Falk 1979, 25) synchronised not only with the timing of their turns to talk, but also to produce a coherent message (Firth 2009). The interlocutors' joint contribution serves to accomplish a meaningful, intelligible, and friendly interaction that amplifies the words' literal value. This conversation transcends functionality to interpersonal meaning marked by the laughs at the

end of the conversation as well as the positive feedback and repetition of the phrase by the tourist guide (line 62): "yes. @@the oven the fridge."

The extract presented above shows relevant details of the interpersonal functionality of ELF usage that influence textual organisation. It also reveals how experiences and personal understanding are organised and shared in this particular TIG of speakers, shaped by its communicative contextual factors, cultural schemata, and inherent goals.

On the whole, utterance building, cooperative overlapping, and completion overlap are not problematic, although they contradict the basic turn-taking Conversion analysis (CA) rules (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Schegloff and Sacks 1973;). They should be considered supportive of cooperative work and interactants' involvement in talk (Cogo 2007).

3.2 Interviews interpretation

In addition to observational data collected during naturally-occurred conversation, open-ended questionnaire surveys and interviews were recorded and used for the purpose of the analysis. The raw information was tagged for interpretation. In other words, content analysis was applied to verify inferences merged from interaction and identify semantic patterns in words and concepts that could reveal speakers' attitudes towards negotiated forms and meanings in lingua franca communication.

In detail, defined categories were previously appointed (e.g. multilingual, native/non-native use, understanding, correct, successful communication, basic language, misunderstanding, facilitate communication, accommodating, paraphrase, etc.) to clearly define conceptual reference points to code the texts consistently; then, tags were applied manually to texts. This naturalistic and interpretative approach allowed the description of the attitudinal and behavioural responses to international communication of this study participants in the tourist industry. Moreover, it revealed and confirmed patterns in communication content and the psychological and emotional state that emerged among the study group. Finally, triangulation with the pragmatic use of language in consideration of text organisation, taking of turns, implicature and co-construction avoided a reductive and ambiguous perspective on meaning. Moreover, it enhanced the reliability and validity of this study discussion and conclusions prevailing over a subjective interpretation.

The clear trend emerging among the staff community of tourist workers is a sense of solidarity, which often contributes to cementing and strengthening their relationships. This rapport in turn often helps enliven their work-shifts, and workers often share staff lodgings in common.

Likewise, their professional identity as workers is often enriched by their accumulated deeper knowledge of personal stories and human experiences they have gleaned from their work.
This sense of closeness can also be extended to tourists when they become part of a group whereas it might be of a transient nature lasting only for a short time. For instance, the tourist guide (line 44) openly reveals a shortcoming being hesitant about finding the appropriate terminology—"I don`t know (.hhh) <sighing> (.hhh) </sighing>."—she does not fear judgment when she uses the term in Italian (line 45) because she has been shown solidarity at a time of deficiency: "Don`t worry about that" (line 46). In this case a direct comforting statement by one of the speakers (S3) reports on the successful meaning-making in words and body language—see line 50 in previous section: "<to S1> It's ok <nods (1)> </to S1>." On the other hand, the guide reciprocates the affection which has denoted this TIG interaction consenting to silence instead of looking for alternative linguistic forms (line 50—"<to SS> ok <nods (1)> </to SS>)."
Undoubtedly, English is the international means that encompasses other semantic resources. However, all the speakers involved in the conversation show an accommodative attitude towards communication that would not have been successful otherwise.
Retaining knowledge of other languages and cultures when speaking English in international contexts was also revealed to be important in our research. Tourists, in particular, address and provide cultural references to facilitate reciprocal understanding among people of different origins and ethnicities. One tourist revealed that,

> I can also switch to a different language to make myself understood or because an expression works better in that context. The more I know the quicker I can switch to another language and solve any problems, or in recreational situations, to create a rapport. (Speaker S10)

This speaker realised the strength of multilingual background knowledge that can be common and enhance comprehensibility. He mentions it as one of the most effective pragmatic strategies utilised to achieve understanding and create a psychological drive to bond speaking partners in a fellowship for communication. In fact, code switching can help to clarify the degree of speakers' awareness of the different cultural traditions involved in the tourist experience and among their interlocutors.

