Anne-Kathrin Gärtig-Bressan*

Caffè macchiato grande, *Bambini* and *Casoni*: languaging in the text genre of travel guides

Abstract: This article deals with languaging, a manifestation of language contact often found in tourism communication. It is understood as the use of local language in tourism texts written in the language of the tourists. After a review of previous research on languaging and its functions within tourism communication and on the contact linguistic status of languaging units and their mediation in the text, an analysis of a corpus consisting of four general German guidebooks on the northern Italian region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia is carried out with regard to how the examples of languaging found therein are distributed between the different guides and within each guidebook. Previous studies have already pointed out that the distribution in the guides is not uniform. The analysis is based on the work on text genres by Fandrych and Thurmair, according to which travel guides are large texts with four subtext genres, namely orientation texts, sightseeing texts, advice texts and in-depth texts, each of which fulfils certain dominant functions, has certain linguistic structures and deals with certain topics. The research questions posed are: what is the quantitative distribution of languaging evidence in the analysed guidebooks, and do certain semantic-functional types of languaging occur preferentially or even exclusively in certain subtext genres?

Keywords: languaging; lexical language contact; text linguistics; tourism discourse; travel guides

1 Introduction

Tourist travel is a consolidated social practice (cf. Urry 2002) and is one of the main contexts in which many people come into contact with foreign cultures and languages. This contact is usually not unmediated; rather, it is prepared by the different multimodal texts of tourism communication: travel guides, travel broadcasts,

---

*Corresponding author: Anne-Kathrin Gärtig-Bressan, Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche, del Linguaggio, dell'Interpretazione e della Traduzione, Università degli Studi di Trieste, Via Fabio Filzi, 14, 34132 Trieste, Italy, E-mail: akgaertig@units.it. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7075-9421

catalogues, brochures, websites of tour operators and destinations, travel apps, blogs of other travellers, etc.

These texts fulfil various functions: they create an image of the destination before the journey, represent it and advertise it im- or explicitly, they inform and instruct the traveller on how to arrive at the destination, what to eat and what to do and see, and they assume a mediating role between the traveller and the foreign environment (cf. Dann 1996; Giordana 2004; Maci and Sala 2017; Manca 2016, among others). To this end, they make use of various discursive strategies and linguistic means, including the 'languaging' technique (Dann 1996), i.e. the insertion of linguistic elements from the language of the destination described in the text, which is written in the language of the (future) traveller, as seen in the following example: "Die bildhübschen Dörfer zeichnen sich durch ihr stimmiges Ortsbild und ihr ma-lerisches *Centro Storico* aus. Hier entdecken Reisende nicht nur außerhalb der Saison unverfälschtes Leben auf der *Piazza*" [The picturesque villages are charac-terised by their harmonious townscape and their picturesque *Centro Storico*. Here, travellers discover authentic life on the *Piazza*, not only out of season][1] (ADAC: 12, emphasis mine).

Languaging is a specific manifestation of language contact in the context of tourism discourse, which has partial similarities to phenomena well-described by classic language-contact research (cf. Cappelli 2013: 365) such as code-mixing (cf. e.g. Auer 1999; Muysken 2000), code-switching (cf. e.g. Clyne 2003; Gumperz 1964; Muysken 2000), language crossing (cf. Rampton 1995), linguistic borrowing and xenisms (cf. e.g. Ehlich 1986; Jung 1993; Moser 1996; Müller-Jacquier 2007). In the recently growing literature on the language of tourism, many studies have mentioned languaging (cf. e.g. Boyer and Viallon 1994; Calvi 2000; Dann 1996; Errico and Chessa 2018; Vestito 2012), but very few have dedicated in depth-analyses of this technique specifically (see the state of the art in Section 2.2). Previous studies have mainly focused on the functions of languaging within tourism discourse, the status of foreign language insertions in the texts, and how the referents of the foreign culture they denote are mediated for the travellers, analysing various touristic text genres: Jaworski et al. (2003) have worked on languaging in TV holiday programmes, Cappelli (2013) on languaging in English expatriates' blogs, travel articles and guidebooks about Italy, Cesiri (2017) on languaging on English holiday websites about Venice, and Gärtig-Bressan (2022b) on German guidebooks about the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region (FVG), examining semantic and functional domains, the typographic integration, and the explanation of the non-German units in the texts.

This paper follows up on the last study, which has shown that evidence of languaging in travel guides is distributed very unequally, both between different

---

[1] All translations are mine.

guides and within individual guidebooks. In order to explain this, it incorporates the text-linguistic approach by Fandrych and Thurmair (2011), according to which the classic travel guide is not a single text genre but rather (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 52–72) a large text (*Großtext*) that combines four different subtext genres, i.e. orientation texts, sightseeing texts, advice texts and in-depth texts. For each of these, different reception situations are conceivable, and they differ regarding topic, text structure and dominant function (see Section 2.3). Furthermore, there are large differences between travel guides depending on their target group, their scope, their thematic focus, etc. (cf. also Calvi 2017; Thurmair 2018).

Examples of languaging can be found in all kinds of guides and in all of the subtext genres identified by Fandrych and Thurmair (2011). However, their quantitative distribution in the guidebooks is not equal, and, within one guide, they seem to belong to different semantic areas and to take on different communicative functions depending on the subtext. Hence, the research questions for this paper are first: what is the quantitative distribution of languaging evidence in each guidebook analysed, and second, which types of languaging occur preferentially or even exclusively in certain subtext genres of travel guides and what functions do they fulfil in each of them?

The basis for the study is provided by the four classic travel guides about the northern Italian region of FVG available on the German-speaking market, which are targeted to a general audience and largely correspond to Fandrych's and Thurmair's description of the text genre. From these, all evidence of languaging has been excerpted, as it has been understood in the research literature so far. Cappelli defines it as "the use of local language in tourism material" (Cappelli 2013: 355), i.e., the insertion of linguistic elements that can be read or heard at the destination, in our case in FVG, in texts written in the language of the tourists, in this case German. The demarcation of the units belonging to languaging according to this definition is not always entirely clear as they can have a different status both in the local language and in the native language of the text. Quite clear cases are instances such as *Centro storico* from the example above, which is definitely a multiword expression of Italian, but not of German. Doubtful cases, on the other hand, are units like *Pizza* or *Piazza*, which are fully or partially lexicalised in German. They have been added to the data base if it can be assumed that the average speaker perceives them as Italian. As far as the local language is concerned, it should be noted that other languages are spoken in FVG besides Italian (historically German, Slovenian, Friulian), which have also produced languaging units or influenced regional Italian; in addition, loanwords from English and French are sometimes found here in a specific use. Such evidence has also been taken into account (see Section 3.2).

The results are presented as follows: first there will be a quantitative overview of languaging evidence in the overall corpus and in the individual guides (Section 3.3.1); next a presentation of its distribution over specific semantic and functional domains,

with explanations of its status in the local language (Section 3.3.2), and finally the specific use in the individual subtext genres is illustrated (Section 3.3.3). Every section concludes with some considerations on whether the results from the corpus analysed can be generalised or whether they are related to the German-Italian context.

2 Languaging as a technique of tourism communication

2.1 Tourism communication

Tourist travel is a moment of direct contact with other cultures and languages, an opportunity to learn and experience new things, a well-established social practice and, no less importantly, a major economic sector of national and global importance. In Italy, in 2019, before the start of the pandemic, 13 % of the gross domestic product came from the tourism industry. A journey, as a commercial product, has the peculiarity that customers cannot see it before purchasing it, that is, booking it. They can only inform themselves about the destination and get an idea of it through linguistic descriptions and visual representations. To this end, the tourism industry, with its various players such as the local tourist boards, tourism associations, tour operators, hoteliers, but also the authors and publishers of travel magazines and guides, has a wide range of texts at its disposal, which, on the one hand, provide the information needed by the travellers to choose their destination, to find out about cultural features, sights, possible activities, culinary offers, etc., to prepare their trip and find their way around the foreign environment during the holiday, but which also promote the destination as a product (cf. Calvi 2017: 25).

On the basis of the real tourist product, i.e. the destination with its scenic, historical, cultural and infrastructural features, a perceptual dimension is created that includes what the potential tourist is looking for (cf. Giordana 2004: 15). In this process, a whole series of stereotypical ideas is activated; in the case of the German tourist travelling to Italy, for example, this may be the desire for sunny weather, the sea, an alternative, "looser" way of life, for a child-friendly society, architectural beauties, culinary delights and what is known as *dolce vita.*

> Indeed, the tourist industry bases its marketing process on stereotypical instruments which, through language, are rendered into ideas, values, as well as symbols, and whose purposes are to enchant, attract, and shape imagination, interpretations, and memories by means of cognitive and emotional processes expressed through discourses. In this process, language transforms tourism products and presents them as genres, ranging from the most traditional ones, such as brochures and guide-books, to the most innovative ones, such as those pertaining to e-communication in social media (Maci and Sala 2017: 9–10).

Languaging is one of several discursive, textual, and linguistic strategies that shape tourism discourse; these were systematically described by Dann (1996) in his pioneering work. Dann starts from some basic assumptions. First, humans in contemporary society are alienated from the world they inhabit and search for authenticity in their travels, i.e. in our context, for example, for the true Italy and its typical traditions, rather than touristy parts of a given country (cf. Dann 1996: 6–12). As an advertising discourse, tourism communication picks up on this desire for authenticity in its texts. Secondly, tourists are particularly interested in everything that is unknown to them and that differs from their usual world of experience. At the same time, however, this unknown world is also fraught with fear, and so one of the basic tasks of tourism discourse is to mediate the exotic nature of the destination while also providing tourists with the necessary tools to explore their chosen destination (cf. Dann 1996: 12–17). And finally, the tourist's journey is fundamentally characterised by the desire for recreation, entertainment and fun, which is reflected in the tourist text genres on the one hand in the selection of topics and information and on the other in the use of language itself, which often features a playful style.

2.2 Languaging

Languaging is one of the linguistic features often found in tourism texts. The studies on "the use of local language in tourism material" (Cappelli 2013: 355) consider languaging primarily with regard to three questions:

1. What functions does it perform within tourism communication? (cf. Boyer and Viallon 1994; Calvi 2000; Cappelli 2013; Cesiri 2017; Dann 1996; Errico and Chessa 2018; Jaworski et al. 2003; Margarito 2008; Vestito 2012)
2. What status do the elements of the host language have in the language of the travellers in which the texts are written? (cf. Cappelli 2013; Jaworski et al. 2003; Margarito 2008)
3. How are typical referents of the host culture, reported by means of their original denomination, mediated to tourists? (cf. Cappelli 2013; Cesiri 2017; Margarito 2008)

2.2.1 Functions

Dann considers languaging, from a sociolinguistic perspective, as a means of placing the guide in an expert role and giving the tourist a sense of dependence (cf. Dann 1996: 183). For Boyer and Viallon (1994: 46, footnote 1), insertions in the language of the destination serve to create *couleur locale*, 'local colour' but also to flatter the reader, who is proud of the (pseudo)knowledge he or she has thus acquired.

Most of the recent contributions on the topic of languaging refer to the comprehensive study by Jaworski et al. (2003). Using a corpus of travel programmes on British television, it examines how social roles are constructed between the host culture, the presenters, and the viewers by using the language of the various host countries. "These heavily mediated encounters are thus ideologically situated practices which help to better understand the subject-positionings and relations of power which underpin tourism as both an international industry and an intercultural playing field" (Jaworski et al. 2003: 7). The language of the destination in the broadcasts can be heard the most when local experts are interviewed or when people who provide a given tourist service have their say (cf. Jaworski et al. 2003: 9–12). This conveys both "local (linguistic) flavour" (Jaworski et al. 2003: 10) and authenticity but also reinforces clichés (cf. Jaworski et al. 2003: 14). Even the English-speaking presenters sometimes use fragments of the target language, demonstrating that communication on the ground, perceived by some travellers in advance as a daunting barricade, is effortlessly achievable (cf. Jaworski et al. 2003: 12). At times, the use of the foreign language even becomes a kind of game, which of course accommodates the tourist's desire for entertainment but at the same time reflects the asymmetrical communication between the tourist and the locals (cf. Jaworski et al. 2003: 14), thus turning languaging also into a means of in- and out-grouping, with the language of the destination becoming a mere part of the local backdrop, the "linguascape" (Jaworski et al. 2003: 19). Even though their study cannot be transferred one-to-one to printed tourism texts such as the travel guides analysed here, some parallels can be found there in the functions of languaging.

Cesiri (cf. 2017: 197–199), among others, points out that languaging is one of the techniques used by tourism discourse as advertising discourse because it attracts the reader's attention and creates the impression of authenticity. "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" (Cappelli 2013: 371).

Languaging also fulfils the mediating task of tourist discourse. It "is particularly productive as it makes the unfamiliar host culture familiar to the tourists especially upon their arrival, having already experienced from a distance […] what they will find and hear at the destination" (Cesiri 2017: 199; cf. also Cappelli 2013: 364; Errico and Chessa 2018: 102). This function of languaging is described by Jaworski et al. (2003: 15) as "naming and translating".

Vestito (2012: 89), approaching languaging from a discourse-analytical perspective, points out that the insertion of expressions in the language of the destination for certain referents of the respective culture helps to highlight them as typical and characteristic. This is particularly effective in supporting the formation of stereotypes as the cultural stereotype is reinforced by the linguistic stereotype (cf. Errico and Chessa 2018: 102).

Finally, Margarito (2008: 70) points out that languaging occurs (massively) not only in discourse, but also in the form of lists in the advisory text sections of travel guides where it takes on the function of a small bilingual dictionary with a thematic grouping.

2.2.2 Linguistic status of the inserts

Some studies examine the contact linguistic status of local language elements in tourism texts. Jaworski et al. (cf. 2003: 7) interpret them as examples of 'crossing', "switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you" (Rampton 1995: 280). Margarito (cf. 2008: 70) points out that most Italianisms that catch the eye in travel guides will probably never be lexicalised in the language of the texts. Cappelli, who analyses and compares languaging in travelogues, expat blogs and travel guides, defines it as an expression of language contact and discusses the status of the individual instances in her corpus between code-mixing, language crossing, code-switching, insertions, and real borrowings of varying degrees of integration. Depending on the text genre and the respective function, examples can be found for all forms although the classification is not always clear: "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 continuum" (Cappelli 2013: 369).

From my point of view, this is at least partly a terminological and definitional issue, which varies somewhat depending on the research design of the individual authors. Authors such as Jaworski et al. (2003) study longer text passages in local languages in travel documentaries so that the classification as crossing is appropriate for them. For Cappelli (2013: 355), on the other hand, languaging is "the use of foreign words in a text" so she has to deal with the different status of individual lexemes inserted in the language of the text. In the present study, the criterion for unit selection is a perceptual one (cf. Section 3.2): What does an average speaker of German perceive as Italian? Here, too, units with different statuses are consequently found side by side, both units lexicalised in German and those that are firmly bound to the culture of the destination country and will probably never enter into a lexicalisation process. As will be shown, they are partly used in different functions and partly also graphically emphasised in different ways.

2.2.3 Mediating the referents

When languaging occurs in the function of "naming and translating" (Jaworski et al. 2003: 15), the local language insertions cannot be unmediated in the text. The

designated referents must be introduced and mediated.[2] Various strategies are used for this purpose. The word in the local language can be accompanied (i) by an equivalent in the language of the guide text if this is available (e.g. "›baccalà‹, Stockfisch", 'dried cod', ADAC: 112); (ii) by a paraphrase or gloss (e.g., "Aus Cividale stammt nämlich die ›gubana‹, ein köstlicher Hefekuchen mit einer Füllung aus Pinienkernen, Rosinen, Mandeln, Hasel- und Walnüssen." [Because Cividale is the origin of the "gubana", a delicious yeast cake with a filling of pine nuts, sultanas, almonds, hazelnuts, and walnuts.], ADAC: 105); (iii) by a detailed, sometimes meta-linguistic explanation (cf. the example on the *Portatrici Carniche* in Section 2.3.3.2); (iv), by a German determinatum (in the German texts analysed, due to the specific features of German morphology) in a compound in which the German element is synonymous with the Italian one or is in a hyperonymic relationship with it (e.g. *Gubana-Nusskuchen* 'Gubana nutcake', Michael Müller: 2010) (cf. Cappelli 2013: 362; Gärtig-Bressan 2022b: 141–143; Margarito 2008: 71). All examples are drawn from the corpus analysed.

The embedding of Italianisms in the texts is often also carried out through special typographical offsetting and highlighting:

> a literal translation in the language of the text […] is provided in brackets immediately before or after the actual term. Other devices to emphasise these terms are the use of typographical symbols such as single or double quotation marks (e.g., '' and ""), double angled quotation marks (e.g., «»), bold type, italics (Cesiri 2017: 197).

