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English as a Lingua Franca for Tourism: A Pragmatic Study in the Italian Context

PhD Thesis

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To my beloved family

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Abstract

This thesis is a pragmatic study of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) communication in the special language domain of tourism. It explores *overt*, *covert*, and translanguaging practices to define how they foster communicative functions. Furthermore, the multiculturality of the research community object of the study will provide evidence of an original human cluster defined as an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS). Capturing their stance-taking towards English as a Lingua Franca use will contribute to clarifying its iconic social meaning (Coupland 2007).

The study adopts an ethnographic perspective to exemplify the dynamic nature of negotiation in language interaction and the power and cultural relations behind it. Furthermore, it combines the Ethnography of Communication with a microanalytic approach - Conversation Analysis. The triangulation of data deriving from an emic point of observation with an etic one detailed the speakers' multilingual complex and expanded linguistic repertoire (Cogo 2012). It has also acknowledged their attitudes and orientations towards ELF communication, including the central aspects of stance-taking. In detail, my original data includes naturally occurring conversations among the 22 participants in the tour, comprising specialist tourist staff operators of different ages and educational backgrounds and non-expert visitors. The analysis was supported by interviews and questionnaire surveys conducted among participants (for their transcriptions and detailed analysis, see Parise 2022).

In conclusion, this investigation explores ELF communication in an Italian tourism context to support Jenkins's (2015) multilingual view of ELF communication. Conceivably, it will provide evidence of the strategic and dynamical use of speakers' multilingual repertoires used as pragmatic strategies (i.e., the pedagogical function, the interpersonal function, the interpreting function) to accomplish complex social and cognitive activities in the Italian Tourist Industry. Furthermore, the investigation longitudinal participant-observation perspective allowed to define the participants as an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS) since stabler than a TIG (transient international group)[1] (see Pitzl 2016a: 25) or an example of TMC (Transient Multilingual Communities)[2] (see Mortensen and Hazel 2017: 256), but more transient than a CoP in Wenger's sense (1998). Finally, their stance observation will contribute to sociolinguistic theory investigating individual speaker/group dynamics.

[1] "Groups of multilingual ELF users who interact for a particular purpose at a particular location for a certain amount of time. These groups are transient in the sense that a group forms, speakers negotiate and interact, and then the group dissolves again. Each TIG is therefore temporary" (Pitzl 2018: 30).

[2] "Social configurations where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together (physically or otherwise) for a limited period of time around a shared activity" (Mortensen and Hazel 2017: 256).

List of tables and figures

Abbreviations

ACE	The Asian Corpus of English
CA	Conversation analysis
CMC	Computer Mediated Communication
CoP	Communities of Practice
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings
L1	First language (mother tongue)
L2	Second language
L3	Third (additional) language
MA	Master of Arts Degree
MRP	Multilingual Resource Pool
PG	Post Graduate Courses
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
SLA	Second-language acquisition.
TCU	Turn constructional unit.
TELF	Tourism English as a Lingua Franca
TIG	Transient International Group
TMC	Transient Multilingual Communities
UK	United Kingdom
VOICE	The Vienna-Oxford Interactional Corpus of English

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Introduction.

This study aims to find evidence of ELF intercultural and multilingual communication in the special language domain of tourism. It exemplifies the ease and naturalness multilingual interlocutors demonstrated in meaning-making, relying on their diverse repertoire because it is part of their transcultural identity.

Methodologically, the following naturally occurring data analysis combines a microanalytic approach - Conversation Analysis - with Ethnography of Communication. Integrating an emic or an insider data account with an etic perspective has deepened the investigation with information referring to the situated cultural communicative context. Consequently, data were interpreted from a participant-observer point of view, trying to deduce the interlocutors' perspectives. This approach has resulted in a personalised experiential investigation which has not accepted any etic pre-constructed interpretation. Moreover, the situated aspects of the analysed extracts have been accurately listed according to Hymes's (1974) rigorous SPEAKING analytical reference.

First, the multilingual context of the interaction is a visiting tour in Calabria on the 2nd of June 2016 – denominated the "*Byzantine Route"*. The international sample of ELF users participating in this study are some expert staff working in different roles in the Tourism Industry in the south of Italy, and others are non-expert visitors.

This research debate centres on multilingual and multimodal strategies used in a spoken interaction context of language, where the primary interest is accomplishing the following interactive functions:

- pedagogical function;
- the interpersonal function;
- interpreting function.

Furthermore, the diversity of languages and cultures animating this research community will provide evidence of an original human cluster defined as an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS). Within the boundaries of this research perspective, interactants develop their identities from a TIG (transient international group)[3] (see Pitzl 2016a: 25) or an example of TMC (Transient Multilingual Communities)[4] without ever establishing a CoP in Wenger's terms. Moreover, they find unprecedented intercultural and transcultural communication opportunities to represent a 'super-diverse space" of self-expression through multimodal communication, including text, images/videos, and space realia to create meaning and affect. This social space has thriven on translingual practices and transcultural experiences. This transculturality emerged from the data as an essential perspective in interpreting observed

[3] "Groups of multilingual ELF users who interact for a particular purpose at a particular location for a certain amount of time. These groups are transient in the sense that a group forms, speakers negotiate and interact, and then the group dissolves again. Each TIG is therefore temporary" (Pitzl 2018: 30).

[4] "Social configurations where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together (physically or otherwise) for a limited period of time around a shared activity" (Mortensen and Hazel 2017: 256).

interactions. A detailed description of this social group's stance and attitude has been carried out through the longitudinal lent adopted in participant observation. This analytical perspective highlighted the complexities of stance-taking about novice/expert roles, social norms, and the indexicalisation of context and participants' relationships in this "*glocal* space", spanning references from the ancient past through the present and towards the future.

Finally, my motivation for choosing this topic comes from my very personal multilingual background.

I have been interested in linguistics since my undergraduate bachelor's degree in Comparative Studies - Japanese and English. However, the event that triggered my interest in English as a Lingua Franca happened in my private home in Italy. In this context, I observed members of the same family household and permanent staff interacting. They were my two-year-old child, me (bilingual English/Italian), and the Argentinian nursemaid, who had been living in Italy for a long time.

I have reported an extract of this short dialogue below because its multilingual strategies sparked my interest. Since it happened six years ago, I have reflected on the interactants' communicative intentions defined by their verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Moreover, I have considered their affectionate tone, genuine smiles, and amused expressions revealed by the turned-up corners of their mouths and squinting. Finally, I have pondered the rules regulating the interaction and the hierarchical relationship among the speakers involved. Although the content of the exchange was purely informal casual talk, it had a didactic purpose. The adults interacting with the child assessed his speaking performance, checking listening understanding and speaking abilities. Besides, one of the adults, the mother, was visibly ranked higher in status and authority than the other adult, the nursemaid. Consequently, it appeared to me that the child's performance was indirectly providing evidence of the educational achievement of his carers.

Extract: *"The baby"* (S1: bilingual – English/Italian, S2: learning to talk in Italian and English, S3: bilingual – Spanish/Italian)[5].

1 S1: […] (squint) <slow> do you like it ? </slow> (squint (2))

2 S2: <nods><nods><nods> <L1it> <pvc> sish **{si}** \sis\ </pvc> </L1it> <nods> <nods>

3 S3: (squint) <slow> <LNit> ti piace? </LNit> </slow> (squint (2))

4 S2: <L1it> <pvc> sish **{si}** \sis\ </pvc> </L1it> <nods> <nods>

5 S1: <1> [WEll Done!] </1> @@@

6 S3: <1> <L1sp> [¡BRavo! \bráBo\ ]</L1sp> </1> @@@

[5] The dialogue has been transcribed using VOICE spelling mark-up and Conventions, purposely intended for ELF data. The Jefferson's system provides additional details concerning pauses, sound stretches, hesitation markers, and cut-offs.

Despite its brevity, the extract exemplified an elaborate fabric of multilingual strategies to convey meaning interlacing at different levels of articulation - phonetically and morphologically.

The interaction started with a simple question in English (line 1), the language used in the mother-son daily exchange. However, the baby answered in Italian. What sounded like a code-switch to me at that time hid a more complex cognitive multilingual competence. The pronunciation of the monosyllable **si**, in line 2, is prolonged by a voiceless alveolar sibilant [s], which sounds as the ending laminal in the English corresponding word "yes" / jɛs/ and the Spanish "sì" in the standard variety of Hispanic American[6]. This translanguaging phenomenon, at the level of phonology, revealed the trilingualism of the child, who was acquiring English, Italian and Spanish at the same time.

Moreover, to check to understand, the nursemaid reiterated the same question switching to Italian (line 3), confirming her plurilingual competence. Successfully, the child asserted his satisfaction in the same traslanguage mode substantiating his multilingualism (line 4).

His interlocutors accepted his answer with satisfaction. In fact, despite his young age, the child could express his opinion clearly and promptly. He was well-understood; moreover, his pronunciation could have been standard.

At that point, the nursemaid and I exclaimed our contentment contemporarily (lines 5 and 6). Our comments overlapped and sounded in unison, harmonising our thoughts. We conveyed the same meaning, although we spoke different languages – English and Spanish. Moreover, we used the same prosodic pattern of stress and intonation and concluded our overlapping turns laughing. This spontaneous expression of lively amusement confirmed that we were not competing for the floor. On the contrary, although violating the local management of the turn-taking system, the overlap endorsed a sense of familiarity among multilingual speakers who could easily accommodate the interaction situated needs to achieve understanding.

In conclusion, the variability of forms which characterised this interaction prompted me to investigate the multilingual and multicultural nature of ELF communication relying on speakers' pro-active and co-constructed work. Moreover, my work experience as an English language teacher and the educational needs of vocational high school students I encountered during my career encouraged me to pursue this research path. Their disaffection with curricular tuitional methods and content, considered ineffective in successful interaction in the context of language use in the tourist industry, aroused my research interest and encouraged me to investigate ELF. On the other hand, ELF sociolinguistic research in tourism contexts can provide real examples of language use that my students could acknowledge.

[6] *Seseo* pronunciation has no phonemic distinction between /s/ and /θ/, both realised as [s]. Consequently, it is very recurrent in the carer's speech.

To sum up, this research aims at contributing to the Applied linguistics research field, providing further evidence of the distinctive multilingual nature of ELF communication (Jenkins, J. 2015) and finding motivating pedagogic solutions to adopt an English as a Lingua Franca perspective in language teaching.

1. Conceptualising English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).

I have chosen to investigate this topic because English in tourism is an exciting domain of ELF research. It can provide sociocultural, discursive, and sociolinguistic insights into a kind of professional genre which has yet to be extensively researched within or under the ELF paradigm.

Transnational English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach allows for a better understanding of how English has emerged as a lingua franca in the modern world.

ELF research has oriented its interest in the direction of delocalised international speech communities driven from divergent cultural backgrounds and who do not share any mother tongue in common but who, nonetheless, recognise the communicative convenience of English as a fluid, flexible, contingent, hybrid and deeply intercultural language (Dewey 2007a). The rapid expansion of globalisation processes, facilitated by electronically mediated communication and higher rates of displacement and travel worldwide, have established ELF as the predominant international language of our times.

Overall, ELF researchers agree that ELF is not a variety of language in the traditional sense but a fluid mode of communication characterised by variability, a multilingual nature and interculturality. I will analyse these below concerning research addressing the conceptualisation of ELF.

The first is variability. Firth maintains that variability is a lingua franca factor because 'variation is at the heart of this system' (Firth 2009). Empirical evidence from research demonstrates ELF's inherent hybridity. For example, speakers may use loan words, recycle other parties' language forms, create nonce words – to be used in one single communicative context -and switch to other languages or mix them (Firth 2009) for various purposes, such as promoting intelligibility among speakers from different L1s, expressing cultural identity, promoting solidarity, and deal with relevant social issues. "The inherent fluidity of ELF" (Seidlhofer 2009: 240) has been considered resident in two other areas of expertise rather than in the language or discourse forms produced. These two spheres of competence have been referred to as entailment and metatheory (Firth 2009). "Entailment" involves the linguistic and interactional inherent variability presupposed by any lingua franca interactions expressing the relational ability to recognise and respond to interlocutors' language practice. "Metatheory" concerns the theoretical premises and orientations conceived by assuming a lingua franca outlook on language. This type of logic presupposes practical knowledge and reasoning about how to manage effective communication on a global scale. This conceptual perspective has led to the establishment of the ELF framework in Applied Linguistics.

2.1 Different perspectives in ELF theory.

The thriving number of ELF research publications, which have supported data interpretation and theoretical discussion over the recent years, has covered an evolutionary process of this paradigm within Applied Linguistics. In a state-of-the-art article (2015), Jenkins describes it clearly, suggesting its further

reconceptualisation in the paradigm of multilingualism. At first, research on using English as a Lingua Franca in international communication focused on forms. Researchers envisaged the possibility of identifying and codifying ELF varieties. Jenkins defines this phase as 'ELF 1'. 'ELF 2' followed: empirical data acknowledged ELF's variability denoting it as one of its defining features. In 'ELF 3', English, while always in the (potential) mix, is now conceived as one among many other languages, one resource among many, available but not necessarily used, with ELF defined not merely by its variability but by its complexity and emergent nature.

Theoretically speaking, different streams of conceptualisations have emerged from the analysis. Some rely on a Structuralist view of language (as a self-contained relational structure); others have an emerging and more fluid view of language use.

First, one stream of conceptualisation of English as a Lingua Franca and its interpretation of data collection can be considered in line with the classical Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole* (Vetchinnikova, 2015) or the Chomskyan distinction between competence and performance, "Internalised language" or "I-language" and "Externalised language" or "E-language" (Chomsky 1986). Widdowson and Seidlhofer exemplify a view of ELF actualisation in realising the 'underlying language structure' emerging by the power of creativity. According to Seidlhofer, ELF usage functionally exploits the possibilities inherent in the virtual language in an entirely natural way. That is how language evolves in producing linguistic forms per users' communicative needs.

Another stream of conceptualisation focuses on how speakers' identity, coming from an increasing number of worldly linguistic backgrounds, emerges in their use of English. Mauranen (2007, 2012, 2015) has defined these varieties as lects, 'similects' representing a second-order language contact example resulting in bilingual creativity. The consequence is intercultural communication via ELF.

A further conceptualisation of ELF (Baird, Baker and Kitazawa 2014) approaches the complexities of language and communication more holistically. This perspective emphasises the prominence of language interpretation from various aspects and draws upon complexity theory as a frame of reference to functionally highlight the dynamic nature of language. Consequently, it construes ELF language practice as an emergent phenomenon - a social act. Its interpretation entails not only interactants' correlation with their physical, immanent interlocutors but also how they associate with and react to social constructs, expectations, norms, and meanings.

Baker's contribution to the conceptualisation of ELF defines it as a form of intercultural communication since it involves interlocutors with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This perspective, firstly and most obviously, entails that ELF is not culturally or identity 'neutral', as has been suggested by some ELF researchers (e.g., House, 2014). Secondly, there is no implication in this characterisation of ELF that it is a unique form of intercultural communication (as Firth, 2009 argues), so the communication

strategies, pragmatic strategies, linguistic awareness, and intercultural awareness observed in ELF communication are likely to occur in other forms of multilingual and intercultural communication.
From a poststructuralist perspective, Baker's analytical model for the delineation of the role of linguistic and Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) focuses explicitly on the intercultural dimension of ELF, where the concept of national culture and language is overcome to incorporate the intercultural praxis and understanding of the fluid, complex and emergent nature of the "relationships between language, culture and communication in much intercultural communication including through ELF" (Baker 2015).
In the following paragraphs, I have outlined the main features of each scholarship mentioned above, which has contributed to shaping my theoretical point of view on language and its pragmatic use.

2.1.1 A structuralist view on language.

Considering the sociolinguistic circumstances in which language is used, spreads and changes all over the world, Seidlhofer defines ELF as: "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer, 2011 p. 7). She believes ELF relies on an "underlying abstract set of rules" (2011: 112). She argues that those forms are part of the virtual English language that both ELF and (ENL) English native language users refer to when using English. According to her, ELF usage functionally exploits the possibilities inherent in the virtual language in an entirely natural way. That is how language evolves in producing linguistic forms per users' communicative needs. This adaptation can enhance functional effectiveness, which is incompatible with conformity to the regulative conventions that define ENL grammar and usage. According to Seidlhofer, ELF creativity derives from the speakers' ability to draw on the abstract virtual rules of encoded possibilities to produce linguistic forms that are functionally appropriate and effective in their real-time performances. Actualisations often account for language innovation and development.
A different interpretation to Seidlhofer's (2011) regarding the virtual language is suggested by Hülmbauer, who writes that "ELF cannot be described by reference to a specific set of linguistic forms and rules" (2013: 68) because two opposite forces in tension inherently constitute ELF: "E – the relatively more stable English code as a basis – and LF – its ever-changing, flexible lingua franca adaptation" (Hülmbauer 2013: 52). She implies that this contrast does not hinder communication. On the contrary, it enhances understanding in various constellations of contexts and situated interaction. "The intercultural ecologies in which ELF exchanges happen" overcome the factor of substantial forms (cf. also Hülmbauer 2007).
Despite the descriptive remarks on ELF situational adaptability and communicative effectiveness, this line of conceptualisation premises an almost monolingual cognitive phenomenon. According to it, any language performance deliberately relies on the latent presence of the English language system. This analysis intends to pave the way for studying the sociolinguistic and pragmatic approach to the functional

use of ELF. However, at its initial stage, it needs to include its multidimensionality and multilingualism openly. Consequently, as discussed in the following sections, I have interrogated further research to find a clear perspective underlining ELF's hybrid nature.

2.1.2 ELF as a contact language.

The international status of English in tourism, as in many other language domains, has made ELF's theoretical thinking on language contact and change a crucial object of my investigation in designing this research project. For this reason, I have concentrated on what kinds of language contact may occur in English as a Lingua Franca context.

ELF describes a specific kind of language contact characterising its speakers' identity-sensible use of English. Mauranen (2007, 2012, 2015) has defined these varieties as 'lects' pertinent to a specific language background of the speakers because they are able to echo their L1 origin and similarities among their use outside their language community. The hybrid similects that come together in ELF are related through being kinds of English in contact observable from a macrosocial viewpoint. (Mauranen 2012).

From the three perspectives that were chosen to define lingua franca communication - the macrosocial, the cognitive, and the microsocial- Mauranen pointed out a general similarity between academic ELF and Standard English because of apparent syntagmatic relationships. Accordingly, grammar structural simplification was shown most clearly in regularised morphology. However, lexical complexity in structural fluctuation and approximation, even in one speaker's use, suggested weaker structural entrenchment. On the other hand, the most frequent words were found to be proportionally repeated more frequently, strengthening the 'core' vocabulary, which was considered central to communication. Finally, enhanced explicitness as a prominent characteristic of ELF was supported in many different ways. For example, metadiscourse, anticipatory markers of local organisation, negotiating topics, rephrasing and echoing were the main phenomena taken up and observed in their role of making discourse more explicit by Mauranen. The hypothesis considers explicitation a negotiation strategy in conversations where interlocutors share fewer social and cultural assumptions. Therefore, a greater incidence of hesitations and repeats helps communication along. This fact has been highlighted by research in ELFA[7] corpus data (Mauranen 2012).

This usage-based approach places significant emphasis on frequency and probability: the more frequent and stronger a cognitive exemplar is, the more probable its further use and resilience in the language (see Mauranen 2012: 33-34). Since lingua franca use exerts considerable processing pressure on speakers, in constraint conditions of limited resources and multi-source competition, it favours the settling of certain preferred expressions for given meaning or 'fixing' (Vetchinnikova 2014). For this reason, observation

[7] English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) undertaken at the University of Tampere and University of Helsinki (Mauranen 2003) - (http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfacorpus).

of language in use through corpus linguistic methods of investigation[8] by probability and counting frequency allows language regularities to be researched. Preference patterns changing in ELF use do not appear among the top frequency items. This slow change process has been postulated to span three generations of speakers before clearly appearing in evidence. This view is compatible with language emergence theories (e.g., Hopper 1987; Bybee and Hopper 2001a; Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006) and language as a complex adaptive system (e.g., Ellis 2011; Larsen-Freeman 2013).

Mauranen, as a leading author in the field, has profoundly contributed to the integration of three analytical perspectives, the macro-social one, which describes what happens in broader language contexts; the cognitive level, which regards the individual online language processing, to understand what is going on in this micro-level of speech; finally, on the third-level analysis, the interface between the two, which is interaction. It considers language emerging from usage rather than existing independently of it. Therefore English, used as a lingua franca, language use, is characterised by emergent properties different from, e.g., native monolingual varieties because produced in distinct conditions (e.g., presence of other languages, global spread). It assumes that the resource language users resort to is not the virtual language or a shared "linguistic code" (Kecskes 2007) but their personal accumulated experiences of the language, and everyone's cognitive representation, as I have discussed in the following section. This background scholarship has encouraged my investigation to become more critical and take on a postmodern outlook on language.

2.1.3 The Emergentist view of language.

According to the latest research (Baird, Baker, and Kitazawa 2014), ELF exemplifies the complexities of language and communication more holistically, highlighting the dynamic nature of language. This perspective emphasises the prominence of language interpretation from various aspects, where isolation and compartmentalisation are troublesome, whilst contextual actualisation has to be momentous.

The principles that characterise Complexity theory, such as non-fixity, incompleteness, and non-linearity, have to be integrated within an analytical framework which is in line with experimental observation in different contexts making allowance for the constituents of the system and their reciprocal relationships. The metaphor of complexity theory applied to interpret ELF communication can support interpretation. From Widdowson's point of view, it regulates the effectiveness, variability, and fluidity of ELF communication conceptually to avoid oversimplifications and artificial limitations.

Blommaert (2010: 197) offers an alternative view to attaining awareness of the concept and function of language. He argues for the existence of a "sociolinguistics of globalisation," which implies "[t]he

[8] In addition to ELFA previously mentioned, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) launched by the Department of English at the University of Vienna (Seidlhofer (2001), - http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/; and the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) carried out at the Hong Kong Institute of Education and completed the in 2014 (Kirkpatrick 2013) - http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace/.

fundamental image of language shifts from a static, totalised, and immobile one to a dynamic, fragmented, and mobile one." As with any communicative encounter, ELF language practice is a social act; its interpretation entails not only interactants' correlation with their physical, immanent interlocutors but also how they associate with and react to social constructs, expectations, norms, and meanings.

What is inherent in this broad approach to language involves dynamic non-linear interrelationships interplaying between various social, physiological, and situational elements in linguistic acts and their features. Investigation of ELF interaction can support understanding of the way situated practices and contextual values, judgements, and dispositions correlate, are performed and become influential concerning space, time and the interlocutors. Although this percipience depends on arbitrary choice, it is determined by the distinguished perception of how indexical associations perform in a specified context. Indexicality is the "semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21). Consequently, it should be taken into appropriate account that communicative interaction arises in consideration of specific ideas, sensitivity and thoughtfulness towards language and behaviour. Since such situated interaction, relational and indexical factors are essential attributes of human social life and communication, they should also have prominence in ELF research.

The approach taken by the authors mentioned above has provided the appropriate theoretical research framework for complementing this study's basic analytical expectations, as is clarified in the following final section of this chapter dedicated to ELF conceptualisation.

2.2 This research's theoretical orientation.

Considering ELF as a complex language-contact situation, where interlocutors transgress the boundaries of the nation-labelled languages to negotiate the meaning, I propose to further the analysis beyond the borders of second-language contact to include multilingual individual and socially shared resources in conversation. Furthermore, broadening the unit of analysis means that other semiotic resources penetrate and contribute to the meaning-making process in interaction.

For ELF contemporary research, Jenkins's contribution to conceptualising ELF influenced my personal view. Although until reasonably recently, she had defined ELF "as a contact language used among people who do not share a common native first (and often any other) language" (Jenkins 2013), more recently, she has highlighted the evolutionary process of this study area suggesting its further reconceptualisation in the framework of multilingualism. She has called it English as a Multilingua Franca. She has defined it as "multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen" (see Jenkins, J. 2015). Jenkins's reasons to justify her call for a further reconceptualisation of the ELF framework are deeply concerned with ELF communication's growingly distinctive multilingual nature. In an age of increasing super-diversity (Vertovec 2006, 2007), she argues that ELF research should consider ELF users' orientation more sensibly to other languages.

Furthermore, it needs to consider the recent findings that research into multilingualism has brought about. In sum, "English, while always in the (potential) mix, is now conceived as one among many other languages, one resource among many, available but not necessarily used, with ELF defined not merely by its variability but by its complexity and emergent nature" (Jenkins 2015). This remark premises the multilingual nature of ELF practice enhanced in various interactive and pragmatic contexts. English is referred to as one of the languages in the speakers' repertoire which can support, in actual manifest forms or, latently, communication. English as a Multilingua Franca can be enacted by emergent' resources', resorted to unpredictable negotiation and co-construction moves during the interaction. Thus, the opportunity to raise conscious awareness of considering speakers' intercultural communicative competence a critical issue that differentiates multilingual from monolingual users of English regardless of their nativeness – in a conventional linguistic sense.

Furthermore, of great relevance for my research that intends to investigate pragmatic functionality and multilingual strategic use of individual repertoires in tourism, Cogo (2016) has demonstrated that "ELF is a translanguaging phenomenon even when the multilingual resources are mainly covert, such as when the participants do not share their linguistic repertoires and do not have other languages in common other than English" (2016). Overcoming the boundaries of isolated pragmatic strategies, Cogo's research intends for enclosing "languaging" or "translanguaging" practice in speakers' repertoires, where other languages in contact with English exploits various multilingual resources according to speakers' communicative needs, contextual factors and ideological implications for meaning-making. This theoretical perspective draws particular attention to speakers' conscious resistance to the monolingual ideological separation of languages on purpose to convey meaning and appeal for power asymmetries.

Consistent with this point of view is the most recent analytical research in multilingualism, which covers a variety of distinctive aspects that nevertheless belong to the same theoretical framework. These include flexible bilingual pedagogy (e.g., Creese & Blackledge 2010, 2015), translanguaging (e.g., García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014), translingual practices (e.g., Canagarajah 2011, 2013), polylanguaging/poly-lingual languaging (e.g., Jørgensen 2008; Jørgensen et al. 2011), super-diversity (e.g., Vertovec 2006, 2007), and mobile resources (e.g., Blommaert 2010).

This approach does not isolate communicative strategies from multilingual resources because they are firmly inherent in the interlocutors' repertoire of experiences of languages, skills and behaviour collected over time and diverse places. Therefore, communicative success presupposes a concern with a multi-layered contextual framework, where extra-verbal semiotic resources are also relevant. Therefore, effective alignment of semiotic resources that cannot be cumulative, linear, and progressive aims toward perfection from the most profound language structure. On the contrary, they emerge from the most appropriate contingent resources within situational constraints. Translingual practices, among many other multilingual strategies, support communication revealing the individuality of each participant and

their diversity as a remarkable value. Contradicting territorialised language use and identity demarcation, this study conceptualisation dialogues with field data in the tourist domain to examine and describe pragmatic strategies and multilingual resources as language forms deriving from an exclusive psycholinguistic dimension developed in a unique social communicative context.

2.3 Conclusion.

This chapter has tried to look into English as a Lingua Franca phenomenon from different perspectives. Our attempt has focused on the primary author's conceptualisation of ELF to introduce this study framework of research as thoroughly as possible.

Distinctive ELF studies have been provided in this chapter to present valuable data illustrating the multiple ways in which culture, identity and language interact and the importance of approaching them in a holistic and situated manner in order to understand intercultural communication through ELF best.

3. This research focuses on pragmatics.

This section aims to refer to strategic multilingual pragmatic aspects in ELF contexts because they are pivotal in this study's enquiry. In order to provide an authoritative theoretical background to this investigative process, I will present an abridged overview of empirical research in ELF focusing on accommodation processes and pragmatic strategies.

3.1 A Taxonomy of Pragmatic Phenomena in ELF Studies.

I have chosen to investigate pragmatic strategies to provide evidence of ELF speakers' awareness and "pro-active work" to corroborate communicative effectiveness (Mauranen, 2007). Even in non-problematic exchanges, they use multiple strategies "to both pre-empt and resolve" communicative turbulence (Kaur, 2010, 2011) (see also Björkman, 2011). This point of view contrasts with that of the SLA point of view on CSs, which are considered a range of compelled actions to repair problematic moments in conversation (e.g. Bialystok, 1983).

In reference to theoretical principles and examples reported by previous ELF studies, I will draw comparisons and parallelism between the present research and previous ELF research, where analysis was based on the categories of accommodation strategies.

Firstly, Kirkpatrick (2007) delineates different strategies and pragmatic phenomena for natural ELF interaction, offering a helpful taxonomy of communication strategies (CSs) in ELF pragmatics. Kirkpatrick's approach differentiates CSs between those attributed to the 'speaker', for example, spelling out the word, repeating the phrase, and paraphrasing. On the other hand, those referring to the 'listener' are, for instance, requesting repetition or clarification, letting it pass, lexical anticipation, suggestion, and correction.

Although Kirkpatrick's can be considered the complete taxonomy of spoken ELF, applying it to any ELF setting can be challenging for different reasons. First of all, determining who performs in the role of the "speaker" and who performs in the role of the "listener" in a multi-party interaction is problematic because the role of the hearer and the speaker occurs repeatedly and continuously in real time between participants. Secondly, the data analysed by Kirkpatrick are collected among teachers of English invited to discuss the teaching practice in their work countries, differently from typical ELF situations, where speakers carry out naturally occurring conversations. Consequently, I have considered Kirkpatrick's chosen parameters incongruous with my research material and sources because they could have clouded the complexity of the interactional turn-taking among international users of English in the tourist domain. As a result, I have consulted a different taxonomy. It is the one proposed by Björkman (2014), which refers to the conventional Conversation Analysis (CA) categorisation of 'self' and 'other'. In this way, it is possible to differentiate between 'self-initiated' and 'other-initiated' strategies asserting their nature and effect. Björkman (2014) applies a detailed qualitative methodology to investigate CSs used by speakers in

ELF academic settings. In this respect, Björkman finds a range of low-frequency CSs (for example, self- or other-initiated word replacement) in contrast with high-frequency CSs (for example, clarification requests, comprehension and confirmation checks, which were used in 67% of the cases analysed). In the institutional setting presented in this study, it is helpful to consider the speakers' goal in interaction.

CSs observed in the data Self-initiated	Other-initiated CSs
Explicitness strategies (a) Repetition (b) Simplification (c) Signalling importance (d) Paraphrasing	Confirmation checks (a) Paraphrasing (b) Repetition (c) Overt question
Comprehension check	Clarification requests Questions or question repeats (Dörnyei and Scott, 1997:16)
Word replacement	Co-creation of the message/anticipation (in Kirkpatrick, 2007)
	Word replacement

Table 1: Self-initiated CS and other-initiated CSs. Adapted from Björkman (2014: 129).

The table above, reported by Björkman (2014: 129), clearly shows the distinction between self-initiated CS and other-initiated CSs.

Self-initiated CSs are carried out by a speaker who urges clarifying, checking comprehension of an utterance, or looking for replacing a word which can jeopardise understanding in a risky communicative situation. They are:

- Repetition iterates the original speaker's utterance to support coherency, the production process, and turn-taking;
- Simplification is considered in lexicogrammar terms and concepts;
- Signalling importance is used to emphasise some information in the discourse;
- Paraphrasing to propose previous content in a simplified and reworded way;
- Comprehension checks to ask for confirmation of understanding;
- Word replacement can occur to correct or repair but also when a repair is not needed, but there is co-creation (what Kirkpatrick (2007) defines as 'anticipation').

Other-initiated CSs respond to a communicative need for checking to understand, specifically:

- Paraphrasing previous turn utterances – is considered an 'interpretative summary strategy' in SLA (Second Language Acquisition) studies (Jamshidnejad 2011).
- Repetition is commonly used to achieve understanding cooperatively in ELF (Mauranen 2010).
- Overt questions to enquire about previous information, usually in co-occurrence with confirmation checks (Jamshidnejad 2011).
- Clarification requests asking for further information requiring some interactional work.
- Co-creation of the message, which implies lexical co-participation among the interactants to produce a complete utterance.
- Word replacement: however, it rarely occurs.

Following the classification mentioned above, many studies collected evidence of a compendium of pragmatic use of strategies among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in different domains of ELF research. For completeness and further reference in the following sections, I have collected them in the table reported behind.

	Pragmatic strategy	Existing studies
Self-initiated	Simple repetition	Björkman 2014; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Kaur 2009, 2010, 2015b; Pitzl 2015; Van 2015.
	Combined repetition	Cogo and Dewey 2012; Kaur 2012, 2015; repetition providing prominence Lichtkoppler 2007.
	Rephrasing	Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Kaur 2009, 2010.
	Paraphrasing	Björkman 2014; Cogo & Pitzl 2016, Kaur 2010, 2015b; Kirkpatric 2007.
	Parallel phrasing	Kaur 2012, 2015; comparable to utterance developing repetition Lichtkoppler 2007.
Other-initiated	Simple repetition	Björkman 2014; Lichtkoppler 2007; Van 2015.
	Spelling-out repetition	Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010; Van 2015.
	Using an alternative word or phrase	Cogo and Dewey 2012; alternative questions Kaur 2010.
	Wh-clarification question	Björkman 2014; Jamshidnejad 2011; Kaur 2010.
	Questioning tag	Kaur 2010, 2015.
	Overt question for clarification request	Björkman 2014; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Kaur 2010.

Linguistic repairs	Lexicogrammatical repair	Lexical correction: Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010; Repaired repetition: Kaur 2012, 2015; Lexical replacement: Kaur 2011b, 2015b; Word replacement: Björkman 2014.
	Phonological repair	Phonological usage repaired by rephrasing and paraphrasing: Deterding 2013; Mauranen 2006; Sound-stretch repetition: Kaur 2009.
	Lexical suggestion	Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010.
	Lexical anticipation	Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010.
	Co-constructed repairs	Deterding 2013; Cogo & House 2018.

Table 2: Pragmatic use of strategies among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in different domains of ELF research.

In conclusion, although some scholars criticised the theoretical discussion about communication strategies made within the SLA paradigm more than forty years ago, problematicity seems intrinsic when using English as a Lingua Franca because of a large number of idiosyncrasies among users, such as different proficiency levels, language pronunciation, and cultural references (Mauranen, 2007). While SLA mainly considers CSs' use as a range of compelled actions to repair problematic moments in conversation (e.g., Bialystok, 1983), research has shown that ELF interactants seem aware of this communicative turbulence. So, they use CSs to do "pro-active work" to corroborate communicative effectiveness (Mauranen, 2007), even in non-problematic exchanges, and use a multiplicity of strategies "to both pre-empt and resolve" communicative turbulence (Kaur, 2010, 2011) (see also Björkman, 2011). My research, in line with these premises, has explored how interactants manifest their proactive participation in meaning-making through CSs and multilingual resources and how they should be categorised in compliance with real-time spoken ELF intrinsic characteristics, as it has been delineated in the following paragraphs.

3.2 This study classification of Pragmatic Strategies and comparison with previous research.

Research in the pragmatics of ELF has blossomed from cross-cultural communication studies directing its attention towards three different strands (see Kasper 1998 and Kasper and Rose 1999). The first bulk concerns speech act realisation strategies accomplishing strategic language functions such as requests, apologies, compliments and refusals. Data were usually elicited in a controlled or semi-controlled language production situation by the support of roleplays, visuals and discourse completion tasks. The second strand of research focused on the interactional aspects of communication, considering turn-taking routine, openings and closings and backchannels strategic use and utterance completions. The third strand concerned speakers' problem-solving communication strategies, mainly elicited in language learning situations (Kasper 1998: 99).

According to a recent approach to pragmatics in intercultural contexts of interaction, I will analyse ELF studies concerning naturally occurring conversations rather than elicited talk focusing on the negotiation of meaning and co-construction of understanding. Moreover, I will consider their strategies to solve non-understanding when it occurs. This perspective overcomes difficulties in categorising data according to their transactional or interactional aim, being such a distinction too rigid to match actual ELF-talk use. For this reason, as premised at the beginning of the chapter, the following overview is organised in the following main areas in agreement with Cogo and House (2018): (1) negotiation of meaning (including non-understanding resolution); (2) interactional components and discourse markers; (3) idiomatic expression and formulaic language; (4) multilingual aspects and resources. Given its relevance to the present study, this last aspect will be dealt with in a separate section.

3.2.1 Negotiation of Meaning

Although miscommunication is not peculiar to intercultural contexts (cf. Sarangi's 1994, Linell 1995; Coupland et al. 1991) because cultural differences or linguistic 'deficits' cannot be considered primary causes of communicative turbulence (e.g. Deterding 2013; Kaur 2009, 2011; Mauranen 2006; Pitzl 2005, 2010; Watterson 2008), sequences of negotiation have been the object of investigation in numerous ELF studies.

Understanding implies familiarity with the language forms – intelligibility –knowledge of the meaning of those expressions – comprehensibility – in addition to their interpretation in a precise context – interpretatbility (McKay 2003). However, interlocutors may realise that sense has not been achieved or just partially achieved in conversation. Consequently, awareness of non-understanding crucially prompts immediate negotiation of meaning among them. On the other hand, interactans may persevere in a state of misunderstanding without realising any communication deficit at the moment of speaking (Pitzl 2005: 52, Pitzl 2010: 30; see also, e.g., Bremer 1996: 40; Tzanne 1999: 33). According to Zhu Hua (2014, ch. 7) miscommunication can be caused by (1) ineffective linguistic mastery in terms of lexical knowledge or hearing failure, and complexity of syntactic constructions; (2) inappropriateness of pragmatic moves; (3) discordant linguistic styles; (4) unaccommodating relativist cultural attitude; (5) scarce contextualising ability and framing.

Acknowledging the partiality and unexhaustive nature of shared understanding (Linell 1995: 177–184) because it can never be fully attained (cf., e.g., Coupland et al. 1991; Pitzl 2005: 52, Pitzl 2010: 30) raises the awareness that miscommunication cannot, therefore, be wholly eluded (Coupland et al. 1991: 1–4). On the other hand, speakers have shown the ability to appropriately use interactional strategies for resolving miscommunication in conversations spanning from implicit, non-verbal strategies (e.g. overriding, lack of uptake) to intermediate (e.g. minimal feedback and hypothesis forming) to very explicit verbal responses (e.g. repetition of the non-understood part and direct queries or comments) (Varonis

and Gass 1985). These observable indicators, being either specific or unspecific, on a continuum of linguistic procedures can explore non-understanding in interaction, as Vasseur shows it, Broeder and Roberts's model (1996: 77) reported below.

IMPLICIT / INDIRECT UNSPECIFIC	**INTERMEDIATE PROCEDURES**	**EXPLICIT / DIRECT SPECIFIC**

over-riding	lack of uptake	minimal feedback	hypothesis forming	reprise of non-understood part	metalinguistic queries & comments

Figure 1: Broeder and Roberts's model - adapted from Vasseur, Broeder and Roberts (1996: 77).

These linguistic procedures, which aim to localise non-understandings, range from direct or explicit signals (e.g., comments, questions, partial repetitions) to indirect or implicit symptoms (e.g. overriding and lack of uptake) interspersed by a wide variety of intermediate indicators.

Starting from a social constructionist perspective (Roberts, 1996; Gumperz, 1982) that considers understanding as an active (not passive) ability, researchers have concentrated their analysis on both post-trouble-source indications of non-understanding and pre-realisations of trouble on the interactans' part. Resolution strategies can repair 'post-hoc' trouble. By contrast, pre-emption signals concentrate on idiosyncrasies that might cause understanding failure. Common occurrences are repetition and paraphrasing.

Overall, research has shown that in ELF communication (cf. Cogo 2012 and Pitzl 2015 in the business domain; Björkman 2013 in the higher education domain), emphasis is placed on achieving understanding rather than the correctness of forms by the use of the most influential and appropriate communication strategies and rarely performing topic abandonment or let-it-pass (cf. Firth 1996 and Mauranen 2006).

In Kaur's (2012) fine-grained study of self-repetition, parallel phrasing, keyword repetition, combined repetition and repaired repetition can enhance the clarity of expression. Differently from native speakers' use of similar structures to reach an aesthetic or intensifying effect, ELF speakers combine exact repetition with repetition with slight variations, in addition to the use of a synonym or a reformulation, to accomplish intelligibility. Especially if the repetition involves a keyword, the message not only results in redundancy but also fosters discourse coherency. The same strategy is frequently exploited in military commands and aviation radio communication.