> You must have personality working in the tourist industry. I make my multicultural heritage emerge. I am aware of the fact that my interlocutors have dissimilar cultural traditions and linguistic attitudes. I respect them. I do not impose my way of speaking on them. (Speaker 10)

> However, English is always in the mix (Jenkins 2015) in the background of international socialising. In fact, it works as a vehicle to bridge discourse among people harkening from different cultural backgrounds, as one of the respondents explained: I think the cultural heritage of an individual influences the way language is used. For example, the choice of words can reveal the multicultural identity of the speaker. (Speaker 17)

As a matter of fact, the tourist guide in the analysed extract refers to toponyms in the local language according to a logic which prefers an accurate topographical representation of the physical and historical features of the visited place. This approach depicts a distinct intention and straightforward disposition towards the use of English as a multilingua franca. From where she stands, mixing and meshing linguacultural repertoires can satisfy the tourists' unmistakable desire to experience the local culture through inhabiting the setting, speaking the language, and meeting people from that community.

In addition, one respondent who has a degree in communication, explained in her report that showing an earnest desire to reach reciprocal understanding can be a turning key for success when working with tourists even in contexts in which they are required to eclipse their own high proficiency potentialities in formulating their thoughts in English. She went on to say:

> In your words they prefigure service satisfaction and enjoyment. You must come to like talking to them and entertain them. (Speaker 15)

As regards body language, according to a very experienced travel agent, it can reveal speakers' identity. For instance, while attending a language course in Britain, she was criticised for her way of gesturing because a revealing sign of her being Italian and disadvantageous and tantamount to showing non-nativeness. On the other hand, however, her willingness at times to disclose her foreignness proved to be a turning point in her conversations, generating empathy and understanding among the international speakers of English to whom she would open up. Furthermore, this attitude facilitated building rapport and encouraged business success and productivity among staff workers. Adjusting to the clients' way of speaking also connoted an understanding approach to their cultural heritage and situation. A manager of a very exclusive resort explained,

> The correct attitude in front of people is to be formal and friendly. Very important guests require formality but friendliness as well. Privacy should always be respected and cultural differences, dietary requirements, religious and gender rules (e.g. Arabian husbands spoke for their wives) should always be taken in high consideration. (Speaker 16)

On the contrary, native speakers are usually unwilling to accommodate to their interlocutors, especially when conversing over the phone. Consequently, they are encouraged to slow their

speech patterns to deal with their use of idioms and irony connected to their culture. Likewise, the international tourists' accent and pronunciation were not perceived as familiar because they sounded distant from the native models proposed during language learning and training. This kind of attitude emphasises the natives' expectation of finding interlocutors that should respect English language normativity and mannerism. In their opinion, mixing languages contributes to communication fallacy, instead of being considered a resourceful policy in international linguistic behaviour.

Remarkably, direct translation of sentences is avoided by staff members due to being thought of as a time-consuming strategy in tourist-specific, special-language contexts. However, using basic syntax and short sentences is considered effective to finalise conversation among international English users especially in combination with codeswitching and paraphrase. For example, the introduction of key terminology at lines 39, 41 and 42—"<L1it> figurina </L1it> figurine; these type of vases with a decoration"—provides relevant background information that is able to captivate the tourists' attention despite instances of some phonetic and lexicogrammatical non-standard uses in the tourist guide's utterance (lines 54-56). What is more, integrating three different pragmatic strategies provides the listeners with the time to grasp key concepts as soon as they are introduced achieving the additional result of learning context-specific lexicon that becomes active part of their multi-linguacultural background.

However, tourist staff are not usually required to learn special tourist-language terminology, during professional curricular courses. Moreover, it changes from country to country, even among English speaking nations all over the world (Canada, USA, UK, etc.). For this reason, participants found compulsory hotel training courses very useful because, one of them says:

> They have taught me golden rules how to enhance communication: the tone of voice is very important; never sitting in front of a standing guest, etc. We should change attitude towards every guest, always accommodating them. Share with them their best experience with kindness. (Speaker 13)

For this reason, technicalities are usually avoided in conversation with tourists, whereas making sure to have an e-mail contact to confirm oral agreements, especially if money is concerned. The real trend is pre-empting incomprehension. For instance, at line 54 of the above-mentioned extract, the lexeme "<L3gr> pitoi {pithoi} <ipa> ˈpɪθɔɪ </pvc> </L3gr>," as a simple repetition, is represented three times. It is followed by a cluster of words mediating its direct explanation: "it's a *greek* term." Negotiation of meaning continues over the most part of the guide's turn who perseverates in trying to convey the technological accomplishment of the crafted object. In fact, explicitation strategies succeed one another to make tourists successfully

familiarise with the archaeological information provided up to make them be involved in portraying it in factual, personal, and contemporary terms (i.e. the type of food it stored—line 55: "to store food wine"—; the place it resided—line 56: "this type of vases in the ground" —; its position—line 57: "the upper part is on the ground"—; a comparison to a modern device used for the same purpose—line 57 and 58: "is like a modern (.) a modern (1) room to store food but in the underground)." Interlocutors participate actively in this process of mediation of meaning overlapping the understanding-check question "=</2>ok? </2>" with a parallel phrase, which complements the archaeological object description—S4: "</2>to keep it fresh </2>." In addition, the utterance is confirmed and shared by the tourist guide who repeats it showing consensus-oriented talk.