2.3 Travel guides as a composite text genre within tourism communication

The printed travel guide is a classic text genre of tourism. The first travel guides date back to the 19th century, when the *grand tour* of the privileged few was slowly replaced by the tourist trip, which an increasing number of people could afford (cf. Santulli 2010: 36–37). Thanks to the guide as a companion that mediates the unknown, tourists can move around the destination alone without a human guide (cf. Calvi 2000: 37; Dann 1996: 24).

For my analysis, I refer to the description of travel guides as proposed in Fandrych and Thurmair (2011: 52–72). The authors chose an empirical-inductive approach to examine text genres functionally, text-linguistically and in terms of their typical linguistic (above all grammatical) structures (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 14–15). With the term 'text genre' (*Textsorte*), used on a relatively low level of

---

2 The same is true for lexical borrowings at an early stage of their diffusion. For alterity marking and flagging techniques in this context, cf. Pflanz (2014), Svanlund (2018), and Levendis and Calude (2019).

abstraction (cf. also Adamzik 2008: 117), they refer to a class of texts that can be considered conventional patterns that can be assigned to certain speech acts and that can be described as a typical combination of situational factors, functional and structural properties (cf. also Brinker 2005: 144). With regard to text function, one of the central elements in the analysis and classification of text genres, Fandrych and Thurmair develop a modified model (for different proposals cf. e.g. Adamzik [2016: 192–196] or Brinker [2005: 105–106]) and conclude that many text genres are not monofunctional, that is often several text functions must be assumed (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 19; 29–33).

As Fandrych and Thurmair (2011: 52–72) have pointed out, travel guides are in fact not a single, uniform text genre. Rather, they are large texts (*Großtexte*), that contain various subtext genres. Each of these takes on a dominant text function. A distinction is made between orientation texts (*Orientierungstexte*), sightseeing texts (*Besichtigungstexte*), advice texts (*Ratgebertexte*), and in-depth texts (*Vertiefungstexte*). Orientation texts are usually found at the beginning of the guide and as an introduction to the description of individual regions or places. They offer a holistic and particularly attractive presentation of the travel destination and name the most important topics, which are discussed again in the other parts of the text. This is where the image of the destination is created (cf. also Baumann 2018: 231). Orientation texts are characterised by emphatic language and appealing images that awaken the reader's desire for a holiday in the region concerned. These texts are often read before the trip, even before their purchase in a bookshop (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 53), and combine the provision of knowledge elements with an implicit advertising message. "Der Text ruft dabei viele Wissenselemente auf, die beim Rezipienten bereits als imagehaft vorhanden angenommen werden können" [The text thereby evokes many knowledge elements that can be assumed to be already present in the recipient's image] (Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 58). A constative-asserting text function is mixed with an evaluative one.

Sightseeing texts are the part of the text in which the individual places and objects to be visited are described while at the same time a route is suggested along which the traveller should explore them. As such, they are often marked by a characteristic mixture of stating-asserting and latently instructive functions (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 59) or, as Kerbrat-Orecchioni (cf. 2004: 148) writes, they specify what must be visited.

Advice texts, which are often found in list form or arranged thematically and then alphabetically by keyword (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 64) at the end of the guidebook, provide the practical information needed to prepare for and carry out the trip, such as advice on how to reach the destination, how to find a hotel or restaurant, how to stay safe, etc. Their dominant text function is instructive (cf. Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 54).

Finally, there are in-depth texts that provide information on individual topics considered to be particularly relevant to the destination (e.g. the region's history, its culinary specialties, its natural attractions). Often separate from the rest of the text, e.g. in the form of info-boxes, they have a dominantly *stating-asserting* function ("eine dominant *konstatierend-assertierende* Funktion") (Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 62; emphasis in the original). In travel guides, the individual subtexts can more or less correspond to the above description, they can be clearly separated from each other but also be partly interwoven.

The tone of classic guidebooks is impersonal, with the author remaining in the background in the role of the "expert on travelplaces" (Calvi 2017: 29; cf. also Calvi 2000: 101; Dann 1996: 62). One of the main innovations was the "narrative turn", described by Calvi (2017: 42) for online guides but also found in printed travel guides in recent years. The second major innovation is a differentiation between guides. Besides the general guidebook described so far, we now find a strong specialisation, which goes hand-in-hand with new travel trends and is reflected in separate guides for trekkers, cyclists, women, etc. These new ways of spending holidays and getting information have also influenced the internal structure of the general guides, with a greater fragmentation of the text into sections, a more visual subdivision of the pages, cross-referencing strategies (cf. Francesconi 2012), the inclusion of new alternative destinations, and the introduction of new sections.

3 Functions of languaging within the individual subtext genres of travel guides

The present study aims to answer the question of whether certain types of languaging occur preferentially or even exclusively in certain subtext genres of travel guides and what functions they fulfil in each of them. As an example, four classic travel guides for the northern Italian region of FVG, which correspond quite closely to the above description of the text genre, were analysed. All of them were written in German and are targeted to the German-speaking market.

3.1 Friuli-Venezia Giulia

The autonomous Italian region of FVG is one of the most popular holiday destinations in Italy for German and Austrian tourists. In 2019, the last year before the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, they accounted for 52.6 % of total foreign visitors in this region (cf. Regione in cifre 2020: 178). Most tourists from the two countries choose the region

for a classic seaside holiday on the Adriatic Sea in the two towns of Grado and Lignano, but beyond that, a differentiated tourism, from which the entire region has benefited, has developed in recent years. A remarkable part consists of culinary travel: the Prosciutto di San Daniele and a whole range of *DOC* wines are just some of the typical regional products that attract travellers.

Geographically, FVG is located in the extreme north-east of Italy on the border with Austria and Slovenia and is characterised by a variety of different landscapes in a relatively small area, including the Julian and the Carnic Alps, large wine-growing areas, karst landscapes, lagoons and the Adriatic Sea. Culturally, the small double region contrasts the more down-to-earth Friuli around the city of Udine, with the area around the Central European regional capital of Trieste, where the Habsburg past is still very visible. Venetian and Slovenian influences are also present. In addition to the Italian language, Friulian, Slovenian and German are spoken in this multicultural region and are protected as minority languages; all of them have left their traces in the lexicon of regional Italian and can thus be found among the evidence of languaging here in the travel guides. In the context of research on tourism discourse, information materials on the region have been the subject of linguistic studies by Palazzi (2009a and 2009b), Giambagli (2009, 2011 and 2013) and Gärtig-Bressan (2020, 2022a and 2022b).

3.2 Design of the analysis

The corpus of texts analysed for this study consists of the four currently available general (but not pan-Italian) travel guides about the region published between 2017 and 2019, which broadly correspond to the text-genre description above. Three of them, i.e. the guidebooks of the ADAC, Marco Polo and Polyglott series, present FVG together with the larger and better-known region of Veneto. This results in a more condensed presentation: only 34 (ADAC) and 18 (Marco Polo and Polyglott) pages are dedicated to the region examined here, along with joint orientation texts and practical tips that also include some information on Veneto (37 pages for ADAC, 55 pages for Marco Polo, 57 pages for Polyglott). Only the examples of languaging from these text sections have been considered for the analysis. The guides do not address a special target group in terms of age, interests, socio-economic status, or education; rather, they are mainstream tourist-oriented and can be found in every bookshop. The fourth guidebook, published by Michael Müller, a publishing house specialising in individual travel, contrasts with the other three in that it is exclusively devoted to FVG. It offers an in-depth description of the region, it is over 300 pages long and its style and lay-out appear less standardised. In all guides, all four subtext genres mentioned above are present, but they are not always clearly separated from each

other. Orientation texts, especially when presenting individual places, can merge seamlessly into sightseeing texts; advice texts, often in the form of restaurant tips, are broken down into small sections and integrated into sightseeing texts; the presentation of the culinary specialties of the region have the features of both advice and in-depth texts.

All examples of languaging were manually extracted from the four guides. These are mainly Italian expressions but also expressions from other languages that have been borrowed into (regional) Italian or that can be interpreted as having been directly taken to the texts from their source language. Morphosyntactically, single lexemes were considered as well as multi-word units (e.g. *seppie in nero* 'squid in its ink'), hybrid formations (e.g. *Aperitivo-Kultur*), acronyms (e.g. *DOC < di origine controllata* 'of controlled origin'), quotations (e.g. *Trieste è una donna* 'Trieste is a woman', Umberto Saba) and helpful phrases (e.g. *si effettua nei giorni lavorativi* 'train runs only on weekdays').

As already discussed in Cappelli (cf. 2013: 365–369), languaging elements can be assigned to several manifestations of language contact, i.e. to language crossing in the sense of Rampton (cf. 1995), to insertion or to code-switching in the sense of Muysken (cf. 2000), and to lexical borrowing. Accordingly, especially in the last case, it is not always easy to delimit the units that are included or excluded from the analysis. The choice is clear for units such as *afa* 'sultriness' or *gubana* 'a typical nut cake', which are clearly units of their source language but have not entered a borrowing process in German and are unlikely to do so. In the guidebook texts, they are usually set off graphically, glossed and flagged as foreign elements. In contrast units that have entered a borrowing process in German and are in part already lexicalised, such as *Piazza*, *Risotto*, or *Bambini*, are more difficult to deal with. The problem is where to set the boundary between what is included and what is excluded in terms of languaging. An assumed speaker perception was used as a criterion here.

Included in the analysis were all units that the speaker of the guide's target group, i.e., a reader without any specific prior training, would presumably perceive as Italian or originating from Italian, such as the examples above, whereas a unit such as *Fresken*, almost in all cases used in the plural form with the *-en* suffix and the grapheme <k>, was excluded. It is clear that this demarcation cannot be completely objectified. Included were also some loan translations which, supported by alterity marking and flagging techniques (see also Winter-Froemel, this issue), catch the reader's eye as non-originally German multiword expression, e.g. the *schönsten Dörfer Italiens* (< *i borghi più belli d'Italia*, 'Italy's most beautiful villages').

Contrary to the practice found in other investigations on languaging, e.g. the one by Cesiri (2017), all proper names of local places, monuments, museums, festivals, restaurants, or parks mentioned in the guidebooks in Italian were excluded from the study. A major finding compared to earlier texts is that modern guides almost

exclusively use the Italian name, they do not translate *Castello di Miramare* as *Schloss Miramare*. Only toponyms that have a lexicalised German variant but are nevertheless rendered in Italian for mostly discursive reasons, e.g. la *Serenissima* for Venice, were included in the analysis.

For each example, the subtext genre in which it is found was annotated. Finally, for each subtext genre, I evaluated to which semantic field the Italianisms found here belong and what function they have. For an analysis of the status of the individual lexical units in the donor and recipient languages, their morphological adaptation, the typographical integration into the texts written in German and the strategies of explication of their referents, I refer to Gärtig-Bressan (2022b: 140–143).

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Quantitative distribution of languaging in the analysed guidebooks

In the four guides analysed, there are a total of 1,158 examples of languaging at token level, in a total of 430 types (type-token ratio 0.37). The following table shows the distribution in the single guides; this varies significantly not only owing to the different text lengths (Table 1).

As the number of types and tokens per page in ADAC, Marco Polo and Polyglott shows, these three mainstream guides are comparable with each other as regards the number and the density of examples of languaging on both type- and token-level, with only slightly higher values for Polyglott. Also, the type-token ratio is roughly equal and rather high for the three guidebooks, showing us only few repetitions of the single units.

The far longer guide by Michael Müller, in contrast, contains more evidence of languaging in absolute terms, but a much lower number of types in relative terms (0.94 per page) and a far higher number of tokens (2.62 per page) and a correspondingly low type-token ratio. The lower density of types can be explained by the

Table 1: Quantitative distribution of languaging in the guidebooks analysed.

Guide	Number of types (types per page)	Number of tokens (tokens per page)	Type-token ratio
ADAC (pages analysed: 71)	91 (1.28)	117 (1.65)	0.78
Marco Polo (pages analysed: 75)	81 (1.08)	101 (1.35)	0.80
Polyglott (pages analysed: 73)	99 (1.36)	134 (1.84)	0.74
Michael Müller (pages analysed: 308)	291 (0.94)	806 (2.62)	0.36
TOTAL (pages analysed: 527)	430 (0.82)	1.158 (2.20)	0.37

length of the guide and thus the more extensive presentation of content, and also by the fact that the evaluative function of this guide is weaker than in the more commercial guides. Languaging is also a tool used to arouse interest. The higher type-token ratio may be related to the overall more repetitive style of the guide, which revisits the same content in several places, and also by the fact that a variety of places is presented, while the other guides make a selection. This explains the frequent repetition of certain units, such as *Piazza* (48 occurrences) in the descriptions of places or *Osteria* (30 occurrences) in the gastronomic tips, which are placed at the end of the descriptions of places in this guide.

3.3.2 Semantic and functional areas of the languaging examples in the travel guides analysed, and their status in the language of the travel destination

Table 2 (cf. Table 3 with further comments in Gärtig-Bressan 2022b: 137–139) provides a quantitative overview of the semantic-functional areas to which the individual examples of languaging in the travel guides belong, i.e., which categories of languaging are relevant for the region and which of these examples are then distributed across the individual subtext genres.

Table 2: Semantic and functional areas of the languaging examples in the analysed travel guides.

Category	Types		Tokens		Examples
Culinaria	157	36.5 %	349	30.1 %	*Aceto balsamico*[a] 'balsamic vinegar'; *Baccalà* 'dried salt-cured cod'; *Gnocchi*
Of which typical for FVG	61	38.9 %	143	41.0 %	*Boreto* 'typical fish stew'; *capo in b* 'coffee designation in Trieste'; *cuguluf* 'typical cake'; *frico* 'regional dish made from cheese and potatoes'; *gubana* 'typical yeast cake with nuts'; *jota* 'typical soup'; *ljubljanska* 'Slovene schnitzel'; *muset con brovade* 'typical dish of pork and sour turnips'; *palacinche* 'a kind of pancake'
Language guide	57	13.3 %	74	6.4 %	*Buongiorno*; *Ciao*; *il* [sic!] *scontrino per favore* 'the bill, please'
Wine	41	9.5 %	168	14.5 %	*cru* 'cru (wine rating)'; *DOC-Weine* 'wines bearing the *DOC*-label'; *Ribolla Gialla* 'regional wine'; *Schioppettino* 'regional wine'
Accommodation and gastronomy	28	6.5 %	203	17.5 %	*Albergo* 'hotel'; *Agriturismo* 'farm where tourists can board or eat local products'; *Ristorante* 'restaurant'; *Trattoria*

Table 2: (continued)

Category	Types		Tokens		Examples
Of which typical for FVG	5	17.9 %	33	16.3 %	*Albergo Diffuso* 'accommodation spread throughout a village with a common reception; typical for the mountain regions'; *Buffet* 'Trieste snack bar'; *Osmizza* 'place opened few days a year where typical wines and products are sold and consumed directly in the cellars and cellars of the farmers who produce them'; *prosciutterie* 'local where ham is produced and/or consumed'
Cultural and geographical features of the region	20	4.6 %	50	4.3 %	*Fogolar* 'open fireplace, found in many typical restaurants'; *Casone* 'thatched fishing hut in the lagoon' *Bora*; *Macchia* 'maquis'; *Carso* 'karst'
Toponyms	15	3.5 %	24	2.0 %	*Serenissima*; *Furlan* 'Friulian'; *Mitteleuropa*[b] 'Central Europe'
Architecture and art	11	2.6 %	88	7.6 %	*Palazzi* 'palaces'; *Campanile* 'campanile; bell tower'; *Villa* 'villa'
Way of life	10	2.3 %	22	1.9 %	*Aperitivo* 'aperitif'; *Tajut* 'glas of wine'; *Dolcefarniente* 'delightful idleness'
History	10	2.3 %	12	1.0 %	*La Grande Guerra* 'the Great War'; *Irredenta*; *Risorgimento*
Quotations	9	2.1 %	9	0.8 %	*La sera scende sulla mia giornata* 'Evening descends on my day'; *Re dei Fiumi Alpini* 'King of the Alpine Rivers'; *In nome de Dio, avanti!* 'In the name of God, forward!'
Local colour	7	1.6 %	10	0.9 %	*Bambini* 'children'; *Vino* 'wine'; *Intermezzi*
Urbanism	7	1.6 %	68	5.9 %	*Piazza* 'square'; *Centro Storico* 'old town, historic center'; *Borgo* 'village'
Other	14	3.2 %	24	2.1 %	
Total	430	100.0 %	1,158	100.0 %	

[a]All examples are italicised as object-language evidence although other fonts and typographic emphasis may be found in the guide texts. The use of initial capitals, here and in all other examples, follows the spelling in the analysed guidebooks.
[b]The inhabitants of the region use the German word *Mitteleuropa* to define their own cultural affiliation and identity. The Marco Polo travel guide reads: "Glanz tritt in die Augen der Triestiner, wenn sie von Mitteleuropa reden. Der deutsche Ausdruck spielt auf die Bedeutung der Region zur Zeit der k. u. k. Monarchie an." [The people of Trieste get shiny eyes when they speak of *Mitteleuropa*. The German expression alludes to the importance of the region at the time of the imperial and royal monarchy.] (Marco Polo: 23).

As the few examples in the table show, and as has already been explained above, not all occurrences of languaging are lexemes originally from Italian. In FVG, Friulian is protected as a minority language and is alive and relevant in everyday language use. Therefore, the travel guides also contain Friulian elements, e.g. in the

Table 3: Evidence of languaging from other languages than Italian.

Language	Number of occurrences
Friulian	16
German and German dialects	10
Slovene	5
English	3
French	2
TOTAL	36

names for typical dishes (*muset e brovade*), as a proper name of the language (*Furlan*) or with the greeting formula *Mandi*.

In some linguistic islands, German dialects are still spoken today, as is explained in the guides and evidenced in the presentation of the mountain village of Sauris with examples such as *Kheirar* 'sweeper, a figure of the local carnival' or *Rueß* 'soot' from the *Zahrer Sprache*.

Regional Italian has historically been strongly influenced by Slovene and German, and, accordingly, the guidebook texts also contain words such as *ljubljanska* or *Osmizza* (<Slov.) and *cuguluf, Krapfen, Mitteleuropa* or *palacinche* (<Germ.). In the text, languaging thus also helps to sensitise tourists to the special language contact situation in the region. This should apply in general to tourism material on destinations characterised by a similar situation. More recent is the influence from French and English, with examples of languaging such as *WiFi*, the term commonly used in Italy for *wireless local area network*, which is usually called *WLAN* in Germany. Table 3 shows the distribution of the 36 non-originally Italian examples of languaging across the individual languages. In total, they account for 8.4 % of all types.

3.3.3 Languaging in the subtext genres

3.3.3.1 Languaging in orientation texts

As has been seen, the function of orientation texts serves to introduce the place and also to advertise it, evoking elements that are already present in the mind of the potential traveller and creating a specific image. The Italianisms that are preferably used in this kind of subtext are divided up accordingly. Distinctive geographical and cultural features are introduced with their Italian names as pieces of the mosaic that form the overall picture of FVG that is constructed here, e.g. the *Macchia* 'maquis' as the typical vegetation of the Riviera Triestina (Marco Polo and Michael Müller) and the dreaded winds of the *Bora* (Michael Müller) or the typical open fireplace *fogolar*

found in many inns, and the *Casoni*, thatched fishermen's houses in the lagoons of Grado and Marano. Some typical dishes are also already introduced in the orientation texts, e.g. the *Prosciutto* of San Daniele and Sauris or the nut cake *Gubana* (both in Marco Polo and Michael Müller). In addition to these regional specialties, some dishes such as *Tortellini*, *Pizza*, or *Gelato*, widespread throughout Italy and known internationally, are also mentioned in order to tie in with the readers' knowledge and expectations. In addition to food, wine is also a key element: in Michael Müller's orientation text on the Colli Orientali wine-growing region, there are references to almost all wine varieties grown in the region (e.g. *(Tocai) Friulano*, *Ribolla Gialla*, *Schioppettino*, *Vitovska*) and designations such as *DOC-Gebiete* 'DOC areas' (Michael Müller).

Italianisms from the Accommodation and gastronomy category have also entered the orientation texts, but less so in the case of items that denote establishments common throughout Italy (*Albergo*, *Ristorante*, *Osteria*, etc.), and more for items that are typical of FVG: *Alberghi Diffusi*, found especially in the mountain areas, *Osmizze*, typical temporary places selling new home-grown wine and local products in the Karst region or the *Prosciutterie* of San Daniele (Marco Polo, Michael Müller, Polyglott).

Italianisms from the semantic field of urbanism are used to characterise the towns and villages of the region, e.g. *Piazza* and *Centro Storico* as in the example from ADAC cited in the introduction (cf. also Marco Polo and Michael Müller). However, the choice of Italian terms over possible German ones (e.g. *Altstadt* for *Centro Storico* 'old town') could be interpreted as an indication that the texts take on an advertising function and that the Italianisms are intended to convey positive values. This becomes even clearer with Italianisms such as *Bambini* and *Grandezza* in the following examples, whose function may be to convey the feeling of Italianity and to evoke corresponding positive clichés – Italy as a country particularly fond of children and the grandeur of Italian elegance.

> Spiel und Spaß für Bambini [Fun and games for bambini] (as a heading to a section on amusement parks, ADAC: 12).

> Als Zeichen von „Grandezza" entstanden damals überall prächtige Palazzi, u. a. die Börse, die Theater und das auch heute noch anerkannt gute Opernhaus. [As a sign of "grandezza", splendid palazzi were built everywhere at that time, including the stock exchange, the theatres, and the opera house, still fully functioning today.] (Orientation text on Trieste, Michael Müller: 208–209)

With *Aperitivo-Kultur*, *passeggiata*, *tajut* or *Dolcefarniente* (ADAC), Italianisms are used which can be subsumed under the term lifestyle and tie in with the cliché of Italy as a place of pleasure.

> Die Aperitivo-Kultur ist in Italien sehr ausgeprägt. Nach getanem Tagwerk genießt man zur Entspannung mit Freunden gern ein Gläschen im Stehen, Sitzen oder während der obligatorischen »passegiata« [sic!], dem abendlichen Flanieren. In Venedig heißt das Glas Wein zum Beginn des Abends »ombra«, im Friaul »tajut«. [The aperitivo culture is very pronounced in Italy. After a day's work, people like to relax with friends over a glass of wine while standing, sitting or during the obligatory "passegiata" [sic!], the evening stroll. In Venice the glass of wine at the beginning of the evening is called "ombra", in Friuli "tajut".] (ADAC: 12)

The orientation texts also contain the Italian variant of toponyms (*furlan* for the Friulian language in ADAC, *Friuli-Venezia Giulia* in Polyglott) and personal names (*Francesco Giuseppe* for the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph in ADAC) or their epithets (*Serenissima* for Venice in Polyglott; *Città delle Coltellerie*, City of Knives for Maniago, *Re dei Fiumi Alpini* for the Tagliamento River in Michael Müller). These names serve as practical information to prepare the traveller for the names they will hear on the spot or read on signs, but in these subtexts, they also once again serve to create Italianity.

Finally, at the end of the first orientation sections in two travel guides, we find the Italian routine formula *buon appetito!* and the Friulian greeting *Mandi*:

> Ein paar Tropfen [Olivenöl] nur auf der Eierspeise, und der Gourmet-Himmel öffnete sich: *buon appetito!* [A few drops [of olive oil] only on the egg dish, and gourmet heaven opened up: *buon appetito!*] (Polyglott: 10)

> Fazit: Es muss nicht immer die Adria sein. Ein Weinaufenthalt in einem der zahlreichen komfortablen Agriturismi der Colli, Wanderurlaub in den Alpen, eine Studienreise auf den Spuren der friulanischen Renaissancekünstler, […] – das Friaul bietet Stoff für viele Urlaube und hat schon so manchen Liebhaber für sich gewonnen. „Mandi Friuli" – Sei gegrüßt, Friaul! [Conclusion: It doesn't always have to be the Adriatic. A wine visit in one of the many comfortable agriturismi in the Colli, a hiking holiday in the Alps, a study trip in the footsteps of Friulian Renaissance artists, […] – Friuli offers material for many holidays and has already won over many a lover. "Mandi Friuli" – Greetings, Friuli!] (Michael Müller: 11)

The readers are also welcomed linguistically, so to speak, before they travel into the Italian environment they long for.

Generalising, we can say that evidence for languaging in the orientation texts supports their constative-asserting and evaluative function. Languaging units to designate realia (such as natural phenomena, cultural, culinary, and gastronomic features), serve, like snapshots, as images for the most important topics introduced in the subtext genre and fulfil the naming and translating function since they usually name unknown elements that have no equivalent in the travellers' native language. They are expected to be found in tourism material on every destination. However, the use of units such as *bambini* with the function of creating local colour and evoking positive clichés is only possible for destinations with lexemes that are at least

rudimentarily known in the language of the travellers, and about which at least some clichéd positive ideas are present in the culture of the traveller.

3.3.3.2 Languaging in sightseeing texts

There are only a few examples of languaging in the sightseeing texts, apart from those in the semantic categories of urbanism, architecture, and art. Here, it is above all the units *Campanile*, *Castello*, *Centro Storico*, *Loggia*, *Palazzo*, *Piazza*, and *Villa* that have a high number of tokens in all the guides analysed. In addition, there are *borgo* 'village' and *città vecchia* 'old town' (Polyglott), *città ideale* 'ideal city', *lungomare* 'seafront', *pietà* 'Pietà' and *scuderie* 'stables' (Michael Müller), among others.

Some historical figures and events are also designated by Italianisms: the *Doge* 'doge' (ADAC), the *Bersaglieri* 'Italian infantry soldiers recognizable by their plumed hats', the *Portatrici Carniche* 'Carnic porters', the *Risorgimento-Kriege* 'risorgimento wars' (Michael Müller).

> Auch Maria Plozner Mentil liegt im Ossario begraben, sie war eine von über tausend Frauen, die als sog. „Portatrici Carniche" (Karnische Träger [sic!]) Proviant und Munition zur Bergfront brachten, jede Trägerin trug 30–40 kg. [Maria Plozner Mentil is also buried in the Ossario, she was one of over a thousand women who carried provisions and ammunition to the mountain front as so-called "Portatrici Carniche" (Carnic porters), each porter carrying 30–40 kg.] (Michael Müller: 24)

Some of the cultural, culinary, and gastronomic specifics already mentioned in the orientation texts recur in the sightseeing texts on individual areas.

There is little evidence of Italianisms for the dissemination of local colour (e.g. *Intermezzi* in Marco Polo). A special feature is *commissario* 'police chief', mentioned six times in a sightseeing text about Trieste in Polyglott; here, a sightseeing tour is constructed around the novel character of Commissario Laurenti, the protagonist of the detective novels of the German writer Veit Heinichen, who has lived and worked in Trieste for many years.

In general, sightseeing texts are supposed to be the subtext genre with the lowest evidence for languaging. The high number of units from the semantic categories of urbanism, architecture and art found in the corpus is attributable to the fact that Italian borrowings from these fields have become international technical terms. Only the denomination of historical figures and the use of proper names in the original language should be a general characteristic for languaging in sightseeing texts, in correspondence with their stating-asserting function.

3.3.3.3 Languaging in advice texts

By far the largest number of Italianisms can be found in the advice texts and here especially in the references to the culinary offerings of the region. Within these, a

distinction must be made between sections that present the culinary specialties of
FVG in general, those that recommend individual shops and their offerings, and
those that mention the respective specialties in suggested restaurants. The former
are in fact difficult to distinguish from in-depth texts. They are found in Marco Polo,
Michael Müller and Polyglott and include *pasta fatta in casa* 'homemade pasta', *dolci*
'sweets', *luftgetrockneter Schinken (prosciutto)* 'air-dried ham', *risotto, Polenta, pasta
e fagioli* 'pasta with beans', *gelati* 'ice cream', *muset e brovada* 'typical dish of pork
and sour turnips', *jota* 'typical soup', *frico* 'typical dish made from cheese and potatos'
and *cjaslons* 'stuffed dumplings' (Polyglott: 44). The ADAC guide recommends visiting
a shop in Cividale:

> Hier gibt es alles erdenklich Getrüffelte sowie Aceto balsamico, Weine, Olivenöl, handgemachte
> Pasta, Weine und Grappe. Auch Süßes hat Tradition: Aus Cividale stammt nämlich die »gubana«,
> ein köstlicher Hefekuchen mit einer Füllung aus Pinienkernen, Rosinen, Mandeln, Hasel- und
> Walnüssen. [Here you can find everything imaginable dishes served with truffles as well as
> aceto balsamico, wines, olive oil, handmade pasta, wines and grappas. There is also a tradition of
> sweets: because Cividale is the home of "gubana", a delicious yeast cake with a filling of pine
> nuts, sultanas, almonds, hazelnuts, and walnuts.] (ADAC: 105)

The names of countless individual dishes can be found in the restaurant tips inserted
at the end of each place description in the sightseeing texts, as in this excerpt:

> Zu den Spezialitäten gehören die *trote alla griglia* (Forellen), aber es gibt auch *carne alla brace*
> und *baccalà con polenta*. [Specialities include *trote alla griglia* (trout), but there is also *carne alla
> brace* and *baccalà con polenta*.] (Michael Müller: 154)

Similar remarks are made in the same position about the wine offer:

> Die Palette der Weine ist vielfältig, vom Friulano über Ribolla bis zum Refosco, das Preis-
> Leistungs-Verhältnis ist angemessen. [The range of wines is varied, from Friulano to Ribolla to
> Refosco, the price-performance ratio is reasonable.] (Michael Müller: 145)

Within these descriptions of individual restaurants, their types such as *Agriturismo,
Osmizza, Prosciutteria* can also be found. The mention in proper names, e.g. *Osteria
La Caramella* (Michael Müller: 144) was not taken into account for the analysis, but
only the general references as in the following example:

> Urige Osteria in einer ehemaligen Mühle, Außenbereich teilweise überdacht. [Quaint osteria in
> a former mill, outside area partially covered.] (Michael Müller: 156)

In addition to the description of individual restaurants, the Polyglott travel guide, for
example, also contains a separate chapter in which not only are the Italian names of
the restaurant establishments given, but the tourist is also told what to expect in each
establishment:

Im *ristorante* wird zumeist gehobene Küche serviert; die *trattoria* hingegen gibt sich einfacher und uriger, mit Schwerpunkt auf regionaler oder Hausmannskost. In einer *rosticceria* stehen vorrangig Grillgerichte auf der Karte, und eine *osteria* ist die ländliche Variante der Trattoria, kann aber auch die venezianische Entsprechung des Triestiner *buffet* […] bezeichnen. Hier verzehrt man zumeist schnelle Gerichte im Stehen. Die *Osmize* [sic!] in der Karstregion sind Buschenschänken, die nur eine bestimmte Zeit im Jahr öffnen und deftiges Essen zu jungem Wein servieren. [The *ristorante* usually serves upscale cuisine; the *trattoria*, on the other hand, is simpler and more rustic, with an emphasis on regional or home-style cooking. In a *rosticceria*, mainly grilled dishes are on the menu, and an *osteria* is the rural version of the *trattoria* but can also be the Venetian equivalent of the Trieste *buffet* […]. Here you mostly eat quick dishes standing up. The *osmize* [sic!] in the Karst region are taverns that only open for a certain time of the year and serve hearty food with young wine.] (Polyglott: 43, emphasis in the original)

While food takes up most of the space, the guidebook texts of course also deal with other practical aspects of planning and carrying out a trip, giving tourists Italian terms for getting there and getting around (for example train types such as *Eurostar*, *Freccia Rossa* [sic!] or *Regionale* or, for motorists, the *ZTL-Zone* 'restricted traffic zone', *Autostrade* 'motorway' or the *Alt Stazione* sign on motorways), telecommunication (e.g. *WiFi* 'Wi-Fi', *carta telefonica* 'phone card', etc.), shops and institutions relevant to the traveller (e.g. *farmacia* 'pharmacy', *tabacchi-Kioske* 'tobacconist's, selling also stamps, bus tickets etc.', *poste* 'post office', *Centro Visite* 'visitors' center', *Uffici Turistici* 'tourist information'), leisure facilities (e.g. *Stabilimenti* 'bathing establishment', *Bagni* 'bathing resort', *Spiagge libere* 'free beaches') and holidays (*Capodanno* 'New Year's Day', *Epifania* 'Epiphany', *Festa della Liberazione* 'Liberation Day from Fascism', *Ognissanti* 'All Saints' Day', etc.).

All travel guides also offer a small travel language guide at the end for communication on site, e.g. under the title *Mini-Dolmetscher Italienisch* 'Mini-Interpreter Italian' in Polyglott (p. 158). These guides were not taken into account for the analysis, but even in the advice texts there are insertions in which Italian takes on the same function. Greetings such as *Ciao*, *Buongiorno* and *Buonasera* (ADAC) are conveyed, as well as tips on train travel (e.g. "**partenza** = Abfahrt, **arrivo** = Ankunft, **binario** = Gleis" '**partenza** = departure, **arrivo** = arrival, **binario** = track' etc. in Michael Müller: 272, emphasis in the original).

Generalising, we can say that the instructive function of advice texts is also the function of languaging within this subtext genre. Travellers are provided with the expressions that they need to master all the practical aspects of the journey, i.e. finding a suitable place to eat, ordering food, getting around and getting information; these expressions are always accompanied by an explanation in their own language. The use and high number of evidence of languaging should be universal in this subgenre, regardless of the destination.

3.3.3.4 Languaging in in-depth texts

Topics of particular relevance to FVG include its history, especially its role in the Italian independence movement of the 19th century and in the First and Second World Wars; its multilingualism, with Friulian as another Romance language alongside Italian; its special culinary traditions, especially the *prosciutto* of San Daniele and the coffee culture in Trieste; its prestigious wines; special gastronomic forms that do not exist elsewhere, and accordingly these are also the topics that are dealt with primarily in info boxes or other forms of in-depth texts. In each of these, evidence of languaging can be found from the corresponding semantic area.

With regard to irredentism, in-depth texts on history include *Risorgimento* and *Irredenta* and, from the period of the First World War *La Grande Guerra* 'the Great War' and that of the Second World War *Leghe bianche* (Michael Müller) and with reference to the atrocities in the karst *foibe* (ADAC).

Polyglott and Michael Müller devote separate sections to the Friulian language, and thus its name *furlan* is found several times in the original language.

With regard to typical gastronomic products, the focus is on San Daniele ham; in the corresponding in-depth texts in Polyglott and Michael Müller we find the Italianism *prosciutto* itself as well as the *DOP* designation of origin. The same two guides also contain in-depth texts on regional wines with the original designations of several varieties and with the *DOC* designation of origin. ADAC dedicates a separate info box to Trieste's coffee culture, which has its own denominations compared to the now internationally known general Italian coffee specialties and designations. This may be confusing for many tourists, and so here – using numerous already known Italianisms not highlighted typographically and unknown ones placed in inverted commas – the tourist is made familiar with the specialties:

> Ein Espresso heißt schlicht »nero«. Ein »caffè macchiato« ist ein »capo«. Ein Cappuccino ist ein »caffelatte«. Wer in Triest einen Cappuccino bestellt, bekommt einen »caffè macchiato«, also lediglich einen Espresso mit einem Schuss Milch. Wer eine große Tasse will, muss »cappuccino grande« oder einen »caffè macchiato grande« ordern. [An espresso is simply called "nero". A "caffè macchiato" is a "capo". A cappuccino is a "caffelatte". If you order a cappuccino in Trieste, you get a "caffè macchiato", which is just an espresso with a shot of milk. If you want a large cup, you have to order a "cappuccino grande" or a "caffè macchiato grande".] (ADAC: 91)

The food and wine culture of the region is presented in a particularly lively way in the Polyglott guide, namely in the form of a visit to the famous Triestine cook Ami Scabar. The corresponding chapter (pp. 27–28) entitled *Triest is eine Frau*, 'Trieste is a woman', a quotation from Umberto Saba, gets its impression of authenticity not least from the Italian names of dishes and ingredients (*Risotto* 'risotto', *Scampi* 'scampi', *branzino* 'sea bass', *ravioli di pesce* 'fish ravioli'), wine (*Vitovska*) and another quotation:

der Geschmack der Region, »l'espressione del territorio«, sagt Ami, sei ihr das Wichtigste. [the taste of the region, "l'espressione del territorio", says Ami, is the most important thing to her.] (Polyglott: 27).

The chapter is an example of the new trend of personalisation and storytelling in modern travel guides (cf. Calvi 2017: 42).

Finally, another noteworthy case of languaging within the in-depth texts can be found in the Polyglott guide (pp. 138). It contains an infobox on the Lombards and presents the words *scherzo* 'joke', *fiasco* 'failure' and *guerra* 'war' as examples of lexical traces left by them in the Italian language.

The in-depth texts are the least conventionalised subtext genre and, consequently, languaging can take on very different functions here: a more assertive one as in the last example, a more instructive one in conjunction with naming and translating as in the section on the coffee specialities, and the function of constructing a scene such as the encounter with the cook making it seem more authentic and alive. The last case is consistent with the scenes in travel documentaries described by Jaworski et al. (2003). All these uses of the languaging technique are possible regardless of a specific travel destination.

4 Conclusions

In the four travel guides about FVG analysed, a total of 430 types and 1,158 tokens (type-token ratio 0.37) could be found that attest to languaging, with notable quantitative differences between the three more commercial guidebooks by ADAC, Marco Polo, and Polyglott and the guidebook by Michael Müller. In terms of the semantic-functional categories to which they belong, culinaria is by far the largest group of Italianisms in the German texts, accounting for about a third of all examples of both types and tokens. In terms of types, the categories of wine and language guides follow, while in terms of tokens, accommodation and wine are in second and third position. Languaging not only inserts Italian lexemes in the German texts, but also lexemes originating from Friulian, Slovene, and local German dialects, the languages in close contact with Italian in the northern Italian region.

The following picture emerged for the distribution of the languaging examples in the individual subtext genres of the travel guides: In the orientation texts, in accordance with their function of presenting the region at a comprehensive level, there is a mosaic of Italianisms from the relevant semantic categories of natural and cultural features, *culinaria*, wine, and typical forms of accommodation. Also frequent here are Italianisms such as *Bambini* or *Grandezza*, whose aim is to spread Italianity with its positive connotations thus supporting the implicit advertising function of

this subtext genre. These units usually do not require translation or other forms of mediation, as the reader usually understands them, even without knowing Italian.

At a quantitative level, the sightseeing texts contain rather little evidence of languaging and very few types. The higher token count is achieved by units from the fields of architecture and art as well as urbanism such as *Campanile*, *Palazzo*, or *Piazza*, which occur in most place descriptions. For some places, culinary products and special types of accommodation replace the sights, thus making the corresponding Italianisms such as *Prosciutto* appear here more frequently.

The highest number of languaging examples is found in the advice texts, especially for the presentation of the culinary offer. The corresponding units often need translation or paraphrasing. Their function is a very practical one, namely to inform about dishes, to understand the menu and to order food. In addition to culinary terms, there are Italian words for other practical aspects of travel, such as the names of shops, terms relating to transport or holidays. They are always accompanied by a translation, according to their function of naming and translating (cf. Jaworski et al. 2003). The advice texts, such as travel dictionaries, can also contain notes on greetings and individual practical phrases (e.g. *il* [sic!] *scontrino per favore*, 'the receipt please', Polyglott: 19).

Finally, in the in-depth texts, the Italianisms come from a few semantic areas that are set as particularly relevant for the region: the Italian history of the 19th and 20th centuries, multilingualism in the region and its food and wine peculiarities. The corresponding Italianisms are for the most part realia terms, they appear linguistically mediated and support the texts in their function of conveying knowledge and instructing the reader. As the texts are less conventionalised, we find other functions as well, for example the creation of authenticity in the report of direct speech.

For future research, it would be interesting to examine the use of the languaging technique in other text genres (and subtext genres, if applicable) from the field of tourism, especially in the newer sources available online, which are already predominantly used by younger travellers today, and here especially in those where the travellers themselves become the text producer. In travelblogs, it is easy to check whether the linguistic patterns from established tourism text genres such as languaging are so strong that travellers use them themselves. Some preliminary studies indicate that this is the case (cf. Cappelli 2013; Dann and Liebman Parrinello 2007; Gärtig-Bressan 2022a: 34).

References

Travel guides analysed

ADAC = Maiwald, Stefan. 2019. *ADAC Reiseführer Venetien und Friaul. Zwischen Alpen und Adria*. München: Gräfe und Unzer Verlag.

Marco Polo = Dürr, Bettina & Kirstin Hausen. 2017. *Venetien & Friaul. Verona, Padua, Triest*, 8th edn. Ostfildern: Mairdumont.

Michael Müller = Fohrer, Eberhard. 2019. *Friaul-Julisch Venetien*. Chemnitz: Michael Müller.

Polyglott = Schetar, Daniela & Friedrich Köthe. 2019. *Polyglott on tour. Venetien Friaul on Tour. 14 individuelle Touren durch die Regionen*. München: Gräfe und Unzer Verlag.

Research literature

Adamzik, Kirsten. 2008. Textsorten und ihre Beschreibung. In Nina Janich (ed.), *Textlinguistik. 15 Einführungen*, 145–176. Tübingen: Narr.

Adamzik, Kirsten. 2016. *Textlinguistik. Grundlagen, Kontroversen, Perspektiven*, 2nd edn. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Auer, Peter. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Towards a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3. 309–332.

Baumann, Tania. 2018. Zur Text-Bild-Relation in deutschen und italienischen Reiseführern. In Anne-Kathrin Gärtig, Roland Bauer & Matthias Heinz (eds.), *Pragmatik – Diskurs – Kommunikation. Festschrift für Gudrun Held zum 65. Geburtstag. Pragmatica – discorso – comunicazione. Saggi in omaggio a Gudrun Held per il suo 65mo compleanno*, 226–237. Wien: Praesens.

Boyer, Marc & Philippe Viallon. 1994. *La communication touristique*. Paris: PUF.

Brinker, Klaus. 2005. *Linguistische Textanalyse. Eine Einführung in Grundbegriffe und Methoden*, 6th edn. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Calvi, Maria Vittoria. 2000. *Il linguaggio spagnolo del turismo*. Viareggio & Lucca: Baroni.

Calvi, Maria Vittoria. 2017. The language of tourism in new travel guides: Discursive identities and narratives. In Maurizio Gotti, Stefania Maci & Michele Sala (eds.), *Ways of seeing, ways of being: Representing the voices of tourism*, 25–48. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Cappelli, Gloria. 2013. Travelling words: Languaging in English tourism discourse. In Alison Yarrington, Stefano Villani & Julia Kelly (eds.), *Travels and translations. Anglo-Italian cultural transactions*, 353–374. Amsterdam: Brill.

Cesiri, Daniela. 2017. Representing Venice's local culture to international tourists. The use of the "languaging" technique in websites in English. *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie occidentale* 51. 195–216.

Clyne, Michael. 2003. *Dynamics of language contact: English and immigrant languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dann, Graham. 1996. *The language of tourism: A sociolinguistic perspective*. Wallingford: CAB International.

Dann, Graham & Giuli Liebman Parrinello. 2007. From travelogue to travelblog: (Re)-negotiating tourist identity. *Acta Turistica* 19(1). 7–29.

Ehlich, Konrad. 1986. Xenismen und die bleibende Fremdheit eines Fremdsprachensprechers. In Ernest W. B. Hess-Lüttich (ed.), *Integration und Identität. Soziokulturelle und psycho-pädagogische Probleme im Sprachunterricht mit Ausländern*, 43–54. Narr: Tübingen.

Errico, Elena & Sara Chessa. 2018. Comunicazione interculturale nel discorso del turismo: Il caso di alcune guide sulla Spagne e sull'Andalusia. In Tania Baumann (ed.), *Reiseführer – Sprach- und Kulturmittlung im Tourismus/Le guide turistiche – mediazione linguistica e culturale in ambito turistico*, 87–106. Peter Lang: Bern.

Fandrych, Christian & Maria Thurmair. 2011. *Textsorten im Deutschen. Linguistische Analysen aus sprachdidaktischer Sicht*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Francesconi, Sabrina. 2012. *Generic integrity and innovation in tourism texts in English*. Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche.

Gärtig-Bressan, Anne-Kathrin. 2020. L'immagine del Friuli Venezia Giulia nelle guide turistiche in lingua tedesca. *Rivista internazionale di tecnica della traduzione* 22. 47–83.

Gärtig-Bressan, Anne-Kathrin. 2022a. Il Friuli Venezia Giulia nell'immaginario del turista tedesco, austriaco e svizzero. In Ilaria Micheli (ed.), *Ragioni Comuni 2017 – 2018. Atti del convegno di chiusura delle attività progettuali realizzate tramite assegni di ricerca finanziati dalla Regione Friuli Venezia Giulia*, 17–37. Trieste: EUT.

Gärtig-Bressan, Anne-Kathrin. 2022b. Italianismen in deutschsprachigen Tourismustexten. Eine Analyse am Beispiel von Reiseführern über die Region Friaul-Julisch Venetien. *Zeitschrift für interkulturelle Germanistik* 13(1). 125–147.

Giambagli, Anna. 2009. Quando l'istituzione parla la lingua del turismo: Un percorso comunicativo tra parola e immagine. *Rivista internazionale di tecnica della traduzione* 11. 1–17.

Giambagli, Anna. 2011. Gusti e profumi del Friuli Venezia Giulia: Se il Catalogo parla ad un'altra lingua. In Maria Grazia Margarito, Marie Hédiard & Nadine Celotti (eds.), *La comunicazione turistica. Lingue, culture, istituzioni a confronto*, 5–26. Torino: Libreria Cortina.

Giambagli, Anna. 2013. Costruire un'immagine turistica per il Friuli Venezia Giulia. Itinerari di narrazione e di traduzione. In Doris Höhmann (ed.), *Tourismuskommunikation. Im Spannungsfeld von Sprach- und Kulturkontakt*, 225–241. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Giordana, Francesco. 2004. *La comunicazione del turismo tra immagine, immaginario e immaginazione*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Gumperz, John J. 1964. Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi. In Horace G. Lunt (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, Mass., August 27–31, 1962, Boston, MA*, 1115–1124. The Hague: Mouton.

Jaworski, Adam, Crispin Thurlow, Sarah Lawson & Virpi Ylänne-McEwen. 2003. The uses and representations of local languages in tourist destinations: A view from British TV holliday programmes. *Language Awareness* 12(1). 5–29.

Jung, Matthias. 1993. Sprachgrenzen und die Umrisse einer xenologischen Linguistik. *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 19. 203–230.

Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Catherine. 2004. Suivez le guide ! Les modalités de l'invitation au voyage dans les guides touristiques: l'exemple de l' « île d'Aphrodite ». In Fabienne Baider, Marcel Burger & Dionysis Goutsos (eds.), *La communication touristique/Tourist Communication. Approches discursives de l'identité et de l'altérité/Discursive approaches to identity and otherness*, 133–150. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Levendis, Katherine & Andreea Calude. 2019. Perception and flagging of loanwords – a diachronic case-study of Māori loanwords in New Zealand English. *Ampersand* 6. 100056.

Maci, Stefania M. & Michele Sala. 2017. Introduction. In Maurizio Gotti, Stefania Maci & Michele Sala (eds.), *Ways of seeing, ways of being: Representing the voices of tourism*, 9–21. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Manca, Elena. 2016. *Persuasion in tourism discourse: Methodologies and models*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Margarito, Maria Grazia. 2008. Une valise pour bien voyager… avec les italianismes du français. *Synergies Italie* 4. 63–73.

Moser, Wolfgang. 1996. *Xenismen. Die Nachahmung fremder Sprachen*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Müller-Jacquier, Bernd. 2007. Xenismen als Verfremdungen. In Angelika Redder (ed.), *Diskurse und Texte. Festschrift für Konrad Ehlich zum 65. Geburtstag*, 585–597. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Muysken, Pieter. 2000. *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Palazzi, Maria Cristina. 2009a. Friuli Venezia Giulia: Una promozione turistica all'insegna dell'ospitalità e dell'unicità. *Rivista Internazionale di Tecnica della Traduzione* 11. 39–65.

Palazzi, Maria Cristina. 2009b. Ospiti di gente unica. Claim e strategia di promozione turistica. *Rivista Internazionale di Tecnica della Traduzione* 11. 19–37.

Pflanz, Marie-Laure. 2014. Emprunt lexical: Existe-t-il une typologie de la phase néologique? *Neologica* 8. 157–183.

Rampton, Ben. 1995. *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Routledge.

Regione in cifre 2020 = Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia. 2020. Regione in cifre 2020. https://www.regione.fvg.it/rafvg/export/sites/default/RAFVG/GEN/statistica/FOGLIA3/FOGLIA67/allegati/Regione_in_cifre_2020.pdf (accessed 15 May 2022).

Santulli, Francesca. 2010. La guida turistica come genere: Tratti costitutivi e realizzazioni testuali. *E/C* 6. 25–34.

Svanlund, Jan. 2018. Metalinguistic comments and signals: What can they tell us about the conventionalization of neologies? *Pragmatics & Cognition* 25(1). 122–141.

Thurmair, Maria. 2018. Reiseführer: Variationen einer Textsorte. In Tania Baumann (ed.), *Reiseführer – Sprach- und Kulturmittlung im Tourismus/Le guide turistiche – mediazione linguistica e culturale in ambito turistico*, 19–42. Bern: Peter Lang.

Urry, John. 2002. *The tourist Gaze*, 2nd edn. Los Angeles: Sage.

Vestito, Caterina. 2012. La rappresentazione dell'Italia nelle guide turistiche in lingua inglese. In Mirella Agorni (ed.), *Prospettive linguistiche e traduttologiche negli studi sul turismo*, 83–99. Milano: FrancoAngeli.