House has investigated the represents (cf. Edmondson 1981) in various studies (e.g. 2010, 2011, 2012). These gambits echo, mirror, and repeat portions of speakers' moves in previous turns. In this way, they can support the interlocutors' working memory during receptive and productive activities, reinforce coherency by building lexical clusters paradigmatically, signal comprehension and work as a metacommunicative procedure supporting interactans' awareness of self and the others' talk.

Furthermore, numerous types of self- and other repetitions monitor intercultural communication (e.g., Pitzl 2005; Lichtkoppler 2007; Cogo 2009; House 2010; Mauranen 2012; among others). Consequently, for example, word-by-word repetition, rephrasing/paraphrasing, represents, can alert in advance, or solve post-hoc communication turbulence. They can also enhance explicitness by working as metadiscourse devices and as parts of utterance completion, which purpose is to make meaning explicit (Mauranen 2006; Lichtkoppler 2007; Cogo 2009; Gotti 2014). In the context of international students (Björkman 2011, 2013), pragmatic strategies enhance understanding, (mis-)manage conflicts (Knapp, 2011), build rapport, and mediate (Hynninen, 2011).

From this microsocial perspective, ELF users capitalise on their leading shared resource - linguistic means and pragmatics strategies- as speakers and hearers. They allow processing time for both (e.g., in hesitating, repeating, and pausing), assist in mutual comprehension (e.g., in explicitness, approximation), and help achieve social goals (e.g. in repetition, co-construction) (Mauranen 2012). Moreover, explicitation is prominent when differences in interlocutors' backgrounds are perceived or anticipated. In the conversation, this strategy can take the form of frequent paraphrasing, rephrasing and repetition, or syntactic strategies like fronting or tails.

In addition, multi-word units play an important role in rescuing approximations.

Take the expression (1) as an example:

(1) *to put the end on it*

This expression, belonging to an ELF context (Mauranen 2015), reports the same essential vocabulary items (*put* and *end*) and in the same order as its equivalent standard expression ('to put an end to it'), and it is of equal length. No communicative turbulence occurred in its original context since these approximative items resulted from the intended use of intersubjective dialogical competence (Mauranen 2015).

Additionally, to support communication, Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) argued that ELF users incorporate their mother tongue (L1) communicative norms efficiently into their second language, English conversation. The local context, called the "habitat factor," can support ELF self-regulation in face-to-face interaction.

This prominent cooperative dimension of ELF talk, which can be said to correlate with Halliday's interpersonal function, shows that speakers' accommodative behaviour towards the interlocutor's linguistic and cultural expectations can anticipate difficulties, enhance clarity and explicitness to prevent any potential problem of understanding and manage interaction successfully.

3.2.2 Interactional Components and Discourse Markers.

Interactional devices generally accomplish different functions in the discourse. On the macro level, they support the ongoing conversation by attaining different aspects, such as signalling understanding, a certain level of politeness, and utterance sharing. They may also sustain the interlocutors' production by showing ongoing interest in their talk. On the micro level, interactional devices can provide feedback on understanding (or non-understanding), display competitiveness (Wolfartsberger 2011) or, on the other hand, display consensus-oriented talk. Concerning turn-taking and floor management, they can facilitate specific turn-taking options related to maintaining or changing the speakers' roles (Bremer et al., 1996; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). Discourse markers and backchannelling can also aim at managing successful discourse. They openly declare management information and also mark interpersonal relations between interlocutors belonging to the category of interaction managing items. They span from more or less variable sequences to more extended units or very short, fixed expressions.

Research (House, 2009; Baumgarten and House, 2010a) has argued that ELF speakers employ discourse markers to accomplish different functions in discourse with respect to native speakers' use. For example, the expression '*you know*'; the focalising device prompting subjective evaluation, '*I mean*'; the use of '*I think'* to express the speaker's personal opinion; and '*I don't know'* to clarify that the speakers have got insufficient knowledge of the discourse topic. Furthermore, the marker '*so'* has been reinterpreted in ELF talk to be characterised as a complex deictic component, supporting the preparation of what will occur next and summing up previous discourse stretches.

In the case of collaborative interactional strategies that characterise ELF talk, participants tend to align reciprocally, manifesting supportive behaviour (e.g. Kaur, 2009; Pullin-Stark, 2009), contributing to a positive communication experience through their interest or involvement (Kalocsai, 2009, 2014). In Cogo's (2007) work, word search utterance building, cooperative overlapping, and completion overlap, which in CA terms are generally considered in non-observance of the basic turn-taking rule (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974), are not always disruptive and problematic (Sacks et al. 1974; Sacks 1992). On the contrary, they show both cooperation and involvement by the interactants, who actively engage in talk and support the current speaker. Explicitly, they do not concern agreement or disagreement with the topic of discussion, but they function as accommodative faciliatory devices for understanding (see also Cogo, 2009; Kalocsai, 2014; Kaur, 2009; Wolfartsberger, 2011). Other researchers (e.g. Gevinson 1983; Murata 1994; Tannen 1984, 1994) also confirm that simultaneous talk

does not necessarily end up in interruptions; it can have an emotional and affective meaning to show engagement, support, camaraderie, rapport and listenership among speakers.

Backchannel, discourse markers and phraseological units can also support meaning-making in talk, overcoming noise and communication barriers. Speakers are interdependently engaged to keep communication alive through continuous feedback, including the role of non-verbal communication, context and environment.

Minimal responses or backchannel items (see, for example, Cogo 2009; Kalocsai 2011; Wolfartsberger 2011) are frequently used as multifunctional devices to manage the current state of the communication and role of the interlocutors, occasionally displaying attitudes and intentions in the listeners. These short verbal and non-verbal signals (including gestures) can take various forms (e.g., *yeah*, *ok*, *mhm mhm*, *uh huh, right*); they tend to overlap with the previous turn or to be latched onto it to prompt the interlocutor to continue speaking in an almost immediate subsequent turn without pause. 'Backchannelling', the listener usually displays a supportive attitude towards the speakers. As a filler, it also sustains the role of the interlocutor without disrupting or interrupting the train of speech. In sum, it ensures the efficient continuation of the exchange.

Conversely, Kangasharju (2002: 1460) considers distancing speaking turns when a pause precedes backchannel. He argues that this linguistic behaviour displays disaffiliation. As a final point, it can also be added that backchannels like '*uh huh*' can also elicit more talk, conversation, or elucidation on some topic from the main speaker (Sacks, 1992, vol. 2), especially in interviews texts types.

Phraseological units can also be used as interactive elements in talk, supporting meaning-making in intercultural communication. For example, Mauranen (2009) compares the phraseological unit '*in my point of view'*, found in the ELFA corpus, in the sense of 'opinion' with the native English '*in my view'*, for the 'opinion' sense, and with the utterance *from my point of view* in either the 'opinion' sense or in a 'perspective' meaning. She argues that these expressions, in introducing the speaker's opinion, remark on an existing contrast between the interlocutors' stances in managing the topic of the conversation. The ELF speakers seem to exploit the meaning potential of the two native expressions by combining them, as blend words do, to achieve a critical communicative need – expressing opinion or attitude. Lexical material, displayed in an unconventional sequence, like idioms and idiomatic expressions, can facilitate communication by being on edge between linguistic convention and creativity (Mauranen 2009).

The extract I have selected to illustrate how utterance completions (designated by the arrows), latching (showed by the equal sign), and backchannelling (denoted by the square brackets) support interaction among speakers in small talk comes from a corpus of naturally occurring conversations at the workplace (Cogo 2012; for further information about the conversation background and participants, see Cogo and Dewey 2012). Over a coffee break, the participants chat about Franz, S1's husband, who bought a DVD player.

Extract 1: the DVD player (S1: German; S2: French)

S1: [ah Franz bought . . . Franz bought a dvd player for us yesterday
@@@(everybody laughing)
S2: → cause it's winter
S1: yeah it's cold
S2: no it's great . . . and dvd the quality is good as well yeah I must say
S1: I always told him no I don't want a dvd player . . . because I don't like to watch=
S2: → =movies at home?=
S1: =but then on Friday . . . we didn't want to go out and we really wanted to see a film . . . and there was [NOTHING on tv so:
S2: [ah ah

The extract presents two examples of utterance completions as supportive strategies. The first is represented by S2 completing S1's utterance, leaving a personal comment about the reason why a new DVD player was bought, namely because it is winter. Her turn continues the previous one as a continuation. The second comes to some lines later in the extract and ends with a question mark exemplifying the speakers' surprise and engagement in the conversation. Even this second continuation cannot be considered a word search because S1 does not signal that she is at a loss for words. There are no hesitations or repetitions in her turn.

Together with utterance completions, the interlocutors in this extract aim to support ongoing conversation pace by using latchings and backchannels. The first implicates time-taking from the previous turn demonstrating the interlocutor's high involvement and interest in the topic. The minimal responses (e.g., 'ah ah', 'mhm', 'ok') provided by the backchannels encourage the interlocutor to persist in processing his thoughts without taking over the turn.

This example shows how concerted and timed work support successfully ELF communication.

3.2.3 Idiomatic Expressions and Formulaic Language.

This section concerns the relationship between idiomatic expressions and the metaphoricity of language as it has been conceptualised within ELF spoken interaction.

Through corpus linguistics, it has been observed that NES rely on preconstructed multi-word combinations, which we refer to as using the idiom principle (Sinclair 1991: 110). These pre-constructed expressions include "[i]dioms, proverbs, clichés, technical terms, jargon expressions, phrasal verbs, and the like" (Sinclair 1991: 111), which vary in length and frequency, spanning from short phrases and strong collocations (e.g., in consequence, hard work) to longer turns of phrases (e.g., over the moon; in the lap

of the gods). Their use may denote the territorial imperative of speakers belonging to a speech community or a social group.

In contrast, ELF research has highlighted (Pitzl 2018) the interactional process of finding a transcultural common ground, where cultural and linguistic means are negotiated among speakers to make idiomatizing effective synchronically. Relying primarily on the open-choice principle (Sinclair 1991), ELF speakers make use of "local systematicity" (Cameron 1999b: 16) when they select metaphor and vehicle. In interaction, metaphorical expressions can potentially generate circumstantial idiom construction or "online idiomatizing" (cf. Seidlhofer, 2009b: 205–209, 2011: 138–143). Sometimes, when 'unilateral' approximation to native speaker norms occurs but is not shared among the interactants, "unilateral idiomaticity" (Seidlhofer 2002) hinders communicative effectiveness.

Therefore, my investigation has considered the *ad hoc* metaphoricity of figurative expressions to find evidence of their constructional and functional aim in context. Relying on Pitzl's (2018) adaptation of Cameron's theoretical and empirical approach (2006), I have explored different aspects of the creative process in naturally occurring spoken ELF: the linguistic output, the cognitive psycholinguistic process of creation, and finally, the sociolinguistic effect among the participant involved in the interaction. This investigative, analytical framework approaches linguistic superficial language forms based on a certain domain incongruity between the terms (the tenor and the vehicle) to claim psychological implications and communicative intent in context.

ELF research has explored idiomatic expressions and idiomaticity more generally. Prototypically speaking (Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992: 33), idioms are syntactic structures conveying a codified meaning, given by "more than simply the sum of their parts". Their non-compositionality feature is conventionally associated with a culturally denoted institutionalised use in a speech community at one point in time. In psycholinguistics, the Conceptual metaphor Theory (CMT) by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980), metaphors are considered interpretative means of reality and speakers' thoughts. These kinds of metaphors (conceptual metaphors) are unlikely to become part of the negotiated local idiomaticity of ELF discourse.

On the contrary, due to the universality of orientational – interaction with the environment - and ontological metaphors – body experience with the physical objects – can quickly enter the conversation resource pool of ELF interaction as conventional metaphors. The repeated extended use of conventional metaphors can crystallise their semantic value among the speakers belonging to a speech community, who start using them as an idiom, such as a fixed, non-compositional institutionalised formulaic expression. The relationship between metaphors and idioms – dead metaphors - spans on an uninterrupted diachronic scale, where the intrinsic creativity referred to by Langlotz (2006) can be accessed and, at the same time, be varied to convey the same, a similar or a different meaning relying on any component of the formulaic expression and their figurative meaning.

Contrastive analysis of newly created forms and/or meanings in ELF corpus data (such as VOICE, ELFA) with dictionaries' stable language codified forms has provided evidence of lexical substitution, syntactic variation and morphosyntactic variation (Pitzl 2012, 2016) as summarised in the following table. Strikingly, the three types of variation can co-occur.

Type of variation	Process of variation	Examples from Pitzl (2009, 2012).
lexical substitution	elaboration of, metaphorical images that employ concrete physical objects	- *draw the limits* (cf. 'draw the line'); - *turn a blank eye* (cf. 'turn a blind eye')
morphosyntactic variation	Pluralisation; flexible use of determiners and prepositions	- *carved in stones* or *pieces by pieces;* - e.g., *sit in the control of;* - *in the right track*, *on the long run* and *remember from the head.*
Syntactic variation	insertion of adjectives, adverbs, or pronouns to extend or modify the syntactic structure	- *two different sides of the same coin.*

Table 3: Types of variation in ELF corpus data.

ELF users conceive instances of non-conforming expressions drawing fully from their repertoire scaffolding meaning on word semantic properties. The non-conventional way of using existing forms can be relatively systematic in following some language norms (e.g., suffixation rules), or it could transcend those norms and develop new forms. For instance, the expression *we should not wake up any dogs* (cf. Pitzl 2009) is an example of *re-metaphorisation* of conventional syntagmatic idiom structures that might trigger language change (Pitzl 2012). Despite transcending the boundaries of established native usage, it reproduces the meaning of the NE idiom: "let sleeping dogs lie" – do not instigate trouble – although it uses a different perspective to describe its figurative meaning. It seems that the speaker has a cognitive image of the NE idiom in mind (the dogs lying down resting) and decides to describe it agentively from his/her point of view, substituting the imperative form of the verb 'let' – used to give instructions – with the modal verb form 'we should' to offer suggestions and warning. This active selection of metaphor and

vehicle overcomes the semantic level of comprehension; it allows the interlocutors to demonstrate meaning on an unconscious level.

To sum up, the process of *re-metaphorisation* described above can help to elucidate ELF users' creativity in using idiomatic expressions and formulaic language in their conversation based on an independent analogical mental process from native speakers' conceptual domains perpetrating their rhetoric effect.

3.2.4 Multilingual instances of creativity.

Instances of multilingual creativity are explicitly signalled and flagged in ELF interactions by speakers because they demonstrate speakers' multilingual repertoires and multi/transcultural identities.

First, some of these metaphorical images are introduced in their native form through code-switched expressions (e.g., the German *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* referring to the traditional female role model in a patriarchal society – translated literally as: "children, kitchen, the church") (Pitzl 2012). They can create a culturally meaningful interlude in ELF. Some other times, foreign idioms are translated into English. A Dutch ELF speaker does this at a business meeting (recorded in VOICE). He refers to a "*saying in Holland"* which describes the fact that Dutch *"don't have savings under the bed",* detailing his account, saying that they have *"a lot of her money in the sock"* instead (see Pitzl 2009: 314–316). The metaphorical image the speaker has created perpetrates a figurative use that the conversation participants share and reiterated more than once. He will then report that he "*checked his sock lately but found no moneys*" (Pitzl 2009: 315).

On other occasions, interactants give cultural references through idioms introduced in their conversation in their original language (different from speakers' L1 and L2). The translingual and transcultural territory is gradually fostered by precise references to language expressions, places and peoples' habits and manners. This complex and multi-faceted interactional context is exemplified in Pitzl (2018) when a Serbian ELF speaker in conversation with Maltese ELF speakers signals that *we* [i.e. Serbians] *have a proverb like Italians* immediately before uttering the idiom *fuma come un turco* in its original Italian wording (recorded in VOICE), this switch is motivated by the particular situation; it is appropriate and functional because of the shared MRP (Multilingual Resource Pool) of these specific ELF speakers. Uttering the proverb in Italian, the Serbian ELF speaker switches to another language that is considered a component of the international group of speakers' shared multilingual idiom/metaphor resource pool. This standard connection to an additional "language or culture" (Klimpfinger 2009: 361) cements the participants' multilingual identity and mediates linguistic and cultural identities building rapport among the ELF interlocutors. From this intercultural perspective, metaphorical creativity and idiom used in ELF is an instance of the territorial principle (Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2007: 362) because it contributes to creating a shared (inter)/transcultural territory within the pragmatics of the interaction.

3.2.5 Multilingual creativity and group building.

ELF is highly contextual, so exploring creativity and norms should rely on emerging and pre-existing group norms instead of relying principally on etic-codified norms (i.e., L1 rules and conventions). It implies a micro-diachronic analysis of the group acquisition process on a longitudinal data set, as carried out in this research study.

Previous investigations have provided instances of multilingual creativity as evidence of a successful negotiation process among participants in a conversation. For example, lexical choices can enhance this process. The expression *'ants and pants'* in Pitzl's ELF 11 presentation (2019), triggered by a newcomer among speakers, becomes the phrase defining tension emerging in a TIG interaction. This expression is not deviating from any language norms, but the participants compete in how they refer to it, even varying it for the need of the situation. At their last meeting, the metaphorical form almost completely substitutes the original form, and finally, they co-exist. This event shows that some linguistic phenomena happen in exact spans of time. The frequency of meetings and conversations changes the meaning applied to linguistic forms. According to this perspective, creativity can be considered both norm-following and norm-transcending. The speakers can acknowledge creative language forms stabilising them in their common linguistic practice.

Idiomatic expressions have also been analysed not only in spoken communication but also in online written blogs. Exemplifications of ELF online use are introduced by Vettorel (2014: 202), e.g., *play with phrases* (cf. 'play with words'); and in ELFA by Franceschi (2013: 86), e.g., *don't step on each other's feet* (cf. 'step on somebody's toes'). Vettorel examines blog interaction noticing how lexical innovation intersects with cultural and localised meanings. Participants from different parts of Italy using English as a Lingua Franca in a digital environment show how intralingual and interlingual resources (Hülmbauer 2013) are stressed to represent phenomena typical of the Italian context. Their plurilingual resources enable them to share ideas with an international audience performing a playful and ludic attitude, modifying words on the phonological/onomatopoeic side, and using emoticons and pictures in a multimodal perspective. Their 'lingual capability' capitalises on well-attested language forms to enact variation. For example, the extract that follows records some ELF use of the over-productive nature of morphology that holds back by convention rather than the rule (Mauranen 2010a).

Extract 1: Onioness

C (it) Do I have any special talents: yup! Onioness ^v^
What's your favourite memory of me: every time I see an onion, I think of you XDDD (how sentimental of me XDDD)

B I don't have a fave food either… well, maybe the liquorice xD and the onion OwO

'*Onioness*' does not exist in NE but is created by adding the suffix –ness to the noun.

In another example, one blogger flags with apologies the word: PLAGIARERS (capitalised in the original) instead of plagiarists by adding the productive noun suffix -er to verbs in EN. However, the speakers agree on the meaning. Normativity often compromises ELF users' self-esteem online. On the other hand, common interest can make non-nativeness a common factor in grouping people who can access communicability, creativity, and interactive success.

Overall, the investigation has shown a wide array of functions that idioms and metaphors can fulfil in ELF interactions - e.g. (1) humour and mitigation; (2) talking about abstracts concepts; (3) explicitness and projecting stance; (4) recreating clichés for rapport and comity; (5) solidarity and shared non-nativeness; (6) emphasising, summarising, and indicating metaphor awareness (Pitzl 2018). This practice, which starts from the single getting to the group becoming socialised, can involve different modes and multilingual practices over a synchronic-diachronic perspective.

3.2.6 Conclusion.

The above discussion has focused on some of the most relevant features of the pragmatics of ELF, referring to:

1. Negotiation of meaning (including non-understanding resolution).
2. Interactional components and discourse markers.
3. Idiomatic expression and formulaic language.

Their analysis aimed to highlight the social impact of pragmatic strategies on discourse.

Multilingual aspects and resources will be extensively discussed in the following section.

This overview is not an exhaustive review of pragmatic resources in ELF. However, it wants to be a selection of the most prominent ones, which will help inform the analysis of this study data, shown in chapter 6.

3.4 Research on Multilingual Aspects of ELF.

I have chosen to explore multilingual resources and practices of various kinds in my research because this aspect was prominent in interaction in the tourist domain.

More generally, research has shown that multilingual elements are a common aspect of ELF communication. ELF talk is not only English language based but often includes items from other languages, most often from ELF users' mother tongues, but references to other languages are not uncommon.

Multilingual aspects in ELF have been divided into *overt and covert multilingual phenomena* (Cogo 2018). On the one hand, two or more languages are involved in ELF spoken or written communication and in different roles or communicative functions in discourse. These *overt multilingual phenomena* can be code-switching or similar aspects of alternating between two or more languages or varieties of language in conversation (e.g., transfer, approximation as a form-based approximation and semantic approximation, approximate idioms and collocations, new word formation, new idiomatic expressions). Besides, occurrences of a more fluid approach to multilingual practices, such as translanguaging, are additionally included in this category. On the other hand, speakers' use of some aspects of grammar, vocabulary, or other linguistic elements, which are influenced by other languages as part of speakers' background, can go unnoticed because of their more cognitive nature. Although the communication remains superficially in English, these multilingual influences are covertly acknowledged or displayed in conversation, i.e., *covert multilingual phenomena*.

It is important to emphasise that the two expressions of multilingualism in ELF, presented above, are distinct. On the contrary, they provide supportive evidence of the inherent multilingual nature of ELF among international speakers.

3.4.1 O*vert* Sociolinguistic Aspects of ELF Interaction: Code-switching.

Code-switching is one of the most common multilingual aspects researched so far. It concerns alternating a speaker's two or more languages or language varieties within one delimited conversation (e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993) or in disparate domains in various conversations (e.g., Heller 1998). It can be "flagged", which is noticed and made relevant to the communication, or "un-flagged" when it is un-noticed and a normal part of the exchange.

Some ELF researchers provide a sociolinguistic approach to code-switching, which studies the societal dynamics of switching (see Gumperz 1982) in routinised parts of an encounter such as small talk, opening and closing phases as at topic boundaries (Auer 1998). Relevantly, Cogo (2007, 181) notes that, as an *accommodation strategy*, code-switching provides an additional resource which monolingual speakers are bereft of, not in the sense of compensatory strategies, but in terms of speakers making an effort to bring in different linguistic resources to expand and clarify meaning. However, Klimpfinger (2007, 49, 53-54)

considers this extra strategy risky for ELF speakers because co-participants might need help understanding the code-switched request and/or could not provide any support. On the other hand, Klimpfinger (2009) agrees with Cogo (2009) that code-switching represents a primary constituent of discourse practices in ELF communication because it contributes to fulfilling different discourse functions, creatively applying appropriate communication strategies in order to communicate multilingual identities. According to Klimpfinger's (2009) findings, code-switching in ELF has four different functions: (1) specifying an addressee in a group of speakers; (2) introducing a particular subject idea in the form of a translation, a paraphrase, or an attempt of them (ibid.: 364); (3) appealing for assistance to enhance communicative effectiveness; and (4) signalling culture (ibid.: 352) through emblematic switches, - e.g. exclamations, pause fillers - or culturally denoting words, such as a city name or a greeting (ibid.: 352). Moreover, in the same research, Klimpfinger (2009) observed that the number of other language instances exceeded the number of switches into the speaker's L1: 54 to 50, consisting of single words (ibid.: 358-359).

In contrast with Klimpfinger's findings (2007, 2010), Pietikäinen's (2014) data extracts present a different view of code-switching in the private sphere. Combining CA with content analysis, she argues that occasionally ELF couples code-switch unconsciously, without flagging (e.g., hesitation fillers). This effective use of un-marked code-switching emphasises the flexible orientation of the participants towards linguistic variation and hybridity, attaining different functions: (1) to counterpoise and deaden the previous utterance, (2) to minimise a face-threatening act, (3) to set up solidarity denoting a concerted interaction, (4) to accommodate other speakers, and (5) to demonstrate agreement (Dumanig 2010: 229). In a recent study concerning private ELF talk, Pietikäinen (2016) found that the interrogative pronouns – e.g., 'what', 'who', and 'which one' – in direct clarification, questions were appropriately code-switched into either consort's L1 to help each other's understanding. She included code-switching in the six active methods to prevent understanding-related problems that Mauranen (2006, 2010, 2012) and Kaur (2010, 2011a) have put forward for consideration.

Vettorel & Franceschi (2016) have investigated the use of English as a language of computer-mediated communication (CMC) on two social platforms. Bloggers are seen as trans-local people who use ELF alongside other languages to achieve and negotiate cross-cultural online communication. In this virtual, de-territorialise global environment, code-switching has been employed to express culturally related concepts connected to the participants' cultural, national, or personal identity. It is usually supported by an additional translation or explanation – e.g., visual glossing or explanatory strategies -showing awareness of the social role this culturally-bound experience implies.

In sum, code-switching as a manifestation of ELF speakers' multilingual competence (and not of their deficiency) can have a variety of purposes: (1) creating a sense of nativeness sharing (Cogo 2009, 2012; Hülmbauer 2009); (2) co-constructing meaning (Cogo 2010, 2012; Vettorel 2014); (3) raising an

intercultural sense of identity and community belonging; or (4) even creating humour (Cogo and Dewey 2011). Defined coping laughter by Warner-Garcia (2014), not only does it mitigate and downplay situations of embarrassment, but it is also effective as a safe "exit strategy" (Partington 2006: 94) from some salient incidents, like committing *a faux pas* or occurring in a minor transgression or displaying one's shortcomings (Cogo and Dewey 2011).

Since 40% of code-switches in Cogo and Dewey's (2011) recordings were reciprocal within one minute, they concluded that code-switching frequently prompts more code-switching. Consequently, this voluntary adaptation of multilingual resources accommodates speakers' cultural and linguistic repertoires to communicate and build rapport effectively.

3.4.2 Post-structuralist o*vert* sociolinguistic aspects of ELF interaction.

The use of non-normative or innovative language alternation has become the object of investigation to explore as speakers seem to challenge the customary assumption that delimits labelled languages within cultural and political boundaries (Li 2016), not simply moving between languages (cf. code-switching, crossing, code-mixing), but surpassing their borders.

Traslanguaging practice among speakers emphasises the creative power of linking linguistic forms and/or other modes of communication with blurred boundaries. For example, different languages, prefixes, suffixes, and using a range of modes simultaneously, such as text, photos, emoticons, ideograms, symbols, and punctuation, are meant to convey a unique and original, unrepeatable effect. Therefore, attempting to analyse those modes separately would annihilate the message's intended meaning and effect, ignoring the "transgressive mixture of modalities" (Dovchin et al. 2015:16) it concerns. It is a "process of transmodal translation in chains of semiosis" (Newfield 2017; 103), which overpasses multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001) because the boundaries of each mode blur when they converge, making their eventual meaning uncommon but always acceptable among multilingual and multicultural personalities which share common trans-experiences. In particular, the analytical focus of this perspective is cast on the dynamic process of mediating multifaceted social practice and perceptive accomplishments through the use of multiple semiotic resources strategically and creatively (Li 2011; 2016). Following Li (2011), *Translanguaging* can be considered an evolved pragmatic use of the psycholinguistic concept of *languaging*, "which refers to the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought, and to communicate about using language" (e. g., Lado 1979; Hall 1996; Smagorinsky 1998; Swain 2006; Maschler 2009).

By examining what kind of language, the youngest generation of Chinese users of English in China use, also called "New Chinglish", Li (2016) provides a holistic viewpoint to examine the creative aspects of multilingual practices and their critical attitude against post-Multilingual global society. This theorisation resonates well with ELF research because it focuses on language users' creativity in relation to their

personal history made up of different experiences, beliefs, and ideologies. Translanguaging enables them to transform the sign's form, function, and meaning, answering questions about how to express one's cultural understanding while recognising and encouraging flexibility of linguistic forms and language contact.

Although multilingual fluid strategies offer an empowering dimension, individuals sometimes possess different agencies in choosing interactional resources in communication. Societal discourses and ideologies about language and language diversity/variety can constrain language use and personal expression in specific contexts. An ethnographic study, as part of the TLANG project (Zhu and Li forthcoming), carried out in the artistic life of a Polish performer living and working in London, argues the possibility of expressing one's cultural values through translanguaging practices to challenge (cultural) stereotypes. In order to subvert predetermined identity categories as an actor and language user/learner, the participant in the study, as a multilingual speaker, can create new subversive yet playful, strategic forms to challenge the essentialist identities and roles ascribed by others. They turn stereotypes into performative resources by intentionally manipulating semiotic means to convey a specific effect or meaning. Translanguaging as performance enables speakers to be subversive foregrounding agency and creativity to flout practice norms. Multiple languages through diverse semiotic resources are means to force linguistic boundaries and social hierarchies from within.

3.4.3 *Covert* Phenomena of Multilingual Practice.

According to the point of view that considers communication happening at a cognitive level, *covert multilingual influences* refer to image schemas activated by associative cognitive processes across languages. Beyond any grammar constraints, similar linguistic items across languages may facilitate communication among interlocutors who have access to the same, similar, or compatible repertoire form patterns.

Relying on Hülmbauer's (2011) exemplification of the above assumption in using cognates and their communicative potential in ELF as a plurilingual mode to enhance meaning-making beyond the traditional concept of 'positive transfer', I have analysed ELF interaction from the point of view of a user-centred approach. This emic approach revealed that multilingual speakers' 'divergent thinking' governs their communicative behaviour being more cognitively flexible than monolingual speakers. ELF users consider all instances of sameness, neglecting etymological considerations and factual form-meaning correspondence. An example of this kind comes from an extract from a public speech on the Union's energy policy during an EU press conference (Hülmbauer 2011). In front of a multilingual audience, an Italian journalist uses the term "grossly" (in ENL is an emphatic adverb meaning 'totally, completely'). Referring to the Italian expression "*grosso modo*", he uses the English word hinting at the concept of "by and large" or "on the whole". Despite the divergence on the semantic level between the term used and the meaning meant, the cognate seemed practical. The selection of the item in the mind

of the plurilingual speaker might have been influenced by other linguistic resources assumed to be contained in the situational resource pool of the speaker. For example, the French item *'en gros'* and the German '*im Großen* (*und Ganzen*)'. On the reception side, the listener must have shared cross-linguistic similarities in the speakers' multilingual repertoire, which has allowed a correct interpretation of the message.

On the other hand, when there are no similar resources in common, *covert* multilingual items might require negotiation of meaning. In Cogo and Dewey's (2012) exploration of discourse strategies used in naturally occurring ELF communication, the idiomatic expression "stepping on stones" (ibid, 131), literally translating a Japanese idiom used to warn somebody of what might happen, does not belong to the interlocutor's multilingual repertoire. Consequently, the Japanese participant provides clues to explain the idiomatic expression to facilitate intercultural communication among plurilingual speakers and achieve understanding.

Covert resources support the idea of permeable language borders prompting a paradigm shift towards an adequate understanding of concepts like interlanguage, transfer, shift, and interference to describe cross-linguistic influences. Moreover, it implies a re-definition of the 'multicompetence' concept given by Cook (2002), implying both appropriate use of the linguistic variety and the skills to flexibly integrate them into the production and reception process of a communicative event in a given context.

In line with the concept of "languaging" (e.g., Jørgensen 2008), ELF users are thought to successfully exploit the linguistic resources at hand according to the "All Language At All Times (ALAAT)" approach (cf. Hülmbauer 2011c). In this perspective, ELF converges its attention on language users, their distinctive (plurilingual) repertoires, and individual practices in a "linguistics of potentiality" (Franceschini 2003). In a conversation where time is an effectual constituent, new forms and functions can emerge – glossodiversity -or words are assigned a novel semantics – semiodiversity (Halliday 2007). In this context, variability can be considered a pivotal force underpinning the framework (cf. Franceschini 2003: 250).

To exemplify this expanded framework of individual context and speaker constellations, in which semiodiversity represents an additional resource to glossodiversity, Hülmbauer (2013) presents an extract of a design class seminar discussion at the University of Bolzano. A German native speaker is talking about a particular kind of calendar to be given as a promotional gift. The speaker says: 'the one which you always get gifted'; using the verb form "gifted", he undertakes an analogy of intralingual and plurilingual kind. The production process can thus be considered from the point of view of derivational morphology as a verb form derived from a noun; or a case of a pragmatic, semantic shift from the native English meaning: 'talented' to the situational ELF meaning: 'given as a gift/present' effectively functioning in this linguistic setting. Moreover, in German, the speaker's principal lingua-cultural resource, both the noun

G*eschenk* and the equally frequent verbal participle *geschenkt* are included with the same semantic value meant in the example presented above. ELF users being less inhibited by social forces, can become agents of linguistic creativity, innovation, and change, accelerating the natural progress of these language phenomena (Dewey 2007) and managing a certain kind of "economy of expression" (Pitzl et al. 2008). In this case, the word "gifted" has become part of the jargon of urban young people, fashion bloggers, in particular (cf., e.g., The Style Rookie online, 3rd May 2012; or in journalism, cf., e.g., Dublin News online, 28 August 2012 – in Hülmbauer 2013), who, initially, might have triggered the semanticisation of the pragmatic meaning shift presented above.

The unpredictability of intercultural contexts implies the integration of plurilingual holistic practices "intersubjectively constructed in each specific context of interaction" (Canagarajah 2007: 91) performing as a "situationality factor" in ELF (cf. Hülmbauer 2009). This plurilingual semiotics, operating in terms of form and meaning simultaneously, should be able to identify the interconnectedness of resources in meaning-making notwithstanding their emergence in the intercultural context.

In conclusion, following Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (2013), I support a more comprehensive definition of the 'language' category, which implies a holistic perspective on plurilingual repertoires. The 'multilingual habitus' taken by ELF speakers contrasts with the "monolingual habitus" of native-oriented communication (Gogolin 1994), adding variability to the code stability and multiplying the potentiality of linguistic creativity (Pitzl 2009) in performance. Intercultural communicators can rely on their global linguistic knowledge for negotiation and adaptation strategies further than any language general declarative and procedural knowledge and skills.

3.5 Conclusion.

This section has analysed Multilingual resources in ELF practice.

First, I have considered *multilingual strategies of the overt kind*, which are used for various purposes which often overlap and are interrelated. These are:

1. the sharing of a sense of non-nativeness,

2. the collaborative construction of meaning, and

3. the creation of a sense of intercultural community membership or identity.

These include translanguaging practices (cf., Jenkins 2015; Cogo 2017), which involve a flexible and integrated way of activating one's original repertoire of communicative resources, going beyond the stable and fixed separation between languages (Garcia &Li 2014; Li 2016; Cogo 2012, 2017).

Secondly, I have regarded *covert multilingual influences*, which refer to cognitive associations across languages that ease understanding among speakers who share their linguistic repertoire.

4. Research on Attitudes and Orientations to ELF.

In this section, I focus my attention on the orientation of the speakers towards the resources that emerge, are shared, or co-constructed in conversation in line with a recent sociolinguistic stream of enquiry, which can also branch out in investigations of language ideology and identity.

I have included attitudes and orientations in my research to investigate individual differences my participants display, regardless of their sociocultural background, in terms of language attitudes and motivational orientations behind the use of multilingual resources as accommodative language behaviour. These differences are most important as they directly and indirectly influence language performance rate, process, and efficiency.

4.1 A Sociolinguistic Exploration of Language Attitudes and Orientations.

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 crucial sector where intercultural communication among language users can be observed. In fact, interaction is enhanced for the specific purpose of conducting tourism business.

In accordance with this "sociolinguistics of globalisation" (Blommaert 2010, 197) where ",[t]he fundamental image of language shifts from a static, totalised, and immobile one to a dynamic, fragmented, and mobile one." Wilson's (2018) evidence of *in situ* interaction among tourism stakeholders highlights the apparent 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 in any occurrence of language practice, ELF interaction is a social act. 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 the co-construction of meaning, repetition and reformulation clarify the process of utterance building in transactional conversations. In other words, engaging in collaborative work through different turns on the level of discourse helps display shared background knowledge that establishes common ground.

Further support for 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. Overall, the 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's premise confining the effectiveness of communication to work-related purposes despite users' grass-root level of English.

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 hierarchically" (2007, 70). She argues, in her overview through mixed method analysis (qualitative and quantitative), interpreting spoken interaction, written texts, questionnaires, and interview data, that 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 firmly to researchers.

On the contrary, an investigation into European multilingual settings, such as communities of practice of Erasmus students, has revealed more sympathetic and responsive sensitivities to ELF due to a background of shared perceptions, views, and interpretations. The most prominent and strategic issues were considered those referring, in particular, to communicative effectiveness instead of the accuracy of forms and NS ideology (cf. Kalocsai 2009; Peckham et al. 2010).

Besides, Cogo (2010) investigated young multilingual participants' ELF perceptions in the UK. Her study revealed how the negotiation and expansion of meaning and its co-construction were core components of their use of English as a Lingua Franca. Moreover, participants continually exposed to linguistic and cultural diversity situations 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 their identities creatively. This observation point helps highlight the intercorrelation between the non-standard use of English and social practices, which can affect speakers' stance towards ELF strategic use and the ELF constellation.

It is commonly underlined that research 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).

ELF discourse research concerning intercultural experts mediating African migrants (Guido 2009, 2017; Cogo 2016) has shown that the interactants nativised outer-circle ELF variations come into contact with expanding-circle ELF variations. 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, and (3) how they may show a discernible bias by spatial/temporal factors and the speaker. Namely, in the context of the responsible-tourist market, they record encounters among African migrants, who speak their own nativised 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 use ELF are 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, resulting in accommodation failure and 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). Both groups of interaction participants interpret and authenticate events by actuating their distinctive local linguacultural schemata, which ultimately diverge (Guido 2017).

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 various identities through ELF. Regardless of a marginal group of scholars who describe ELF as culture and identity neutral, assuming a specific 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 imply multiple index identities (Baker 2015; 2011; 2009). Thus, tensions between participants' L1 cultural-national identities and the pull of 'native speaker ideologies' may be generated, chiefly in ELF practice, which predominantly associates 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. Still, 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 intercultural communication situations.

From the point of view of the notion of language regulation in ELF settings, the discussion concentrates on conceptualising language norms in terms of what they can give to the analysis of ELF. 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 concerning 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 sort 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 should give prominence to contextual, relational, and indexical factors arising from 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. language norms and ELF can provide a better understanding of the concept of normativity in ELF.

In conclusion, I remark on my argument for a "holistic, reflective, and critical approach to phenomena, method, and context" in research (Baird, Baker, and Kitazawa 2014; Cogo 2016). This treatment of speakers, language and ideology is conducive to ELF inquiry because it enhances our insight into several applied linguistics crucial concepts, namely language, community, speaker, and variety from an English as a Lingua Franca perspective.

4.2 Interpersonal Stance Analytical Framework

So far, I have explored the notion of ELF and its pragmatics, especially concerning multilingual aspects, but one particularly relevant strand of this complex whole remains to be discussed. It is how the relationship between participants shapes and affects ELF tourist communication. This kind of communication, especially concerning museum-guided tours, is characterised by the interpersonal stance taken by the participants. This section attempts to define stance-taking in the ELF tourist framework. Considering language serves as a means to shape social lives and enact identities (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999), the analysis of interactive moves can cast a light on social structures and interpretations of social

relations. First, I will examine the role of the stancetaker as the point of departure to describe the analytical tool to display how stance can be considered a dialogical act of positioning towards social values and culture. I will discuss John Du Bois' (2007) triangle to define and determine participants' stance in ELF communicative context.

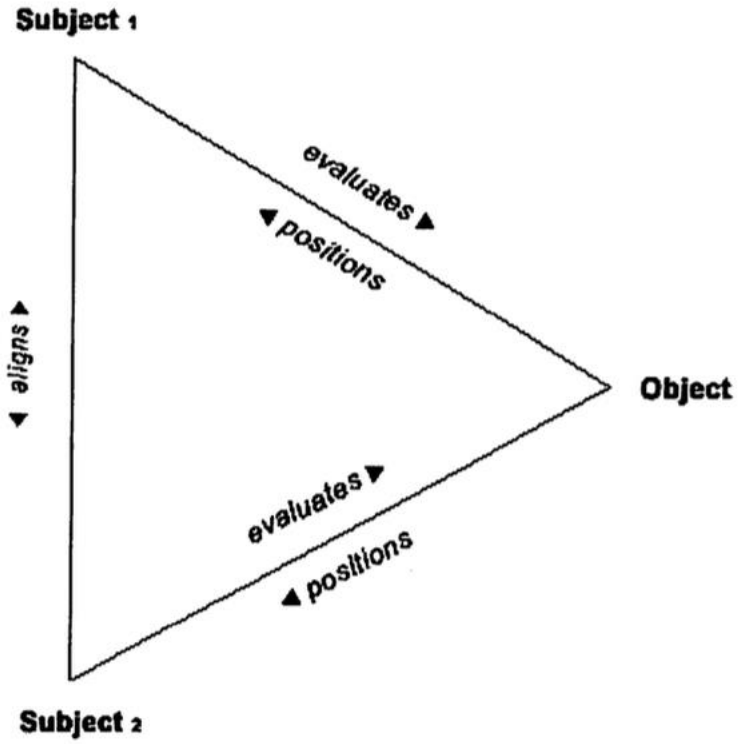

Figure 2. The stance triangle (Du Bois 2007).

As illustrated in Figure 2 above – Subject 1 sets up an evaluative action towards the stance object. At the same time, Subject 2 originates a personal stance vector towards the same object, resulting in the shared objective of relations among the three entities. Based on this model of organisation, between these three components, positioning, alignment, and evaluation can be considered the result of a single overarching stance act within the communication. In this case, the speaker - also called 'stancetaker' – evaluates an object (1) manifesting a personal attitude and (2) aligned or disaligned with other subjects' points of view. Consequently, stance-taking should be considered a negotiated process of subsequent converging or diverging positioning standpoints among interactants resulting from subject-oriented action towards an object on a continuum vector.

This process is relevant in the context explored in this project, wherein in the setting of a museum tour, we may find a tourist/museum guide leading a tour and addressing the tourists attending the tour while also talking about a specific object in the museum. The guide evaluates an object while taking a specific

stance towards the other subjects in the tour. This stance may align or not with the stance expected of a tourist guide. In other words, the guide's evaluative power may differ from the institutional profile her organisation has assigned her. Due to this intersubjective dialogue, social responsibilities, chosen identities, and personal orientations towards language and the communicative setting outline individuals' personal and social roles as they negotiate with others.

Another crucial factor to consider grounding this interpretative framework is identifying the object of stance to appraise what the evaluative process concerns from the participants and the analyst's perspectives. Therefore, in the ongoing dialogic conversation sequences, the speaker's subjectivity clarifies the subject's intentional relation (Searle 1983) towards a specific object. More explicitly, the subject-object vector reveals the speaker's state of mind expressing their epistemic or affective subjectivity. In other terms, it discloses if the subject likes/dislikes, agrees/disagrees, or is informed about/ignores something (Du Bois 2007).

(1) (LSAC 1396-01)6

4 LESLIE; I agree with you.

John Du Bois' (2007) The stance triangle.

Moreover, starting from the appraisal of the sociocultural dimension of interaction, participants' utterances are the consequence of previous ones and concatenate with different responses dialogically on the horizon of the polyadic interaction they are involved in.

(2) (LSAC1396-01)

1 CORA; we are considered white collar because we're social
2 workers
((2 LINES ARE OMITTED))
4 LESLIE; I agree with you.

John Du Bois' (2007) The stance triangle.

Actors, such as tourists in my study, correlate their subjectivity, deploying personal sociocultural values into an intersubjective fair play of reciprocal stance monitoring. As a social act, stance-taking declines across several turns by different speakers sharing a stance object, which becomes the primary source of intersubjectivity. Speakers share views while they are holding a conversation concerning a particular topic. Therefore, they can display their evaluative power in response to other members of the group's stance. In summary, it can be stated that a specific stance is co-constructed and significant in interaction. This type of interior indexicality (Kiesling 2009), holding at the moment of speaking, fastens local relationships

with other present interlocutors showing personal alignment or disagreement in stances, footings, and positions.

Furthermore, participants' social roles and identities are defined according to contextual details such as the setting and the nature of the activities locally implemented over time, shaping action and their social bond. These relations are chosen according to institutional frameworks or, on the other hand, flexibly shaped within the speech event boundaries. This internal versus external orientation to the communicative situation can even reverse social categories orienting positioning epistemically in contrast with the source of authority in the wider sociocultural field. So, participants converge, diverge, or take an ambivalent attitude towards shared stance objects deploying their alignment status on an uninterrupted assortment of principles.

According to this point of view, despite hierarchical rankings[9], connections among individuals can develop based on background similarities and personal or group-situated objectives. In accord with a collective sense. Consequently, it can be affirmed that participants frame themselves in various social roles, assuming several appropriate stances to the enfolding of the speech event, fluctuating from one more potent to a less powerful identity causing a shift in power distribution. Empathy in polyadic interaction enhances familiarity and involvement; it correlates with the length of the collaborative and the personal commitment shown by the participants who are likely to display their personal, cultural, and experiential backgrounds. According to (Prodromou, 2008, p. 251), successful users possess the sensibility (i.e., negative capability) to flexibly accommodate interlocutors' needs and situational requirements, further than language proficiency in grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation (i.e., positive capability). They strive to create rapport and attain cooperative construction of dialogue with interlocutors (Idem 251). Despite linguistic inability and vulnerability, non-native speakers of English in workplace contexts endeavour to achieve emotional solidarity with other non-native interlocutors (Komori-Glatz 2017). This attitude of accomplishing mutually accommodating tolerance works as an effective, pragmatic strategy to promote mutual understanding on the one hand.

Conversely, it triggers empathy with one another's emotional views rejecting native or native-like competence 'as an instrument of power' (Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 4229). This more dynamic, agency-oriented view of 'pragmatic competence' (Taguchi & Ishihara 2018 p.82) is primarily carried out in the global context of English use among international speakers. Research on the pragmatics of ELF has extensively explored speakers' ability to accommodate their interlocutors' needs and contexts (Mauranen, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2011, for an overview). Thus, "a capability for effective use which involves the process of exploiting whatever linguistic resources are available" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 197) has been considered a

[9] More generally, categories of power and solidarity contrast; the first is conceived as vertical in opposition to the second, which refers to horizontal and symmetrical power relations (Brown and Gilman, 1960). Unequal status among individuals can be determined according to biological or social categories (e.g., age, gender, physical appearance, profession, institutional role, and wealth). Equality can be defined concerning common political, religious, and ethical ideas or like-mindedness.

pivotal feature in ELF users' competence. Furthermore, apart from the capability of exploiting pragmatic strategies and non-linguistic resources as an essential part of one's pragmatic competence to achieve understanding and communicative effectiveness, ELF interactants work towards defining a stance towards language forms and gatekeeping norms. Consequently, institutional functions may be challenged, inviting to attain a more egalitarian attitude of mind in defining roles and situated norms while interaction deploys.

In contrast, dominance patterns are intrinsic at each level of discourse (Linell and Luckmann, 1991; Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). For example, quantitative dominance can be determined by the amount of time a speaker holds the floor; additionally, interactional dominance refers to interactional moves control; likewise, semantic dominance is denoted by a participant's control over the topic. – ELF-related examples

Overall, stance-taking has to be considered an inherent feature of communication. It is ingrained in the formality of the speech event intervening in the definitions of participants' roles in the dyadic or polyadic interaction. However, beyond the ritualised rights and obligations, or rules of conduct, individuals consciously or unconsciously can decide on their positioning, expressing their stance in consonance with power relations or solidarity principles. My dataset will provide further examples supporting this interpretative framework, presented in the Data Analysis sections.

4.3 Stance and Identity

In the data analysis section, I will investigate a concept of a stance that premises on a sociocognitive dimension of dialogical interaction, collaborative attitude, and conversational responsibility shared among participants. In this view, the stance is analysed as a social act performed in the public domain dialogically thanks to interactional resources (e.g., body language, dialogue, multimodal means as symbolic forms). In so doing, actors position themselves and others towards particular objects following a sociocultural dimension of values. They create, in addition, alignment or disalignment relations. Consequently, within this observational research framework, the effectual relational bond between speakers and their acts emerges, highlighting their intersubjectivity potential. Consequently, any stance differential will be foregrounded to calibrate convergent and divergent alignment in communicative co-action.

In the following example, an instance of stance differential is exemplified in an extract providing evidence of the three subsidiary acts of evaluation, positioning, and alignment discussed above.

(Deadly Diseases SBC015:186.540-198.625)

1	KEN;	.. I would love to go:.
2		(0.3)
3	LENORE;	**Yeah.**

4		(1.0)
5	JOANNE;	**Yeah?**
6		(0.9)
		I want to go too.

John Du Bois' (2007) The stance triangle.

The intersubjective alignment marker **Yeah** pronounced by Lenore with a final falling intonation, openly displays her convergence with Ken's stance in Line 1, who performs as the stancetaker in the present dialogical sequence. After a relatively long pause, considering the liveness of the conversation, the same word is uttered by Joanne in a rising appeal contour. Her is an ambivalent comment. Her rising appeal contour seems to suggest a question. Her doubt reveals a stance differential. However, her final remark, reiterating her wish to join the party, can clarify the participant's stance. In other words, the adverb **too** can make the level of alignment be exemplified in a tangible word form, whereas it is commonly covertly expressed through sequential placement or prosody.

Furthermore, although Joanne aligns, her involvement in the initiative is downgraded. She substitutes the verb "love", expressing deep feelings, with the volitional verb "want", declaring acceptance of what was suggested. Consequently, her last utterance, at line 7, cannot be analysed as a juxtaposed simple repetition of line 1. On the other hand, it is explanatory of the level of intersubjectivity between the parties.

In sum, what is to arise is an interwoven pattern of stances unfolding from participants' apprehension of contextual details, previous knowledge of communicative partners, and evaluative assumptions. The implementation of appropriate linguistic indexes (e.g., **too** for positive utterances, **either**[10] for negative utterances - compare (Du Bois 2007, 165-167) materialise the remarkable suppleness of the stance game, where speakers, responding to counter stance actions, attest their obligatory engagement with dialogically constructed intersubjectivity. This implicit awareness exists in dialogic interaction that shuffles and shapes any relevant factor of the stance fabric within the sophisticated correlational system of stance-taking.

Remarkably, this dynamic nature of stance-taking impacts identity construction and co-construction as negotiated in discursive practices. Through linguistic acts and their epistemic and affective stances, participants do identity work (Ochs, 1993, p. 289), displaying different floor management strategies, turn-taking, and public agenda-handling strategies in polyadic communication. Their natural orientation towards a common understanding of linguistic acts' operational formulas suggests the possibility of characterising a specific communicative genre in tourist ELF contexts. It can be identified with relational patterns, where power identities are not always conventionally selected according to institutionalised

10 (6) This Retirement Bit SBC011: 4444.12-446.30)

1	SAM;	I don't like those.
2		(0.2)
3	ANGELA;	I don't **either.**

arrangements. However, they are deeply influenced by the communicative social bond interactants commit to.

The tour guide orchestrates and influences the tourists' visit experience. After appointing the tour goals, the guide interprets and mediates the local contexts. According to the European Federation of Tourist Guide Associations (EFTGA), a tour guide is "*a person who guides groups or individual visitors from abroad or from the home country around the monuments, sites and museums of a city or region; to interpret in an inspiring and entertaining manner, in the language of the visitor's choice, the cultural and natural heritage and environment*" (Min, 2011, p. 158; Huang, Hsu and Chan, 2010, p. 6; Huang and Simkin, 2009, p. 11; Skanavis and Giannoulis, 2009, p. 55; Khalifah, 2007, p. 643; Ap and Wong, 2001, p. 551). Starting from this definition, investigating the contemporary profile of the Professional Guide as "a teacher, a confidant and guru" is of pivotal relevance (McKean, indeed, 1976: 13) in communicative tourist contexts.

Starting from the pioneering studies by Cohen (1985), scientific observation has considered this profession as characterised by two primary endeavours: cultural brokerage and social mediation, expressing leadership and the mediatory sphere of the job. Since these different aspects rely on two sides of the same role, the analysis and the interpretation of the communicative acts in interaction concern, on the one hand, the intercultural experience lived by the tourists in the local community. On the other hand, it also investigates the guide's negotiatory work as instrumental to enhancing the general understanding and group-making. Therefore, their attitude towards sociocultural values involving language, empathy, and responsibility towards personal decisions and their consequences is pivotal in determining the rules regulating this work-related communicative event. The dynamic and multi-layered role played by the tour guide in many tourist-related situations is responsible for the pace and mood of the encounter inception across boundaries of formal and informal registers.

Moreover, his/her positioning is a distinguishable feature of polyadic meetings in professional environments. However, the directing role fulfilled by the guide's function can be performed by other meeting participants explicitly showing an elevated floor time management compared to the others as it happened in other business contexts (cf. Holmes et al., 2003). This informally marked leadership, facilitating the meeting based on pre-allocated turns, constitutes an organisational device characterising the interaction according to an explicit stance.

Over time, the tour guides' wide range of roles in facilitating the tourist experience was observed. The following table is adapted from Tetik, 2012, p. 208 – Table. 3 - exemplifies these roles.

	Schmidt (1979)	Holloway (1981)	Almagor (1985)	Cohen (1985)	Fine&Speer (1985)	Katz (1985)	Geva&Goldman (1991)	Huges (1991)	Pond (1993)	Weiler&Davis (1993)	Ryan&Dewar (1995)	Ballantyne&Huges (2001)
Cultural broker	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			
Mediator	✓	✓		✓		✓					✓	✓
Information giver	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓		✓
Interpreter	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Educator	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓
Leader		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓		
Motivator of conservation	✓	✓		✓					✓	✓		✓
Navigation/safety	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓						✓
Company representative		✓		✓					✓			
Catalyst	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓		✓
Tour and group manager/organizer				✓				✓		✓		

Table 4. The Tour Guide's critical roles as identified in selected research.

As is highlighted, interpreting and educating are the most widespread among the identified roles. Although tourists are provided with off-side (non-personal) interpretation tools - brochures, signs, displays, visitor information centres, audio, and multimedia devices – research (Howard, Thwaites, and Smith, 2001, p. 33; Poudel and Nyaupane, 2015, p. 660) states that tour guides and on-site (personal) interpreters as the utmost effective environmental educational tools. According to Tilden (1967, p. 38), a leading figure in interpretative philosophy, "*Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection*". In other words, the process of interpretation as an educational activity "*aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information*" (Tilden 1967, p. 8). On account of its broad scope, I would suggest a list of six main interpretation objectives, rephrasing Wearing et al.'s study (2008, p. 3):

1. to increase the visitor's understanding in appreciating nature and becoming aware of the tourist site resources and heritage;
2. to disclose content concerning natural and historical processes of preservation and conservation;
3. to enhance visitors' involvement in the exploration of the natural and cultural environments;
4. to sensitise the visitors to the wiser use of natural resources and the respect and preservation of cultural and natural heritage;
5. to deliver a service to visit an enjoyable and meaningful experience;
6. to raise awareness of the guide's role, professional policy, and management objectives.

Overall, the importance of the tour guide's function in the tourist experience is demonstrated by the effect of his/her communicative skills, knowledge, and fluency in language on general customer

satisfaction. This influential power relies on interactional ability established in performing his/her various roles: information provider, as a teacher or instructor on one side; on the other, public relator and social facilitator, cultural host, entertainer, problem solver (Black in Pastorelli, 2003). Besides, a tour guide must have leadership and group management skills to handle group dynamics assuring interaction success and some degree of satisfaction among the tour participants (Quiroga 1990). This fact is not to say that stance is fixed throughout the conversation because the stance is a fluid dynamic dimension. It develops along with interaction, as has been demonstrated by conversation analysis. Further evidence will be provided in my data section.

Regarding this study analysis, the role of the guide and his/her stance taking will be taken seriously to interpret the whole cohort's attitude towards communication. Speakers will set up discourse rules explicitly marking their meeting agenda and communicative goals regarding mutual understanding. In this respect, it is worth considering that social constructionism and performativity theory research has provided evidence of the constantly negotiated dynamic process of identity construction (De Fina et al., 2006). According to this perspective, corporate identity is also constantly arranged in a multi-directional process of positioning other participants in the meeting when defining roles and self-identification in the workplace. Consequently, the factors determining the chair's role in the meeting include institutional office functions, specific stance positioning, and the projected identities intersubjectively assigned by group members. Stances are selected according to entitlements and expectances (Spencer Oatey 2002), which attain 'personal and social entitlements' (Sarangi, 2010) in the interactional context. In other words, taking account of the communicative context and the meeting goals, interactants can personally include or exclude from a specific matrix of identity themselves or other group members. The pragmatic entanglement of strategies enacted upon contingent requirements characterises the manner entitlements are dynamically negotiated so that they can denote a genre.

To finalise this study analysis, I will rely on a wide range of linguistic resources as prerequisites of stance-taking and emerging identities in a unique socio-cultural context. I will highlight the compelling bond combining institutional roles and performed identities as outcomes of complex socio-professional relationships. Furthermore, the co-construction of relevant norms and practices will be investigated to detect evidence of power asymmetries because of socio-cultural and contextual constraints. However, I consider the dynamic process of live interaction, acting over time, as an agent which can affect the pre-existing web of institutional realities. In other words, participants will share a co-constructing attitude towards roles. Consequently, the analysis will reveal that they perform speech acts to satisfy interactive needs and accomplish communicative goals despite institutional and language standard benchmarks.

In sum, speakers' identity constructed through intersubjective stance must be considered a remarkable agent of change of (inert) social systems.

4.4 Interpretative framework of stance in ELF interaction.

Interpreting stance in ELF interaction requires an investigative perspective which theoretically resides on the prominent role of the context. Contextually situated aspects, namely the setting, the purpose, and each participant's experiential repertoire, can link the four social semiotic dimensions - formality, power, social distance, and respect. An analytical model will be devised on these premises to facilitate ELF users' stance definition in ad hoc interactional situations.

First, erstwhile studies (Brown and Fraser 1979) suggest analysing stance-taking considering participants as individuals possessing biological features (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, social class), also associated with the public sphere and their professional roles. On the other hand, bearing in mind participants' identities, what is considered in this study is the private side of individuals, observed from their personal history and temporary traits such as personality, emotions, interests, and attitudes. This aspect will likely reveal interpersonal relations among participants who share, combine, or contrast each other in social, institutional, or private relations. Therefore, the stance is best considered the evaluative process of socio-cultural value categories toward which positioning and aligning practices are enacted.

Due to the analytical framework of the stance triangle, when it comes to my study participants, I will identify the stancetaker(s), the object of the evaluation, and the evoked ethical and moral principles. However, beyond this first specific level of investigation, a further dimension of evaluative power, in correlation with the sophisticated configuration of ELF dialogic juxtaposition of stances, will be carried out. The successive combinational resonance among convergent and accommodative attitudes may scaffold a general viewpoint which comes to be associated with the whole assembly. More specifically, it will be verified if the institutional leader of the group – the tourist guide - has a role in defining a confident stance and attitude towards language use. At the same time, I will monitor any changes in her relational approach due to accommodating strategies that may weaken the persistence of a standard entrenched code of communicative conduct. Finally, over a diachronic arc along my data set, in the data section, I will discuss stacetaking, highlighting the evolutionary process it has taken and its impact on the contextualised pragmatics of language use. This ongoing analysis aims to solve the tension generated between the generality and particularity of stances spawned in the in situ culturally framed social practice. Furthermore, the performative scenario of stance will be taken into consideration. This public space hosts the dialogic interaction among participants who take responsibility for orientation and reciprocal negotiation of identity. These peculiar contingencies of all dialogic action reckon relevant consequences for the interactional pace of the conversation and its resulting conclusions impacting social relations and expanding networks of values and ideas.

Secondly, interaction comprises dynamic categories of time and place in which action is performed, which closely correlate with the purpose of the interaction and the activity type. The latter determines the selection of roles within the physical or situational setting to develop a specific subject matter. The

combination of these factors directly impacts the interactional structure of the speech event, determining the level of formality and specificity of the lexicon, the turn-taking prosody, and the stylistic variations due to accomplishing a task or developing a topic. Along this negotiation process activated by the socio-semiotic circumstances, tourists position themselves and define their interpersonal stance in complicity with the formality of the scene. Accordingly, they acquire a particular positional identity establishing a correlation of power among themselves and between the guide and the institutional role she represents in society. In this respect, social distance is also relevant because it highlights individuals' identities, personalities, and emotions about other participants in the communicative setting. In these circumstances, respect is elicited, accounting for the characters' interrelational positioning and emotional involvement in the communicative situation. A convergence of positioning towards communicative goals and principles emerges to the point of determining and cooperatively sharing expressive means beyond conventional and standard benchmarks.

Consequently, stance analysis concerns the observations of systems of social values, which are implicitly or explicitly presupposed or invoked. In the same act of stance-taking, actors contribute to reproducing and enhancing those values. However, a close look at participants' contributions reveals their claimed ownership of social values as they were interpreted and altered. Social actors' commitment in dialogic negotiation of stance characterises individual identities and defines their social history. One reason behind this is the interwoven nature of the interpersonal dimensions of stance-taking in correlation with situational factors. Consequently, this study analysis will consider a certain margin of overlap and haziness between them and a noticeable margin of influence congruously with participants' adherence to social and contextual categories.

In conclusion, considering the minimum stance structure as dialogic action, this research will illustrate the realisation of socio-cultural evaluation and orientation towards language use in an ELF tourist context by negotiating meaning among subjects.

4.5 Conclusion.

Distinctive ELF studies have been provided in this chapter to support this study's interpretation of valuable data illustrating the multiple ways in which culture, identity and language interact and the importance of approaching them in a holistic and situated manner in order to understand intercultural communication through ELF best.

5. Methodology.

The present chapter is dedicated to the methodological approach that supported the data analysis, which combines two distinct perspectives to address interaction as practice. The first is Ethnography of communication (EC), a perspective that provides an ethnographic account of interaction involving the study of participants, their communication environment and context; the second is Conversation Analysis (CA), or conversational-analytic procedures, which explores the negotiation process of language in action. I will review this study's aims and research questions before exploring the combined methodological approach.

5.1 Research Questions.

The project aims to explore ELF communication in the Tourist Industry in Calabria, in Southern Italy.

The following research questions have driven my study:

1. What multilingual strategies contribute to the negotiation of meaning among ELF users in the Italian tourist domain?

Previous research has shown that multilingual resources are widely used in ELF talk, but the data provided consist of communities of practice, i.e., people in regular interaction. This research question relates to multilingual communication in tourist-related conversation in English, where interaction is not steady and may only happen occasionally or only once. In order to answer this RQ, I will explore their strategic use of code-switching, code-mixing, and translanguaging to achieve a functional effect situationally. For RQ1, the data consist of naturally occurring conversations among employees and tourists in different locations among the 22 participants in a tour in the south of Italy.

To support my first research question (RQ1), I have added the following research questions (RQ2, RQ3, RQ4) according to a more in-depth analysis of multilingual strategies' effectiveness in communication. They enquire:

1. What *overt* multilingual strategies have ELF users used in the Italian tourist domain?
2. What *covert* multilingual strategies have ELF users used in the Italian tourist domain?
3. To what extent has translanguaging been used as a multilingual resource among ELF users in the Italian tourist domain?

Through this supporting primary data Q2, Q3, and Q4, I explore participants' pragmatic decisions regarding what multilingual strategy is more apt to convey and negotiate the meaning. Naturally occurring conversations among the 22 participants in the study (i.e., employees and tourists) visiting and working in different locations in the south of Italy are the data explored to answer these questions.

In order to support my primary data questions, I have added the following secondary research question, according to an ethnographic approach to clarify tourism employees' and visitors' awareness of the strategic use of pragmatic resources.

1. What are the attitudes and orientations of participants towards ELF communication in the tourist domain?

Naturally occurring conversation data will be triangulated with the answers to interviews, and questionnaire surveys carried out among the 22 participants in the tour, including specialist tourist staff operators. These multiple approaches will help clarify tourism employees' and visitors' pragmatic aims and perspectives towards various multilingual resources in ELF for tourism in Italy.

The above-introduced research questions consist of *four primaries and one secondary research question.*
This project's primary research questions directly pertain to pragmatic multilingual resources used in the tourist domain by ELF users. Original evidence has been drawn from unprocessed information that has not been analysed or interpreted.
My primary research questions investigating subtler and sophisticated multilingual pragmatic strategies involving personal sociocultural repertoires and schemata will be triangulated with data collected through questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews aiming at providing supporting evidence for the hypothesis I have investigated based on primary sources. The secondary data sources have also helped define the context of my research and its participants. Purposefully, I explore participants' attitudes towards ELF in general and any multilingual resources in ELF encounters. Moreover, I explore their awareness of the strategic use of pragmatic strategies to clarify tourism employees' and visitors' perspectives towards the multicultural use of ELF for tourism in Italy. I used questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews comprising descriptive questions regarding linguistic practices and probing, comparative, evaluative and explanatory questions (Appendix n. C).
To sum up, I have triangulated naturally occurring conversation evidence with attitudes and orientations in my research to investigate individual differences my participants display, regardless of their sociocultural background, regarding language attitudes and motivational orientations behind the use of multilingual resources as accommodative language behaviour. These differences are most important as they directly and indirectly influence language performance rate, process, and efficiency. Their perceptions, views, and interpretations have revealed more sympathetic and responsive sensitivities to ELF involving different aspects. For example, in the organisation and negotiation of knowledge, the expansion of meaning, and identity formation. They have appropriate English on their initiative to mark their identities and purposely use the language creatively. This observation point helps highlight the intercorrelation between the non-standard use of English and social practices, which can affect speakers' stance towards ELF strategic use and the ELF constellation.

5.2 Procedures.

To record naturally occurring conversations among people with the scope of doing tourism in the location of interest in the south of Italy, I have implemented an emic approach to accurately observe the spoken dynamic among the participants in the interaction. The data collection lasted two months, and, as a researcher, I was always present during the recordings.

Firstly, a tourist itinerary was selected among those advertised by a successful local travel agency to promote the beauties and typicality of the south of Italy to international tourists according to the following schedule:

TIME	PLANNED ACTIVITY	DESTINATION
9:15	Group meeting at the collection point.	Andirivieni Travel Travel Agency: Normanni Street 87067 Rossano (CS) - Italy
9:20	Bus transfer to Sibari	
10:00	Guided Tour.	National Archaeological Museum of Sibaritide (CS)
11:30	Bus transfer to Corigliano Calabro.	
11:45	Guided Tour.	Catsello Ducale - Corigliano Calabro (CS)
13:15	Bus transfer to the Pathirion district.	
13.30	Packet Lunch	
15:00	Guided Tour.	*Santa Maria del Patire* Abbey - Rossano (CS)
16:30	Bus transfer to the Old Town of Rossano.	
16:45	Guided Tour: **The Byzantine Route**	Roman Catholic Cathedral of Rossano (CS)
17:15	Guided Tour: **The Byzantine Route**	The Diocesan Museum and of the Codex Purpureus Rossanenis - Rossano (CS)
18:15	Bus transfer to Rossano	
18:30	Happy Hour party	Capani Café - Rossano (CS).

Table 5: Schedule of the "The Byzantine Route" *tour.*

The "*The Byzantine Route*" tour took place on the 2nd of June 2016 and lasted a day long, from 9 am to 9 pm. This tourist product and service aimed to promote the Calabria region's historical and cultural heritage and gastronomy by integrating visits to museums and ancient monuments with recreational activities. The named breaks in the tour facilitated rapport-building and interpersonal communication among the participants and between the tourists and the researcher. Moreover, those moments were used

to inform the tourists of the research's general purpose, precisely omitting the research aim and questions. The participants acknowledged the confidentiality of data analysis and conservation.

Furthermore, informed consent (Vaughn et al. 1996: 69) was collected among tourists and staff through a permission form (Appendix n. B). To ascertain that their conversations always remain anonymous, pseudonyms were utilised. The audio recording has been fully transcribed for detailed analysis using VOICE transcription Conventions. However, to capture and make relevant for the analysis of the complex interaction, the Jefferson system of transcription notation 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). My participatory observation facilitated transcribing the different speaking modes (e.g., phonological variations) and any non-verbal feedback. According to what was called 'the Observer's Paradox by the sociolinguist William Labov (1972a), questioning the impact and influence of the researcher's presence in the community observed, Mcneill & Chapman's (2005: 96) argument can be confirmed. My presence at first affected the research participants, but their behaviour tended to return to normal as far as they got used to it. Although in the beginning, most of the participants, members of staff, seemed worried about being recorded and assessed in terms of their English mastery and proficiency, they nevertheless understood the scope of the research and sympathised with me.

Consequently, they naturalised their intervention by supporting a genuine collection of spoken interaction. Ultimately, the participants did not seem disturbed by the observer they considered a trip companion. In addition, to elaborate and refine my understanding of speakers' attitudes towards ELF and multilingual resources in ELF encounters (Cogo 2016), I conducted ethnographic interviews among the participants. They were semi-structured interviews comprising a combination of some descriptive questions regarding linguistic practices and some probing, comparative, evaluative and explanatory questions (for their transcriptions and detailed analysis, see Parise 2022). The interviews supported the researcher's interpretation of language data providing relevant information about the speakers' linguistic choices in real-time conversation.

5.3 Method of analysis – general introduction.

This study relies on 'applied Conversation Analysis', which investigates various social phenomena in interaction (Li, 2002: 163). However, CA tools and techniques will be combined with emic accounts of the communicative and cultural contexts employing a more ethnographic perspective to collect relevant information provided by the participants and the participant/researcher herself. With this purpose in mind, I have complemented Conversation Analysis to Ethnography of Communication to explore speakers' attitudes towards ELF international communication and how they consciously or unconsciously control language resources in the specific tourist context and community of speakers.

This emic descriptive approach observes communicative situations as a holistic practice from within the actual interaction occasion. It, therefore, has provided an accurate observation of the spoken dynamic among the participants in the interaction and their cultural contexts. I have put this macro-level conceptualisation generated by ethnographic sensitivities and sensibilities in conjunction with CA etic exploration of interaction in line with Pike's (1967) emic/etic distinction in linguistics[11].

In more detail, I can explain my analytical focus, which aligns with the methodological solution to approach natural-occurring data by combining an etic approach with emic or insider accounts of data. I use CA, in this research, as a 'microanalytic' approach to reveal the unsuspected complexity of mundane social interaction in the tourist domain. Additionally, I have adopted Ethnography of Communication to provide this study data analysis with an ethnographic approach which could highlight the interdependence of language use and whole social situation trying to understand the meanings and practices of the cultural environments in which interaction occurred (cf. Hymes, 1996; Green and Bloome, 1997). The experiential information I collected during the fieldwork has personalised the research making it an eloquent socio-cultural experience.

As a researcher, I was always present during the recordings. Although I cannot consider myself an anthropologist but a sociolinguist, I conducted the investigation using the methodology of participant observation. I held regular contact and some degree of participation in the tourist environment being studied. Moreover, research was done in a naturalistic setting, part of the organised visiting tour, aiming to collect factual data and contextual features. In addition, I respected some ethnographic standpoints (cf. Green and Bloome, 1997) and directions (Blumer, 1969: 148). For instance, I conducted direct on-the-scene learning observation to analyse participants' interaction with each other and their environment. I have opened a dialogue between conceptual and theoretical reference frameworks and my fieldwork evidence to avoid biased conjectures on empirical data. I have refined, developed, and accommodated the investigative research directions as the project proceeded throughout my analytical process. While exploring the nature of the ELF interaction, I have learnt from my empirical data crediting my creative insight without losing focus on the purpose of my study. Consequently, I have made analytic categories at the point of data collection that involved me as a participant-observer to catch the interactants' standpoints instead of accepting any pre-constructed etic interpretations.

I have worked on adopting a discovery-based research process, especially regarding communicative practices. As a result, I have relied on a bottom-up perspective, which resulted in a clear understanding of the most prominent multilingual pragmatic strategies in the tourist domain only after data analysis—favouring this kind of inductive 'local interpretations' (Geertz, 1973; Fetterman, 2010). I have tried to

[11] These strategies were concerned with the differentiation between the phonemics - member-relevant rules about the sound contrasts of language - and phonetics, which concerns the physical properties of speech sounds or signs (phones).

behave as both an outsider and an insider, distancing myself from the group to hamper social and intellectual commitment but appropriately combining an etic and an emic perspective on data.
Finally, manual coding was used to organise and classify this qualitative research data. My aim has always been to assure validity and relevance to the research progression thanks to reciprocal negotiations between theoretical ideas, findings, conclusions, and research questions.

5.4 Conversation Analysis.

This approach, developed from the sociological school of Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967), considers an abstract theoretical framework irrelevant to understanding social order. Its exponents state that social order is the product of social interaction[12].

What derives from this methodological stance for CA is that social categories like gender, gender hierarchy, age, ethnicity, or participants' relationship to each other become relevant by utilising analytical procedures, methods, and resources, which correlate with the context and natural language of the participants' community (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008: 1). According to this methodology of analysis, the researcher can only rely on what the data can reveal (cf. Li, 2002; Wetherell, 1998) through *unmotivated looking* "with fresh eyes" (Ten Have 2007: 40).

The pioneering CA studies edited by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1978) investigated the organisation and management of everyday 'talk-in-interaction' (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 13) to understand how to reach intersubjectivity utilising language *per se* (Schegloff, 1991). As social scientists, conversation analysts originally conceived social order to be determined using language as a mere vehicle. However, they realised the role of grammar in determining the turn-taking mechanism (see Sacks et al. 1974), inspiring linguists to enquire about what kind of reciprocal correlation exists between interaction and grammar by CA.

The general principles of CA presuppose a sequential approach to meaning making among actively involved participants in the talk production. Interactions are strictly sequenced and arranged, developing a theme, or involving a personal endeavour; actions are well synchronised in turn-taking and achieved using appropriate adjacency pairs (e.g., summons/questions which require a particular answer or accepting an invitation) or supporting the interlocutor's turns (e.g., providing backchannelling or overlaps). In participants' turn-taking, topic management and role negotiation, in turn, comprise turn constructional units (TCUs; see Schegloff 2007 for a detailed description of sequence organisation) which can be made up of sentences, clauses, or any lexical construction to the effective delivery of talk before another interlocutor takes the floor (Sacks et al. 1974). Usually, the speaker's turns alternate, provided one speaker "speaks at a time" (Sacks et al. 1974), tending to avoid long pauses between adjacency pairs

[12] Garfinkel, H. (1974) 'The origins of the term ethnomethodology', in R.Turner (Ed.) Ethnomethodology, Penguin, Harmondsworth, pp 15–18.

or overlapping[13]. As Sacks pointed out: 'speaker change recurs' negotiating the floor constantly during a conversation. A prominent feature of its organisation is this continual negotiation, which makes it 'locally managed' without following a predetermined course of action. Notwithstanding this fact, to categorise the regularities that occur in conversation, Sacks, and his colleagues, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gall Jefferson, proposed a model of conversationalists' behaviour titled: *'A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn-taking for conversation*' (Sacks et al. 1974). It argues two main principles: (1) speakers are conscious that a turn consists of several 'turn constructional units' defined by Sacks et al. as 'grammatical entities.' However, a turn can be constituted by a combination of elements starting from nonverbal body language and movements behaviour, such as the speaker's gaze direction, to the prosodic (intonation, stress, pausing) and grammar structures of the speech in the form of a complete clause or sentence. The speaker's ability to predict the turn endpoint still in progress is relevant in foreseeing a 'turn transition relevance place'. (2) The simplest systematics model also provides ordered rules for assigning turns to precise participants regarding linguistic behaviour. It can be summarised as follows:

1. The current speaker selects the next speaker; or
2. Next speaker self-selects; or…
3. The current speaker might continue.

Ethnographic studies have remarked that some communities of speakers need to respect the prototypical model proposed by Sacks et al. For example, Reisman (1974) reported on the 'contrapuntal conversation' pattern (i.e., at least a couple of interlocutors generally speak contemporarily) of the Antiguan village; or the tolerated extended silence in conversation among speech communities set among Nordic and native Americans (see Tannen and Saville-Troike 1985). As far as it stands, bypassing the initial monolingual American predominance in data, interactional linguists (IL) used this sensitive sociocultural approach to investigate how specific languages perform in interaction, making cross-linguistic evaluations (Fox et al. 2013). Analogously, ELF has predominantly found CA a promising endonormative approach to identify the speakers' local orientation (Seedhouse 2004) in the study of naturally occurring conversation.
The following section investigates how ELF research has successfully applied CA.

5.4.1 Applying CA Methodology to ELF Research.

Particularly relevant in the Conversation Analysis investigative method for the study of ELF practice is the dynamic definition of the social context in the unfolding nature of talk (Heritage, 1998; Schegloff, 2007) that it implies. Thus, meaning is interactionally constructed and interactively resides in every conversation's 'situated practice'. Any cognitive interpretations of the speakers' and the hearers' contribution are overcome by the prominence given to the negotiated nature of the interaction in

[13] According to Ryabov (2016), this trend is not limited to humans; it also works in dolphin interaction.

intercultural/transactional communication (Gumperz, 1982; Bremer et al., 1996) because of the participants' endeavour to support the interactional exchange to achieve mutual understanding.

The fundamental principle of CA that persists, despite ethnographic diversities, is the meticulous analysis of certain types of data finely detailed and the most salient pattern for the participants. Speakers align, displaying a shared understanding of the ongoing interaction turn-by-turn situationally performed in the context in which it occurs. Even renewing it – for instance, answering antagonistically to a question can refashion a friendly conversation into a conflict. In contrast, the same question, in an appropriate context, can result in a friendly answer. Although one of the CA's central basic principles, in the turn-taking system, considers the interlocutors' interactional tendency of the rule: 'one party at a time', more recent research has analysed various types of overlap reinterpreting its pragmatic function; in particular, simultaneous talk has been found unproblematic and somewhat supportive (Schegloff, 2007; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Konakahara, 2015). This finding does not contradict the traditional CA understanding of turns produced by one speaker at a time. Notwithstanding, lingua franca communication requires 'a re-definition of turn as a jointly completed unit of conversation' (Meierkord 2000).

In fact, in the case of ELF research, talk has been proved to be conducted aiming at understanding and co-constructing meaning at the level of turn-taking, where the co-participants negotiate the general message, but also within the single turn (see, e.g., Kaur, 2009; Firth, 2009; Wolfartsberger, 2011) taking into consideration contextual issues. For this reason, CA is particularly relevant to ELF research pragmatic analysis of talk. Conversation analysis can support investigating what is commonly defined as accommodation and/or explicitness (Kaur 2016) in the ELF paradigm or recipient design in conversation-analytic terms. Evidence has shown that lingua franca users end up accommodating their communicative style – vocabulary, speech rate, prosody, syntax - to their interlocutors' (Jenkins, Cogo 2009). This strategy facilitates understanding pre-empting and overcoming communicative turbulence (e.g., Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2009, 2011; Pietrakaren 2018). Explicitness can be argued (Pietrakanen 2017) to work as a means of recipient design required by the lack of some common (cultural or linguistic) ground among the interactants who align interactionally to achieve understanding (Mauranen 2006: 147). Their Involvement[14] is also paramount in alignment (Goffman, 1961; Roberts and Sarangi, 2002; Tannen, 1984, 1993) and always situationally performed.

Consequently, CA can provide those consistent means to "identify the communication strategies and practices that speakers in ELF settings employ to arrive at shared understanding" (Kaur 2016: 163). Firth has also evaluated conversation analysis as well-matched with one of the fundamental questions of ELF

[14] 'Involvement' or, generally speaking, 'the capacity of the individual to give, or withhold from giving, his concerted attention to some activity at hand – a solitary task, a conversation, a collaborative work effort [. . .] a certain overt engrossment on the part of the one who is involved' (Goffman 1963: 43) has also been defined in specific conversation analytic terms by Tannen: "'conversational involvement" is the psychological connectedness individuals show to each other through active participation in interaction. It is a joint achievement by the conversation participants, and it is observable both to the participants themselves and to other people (e.g., conversation analysts)' (Tannen, 1984: 117–18).

research: how a lingua franca can quickly become the medium through which speakers from diverse linguacultural backgrounds achieve understanding. Both sciences share a deep interest in devising an interpretative framework for the conscious intersubjective effort to achieve understanding in communication. Successful communication is often achieved through cooperative work in ELF situations. Nevertheless, asymmetrical talk between unpaired participants there exists. Partners might not have equitable distribution of resources regarding power, status, responsibility, or control over their use of the language. These situations are usually generated in institutional contests where the 'one rule for one and one for another' principle applies consistently. For example, consider courtrooms, asylum seekers' consultancy, medical consultations, media interviews, school classrooms, and office service providers. There is a sort of unbalanced distribution of questions and answers among participants. The interlocutor who asks more questions is typically dominant because they are compelled by right or role. On the other hand, the subordinate party is obliged to answer and might have a restricted right to ask questions. The questioner has considerable power in directing the interaction because it is the question form that starts an adjacency pair; furthermore, it constrains what is considered a relevant or appropriate answer or whether it is not merely required. This impairment has been highlighted and considered in the analysis of conversations involving experts in intercultural mediation speaking expanding-circle ELF variations in interaction with African immigrants who address them using their own nativised outer-circle ELF variations (Guido 2009, 2017; Cogo 2016). According to Guido (2009, 2017) and Cogo (2016), successful communication involves expert mediators who should develop reformulation and hybridisation accommodation strategies of ELF to facilitate access to culture-bound discourses, making them socially acceptable to all the interlocutors.

Conversation analysis has also taken into consideration "the tensions between local practices and any 'larger structures' in which these are embedded, such as conventional membership categories, institutional rules […] etc." (Ten Have 2007: 199) to understand how speakers adapt to the needs of the communicative situation at hand, in their institutional roles. This kind of communication has been classified as institutional talk and examined in its rules and conversation structures by applied CA in official settings. Participants aim to "get specific jobs done", unlike Pure CA, which deals with ordinary or mundane conversations/interactions. However, Applied CA, for its data interpretation, does not disregard any extra-textual elements belonging to the "local situations", which often bias the conversation (Lester and O'Really 2018, interview with Antaki).

The overall functionality of lingua franca interactions promoted studies on communicative strategies such as let it (not) pass (Firth 1996; Kimura 2017), (mis)understandings (Kaur 2009, 2011a, 2012; Pietikäinen 2018a), repair work (Kaur 2011b), the collaboration of humour (Matsumoto 2014), multimodality (Matsumoto 2015), uncooperativeness (Jenks 2012, 2017), overlapping (Konakahara 2013, 2015), openings (Oittinen & Piirainen-Marsh 2015), translanguaging (Pietikäinen 2014, 2017) turn withholdings

in conflict talk (Pietikäinen 2018b) but also discussions about CA's transcription conventions (Jenks 2011; Pietikäinen 2017) and re-theorising the organisation of multi-party interactions (Santner-Wolfartsberger 2015). Despite the richness of ELF/CA studies, up to the present time, only Firth's work is briefly mentioned (e.g., in Kasper & Wagner 2014) in the encyclopaedic CA literature (e.g., in Sidnell 2009; Sidnell & Stivers 2013). However, developments in bi-/multilingual interactions and the investigation of social interaction and learning (see Lee & Hellerman 2013; Pekarek Doehler, González-Martínez & Wagner 2018). I expect it will increase the attention towards ELF within CA (e.g., Auer 1998; Li Wei 2005, 2011; Üstünel & Seedhouse 2005). ELF can contribute to the development of CA, showing interactional accomplishment of the orderliness of the talk by lingua franca users.

In using CA, I have considered sequential patterns of communication, not isolated utterances, to intercept specific social organisation of activities conducted through talk and expound on the normative expectations and assumptions substantiating the production of those discourse sequences. In so doing, I intend to examine people's cognisance as it emerges in the unfolding of live interaction turns through which activities are accomplished. Moreover, I aim to uncover the procedures affecting the transfer of turns or how troubles are identified and addressed—for example, misunderstandings, errors, and corrections. In particular, I look at CS in an analytical conversation way, that is, exploring the functions that motivate them. In so doing, the regular performance of making sense can provide relevant sociological insight concerning the contextual interactional circumstance in which communication occurs. It can reveal what kind of interpersonal correlations between participants and what the meaning is occurring on the immediate surface of their dialogue or its 'obvious' significance. The examples provided give the reason for departing from conventional pattern forms and investigate participants' awareness of that departure through utterance production, which connotes their genuine communicative commitment.

I have also applied Lester and O'Really (2018) 's division of CA in this research to the different contexts and participants I met during the fieldwork:

1. Pure CA was used to deal with the following:

- ordinary or mundane conversations between tourists or locals to analyse the organisation of talk and its structure;
- interaction, which has been considered an item in its own right.

1. Applied CA was employed to:

- investigate talk in institutional settings (McCabe, 2006) among tourists operators and tourist professional service providers;
- inspect the management of (social) institutions in interaction.

Of particular importance was to highlight some inferential features and practises typical of tourist institutional contexts, where people engaged in the talk may use their knowledge of what the institution aims to make interpretations of language forms and function unusual in other contexts.

5.5 Ethnography of Communication.

I have adopted the Ethnography of Communication to provide this study data analysis with an ethnographic approach which could highlight the interdependence of language use and the whole social situation. Over and above, I have attempted to understand the meanings and practices of the cultural environments in which interaction occurred (cf. Hymes, 1996; Green and Bloome, 1997).

The North American anthropologist, folklorist, and linguist Dell Hymes conceptualised a multidisciplinary research method to investigate language in its actual social and cultural contexts. The approach initially called "ethnography of speaking" "is concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right" (Hymes 1962 p. 101). In further conceptualisations (Gumperz & Hymes, 1964, 1972), this descriptive framework was widened in scope, comprising the diversity of means, media of communication and practices addressed in different communicative situations. In his "breakthrough into performance" essay (1975), Hymes outlines the pervasive performative nature of genres in communication that makes EC or EoC - as it is sometimes abbreviated – the appropriate methodology to investigate sets of naturally occurring interaction. For this reason, I have adopted this theoretical perspective to support my methodological investigative rigorousness to obtain a holistic analysis of actual communication events in the tourist domain as part of the individuals' socio-cultural activity.

Thanks to its performative efficiency in observing situated practices, EC has been able to frame language phenomena highlighting relevant cultural aspects of communicative events and participants' understanding of social interaction. Moreover, this reflexive mode of analysis applied to interview data succeeded in extrapolating attitude and orientations to ELF uses and multilingual strategies in multi/transcultural communication. Moving away from the micro-analytical "etic" approach to data provided by CA, EC designates categories emerging from its internal operating factors from a valid emic point of view. Implementing an emic approach to observe the spoken dynamic among the participants' interaction accurately implied participating in the research activity – visiting – while watching and examining those circumstances to interpret them better. Taking part in the experimental group of international tourists made me get physically and socially close to the research participants. This fact enabled me to formulate probing questions utilising questionnaires and interviews to support my primary data collection of naturally occurring conversations.

This sociocultural experience can be considered an attempt to penetrate and contextualise experiential information personalising the research. As Spradley (1980, p. 51) reveals, "participation allows you to experience activities directly, to get a feel of what events are like, and to record your perceptions".

For the scope of this study, to provide an ethnographic analysis of the communicative event selected as a case study for this research, particular attention was paid to all its relevant 'components' to attempt a detailed report on its complex emerging interactional practices. With this target in mind, I have applied the SPEAKING acronym **-** adapted from Hymes (1974) – to manifest my rigorous consideration for any processual, situated aspects of the actual naturally occurring conversation and interview recorded.

To achieve this objective, I have annotated the social interaction constituents in the following eight main components, which reveal their complexity.

S setting or scene: where the speech event is in time and space. I have outlined the physical features of the concrete circumstances in which interaction occurs. Further, I have also referred to the affecting behaviour shown by the participants, which defined the psychological and cultural setting of the occasion.

P participants: who participates in the speech event, and in what role (e.g., speaker, addressee, audience, eavesdropper). The extracts presented include various combinations of interactants' relationships, determined by precise social roles and characterised by personal relations and cultural affinities.

E ends: what the purpose of the speech event is and what its outcome is meant to be. I have clarified the communicative goals interactants seek to accomplish within the situational outcomes conventionally recognised on that specific communicative occasion. Seeking the end of a communicative event has implied the assumption that interaction is some purposeful social behaviour from the point of view of those conducting it.

A - act sequence and act topic: I have analysed the primary form of each exchange without altering either content or the pragmatics of the utterance, referring to what speech acts make up the speech event and what order they are performed in.

K - key: the tone or manner of performance (e.g., severe or joking, sincere or ironic). I have made the centre of analysis the verbal and non-verbal communicative behaviour, annotating any gestures or their absence. I am, in fact, concerned with the explicit or pragmatically implicit manners meaning making is framed within.

I - instrumentalities: the channel or medium of communication used (e.g., speaking, signing, writing, drumming, whistling, miming). In addition to the register, indexicality, and iconicity, I have referred to any linguistic code – language, diglossic variety, multilingual strategies – or communicative channel revealed by this research extracts and the rate of their consistency in the course of each participant's interaction.

N stands for norms and refers to (formal and informal) rules of interaction and meaning interpretation. I was particularly committed to investigating participants' awareness of them to discern their attitudes

towards ELF communication and event-pertaining normativity. I have referred to specific properties of the communicative behaviour (e.g., the gaze return, laughing at a joke, personal engagement and participation, loudness, or silence) and how they were interpreted/reacted by the group of interactants.

G genres concern what literary-stylistic type of clearly demarcated utterances belong to the speech event and what other pre-existing conventional forms of speech are drawn on or 'cited' in producing appropriate contributions to talk (e.g., a quote from TV series, advertisement, mythology, or poetry) in contrast to casual talk. The social exchanges, the object of this study, have shown intertextuality and interdiscursivity carried out by the intricate multimodal hybridity of postmodern communication.

This methodological perspective emphasises the tight correlation between linguistic forms and their sociolinguistic value. Therefore, analysis must pay attention to situated meaning mediated by human action through speaking based on conscious or unconscious interactants' knowledge of norms.

Through these lenses, any distinguishable intercommunicating group (Gumperez 1962) lives on different discernible occasions where communication is the main activity. These communication events cast a light on the sociolinguistic behaviour of their members. Hence, this study analysis has been carried out reflecting on the socio-cultural and organisational features of the speech situation in the interaction has partaken. From a sociolinguistic standpoint, it implies the contextual features that have determined the genre of the critical communicative situation. The activity which has worked as the aesthetic, political, and ruling frame for the situation under investigation is a visiting tour taken by an international group of tourists in the south of Italy.

The activities – speech events - taken as a sample of this analysis are museum visits led by a tourist guide. Research has investigated those participants' shared norms and rules that enhanced or hindered understanding, bearing in mind the multicultural background of the interactants.

Considering the enquired RQ, I have selected sequences of speech acts, among which I have highlighted multilingual pragmatic strategies to achieve effective communication among international speakers of English to investigate their functional role in communication.

Although Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969) has been mainly concerned with conventional utterance use in performing a specific communicative action by 'performative verbs' and 'sentential moods' (Searle 1969), this study has adopted it to interpret both speaker's communicative intention and the hearer's power of inference. My view has taken a syntagmatic and paradigmatic perspective on syntactic and semantic structures according to the situated meaning in the participants' discourse. Thus, distinguishing the distinct levels of force expressed by turns in conversation – e.g., locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary – the analysis revealed the strategies adopted to produce uptake as acts of successful communication.

What is presented can be considered a 'telling' (rather than typical) case (see Mitchell, 1984). It has involved a small community of participants revealing phenomena that can raise relevant issues. However,

it requires correlation to other ELF findings collected in other contexts to validate the generalisation of recurring use patterns in the pragmatics of talk in English for lingua franca purposes.

The following chapter sections present a detailed description of the components of this study analysis.

Figure 3: Localisation of Calabria Region on the map of Italy.

5.5.1 The Setting.

This paragraph describes the time and space in which the communicative situation investigated in this study occurred - on the 2nd of June 2016 in Calabria. To enhance its understanding, I took an ethnographic outlook of prominent aspects of the locale, which I considered salient to the sociocultural phenomena encompassing this ELF interaction.

This southern Italian region occupies a central position in the Mediterranean basin – geographically and economically, regarding trade and tourism. Tourists visit its coasts looking for its beautiful beaches and artistic and architectural heritage. The vestiges of its glorious past conquerors - Greeks, Romans, Normans, Arabs, Angevins, Bourbons, Spaniards, French – are preserved in the archaeological remains, its religious practices, folk music, and craftwork, over and above, in the local cuisine.

As it will be analysed in detail in the following chapter, visitors' communication pattern is characterised by a general enthusiasm for living an unforgettable stimulating cultural, intellectual, and artistic experience.

The setting of this research fieldwork started in an archaeological site, where stratified remains of three ancient cities - Sybaris, Thourioi and the Roman Copia - are visible. The location is an open space architecture mounted on two levels accessible by a rising slope and a lift. No architectural barriers hinder wheel-chair leading people, elderlies, and young children. The remains are displayed in glass window cases organised in different rooms tracing a historical itinerary along the flourishing, conquest, and decaying of the ancient local communities. The objects are visible in their spatiality from all sides because they are suspended in the air or laid on transparent supports. Pictures and corresponding captions describe important collection pieces; posters and descriptive boards elucidate artistic, historical, and geographical details. This milieu inspires a sense of individual choice and personal direction towards discovery and knowledge.

Figure 4. Sybaris, Thourioi and the Roman Copia acheaological site in Sibari – Calabria, Italy.

My functional role as a researcher, observing and participating in "The Byzantine Route" tour**,** has allowed me to understand the participants' cultural disposition during the visit to the Norman Castle of

Corigliano and the old town of Rossano**.** Its architectonic refinement and historical remains inspired some of the participants' comments during the tour. Its pragmatic significance consisted of direct multilingual references to the visit setting integrated by several metalinguistic comments and clarifications about peoples, customs, and cultural traditions belonging to one or more social groups who had encounter this territory.

Figure 5: Corigliano Calabro Castle.

The dissemination of multilingual and multicultural elements, using critical clues (see Cogo and Dewey 2006: 69, Cogo and Dewey 2012), have underpinned the settlement of a translingual territory (Pitzl 2018) among what I have called an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS). The explicit use of toponyms in their original language (Italian, Latin or Greek) appertaining to present and past localities, villages, cities or countries magnified the inherent translingual and transcultural blurred border of place name categories among languages (Pitzl 2016a: 22). References to past foreign conquerors, architectonic styles that belong historically to different locations have fostered a micro-diachronic developmental process towards the creative use of language in relevant semantic categories for meaning making. This fact may suggest its relevance in characterising the special language of Tourism in ELF contact situations, in agreement with the emergence of different kinds of multilingual practices according to the context and group of participants observed in previous ELF research (see, e.g., Cogo 2012; Pitzl 2016a; Franceschi 2017).

5.5.2 Participants.

This study is based on a population of twenty-two participants of different ages and educational backgrounds, some are expert staff working in different roles in the Tourism Industry in the south of Italy, and others are non-expert visitors. They can be considered an international sample of users of ELF coming from different countries all over the world and being of ten different nationalities.

In detail, five people are staff: three of them work in a travel agency. One of them is the business manager; the others are employees. Both are Italian but very fluent in French and English. One of the flight attendants who participated in the study is of Irish origin, but she has lived in Italy for a long time. The two tourist guides of the museum (1 Italian and 1 Russian) had been educated in a multilingual environment and considered themselves multilingual competent. In addition, sixteen tourists are included in the research (2 Polish, 1 native American of Italian origin, 1 Argentinian of Italian origin, 7 Italian, 1 Japanese, 1 Korean, 3 Swedish, and 1 Spanish). They have also experienced trans-local sociolinguistic realities, and sophisticated transcultural poststructuralist language and communication practises. Consequently, participants often transgress cultural borders across nation-state identities (Baker 2018), making visible the nature of their multilingual competence and instances of their shared translingual and transcultural background.

The participants' group cannot be categorised as a speech community. It also rejects the boundaries of the model of Community of Practice (CoP), which has been used extensively in sociolinguistic research for the last ten years and was first cited in association with ELF in the first part of the 2000s (e.g., Ehrenreich 2009, 2010; Kalocsai 2009, 2014; Smit 2009, 2010). It has also been adopted in ELF research more recently (Vettorel 2014; Cogo 2016a; Ehrenreich 2018).

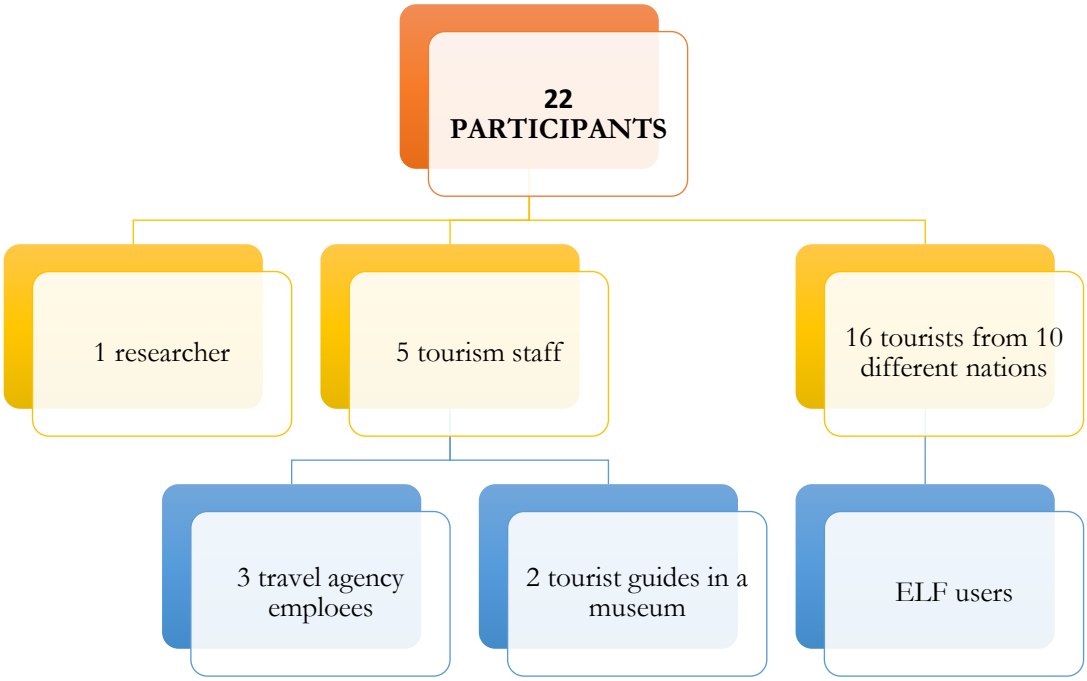

Figure 6: Chart representing the research participants.

In order to define them, I have highlighted some characterising relevant features. For instance, (1) the international provenience of its members and their intra-region-cultural differences involving individual multilingual repertoires, (2) 10 different first languages brought into contact, (3) it is a medium-sized group about the average tourists' group sizes in a single tour; an aspect which has facilitated interaction in the local context of the meeting, (4) it lasted one full day, (5) interaction is characterised by personal involvement, purposefulness and content-orientation.

As in many social ELF constellations, time has been the most crucial demarcating factor defining this ELF group. Even though their association has been too transient and impermanent to stabilise and become a CoP in Wenger's sense, this group of people can also not be considered a TIG (transient international group)[15] (see Pitzl 2016a: 25) or an example of TMC (Transient Multilingual

[15] "Groups of multilingual ELF users who interact for a particular purpose at a particular location for a certain amount of time. These groups are transient in the sense that a group forms, speakers negotiate and interact, and then the group dissolves again. Each TIG is therefore temporary" (Pitzl 2018: 30).

Communities)[16] because it is stabler than both. Although the period the encounter lasts is limited (1 day), and participants are significantly diverse in linguacultural background, their experience evolves from the primary purpose and location it started to acquire a peculiar characterisation. In fact, in the context of the present study, although no long/mid-term relational sociolinguistic processes have emerged among ELF users, where "mutual engagement" was entertained in a "joint enterprise" to develop a "shared repertoire" (Wenger 1998: 73), one-day relational patterns had developed, considering that some participants were well acquainted with one another when the data collection was undertaken.

In contrast, they did not isolate themselves during the tour activities; it occurred that 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 every single conversation. These smaller (social) clusters might have belonged to one (or more) ELF-CoPs in other contexts or TIGs in much shorter language-contact situations. However, they can be considered an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS) within the boundaries of this research perspective that can acknowledge a process of correlation, where interaction is adapted to the situational context to establish a relationship among participants in time and space. Therefore, this group's short-lasting stability and homogeneousness do not hinder negotiation or effectiveness in conversation. On the contrary, it justifies the effectiveness of communication within their assembly and the temporary nature of their encounters.

Methodologically, the data extracts have been observed diachronically as a sequence of communicative exchanges throughout *"The Byzantine Route"* tour. It was possible to overview the evolution of speakers' roles and participation overlapping this additional interpretative framework to analyse linguistic phenomena. In other terms, the holistic evaluation of the entire IGS interaction highlights the growing number of polyadic exchanges and the steady increase of participants actively involved in the dialogue. Moreover, what emerges as prominently featuring has been the persistent occurrence of multilingual expressions in polyadic exchanges. This structural segmentation has allowed a more efficient interpretation of individuals' idiosyncrasies, evaluating them against the background of previous interactions and within the whole context. As suggested by Pitzl (2022), this combination of micro-diachronic and holistic tools has clearly provided an efficient interpretative longitudinal lent running lengthwise the entire span of time the participants shared. The result has been the appraisal of an arising social configuration of people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Furthermore, through the negotiation of meaning and forms, the group members enhance mutual socialisation developing internal sociolinguistic norms (Mortensen 2017). It is evident that, along this process of sedimentation of norms (Agha 2003, 2007), the transitoriness of the encounter is overcome

[16] "Social configurations where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together (physically or otherwise) for a limited period of time around a shared activity" (Mortensen and Hazel 2017: 256).

by the configuration of shared and approved indexical links between ways of speaking and social meanings. Therefore, this emerging community has established itself, appointing its epicentre for the intercommunication of views and definition of norms despite prototypical institutional hierarchies. All in all, this aspect will deconstruct a-priori-defined identities and norm-preserving interpretations of language because they will be substituted by emergent sociocultural patterns favouring dialectic configurations of novice/expert relationships in discursive practices.

Having defined a community configuration lying at the midpoint between transient communities and naturalised or consolidated CoPs has to be considered a methodological investigative instrument. It stands as the contextual socio-anthropological background which fosters this research interpretative framework. In other words, the analysis of the linguistic practice exposes the negotiation process of the participants' verbal repertoire (Hymes 1972) in defining and mediating norms of speaking and norms of interpretation while participants are driven towards their encounter endeavour. Along this process of accommodation, as observed by previous studies (see Haberland 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; Goebel 2010a; Kecskes 201; De Sapio 2013; King 2014), we can provide further evidence of community definition and establishment. Concerning this study, it is fair to say that the IGS exemplifies the partaking of semiotic resources, which get used to becoming peculiar and distinguished in this group configuration. They include verbal and non-verbal resources, a stance towards using English as a Lingua Franca, and its iconic social meaning (Coupland 2007). In the process of mutual socialisation, the group members define preferred and appropriate interactional moves that can support understanding and members' aggregation defining their joint activity Hic et Nunc. Their intentionality and rapidity in determining their common goal reside in a mutually shared view of indexical fields (Pharao et al. 2014:5) regarding language use. For instance, they agree on defining identity characterisation according to "non-native" accents in speaking English, distancing from well-established standard language ideologies. In so doing, the participants implement processes of indexicalization provided pre-established sociocultural patterns of power and hierarchy, performing their linguistic behaviour in convergence or divergence with them. Consequently, by analysing the type of indexes adopted and shared among the speakers according to their context-sensitivity, their stance attributing specific social meaning to unique ways of speaking will emerge (Jaffe 2016: 86, Kiesling 2009: 177). This interplay between established norms and their variations can contribute to the understanding of sociolinguistic change in "superdiverse" (cf., e.g., Vertovec 2007; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Goebel 2015) realities, refining the investigation of the individual speaker/group's contribution to the current sociolinguistic theory (cf. Silverstein 2015) on the trajectory from new social dynamics until historical chains of continuity (Mortensen 2017).

The present investigated 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, and places. For the day tour, speakers

engage in prominent ELF interactional strategies and patterns of metaphorical creativity, converging on lexicogrammar features, morphology, lexis and pronunciation. Overall, the interactions show an amicable attitude of the group members, among themselves and towards the guide. While walking around the visit site, the international participants in the trip familiarised themselves and cemented human relations. This relaxed and communicative favourable disposition fosters rapport building and unified communication.
Despite the short-lasting interpersonal relations among the participants, the affecting involvement is a constant striking feature in tourist ELF use. Interactants show voluntary orientation to affiliation with the other participants in the guided visit to attain the highest number of pragmatic operative tasks. For example: acquiring historical, artistic, and geographical knowledge of the region they decided to visit; making acquaintance with other people; enjoying themselves. The values generally shared are solidarity and concurrence of intent. This inclination is clear-cut, noticeably delimiting the "insiders" and the "outsiders" of the ELF international group of speakers: the tourist belonging to *"The Byzantine Route"* and some other bystanders who do not participate in this IGS affiliation.
All over *"The Byzantine Route" tour*, which lasted one entire day and included different experiences, they negotiated meaning, converging accommodation, and creative use of their lingua franca. Consequently, their relationship has stabilised some use patterns, and relational bonds have been fastened. For this reason, the analysis of the subsequent interactions has considered the frequency of language contact, the effort to engage in shared practices and the duration of every conversation among this group of speakers.

5.5.3 Telling Observation about Ends, Instrumentalities, Norms and Genre of the Interaction.

This section aims to provide an ethnographic framework to support data analysis and discussion in the final commentary to produce a distinct contribution to the ELF research paradigm in the domain of tourism. I provide information concerning the purpose, form, manner, and medium of communication generally selected by the IGS participating in this study. In addition, the investigation has considered rules of interaction, meaning interpretation and genres of communication.
Ends - Regarding the purpose of the speech event and the communicative goals interactants seek to accomplish during their visit, the interactants' roles conventionally and spontaneously take on the investigated communicative occasion have been considered. Data has promptly revealed the purposeful social intent meant by the interlocutors conducting the interaction.
The shared experience concerns the exploration of the unique remains of *the Magna Graecia* period in Calabria. Familiarity with ancient history is acquired through different sociolinguistic interactions in the form of institutionalised talks meant to convey knowledge and inferential features referring to conventional tourist contexts (the museum, ancient palaces, remains). On the other hand, this intellectual and aesthetic aim is supplemented by mundane conversations, where protagonists interpret and rehearse knowledge using their understanding to evaluate and participate in the speech situation.

The tourist guide characterises her interventions as an instructor who can operate in controlled proximity to her interlocutors. She can transform a conventionally monological communicative situation into a dialogical interaction.

The communicative goals speakers pursue are inscribed within the situational outcomes conventionally recognised in tourist contexts. Nevertheless, predictable communicative purposes are integrated by interpretations of language forms and functions that may appear unusual in these settings. However, they are able to satisfy interactants' communicative needs.

Act - The nature, frequency and purpose of each act sequence uttered during the *"The Byzantine Route" tour* have been the focus of this study. Pragmatic strategies have been the object of observation and interpretation in reference to the speakers' intentions in particular contextual circumstances of time, place, and interlocution.

Analysing pragmatic strategies has also meant getting closer to the speakers to grasp their intended meaning hidden behind the veil of the unsaid. This relative anthropological distance, which has implied the possibility of sharing experiences, has allowed me to consider hidden meaning in a cross-connected effect of multiple influences between interlocutors and their context and vice versa. This relationship has progressively changed during the tour affecting the quality and nature of the speech acts produced, defining their physical, social, and conceptual distance.

Key - Despite the formality of the speech situation, interaction has been characterised by friendliness that has facilitated the relational bondage of the participants. This fact increases the number of speech acts pervaded by a sense of irony and light-heartedness. The sagacity of some turns influences the general mood so that amusement emerges syntagmatically and paradigmatically in the sequences and classes of speech acts chosen for analysis.

The participants' verbal and non-verbal communicative behaviour, whose pragmatic reactions span from an open joke or a pun to an accomplished smile, represent meaning-making gestures.

The translocal and transcultural nature of the conversation characterises the whole speech situation.

The local space is represented by the Italian terminology and the archaeological remains displayed in the museum, the European and international dimension is achieved through the direct reference to Greece in western cultural heritage, and the global scale is determined by the international resonance and conservation of Greek vestiges all over the word. In these contextual circumstances, the tourist guide's manner of performance variates along the speech situation: the initial speech events are denoted by a higher level of formality, and interaction is limited to the minimum; in the final episodes, humour and entertaining comity prevail. Over time, the speakers' tone accommodates the communicative frame, contextualising expressions, and silence.

The extracts denote the professional competence of the main speaker, who is unquestionably considered authoritative by the other participants in the dialogue. On the other hand, after some norm-deviating

expressions and inaccuracies, embarrassment emerges. However, it is minimised by some laughter as a hedge avoiding over-precise commitment to standard English forms.

The tour guide partakes in the intercommunicating group of ELF users. In order to support understanding and motivate involvement, her speech is didactic in tone, as her words are intended to teach. The reiteration of the same concept in different languages and forms allows tourists to collect a significant number of relevant information regarding the region's historical background. The collaborative stance of the guide's interlocutors among the tourists is a symptom of motivation and sincere interest in the tour. This pedagogic attitude from the guide's part characterises the whole visit facilitating interaction and active participation.

Instrumentalities - The channel of communication deploys multimodal resources to convey meaning effectively.

The guide draws an imaginary itinerary to discover the archaeological area. The original Italian names of *Magna Graecia* localities, left in their original language, can convey a sense of space that securely anchors the objects displayed for observation in the showcases to the surrounding contexts. They are visible from the tourists' position beyond the wide glass windowpanes of the building. Besides, the tour guide skilfully supports her imaginary journey back in time using an architectural model in the middle of the room. There, she stops before starting her explanation. The scale reproduction of the archaeological park referentially creates a diagrammatic representation where the visitors can locate physical features of the territory, like cities, roads, rivers, and mountains. They remind us of relevant historical events in those places, creating a transcultural, translingual and transmodal communication event. This original evidence of multi-supported communication further validates ELF as a multimodal vehicle for making and conveying meaning in the special language domain of tourism.

Moreover, the itinerary is naturally imbued with cultural and historical connotations. Thus, situated existing resources can be easily picked up and adapted by users enriching a multilingual terminological repertoire of classical languages (e.g., Latin, and ancient Greek). The plurilingualism of the environment intensifies the transcultural experience that the visitors are undergoing. Consequently, translanguaging and languaging become effective instrumentalities within the whole communicative situation. The strategic use of multilingual resources activates speakers' repertoire to be exploited as an effective communicative strategy to refer to specific cultural and historical information. In this way, interaction is characterised by different language expressions to refer to the same signification. Each word capitalises on the others to amplify its resonance without producing any cacophonic repetition of words.

On the contrary, an amplification effect of the message is conveyed. Resources can include both *covert and overt multilingual phenomena* (Cogo 2018) in the form of code-switching and translanguaging or conceal in speakers' use of some aspects of grammar, vocabulary, or other linguistic elements; nevertheless, the communication remains superficially in English. At the same time, online translation into Italian, which

is the local language and the one that is written on the room label and museum sign directions, occurs. Unflagged code-switching restores English as the lingua franca chosen for the guided tour.

Norms - The situational speech rules governing the guided tour can be recognised in the uniformity and integrity of the communicative situation. The series of activities performed by the participants and their sociolinguistic value is bounded to the conventional framework of a tourist manifestation.

Firstly, the participants have chosen spontaneously to participate in the visit; they have even paid to be in that context. Therefore, they have expectations for the statements of speaking rules to be in place and respected. On the other hand, they cannot be set to be singularly governed by those rules. On the contrary, the tourists display a distinct appropriation of interaction and meaning interpretation over the speech situation that corresponds to their attitude towards ELF event-pertaining normativity and multilingual aspects of ELF communication.

The attitudinal characterisation derives from a common sociolinguistic standpoint which states a specific ELF awareness hinted by communicative behavioural properties.

Participants show a fertile use of linguistic and sociocultural resources in accomplishing different communicative tasks within the special tourist domain, which is typologically characterised by a vertical monological unidirectional communicative style (Dann 2001a). On the contrary, discourse displays a dialogical form, immersed and transformed by the hyper-reality (Baudrillard 1983) of post-modern ethos, nurtured by the interactivity of multimedia communication. Interaction becomes democratic, implying a triangulation between the tourist guide, the addressees, and the tourist destination. Stripping off the conventionality of the special language of tourism and its mannerist connotations, the informative historical content of the discourse can stimulate the participants' self-imagery, generating highly functional language. Notwithstanding the expertise and special language command shown by the guide, the *"Byzantine" tour* presents, in different sections, a multi-party interaction.

Since the very beginning of the museum visit and the touring experience, some organisational knowledge and terminological familiarity are provided. Consequently, a sense of suspension of expectations regarding standard-language norms is provoked. It seems to have permeated the time of the interaction, activating a "working consensus" strategy. Adaptation, local accommodation, and attunement have made this lingua franca interaction speech situation successful. Moreover, over the guided tour, a light-hearted atmosphere involves a greater and greater number of tourists directly interacting with the guide during her explanation. The artefacts, kept in the showcases like class realia, are used to teach special terminology in ancient Greek, which becomes part of the interactants' multilingual repertoire associated with the archaeological and cultural heritage explored during the guided tour. This kind of special terminology codeswitching gives a strong sense of exoticism to the whole experience creating a solid multimodal semantic net with the signs on the walls and the showcase captions referring to ancient Greek artisanship.

As an emic observer of the scene, I can remark on the situational rules accepted through body language participation, made up of gazes, nods, and hand movements providing assent and feedback on active involvement. A friendly attitude is underlined by spontaneous laughs, which conclude cheerfully a significant number of extracts I have selected for this research analysis (see chapter 6).

Genres - The genres which recur in the speech activities pertaining to the *"Byzantine" tour* are characterised by multiple overlapping scales of signs supporting understanding, presented simultaneously.

The stylistic style spans from the local space (the museum and its artefacts), the national, represented by the artistic and cultural value of the Latin and Greek remains in the museum, and finally, towards the global scale signified by international attributes of conventional forms of speech. Speaker's knowledge of the mythology of ancient Greek civilisation and traditions historically associated with Hellenic and Roman classical culture shape utterances with outstanding resonance. In so doing, original pre-existing conventional tropes intersect casual talk naturally and steadily. The effect results in a dense intertextual discourse, which appropriately adapts its multimodal combination to the communicative situation. For instance, at line 34 of the following extracts, the tourist guide technically distinguishes indigenous peculiarities with rigour, switching from English to Italian for toponyms enriching her intervention with historical and geographical references, which allow a momentary insightful glimpse of that glorious heritage.

Conversely, speakers of different ages functionally contribute to the interaction by quoting from TV series, advertisements, and the motion picture industry because of their shared post-modern acquaintance with technological and commercial global filmmaking icons. Consequently, social exchanges span from historical and cultural contents to commercial items referring to the worldwide distribution of local products like Calabria wine, for instance, agilely showing an interdiscursivity and multimodal hybridity characterising post-modern communication.

Furthermore, in the dynamic use of metaphors, this IGS interaction confirms its dominant collaborative nature. Participants control the linguistic events. They decide to move promptly to satisfy the group's communicative needs functionally. More specifically, we can detect evidence of situational and group-internal endonormativity based on previous research (e.g., Ehrenreich 2009; Hülmbauer 2009). This complex cultural background can be considered the framework within which the "online idiomatizing" occurs, providing evidence for the interrelatedness of two levels of analysis: linguistic form and communicative function (Cogo 2011).

5.6 Conclusion.

This section has defined the methodological approach of the present study.

For the most effective investigative process, it integrates Ethnography of Speaking with Conversation Analysis to apply a more holistic approach to ELF interaction in the special domain of tourism.

The relative stability of this group and the frequent interaction among the same individuals for a shared purpose does not make it a CoP. This practice has yet to lead to preferred patterns of speech act realization as belonging to a TIG in tourism.

Considering the persistent and dynamic character of the social cluster taken into consideration for the investigation, I have defined these research participants as an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS).

6. Data analysis.

This chapter presents the data collected to answer the research questions. The first section is dedicated to naturally occurring conversation extracts as sources of information to satisfy the first, second, third, and the fourth RQs – RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, and RQ4; the last section reports on sociolinguistic attitudes and relational bonds in Tourist ELF interactions among the group of this study participants to answer the secondary RQ.

6.1 Multilingual aspects and resources.

This data analysis section deals with multilingual aspects - *covert and overt multilingual phenomena* (Cogo 2018) - used by the research participants in their communication.

This study's multilingual instances are interpreted epistemologically, considering speakers' "languaging" (Jœrgensen 2008) of semiotic resources as a pragmatic strategy to attain situated meaning-making. The researcher's task consisted of interpreting and materializing unique resources constructed and adapted in interaction to convey precise contributions to the conversation. Therefore, interpretation starts with the observation of phenomena which overtly report language-mixing and meshing, namely, codeswitching and translanguaging. Then, a deeper investigation is attempted for certain words and constructions that may appear as approximations or non-conforming to standard English at both a phonological and morphological level. However, in some cases, the resources used consist of *ad hoc* usages (Widdowson 2020) deriving from a transformation process of multilingual forms undertaken consciously or unconsciously by the speaker. Consequently, this type of exploration has methodologically required a closer inspection of the participants' repertoires and attitudes towards multilingual use triangulated and supported by retrospective interviews and metalinguistic comments.

In conclusion, in this chapter, I have attempted to identify multilingual resources across the boundaries of named languages as the users meant them. According to some instances, analysis has considered instances reminding overtly non-standard phonetic or morphological forms. On the other hand, the investigation has started from the pronunciation as an overt realization of more sophisticated semantic implications concerning word meaning. On the other hand, particular attention has been paid to the pragmatic perlocutionary effect aimed by the speaker to inspire and enlighten the audience.

6.1.1 Extract 1: *"Proto-historia.*

Extract 1 concerns the naturally-occurring conversation at the *Museum of Sybaritide* in Calabria – south of Italy. The main participant is a professional tourist guide talking to an international audience of tourists from different countries all over the world to experience the unique remains of the *Magna Graecia* period in ancient history.

Remarkably, the language and style adopted by the speakers differ from any kind of casual talk. The guide, S1, uses the professional language of museum-guided tours and refers to geographical, historical, and political aspects related to those who have inhabited, and culturally influenced, the territory archaeologically preserved in the museum.

Extract 1: *"Proto-historia"* (S1: Italian; SS: Italian, Argentinian, American, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Romanian, Korean, French, Belgian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French).

1	**S1:**	**[…]** In the museum the (.) exhibition is organised (3) in a chronological way and this is the
2		first room (3) the room of the so called **<LNlat>** **proto-historia** **</LNlat> (2) <L1it>**
3		**Protostoria** **</L1it>** is a period of (.) **pre-historic age** (2) preceding (.) the arrival of (.)
4		greeks on the ionian cost of calabria
5	**SS:**	<nods><nods><nods>
6	**S2:**	mhm, hm
7	**S3**	aha, mhm

First, the speaker (S1), acknowledges the chronological organization of the remains in the museum (line 1). In order to do so, she uses the original scientific term in the language of room cataloguing, Latin: **proto-historia** (line 2). However, after a short pause, she translates it into Italian (line 3), the local language and the one written on the room label and museum sign direction. She naturally continues her description, switching to English, which is the lingua franca chosen for the guided tour and explains (line 3) what she has just said […] **is a period of (.) pre-historic age** […].

This extract is also relevant regarding the type of interactional managing strategies that speakers S2 and S3 have triggered to highlight their personal involvement in the conversation. As far as this short extract is concerned, undoubtedly, S2 and S3 speakers seem particularly involved in the conversation that utter minimal responses, enabling the interlocutors to support the conversation without assuming control of the turn. Specifically, they use closed sound-acknowledgement tokens - *'mhm, hm';* - and open sound-acknowledgement tokens - *'ah ah',* which signal to the tour guide that they are following the conversation. Like backchannels and overlaps, the non-verbal sounds of support help the speaker to focus on the "channel", which is kept open between the speaker and the listeners.

Tourists achieve full understanding through the semantic collection of details conveyed by each term belonging to different languages. This multilingual practice deliberately clarifies the message and makes it understandable to different speakers. Moreover, it enhances empathy and interpersonal engagement.

6.1.2 Extract 2: *"Necropolis.*

The following extract, called **"Necropolis",** illustrates how a multilingual speaker can use multilingual resources to provide new information conveying culturally bound meaning regarding the discourse domain of tourism.

Extract 2: *"Necropolis"* (S1: Italian; SS: Italian, Argentinian, American, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Romanian, Korean, French, Belgian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French) – Part 1.

8 **S1:** this plain and this hills are occupied by <CL1/><LNlat> enotrions </LNlat></CL1> er
9 er indigenous people who lived principally er in- on the hill and IN this ROOM in particular we
10 can see the <pvc> (abjects) /abdʒɛkt/{objects} </pvc> coming from erm the sites of <L1it>
11 torre mordillo </L1it> (.) the site of <L1it> broia di trebisacce </L1it> and the **necropolis** of <fast>

The linguacultural background of the participants in the interaction - Latin, Italian, and English - is shared and continuously negotiated in order to enhance mutual understanding. The tourist guide (line 8) refers to the local inhabitants of the region using their Latin name – **enotrions** – without translating it into English. However, she provides a paraphrastic description of it to achieve better clarity because she assumes that her audience would not know that specific term. This pre-realization strategy successfully avoids any troubles. The absence of long hesitations after the utterance and no questioning by the museum visitors characterise the conversation section from line 8 to line 10. The guide receives non-verbal feedback in the participants' gazes. As a participant in the tour, I can observe the tourists' active participation.

Consequently, to clarify a closely related terminological term, she chooses a consolidated translational technique that implies a paraphrase that rewords a specific concept in general language terms. That might have been an often-repeated formula already used with other groups of people because it is pronounced quite fluently. However, a momentary hesitation in selecting the appropriate place preposition, "*in- on the hill*". She is quite sure of what she is saying because she has experienced of visitors' reactions to that name. "*Enotria*" is a brand of worldly sold red wine from Calabria. Tourists have usually tried, bought, or read about this wine before visiting the museum, giving the guide a common cultural ground on which to scaffold further knowledge. This covert multilingual strategy creates a semantic relationship between more linguistic units, namely the term wine and the toponym "*Enotria*", to facilitate understanding. In other words, it correlates expressions in an equation (*Enotria*: Calabrian wordily famous wine = *Enotrions*: indigenous people from Calabria) sequencing understanding on different local, regional, and global insight levels.

The extract continues with a dialogical sequence.

Extract 2: *"Necropolis"* (S1: Italian; SS: Italian, Argentinian, American, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Romanian, Korean, French, Belgian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French) – Part 2.

12		**<L1it>francavilla marittima </L1it> </fast> (.)** er something, er **do you know the words**
13		**mecropoli…**er the **meaning the means of the word me- mecropol- necropolis?**
14	**SS:**	Yeah
15	**S1:**	mhm yeah what is?
16	**SS:**	**<1> cemetery </1>**

The tour guide asks a question to the audience (line 12): **'do you know the words mecropoli…er the meaning the means of the word me- mecropol- necropolis?'**. In so doing, she creates a precedent in the proceedings of the visit, which involves the tourists facilitating their understanding and appreciation of the information delivered. In doing so, the guide hesitates, repeats, and even mispronounces a well-known word that she is asking the meaning of (line 13) **me- mecropol- necropolis?** This example of parallel phrasing and keyword repetition, and repaired repetition is mainly aimed at avoiding misunderstanding that might have occurred because of the substitution of the alveolar voiced nasal /n/ with the bilabial voiced nasal /m/ in the technical word *necropolis*. This norm-deviating fumble denotes personal involvement and flattens any power relations among the interactants who chorally answer to her commitment (line 14). Her didactic stance[17] continues in checking the understanding, fastening her pace of speech in the following turn (line 15), resulting in a truncated utterance **mhm yeah** and an open Wh-clarification question, **what is?** She wants to make sure that what she is cooperatively saying furthers that conversation's purpose. She requires a clear confirmation of what she means; it arrives concerted among the group of visitors: **cemetery** (line 16). Asking twice for understanding, she intends to convey the difficulty in using and interpreting specific terminology while working in the special tourism domain with non-specialist speakers.

Overall, in this extract, I have highlighted questioning for clarification used as a pre-empting strategy to support understanding; parallel phrasing, keyword repetition and repaired repetition mainly aim to avoid misunderstanding.

6.1.3 Extract 3: *"The oven*

The following extract, called *"The oven"*, concerns social life, which emerges from metalinguistic references to ancient peoples and their original languages. The dialogue contains a high number of foreign words and special domain terminology that is particularly remarkable in terms of the communicability of special domain content. The interactional work enhances cooperation and understanding.

[17] For further information about stance, refer to section 7.2, dedicated to participants' stance-taking and attitude.

Extract 3: *"The oven"* (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian).

19 **S1:** in this room we reconstruct the life of er (.) this indigenous people (1) in particular in this showcase
20 (1) erm you find object of daily life er the **vase uses to drink** to cook er food and you er can see er
21 a particular type of (ceramic) /ˈtʃɛrɑːmik/ <ipa> /se'ræm.ik/ <ipa> production that is the so-called
22 er (2) **<L1it> ceramica d'impasto {impasto pottery} </L1it>** for the use er (.) of a clay er
23 uhm not refined a clay mixed with sands or little stone erm (.) this typical production of **<pvc>**
24 **enotrions {oenotri} <ipa> iːˈnɒtrʌɪ </pvc>** er erm (.) these vases er erm (2) can be **<CL1>**
25 **(cukked) / kʊkkt/ {cooked} <ipa> kʊkt </CL1> </pvc>** in a particular type of **horn** in er the
26 shape of a bell that is this **horn** in the upper part of the showcase the reproduction is on the panel
27 S2: was it a kind of oven ↑
28 **S1:** <to S2><1>yes. yes.</1><nods (1)> </to S2>
29 **S2:** <1> where they cooks </1>
30 **S1:** <to S2> <2 >yes</2><nods (1)> </to S2>
31 **S2:** <2>the artefacts?</2>
32 **S2:** yes. yes. <to S2>an ancient **hornes** (1) </to S2> the **horn** yes. <nods><@> yes </@> @@ this is
33 the reproduction of the **<pvc> (uven) /ʊˈv(ə)n/ {oven} <ipa> /ˈʌv(ə)n/ </ipa> </pvc>**

Despite some hesitations and frequent pauses, which characterise her spontaneous presentation, the message conveyed by the guide is unquestionably informative.

The guide prepares a well-flagged code-switch (line 22) using the adjective 'so-called' that commonly introduces how something or someone is designated by specific terminology. Consequently, the listeners are able to realise that the phrase that follows, whereas reported in another language, is a definition stating the exact denotation of what they are observing. This cross-reference across different semiotic resources (objects perceived by the senses and language in the oral or written form) creates an intersemiotic translanguaging experience weaving a semantic net around the central argument: the art of making pots or other articles from heated clay.

In other words, the Italian technical term <L1it> ceramica d'impasto **{impasto pottery}** </L1it>, which is an instance of code-switching, is cataphorically referred to by the word **ceramic** at line 21. However, the English word *ceramic* /se'ræm.ik/ is pronounced more closely to Italian - /ˈtʃɛrɑːmik/. Consequently, despite the technicality of the lexeme, **<L1it> ceramica d'impasto {impasto pottery} </L1it>**, the tour guide can preserve the intelligibility of the message. The success of this strategy is supported by the following part, where she paraphrases the meaning by detailing the artisanal process to make it accessible to the participants. Furthermore, at line 25, she perseveres in accommodating this concept. She avoids the use of jargon, substituting it with common words. However, when she wants to describe the process of firing ceramic artefacts in a kiln – a high-temperature oven - the pronunciation of the past participle of the lexical verb "to cook", cooked, does not correspond to the RP (received pronunciation) - **(cukked) / kʊkkt/ {cooked} <ipa> kʊkt </CL1> </pvc>.** This word sounds Italianised in its pronunciation. Moreover, this multilingual influence can also be remarkably

ascribed to the southern Italian regional variety spoken by the tour guide. This dialect belongs to the Italo-Dalmatian languages – central Romance languages (UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger), and it includes some phonological phenomena regarding geminates. In particular, the alveolar phoneme [k], together with the postalveolar [d] and the bilabial [b] consonant phonemes, occurs only after another consonant sound or as a geminate speech sound in the local dialect (Canalis 2009). Consequently, the tour guide is influenced by the indigenous phonological consonantism – Italian and southern Italy dialect - when she pronounces the past participle of the verb to cook as **cooked /kʊkkt/ {cooked} <ipa> kʊkt </ipa> </pvc>.**

From a more conventional interpretative framework, the example of non-standard pronunciation and the approximation found at line 25 - **is this horn** - would have been considered examples of macaronic language. In this view, speakers use a mixture of languages as jargon in situations where they cannot use just one of them appropriately.

More specifically, the non-standard form coined by the tourist guide when she talks about **a particular type of horn in er the shape of a bell** has been interpreted as an instance of translanguaging. In more specific terms, the word horn /hɔrn/ is neither meant to refer to the part found on the heads of some animals nor to any musical instruments. On the other hand, without hesitating or looking for the correct terminology, she makes cognitive associations beyond the boundaries of named languages to compose a term that is correlated to the Italian *forno,* where the initial labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/ is substituted with the glottal voiceless fricative /h/. Similarly, a parallel sound shift has been recorded and documented by the semantic sound change - First Germanic Sound Shift - known as Grimm's law. According to Jacob Grimm and previously remarked by Rasmus Rask, there is a systematic sound change in the sense of chain shift involved in Proto-Indo-European (PIE) stop consonants establishing a set of regular correspondences between early Germanic stops, fricatives, and the stop consonants of certain other centrum Indo-European languages. In particular, voiceless fricatives are customarily spelt ⟨f⟩, ⟨þ⟩, ⟨h⟩ and ⟨hw⟩ in the context of Germanic. The same shift is preserved by the Spanish word *horno*, where the initial /f/ was lost in standard Castilian after a progressive weakening becoming a voiceless glottal fricative preserving the common Latin substratum *furnu(m).*

Furthermore, the guide merges the final vowel phoneme to make the Italian word sound English. This type of elision has been recorded in many instances of hybrid words considered internally macaronic, which are coined under the influence of more than one language within the same conversation[18]. Moreover, the fact that the tourist guide repeats the same lexeme, proceeding in her explanation of the

[18] Some further examples of macaronic language can be a note applied on a wall claiming the possible fall of plaster flakes, translated for the Italian, "*Attenzione – caduta calcinacci*" in "Attention – to fall calcinac". In addition to the warning saying, "Attention do not butt plastic and residues. !!!!!", where the verb "butt" is an apocope of the Italian verb "buttare" deprived of the verb ending *-are*. Photos of the examples mentioned above have been stored as study data by the researcher.

remain at line 26, without showing any uncertainties in choosing the word to describe the ancient archaeological cooking equipment - **that is this horn** -shows that she is confident that she is conveying perfectly intelligible information.

The audience's multilingual nature and the conversation's cooperative nature enable the participants to reach an understanding. The speaker's words are supported by co-textual information provided by the situated local context (visual aids, descriptive captions, etc.), enhancing the translanguaging experience's multimodality. Notwithstanding, a tourist intervenes (line 27) in the form of a direct question asking for clarification, **was it a kind of oven .** This tourist genuinely desires to elucidate a real word reference sorting to it through interaction. The two participants, in turn, activate a series of complex pragmatic strategic use of assertive overlaps to help them negotiate their message meaning and mediate it to the rest of the listeners. They use and re-use each other's language forms acknowledging empathic participation in the turn-taking.

Despite the functional illocutionary force of the S2 speaker's remark, this utterance is not exempted from the norm following deviations: "*they cooks*". The third person singular -s morpheme to conjugate present simple is added to conjugate the third person plural. In addition, the tourist guide violates the agreement with the indefinite article a/an in the expression **an ancient hornes,** where the noun reports the "s" bound morpheme to form the plural of nouns in English. From the point of view of the SLA framework, this linguistic behaviour would have been reductively considered the result of an interlanguage phase of the speaker competence. From where I stand, it should be considered an example of accommodative ELF speakers' disposition across domains. The guide has already displayed skilful use of singular/plural agreement use of uniform norms common to the primary system of the English language. Consequently, we cannot doubt this rule's mastery of hers. Confirmation that this is the case comes with the utterance pronounced after a second of pause by the guide as self-correction: 'the **horn** yes'. Some nods and laughs follow, manifesting spontaneity of expression and lively amusement because all the parties have realised the homophonic relationship between the expression created by the guide *horn* and the English word *horn* with its denotative and connotative meanings. Finally, the tour guide shows acceptance of the tourist's indirect correction by performing an approximate phonological reproduction of the word suggested by him **<pvc> (uven) /ʊˈv(ə)n/ {oven} <ipa> /ˈʌv(ə)n/ </ipa> </pvc>** attempting repair.

In conclusion, we can affirm that the tour guide and the tourist act cooperatively in conversation to set the appropriate linguistic referent to the object used to make pottery in the archaeological site visited. In particular, in opposition to her use of unidiomatic syntactic constructions and non-standard articulations of morphological and phonological English, the guide is nevertheless uninterrupted in her narration, being demonstratively competent in delivering information to the audience's interest. Consequently, the guide's presentation content is never questioned. However, her phonological representation of English

words deviates from standard registered pronunciation (RP) heterogeneously, and the *consecutio temporum* - sequence of tenses – in the sentence is not always respected (line 20) – "*the vase **uses** to drink*". In this example, she adds the simple present ending (-s) to the verb root (use-) instead of the regular verb –(e)d ending, intended to form the simple past and the past participle in English. The audience "let it pass", unflagging this deviation from the code standard deploying communicative alignment. Interruptions, in the form of questions for clarifications, remark an authentic endogenously desire to verify the real-life correspondence between nomenclature and personal understanding.

This sequence of extracts has demonstrated the effectiveness of multilingual strategic use of resources. Moreover, suspending a strict sense of standard normativity has facilitated accommodation and adaptation to make interaction successful. Another important aspect is represented by the translocal and transcultural nature of the conversation, spanning three different terminological levels. Italian terminology denotes the local space; old Greek and Latin original terms refer to the western cultural heritage of ancient Greece and Rome, belonging to the tourist guide's subject-specific competence; finally, English achieves the international scale, acknowledging Greek and Roman legacy globally.

6.1.4 Extract 4: *"Plastic"*

The long extract below shows some 'languaging' on the part of the tourist guide, who assembles linguistic resources dynamically from different languages and draws sociohistorical trajectories to explain the "plastic". Here the participants are standing next to the relief model of the Archaeologic Park excavation and looking at the tourist guide illustrating the miniaturised reproduction of the site and other physical remains.

Extract 4: *"Plastic"* (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian; S13: Italian; S8: Italian; S9: American; S18: Swedish; S20: Irish; S5: Spanish; S17: Russian; S6: Japanese) – Part 1.

86	**S9:**	very cool!
87	**S18:**	(2) sorry?=
88	**S8:**	**[(..)=@@@@]**
89	**S9:**	**[(..)=@@@@]**=
90	**S1:**	=we are under the paper (…) yes erm:: erm:: i want erm: want to er no (..) the use of this <CL1>
91		plastic {scale model} </CL1> er is erm:: important to understand the real situation of this complex
92		archaeological site (..)
93	**SX:**	[coughing]
94	**S1:**	[eh mm] in this <pvc> plastic {scale model} </pvc> we see the mmm the reproduction of the

This involving episode takes place near the scale model of the excavations. Representing the facts in a three-dimensional exemplification fosters a holistic emerging perception of the narrated facts, enhanced

by visual, vocal and tactile semiotic means. The guide refers to it as **<CL1> plastic {scale model} </CL1>** twice during her long turn, once at line 91 and then at line 94. This term is cognate with the Italian word '*plastico*' referring to a realistic representation on a smaller scale. Although the dictionary entry in English denotes the synthetic material usually used to build scale replicas, the tour guide does not hesitate before introducing it, at first, at line 90. It even repeats it at line 94, when she starts her sophisticated overview of the historical events uncovered by the archaeological excavations of the park. This covert multilingual use does not upheave any reactions from the audience, who, on the contrary, does not interrupt or ask for any further clarifications. As tourists or amateurs, participants might have already come in contact with this expression with other occurrences in the tourist domain[19]. Feasibly, it can be argued that from Italian, where the nominal use of the adjective (plastic) has extended to technically describe the earth's surface or an architectural construction in reduced dimension and made up of organic polymers, it is spreading in ELF contexts. By way of example, we can refer to the detected use in visiting experiences or describing remarkable reproduction of designed structures and historical sites (see note 1).

This extract enumerates multilingual practices in various forms. By way of example, in the following passage, which appears in the form of a monologue delivered by the tour guide, the solo speaker switches into Italian at lines 95, 100, 102, 106, 116, and 120; in Greek at lines 121, 125, 137, 143, 157, 165, 168, 174, and in Latin at lines 101, 108, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148, 155, 159, 168, 174. The alternation between different languages belonging to the guide's repertoire is effective, for instance, in making the audience acquainted with key toponyms. They are promptly introduced either as direct translations of their original forms (e.g., **achaia /əˈkaɪə/** - line 103) or as code-switches that report local language lexemes (e.g., **<L1it> sibari {Sybaris} <ipa>/ˈsɪbəris/ </L1it>** line 95; **<L1it> parco del cavallo (.) prolungamento strada (.) casa bianca </L1it>** at line 97). Finally, they are also communicated as mediated by an intermediate language between the original Greek and ELF, such as in Latin (e.g., **<L2lat> copia </L2lat>** at line 97). It is striking that the guide has escalated the intensity of multilingual elements in her extract following the chronological transformation of territory along the records of its conquest. By the end of the intervention, the tourists will have experienced the thriving and decadence of the three prominent civilizations living in the area object of their visit.

Extract 4: *"Plastic"* (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian; S13: Italian; S8: Italian; S9: American; S18: Swedish; S20: Irish; S5: Spanish; S17: Russian; S6: Japanese) – Part 2.

95 different archaeological erm: site excavation in the old city of <L1it> sibari {Sybaris} <ipa>

[19] Online research, 1st June 2021 – visit and compare: https://www.amazon.com/Firenze-guardare-toccare-prezioso-Italian/dp/8859614767; http://www.strozzina.org/atlas_of_the_future/.

96 /ˈsɪbəris/ </L1it> (1) what we see here in <L1it> parco del cavallo (.) prolungamento strada (.) casa
97 bianca </L1it> is the (.) most modern city of <L2lat> copia </L2lat> the latin colony **<pvc>**
98 **/fɒndɛd/<ipa>/faʊndɪd/</pvc>** in erm: one hundred ninty-three BC /ˌbiːˈsiː/ erm by the (.)
99 romans (..) end ↑ this because the same site in this same plain near the river <L1it> Crati {Crathis}
100 </L1it> three city are overlapped during fourteen century the greek sybaris the hellenistic <LNlat>
101 turi{Thurii}</LNlat> and erm **<pvc>/plɑst/{plus}<ipa>/plʌs/</pvc>** the roman copia (2) the
102 e:er city of <L1it> sibari {Sybaris} <ipa> /ˈsɪbəris/ </L1it> was <pvc>/fɒndɛd/<ipa>/faʊndɪd/
103 </pvc> in seven hundred twenty BC /ˌbiːˈsiː/ by erm: colonies coming from achaia /əˈkaɪə/ emm
104 a peloponneso region in Greece and erm they erm choose e:rm for erm <pvc> ir {their}<ipa> /ðɛː/
105 </pvc> settlement erm a plain between two rivers erm the Crati e:rm: the old Sybaris now is the
106 <fast> <L1it> coscile </L1it> </fast> erm e:rm this was a plain a mushy plain erm so the first war
107 to do was erm: reclaimed the plain (2) in few years the city **<pvc> turned /tʊrnɛd/<ipa> /təːnd/**
108 **</pvc>** in the most important colony of </pvc> <LNlat> magna graecia </LNlat> <ipa>
109 /ˌmaɡnə ˈɡriːsɪə/ </pvc> (1) the most important city of **<pvc>/ˈsʌtəːtant/{southern} <ipa>**
110 **/ˈsʌð(ə)n/</pvc>** Italy (..) erm the city of the luxury (..) the city of wealthy life (..) the city of the elegance
111 erm end erm many **<pvc>/ˈlɛdʒ(ə)nt/{legend}<ipa>/ˈlɛdʒ(ə)nd/</pvc>** are been developed erm for::
112 this luxury (…) we know for example that the **<pvc>(russors)/ˈrʌsəʊzəz/{rousers}<ipa>**
113 **/raʊzəːz/</pvc>**were dream of the city to not wake up er too early the citizens erm (..) or erm in the city
114 of Sybaris there are fountains flowed wine and not water ↑ (.) another thing that underline the luxury life of
115 these people ↓ (..) today the wor- the word the Italian word <pvc> <L1it> sibarita </L1it> {sybarite}
116 <ipa>/ˈsɪbərʌɪt/ </pvc> er means er something someone who live erm erm with luxury with an elegant
117 lifestyle and it's the same of the in the literary **<pvc> (sorch) /sɔːtʃ/{source}<ipa>/sɔːs/</pvc>**
118 in the anci'ent <hesitating> literary **<pvc> (sorch)/sɔːtʃ/{source}<ipa>/sɔːs/</pvc>**↓ (…)
119 but this <sighing> richness (.) this power very soon **<pvc> (attrakkd)/** əˈtrakkd**/{attracted}**
120 **<ipa>/əˈtraktɪd/</pvc>** the attention of the (.) neighbour city and so the er

The whole passage conveys a sincere sense of commitment to the interaction and comity among the participants despite the non-standard use of the language. For instance, the pronunciation of numerous English words does not refer to the RP form. Conceivably, the speaker wanted to take distance from regularities. They approximate a comprehensible phonetic representation of words uttered in their received pronunciation. The **<pvc>/plɑst/{plus}<ipa>/plʌs/</pvc>** (line 101), **<pvc>/fɒndɛd/<ipa>/faʊndɪd/</pvc>** (line 98, 102), **<pvc> turned /tʊrnɛd/<ipa> /təːnd/ </pvc>, <pvc>/ˈsʌtəːtant/{southern}<ipa>/**ˈsʌð(ə)n/**</pvc>** (line 109-110), **<pvc>/ˈlɛdʒ(ə)nt/{legend}<ipa>/ˈlɛdʒ(ə)nd/</pvc>** (line 111), also referring to special terminology **<pvc>(russors)/ˈrʌsəʊzəz/{rousers} <ipa> /raʊzəːz/</pvc>** (lines 112-113), **<pvc> (sorch)/sɔːtʃ/{source}<ipa>/sɔːs/</pvc>** at line 116-117 and repeated at line 118; **<pvc> (attrakkd)/**əˈtrakkd**/{attracted}<ipa>/əˈtraktɪd/</pvc>** (line 119-120) demonstrate her composure in dealing with speech patterns. The ecological balance established during the passage is not interrupted by long pauses or repeated hesitations that may hint at reluctant behaviour. On the

contrary, the speaker creates a 'traslanguage space' (Li 2018), conceiving an *ad hoc* language configuration challenging any syntactical, morphological or phonetic standard. In other words, the syntactic arrangement of words and phrases does not slavishly follow the rules to create well-formed English sentences (e.g., **were dream of the city** – line 113 – the auxiliary verb to be used to conjugate the past tenses in the passive voice are not followed by a past participle of the main verb, neither it works as a copula in the syntagma). Secondly, inflected forms are not consistently used in regards to standard language correctness (e.g., **fountains flowed wine and not water** – line 114 -, where the suffix -ed forming the past tense and past participle of weak verbs is used instead of the suffix -ing to complete the progressive aspect of the verb 'to form", expressing that action in progress). Finally, phonetically, the speaker transforms the speech sounds belonging to the English language (e.g., **<pvc>/ˈlɛdʒ(ə)nt/{legend}<ipa>/ˈlɛdʒ(ə)nd/ </pvc>**). The tourist guide has developed a primarily agentive, personal, and expressive stance when she uses TELF (Tourist ELF).

The tourist guide continues her narration of the defeat and destruction of the prosperous Greek civilization of Sybaris by their enemies living in the rival city of Kroton. The chronicle triggers a personal reaction by one of the tourists, as shown in the following passage.

Extract 4: *"Plastic"* (S1: Italian; S2: Argentinian; S13: Italian; S8: Italian; S9: American; S18: Swedish; S20: Irish; S5: Spanish; S17: Russian; S6: Japanese) – Part 3.

121		the city of <L1it> sibari </L1it> in five hundred ten BC /ˌbiːˈsiː/ was destroyed by <LNgr> kroton
122		</LNgr> {crotone} <ipa> /kroʊˈtoʊnei, krə'-/ </pvc> 's at (.) the (.) end of a (.) war erm: (3)
123	**S2:**	**i come from i come from crot- / krə'-**/=
124	**S13:**	=@@@@@
125	**S1:**	=@@ **I don't understand** (1) **ok** by <LNgr> kroton </LNgr> {crotone} <ipa>
126		/kroʊˈtoʊnei, krə'-/ </pvc> at the end of a war erm:: in which the city of <L1it> sibari </L1it> were
127		<laughing> er er fired and flooded erm: **<pvc> (divelting)/diːvɛltɪŋ/{diverting} </pvc>**
128		/dʌɪˈvəːting, dɪˈvəːting/ **</pvc>** the river <L1it> crati </L1it> mhm <assertive> (…)**<pvc>**
129		**(divelting)/diːvɛltɪŋ/{diverting}<ipa>/**dʌɪˈvəːting, dɪˈvəːting/**</pvc>** the river <L1it> crati </L1it>
130		by flooding like few years ago (.) when the flooding (gold) <L1it> crati </L1it> have recovered all the
131		<4> archaeological site </4>
132	**S13:**	<pvc> <4> manufactor </4> {artefact}/ˈɑːtɪfakt/ </pvc>

She comes from Argentina. However, she refers to her belonging to the city of Kroton – that interrupted Sybaris's prosperity - as a native of that area. Consequently, she tries to confess it to the tour guide and the rest of the tourists, but her declaration is characterized by repetitions and results in a truncated and hesitant turn (**i come from i come from crot- / krə'-/=,** line 123). Her outcome betrays her state of mind and intense feelings to the extent that the vivid revival of the historical facts makes her feel guilty

because of her origins. One of the other tourists latches with her turn and laughs. Feasibly, he caught the uneasiness of the companion and the message she wanted to convey despite its incompleteness. Furthermore, he might sympathize with her, showing amusement without ridiculing her. On the other hand, S1 – the tourist guide - cannot fully interpret S2's turn initially. After a short burst of laughter, latching with S13's giggle, she declares that she has not caught the meaning of S2's intervention - **I don't understand**, and then, she pauses (1) - line 125. The interruption of her flow of narration gives her the time to think and elaborate on the exchange in full. As a result, she expresses her conscious understanding – **ok** (line 125). What follows is a detailed account of the facts that caused Sybaris's defeat by a strategic attack led by Kroton in 510 B.C. Her sincere commitment is shown by her interpreting the narration. She shows hilarity - laughing - at line 127 and assertiveness at line 128.

She consciously selects among her linguistic repertoire multilingual expressions that better illustrate her functional purposes. For example, the term **<pvc> (divelting)/di**ːv**ɛltɪŋ/{diverting}/**dʌɪˈvəːting, dɪˈvəːting/ **</pvc>** pronounced first at line 127 and then repeated at line 129 is a further instance of multilingual practice. The speaker translanguages Italian and English to describe the diversion of the Crati river course. More explicitly, the Italian past participle '*divelto*' from the sophisticated verb '*divèllere*', which could semantically correspond to the English verb 'eradicate', overlaps with the English verb's base form 'divert'. The two forms mix to result in an idiosyncratic phonetic representation. This example is a case where pronunciation is a crucial level of investigation which reveals language contact (Cogo 2020). Consequently, this non-standard pronunciation instance stands across overt and covert resources relying on semantic values. Hence, the lexeme coveys a richer meaning combining the idea of separation with the one of destruction transferred by the two semantemes to the oral text since there are no separations between the words and named languages (Italian and English). Namely, the user amalgamates the sememes fluidly to personalize her event description. On the other hand, the hybrid form is thoroughly integrated into the English system by adding the suffix -ing, denoting a verbal action in the gerund form. This level of speculation is supported by the emic observation of the interaction from an Ethnography of Communication point of view and retrospective interviews methodologically conducted to support C.A. data analysis. The result describes what historically happened; Krotonians diverted the course of the river Krati to extirpate the prosperous city of Sybaris, razing it to the ground. In so doing, the tourist guide shapes her sociolinguistic identity conveying a precise multicultural value reified during this social practice. With all its semiotic resources, the context cannot be denied that it participates in the dialogical process. The museum's multi-layered setting intertwines with its actors and the contingent situation. Consequently, in analysing the trans-configurations of significance, attention is particularly given to the continuous permeable interchange between text and context.

In sum, the guide posits herself as the leading actor of this journey, which involves the tourists in a translanguaging experience across space, time, and language forms. Understanding implies a collaborative

approach that overcomes the boundaries of named languages and finalizes the communicative act. Although fluid and characterized by non-standard speech forms, the spoken turn effectively shapes the meaning the speaker wants to convey.

6.1.5 Extract 5: *"The goodness*

This extract shows different multilingual strategies to convey meaning related to the special tourist domain.

Tourists are introduced to a sacred area of remains documenting ancient religious rites and customs. Information regards how people who inhabited the area in ancient times showed their devotion by appealing to the deities for support and protection in their daily and routine life activities, farming and weaving, for instance.

Speakers look engrossed in conversation because, through language means, they express a sense of proximity to the facts narrated and their protagonists. In detail, there can be found instances of direct translation at line 230; code-switching at lines 223, 224, 230, and 231; approximation at lines 216, 217, 236, 237 and 248; finally, some examples of overt multilingual strategies at lines, 219, 228, 229, and 231.

Extract: *"The goodness"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S6: Japanese; S14: Italian) – Part 1.

213 **S1:** this is a (xxxxxxxx) of <L1it> sibaritide </L1it> <fast> and one of the most important site of <L1it>
214 sibaritide</L1it> is <L1it> francavilla marittima <L1it> (..) <sihing> <L1it> francavilla marittima</L1it>
215 is one of the oenotrian centre er umm who exist erm before the **<pvc>colonisation / kɒlonizeʒ(ə)ion/**
216 **/ kɒlonizeʒəion/<ipa>/ kɒlənʌɪˈzeɪʃ(ə)n</pvc>** and er while the other centre on the hill erm: were
217 **<pvc>(destroyed)/dɛˈstrɔɪ/<ipa>/dɪˈstrɔɪd/</pvc>** by greeks erm in <L1it> francavilla marittima
218 <L1it> we (.) see (.) erm a erm new occupation of the same site (.) so (.) that (.) the excavation **<CL1>**
219 **(conduced)/kənˈdjuːsɛd/</CL1**> between erm the (.) between nineteen sixty to umm the last ten years
220 erm have been discovered/dɪˈskʌvərɛd/<ipa>/dɪˈskʌvəd/ a rich town (.)a rich city with a sacred area erm
221 with different erm with erm erm several erm private houses and (.)with (.) a (.) **<pvc> (necropoli)**
222 **/nɛˈkrɒpʌlɪ/{necropolis}<ipa>nɛˈkrɒpəlɪs</pvc>** (.) in the place **<pvc> colled /kɔːllɛd/{called}**
223 **<ipa> kɔːld </pvc>**<L1it>macchia abate<L1it>(…) erm in this room we see just objects coming from
224 the (.)sacred area of **<L1it>timpone della motta</L1it>** (..) in **<L1it> timpone della motta </L1it>**

First, the tourist guide starts this extract by accelerating the pace of her speech as if she were sure that the attendees had acquired adequate familiarity with the information she had been providing. The analysis will concentrate on the linguistic praxis reiterated by the speaker all over her intervention concerning the description of places. Primarily, she has been persistently using code-switches to describe the local area **<L1it> sibaritide </L1it>** and the name of the archaeological site where the excavations had been made **<L1it> francavilla marittima <L1it>**.

The frequency of code-switching referring to local places is very high in the whole data (89%). As we have seen in previous passages, places are even referred to in more than one language tracing a line of progression from past to the present through linguistic means, citing the original Greek, then the Latin, in addition to the Italian name of the location to be translated into English for general understanding (see the above extract analysis).

Furthermore, this extract is distinctively denoted by the deliberate use of the Italian language estimating the number of code-shifts referring to places and critical information already introduced to the group of tourists (from line 213 to line 215, and line 222 - **<pvc> (necropoli) /nɛˈkrɒpʌlɪ/ {necropolis} <ipa> nɛˈkrɒpəlɪs </pvc>**) and the new ones presented in the form of flagged code-switches (line 223, and 229). The archaeological site "Macchia Abate" is clearly announced by the appositive phrase: **in the place**, which serves the purpose of hyperbatons[20] and it is also announced by the epistemic edge **<pvc> colled /kɔːllɛd/{called} <ipa> kɔːld </pvc>**, related to the intent of suggesting the actual value of the toponym. At this point of the tour, this literary device – the linguistic preamble -creates expectations emphasising code-switching. Consequently, we can argue that it can be considered a consolidated ELF strategy developed by the speaker to provide the listener with some preparation time for understanding a foreign and unknown word/phrase. Moreover, the speaker highlights the locative: **<L1it>timpone della motta</L1it>** by a simple repetition to pre-empt realisation of trouble which results in no interruptions or enquiries for further clarifications by the tourists' part (compare line 224).

Interestingly, the passage offers an instance of covert multilingual strategy at line 219. As far I am concerned, the past participle form **<CL1> conduced /kənˈdjuːsɛd/ </CL1>** has been chosen by the speaker being influenced by Latin, one of the languages the tourist guide currently relays on to perform her job as an archaeologist. First, the abovementioned verb is not commonly used to describe the fieldwork activity in archaeological sites. The semanteme collocating with excavation is "to conduct" and not "to conduce". However, both lexemes have been introduced in English from Latin at different times in the history of English evolution. Feasibly, the tourist guide cognitively relies on the Latin *conducere* meaning 'brought together, preserved in the root of the Italian verb "*condurre*", when she approximates the English verb "conducted". However, she does not refer to the Italian one directly because its past participle form would have sounded "*condotto*", which is quite distant from her **<CL1> conduced /kənˈdjuːsɛd/ </CL1>**. Consequently, it can be argued that the tourist guide has directly drawn signification from the original word root coming from the language of ancient Rome, traceable to the English cognate "to conduce", which has been conjugated in the past participle tense to describe the archaeological practice.

[20] The inversion of the standard order of words, especially for emphasis.

In the following section of the extract, the description of the excavation continues to concentrate on the architectonic and devotional features of the site. The section also contains a combination of multilingual strategies to convey critical historical and anthropological concepts.

Extract: *"The goodness"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S6: Japanese; S14: Italian) – Part 2.

225 we erm have erm: er three or four sacred building (.) three or four temples erm that erm have different
226 erm (phre) mm phases of construction in particular ↓ a <pvc> first /fɪːst/ <ipa> /fəːst/ </pvc>
227 first ↑ erm with a construction made erm in wood er (..) and another with the presence of this
228 (pointing the wall) wall of stone (..) and all the objects <CL1> recollected {collected} </CL1>
229 in this showcase are <pvc> colled /kɔːllɛd/ {called} <ipa> /kɔːld/ </pvc> ex voto (..) erm
230 <LNlat> ex voto </LNlat> means gift to the deity (..) every time erm that in the sacred area erm
231 a new temple mmm was built er the <LNlat> ex voto </LNlat> were <CL1> recollected
232 {collected}</CL1> and preserved in an <pvc> hole /hɒl/<ipa> həʊl </pvc> in the ground ↓

The technical and specific term **ex voto** is introduced by a general description (lines 228, 229) referring to it as objects to fulfil a vow. Secondly, the expression, introduced in English in the late 18th century from Latin, is pronounced according to RP standards (/ɛks ˈvəʊtəʊ/) and then repeated in Latin "*ex voto"* to evoke habitat factor. Finally, it is also clearly explained by the speaker who decides to make it an epistemic edge, mediating its gist and glossing its semantic value by using the transparent verb "to mean" – line 230: **means gift to the deity.**

Thenceforth, I would like to discuss some instances of covert multilingual strategies in this dense passage. First of all, I shall start from line 228, where the speaker uses the English verb "to recollect" in its simple past form inappropriately, according to the standard use of the language. Moreover, she repeats it at line 231: **<CL1> recollected {collected} </CL1>,** confirming her deliberate word selection. However, to fully grasp the mighty, evocative power of the expression, the utterance must be interpreted in line with an ELF perspective because it will merge that the language user has performed meaning-making in her own right.

The tourist guide, to recall the complex and elaborated archaeological activity of discovering, cataloguing, and gathering historical remains, does not use the verb "collect", as it would have sounded idiomatic to a native speaker, but the verb "to recollect", which in standard English means: call to the mind. On the one hand, her multilingual background emerges translanguaging the Italian verb "raccogliere", which implies the physical activity of picking and selecting objects, with the English verb "to collect". The languaging is carried out by the prefix re-, which in English is the minimal distinctive unit of meaning - a semanteme -implying the repetition of the action anew suggested logically by the activity of accumulating items. To sum up, the verb "to recollect", used twice in this passage (lines 228 and 231), should not be considered an inappropriate lexical entry referring to the activity of remembering. On the contrary, it has to be considered a sophisticated, multilingual strategy by the speaker who has, by and

large, retrieved an effective lexeme from her L1. Firstly, it has been mixed with the most appropriate English term, and then, the hybrid form has been contextualised to make it fully understood. As a result, the covert multilingual background of the locution that has emerged from the analysis has provided the utterance with a more vivid image of the elaborated process of processing and recording remains in archaeological excavations in the audience's mind.

The speaker involves the participants in sophisticated archaeological deductions in the following passage regarding the historical evidence retrieved in the excavated area.

Extract: *"The goodness"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S6: Japanese; S14: Italian) – Part 3.

233		and er excavated erm:::: excavating this <pvc> hole /hul/<ipa> həʊl </pvc> we have <pvc> all
234		/u:l/<ipa>/ɔ:l/</pvc> this precious objects (..) ↑ we know thanks to this object that the umm that
235		the cult <pvc> spri/sprɪ/{spead} <ipa> /sprɛd/</pvc> in this (.) religious area is (.)of (.) a (.) female
236		**<CL1>(goodness)/ɡʊdnɛs/{goddess}<ipa>/ˈɡɒdɪs/</CL1>** and (.) this female **<CL1>**
237		**ɡʊdnɛs/{goddess}<ipa>/ˈɡɒdɪs/</CL1>** linked with two word in particular ↓ erm the world of
238		the water and the **world (.) of the (.) erm weight** for the presence of these numerous weight rooms
239	**S3:**	**world of the?**
240	**S1:**	weight (1)
241	**S6:**	yeah yeah <nodding>
242	**S1:**	these are all weight rooms erm to use (.) to make clothes
243	**S3:**	can you can you repeat please? i didn't understand
244	**S14:**	erm::::::
245	**S1:**	↓ thanks to these **<LNlat> ex voto </LNlat>**=
246	**S3:**	=ok
247	**S1:**	<seriously> exposed in this showcase we know that (slowly) in this @@ in this <smiling> er
248		sanctuary erm was venerated a female **<CL1> (godness)/ˈɡɒdnɛs/{goddess}</CL1>/ˈɡɒdɪs /**
249		**</pvc>** linked to three world ↓ the world of the water (.) for the presence of several <pvc> vases
250		/ˈvesəz/ <ipa>/ˈvɑ:zɪz / </pvc> to contain water and the world of the weight erm to create clothes
251	**S3:**	mhm mhm <nodding>
252	**S1:**	**because all these are erm: loom weight the so-called loom weight in Italian is pesi da telaio uh?**
253	**S3:**	<softly> ok

6.1.6 Extract 6: *"Ex voto"*

So far, the visit has become personally involving for the tourists. In a way, they become the real protagonists of this extract's interesting example of polyadic interaction. Participants have engaged actively in conversation, supporting communication and shared understanding.

The following passage is characterised by a significant number of pragmatic strategies employed to accomplish speakers' common goals. Methodologically, I have chosen to prioritise the multilingual strategies that dominate the last part of the extract. However, I will also describe other supportive linguistic tactics participants have adopted to achieve their communicative aim.

Contextual features determine the topic of the conversation. More specifically, the setting of the speech act contributes to the dialogue with its artefacts providing historical, linguistic, and experiential references. Consequently, the description of votive offerings to the deity triggers speakers' interactive competence adjusted to contextual conditions (Hüttner 2009: 275). The ability to fit speech into this special language context and the level of communicative competence achieved by the tourists in interaction can be appraised.

Extract 6: *"Ex voto"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7 Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S11: Swedish; S17: Russian;) – Part 1.

254	**S1:**	and these are all <LNlat> ex voto </LNlat > (.) **<pvc> (miniaturistic) /ˈmɪnɪtʃərɪstic/ {miniature}**
255	**S1:**	**<ipa> /ˈmɪnɪtʃə/ </pvc>** vases like you (.) see ↓ <trembling voice> the (.) small <pvc> dimension
256	**S1:**	/dˈmɛnʃ(ə)n/ <ipa>/dɪˈmɛnʃ(ə)n, dʌɪˈmɛnʃ(ə)n/ of all the objects a gift erm for the deity (.) the most
257		important of these gifts is (…) this bronze table (2)
258	**S7:**	which one is it?
259	**S1:**	(.) the bronze table
260	**S7:**	ah!

First, the Conversation starts with code-switching in Latin – line 254: **<LNlat> ex voto </LNlat>**. This expression is not new to the audience because it had already been introduced to them, as referred to in the former extract. However, the tour guide decides to provide specific details discussing historical remains rephrasing and paraphrasing her own words. This move has been intended for pre-realising trouble. She clearly states the various characteristics of the **<LNlat> ex voto </LNlat** >. For example, she refers to the physical appearance of the remains. In other words, she technically defines them - **<pvc>(miniaturistic) /ˈmɪnɪtʃərɪstic/ {miniature} <ipa> /ˈmɪnɪtʃə/ </pvc> vases** (line 254)-; and then she even simplifies their description – **small <pvc> (dimension) /dˈmɛnʃ(ə)n/ <ipa> /**dɪˈmɛnʃ(ə)n**,** dʌɪˈmɛnʃ(ə)n/. In addition, the guide mentions their devotional function: a gift erm for the deity (line 256). Moreover, what makes her participation in the interaction proactive is the tone she uses because she has got a trembling voice revealing her sincere personal and emotional commitment to the cause. Finally, she wishes the true value of her utterance is grasped, and consequently, she hedges epistemically her own words saying: **like you (.) see** – line 255. Provided the guide has tried to be adequately informative, she realises that clarity is also enhanced by the remains and the captions displayed in the showcase. Consequently, she briefly hints at the exhibits, which represent a physical referent to her words, supporting them in avoiding obscurity and ambiguity.

The other participants engage in lively interaction as a response to her involvement in the situational context. At line 258, S7 enhances explicitation with a post-trouble overt request for clarification. This move induces S1 to produce a simple repetition of the entire phraseological unit, resulting in its successful understanding. The exclamation, **ah!** (Line 260) expounds this fact expressing the realisation of meaning.

Contextual indicators of meaning coexist and amplify the cognitive process of understanding the tourists undertake. More specifically, concepts are conveyed multimodally. In practice, even if not formally acknowledged, meaning is deverbalised and perceived through the senses of sight, smell, and touch before being comprehended. At this stage of understanding and information processing, each speaker can interpret sense in more than one language, enriching one's repertoire. For this reason, multi-language-code messages are easily grasped and frequently used in the tourist domain.

The second part of this extract reports some essential information in a multi-party dialogue. In detail, a series of interactional moves create a familiar context to adopt an accommodative attitude of mutual influence. This slow process, undertaken naturally by the participants to the interaction, has contributed to the theorisation of a distinct group of speakers entertaining relational and reciprocal communicative goals, namely an IGS. (See the Methodology chapter, pages 60, 61.)

Extract 6: *"Ex voto"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7 Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S11: Swedish; S17: Russian;) – Part 2.

261 **S1:** because this is dedication (..) the dedication made by <pvc> cleombroto / klɛˈəʊmbrɒtɒs/

262 {Cleombrotus} <ipa> /klɪˈəʊmbrɒtus/ </pvc> an athlete to athens erm umm after his erm erm

263 participation to olympic game erm

264 **S6:** ah!

265 **S1:** thanks to this erm inscription bronze inscription we know that during the fourth century BC / ˌbiːˈsiː/

266 the whole sanctuary is dedicated to athena[21]

267 **S7:** all right <wandering>

268 **S3:** we have a friend who is an expert in greek called [S9]

269 **SS:** @@@

270 **S3:** who will read the inscription in greek (.) he knows greek and so he can read it in its original language

271 **S4:** yeah!

272 **S5:** it's a good idea

273 **S9:** @@@@@ {greek text} <LNgr> digamma </LNgr>

274 **S1:** **<LNgr> gamma </LNgr>**

275 **S9:** <LNgr> gamma </LNgr>

276 **S7:** **which means (..) in english?**

277 **S1:** **mhm <nodding>**

278 **S9:** **ye ye=**

279 **S7:** =translate it

280 **S9:** cleombrotus son of dexilaus dedicated erm because

281 **S8:** =dedicated his victory **it says victory ↓**

282 **S9:** **=victory to the same**

283 **S8:** =his victory in olympia

[21] Cleombrotus dedicated a tithe to Athena. Our earliest surviving inscription about an Olympic victory, this complex text raises several questions. In particular: if Cleombrotus's prize was the usual olive wreath, did he dedicate a tenth of a cash payment from his native city?

284 **S9:** =in olympia to the same in weight in (stazz-) <mumbling>
285 **SS:** @@@
286 **S17:** no no wait (.) <9> mr cleombrotus dexilaus' son <9>
287 **S9:** <9> cleombrotus <9> don't come from
288 **S17:** dexilaus' s son dedicated <10> his victory <10>
289 **S10:** <10> his victory <10>
290 **S17:** in olympia against=
291 **S9:** =against erm
292 **S17:** equal <11> prepared <11>
293 **S9:** <11> prepared <11>
294 **S17:** and well-built athletes <12> to <12>
295 **S9:** <12> for <12> to athena after he has promised the <LNlat> decima </LNlat> one <LNlat>
296 decima </LNlat> {tith}[22] of
297 **S17:** <13> after he had <13>
298 **S11:** <13> a part of <13>
299 **SS:** <13> {undistinguished words} <13>
300 **S9:** <15> retired right? a part of his prize which consisted in a in a sort of dedication in sort of collection
301 of <15>
302 **SS:** <15> clapping <15>
303 **S9:** thank you

The clear understanding of the bronze inscription in Greek described by the tourist guide is due to collaborative interpretative work among the visiting participants. Moreover, the tourists have encouraged this active multilingual process involving: Greek – the original language of the inscription; English – the target language of the final translational process; and speakers' different language repertoires. First, S3 suggests: **'we have a friend who is an expert in greek called [S9]',** prompting his active participation. Secondly, the rest of the group validates their knowledge, backchannelling her words. Specifically, at line 269, they spontaneously burst into laughs in a sign of approval; then, S4 at line 271 and S5 at line 271 agree with S3's suggestion - **yeah!; it's a good idea**. Repetitions referring to the metalinguistic process of interpretation are manifold. Namely, the word Greek refrains four times in six lines (from line 268 to line 273c), creating a significant multilingual meta-reference to the translation.

The feel of the passage is collaborative. Although the first attempt to translate the inscription is followed by a correction - **<LNgr> gamma </LNgr>** (line 274) - by S9, which is a lexical suggestion, this move does not discontinue the flow of the conversation. On the other hand, S1 repairs his previous turn with a simple repetition which confirms and validates the tourist guide's intervention. Speaker S9 does not want to affront his partner or diminish the tourist guide's authority (line 275). On the other hand, being interpreted as a represent, the utterance amplifies the effect of the intermediation catalysing the

[22] *Tith:* one-tenth of annual produce or earnings, formerly taken as a tax for the support of the Church and clergy.

bystanders' interest. As a response, S7 explicitly requests a clarification in English - **which means (..) in english?** (Line 276). Unfortunately, none of the participants can satisfy this enquiry. However, communication is continued. After some interaction managing devices showing participation and venture into the collaborative work - **mhm <nodding> (line 267)** - and a repeated exclamation - **ye ye**= (line 268) -, the resolutive turn is uttered by S7, prompting speaker S9 to continue. She is spontaneous and unconstrained in her intervention latching with the previous turn - **=translate it**, line 279. What follows is the multilingual contribution to the interpretative process impelled directly by the participants to the interaction. The original Greek text is interfaced with the polylingual repertoire of the speakers while the collaborative translation enhances. The collective and reciprocal supportive co-constructive process is upheld by the numerous cooperative overlaps that refrain from the previous passage entirely or partially. This strategic accommodatory process simultaneously arises with the translation – line 281 – and continues up to the end of the extract; it only ceases when the interpretation of the passage is completed and validated – <15> clapping <15> (line 302). Support is endorsed throughout the section. First, at line 281, speaker S8 produces an epistemic hedge to assertively declare content in a descending intonation that clarifies his intention: **it says victory ↓.** By and large, this expression in the speech verb "to say" confirms the previously mentioned information reassuring the listeners of the previous utterance's veridicality. Then, S9 latches and partially reiterates the previous turn - **=victory to the same** (line 281). The American participant feasibly wants to side with her interlocutor interpreting his need for some time during his word search and uttering a phraseological unit: **=against erm**. Finally, their success is commonly celebrated with a collective applaud. Speaker S9 shows gratitude thanking his partners and colleagues in his multilingual collective technical translation, where both language proficiency and specific knowledge (e.g., **<LNlat> decima </LNlat> one <LNlat> decima </LNlat> {tith} of**) have been demonstrated. As a matter of fact, not only has the English version of the text been assembled by collecting a contribution from different translational competencies, but also it contains code-switches in Latin, which is still considered the most authoritative language to interpret archaeological remains. Moreover, it was the first language into which ancient texts were translated. Consequently, we can affirm that the participants in the interaction are perfectly aware of these circumstances and show comprehension when an expression in Latin is introduced at lines 295 and 296.

Overall, this extract has shown the level of complexity that an interactive passage in ELF can achieve. For the most part, speakers have adapted their intervention to attain a common goal without interfering with each speaker's message and communicative intent. On the contrary, they support one another. Moreover, various speech acts can accomplish different linguistic functions (e.g., asking for clarification, explaining, repairing) to pre-realize or post-repair trouble.

These findings support the theoretical premises this study has forwarded, highlighting the interactional focus of ELF use. They will also provide an insightful starting point for the Discussion section and its

research teaching implications. The co-constructed translation, in which several participants participated, demonstrated the relevance of each contribution to the discussion. The coherency and the intelligibility of the passage are provided by the pragmatic behaviour adopted by the attendees adjusting and complementing one another. This approach makes fluency an attribution of the interaction more than assessing every single participant's performance (Hüttner 2009).

According to this line of conceptualisation, the above-presented passage has revealed the context's prominence in supporting a conversation. Specific terminology retention has been facilitated by contextual reminders in the form of artefacts, posters, and realia, in addition to linguistic support in other languages in the form of perfect translation, code-switching, overt/covert multilingual resources. All these factors significantly impact individual communicative competence, which varies in relation to the situational experience and the interacting interlocutors.

6.1.7 Extract 7: *"The Oenotrions"*

In this *"The Oenotrions" extract,* the tour guide provides further details about the commerce between mainland Greece and its ancient colonies. Moreover, the use of multilingual strategies in this section denotes the personal and operational engagement of the speakers' repertoire to convey situated content.

Extract: *"The Oenotrions"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7: Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S12: Italian; S17: Russian; SS: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese, Korean, American, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Irish) – Part 1.

467	**S1:**	so is the:: commerce between athens (.) corinth (.) the ionian island is a common commerce
468	**S5:**	was it true that the best wine was produced in <L1it> enotria </L1it> such as in calabria in the
469		ancient <29> times? </29>
470	**S1:**	<29> by the same name </29> <pvc> **<LNgr> oenotrions </LNgr> {Oenotrians} </pvc>**
471		suggest **<LNgr> oenotria </LNgr>** where's the (…)
472	**S7:**	greek greek <loudly> @@@
473	**S6:**	yeah yeah come on
474	**S7:**	@@@ greek greek <loudly>

After the statement which opens the extract, the conversation is protracted by a further question, which has the effect of a compositional technique enhancing personal involvement in clarifying historical and cultural details on the part of one of the tourists.

This enquiry - line 468 -, rhetorically speaking, aims to create an effect rather than elicit information. More explicitly, the question concerns the quality of the wine. However, its yes/no structure, requiring confirmation for its content, saying: **was it true,** at line 468, seems a persuasive strategy – epistemic hedge – for validating the true value of its meaning. Moreover, the same interrogative sentence contains a codeswitch in Latin **<L1it> enotria </L1it>** followed by its direct translation in English - **such as in Calabria** – which, as a loanword adopted from Italian, perpetuates the same form remaining faithful to the original donor language phonology in the tourist utterance. Consequently, in one utterance, the

speaker gives voice to her multilingual and multicultural repertoire relying on Greek content knowledge, the corresponding Latin term for the toponym, and its Italian translation in an ELF interaction. Furthermore, S5 specifies his question's nature, providing some reference at line 469 **ancient <29> times? </29>**. This final remark makes the tourists perceive the turn functional purpose, which aims at validating the sentence content, shaped as a rhetorical question. Relevantly, the interactants are engaging actively and enthusiastically in the conversation. This attitude is signalled by the fact that the tourist S5 contributes to the guide's explanation. The tourist guide eventually overlaps with the last word pronounced by S5. However, the abrupt intervention annoys neither S5 nor the rest of the tourists. All the participants attentively are listening and supporting the ongoing conversation, as S6 clearly states at line 473 - **yeah, yeah, come on**.

Feasibly, the guide wishes to provide the etymology of the ancient name of the Calabria region. Nevertheless, in the search for the origin of the ethnonym Oenotrian, she does not conform to the standard form, where the suffix *-an* is used to derive the name of a people from a place. On the contrary, she produces a coinage – a new word - in English, namely the lexeme **<LNgr> oenotrions </LNgr> {Oenotrians} </pvc>**, which is pronounced very similarly to the word οἴνωτρον (*oinōtron*), mentioned in Hesychius describing a kind of a vine stake. The form has clear assonance with other words, where the derivational morpheme -tion, is used in English to form nouns of action and condition, deriving itself from the Latin stems ending in -t + -ion. For example, it is used in words like competition (compete i -t + ion), relation (relate -ion), and consideration (consider + a -t + -ion). As a result, this idiosyncratic form reveals a covert multilingual influence from Greek of a word that nevertheless tries, in its way, to conform to English word-formation rules of the *langue*[23]. Despite the non-standard pronunciation on the part of the company leader, the audience does not react negatively or acknowledge misunderstanding. In response to this intervention, S7 recognises and accepts the multilingual influence shouting hilariously **greek greek <loudly> @@@** at line 474, repeating her remark merrily at line 476 **@@@ greek greek <loudly>**. These statements show her satisfaction and contentment in sharing cultural and linguistic repertoire with the group's expert.

In summary, the special language of tourism in an ELF context is characterised by multicultural reference in dealing with historical, archaeological, and artistic artefacts in a way that straightforwardly implies multilingual strategies to convey sophisticated and situated meanings. Therefore, the multilingual impact

[23] The tourist guide pronounces the noun **<LNgr> oenotria </LNgr>**, referring it to the locality where the Oenotrians had settled using the appellative given by the Greeks, in very early times, to the southernmost portion of Italy (Οἰνωτρία). However, the term is how the ancient Greeks transcribed the original Celtic name of the Wenotri as 'vine cultivators' because the Greek alphabet had no letter for 'w', so Greek writers substituted an 'o' for that sound. For this reason, Classical and modern writers both translate the first element of the name as 'wine' (οἶνος – *oinos* - in Greek). This fact can stand as further evidence of how language users have adapted language codes to the multilingual requirements of contacts between populations and their cultures over time.

of this extract is undeniably striking. It correlates knowledge and the correct use of three different languages: English as a Lingua Franca, Latin in the role of the specific language of archaeology and ancient history, and Italian, which is the local language. The three modes of expression have been considered appropriate to enquire about a fourth ancient culture and mother tongue of the Greek colonies object of the tourists' visit, namely classical Greek. This pragmatic approach to language is effective when the participants find common ground and actively participate in the interaction. What has just been stated is practically outlined in the section of the following naturally occurring conversation extract.

Extract: *"The Oenotrions"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7: Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S12: Italian; S17: Russian; SS: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese, Korean, American, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Irish) – Part 2.

475 **S5:** greek explain
476 **S1:** the means of the words <LNgr> enotrio </LNgr> {Oenotrio} </pvc> enotrio
477 **S9:** en-
478 **S17:** eno-
479 **S9:** en- (.) i think the preposition
480 **S1:** no no no ↓ <L3gr> oinos {οἶνος} </L3gr>
481 **S9:** <LNgr> oinos {οἶνος} </LNgr>
482 **S1:** the first part <L3gr> *oinos* {οἶνος} </pvc> <L3gr> *oinos* {οἶνος} </pvc>
483 **S12:** <LNit> vino </LNit>
484 **S3:** good ↓ the wine
485 **S9:** <LNgr> otra </LNgr> instead is the::
486 **S1:** the <pvc> productors {producer} /prəˈdjuːsəs/</pvc> of the wine[24]
487 **S5:** ah they were
488 **S3:** <30> thank you! <30>
489 **S5:** <30> very good </30> <pvc> productors {producer} /prəˈdjuːsəs/</pvc> of wine
490 **S1:** yes

Following the tourist guide's prompt, despite understanding the substrate language – **greek** (line 475) – in the following line, speaker S5 requires an explanation expeditiously using the imperative form. So, the guide starts her turn. From the word **means** (line 476), she probably wants to point out the term's meaning starting from the word formation in a scientific and didactic delineation. However, she is interrupted by S9, whom S17 corrects in his attempt to participate in the linguistic interpretation. At this point of the interaction, the tourist guide intervenes positively, revendicating her role of expert. In addition, she exposes her disagreement by the use of the negative statement **no** repeated three times (line 480) in response to S9, who tries to justify her proposal by hedging epistemically about her probable

knowledge - **en- (.) i think the preposition** (line 479). S9 accepts the guide's correction by repeating it, and S1 provides more details at lines 482 and 483. First, the guide specifies that she refers to the first part of the word, then it is S12 who intervenes, translating it into Italian, his mother tongue. On the other hand, speaker S3 wants to reveal that she has also understood. So, she translates it into English, asserting **good ↓ the wine** (line 484) and sharing her achievement with the whole group. Nobody else will intervene in the dispute regarding the meaning of the Greek lexeme <LNgr> oinos {οἶνος} </LNgr> because the direct translation of the word in Italian and English has effectively mediated its meaning to the entirety of the participants identifying S12 and S3 as leading figures in the process of understanding undergone in the interaction.

S9's remark on line 485 restates the solution to the dispute. Then, the guide restarts her lesson clarifying the meaning of that morphological unit **<pvc> productors {producer} /prəˈdjuːsəs/</pvc> of the wine**. However, she uses an approximated form of the English word producer, which has conceivably undergone a morphological transformation under the covert multilingual influence of the Italian *produttore*, her first language. The tourists in the interaction acquaint with the above-described approximated form. Firstly, S5 confirms the statement using a tag-answer and a triumphant exclamation - **ah they were** (line 487). However, S5 is so enthusiastic about the revelation that she openly appreciates the explanation. In her unhesitating and hasty remark, she does not realise that S3 also agrees and shows gratitude - **<30> thank you! <30>** (line 488). Consequently, their turns overlap, creating a cheering choir of assent. Successively, S5 intercept the guide's explanation repeating it faithfully, accommodating to her expert guidance, whereas the form does not belong to standard English (line 489).

This passage has demonstrated the active cooperative interactional spirit animating this tourist ELF context. To a greater extent, the multilingual strategies adopted by the speakers define and characterise this discourse genre because they help decipher content and support the interpretation of sources during visiting and explorative activities. Furthermore, the frequent emergence of *covert* influences deriving from the multilingualism of the speakers denotes a personal disposition towards including different languages to make meaning and negotiate understanding. A relevant example in this perspective has to be considered the repeated use of cognates across the represented linguistic resources. In fact, in cognate words, the standard linguistic derivation usually conveys similarity in pronouncing lexemes, whereas the words' meanings cannot be overlapped semantically in different languages. Consequently, it can be concluded that the speakers' cognitive perception overcomes the conventional boundaries of named languages, searching for the most familiar form that can bear the semantic representation onto the level of communication triggering understanding.

6.2 Investigating sociolinguistic attitude and relational bond in Tourist ELF interactions.

In this section, I will analyse the complexity of the semiotics of social relations, in association with the negotiation of roles and identities, in tourist discourse.

The interpretation of the interpersonal stance observed in the interaction among tourists and staff during a visiting tour in Italy relies on observing and evaluating the four constituents of interactional sense, namely formality, power, social distance, and respect in correlation with socio-contextual features. In other words, the following analysis aims to highlight which dimensions are relevant to argue participants' stance-taking associating the four different parameters in subsequent extracts of the communicative event at the level of discourse. According to this perspective, my observations will also include the evolution of stance-taking in discourse. More specifically, what I am going to show is a range of stances

- a pedagogic stance on interaction;
- establishing situated social norms;
- formalisation of roles and power relations;

To sum up, I will provide a picture of the interpersonal stance of participants by correlating social-semiotic dimensions of discourse and the socio-contextual categories in the reality of a tourist industry communicative event.

Analysis Extract 1: *"Proto-historia" – a pedagogic stance on interaction.*

I will start by analysing extracts concerning stance-taking during the *"The Byzantine Route"* tour. Each extract focuses on interpreting participants' attitudes towards ELF socio-linguistic phenomenon and group dynamics.

Considering the type of activity carried out during the museum visit, where the tour guide conventionally dominates the floor, we could predict the rhythm of turn allocations among participants. Feasibly, the predominance of S1 alternation of turns and their length confirms a high degree of control on her part to the extent that the communicative situation is considered an instance of formal interaction. However, the pedagogical behaviour in the tour guide's attitude towards her interlocutors is fascinating in the present analysis. According to previous research (Azariah 2017), Dann's framework for tourist discourse (1996) shows that a characteristic of this discourse is the mainly impersonal addressing of an anonymous audience. This monologic and authoritarian tone is typical of guides or experts promoting services and destinations for commercial reasons. Contrary to that, the "*Byzantine*" tour guide positions herself as an expert traveller whose expertise and knowledge can be shared among museum visitors. For this reason, this tourist experience is exploratory and didactic rather than passive.

Extract 1: *"Proto-historia"* (S1: Italian; SS: Italian, Argentinian, American, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Romanian, Korean, French, Belgian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French).

1 **S1:** **[…]** In the museum the (.) exhibition is organised (3) in a chronological way and this is the

2 first room (3) the room of the so called **<LNlat> <u>proto-historia</u> </LNlat> (2) <L1it>**
3 **<u>Protostoria</u> </L1it>** is a period of (.) **<u>pre-historic age</u>** (2) preceding (.) the arrival of (.)
4 greeks on the ionian cost of calabria
5 **SS:** <nods><nods><nods>
6 **S2:** mhm, hm
7 **S3** aha, mhm

In this short extract, the repetition of the same expression in different languages does not represent a word search for a missing term in English on the speaker's part or a hesitation signalling a current loss of words. Instead, it is a way to facilitate access to special terminology and local tradition through English, in an almost pedagogical style, as if she were teaching the technical word to the audience. The guide's instructional stance is a communicative strategy that finds feedback on the part of the audience who shows attentiveness through backchanneling to the speaker's words (lines 6 and 7).

Another important aspect is the physical positioning of the guide, which, unfortunately, is not captured in the transcript but was noted by the researcher's observations. The linguistic manifestations of the speaker's stance have included prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features signalling a confident attitude in combination with non-linguistic codes, namely posture, gesture and where the guide stood while touring, which have facilitated the interaction and provided visibility to the main speaker.

Analysis Extract 2: *"Necropolis" – establishing situated social norms.*

The second extract presented for analysis directly follows the first. Consequently, the situational activities still naturally orient the tourists towards the guide as the main speaker. In other words, she dominates turn allocation, displaying great control and visibility over the rest of the cohort. However, she does not abuse her institutional role by relying on pre-allocation procedures activating competitive access to the floor. Instead of prevailing over the other speakers, she adopts a particular interactional stance loosening the situational parameters connecting causes and effects within the institutional setting to establish ad hoc social norms to be shared with her interlocutors. Her positioning choices will bias the structural features of the interaction and the communicative code.

Extract 2: *"Necropolis"* (S1: Italian; SS: Italian, Argentinian, American, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Romanian, Korean, French, Belgian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French) – Part 2.

17 **S1:** yes. @@ because it is not easy er to translate all the technical words of archaeology @@
18 <@> it' difficult </@> for this reason @@@

Remarkably, she voices her thoughts (lines 17 and 18), saying: **<u>yes. @@ because it is not easy er to translate all the technical words of archaeology @@ <@> it' difficult </@> for this reason @@@</u>** flouting an expected professional behaviour among tourist guides, who usually do not give

explanations during visits to appear more professional and expert. Conclusive, resolutive and spontaneous laughs reveal her sincere cordiality.

What we can observe in this extract is that the reflective and revealing stance of the guide among international users of ELF has facilitated rapport-making and in-group belonging. This attitudinal perspective is also a pragmatic element that enables the effective use of linguistic strategies to achieve understanding.

Analysis Extract 5: *"The goodness" – roles and power relations formalisation.*

Further developing the micro-systemic definition of relational stance among the participants towards formalising roles and definition of power characterises the following extract.

First, the physical distribution of participants in the interaction is around a model reproducing a relief map of the archaeological site. This proximity between the guide and the tourists reconciles the linguistic behaviour with the guide's stance-taking and interactional style. In fact, according to Göhler's (2009) terminology, she is a power-to individual[25] who can direct the conversation and accomplish communicative tasks autonomously by virtue of her role as a tourist guide. In fact, in this extract, the tour guide has demonstrated, along her turns, that she owns a certain degree of power-over, which concerns the exercise of power in interaction. According to this perspective, the speaker can impose her views to influence and direct others' interventions. In other words, the guide leads power relations among participants positioning her identity in conformity to an educational setting, where the instructor possesses individual abilities and status to run a hierarchal organisation within the social group. However, she decides to establish a code of relational norms, where authority is based on mechanisms of local negotiations through which rank is determined. In the following extract, the guide activates the power potential inherent in social participation to influence other participants' linguistic behaviour in the dynamic nature of discourse. She does not conform to abstract external social variables, which would have recommended a standard use of the language and an authoritarian and doctrinaire interactive policy. On the contrary, she enhances a dialogic compromise between norm and meaning achieved against interactional participation. In other words, the guide's pronunciation does not conform to RP standards. She wants to display a consented familiarity with her interlocutors, agreed among participants and acquired along the journey. The instances of phonetic approximation that can be found on line

[25] Referring to Hanna Pitkin's terminology (1972), power can be interpreted as a property of the individual or as a force that can be exercised over others. In other words, *power over* means power enhanced over other people, enforcing one's intentions over those conceived within social relations. In contrast to this capacity, *power to*, on the other hand, describes the ability to individually achieve tasks and take resolutions in response to different normative judgments of power. Besides, exercising *power-over over* social relations can have adverse effects on those who are subject to it. Despite the participant's intentions, *power over* actions limits others' autonomy and span of action. On the contrary, *power to* is conceived positively in terms of interpreting the autonomy of action that is constitutive of society.

216: **<pvc> colonisation / ˌkɒlonizeʒəion/ <ipa> ˌkɒlənʌɪˈzeɪʃ(ə)n</pvc>** and at line 217: **<pvc> destroyed /dɛˈstrɔɪ/ <ipa> /dɪˈstrɔɪd/</pvc>**, typify the tourist guide's idiolect.

Extract: *"The goodness"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S6: Japanese; S14: Italian) – Part 1.

213 **S1:** this is a (xxxxxxxx) of <L1it> sibaritide </L1it> <fast> and one of the most important site of <L1it>
214 sibaritide</L1it> is <L1it> francavilla marittima <L1it> (..) <sihing> <L1it> francavilla marittima</L1it>
215 is one of the oenotrian centre er umm who exist erm before the **<pvc>colonisation / ˌkɒlonizeʒ(ə)ion/**
216 **/ ˌkɒlonizeʒəion/<ipa>/ ˌkɒlənʌɪˈzeɪʃ(ə)n</pvc>** and er while the other centre on the hill erm: were
217 **<pvc>(destroyed)/dɛˈstrɔɪ/<ipa>/dɪˈstrɔɪd/</pvc>** by greeks erm in <L1it> francavilla marittima
218 <L1it> we (.) see (.) erm a erm new occupation of the same site (.) so (.) that (.) the excavation **<CL1>**
219 **(conduced)/kənˈdjuːsɛd/</CL1**> between erm the (.) between nineteen sixty to umm the last ten years
220 erm have been discovered/dɪˈskʌvərɛd/<ipa>/dɪˈskʌvəd/ a rich town (.)a rich city with a sacred area erm
221 with different erm with erm erm several erm private houses and (.)with (.) a (.) **<pvc> (necropoli)**
222 **/nɛˈkrɒpʌlɪ/{necropolis}<ipa>nɛˈkrɒpəlɪs</pvc>** (.) in the place **<pvc> colled /kɔːllɛd/{called}**
223 **<ipa> kɔːld </pvc>**<L1it>macchia abate<L1it>(…) erm in this room we see just objects coming from
224 the (.)sacred area of **<L1it>timpone della motta</L1it>** (..) in **<L1it> timpone della motta </L1it>**

This process of 'conversationalisation' of discourse, including features of 'ordinary' conversation borrowed by institutional discourse, according to Norman Fairclough (1989; 62), works as a compensatory tendency to satiate the individual's desire to be treated as a unique, unrepeatable single person. This interpretation could account for the strong commitment towards equality and solidarity displayed by the tourist guide in conducting her social relations instead of perpetrating hierarchical relations, which determine the status and social distance performed in contemporary modern democracy. This communication is produced by introducing new information on existing contextual background knowledge. These 'scripts' or 'schemas' – as some cognitive scientists call them - establish semantic frameworks, indirectly hinted at, or presupposed as prominent themes participants can infer based on discourse encountered previously in conversation.

This flexible attitude towards language prescriptions, starting from her approximate phonetic representation of English words, dictates the code of language behaviour governing the interaction inside this sphere of language practice. The guide, being the informed leader of the party, plays the role of the expert instructing the rest of the participants – meant as novices - in what terms conventional language principles should be respected. As a matter of fact, in ELF contexts, the expert/novice roles are usually assigned according to the situational requirements (Hosoda 2006). This transitoriness highlights the prominence of participants' needs and parts in the interaction to be successfully performed over standard guidelines.

To conclude, the tourist guide's behaviour ratifies a view stance acknowledging the tight association between consensus and power in interaction as participants share. Furthermore, she challenges traditional approaches which interpret the exercise of power based on the social norms of the

institutionalised setting. Although she does not ignore them, she considers them as starting points to develop her situated power code, within which normative patterns can be appropriately negotiated, contested, or ratified. Explicitly, at the beginning of the tour, she can be identified as the only party, having allocated the majority of turns and taking and holding the floor with a very high differential compared with the rest of the group. Conversely, the power differential decreases towards zero by the end of the tour, when parties reach equality in terms of power underlying the importance of stance in accommodative mechanisms in discourse, as displayed in the following extract.

Analysis Extract 7: *"The Oenotrions" – power relations reinterpreted on site.*

In this excerpt, the discussion centres around the peoples inhabiting the Calabria region under the Greek dominion when the territory was called Magna Graecia.

First, the dominant speaker of the passage is different from the tourist guide, as happened in a significant number of previously presented extracts. She is just one of the numerous speakers who interact with one another. Consequently, a minimisation of the power differential has occurred, which has caused a reduction of social distance between the tour participants. According to this view, familiarity has increased among the conversation parties triggered by exchanging information about particular shared interests. Feasibly, the discovery of common ground has generated a state of like-mindedness among speakers who have realised they can share biographical and experiential details and individual interests. Therefore, conventional established positional roles are eradicated, and conversely, professional capacities are allocated among each contributor to the dialogic exchange. This choral atmosphere fosters community, developing reciprocal empathy and trust. The affectivity which is generated emotionally definitely affects interpersonal distance having an impact on individual and collective attitudes. The general positive mood of the encounter and the developed camaraderie boost active tourists' participation.

Extract: *"The Oenotrions"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7: Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S12: Italian; S17: Russian; SS: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese, Korean, American, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Irish) – Part 1.

459	**S1:**	of greece in the sixth century BC /ˌbiːˈsiː/
460	**S5:**	ok (…) can you can you explain us which was the trade between the main land greece and <LNlat>
461		magna graecia </LNlat> and the io- <28> [nian] <28>
462	**S1:**	<28> it's a </28> common trade because erm the people who lived here (.) in Calabria are greeks
463	**S5:**	are ?
464	**S1:**	greeks ↓
465	**S3:**	ah ↓
466	**S5:**	they were greek <softly>

First of all, the tourist guide provides some time reference in order to define the objects in the showcase - **sixth century BC /ˌbiːˈsiː/** (line459). However, she does not continue her explanation as she had probably planned because she is asked an open question, which interrupts her flow of thoughts. Remarkably, speaker S5, in her intervention, presupposes many elements that would have probably been included in the guide's description. For instance, the colonisers from mainland Greece had populated the Ionian territories of the South of Italy around the 8th century BC. Then, the local people became Hellenised, adopting the Greek culture.

Moreover, the historical definition she uses - **<LNlat> magna graecia </LNlat>** (line 461) - corresponds to the direct translation of the ancient Greek, Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, *Megálē Hellás*, meaning "Greater Greece" given by the Romans to the coastal areas of Southern Italy in the present-day regions of Calabria, Apulia, Basilicata, and Campania. Consequently, she acknowledges the other participants, the guide included, and her repertoire, which derives from previous cultural knowledge. These premises cannot be considered disconnected from the special context of use S5 is set in. On the contrary, her words are deeply concerned with the setting (the museum); the topic developed (the life and activities of ancient inhabitants of the Ionian coast of Italy); the interlocutors (the visitors and the guide); the purpose of the conversation (increasing knowledge of antiques); etc. Therefore, we can refer to this intervention as a clear display of historical and geographical "[m]utual knowledge of some piece of encyclopaedic information" (Svennevig 1999, 34) that appears perfectly communicatively acceptable to the listeners in this context because of the collaborative environment created through the special language of tourism.

Moreover, the tourist guide is so imbued with the multicultural dimension of a museum visit that she immediately understands S5's question before it ends. The guide's answer overlaps with it, providing a general answer - **common trade** (line 462) – but exhaustive for an interlocutor who has shown enough historical understanding of the topic. Moreover, she confirms her direct reference to S5's cultural background clarifying her knowledge of the habitual trade between Greek seafarers and coastal sites across the Mediterranean Sea. Unexpectedly, S5 asks for clarification once more with a truncated question (line 463), requiring the repetition of the last keyword pronounced by the tourist guide. On line 464, she rehearses it in a falling pitch as she says something definite and clear, nearly noticeable. However, S5 does not reply promptly. Another speaker (S3) uses the same tone to express his satisfaction because his expectations have been matched. So, S3 backchannels with an exclamation in a falling intonation, defining the certainty with which he had anticipated the guide's explanation. This interpretative line further supports this study's assumption appraising the common multicultural conceptual framework, which is considered pivotal in supporting understanding and interaction in the special domain of tourism.

In conclusion, S5 restates the essential information pinpointed along the last part of the passage - **they were greek <softly>** (line 466) – murmuring it quietly as keeping firm her role as a novice compared to the tourist guide's role as an expert in the communicative situation. The use of the simple past of the

verb to be "were" in replacement of the present simple form "are" in lines 462 and 463 (i.e., are Greek vs were Greek) should not be interpreted as an objection to the guide's imperfect time agreement, because the tourist (S5) does not defy S1's expertise and leading role in the explorative journey into Calabria's Hellenic roots. Nevertheless, the tourist cannot refrain from convincingly confirming her multicultural capacity as acquainted with the narrated facts.

The dialogic sequence continues in the form of a polyadic conversation. In terms of content, the tourist guide provides further details referring to the commerce entertained between mainland Greece and its ancient colonies.

Regarding the interpersonal stance displayed by participants' identities, involvement has triggered more effective discourse strategies that minimise monologic turns to make question / answer dialogic exchanges more frequent. The relational familiarity reached based on a shared cultural and linguistic repertoire has abridged social distance facilitating communicative inclusion.

Extract: *"The Oenotrions"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7: Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S12: Italian; S17: Russian; SS: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese, Korean, American, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Irish) – Part 2.

467 **S1:** so is the:: commerce between athens (.) corinth (.) the ionian island is a common commerce

468 **S5:** was it true that the best wine was produced in <L1it> enotria </L1it> such as in calabria in the

469 ancient <29> times? </29>

470 **S1:** <29> by the same name </29> <pvc> **<u><LNgr> oenotrions </LNgr> {Oenotrians} </pvc></u>**

471 suggest **<u><LNgr> oenotria </LNgr></u>** where's the (…)

472 **S7:** greek greek <loudly> @@@

473 **S6:** yeah yeah come on

474 **S7:** @@@ greek greek <loudly>

First, the guide starts her turn with the conjunction **<u>so</u>** (line 467) to explain why she had defined that commercial relationship **<u>as a common trade</u>** (line 462). She does not clarify the business terms of the dealings, avoiding any explanations concerning the commodities exchanged, the routes of commerce, and the actors engaged in the trade. What she provides are geographical references - **<u>athens (.) corinth (.) the ionian island</u>** (line 467) before reiterating the fact that it was just **<u>a common commerce</u>** (same line 467). On the other hand, the toponyms she cites are sufficient historical references for the audience to date chronologically the inter-state alliance, which established an international trade among Greece and its Mediterranean colonies from 750 B.C. She refers to Corinth, where specialised merchant ships were constructed, and permanent trading places (*emporia*) were established to host exchanges among merchants from around the world from 600 BC. Thenceforth, Athens' port of Piraeus grew in importance, gaining the reputation as the leading trading centre in the Mediterranean from the 5th century B.C.

Consequently, according to this last turn, and in agreement with the previous interaction, a different relational bond emerges, reuniting the participants. The tourist guide is conscious of the extent to which the tourists are acquainted with the historical, archaeological and artistic features characterising the objects displayed in the museum. Consequently, her speech's content, style, and form have changed. Specifically, superfluous details have been omitted, and more interaction is allowed, namely, the number of participants intervening across turns in a reciprocal action of supporting communication has escalated (compare section from line 459 to line 466 and section from line 467 to line 474). Moreover, more multilingual references are used compared to the initial stages of the stopover at the museum.

Additionally, they have been interchanged among the entire group of participants without being limited to the guide's intervention. She is still the leading expert of the cohort, but the bond which unites the group members among them, and the guide is tighter than before. In other words, the initial transitoriness of the social bond characterising the type of tourist communication object of the analysis has fainted, degrading into a stabler group of interactants that we have termed an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS) (see section 6.5.2).

The last section of this exciting extract confirms the progressively reached cohesion among the participants in the study. The tourist guide's number of turns and their length have decreased. In simple terms, at the beginning of the tour, she had turns of 500 words. By the end of the tour, most turns were of 2/12 words. In addition, she occupies just two turns out of fifteen.

On the other hand, the number of tourists, who intervene in the discussion, has significantly increased – they are 5. Moreover, the rest of the visitors also participated in the extract three times. They react with a loud laugh uniting their voice to their cohorts at lines 498 and 503. It is striking that they can express their unison opinion on line 497, providing precisely the same answer to speaker S8's ironic question. Consequently, we can affirm that this visiting community has developed from a mere transient group into an IGS (see the Methodology chapter, section 6.5.2), consolidating social roles inside the group and a common communicative ground.

After establishing a renovated relational group, the participants show a further dimension of their interpersonal stance.

Speakers show respect in line with personal identity features like skills, abilities, personality, and positional identities in context. In other words, they convey appreciation and consonance with other group members' contributions denoting social attainments or personal achievements using specific terminology. This fact implies common cultural knowledge, in addition to non-verbal communication and style. The irony in the last part of the following extract highlights the reduced proxemic distance between each participant in the interaction. This verbal sarcasm is related to expressing interpersonal meanings (cf. Crawford Camiciottoli 2004b). Speakers endeavour to achieve beyond the boundaries of positional

identities and roles. Their attitude has resulted in breaking conventional mechanisms of dominance and stance-taking.

Extract: *"The Oenotrions"* (S1: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese; S7: Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American; S10: Polish; S12: Italian; S17: Russian; SS: Italian; S3: French; S4: Polish; S5: Spanish; S6: Japanese, Korean, American, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Irish) – Part 3.

491	**S5:**	but the:: the:: artefacts (.) the style came from <31> mainland </31>
492	**S1:**	<31> the style and </31> in erm:: some particular example er:original objects coming from=
493	**S5:**	=ok=
494	**S1:**	= ionian islands
495	**S8:**	i'll ask a question to them ↑ do you think that ancient oenotrians drank a lot of
496		wine or a little quantity of wine?=
497	**SS:**	=a lot
498	**SS:**	@@@@@
499	**S8:**	look at the cups ↓ how much wine do you drink a day?
500	**S10:**	nothing
501	**S8:**	what about?
502	**S10:**	{S4} drinks a lot ↓
503	**SS:**	@@@@
504	**S12:**	so this {pointing to a cup in the showcase} could be a present for you at the end of the of the visit
505	**S4:**	thank you

Remarkably, as a result of the newly established parity between the guide and the tourists, she overlaps once again at line 492 with S5's statement, which can be considered a specialist observation able to distinguish artistic patterns belonging to mainland Greece and those created by the inhabitants of the colonies in southern Italy. The fact that the Spanish woman already knows what the guide says on line 492 is confirmed by her exclamation **=ok=** (line 492) approving and agreeing satisfactorily on what S1 will make clear in the second part of her utterance - **=ionian islands** (line 493). It seems that S5 interrupts the guide latching with her previous and following turns because she has already forecast her partner's conclusive remark based on her cultural knowledge and familiarity with the subject of the discussion. The tourist is not afraid of breaking the smooth continuity of the conversation, thanks to the sociolinguistic stability established in this community over time and interaction.

The content and form of the following line in the conversation reinforce this speculation of mine. Speaker S8 expresses his firm intention asserting his determination to ask a question to his companions - **i'll ask a question to them ↑** (line 495). The statement itself is pronounced in an upward inflexion which, according to previous studies in spoken English (Cheng and Warren 2005), when performed by peer group leaders, is a way to assert their dominance, reinforcing the declaration's importance. In other words, S8 does not consider it inappropriate to overcome the authority of the tourist guide, avoiding

asking for her consent. On the contrary, he feels free to relate to his partners as a united interacting community.

What is more, his attempt achieves the expected result successfully. All the participants, understanding the humorous and emphatic tone of the sentence, answer simultaneously and hotfoot latching with it **=a lot** (line 497). The outcome of the speech act is an uproarious collective laugh, which cannot be said to have been of no consequence. On the contrary, it has risen the spirits with a succession of jokes dealing with one of the parties' dispositions to drinking and the dimension of the cups he usually uses, which once again confirms the cohesiveness reached by the participants in this tourist visit.

To conclude, I would like to remark on S8's use of the English word Oenotrians to refer to the people coming from the land of vines – the Oenotrus, in Latin, or Οἰνωτρία, in Greek. He is Italian, and according to his previous comments, he also has some previous knowledge and interests in the archaeological history of the site. However, unlike the tourist guide, he does not choose to switch to other languages when speaking to the other visitors about ancient remains.

From where I stand, this final observation confirms ELF users' pragmatic choices in implementing a situated interpersonal stance to deal sensibly and realistically with the practical requirements of the situated interaction to express a personal and private emotional, and linguistic identity.

6.3 Investigating sociolinguistic attitudes and orientations among this study's participants.

In this section, I present some data collected to answer this Study research question 5 (RQ5). The first part is dedicated to naturally occurring conversation extracts micro-analysis; the second one reports on in-depth interviews conducted with this study's participants. 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 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 to communicate during their vacations, and 30% were native English speakers. In the data collected from this group, a majority of respondents indicated they use 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".

6.3.1 Naturally occurred conversation data analysis

As previously stated, instances of pragmatic strategies have been organised according to their relevance in four main areas:

1. Interactional components and discourse markers.
2. Negotiation of meaning (including non-understanding resolution).
3. Idiomatic expression and formulaic language.
4. Multilingual aspects (*covert* and *avert*) and resources.

Besides, their frequency has been represented graphically in the chart below.

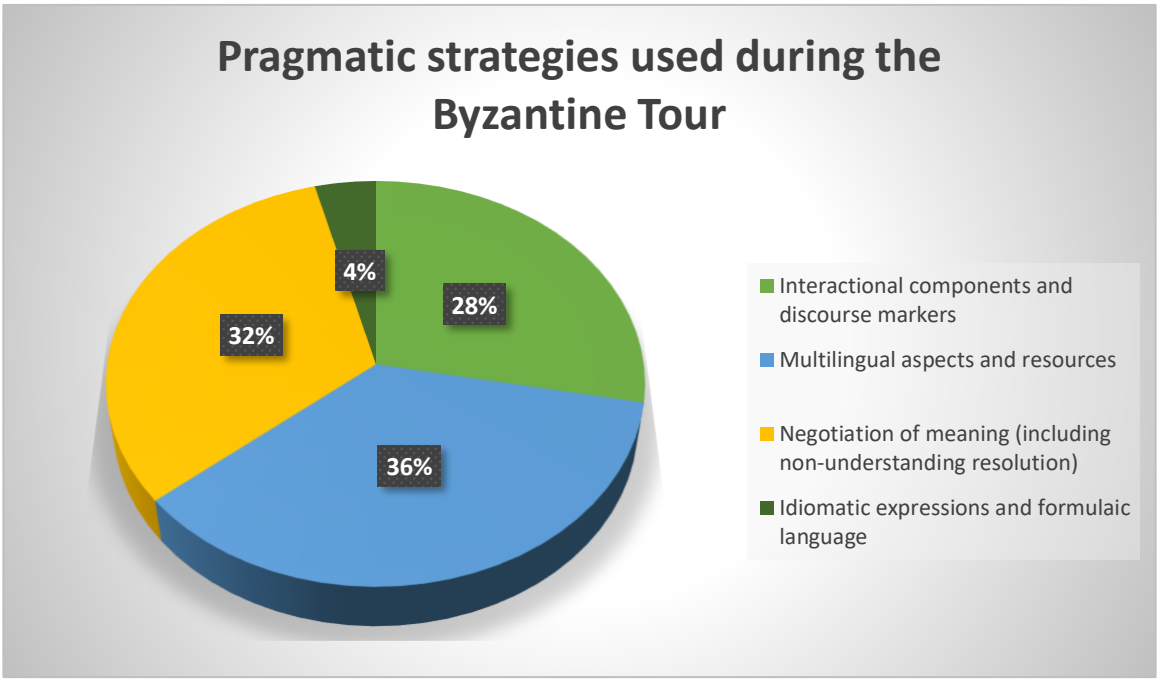

Figure 7: Pragmatic strategies used during the Byzantine Tour.

Since multilingual resources have been the centre of investigation for this research answering RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, and RQ4, they have been dealt with in previous separate data analysis sections. Overall, they have resulted in being more comprehensive than interactional components and negotiation of meaning strategies. Furthermore, the rate of occurrence of idiomatic expressions and formulaic language is by far the lowest. However, this fact can be attributed to different factors. For example, 1) the specific nature of this type of pragmatic strategy, whose use of the idiom principle (Sinclair 1991: 110) usually denotes an apparent reference to a territorial imperative within a speech community. 2) The level of acquaintance between the participants in the interaction to be considered an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS) (see section 5.5.2). As a matter of fact, they establish the necessary level of familiarity and companionship to make idiomatic expressions effective over time. 3) The speakers' expertise in the practice of accommodating and negotiating meaning by the use of idiomatic expressions. In sum, it is

due to the highly specialised mode of expression whose meaning is established by usage and constrained by contextual conditions.

The participants in this study have used a broad range of pragmatic strategies to convey meaning and enhance communication.

The following extracts of a conversation between a group of tourists and a professional guide in the Archaeological Park of Sybaris will provide evidence of pragmatic strategies yet to be analysed.

6.3.2 Interactional components and discourse markers – data analysis.

This section is dedicated to analysing conversation devices that allow speakers to enhance the pace of their interactional talk. At the same time, interactional components and discourse markers can easily explicate each speaker's role in the ongoing interaction. The participants signal some short delay, use accommodative facilitatory strategies or provide understanding feedback to engage actively in meaning-making.

The integrated analytical approach of CA (Conversation Analysis) and EC (Ethnography of Communication) has conceivably suggested more than one utterance interpretation. However, close observation merging with qualitative interview narratives has broadened the interpretive lenses through which investigation has been carried out within an ELF perspective to answer this study's research questions.

The use of hesitation markers characterises the following extract. In particular, I have focused on the role and effect of pauses and fillers.

Their interpretation has passed from an initial inference based on the speaker's multilingual background, assuming that the different vocalisations of fillers – e.g., umm, erm – resulted from an L1 influence (um) overlapping with the English discourse marker: erm. On the other hand, the vocalisations have feasibly differentiated to perform assorted functions in the ongoing performance (see. Clark & Fox Tree 2002:92).

To sum up, the extracts display frequent use of hesitation markers that, from where I stand, are able to satisfy the criteria to be considered words with both syntactical and prosodic forms to accomplish certain linguistic functions meant by the speaker.

Extract 2: *"Luteyon"* (S1: Italian; S6: Japanese; S10: Polish).

184 **S1:** **umm** ritual bath (1) it's a religious objects **erm** (..) it's <pvc> colled /kɔ:llɛd/ {called} <ipa> kɔ:ld
185 </pvc> <LNgr> luteyon </LNgr> the nickname is <LNgr> lutheyon[26] </LNgr> and it is for ritual
186 bath **erm** you can see this kind of tube in a religious place or **umm** in private house during religious
187 practice used to clean **umm erm umm** hand or face **aft erm aft umm** before to **erm** to go **umm** on
188 the god **erm**=

[26] A **loutrophoros** (ancient Greek: λουτροφόρος; Greek etymology: λουτρόν/loutron and φέρω/pherō, English translation: "bathwater" and "carry") is a distinctive type of Greek pottery vessel characterized by an elongated neck with two handles.

189 **S10:** =to preach some gods=
190 **S1:** =yes=
191 **S6:** =**mhm** ok=
192 **S1:** <nodding> =uhu
193 **S6:** thanks ↓

The tourist guide wants to explain the function of a typical Greek religious object. Although her discourse appears disfluent, producing ten instances of hesitation markers, she can perform her communicative task effectively. She collocates them strategically to fill pauses. Moreover, the hesitation marker role is magnified in the ongoing performance to announce further details of the speaker's narration.

The guide modulates different vocalisations of the hardly universal filler 'um', alternating it with 'erm'. Numerous instances of the fillers present the nasal /m/ prolonged (lines 184, 186, 187). It seems that the guide attempts to prepare and announce a pause with the marker 'um' or 'umm' according to the level of preparedness problem the courier has to warn her addressees about an impeding delay in the message production. However, on the other hand, she does not leave a gap in communication, proving some other audible counterpart to silent pauses: 'erm' - line 187.

This use of hesitation markers can be compared to interjections that always imply special implicatures. In this case, the implicature revolves around the remarkably evident uneasiness of the tourist guide when she has to explain the functions of that distinctive type of Greek pottery vessel characterised by an elongated neck with two handles (a loutrophoros). The fact that it was used to carry water for a bride's pre-nuptial ritual bath, and, for this reason, it was placed in the tombs of unmarried women evoked embarrassing details that the speaker decided to omit. She concentrated on some parts of the body (**hand or face** – line 187) to be cleaned as purifying rituals at funeral ceremonials when ancient Greeks availed themselves of a *"Luteyon"*.

She sounds so embarrassed that one of the tourists, S10, supports her, latching her explanation (line 188) with an additional specification. The guide agrees to latch again in a very tight cooperative exchange of turns, interweaving remarks by three speakers: S1, S10, and S6, who repeatedly latch one another to agree with the previous turn utterance. S1 (line 190) uses the exclamation **'yes'**; S6 combines the hesitation marker **'mhm'** and the word **'ok'** to comment on the previous remark, until S1 replies with a concomitant <nodding> used at the same time as the filler 'uhu' (line 192). These signs work unanimously as collateral supporting tokens belonging to different communicative modalities to affirm understanding and companionship accompanied by iconic gestures of eye gaze and smiles. The final remark – **'thanks'** (line 193) - concludes this extract, signalling genuine gratitude by the listeners.

It is striking that the final short turns (from line 190 to line 193) work as epistemic hedges validating the actual value of the previous utterance (lines 1187, 188). Owing to the cooperative disposition of tourists who, most of the extract, support the tourist guide showing her sympathy, the participants display their total commitment to the quality and relevance of the message. This proactive attitude is conceivably due

to the characterising stance pervading ELF interaction, where the semantics of the topic being negotiated is commonly achieved through the skilful use of the strategies for the management of talk.

While the previous extract focused on hesitation markers signalling embarrassment, the following one is characterised by many cooperative overlaps (lines 197, 198, 199) that facilitate the management of the whole interaction. This strategy is interwoven with other accommodative features to support this example of consensus-oriented talk. For example, it opens with an overt question for a clarification request (line 194); then, at line 102, we find a combined repetition and a lexicogrammatical repair (line 207). Finally, it is concluded with a loud laugh.

Extract 3: *"The sign"* (S1: Italian; S6: Argentinian).

194 **S6:** excuse me can i ask you one question before you start?
195 **S1:** mhm <nodding>
196 **S6:** are there any remains of this erm richness and luxuries life that <L1it> sbari </L1it> inhabitants
197 **S1:** <7> yeha </7>
198 **S6:** <7> led </7> used to <8> live <8>
199 **S1:** <8> just a little <8> because erm we know just a little part of old <L1it> sibari </L1it> for the
200 overlapping city erm but this richness is clear erm thanks to the presence of <pvc> gil /dʒi:l/ </ipa>
201 erm <pvc> gilded /ˈgɪldɪd/ </pvc> objects like er mm this <pointing> (…) it's in the first showcase
202 (.) is a part if a cloth in gold is a gold part of a cloth but it is clear erm thanks to the erm (..) this
203 architectural fragment who belonged to erm sacred building of the city and we have erm this fragment
204 because there mmm because there mmm because were reused in the roman building umm just for this
205 because just a little remains of the old <L1it> sibari </L1it> (…) <walking> in this case we see (.)
206 <fast> just a curiosity this head of young man with this black sign have been erm (.) has been considered
207 like the sign of the fire erm with which the city of <L1it> sibari </L1it> were was destroyed
208 / dɛˈstrɔɪɛd/ <ipa> /dɪˈstrɔɪ/</pvc> er yes er this particular sign=
209 **S6:** =by the krotonions <fast> by the people coming from **<LNit> crotone </LNit>**
210 **S1:** **=<L1it> si </L1it>** by the krotonions @@@@=
211 **S6:** =i'm sorry for that it happens <smiling>
212 **S1:** @@@@

This extract opens with an overt yes/ no question (line 194) that, although it negotiates the meaning because it asks for further information on a specific aspect of the guide's presentation, can also be considered an interactional device. It ignites a series of cooperative overlaps showing active participation among the speakers.

We can also interpret the entire question as an interactional hedge the tourist uses to simulate some lack of knowledge. However, this same question conceals the personal desire of the participant to contribute to the discussion suggesting an argument to support and endorse the guide's performance. The participants involved in the interaction are concentrated on the message as far as the lexicogrammatical repair, occurring at line 207, did not interrupt the communicative flow and is let pass.

Her latched intervention reveals S6's real intention at line 210, where she openly backchannels to the guide adding some missing information **'by the krotonions'** (line 209). The accelerated speed of the utterance displays a particular earnest urgency in the tourist's intention to reveal her connection with that population. That phraseological unit uttered in English is then followed by a code-switch, purposely introduced by a syntactically correct further English object phrase **'by the people coming from'** (line

209). What she is going to say is clear to everyone in the group. Undoubtedly, she wants to reveal, with the code-switch '**<LNit> crotone </LNit>',** that she descended from Krotonian ancestors. She is probably proud of her heritage according to the cunning communicative strategies she has put in place to disclose it to the public.

S6 successfully achieves the surprise effect she aimed at becoming the pivotal drive in developing the interaction. Firstly, the tourist guide accommodates her Italian code-switch latching to it in approval **=<L1it> si </L1it>** (line 210). Besides, she continues her turn, echoing what the tourist had said at the beginning of her turn **'by the krotonions'**, acknowledging her ascendancy over her utterance building. Finally, she hedges her embarrassment bursting into a loud laugh because she has lost control of her intervention. Although speaker S6 does not want to discredit the guide's authority, she signals a certain level of competitiveness by excusing herself in the following turn (line 211). She laches to the guide's laughter, smiling, pronouncing her ambiguous excuses. It is unclear whether she apologises for her violent intervention or because she ironically recognises the guilt of her Krotonian origins. The guide concludes the extract with a prolonged fit of intense laughter (line 212) in coherence with her previous burst.

In conclusion, this extract highlights the extreme power of accommodative strategies in setting the mood of the conversation. Moreover, it has emerged that the speaker's intentional use of interactional strategies achieves a communicative effect. Furthermore, the extract shows a clear trend among ELF users. Conceivably, their communicative moves are set forth situationally to steer the conversation towards a specific direction to accomplish their communicative purposes.

Different latchings have been recorded in the following extract and other overt backchannelling strategies (lines 20 and 21). On line 320, we read an example of an epistemic edging preceding a clarification request.

6.3.3 Negotiation of meaning (including non-understanding resolution).

From a micro-social perspective, this passage provides evidence of the negotiation of meaning, where ELF users capitalise 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 (.)
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 code switches key terminology (lines 41 and 42) to emphasise 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 attempts 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 that she cannot stop her speech and therefore decides to laughingly pronounce that term in Italian. Consequently, codeswitching occurs on 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 decides 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," reiterating a sense of closeness already revealed in previous exchanges. The tourists do not lose concentration and even check each other's attention and understanding by streaming parallel conversations 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 speakers involved in this exchange reveal effective 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>kɔ:ld</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>kɔ:ld</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 on line 56 asks the listeners to picture how people in ancient Greece used this object to store food underground. To help explain, the tour 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 can integrate the systemic dimension of the language (the langue) with their 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 accomplishes 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 and 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 influences the textual organisation. It also reveals how experiences and personal understanding are organised and shared in this specific SIG of speakers, shaped by its communicative contextual factors, cultural schemata, and inherent goals.

Overall, utterance building, cooperative overlapping, and completion overlap are not problematic in this conversation extract and among this group of speakers, although they contradict the basic turn-taking Conversion analysis (CA) rules (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Schegloff and Sacks 1973;). More generally, they should be considered supportive of cooperative work and interactants' involvement in talk (Cogo 2007).

6.3.4 Idiomatic expression and formulaic language.

The following extract, **"Iron-cutter man",** was recorded during outdoor guided excursions of historical and archaeological sites within the local tour. It shows a series of examples which clarify interactive techniques to achieve understanding among international speakers of English relying on Idiomatic expressions and formulaic language.

Extract 2: *"Iron Cutter Man"* (S1: Italian; SS: Italian, Argentinian, American, Japanese, Swedish, Polish, Romanian, Korean, French, Belgian; S2: Argentinian; S3: French; S6: Japanese; S7: Korean; S8: Italian; S9: American).

835 **S1:** Rossano is er er::m a town which we find more than one hundred palace (.) in particular
836 <fast> one hundred thirty palace </fast> and er is
837 **S6:** **(noble palaces)**
838 **S1:** **e:::?**
839 **S6:** **(noble palaces)**
840 **S1:** **noble palaces yes <nod>** because it a way which the **noble palace express their richness**
841 er so that in particular (2) we can see er er:m the beautiful balcony (.) this is a <pvc> roud
842 {wrought} /rɔ:t/ </pvc> iron balcony because there were a real competition to have the er most
843 er beauty balcony er:m throughout these **palace=**
844 **S7:** **er ==**for this reason every balcony is [**different**]= **<1> from the other </1>**
845 **S1:** **=[different] (fast) <1> from the other </1>** yes
846 **S9** **iron cutter man-° <L1it> Tagliaferri °</L1it>**
847 **S8:** **iron cutter man- <L1it> Tagliaferri </L1it>**
848 **SS:** @@@@@@@
849 **S1:** It's a great one!@@
850 **S9:** (angrily) **it's my joke!@@**

Differently from other previous dialogue exchanges, one of the tourists notices a norm-morphosyntactic deviating expression from the part of the guide (line 62) **one hundred palace**, which he considers appropriate to correct without letting it pass (line 64). The guide is surprised by this remark, which sounds different from any previous intervention from the tourists. She asks for clarification and repetition, at the same time, using a unique vowel sound, **e:::?,** pronounced in a rising intonation (line 65). S6 speaker reiterates his fragment of utterance, omitting those parts of speech considered superfluous because they can be understood cataphorically from the context (line 66). The tour guide understands the tourist's prompt and inserts it in her course of speech nodding in accordance (line 67). However, she does not intake it as necessary to her explanation. She resumes her thoughts without including the suggested correction on line 67: **"noble palace express their richness**". On the other hand, I do not believe she is not aware of plural agreement English grammatical norms because she conjugates the lexical verb "express" in the present simple third plural person (Ø -s phoneme), and she appropriately uses the third person plural possessive adjective "they" as cataphor for "noble places". I am concerned that the guide does not consider it such a critical fault to hinder communication and effective message delivery at this point of the conversation. The rest of the tourist group seems to support the ELF pragmatic view of the tourist guide. Speaker S7 latches with the guide's previous utterance, enhancing the conversation's pace and confirming participation (line 71) **er ==.** Moreover, the same speaker continues the guide's description anticipating her lexically, every balcony is [**different**]=. In so doing, the interactional work is far more fostered, resulting in the overlapping lexical talk that creates a feeling of harmony of two voices collaborating as one **=[different] (fast) <1> from the other </1>** (lines 71 and 72). Buoyantly, S7 expresses solidarity and closeness to the guide, following her opinions and values in her strategic use of English as a Lingua Franca for tourism. The overlap, as mentioned earlier, does not show competition for the floor. On the contrary, it contributes to smoothing the rhythm of the conversation. It confirms a

sense of familiarity and ease acquired during the trip, where the tourist speaker's violation of the local management system of turn-taking comments about the intervention of S6. She shows disagreement with his norm-following attitude, which does not acknowledge real-interactional strategies arising from negotiation and establishing common communicative resources. In sum, this conversation shows that, in this special domain context, a struggle over power is hidden and disguised in the apparent participation in the conversation. Furthermore, the endonormative linguistic choices shown by participants (S9, S8) in the last section of the extract aim at functionally satisfying the group's communicative needs. S9 speaker, at line 73, displays an "essentially pragmatic attitude towards language innovation and variation" (Ehrenreich 2009: 140). Speakers make unconventional linguistic practices become conventional (cf., e.g., Seidlhofer 2009b), materialising the existing strong link in ELF between the communicative functions of language use and the actual forms that are subsequently employed. S9 and S8 have used metaphorical language purposely to create an effect in a particular situational context. This instance means that linguistic forms in ELF are strongly influenced and prompted by their immediate communicative functions and tend to reflect speakers' utilitarian attitudes towards situational endonormativity. The pragmatic strategy enacted has been the remetaphorisation of the English idiom "an iron man" - a man who is physically very strong and can work hard for a long time; the speaker was inspired by the conversation topic and by the viral American superhero film featuring the Marvel Comics character of the same name. In order to add humour to the interaction, speaker S9 says softly, **iron cutter man- ° <L1it> Tagliaferri °</L1it>** (line 73). He creates online language by reading a local café sign reporting the owner's name: *Tagliaferri*, made available for a fixed group of speakers at a specific time and in a particular context. Moreover, the tourists might have known about it before participating in the visit. Caffè *Tagliaferri* is one of the 100 internationally famous *Historical Places of Italy* among the numerous cafés, restaurants and hotels in Italy and advertised on tourist guides.

The effectiveness of the utterance was reiterated by another IGS member, who made it available to the rest of the group (line 74), causing a shared loud laugh. Some evidence related to the ironic allusion to a very heavy-duty man resistant to strains can be provided by the long-distance Ironman Triathlon races organised by the World Triathlon Corporation, which has become known for its gruelling length and harsh race conditions. The athlete who completes the race within some time constraints (16 or 17 hours) is designated an Ironman. To use the Ironman brand, the sports group which promotes the event has to pay royalties to Marvel Entertainment.

Figure 8: 'Tagliaferri' cafeteria – Corigliano-Rossano municipality, Calabria – Italy.

This figurative setting stands in the background of the speakers' "online idiomatizing". The idiom, formally different from its corresponding conventional ENL version, never seemed to undermine the ELF speaker's status in interaction or make him the object of scorn or mockery by the other group members. On the contrary, his use of a creative idiom in that precise moment of the ELF interaction seems to be functionally motivated and intended to serve the overall goal of achieving successful communication at a transactional and interactional level. In addition, it shows disagreement with S6's remarks in line with a NEL standard perspective and expresses solidarity with the tour guide. In fact, in the final S9's comment - **it's my joke!@@** (line 76) - the speaker reveals his consciousness of being able to adapt and adopt language forms to accomplish his communicative purposes revendicating his joke and its hilarious effect. On the other hand, S7, sharing and repeating S9's remark, emphasises the use of an idiom for communicative purposes further than marking a mutual cultural territory.

To sum up, linguistic creativity in the use of idioms can be considered part of ELF as co-constructed by this group of tourists on the basis of their common (multi-) linguistic resources. As ELF speakers, they continue to build on, re-activate and exploit the "metaphoric potential" (Cameron 1999a: 108) inherent in conventional (ENL) expressions. Concerning its lexical substitution, the analysis of the ELF idiom: **iron cutter man** shows a semantic relationship between the original expression and the substituted lexical item, which has affected the meaning and metaphoricity of the newly created expression.

In this extract, the innovative and experimental re-metaphorisation of the English language idiom mentioned above is not only unquestioned and perfectly intelligible without causing any signals of non-understanding among interactants, but also it is effective in perlocuting a response, such as a deep laugh: **@@@@@@** (line 75) among the interlocutors of the speech event, none of them being a native speaker of English. The additional crucial contemporary factor that can contribute to the intelligibility of transient creative norm-deviating expressions in ELF interactions is global consumeristic show business, where messages and protagonists should be considered part of the contemporary international cultural background of ELF users whatever their place of birth, especially concerning travelling and tourism, leisure time activities and recreational environments. This conversation extract displays the power of ELF speakers in shaping the English language while using it as a personal, powerful linguistic means of communication to perform personality and individual identity. However, despite the differences in the participants' linguacultural repertoires, the functional effect of the re-metaphorized expression achieves its linguistic aim. The speaker relied on physical and strictly *hic and nunc* contextual extra-textual references and further extra-textual references belonging to the widespread global world of filming and show business.

In conclusion, despite the considerable variability in linguistic forms it exhibits, I have found evidence of ELF's effectiveness in communication; I suggest that creativity serves as a fundamental concept in accounting for the variability and situational adaptability central to ELF. Moreover, the function fulfilled

by this creative idiom relates to the multilingual and multicultural nature of ELF talk. Thus, creative expressions which originate from or relate to metaphorical images can be (at times intentional) displays of cultural identity and (inter)cultural awareness. They signal culture (cf. Klimpfinger 2007) and, in this way, contribute to the interpersonal and interactional co-construction of local ELF inter-cultures (cf., e.g., Meierkord 2002; Pölzl 2003; Smit 2009).

6.3.5 Final Remark.

The cohesiveness characterising this IGS of ELF users has decisively affected the co-construction of communication among them. The participants' different sociocultural backgrounds have represented a resourceful common pool of multicompetence to release and effectively use communicative resources, even when standard forms of the English language are not implied.

Moreover, "local systematicity" (Cameron 1999b: 16) has generated contextualised meanings in the form of idioms to accomplish functional needs in interaction. Moreover, the extracts presented report no evidence of 'unilateral' approximation to a native speaker that could have hindered communicative effectiveness causing "unilateral idiomaticity" (Seidlhofer 2002), being not shared among the interactants. On top of that, the tour guide has adopted a dialogical puri-directional didactic stance as her professional, communicative style. She has demonstrated a democratic attitude welcoming any participants' intervention and enhancing an involving triangulation between the archaeological sites, their history and the visitors. The special language of tourism has acquired a multi-dimensional connotation scaffolding knowledge of different language terminology, contemporary adaptation of remains and the interlocutors' self-imagery. This emerging fertile use of linguistic and sociocultural resources has accomplished different communicative tasks generating highly functional language.

This procedural attitude has led to the emergence of certain pragmatic attitudes, politeness patterns and empathetic behaviour concerning group conventions on all levels of language (Pitzl 2018). The participants are aware of their group's transient and temporary nature, which will dissolve at the end of the tour. This fact did not prevent them from interacting for their purpose for a certain amount of time during this guided tour visit to southern Italy.

Finally, this promising outcome can also trigger optimistic pedagogic implications in the didactic of the special language of tourism. It promotes self-engagement and experiential learning, enhancing students' motivation and commitment.

6.4 Interviews interpretation

In addition to observational data collected during the naturally occurring conversation, open-ended questionnaire surveys and interviews were recorded and used for 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, primary language, misunderstanding, facilitate communication, accommodating, paraphrase) to define conceptual reference points to code the texts consistently clearly; then, tags were applied manually to texts. This naturalistic and interpretative approach allowed the description of this study participant's attitudinal and behavioural responses to international communication 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's discussion and conclusions 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 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 more profound 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 transient, lasting only for a short time. For instance, the tourist guide (line 44) openly reveals a shortcoming of 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 the previous section: "<to S1> It's ok <nods (1)> </to S1>." On the other hand, the guide reciprocates the affection, which has denoted this IGS 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 showed an accommodative attitude towards communication that would not have been successful otherwise.

As the analysis has shown, hesitation markers can perform a pragmatic effect. Instead of displaying disfluency and inaccuracy, they can become additional elements of communicative characterisation aiming at announcing further narration details. In particular, the tour guide participating in this research has been noticed to effectively modulates different vocalisations of the hardly universal filler ‘um’, alternating it with ‘erm’ (lines 186 to 188). Moreover, she prolongs the nasal /m/ (lines 184, 186, 187),

preparing the audience for a critical understanding of the interaction. This feature pragmatically leaves the communicative channel open to provide time and space for the negotiation of meaning strategies for the speaker and the listener. This type of cooperative attitude is declared by the interviewees S1, S10, and S6, who enact latchings to support previous lines utterances (from 188 to 193), combining hesitation devices with approval signs. In other words, the hesitation marker **'mhm'** is pre-empted by the exclamation utterance **'yes'** followed by the exclamation word **'ok'.**

Furthermore, body language has a relevant and distinguished role in international contexts. It displays unconscious attitudes and feelings and supports meaning-making, especially in contexts involving speakers from southern countries (e.g., Italy, Span, Argentina). Consequently, supporting understanding and sympathy with physical supporting tokens clarifies reciprocal attitudes. Moreover, it foreruns the cordial conclusion of the passage summarised in the final remark **'thanks'** (line 193). Significantly, this interchange's protagonists come from distant nations, namely S1, Italy; S6 – Japan; S10 – Poland, recollecting distant cultural and identity traditions. As a matter of fact, communication among them would have become arduous unless their accommodative stance towards interpretative and expressing framework.

In sum, as triangulated across retroactive interviews and analytical data investigation, speakers (s1, S6, and S10) have developed through conversation a common accommodative stance towards the use of interactional markers to gain time and facilitate ELF use to perform an interactive and meaning-making function.

Retaining knowledge of other languages and cultures when speaking English in international contexts was also revealed to be important in our research. Tourists address and provide cultural references to facilitate mutual 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 with speaking partners in a fellowship for communication. Code-switching can help clarify speakers' awareness of the different cultural traditions involved in the tourist experience and among their interlocutors.

> You must have a 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 an individual's cultural heritage influences the way language is used. For example, the choice of words can reveal the multicultural identity of the speaker. (Speaker 17)

The tour 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' desire to experience the local culture by 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 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 entertaining them. (Speaker 15)

As regards body language, according to a very experienced travel agent, it can reveal a speaker's 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. The privacy should always be respected, and cultural differences, dietary requirements, and religious and gender rules (e.g., Arabian husbands spoke for their wives) should always be taken into high consideration. (Speaker 16)

On the contrary, native speakers are usually unwilling to accommodate 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' accents and pronunciation were not perceived as familiar because they sounded distant from the native models proposed during language learning and training. This 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, a direct translation of sentences is avoided by staff members due to being considered a time-consuming strategy in tourist-specific, special-language contexts. However, using basic syntax and short sentences is considered effective in finalising conversation among international English users, especially in combination with codeswitching and paraphrasing. For example, the introduction of crucial terminology on lines 39, 41 and 42— "<L1it> figurina </L1it> figurine; these type of vases with a decoration"—provides relevant background information that can 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 critical concepts as soon as they are introduced, achieving the other result of learning a context-specific lexicon that becomes an 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 worldwide (Canada, USA, UK). For this reason, participants found compulsory hotel training courses very useful because one of them says:

> They have taught me golden rules for enhancing communication: the tone of voice is very important, and never sit in front of a standing guest. We should change our 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, primarily if money is concerned. The real trend is pre-

empting incomprehension. For instance, on line 54 of the extract, as mentioned earlier, 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." The negotiation of meaning continues over most 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 in making tourists successfully familiarise themselves with the archaeological information provided to make them be involved in portraying it in real, 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 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.

The diachronic observation of the communicative dynamic has revealed the progressive development of social relations among participants. Different interactional factors express the evolution of personal rapport, developing this social cluster on a continuum spectrum which goes from unknown membership to the same group to the status of affiliated with a community of practice. As observed in the Methodology chapter (section 5.5.2), the participants in this study will never reach this associative amalgamation of intents and objectives. On the other hand, their active participation in the dialogical turn-taking matured their connections to a middle point between a TIG and a CoP.

The members of what I called an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS) have reached a level of affinity and stability, allowing the use of irony and metaphoricity in their talk. During the visit and their interaction, tourists among themselves and the staff discovered common interests and knowledge. Consequently, references to places, pop culture, and ideology became common because they directly merged from their Multilingual Resource Pool (MRP). The ELF idiom: "**iron cutter man'** is a

straightforward example of the process of proximity status the visitors acquired. The direct reference to the physical environment - *Caffè Tagliaferri* – combined with the famous American superhero film featuring the Marvel Comics character of the same name is a clear example of the level of sympathy achieved by the participants.

> 'Everybody laughed because it was funny. I felt as if we were a group at that moment. It was similar to your experience on a school trip at the end of an academic year! I went back in time.'

Speaker S9, smiling, commented, deeply convinced of having experienced a significant social event. The common understanding of the joke **It's a great one!@@,** as the tour guide said, and the vindication of paternity of the same joke by S9, **it's my joke!@@** is some evidence of the socialising power of ELF in tourist communication. Loosening the tension of standard correctness in using English. Accordingly, activating an ELF stance in communication favours a more relaxed and social attitude, prompting eagerness for socialisation among speakers.

Regarding this last point, it is worth highlighting the role of the tour guide in setting the pace and the tenor of the conversation in the direction of open participation and contribution. Her pedagogic stance enhanced learning and knowledge dissemination during the visit, forging a memorable experience for the public. Mediating between transferring historical and cultural content and involving the public in the social exploration of the sites has implied pedagogic mastery—her effective methodology integrated inductive understanding and critical exploration. In short, information was experienced through realia, and understanding came out of personal commitment and previous literacy. Therefore, each participant was prompted to scaffold a new awareness and develop further acquaintance with the cultural and social situation. Sociability became the main leading factor in supporting interest and successful communication.

> 'I like involving tourists during the visits, especially when they are foreigners. They come on purpose because they already know what is preserved in the museum. They may suggest details I had not planned to say during the visit. We become companions.'
> S1 – The tour guide.

This participatory methodological attitude facilitated interaction and made the tour successful for the participants. From where I stand, pedagogy in language learning should adopt an active-research method that includes exploratory studies in different tourist contexts to derive pragmatic and functional meaningful objectives.

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 mutual 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 directly results from the previous turns and candidly completes them. The brief and effective tone of the concise expression proceeds and harmonises with what the tourists and the guide have just said.

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

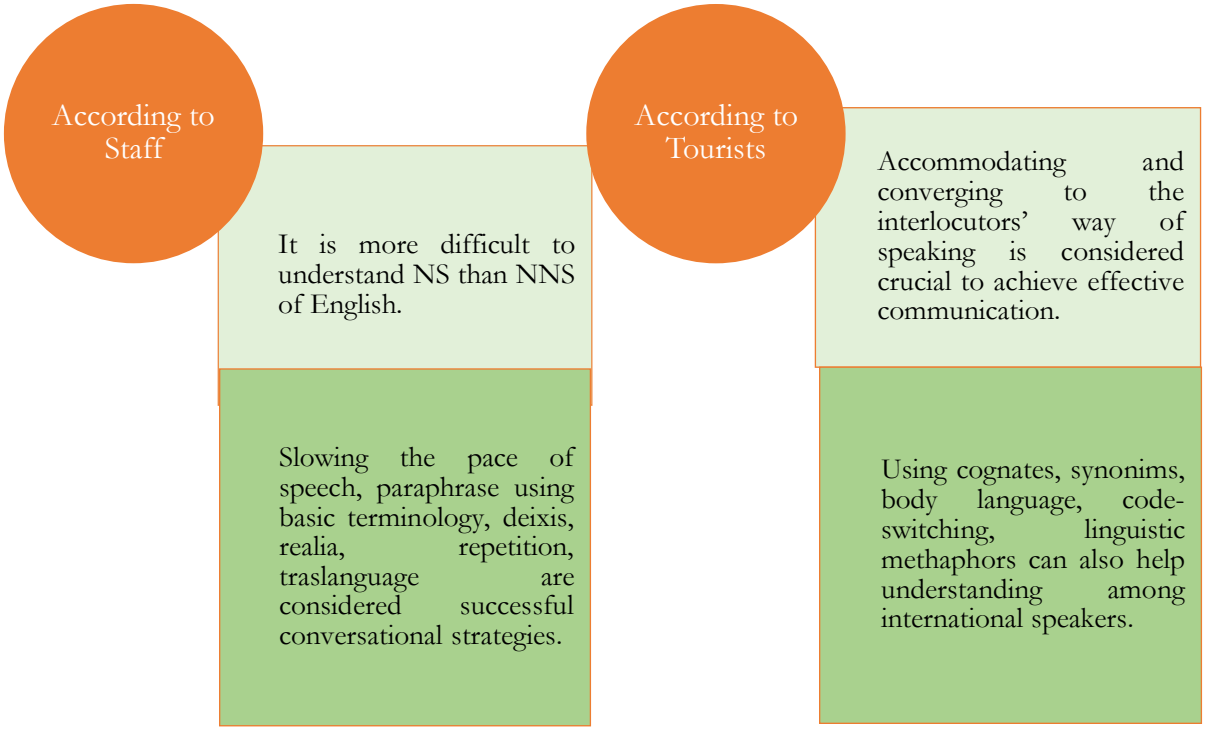

Fig. 9: Tourists and staff's attitudes in an ELF context.

As interlocutors track their shared lexical and cultural pool (Hulmbauer 2009), they draw upon those resources to facilitate conversation and create a sense of community. Although it is an intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS), participants share a strong sense of belonging. They respond feeling compelled to accommodate each other to finalise their conversation.

One of the tourists concluded his interview by 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 a practical

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.

6.5 Conclusion.

Overall, this analysis of multilingual strategies used in a tourist environment in the south of Italy highlighted the confident disposition of participants towards sociocultural diversity.

The accommodative stance towards non-standard use of English often has hidden personal idiosyncrasies related to *overt/covert* other language influences, which, instead of hindering understanding, favoured the formation of a friendly, reciprocal, and cooperative communicative community. Moreover, that unanimously accepted conviviality paved the way for developing internal norms and ad hoc linguistic behaviour. Thus, the translanguaging space devised by this super-diverse ELF context participants established an ideological stance-taking condition beyond space, time, and language limitations. Consequently, the general similarity of views acquired through language has had relevance socially and linguistically, which allowed this analysis to stress the role of multilingual resources in ELF practices.

7. Conclusions and Implications.

This final chapter discusses the answers to the RQs that have driven the investigation.

As a data-driven exploration into ELF interaction in the tourist domain, this research has highlighted the functionality and effectiveness of multilingual strategies in speakers' communication and their pro-active collaborative attitude towards understanding and meaning-creation. Moreover, this research has unexpectedly revealed the participants' indexicalisation of a confident accommodative attitude towards a non-standard use of English. This fact led to the definition of a common stance toward which each group member converged, intersecting the tourist guide's influential attitude, and redefining the entire internal cluster ecology. Consequently, what notably emerged is the development of the interior equilibrium governing power relations and opposing forces characterising the novice-expert roles. Therefore, it was suggested that internal conditions had defined a new configuration of transient communities. This intercommunicating group of speakers (IGS) has been characterised by the inherent adaptability of participants to the situational context and their active participation in redefining the roles and regulations governing their interactional space.

Overall, in this concluding chapter, I will highlight and discuss the most relevant findings of the study, evaluating its theoretical and applicational contribution to the entire research field. Furthermore, I will also put forward the pedagogical implications of these conclusions.

7.1 Discussion

The analytical framework applied to naturally occurring conversations among employees and tourists in different locations among the 22 participants in a tour in the south of Italy showed how multilingual strategies contribute to the negotiation of meaning among ELF users in the Italian tourist domain.

7.1.1 Answering RQ1: What multilingual strategies contribute to the negotiation of meaning among ELF users in the Italian tourist domain? – Investigating functionality of multilingual practice in ELF talk.

Provided that multilingual resources are used in this special language domain, the analytical framework adopted in the previous section has provided evidence of the functional role of multilingual practice in ELF talk among professional operators and tourists. Concerning the original first research question (RQ1), findings have highlighted the role of code-switching, code-mixing, and translanguaging to introduce or clarify a new technical concept. Moreover, languaging was relied on to activate negotiation turn-taking, which enabled users to achieve a functional effect situationally. Data showed that multilingualism is prominent in either formal or informal exchanges entertained among international visitors. Remarkably, the number, the complexity, and the level of idiosyncrasy displayed by the speakers are similar concerning the register or the level of formality of the discussion. The parameter which, most

of all, impacts the frequency and peculiarity of multilingual usages is the familiarity participants have acquired with one another. The closeness and convergence of participants' stances have emerged as the critical factor igniting more translingual practices.

Overall, this research has registered a high frequency of multilingual strategy functionally used in ELF conversations, despite differences from previous studies (e.g., Cogo 2021), where a dissimilar use of multilingual practices was highlighted regarding register and role among the speakers.

Regarding the languages involved in translanguaging and language-mixing instances, they have emerged contextually. Moreover, they have been discovered to be part of the linguacultural background of most speakers on different levels. Multilingual usages have created a semantic relationship between more linguistic units that language users acknowledged at different times and contexts. For example, the toponym "*Enotria*" was related to the local, regional, and global dimension recollecting in the tourists' mind, at the same time, a Calabrian wordily famous type of wine and some indigenous people from Calabria, when it was pronounced. This incident successfully remarks on different meta-linguistic strategies to make other languages and cultures rather than English emerge to make meaning. Some of them are well-flagged code-switches (e.g., line 22 of this study extracts) using the adjective 'so-called' that commonly introduces how something or someone is designated by specific terminology; some others are of a more *covert* kind. On top of that, semiotic resources are employed to support communication creating an intersemiotic translanguaging experience among bystanders enabling cross-reference in the semantic net woven around the central argument. Furthermore, this dynamic and spontaneous use of multilingual practices has enhanced meaning function by providing effective direct references to the issue in the form of translingual mentions.

Prominently, stance-taking has become one of the leading driving forces of the present study. Moreover, I observed and recorded a range of stance positionings related to linguistic function accomplishment, namely the pedagogical, interpersonal, and interpreting functions.

Firstly, a constant pedagogical function was associated with the tourist guide's interventions. It aimed to instruct listeners to apprehend the local environment's content, terminology, and socio-cultural customs. It was observed that the strategy she used to train listeners involved interaction. In other terms, questioning was maieutic to bring bystanders' knowledge and insights into clear consciousness. Therefore, tourists were motivated to attend the visit and correspond with the guide and the other visitors during the tour. Other interactive strategies included word or phrase completion, learning by observing objects and translating their captions in the showcases. Finally, comparative comments were made among languages used in the inscriptions or actively employed during the conversation because of being part of the speakers' linguacultural background.

Secondly, stance-taking in discourse established situated social norms among the participants. Moreover, the same emergent social norms subverted institutional roles and power relations. This transformation

happened due to exploiting the interpersonal function to be affiliated with a confident, empathetic attitude among the interlocutors. This rapport-building shovel inevitably relaxed the perception of the cause-and-effect parameters governing the institutional setting. This positioning started with the tour guide's spontaneous standpoint, facilitating rapport-making and in-group belonging. More strikingly, this attitudinal perspective entailed the entire group of tourists becoming a pragmatic strategy to achieve effective language use and communicative commitment. In other words, this indexicalisation of context and participants' relationships thoroughly influenced interaction, evolving from a correlation of expert-novice type to a more equalitarian correspondence. This process was supported by a steady contraction of the guide's maximum prominence instead of a more mediate role arbitrating interventions and harmonising contributions. At this point, physical proximity among the interlocutors was an apparent visual semantic factor supporting this stance. Getting closer facilitated the participants' collection of common knowledge, passion and interest in history, archaeology, and classical languages.

Consequently, their narratives generated a special connection by highlighting everyday experiences. In other words, discourse directly permeated everyone's cultural and language knowledge repertoire. Interruptions, truncated sentences, overlaps, and repetitions were more frequent (e.g., lines 462 and 463) as signs of sharedness of a common multicultural conceptual framework. Speakers did not need to complete their sentences because their interlocutors already had that concept in mind. Therefore, they intervened without hesitation based on the interpersonal relations built and shared. On the same premise resides the increase in dialogic exchanges, which minimised the monologic frequency.

7.1.2 Answering RQ2 and RQ3:

2. What *overt* multilingual strategies have ELF users used in the Italian tourist domain?

3. What *covert* multilingual strategies have ELF users used in the Italian tourist domain?

- Investigating *overt* type to those *covert* multilingual strategies.

Concerning the enquiry enhanced by RQ2 to support my primary data questions, a more in-depth analysis of multilingual strategies' effectiveness in communication has been carried out. The methodological criteria used to evaluate multilingual instances revealed their more intrinsic features starting from the ones of a more *overt* type to those *covert* multilingual strategies. Finally, I have appraised to what extent translanguaging has been used as a multilingual resource among ELF users in the Italian tourist domain. Findings showed different and distinguished pragmatic strategies, which I highlighted, relying on VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1] (VOICE Project 2007, 9). By way of example, instances of different languages rather than English were marked by tags (e.g., L1 – a speaker's first language; LN – a foreign language which is neither the speaker's first language nor English followed by an identifiable reference to named languages whether identifiable). This methodology readily revealed the prominence of Latin

(13 occurrences), followed by Greek (10 occurrences) among code-switches. Then, Italian comes with eight occurrences. This fact confirms Klimpfinger's (2009) research stating that other language switches overcome the number of switches in the speaker's L1. However, other types of multilingual strategies (MS), which had not been identified in VOICE, such as covert MS, were first analysed to investigate and reveal the submerged tensions in the participants' idiolect between different languages; and then identified in the transcription by the use of appropriately devised tags. For instance, CL1 meant: a covert multilingual strategy based on the speaker's first language; CLN meant: a covert multilingual strategy based on a language which is neither the speaker's first language nor English followed by an identifiable reference to named languages, whether identifiable. This last type of covert multilingual strategy was identified 11 times in the extracts object of the present study. The subsequent discussion to conceive an interpretative comment of each CLMS (covert language multilingual strategy) always accounted for the retrospective reviews of participants, the researcher's emic observation, and internal data cross-references. Since a salient ambiguity in specific passages, I provided multiple possible interpretations of the same pragmatic strategy highlighting the limits of any personal understanding.

Overall, in line with RQ2, the theme that emerges from the data is the widespread use of MS without a clear distinction between *overt* and *covert* ones. In other words, speakers use their linguistic repertoire to draw fully from the phonetic representation of speech sounds, morphological units, and phraseology.

Regarding the alternation of a speaker's two or more languages or language varieties within one delimited conversation (e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993) or in disparate domains in various conversations (e.g. Heller 1998), this research has shown that not only could we find code-switching in small talk routinised exchanges at opening and closing phases as well as at topic boundaries (Auer 1998), but it is fair to say that participants bring in different linguistic resources to expand and clarify meaning (Cogo 2007, 181) in specialised formal contexts like the tourist one.

It emerged that the tourist guide, in her professional language, adopted her resources to refer to the geographical, historical, and political aspects of the visited area ad hoc. She could relate the lexicon directly to the evolutionary process of identifying, dating, and referring archaeological remains to those who inhabited and culturally influenced the museum preserving opera territory object. Consequently, (2) introducing a particular subject idea (ibid.: 364); signalling culture (ibid.: 352) culturally denoting words, such as the name of the city (ibid.: 352) or its inhabitants represented a pragmatic instructional strategy to teach the historical development of the explored area. Coherently with Pietikäinen's research (2014) in the private sphere, this study's findings highlight the un-markedness of code-switching, denoting the flexible orientation of the participants towards linguistic variation and hybridity.

Differently from Vettorel & Franceschi's (2016) investigation of using English as a language of computer-mediated communication on two social platforms, where Bloggers' alternation of codes expressed participants' identity culturally related concepts, tourists in this study were imbued in a translocal and

transcultural conversation. The frequent switches from different languages' terminology made visitor experience three distinctive existential denotations. In other words, the juxtaposition of Latin, Greek, Italian and English made their identity evolve traslocally, across cultures, and translinguistically. So, terminologically, they navigated through Italian - denoting the local environment -; old Greek and Latin original terms - referring to the western cultural heritage of ancient Greece and Rome -; finally, through English, they were reconnected to the international scale of the interaction. Their involvement in the conversation confirmed their awareness of their culturally bound experience and their social role in taking an active part in it.

To sum up, coherently with previous studies, this research debated the issue of the functionality of code-switching as a manifestation of ELF speakers' multilingual competence to confirm that it cannot be assessed as a sign of their language deficiency. It contributes to defining a multilingual environment, prompting further use of other language resources (Cogo and Dewey 2011) because speakers feel confident about convergent accommodative behaviour by other speakers to achieve effective communication and build rapport.

My user-centred approach to ELF interaction revealed that *covert multilingual influences* are as frequent as *overt* ones considering each foreign language instance singularly (i.e., LNLat, LNGr, L1). Consequently, addressing communication at a cognitive level allows the analysis to detect other linguistic resources assumed to be contained in the situational resource pool of the speaker.

Hülmbauer (2011) has provided exemplifications of cognates as a plurilingual mode to enhance meaning-making beyond the traditional concept of 'positive transfer' in consideration of all instances of sameness neglecting etymological considerations and factual form-meaning correspondence. However, relying on the present research findings, *covert* multilingual strategies derive from a more complex, although typical cognitive process. Given the assumption that linguistic competence and cognitive competence are situated in different brain parts and that both are needed to understand a locution (Seleskovitch 1986; Seleskovitch and Lederer 1989, and Lederer 2010), multilingual speakers rely on deverbalised meaning when conceiving a speech act. This theoretical assumption distinguishes an intermediate stage of de verbalisation between listening (comprehension) and speaking (reformulation) as it was defined by the theory - "*La théorie du sens*", developed at ESIT (l'École Supérieure d'Interprétes et de Traducteurs in París). According to this perspective, cognitive memory is separated from lexical and grammatical. The first stores nonverbal meaning; the second is where lexico-grammatical components of different languages collect. This fact was supported by research into accidents and strokes affecting the human brain in different ways, which suggested the existence of these two types of memory, implying that linguistic competence and cognitive competence are situated in different parts of the brain and that both are needed to understand a locution. Interpreters could work at a speed that would not be possible if they were interpreting words (about 150 words per minute) rather than units of meaning in an

environment furnished by all the elements of the communicative situation present synchronically in the same room: the speaker, the audience, the topic, the context.

Relying on *covert* resources has been interpreted on my part as a way of exploiting any linguistic resources at hand at the moment of speaking to interpret the inner concept better, according to the "All Language At All Times (ALAAT)" approach (cf. Hülmbauer 2011c). This interpretation collides with the "linguistics of potentiality" suggested by Franceschini (2003). However, either glossodiversity or semiodiversity (Halliday 2007) is not casual. On the contrary, speakers direct their production in coherency with their stance-taking to put in evidence certain indexicalities. In other words, multilanguage influences are underpinned by socio-cultural positioning towards standard forms of language in contrast with distinctive (plurilingual) repertoires and individual practices. For example, they make their local accent emerge while speaking English (compare line 25 of the analysed extracts). Moreover, using cognates (i.e., 91 and then at line 94), making personal cultural and professional interests emerge from signification (i.e., line 219). Finally, *covert* multilingual resources can display personal feelings and commitment to certain situations that materialise at the moment of verbalisation of the same concept or condition (i.e., lines 228 and 231); also, they can be influenced by personal religious beliefs and cultural traditions (compare lines 236 and 237 analysis).

According to this approach, ELF users enhance a critical attitude towards concepts like interlanguage, transfer, shift, and interference to describe cross-linguistic influences in terms of "languaging" (e.g., Jørgensen 2008). This paradigm accepts and interprets the permeability of language borders in agreement with the personal commitment of speakers to flexibly integrate linguistic resources and skills to achieve understanding. In addition, it considers them the real social force behind linguistic creativity, innovation, and change in this 21st-century multi-diverse society. Moreover, the intersubjective character of co-constructed plurilingual holistic practices facilitates their sharing and partaking, notwithstanding their emergence in specific interaction contexts.

In conclusion, covert multilingual practices are plurilingual repertoires that resonate with identity and dedication to socio-cultural ideals and norms. In contrast with the "monolingual habitus" of native-oriented communication (Gogolin 1994), a multilingual use of language, they foster intercultural negotiation and linguistic creativity (Pitzl 2009).

7.1.3 Answering RQ4:

4. To what extent has translanguaging been used as a multilingual resource among ELF users in the Italian tourist domain?

- Investigating *translanguaging*.

This study is coherent with the most recent call by Jenkin to investigate and find evidence of ELF as "English as a Multilingua Franca" (2015). This perspective emphasises speakers' agency in choosing

interactional resources in communication while interacting in an international language contact environment. Thus, multilingualism is prominent in ELF communication while English emerges as the inceptive contact language of choice; subsequentially, it evolves into a convenient superstratum which can adapt according to other linguistic substrata that persist through the conversation. These research findings support this perspective providing evidence and descriptions of this linguistic phenomenon to the research field, concentrating on the multilingual nature of ELF.

Capitalising on the psycholinguistic concept of *languaging*, "which refers to the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought, and to communicate about using language" (e.g., Lado 1979; Hall 1996; Smagorinsky 1998; Swain 2006; Maschler 2009) these research participants express the precise attitude to create a translanguaging space, (Li, 2018, p. 23). Along the interaction, the psychological insight of the single has evolved into the primary stance of the interaction facilitating the creative power of linking linguistic forms and/or other modes of communication. At the same time, the ideological separation between the single and the group, the micro-social context, and the macro-social dimension of cultural and linguistic boundaries among nations have loosened. This archetypal dimension, whose boundaries are blurred to permeate contextual details, is where translanguaging practices occur. For example, the investigative process of learning about the historical remains in museums is carried out through different languages. More specifically, the technical term was usually pronounced in Italian – the local language. The same concept had already been referred to in English in more general terms.

Moreover, captions of single objects or room exhibitions were displayed in other languages (e.g., French and Spanish). This more *overt* type of translanguaging communication, where the message is provided in different and identifiable named languages on the linguistic level, leads to an intersemiotic cognitive experience weaving a semantic net around the central argument. In the end, the visitor will have achieved a twofold goal. First, the concept appeared clear in their conscience, materialising understanding. Secondly, an interconnected network of new and old vocabulary in different languages materialised. Lexemes were connected to the same concept in the form of a spider map to be used as active repertoire (compare line extract from line 22 to line 25).

On the other hand, speakers can express a more fluid cognitive combination of language resources that pass across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Although these research participants frequently transgress standard syntactic, morphological, and phonetic English norms (Baker & Sangiamchit, 2019), their utterances did not become unintelligible to their interlocutors. Instead, contextual factors supported and substantiated meaning. This co-construction and negotiation of connotation represent translanguaging communication, where participants combine their complex linguacultural identities fluidly (compare line 27). Meaning making is further enhanced by nonverbal resources that resonate in the communicative environment. The multimodality of translanguaging communication is underscored when the speaker's words are supported by co-textual information provided by the situated local context – the museum -

(e.g., visual aids, descriptive captions), which enhances the multimodality of the translanguaging experience. This "transmodal moment" (Newfield, 2017, p. 103) was holistically enjoyed by tourists during the visit because of the blurred boundaries between the different modes involved (e.g., posters, remaining captions, objects in the showcases, and signage). Consequently, to analyse utterance turn-taking, a "processes of transmodal translation in chains of semiosis" (Newfield 2017; 103) was carried out considering boundaries of each mode conveying a unique and original, unrepeatable effect (e.g., Baker & Sangiamchit, 2019) seamlessly. This methodology of definition and content presentation was welcomed by the multilingual and multicultural personalities participating in the tour visit as it was triangulated and supported by retrospective interviews and metalinguistic comments reported in

In conclusion, data from this research offers supportive evidence of a multilingual and translanguaging theory of language in ELF encounters. *Overt*, *covert*, and translingual resources are part of the common turn-taking of international interaction in tourism, as summarised in the following table.

Table 6. Multilingual strategies in the special language domain of tourism compared to evidence found in different domains of ELF research.

Pragmatic strategies			Present study data sample	Existing studies
Multilingual strategies	*Overt-*	Direct translation – "habitat factor"	<LNlat> proto-historia </LNlat> (2) <L1it> Protostoria </L1it>.	Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006
		Code-switching	<L1it> ceramica d'impasto {ceramic body items} </L1it>; <L1it> tornio </L1it> .	Cogo 2007, 2009, 2012; Klimpfinger 2007, 2009, 2010; Hülmbauer 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2011; Pietikäinen 2014, 2016; Dumanig 2010; Vettorel 2014; Vettorel, & Franceschi 2016;
		Idiomatic expressions and formulaic language.		Seidlhofer 2009b, 2011; Pitzl's 2009, 2012, 2016, 2019; Vettorel 2014; Franceschi 2013.
		Approximation	<pvc> compact {contact} <ipa> 'kɒntak </pvc> with the <pvc> popol {people}.	
		Traslanguaging	a particular type of horn <pvc> popol /pò:p(ə)l/ {people}.	Li 2011, 2016; Zhu and Li forthcoming)
	Covert-	Cognates	</CL1> plastic {scale model} </CL1>	Hülmbauer 2011.

		Covert Phenomena of Multilingual Practice	cookked {cooked} <ipa> kʊkt </ipa> </pvc> from the Italian cotto /kòtto/; <pvc> popol {people}.	Hülmbauer 2013; Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013.

Overcoming Kimura & Canagarajah's (2018) objections referring to translingual practices and ELF research, I state that the multilingual orientation that "considers ELF as variable manifestations of multilingualism, rather than a superordinate code" (Kimura & Canagarajah, 2018, p. 300) does not necessarily derive from a shared community identity developed in the community of practice (Kimura & Canagarajah, 2018, p. 301). The empowering dimension of multilingual fluid strategies should be interpreted as an interactional accomplishment deriving from a convergent stance toward language, norms, and authority. It works as a subversive force objecting to monolingual ideologies and social hierarchies. Moreover, we can affirm that ELF users can share a typical contextualised frame participated in by everyone as a social group, where language structural assessing tools are suspended in preference to more content-related ones to reach some in-group conventions for co-constructed understanding. Furthermore, participants' non-conformity with "background knowledge" about the norms, rights, and obligations appropriate in standard English conversations in that context exposes their behaviour towards social structures and relations. Interactants' creative use of the English language sounds subversive to dominant mainstream language learning, language teaching and assessment. ELF, with its widespread communicative significance, within Applied Linguistics, can be considered an instrument of an ideological revolution against the perseverance of power and political bias against minorities.

7.1.4 Answering RQ5:

5. **What are the attitudes and orientations of participants towards ELF communication in the tourist domain?**

- **Investigating participants' attitudes and orientations.**

Considering Tourism English an exciting domain of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) communication because it can provide sociocultural, discursive, and sociolinguistic insights into a kind of professional genre, this investigation has involved some tourist industry service providers and tourists interacting for various reasons (e.g., leisure, culture, entertainment, sport, cuisine). The analysis results have shown their orientations and attitudes towards using English as a Multilingua Franca (Jenkins 2015).

Thanks to a poststructuralist approach and drawing upon the ethnographic interviews taken among 22 participants, I explored evidence of participants' consciousness of intercultural accommodation and attitudes towards multilingual resources in ELF encounters (Cogo 2016). Moreover, I scrutinised their

cognisance of the strategic potential of pragmatic resources to enable them to achieve effective communication and overcome cultural characterisations (Baker 2011; 2012b; 2015).

Among the Pragmatic use of strategies, the negotiation of meaning among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in the special tourism domain has resulted in being relevantly widespread, covering the 32% of the whole CS used during the Byzantine Tour in Calabria.

Results demonstrate a certain coherency when compared to evidence found in different domains of ELF research. As detailed in the following chart, and in comparison, with the taxonomy of pragmatic phenomena proposed by Björkman (2014), speakers attain understanding either pre-empting trouble or resolving mis- or non-understanding with post-trouble-source indicators of non-understanding. Moreover, simple repetitions, paraphrasing, and mediation support conveying meaning through additional lexical items. In other words, speakers expand the semantic net provision when complex cognitive concepts are conveyed. Mediation transfers meaning to another level of significance; thus, it is grasped by the listeners. According to Cohen (1985), social mediation attains to the mediatory sphere of the tour guide. Consequently, this communicative strategy should not be considered unusual in the guide's negotiatory work of a cicerone aiming to enhance interest, involvement, and group-making. What is striking is that tourists have shown a distinctive inclination to negotiate reconciling differences and provide further detailed explanatory support to restore communicative harmony against turbulence.

On the other hand, when incomprehension occurs, an alternative word or phrase, questioning tags, an overt question for clarification request, and represents are used. In this circumstance, pragmatic strategies can be employed by either the speaker or the listener in solidarity. This unity of action reveals a common stance and feelings towards the common interest of comprehension and conversation enhancement in agreement with Cogo and Dewey 2012 and what Kirkpatrick (2007) defines as 'anticipation'. Additional words or phrases provide lexical resources to support meaning-making, forestalling further clarification requests. In unison, with the natural course of communication and ELF conceptualisation (Kaur 2019), confirmation, clarification requests, and comprehension checks are considered crucial in the negotiation process, whether meaning is jeopardised.

In the case of a definitive breakdown of the communicative channel, lexical anticipation can work as a kind of linguistic repair. It keeps the channel open and signals the affinity created between interlocutors. Predicting missing, mis- or ununderstood words/expressions in this contextually marked linguistic situation reveals the coherency of the whole discussion that facilitated convergence on a determinate, very likely option. Consequently, anticipation instances confirm discussion engrossment by the interactants and their thorough understanding. Moreover, they confirm empathy and an accommodative stance among group members because lexical choices directly refer to background knowledge and world interpretation schemata (Guido 2017).

Pragmatic strategies			Present study data sample	Existing studies
Negotiation of meaning	*Pre-realizations of trouble*	Simple repetition	noble palace express their richness.	Björkman 2014; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Kaur 2009, 2010, 2015b; Pitzl 2015; Van 2015.
		Combined repetition		Cogo and Dewey 2012; Kaur 2012, 2015; repetition providing prominence Lichtkoppler 2007.
		Rephrasing		Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Kaur 2009, 2010.
		Paraphrasing	<L1it> ceramica d`impasto {ceramic body items} </L1it> for the use er (.) of a clay er uhm not refined a clay mixed with sands or little stone erm (.) this typical production of <pvc>.	Björkman 2014; Cogo & Pitzl 2016, Kaur 2010, 2015b; Kirkpatric 2007.
		Parallel phrasing		Kaur 2012, 2015; comparable to utterance developing repetition Lichtkoppler 2007.
		Mediation	=to preach some gods=	Hynninnen, N. (2020).
	Post trouble-source indicators of non-understanding	Simple repetition		Björkman 2014; Lichtkoppler 2007; Van 2015.
		Spelling-out repetition		Cogo & Pitzl 2016; Kirkpatric 2007, 2010; Van 2015.
		Using an alternative word or phrase	<pvc> popol /pò:p(ə)l/ {people} <ipa>ˈpi:p(ə)l </pvc> indigenous er the people.	Cogo and Dewey 2012; alternative questions Kaur 2010.
		Wh-clarification question		Björkman 2014; Jamshidnejad 2011; Kaur 2010.
		Questioning tag	=</1>ok? </1>	Kaur 2010, 2015.
		Overt question for clarification request	was it a kind of oven ↑; “e:::?”.	Björkman 2014, ; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Kaur 2010.
		Represents	the horn yes.	Edmondson 1981
		Epistemic hedges		Fraser, 2010

	Linguistic repairs	Lexicogrammatical repair (fronting or tails)		Lexical correction: Kirkpatric 2007, 2010; Repaired repetition: Kaur 2012, 2015; Lexical replacement: Kaur 2011b, 2015b; Word replacement: Björkman 2014.
		Phonological repair		Phonological usage repaired by rephrasing and paraphrasing: Deterding 2013; Mauranen 2006; Sound-stretch repetition: Kaur 2009.
		Lexical suggestion		Kirkpatric 2007, 2010.
		Lexical anticipation	every balcony is [different]=.	Kirkpatric 2007, 2010.

Table 7: Pragmatic use of strategies - Negotiation of Meaning - among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in the special tourism domain compared to evidence found in various domains of ELF research.

Interactional Components also support communication. In this study, participants mainly used co-constructed repairs, approximation, and signalled message understanding, providing feedback to avoid turbulence or glossing over crucial concepts in the conversation. Thus, hardly do minimal responses, either muted or in the form of hesitation markers, highlight a comprehension problem (Cogo & House 2018). On the contrary, they comply with the mutual monitoring of the unfolding of the talk. In other words, the recurrence of these devices denotes participation in the ongoing conversation and compliance with the interactional contextual requirements. Speakers demonstrate their complete devotion to content and comprehension that non-standard expressions are identified as approximated, repaired in co-construction, or alternatively recorded as understood.

Pragmatic strategies			Present study data sample	Existing studies
Interactional Components	*Interactional devices*	Co-constructed repairs	S6: (noble palaces) S1: e:::? S6 (noble palaces)	Deterding 2013; Cogo & House 2018.
		Signalling understanding and/or providing feedback	Yes. to keep it fresh	Cogo and Dewey 2012; Cogo 2010.
		Signalling a certain level of politeness/competitiveness		Wolfartsberger 2011.

		Utterance sharing/consensus-oriented talk		Bremer et al., 1996; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; Mauranen 2006; Lichtkoppler 2007; Cogo 2009; Gotti 2014.
		Approximation	<pvc> compact {contact} <ipa> ˈkɒntak </pvc> with the <pvc> popol {people}.	Mauranen 2012.
		Explicitation		Mauranen 2012.
	Interaction managing items	Discourse markers	ur oow.	House, 2009; Baumgarten and House 2010a
		Accommodative faciliatory devices: utterance building, cooperative overlapping, and completion overlap	S1: …palace= S7: er= for this reason every balcony is [different]= <1> from the other </1>; S1: =[different] (fast) <1> from the other </1> yes.	Cogo 2007, 2009; Kalocsai, 2014; Kaur, 2009; Wolfartsberger, 2011.
		Simultaneous talk	=</1>to keep it fresh </1>; =[different] (fast) <1> from the other </1>.	e.g. Gevinson 1983; Murata 1994; Tannen 1984, 1994.
		Back-channelling strategies	=Like a fridge; er ==.	e.g. Kaur, 2009; Pullin-Stark, 2009; Kalocsai, 2009, 2014; Kangasharju 2002: 1460.
		Phraseological units		Mauranen 2009, 2012.
		Interactional Hedge	@@@@	Hyland, 2005

Table 8: Pragmatic use of strategies - Interactional Components - among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in the special tourism domain compared to evidence found in various domains of ELF research.

Furthermore, Interaction managing items gain time supports linguistic elaboration and emphasises a cooperative attitude in utterance building. Simultaneous talk is often a sign of engrossment because speakers draw the same conclusions. These remarks are usually backchannelled and latched in as a sign of solidarity.

Finally, this research has recorded a high number of interactional hedges aiming to highlight a critical passage in the conversation. This interactional component is an additional attitudinal feature denoting this IGS. More explicitly, speakers often marked with some laughter their stance towards standard English forms, which implied downsizing non-standard utterances and pronunciation. Other types of hedges registered in the data section were epistemic hedges (see line 281 – '**it says victory ↓**') declaring

assertively the honesty of a previous utterance adopting a descending intonation. Similarly, '**was it true',** on line 468, validates the meaning of a prior expression to excerpt semantic ambiguity and communicative intentions. Overall, hedges define the category membership of this particular cluster of speakers operating in the tourist domain.

To summarise the general tendencies underpinning this research regarding the linguistic complexity characterising this ELF community as an IGS, I can affirm that these English as a Lingua Franca users enhance cooperativeness and explicitness in order to support comprehensibility. Because of the weaker ties that typify connections between the members of the ongoing discourse face-to-face interaction, participants cannot rely on extra-textual shared knowledge to attain comprehensibility. On the other hand, from the outset, ELF speakers depend on metadiscourse, referent negotiation, and pragmatic strategies to cope with the unpredictable circumstance in which the communicative situation developed.

In this study, idiomatic expressions and formulaic language provide evidence of a socialising process undertaken among the tour participants. The idiom '**iron cutter man'** and the translanguaging expression **<L1it> Tagliaferri °</L1it>** referring to the cafeteria of the same name, existing in the visited square in the south of Italy, mark the climax of the entire interaction. The participants have overcome extreme transitoriness and have congregated tightly enough to achieve irony by reciprocally using translingual expressions crossing the borders of named languages. The newly acquired group status as IGS allows each congregation member to appreciate and fully grasp the meaning of the natural expression as adapted to the contextual situation. The speakers have established a renovated usage for those words only deducible from the polyadic interchange of the group participants within a shared ELF language perspective. As a result, the same standard idiomatic expression undertook a transformation indexicalised in close relationship with the users' interpretative stance of standard forms and norms regulating the interaction.

Participants' translinguistic experiences evolved successfully across languages and cultures during the tour. As a result, creativity is expressed at a different level of the discourse (Pitzl 2019). Their potential to innovate the language is fostered by intercultural negotiation (Franceschini 2003) through syntactic and morphosyntactic variation, and most of all, in multilingual forms that become the distinctive traits of this speech event.

Pragmatic strategies		Present study data sample	Existing studies
Idiomatic expressions and formulaic language	Lexical substitution		Pitzl 2012
	Morphosyntactic variation	one hundred palace.	Pitzl 2009, 2012

	Syntactic variation	Like a fridge.	Pitzl 2009, 2012.
	Multilingual creativity	iron cutter man- <L1it> Tagliaferri </L1it>.	Seidlhofer and Widdowson 2007; Pitzl 2009, 2018; 2019; Franceschi 2013; Vettorel 2014.

Table 9: Pragmatic use of strategies - Idiomatic expressions and formulaic language - among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in the special tourism domain compared to evidence found in other domains of ELF research.

Furthermore, this analysis has revealed some subjective perceptions respondents to our study entertain concerning pragmatic strategies to achieve effectiveness in communication and overcome cultural characterisations (Baker 2015; 2012b; 2011). For example, 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 mutual understanding. English is constantly "in the mix" (Jenkins 2015): in the background of international socialising. Our study respondents reported that the strength of multilingual knowledge could be familiar to interlocutors and can likewise enhance comprehensibility. Moreover, each personal linguacultural tradition refers to the individual choices of learners and their personal life experiences.

For this reason, it is a psychological imperative to bond with speaking partners in a communication fellowship. Accordingly, tourists could become part of a more stable cohort – SIG – than a transient community of speakers (Pitzl 2016). Their contact lasted the right time to cement relationships and share a strong sense of belonging. They felt compelled to accommodate each other to finalise and facilitate their conversation because of their common stance. In other words, the interpretative lent used to interact appropriately in the interaction context had a multicultural and multilinguistic view.

7.2 Conclusions

This research has explored participants' pragmatic decisions regarding what multilingual strategy is more apt to be employed to convey and negotiate meaning in the tourist domain. Moreover, the analysis clarified tourism employees' and visitors' awareness of the strategic use of pragmatic resources due to the triangulation of naturally occurring conversations data with the answers to interviews and questionnaire surveys carried out among the 22 participants in the tour, including specialist tourist staff operators. These multiple approaches highlighted tourism employees' and visitors' pragmatic aims and perspectives towards various multilingual resources in ELF for tourism in Italy.

In particular, I have analysed the interpersonal negotiation of meaning among conversation co-actors, contextual factors, and stance-taking values and beliefs, trying to grasp the cognitive process of translanguaging through the deployment of language forms at the phonetic, morphological and syntactic levels. The active reference to different languages and multi-semiotic resources in conversation defines a distinguished trend in this special language domain enacted by an international audience along sociohistorical trajectories across space and time. The prominence of these characteristics can define a *distinct genre* within English as a Lingua Franca paradigm, where "T" for tourism can be premised on ELF.

TELF can be outlined as a multifaceted social practice with general and specific objectives targeting the educational, social, and economic spheres. Therefore, investigating this special domain of ELF can impact the sociolinguistic applying theory within the research community. In fact, rather than supporting previous findings, this study has also provided problem-solving interpretative solutions that can be replicated as effective investigative collective practices. In fact, what we have learned from the strategic use of multiple semiotic resources dynamically and creatively deployed to transmit knowledge, acquisition of skills, and competence can inform pedagogy to better instruct tourist operators and marketing to successfully promote places, cultural and historical resources, and local products.

Despite these promising results, there is ample room for further progress in determining the extent and functionality of multilingual resources in TELF, overcoming the geographical limitations of this study and its population's provenance. Consequently, in the final paragraph of this, I will define future trajectories and implications in at least two significant respects, namely the definition of TELF as a genre and the most effective methods and practices of teaching English following this study's theoretical and applied findings.

7.3 Implications

This last section addresses the lofty issue of findings implications and further research directions before coming to a reasonable conclusion.

Provided that these research findings can also highlight valuable pedagogical insight in developing tourist special language terminology and pragmatic strategies in task-based learning sessions in museums or other tourist sites, it is primarily necessary to define and classify TELF as a specialised discourse genre. For this purpose, findings from a specific domain of ELF use will be instrumental in informing further research in tourism. Two domains have provided interesting research results: business and academic communication. Thus, their characterising features will orient further investigation.

Firstly, BELF has been demonstrated to be highly content-oriented, relying on interaction skills to accomplish successful pragmatic communication (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010; Ehrenreich 2010). BELF research has shown that people working in the business are more concerned with knowledge of

business genres rather than grammatical correctness. Moreover, negotiation strategies (e.g., Kankaanranta and Planken 2010; Ehrenreich 2010; Pitzl 2010), like the ability to check for understanding, ask for clarifications, and paraphrase, are crucial elements in (B)ELF. Finally, (B)ELF speakers are more proficient than native speakers in employing effective communicative strategies, like accommodation, to enhance interaction (Charles and Marchan-Piekkari 2002; Sweeney and Zhu 2010).

Secondly, the academic domain has been considered one of the driving forces behind the spread of ELF (Bolton 2011; Jenkins 2014). Communication in this area is characterised by variability, the flexibility of syntactic forms, the hybridisation of vocabulary and accommodative strategic use of interaction tools among speakers in academic communities of practice (Jenkins 2014).

Subsequently, to build on these previous special domain ELF findings and develop research on English for specific purposes in the tourism field as TELF, which is an area yet, I would foster investigation in specific and recurrent social situations. This specialised discourse is used within a specific professional domain and expresses specialised knowledge. It should not be considered a sociolinguistic variety but an actual language with its syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features (Gotti 2003). Therefore, interactants in recurring social/rhetorical situations are likely to perform coherently with the intertextuality of this discourse. It has high narrative power and draws on a broad number of specialised domains, e.g. geography, history, art, and literature (Gotti 2006). Its technical discourse is grounded in travel experience (logically or temporally) to satisfy specified tourists' views of the world to give the impression of authenticity, familiarity/strangerhood or keying (Cohen, 1989), and a sense of distraction, conflict/challenge. According to Cohen (1974) 's model, there are five types of tourists holding different views of the world according to their proximity or strangerhood to their Centre (home society) or the Other.

- the recreational;
- the diversionary;
- the experiential;
- the experimental;
- the existential.

Its rhetoric includes emotional markers to perform different communicative functions (e.g., informative, persuasive, argumentative) to achieve persuasion. Moreover, as the present research has shown, its communication is multimodal, combining verbal descriptions (including general language features and specialised concepts; dialect and colloquial registers; conventional system of symbols and codes), photos, videos, and multimedia supports.

A further empirical investigation into communicative strategies and lexicogrammatical choices of international speakers of English in intercultural situations will unveil specific conventions and expectations defining this genre as a social construct and social action. Furthermore, I am thoroughly

committed to providing pedagogical solutions in a socially recognisable way to make students' intentions effective.

From the point of view of English language teaching, a socio-culturally recognisable genre can generate different text types – either spoken or written - with distinctive forms and content. In my view, the definition of TELF will support a more focused training of the second language with occupational purposes related to the professional competencies that students will develop for their work at a technical level in hospitality in tourism. Furthermore, investigating methodological paths to introduce TELF naturally occurring conversation extracts in instructional material designed for PG, PGCE, or MA students who aspire to become language instructors can trigger further research applicability. More specifically, I intend to instruct students beyond research-informed teaching to the integration of research skills acquisition and teaching innovation.

In line with the UK professional Standard Framework, this research contribution will aim at a) enhancing the continuing professional development of teaching professionals; b) fostering dynamic approaches to teaching and learning practices by the use of naturally-occurring conversation extracts; c) acknowledging the innovation in teaching, learning and assessment practices whereas applying full rigour of assessment criteria ensuring impartiality and peer opportunities of success; finally, d) facilitating international recognition of qualitative teaching and learning support.

In conclusion, referring to a "post-normative approach", which requires a more flexible view of linguistic norms (Dewey (2012) as found in Tourism English as a Lingua Franca (TELF), a multilingual model for ELF-aware teacher education will be devised on the premises of research findings.

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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: Information Sheet and Consent form.

Date:

INFORMATION SHEET

As part of my PhD English doctoral programme in the Department of English & Comparative Literature at Goldsmiths, University of London, I am conducting a study on English used in the Tourism industry in Italy in the perspective of English as Lingua Franca (ELF). I have approached you with a request to take part in the study because you speak English as an additional language and a first language which is different from English. Your participation in the research study is voluntary.

I would be very grateful to you if you could participate in my case study of how English is used in the Italian tourist industry. If you agree to join, you will be asked to have your conversations recorded while you are in a Tourist environment. Finally, at the end of the data collection you will be invited for an interview about your experience in using English as a lingua franca in the Tourist Industry.

All your interview responses and recorded interpersonal verbal communication will be strictly confidential and your identity will be protected in all cases. The data will be kept securely and will be used for academic purposes only. You can choose to stop your participation in the research at any time.

If you have any queries about the study, you can contact: Ida Parise (researcher) email: ipari001@gold.ac.uk, phone: +39 3389478367; or Dr. Alessia Cogo (supervisor) - email: a.cogo@gold.ac.uk or by phone on +44 (0) 20 7919 7046.

Department of English and Comparative Literature

CONSENT FORM

Project title:

English as a Lingua Franca for Tourism: A study of Tourism English in the Italian Context

- I have read or listened to the above Information Sheet relating to this project and I have decided that I will participate in the project described above. The researcher (Ida Parise) has explained the study to me and answered my questions.

(a) I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements for my participation as described in the Information Sheet.

3. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary. If I don't participate, there will be no penalty or loss of rights. I can stop participating at any time, even after I have started.

5. I have received a copy of this Consent Form and the accompanying Information Sheet.

6. I confirm that I am an adult (18 years old and older).

Date _____ Participant's signature _____

Name (please print) _____

Appendix D: 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.