Conversely, misunderstandings regarding vocabulary are self-repaired recurring to repeating, speaking louder, paraphrasing—using more common words—body-language and deixis to identify specific objects in the space through their positioning.

During the museum visit, reference to the artefacts displayed in the showcase is very frequent because they complement oral explanations. This fact supports the multimodality of ELF communication, where language meshes with contextual visual and relational details to heighten the descriptive power of words. The context invests language and vice versa creating an engrossing experience for speakers who are feasibly deeply involved cognitively and sensibly — "just this part <points to the object>" (line 57). Consequently, this type of engaging experience is undoubtedly memorable and effective.

On the tourists' part, this study population revealed that, in order to achieve effective intercultural communication among native and non-native speakers of English, interlocutors should accommodate one another's needs with kindness and reciprocal understanding when possible. For instance, the analysed extract is concluded by the tourist guide's humorous remark — @@the oven the fridge (.) all like now@@" (line 62). However, this final line is a direct consequence of the previous turns and candidly completes them. The brief and effective tone of the concise expression proceeds and harmonizes with what the tourists and the guide have just said.

The accommodated style—both in terms of tone and content—conveys a sense of congruity and confederation in achieving a common goal.

As soon as interlocutors track their common lexical and cultural pool (Hulmbauer 2009), they draw upon those resources to facilitate their conversation and create a sense of community. Although it is a transient community (Pitzl 2018; 2016), participants report sharing a strong sense of belonging. They respond feeling compelled to accommodate to each other to finalise

their conversation.

One of the tourists concluded his interview referring to the international use of English as a Lingua Franca to face the contradictions of globalisation, saying that it should not only be considered as a feature connected to the superdiverse reality (Vertovec 2010; 2007) of contemporary times, but also as an effective resource to penetrate and understand differences among people coming from disparate countries around the rich and poor world. It should be used to abridge cultural legacies and enhance human patrimonies.

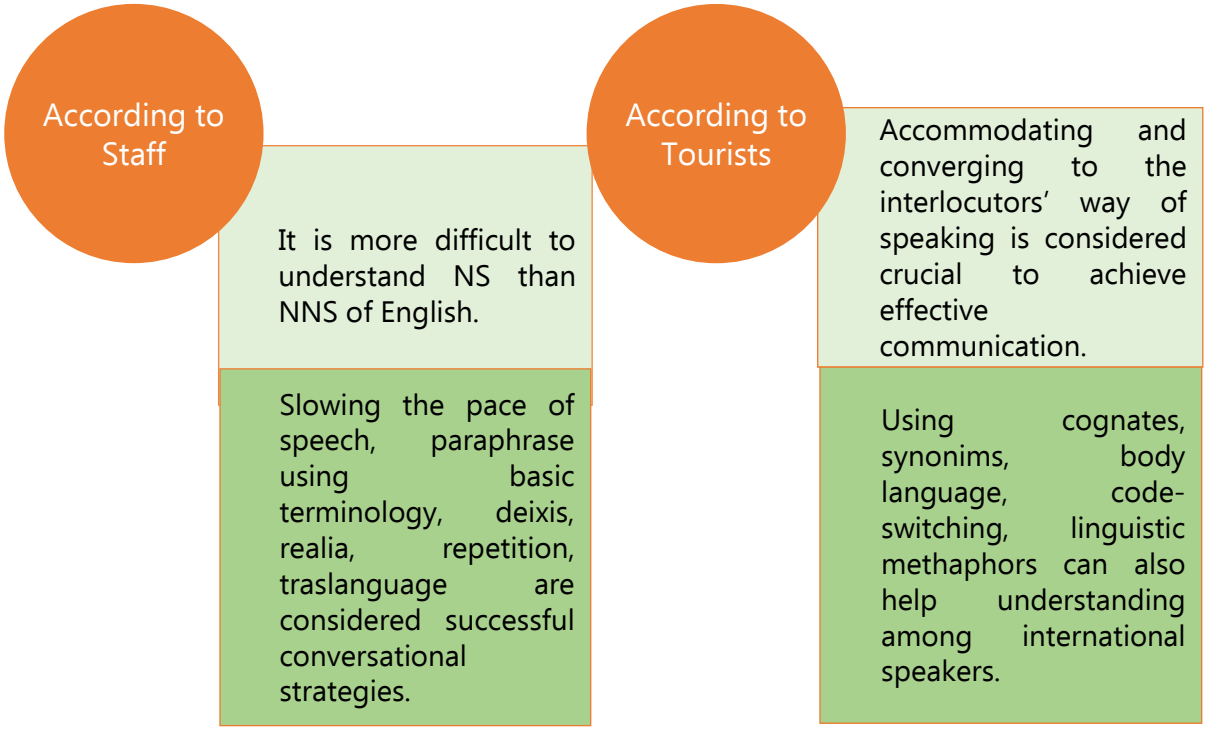

Fig. 3: Results description

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this analysis has revealed some of the subjective perceptions respondents to our study entertain concerning pragmatic strategies that exist to achieve effectiveness in communication and overcome cultural characterisations (Baker 2015; 2012; 2011).

Furthermore, the sample involved in the research has revealed that, to achieve effective intercultural communication, interlocutors should strive to accommodate one another's learning requirements with kindness and reciprocal understanding. English has been shown to be always "in the mix" (Jenkins 2015): in the background of international socialising. Our study's respondents reported that the strength of multilingual knowledge can be common to interlocutors and can likewise enhance comprehensibility. Moreover, each personal

linguacultural tradition makes reference to the individual choices of learners and their personal life experiences. For this reason, it is a psychological imperative to bond speaking partners in a fellowship of communication. Although tourists are able to become part of transient communities of speakers (Pitzl 2016), where contact usually lasts the time of a conversation or a few encounters, participants share a strong sense of belonging. They feel compelled to accommodate each other in the effort to finalise and facilitate their conversation.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire script staff/tourists.

Participant n .___

GENERAL INFORMATION REGARDING THE PARTICIPANT

Age (put a X in the appropriate space): 18-25 _____; 26-40 _____; 41 and over ___.
Gender: _____ Nationality: _____
Native language: _____ Additional languages: _____

INFORMATION REGARDING YOUR USE ENGLISH FOR TOURISM

1 Do you consider English the international language for tourist communication?

Yes _____ No: _____

2 When you go on holiday abroad, how often do you use English for communication?

always: ____; often: ___; usually: ____; sometimes: ____; rarely: ____; never: ____.

3 Who are your partners in English conversations when you are on holiday and in which percentage?

- Native English speakers: ___; ___%
- International tourists speaking English: ___; ___%
- Tourist Industry staff: ___; ___%

4 In which situations do you prefer English for communication?

recreational: ___; asking for tourist information and services: ___; in any situation: ___.

5 How did you learn English?

at school _____, private tuitions ___; by myself _____.

6 How would you evaluate your English Language ability in the following areas? Put a cross (X) in the appropriate box.

	Less than Adequate	Adequate	Good	Excellent
Listening				
Speaking				
Writing				
Subject-Specific Terminology				
Communicative Skills				

Appendix B: Interview script.

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCRIPT

Language background

1. We will start briefly to talk about your experience of using English. (Did you have any formal instruction in English in the Tourist domain?) How much do you think it was useful in your job? Where have you used it in particular? In which situations? For which purpose?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Did you have any difficulties in communication in English? Were you successful in your communication? How did you overcome your difficulties/misunderstanding?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

3. Are there differences between English that you use in non-professional vs professional situations? What are the main differences?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

4. Can you speak any other languages?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5. How often do you prefer English to other languages in the tourist contexts and in which situations?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. What, in you view, are the correct attitude to achieve effective intercultural communication in international tourists' environments?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

7. Do you think that you should be trained to deal with multicultural environments that use English as a Lingua Franca for communication?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix C: Jeffersonian Notation List.

Jeffersonian Transcription Notation includes the following symbols:

Symbol	Name	Use
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.
=	Equal Sign	Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted utterance.
(# of seconds)	Timed Pause	A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.
. or ↓	Period or Down Arrow	Indicates falling pitch.
? or ↑	Question Mark or Up Arrow	Indicates rising pitch.
,	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation.
-	Hyphen	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than / Less than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than / Greater than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more slowly than usual for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol	Indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.
ALL CAPS	Capitalized text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of an utterance.
(hhh)		Audible exhalation
? or (.hhh)	High Dot	Audible inhalation
(text)	Parentheses	Speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.
((italic text))	Double Parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity.