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**do Mamma
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„Dies ist kein Zitat.“

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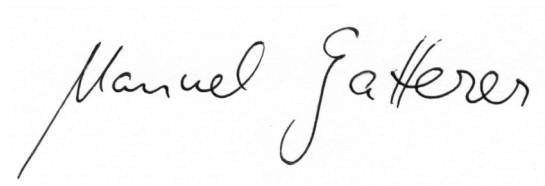
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Declaration of Authenticity

I confirm to have conceived and written this paper in English all by myself. Quotations from other authors and any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors are all clearly marked within the text and acknowledged in the bibliographical references.

Vienna, August 2011

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Manuel Gatterer". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline for the first name.

Abstract

This paper contributes to the conceptualization and description of English used as a lingua franca at the periphery of the English speaking world. The multilingual European border Province of Bolzano-Bozen, South Tyrol (Italy), offers an intriguing subject for this cause. The paper applies linguistic theory on English as a lingua franca (ELF) to a particular economic domain, the hotel business. Since the sector's impact has been increasing in recent decades alongside the use of English it has become necessary to investigate the roles and functions of ELF for hospitality purposes.

The theoretical basis to categorize manifestations of ELF in the hotel business is achieved by a review of several approaches to language use. A prototypical strategy to classify ELF use (Smit 2010), based on Wenger's (1998) 'community of practice' concept in combination with the principle of customer oriented code choice (Bäck 2009), constitutes a suitable model for the use of English in hotels. The scarcity of previous empirical work in this field determined the methodological choice of conducting qualitative interviews with hotel managers and superordinate experts in the tourism industry.

The study's results indicate that the majority of South Tyrolean hotels do not yet accommodate an economically significant share of English speaking guests but demonstrate openness towards ELF markets by the communicative design of their English website version. Further, English is only relevant for staff who are directly involved with the guests. Concerning the staff's English language competence a generational shift is apparently taking place. The younger workforce is expected to be trilingual in German, Italian and English. The interviewees embrace the worldwide spread of English and the extension of local English language teaching. Depending on the market development conversational English testing in job interviews may become more common and the management's disposition to invest in the staff's English proficiency may increase. The future of English use is contingent on at least three variables: the aim and success of marketing efforts, individual mobility of potential guests and the province's accessibility.

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List of abbreviations

CofP	Community of Practice (e.g. the staff in a hotel)
Sub-CofP	Sub-community of practice (e.g. the waiters as a part of staff in a hotel)
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EGP	English for General Purposes
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELF markets	Markets that are closely related to the demand of English as a lingua franca
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESC	English for Specific Cultures
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
GVA	Gross Value Added
HGV	Association for Hotel and Restaurant Management, “Hoteliers- und Gastwirteverband Südtirol”
Int 1, Int 2, etc.	Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2, etc.
Intra-RSE	Intra-Regional standards of English
L1, L2, L3, etc.	First, second, third language, etc.
NS / NNS	Native Speaker / Non-Native Speaker
PEG 1, 2, etc.	Question 1, 2, etc. in the Primary Expert interview Guide

PSEG 1, 2, etc.	Question 1, 2, etc. in the Primary and Secondary Expert interview Guide for Walter Meister
SEG 1, 2, etc.	Question 1, 2, etc. in the Secondary Expert interview Guide
SMG	South Tyrolean Marketing Association, “Südtiroler Marketing Gesellschaft”
WIFO	Austrian Institute for Economy Research, “Wirtschaftsforschungsinstitut”

1. Introduction

The ongoing spread of English language use around the world has led to substantial sociolinguistic changes on a local level and has generated a vivid debate in academic research about how to describe and react to this development. The objective of this paper is to find and apply a suitable theoretical approach to the use of English in a specific economic domain of South Tyrol, a multilingual European border province. The theoretical considerations include the discussion of traditionally used concepts to denote language users, for example the native/non-native distinction, as well as different aspects of the English as a lingua franca paradigm. The notion 'communities of practice' will serve as the linking device between the use of English and the hotel as a social entity.

South Tyrol is a promising ground for the research of English in use. Since English is neither spoken as a first or second language, the province lies at the periphery of the English using part of the world. Sociolinguistic change in terms of the assumption of new linguistic roles and functions by English is probably best visible in such peripheral environments. The hotel business of South Tyrol is an especially rich field for observation since it is an economic domain characterized by a diverse and dynamic exchange between different language communities. Furthermore, the multilingual nature of South Tyrol requires local solutions for local challenges in language education policy and planning. It will be shown that this has direct consequences for the English language proficiency of the hotel staff. Moreover, the approach to English can only be successful if the local historical development that has shaped this multilingualism is taken into consideration without ignoring the global background of English language spread.

The roles of English in the hotel sector of South Tyrol have not yet been analyzed to the extent that is attempted by the present explorative research project. In order to substantiate the theoretical claims a crucial part of the paper consists in the interpretation of qualitative interviews with South Tyrolean hotel managers as well as a number of superordinate experts.

2. South Tyrol and the Spread of English

The following sections establish a regional framework for the discussion about the English language in a specific business sector. This includes general facts about South Tyrol, a sociolinguistic characterization of its demography and an outline of local language policy. The presence of English will be indicated in relation to the language education system and the private economic sector. The final topic in this chapter concerns the global background of English in South Tyrol.

South Tyrol is the northernmost province of Italy, adjacent to Austria to the north and to Switzerland to the west. It is also referred to as “Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen.” The former denomination indicates its historical bond to the Austrian state Tyrol without ignoring local differences or questioning the fact that South Tyrol is an Italian province. The latter expression draws attention to its extraordinary sociolinguistic and administrative status in the system of Italian regions. For practical reasons the term ‘South Tyrol’ shall represent both meanings throughout the paper.

The bilingual and partly trilingual language policy of South Tyrol leads to double and triple toponyms. These include place names, e.g. Meran / Merano, as well as names of districts, such as Eisacktal / Val Isarco. The author will use the Italian denominations for any reference to places and districts. This shall not indicate a preference of one language community compared to the others but simply reflects the general use of South Tyrolean toponyms in the English language.

2.1. Some Aspects of South Tyrol's Sociolinguistic Demography

2.1.1. The first languages

A community's first language (L1)¹ is a fundamental aspect of its identity. Simultaneously, the unifying nature of a shared language is a distinguishing factor towards other language communities. The multilingual society of South Tyrol, with its approximately half a million members (ASTAT 2010b: 15), is a striking example for the resulting dynamics within, between and at the fuzzy borders of its language communities. Compared to other Italian provinces, South Tyrol is exceptional for its language diversity as well as for the legal framework designed to ensure the peaceful coexistence of the three official 'language groups'. In 2001 the German group constituted almost two thirds of the province's population. With about a quarter of the population, Italian L1 speakers formed the second largest group. The third group, the Ladins, speak a variety of Rhaeto-Romanic. They comprised ca. 4% of South Tyrolean citizens (ibid.: 16). Speakers of other languages are not officially recognized as language groups but may align themselves to one of the three above. Note that the expression 'language group' is a legal term tied to a compulsory individual declaration of membership. It is often used as a synonym for 'language community'. For an explanation and the implications of the term consider the section on language policy and planning (see 2.2.).

The expression 'German' used in this context shall not be interpreted as the standard variety. Actually, German in South Tyrol can be seen as a collective term for a continuum of varieties ranging from vernaculars in the more isolated valleys to the so-called 'high language', which is closer to the standard language with certain regional idiosyncrasies. Without ignoring the dialectal diversity one could roughly describe the use of German in South Tyrol as a form of medial diglossia.

¹ The term 'first language' or 'L1' is used to avoid more controversial and misleading expressions such as 'native-language' and 'mother tongue'; the former for the questionable suggestion of innateness of language proficiency and the latter due to an unsustainable gender distinction. Without further information L1, L2, L3, etc., shall denote the chronological order of acquisition and learning (for more information see section 3.1. on the native/non-native dilemma).

Thus, the high language is commonly used in general written as well as in official oral communication. The term 'Germanophones' may be the best to subsume all South Tyroleans belonging to this language community (cf. Lanthaler 2001: 137-8 and 147; cf. Eichinger 2002: 143).

The Italian L1 in South Tyrol has been described as being rather 'neutral' and does not show strong differences compared to the standard language. More recently it has been pointed out that the Italian spoken by Italophones partly also shows regional and local characteristics (cf. Mioni 1990: 23-29). Nevertheless, especially among the younger generation, there is a tendency towards a more homogenous use of Italian and even an aversion against the use of dialects (cf. Egger 2001: 59-62). The Ladin language community in South Tyrol comprises about 20,000 L1 speakers and is predominantly situated in two somewhat geographically isolated valleys, Gardena and Badia (cf. ASTAT 2010b: 15; cf. Egger 2001 65-76). In general, the distribution of language communities is characterized by a rural-urban divide. Most Italian-speakers live in the urban centers, mainly in Bolzano and Merano. The countryside is inhabited to the greatest extent by the Germanophone community (cf. ASTAT 2010a: 125).

2.1.2. Bi- and Trilingualism

Regarding the use of languages in South Tyrol, the term bilingualism usually refers to one's proficiency in Italian and German. In this context a trilingual person would be associated with a Ladin L1 speaker who is additionally proficient in both of the other languages. Eichinger affirms that individual bilingualism in South Tyrol exists to "a considerable degree [...] especially with the speakers of German" (2002: 137). For Italophones, however, there is an additional obstacle to learn the second language which results in lower L2 proficiency: the teaching of standard German within the classrooms does usually not correspond to the informal day to day use of the German dialect. In opposition to the prejudice that the influence of too many language varieties would create semilingualism, the Ladins apparently maintain

the best language proficiency in Italian and German compared to the other two language communities (Plasinger 2006: 261; cf. Mioni 1990: 21-24).

2.1.3. English as the Third or Fourth Language

The relevance of English in South Tyrol does not derive from the size of a language community. In fact, the number of first language speakers of English was not even considered in a representational study conducted in 2004 on South Tyrolean language use (Egger 2006: 27-28). Even the share of participants who regard English as being their second language was less than 4%² (ibid.). Nevertheless, English is regarded as a highly important language. A large majority of participants agreed that every person in Europe should be able to speak English (82.8%) and that people who nowadays are not able to do so are seen as disadvantaged (72.1%). Almost two thirds believe that English is important for personal affairs, which seems to be especially true for younger people, aged between 19 and 39. Further, the fear that the foreign language weakens the national languages is small: only 24.1% argue along such lines (ibid.: 56). Egger concludes that the demand of learning English is expected to increase; people in South Tyrol are not satisfied with learning local languages but regard additional languages, especially English, as a necessity (ibid. 47 and 65-6). South Tyrol experiences the spread of English in terms of the number of functions and users (cf. Hoffmann 2000: 5). An English L1 community is not a prerequisite for English to become more important. This importance is reflected in recent public language policy and planning.

² The data collection comprises people from any language background. 95% of the participants have been living in South Tyrol for at least five years.

2.2. Public Language Policy and Planning in South Tyrol

2.2.1. Historical Background

The present sociolinguistic reality of South Tyrol's population is closely tied to the fundamental political changes in the 20th century. The defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the First World War led to the annexation of a number of territories on the southern side of the Alpine divide on behalf of the Kingdom of Italy. The peace treaty of St. Germain in 1919 did not include any provisions to ensure the protection of minority rights. Between the 1920s and early 1940s the fascist Italian government imposed a severe assimilationist policy on ethnic minorities. The reform of the educational system in 1923 declared Italian as language of instruction for all primary schools. For the German and Ladin language communities in South Tyrol this meant the abolition of the L1 as language of instruction. The ban was eventually lifted in 1943, after the fall of the fascist government (Seberich 2000: 69 and 100). After World War II the discussions on educational policy were resumed on a democratic basis. Nonetheless, the relationship between national policy makers and South Tyrolean representatives remained tense: the implementation of statewide education laws into the province's exceptional circumstances was difficult if not impossible (ibid. 2000: 386). In addition to the educational issue the ethnic minorities of South Tyrol were confronted with a massive increase of Italophone immigrants (see table).

year	Italian	German	Ladin	Other
1910	2,9	89	3,8	4,3
1961	34,3	62,2	3,4	0,1
2001	24,5	64	4,0	7,4

The distribution of resident population according to their language group in percent.
(ASTAT 2010a: 120)

The arrival of new Italian settlers was not welcomed by the German and Ladin communities who had experienced national oppression. The resulting tensions

between the language communities culminated in the 1950s and 1960s with violent, deadly acts directed against Italian authorities and the local infrastructure. Today, physical violence between members of different language communities is the exception but the collective sentiments play a role regarding reciprocal negative attitudes up to the present day (Plasinger 2006: 256). Since the 1960s the number of Italophone residents has significantly diminished and is probably due to the succeeding implicit and explicit antagonism between the language communities (ASTAT 2010a: 120).

The fear of further attacks intensified the debates on the national and international level (c.f. Seberich 2000: 387). A crucial outcome of the following years of negotiations between the provincial and national government was the so-called *packet*, a bundle of provisions to expand the local autonomy aiming at a better protection of the ethnic minorities. An example regarding language planning is the proportional representation of language groups in the public service sector in combination with compulsory bilinguality (Italian/German) or, in some cases, trilinguality (Italian/German/Ladin) of all employees (Provincial Government of South Tyrol 2009a: 97-8 art. 89). A requirement for this device of affirmative action is the declaration of membership to a language group. On average, the declarations match the group members' first language to 94,1% (Egger 2006: 29-30). This divergence is due to the rights and obligations that are implied by the declaration. If, for example, an Italian L1 speaker is proficient enough in German or Ladin to work in a position reserved for members of the German or Ladin language group, it is enough to pass an exam of bi- or trilingualism and declare one's affiliation to the target language group. Similarly L1 speakers of other languages need to express their affiliation if they want to work as a public servant.

The implementation of the *packet* had important implications for the educational system. First of all, the right of instruction in the L1 was enshrined in the reformed statute of autonomy of South Tyrol (D.P.R. 1972: art. 19). Consequently, the public school administration was separated into three autonomously acting departments, each providing for one of the three language communities (Council of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano 1975). More precisely, these three different institutions, the 'deutsches Schulamt', the 'intendenza scolastica italiana' and the

‘intendenza Ladina’ are respectively concerned with schools that use the corresponding language as the main language of instruction. Secondly, it was the starting point of comprehensive reforms expanding the extent of provincial political competences. From the 1970s onwards the provincial council has been responsible for the adaptation of national educational laws. This reform led to far-reaching opportunities to design the curricula autonomously. The ability to change curricula was further enhanced in 1996 by a statewide educational reform that decentralized the personnel administration (Seberich 2000: 407-410). Accordingly, recent laws on school autonomy award schools with broader competences, such as a broader didactic and curricular flexibility and the realization of pilot projects aiming at methodological and subject-specific innovation (Council of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano 2000). One key provision is, for instance, the schools’ option to utilize up to fifteen percent of the annual amount of teaching units for their special needs. This trend towards autonomy has been further pursued in laws separately focusing on the educational goals of kindergartens, primary and lower secondary schools (ibid. 2008) and upper secondary schools (ibid. 2010).

2.2.2. The Institutional Status of English Language Teaching (ELT) in Public Schools

Following Ferguson (2006: 34-5) the status of English for the institutions responsible for South Tyrol’s language policy and planning can be estimated by considering four crucial issues: firstly, the role of the L1 and other languages involved in the educational process; secondly, the choice of the further languages as subjects and/or medium of instruction; thirdly, the year of introduction into the curriculum; and fourthly, the extent of exposure to the instruction of a language. Since these four factors vary according to which language community a South Tyrolean school belongs, the subsequent sections will give an overview of language education in the three distinct school branches. The result will then be summarized bearing in mind Ferguson’s points of reference. The primary and lower secondary levels, the grades one to eight, will be at the center of attention

since they are a core part of compulsory education and thus concerning the entire population. To comprehensively describe this expansion it would be necessary to regard the curricula of every single primary, lower secondary and upper secondary school³. For the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to delineate the extent of ELT in relation with the schools' main language of instruction.

2.2.2.1. German Schools

In so-called 'German-speaking primary schools', a "central task [is to] foster High-German with great care" (Provincial Government of South Tyrol 2009b: 64). This particular attention is due to the apparent dominance of dialects outside school and the influences of other languages (ibid.), that is to say Italian and English. Hence, the total number of German language lessons at first grade, six units per week, is far higher than the Italian L2 lessons, which accounts for one unit per week. Up to third grade, these two languages are the only ones to be taught. In the later primary grades, distribution of language lessons is altered in two steps. In second and third grade German is taught five units per week and Italian four units. In fourth and fifth grade, these numbers are reversed. In lower secondary school both languages are taught to the same extent, i.e. for four units. English is introduced as L3 at fourth grade with two units per week. This compulsory minimal number remains unchanged throughout the rest of the curriculum. According to the type of upper secondary school, the extent of ELT may be higher. The L2 and L3 are exclusively used as subject languages. The concept for language teaching published by the German school department does not refer to other languages than the L1 as a possible medium of instruction of non-language subjects (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2007: 27; Provincial Government of South Tyrol 2009b: 7 and 10).

³ Public schools in Italy share a common curricular structure. It is divided in primary schools (grade one to five), lower secondary schools (grade six to eight) and upper secondary schools. Compulsory education ends at eleventh grade, which is the earliest possible year of graduation in a vocational program. Further reaching upper secondary school programs go up to the thirteenth grade (cf. D.M. 2007).

In the last fifteen years the extent of ELT in German schools has been substantially expanded. In the school year 2004/2005 English was introduced in some primary schools as a pilot project and since 2007/2008 it has been taught all over South Tyrol in fourth and fifth grade. In lower secondary school the L3 was introduced for the first time in 1995/1996 and was extended to all three classes all over the province in 2000/2001⁴.

2.2.2.2. Italian Schools

In Italian schools ELT has acquired an even higher status than in the German counterpart. In an attempt to accommodate L1-, L2- (German) and L3-learning, English was not only implemented into the curricula earlier but also in a more extensive and integrative way. The first project that introduced ELT in a lower secondary school took place in 1989/1990. In 1992/1993 it was expanded to all three grades. In primary schools it was taught in 2002/2003 for the first time. Today, the provincial framework for the determination of curricula in Italian schools prescribes the introduction of both, L2 and L3 in first grade with a minimum of respectively six units and one and a half units per week. The L1 has to be taught for at least five units. This changes from third to fifth grade in favor to English, which is raised by one unit per week. The extent of 2.5 units of ELT remains the same in lower secondary school whereas Italian and German are reduced to four units leaving the time for other subjects (Council of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano 2009: 16 and 20). De facto, English is taught two units per week in primary school and three units in lower secondary school⁵.

Beyond the province-wide framework almost all Italian primary and lower secondary schools have utilized the school autonomy legislation to adopt a trilingual school model. A central method of language teaching in this model is

⁴ Information kindly provided by Francesca Speziani, staff member of the *Landesinstitut für Statistik* – the provincial institute for statistics, ASTAT; and Evi-Debora Schwienbacher, staff member of the *Pädagogisches Institut für die deutsche Sprachgruppe* – the pedagogical institute for the German language group. E-mail correspondences 2010.

⁵ Information kindly provided by Prof. Giuseppe Perna, member of the *comitato provinciale di valutazione per la qualità del sistema scolastico* – the commission for the evaluation of the provincial school system. E-mail correspondence 2010.

content and language integrated learning (CLIL). In primary school German and English are used as vehicular languages to teach subjects like information technology and environmental education (L2) as well as music, physical education, arts & design (L3). In lower secondary school, the L2 is applied to geography classes whereas the L3 is used for information technology, music, technical and physical education. The trilingual school model was introduced as a project in 2003/2004 and despite the challenges concerning the availability of the necessary professional and economic resources it has apparently turned out to be a success (Perna 2006: 33-4).

2.2.2.3. Ladin Schools

Due to the exceptional linguistic position of the language community, Ladin schools have implemented the so-called parity of languages of instruction, which involves a particular CLIL practice. Obviously, Ladin retains an essential role as L1. German or Italian may be used as either L2 or L3 but they need to be taught to an equal extent (D.P.R. 1983: art. 7). Depending on the particular school, literacy is achieved in first grade via two languages of instruction, either in Ladin and Italian or in Ladin and German (cf. Seberich 2000: 190). The third, lesser known language must be used in at least one unit per week. From second grade onwards the languages of instruction alternate on a weekly basis. The weekly share of Ladin as a proper subject is two units while German and Italian are taught for five units each. Furthermore, Ladin may be used as a supportive language in any class at any time. The subject 'religious education' is taught in all three languages (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011e). In Ladin lower secondary schools the parity model is realized by the instruction of one half of content subjects in the L2 and the other half in the L3.

After a period of experimentation ELT was fully introduced in lower secondary schools in 1999/2000 (Gulino 2000: 2). The initial introduction of English as the L4

in Ladin primary schools happened in 2006/2007⁶. Currently, English is taught as a proper subject from fourth to eighth grade to the same extent as the L1, i.e. 2 units per week (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011e).

2.2.2.4. Summary: The Expansion of ELT in Compulsory Education

In the preceding two decades, the extent of ELT has remarkably increased in all public schools of South Tyrol. In primary education only 2.9% learned English in 2000/2001. As a result of the expansion of ELT to all grades in Italian schools and the partial extension in German and Ladin schools this figure has risen to 53.4% (Gulino 2000: 4-8). In 2000/2001 the percentage of lower secondary students learning English reached 67.7%. Now almost all students at this level (99.6%) learn English. Yet, the opportunities offered by the recent school autonomy legislation have been seized in different ways by distinct schools. While the administration for the German language group seems to follow a more conservative approach to the expansion of ELT, the Italian and Ladin institutions take a more inclusive stance – the former by adopting innovative teaching methods, such as CLIL, the latter by orchestrating the education of four languages in primary school. In sum, the English language has acquired a very high institutional status in the public education administration of South Tyrol. This is also the case concerning vocational schools relevant for the tourism industry (see section 4.2.).

⁶ Francesca Speziani, staff member of the *Landesinstitut für Statistik* – the provincial institute for statistics, ASTAT, kindly provided this information in a correspondence.

2.2.3. English in Adult Education

The English language has assumed an exceptional role also in the education of adults. This can be perceived in the academic as well as the non-academic domain. Founded in 1997, the *Free University of Bolzano* declares itself to be “a multilingual, internationally oriented institution” (Free University of Bolzano-Bozen 2006: 5). This mission statement is realized by the use of not only the local languages as media of instruction but also of English. Similarly, the attempt of linking the multilingual nature of South Tyrol and the prevalent language of international academia is also taken into consideration by the provincial college of health studies *Claudiana* by offering a part of its classes in English (Perna 2006: 32).

In adult education outside the institutes of tertiary education, English is the most wide-spread language to be learned. Considering the number of people who are or were learning an additional language in South Tyrol, be it in a language class or by auto-didactic means, English was chosen by more than 70% in 2004 followed by French with ca. 13%. In addition, a significantly higher number of young adults sought to improve their English than their older peers. English was learned by 50% of South Tyroleans aged between 19 and 39 compared to only 37% of the 40 to 59-year-olds (Egger 2006: 48). These two findings show the high degree of prestige of English among adult learners and indicate a likelihood of further increase.

2.3. English in the Private Economic Sector of South Tyrol

In his study on language competence as a competitive factor for the South Tyrolean private sector, Pörnbacher (2009: 35-41) interprets the results of standardized interviews undertaken in 84 businesses from various branches including tourism. He observes that outside the German, Austrian and Italian market English is the dominant language in use. This tendency is not changed by

the occasional use of, for instance, German with customers from the Benelux or Italian with Spanish customers. The lack of language competence among employees is seen as a restraint for the expansion in new markets. The improvement of English skills is perceived as most important in relation to all tasks that involve customer contact and related functions. According to the study, this includes the executive personnel, employees in the marketing, sales and service departments as well as receptionists and administrators. The recent demand for these kinds of jobs seems to mirror the increasing number of learners of English (Egger 2006: 48). Moreover, younger employees are more used to speaking English in internal business communication than their older colleagues (Giungo 2006: 71). A lower importance of English is attributed to specialized personnel and auxiliary workers who rather need a proficiency in German and/or Italian (Egger 2006: 48).

Once an entirely external phenomenon, English has gradually entered parts of the South Tyrolean society and has become especially relevant for some sectors of its economy. In an attempt to avoid value judgments, this section puts forward reasons that led to the expansion of English in the world and tries to find direct relations to the local development in South Tyrol. As will be shown in sections 3.6. and 5.3.5.1. these findings also apply to the tourism sector.

2.4. The Global Background of English in South Tyrol

In essence, the vast spread of a language is nothing new. It does not depend on a particular language nor on the number of its speakers. More than anything else the reason for a language to spread is, as Crystal (2003: 9-10) puts it, “the power of its people – especially their political and military power.” Beyond this, it takes an “economically powerful” nation to expand and maintain the dominance of a language (ibid.). In the nineteenth century, English expanded on a substantial scale through British political imperialism. During the twentieth century, the spread of English was primarily fueled by the economic power of the United States of America. Meanwhile, the independence movement in the British colonies created

several new countries around the world where English obtained a fundamental status. In addition to these developments, and in contrast to past expansions of other languages, a series of groundbreaking inventions in communication technology have supported the spread of English to an unprecedented scale. Many of these inventions, ranging from the telephone to the Internet, were discovered and/or widely applied for the first time in the Anglophone countries before they prevailed on a global level (ibid. 117- 120).

In the second half of the twentieth century, the idea that the use of a single lingua franca would facilitate communication has become more and more prominent through the establishment of international communities. These include political organizations, such as the United Nations and the European Union as well as business and academic communities. According to Crystal

the adoption of a single lingua franca is most in evidence, both in lecture-rooms and board-rooms, as well as in thousands of individual contacts being made daily all over the globe. (ibid.: 13)

To use a buzzword one may say that English has facilitated a process of globalization. In contrast to the misleading popular understanding of this concept centered on economic concerns, the meaning of globalization can be sketched by two defining features: *“the interconnectedness of the world as a whole and the concomitant increase in reflexive, global consciousness [...]”* (Robertson 2001: 461; original emphasis). With different socio-economic effects for distinct communities, the spread of English has come to play a role in at least the former of these two features. The intensification of mobility increased face-to-face contact between members of different language communities. New communication technologies enable individuals and organizations to exchange information at an unprecedented speed and quantity. Often, the preferred language used in these exchanges is English (cf. Crystal 2003: 13). Scholars strongly disagree on the consequences of this development. This large-scale preference for English has been feared for impairing the local lingo-cultural diversity (e.g. Phillipson 1992). Even if this fear is justified in certain cases, it should be pointed out that globalization is a mixture of both homogenization and heterogeneity, and thereby its facilitation through the spread of English will have a unique, unparalleled impact on local environments. This “glocalization”, as Robertson (2001: 462) calls this

phenomenon, might even involve the strengthening of regionalisms, local identities and vernaculars in the face of possibly weakening nation-states (Trudgill 2004: 45). On the other hand, indigenous languages may tend to be reduced to markers of identity and used in less prestigious domains, whereas English may take over domains with high prestige, such as higher education, scientific communication and transnational business. In addition to this, Ferguson highlights the opportunities English offers for “transcending the limitations of a small national community and for interacting on a wider stage to the benefit of the economy and society” (2006: 128-9). This argument plays a crucial role in the European language policy by setting a common goal for every European citizen, namely to learn “at least two other languages in addition to his or her mother tongue” (European Commission 2003: 4; *ibid.* 2008: 5; European Council 2009: Annex II). In a 2005 survey, virtually all of the European parents except the English L1 speakers believed that their children should learn English as one of these additional languages. Further, in every country of the EU 25, English was generally perceived as the most useful language (European Commission 2006: 30-4).

South Tyrol is a local example for the complex development of English in the world and in the European Union. Similarly to other territories, English has found fertile grounds in academia and some economic sectors. As argued above, the most obvious as well as regionally specific characteristic of English language spread in South Tyrol may be found in the three-way implementation of English as the L3 in the German, Italian and Ladin primary curricula. English has come to be used at many South Tyrolean work places and learned at all of the province’s schools. What this English formally consists of will be examined in the next chapter.

3. Establishing a Theoretical Research Framework

So far, the term 'English' has been used without paying attention to what this expression may actually stand for. Since the task of this paper is to approach questions such as 'what kind of English is used' and 'what functions does this kind of English fulfill,' this concept cannot be left unspecified. To reveal and illustrate features of interest that are not immediately apparent, it is necessary to devise a suitable model, an abstract simplification of reality (cf. Widdowson 1996: 18). This also applies to the investigation of 'English' in a particular socio-economic domain, such as the hotel business in South Tyrol. In general, the question about which model is appropriate for the investigation of 'English' is subject of partly polemic, longstanding and still ongoing debate. Some of these models will be outlined in this chapter in order to conceptualize a model tailored to meet the aims of the paper.

3.1. The Native/Non-native Dilemma

The most basic way to differentiate between language users is to take a particular language as the point of reference and differentiate between 'native speakers' (NS) or 'non-native speakers' (NNS) of that language. This common dual distinction is rooted in traditional models of language. Biological and historical models, for example, allow for the description of intra- as well as extralinguistic factors in the development from Indo-European to present day English. Yet, these models consider NS only. Here, the focus clearly lies on the step-by-step development of a single kind of English, usually not considering the existence of more than one variety at one moment in time. This view of a language is also called "monolithic" (cf. Lesznyák 2004: 25) for the fact that 'language' is treated as a rather static and singular entity. However, since the plurality of language may not be relevant at all to the proposition of the models it might even obscure the details of interest. As a result, according to this view, a fairly steady line can be drawn between NS and NNS.

Models that work well for the analysis of some aspects of a complex phenomenon might be reductionist in relation to others, for example, when bringing an additional linguistic variable into play, such as language proficiency. The inflexible NS/NNS distinction ceases to offer a viable distinction between the users of a language. Moreover, the term native speaker suggests a predetermined superior language proficiency compared to non-native speakers due to the fact that one was “born to the language” (Jenkins 2009b: 16).

In that respect the expression ‘mother tongue’ is not very different: either a person learned the language from the postnatal stage onwards or, supposedly, one may not be able to achieve the degree of proficiency on a ‘mother tongue level.’ In fact, cases of language loss, for example due to subtractive bilingualism of migrants, show that language proficiency is not solely determined by the exposition to a language at an early age. Further, the NS/NNS distinction is useless when observing child bilingualism, or a proficient writer’s use of the national language instead of her first language.

Another concern about language proficiency is that a language is not a uniform entity but composed of innumerable specific areas of use. Most NSs may not have learned the necessary specific vocabulary to explain the anatomical differences between chimps and bonobos. A NNS zoologist, on the other hand, may possess the necessary linguistic resources for this special purpose.

For foreign language teaching the presumed inferiority of NNS language competence leads to the assumption that there is, according to Quirk, “the need for native teacher support and the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language” (Quirk 1990 in Seidlhofer 2003: 14). This apparently straightforward assertion implies the idea that native speakers form the only legitimized institution to codify norms for a standard of a language. Accordingly, English foreign language teaching could be seen as the distribution of a standard determined by a group of NSs.

In explicit opposition to such view, Widdowson invites to

think of English as an international language not in terms of the distribution of a stable and unitary set of encoded forms, but as the spread of a virtual language that is exploited in different ways for different purposes. (2003: 50)

The term virtual language denotes any language's inherent potential of being used in a flexible way; poets, for example, might exploit this 'virtuality' by inventing neologisms, metaphors, etc. This virtual language may also be exploited by a community of people setting up their own norms for their specific uses of English. This creates a new point reference to measure proficiency which is removed from the original NS English and can thus not be described via the NS/NNS distinction.

In a more controversial discussion, Quirk's claim of NS superiority was vehemently contested by Bra j B. Kachru who interprets it as "an attack on [...] the recognition of pluricentricity and multi-identities of English" (1991 in Seidlhofer 2003: 20). Firstly, as Kachru responds, it is not realistic for NNS teachers to be constantly in touch with the native language; secondly, varieties of English that have been institutionalized "are expected to conform to local norms and speech strategies" (ibid.: 21); and thirdly, the internalization of the language might be achieved in different ways by indigenous people compared to native speakers. These points of critique are defining for the study of 'indigenized' varieties of English or 'World Englishes', which will be observed more closely in the next section. For now it is more important to determine how to tackle the underlying problem of the non-native/native dilemma.

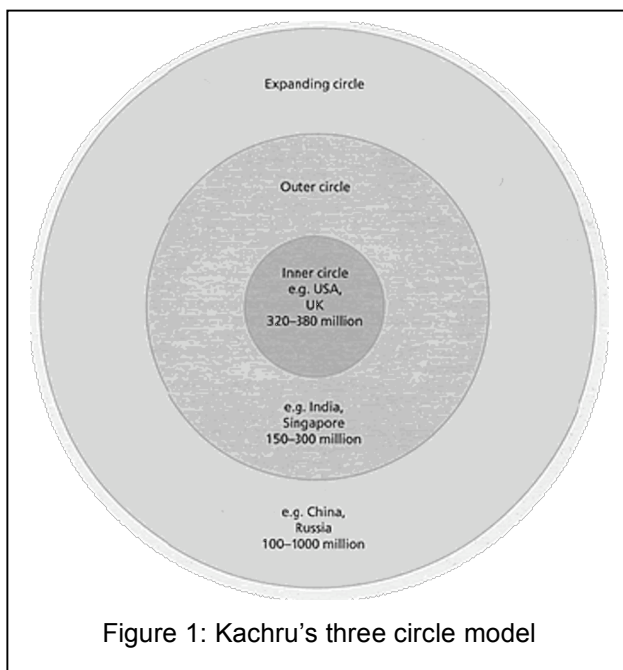
The use of both concepts, 'native/non-native language' and 'mother tongue' are possibly misleading and, as has been insinuated above, with far reaching connotations. They represent a very popular and at the same time simplistic binary categorization of language users. Both terms suggest an automatic superiority or inferiority due to one's origin. Besides that, the latter implies an unsustainable gender distinction since it implies the dominance of a female role model. These generalizations are highly questionable and correspond more to prejudices than to a valid model of linguistic description (cf. Breiteneder 2009: 5; cf. Jenkins 2009b: 20). In fact, the manifestations of English that are at the center of attention are not seen as deficient compared to the standard variety. Kachru confirms this view by

stating that a “local (non-native) model [can be] functionally as much a part of the linguistic repertoire of people as are the native [...] languages” (1992: 68). In support of the cited propositions, the more neutral numeral labels – L1, L2, L3, etc. – will be applied throughout the paper to denote a speaker’s linguistic repertoire. Without additional remarks about the degree of language proficiency or the possible bi- or multilingual upbringing of an individual, these labels shall not signify more than languages acquired and learned in a possibly overlapping chronological order. This approach acknowledges that the increase of one’s ability in a language may happen by using the language in communicative situations (acquisition) and/or by the more conscious process of accumulating knowledge about the vocabulary and grammar of a language (learning) (cf. Yule 1996: 191). The most practicable way to account for the degree of individual language competence in the tourism sector was to work with a differentiation between oral and written language skills (see section 3.7.1.). The NS/NNS dilemma becomes obsolete by the use of this terminology and by the fact that interactions between English L1 speakers are not relevant for the thesis.

3.2. English as a Native, Second or Foreign Language

An influential sociolinguistic model based on the NS/NNS distinction includes the terms English as a native language (ENL), as a second language (ESL) and as a foreign language (EFL). These terms have been used since the 1970’s to define the status of the English language in countries and also individual language users (McArthur 1998: 42). About a decade later Kachru introduced the model based on the metaphor of the three concentric circles corresponding to the ENL/ESL/EFL distinction (see figure 1). Besides visualizing an estimate number of English speakers worldwide, its purpose was to illustrate “the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English” (Kachru 1992: 356). The inner circle is supposed to contain the ENL countries with English playing a fundamental historical role. Additionally, these are the places where ENL users are usually born and raised, such as in the UK, USA, Canada, etc. In the outer circle, the ESL circle, English has a special status in national affairs assuming far-

reaching institutional roles. This is often the case in countries with British colonial history, such as in Nigeria, India, the Philippines, etc., where English counts as a so-called indigenized variety. The EFL countries are attributed to the expanding circle where English is present in language education but does not have an official standing, for example Russia, China, Italy, etc. The countries in the inner circle are seen as norm-providers that promote the established standard(s) of the English language. The outer circle countries are specified as norm-developing since they are forming their own standards. The expanding circle is called norm-dependent and the comprised countries are assumed to rely on the standard(s) that are provided by the inner circle countries (cf. Jenkins 2009b: 15-6; Lesznyák 2004: 29).



This model has been very influential in academic research and used as the “common currency in the world wide English-teaching industry” (McArthur 1998: 43). It has facilitated the change of perception from the unquestioned domination of two standard varieties, American and British English, to the awareness and valorization of ‘World Englishes’. Additionally, this topic turned into a distinct research area addressing

especially the development of English in the outer circle. The pluralization of English and the debate about it had a groundbreaking effect. The recognition of ‘indigenized varieties of English’, such as Indian English which features specific national contexts of English-teaching, led to the reflection on local identities and the inclusion of local norms to the imposed standards. It encouraged scholars to investigate the relationships between language and power and the change of sociolinguistic conditions (cf. Bruthiaux 2003: 161 and Leitner 1992, for further references).

Despite the favorable impact of the model, it has been criticized for not being applicable to individual manifestations of English. Moreover, due to the fact that it is more than twenty years old it may not account for the change of uses of English in recent years. This is pointed out by Bruthiaux who further argues that Kachru's original model is "descriptively and analytically inconsistent" and may only offer "a minor contribution to making sense of the current configuration of English world wide" (2003: 161). Indeed, its usefulness in the research of contemporary sociolinguistic phenomena does not lie in its uncritical application but rather on the review of the model's inconsistencies. Some of the inconsistencies most relevant to this paper are dealt with in the following paragraph.

First of all, as already mentioned, the ENL/ESL/EFL model is based on the problematic NS/NNS dualism outlined above. The fact that the non-native category is split into two subcategories does not resolve the underlying dilemma. As a consequence, the model is not able to define speakers in terms of their proficiency. The fact that an ENL speaker may have less vocabulary and grammatical competence than an EFL speaker cannot be taken into

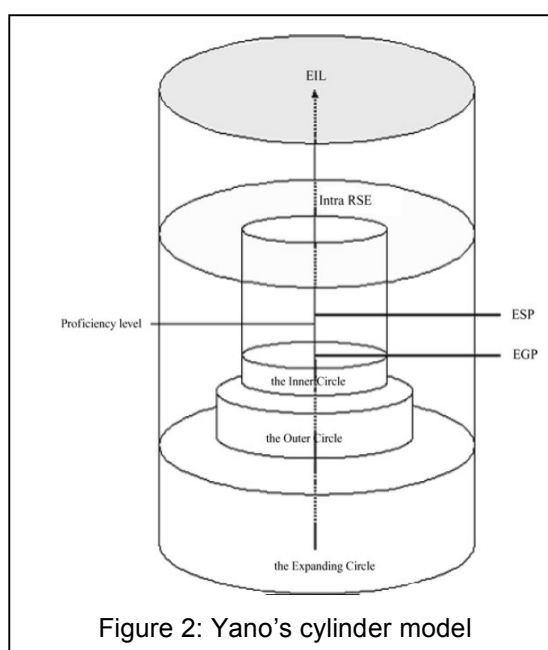


Figure 2: Yano's cylinder model

consideration. Another simplification concerns variation. The inner circle is taken as the one homogenous norm-providing community of a single variety of English, especially for the supposedly norm-dependent EFL countries. This monolithic view is widely contested because it ignores alternative standards and uses of English, such as contact languages, pidgins, creoles or English as a Lingua Franca (cf. Lesznyák 2004: 25). Thirdly, the model cannot be applied to either multilingual English speakers or distinct communities of practice (see section 3.7.1. for a description of this term) that may use different languages to fulfill different functions in their daily routines. Fourthly, the focus on nation-states does not permit the consideration of personal mobility. That concerns English speakers

living in as well as traveling to other places other than their ENL, ESL or EFL country of origin. Finally, the model has become obsolete in regard to the use of newer media of communication such as the Internet and e-mail services.

These and other points of critique led scholars to either reject or adapt the model according to one's methodological needs. Focusing on the issue of language proficiency Yano made an attempt to apply Kachru's terminology adding a third dimension to the flat three circle model (Yano 2009: 250; figure 2). The individual language proficiency is depicted as an arrow through the centrum of three cylinders, which correspond to a three-dimensional model of Kachru's circles. The arrow indicates several different levels of proficiency on top and above the cylinders: 'English for General Purposes' (EGP) functions as the point of reference for all other categories. It is seen as the "basic communicative skill in English" that enables to "understand and be understood" involving a general knowledge of English (ibid.). People who were socialized in English-speaking communities and have acquired the language naturally in their childhood are supposed to master EGP. This is why the EGP indicator is on top of the inner cylinder. Learners from the outer and expanding cylinders need to devote additional effort to achieve the EGP skill. The general knowledge of EGP does not comprise 'English for Specific Purposes' (ESP), expressions required for subject specific domains, such as business English. Not in the figure but fundamental to the development of higher language proficiency is 'English for Specific Cultures' (ESC), i.e. expressions that are "heavily laden with specific cultures" (ibid.). This lingo-cultural variable is tied to the idea of Intra-regional standards of English (Intra-RSE). In this context 'region' stands for geographic entities of the size of continents. The term 'standard' does not refer to a set of official norms implemented in or imposed on regional educational systems. It is rather meant as the sum of widely used and intelligible phonological, lexical and grammatical features (cf. Jenkins 2006: 161). In the case of Europe's regional standard of English or 'Euro-English' Yano states that its common ground is "the linguistic stock of Indo-European languages, western history, and Judeo-Christian cultural tradition (Yano 2009: 250)." One could say that in order to be understood within a region via English in several specific domains, it is not only necessary to know English for general and the relevant specific purposes but also to 'be aware of culture dependent uses of English.

Finally, Yano claims 'English as an International Language' (EIL) to be the "the ultimate level of idealized proficiency for cross regional communication" (ibid.: 251) which requires the knowledge of very high levels of English for specific purposes and English for specific cultures.

Yano's modification to Kachru's original model is a marked shift to individual language proficiency. Most importantly, the cylinder model is not primarily based on countries. Even though it still represents national patterns of language learning and language planning, it is also meant to be applied to an intra-national territory and to individuals. Further, the exclusive distinction between a 'native' and 'non-native proficiency' is changed into proficiency levels that are accessible for any individual learner. The acquisition of a higher proficiency than 'native' EGP is open to everybody. For the idealized ENL speaker who is not supposed to know more than general expressions to perform in daily life, this allows the possibility that a NNS of English may become comparatively more proficient.

A more contestable aspect of Yano's model is the existence of an Intra-regional uncoded standard of English. A 'region' in that sense cannot be defined by state-lines or geographical limitations (cf. Bruthiaux 2003: 170) but probably at best by the fuzzy borders of partly overlapping 'cultural clouds' covering the world. The process of diversification is being promoted by increasing exchange of information and mobility. Consequently, these 'clouds' seem to become more heterogeneous and their loose inner and outer boundaries more porous. Therefore, the intra-regional standard can only roughly account for multilingual realities and hardly for their ongoing diversification. Nonetheless, the concept of uncoded standards inherent to Yano's model, i.e. a certain linguistic repertoire necessary to ensure a sufficient grade of intelligibility, is plausible and useful even if its existence may be difficult to substantiate by empirical data. An additional helpful aspect included in the cylinder model is the concept of ESP and ESC. ESP and ESC allow a description of the use of English by distinct communities of practice concerned with people associated to different professional and regional cultures.

3.3. Englishes in the World as Varieties

In contrast to the ENL/ESL/EFL models by Kachru and Yano, this and the following section will review approaches that do not take a single kind of English as the starting point for any further argument. The pluralistic nature of language has often been denoted by the term 'variety'. This notion is handy to avoid more ideologically loaded questions like 'why is the dialect x not recognized as an independent language?'. In other words, certain approaches to the description of language are not interested in phenomena that exist outside the formal aspect of a language, such as ideologies. In that sense, ideologies can be called an extralinguistic factor which is put aside by some formal approaches to language in favor of the respective research goals (cf. Melchers and Shaw 2003: 9-12). In the research of English in the world, the notion 'variety' does not exclude extralinguistic factors and thus the discussion of this topic becomes more controversial. A look at two important perspectives can help to find an appropriate viewpoint regarding the subject of the thesis. The first perspective concerns its use as a highly restrictive quality to indicate a legitimate norm-developing status of an instance of 'World Englishes'. These 'New Englishes' form an exclusive category because they share the fact that they are codified varieties of English used in important official domains. A stricter limitation of a group of varieties, may be that the codified characteristics are also standardized. On the formal level such a standard variety would require a firm linguistic basis in terms of vocabulary and grammar. Trying to delineate the characteristics that constitute a variety, Bruthiaux calls it a key issue whether there is

a core of speakers [who live] in a particular location [and who] use it to a reasonable level of proficiency for a substantial part of their daily activities. (2003: 168)

Further, such a variety covers a broad range of purposes in daily activities as well as in important domains, for example in education, business and academia – possibly on an international level (ibid.). In addition, according to Bruthiaux, a fundamental factor for a variety to emerge is its

recurring, spontaneous use [...] in emblematic domains such as the media, artistic creation, and popular culture. (ibid.)

This interpretation may be useful as a point of reference. The idealized characteristics of a variety reported by Bruthiaux can be used to contrast different manifestations of English in the world: A certain variety may be described as being more established than another one because it is more used in the daily lives of the members of a community. Such a direct comparison is only possible as long as there is a community whose interactions are based at a certain location.

The second perspective involves a reconceptualization of the notions 'variety' and 'community'. The basis of Brutiaux's interpretation lies in a core of speakers who live at a particular place. However, through the development in information technology and global mobility unprecedented communicative settings have been established that exist independently from a particular location (cf. Seidlhofer 2009: 238). The traditional understanding of 'community' as a core of speakers who are living together in a place and sharing certain values and beliefs lies in stark contrast to the existence of global and virtual communities. Thus, Seidlhofer claims that

with radical technology-driven changes in society, inevitably our sense of what constitutes a legitimate community and a legitimate linguistic variety has to change []. (2007: 315)

Following Seidlhofer's assertion, the notion 'variety' shall only be used in this thesis in the broadest terms denoting the existence of more than one entity of an abstract common type. Correspondingly, the term 'variety of English' implies that there is more than one token of the abstract type 'English'. In other words, 'English' is not seen as the only legitimate origin of the codified standard language but merely as a collective abstraction representing innumerable varieties. In contrast to Bruthiaux's traditional understanding of 'variety' the reconceptualized notion is more linked to communication and information rather than community and identity (cf. Widdowson 2003: 54).

Both perspectives on the notion 'variety' presented in this section indicate a main difference between Kachru's original ENL/ESL/EFL model, including any of its modified offspring, and a pluralistic approach: a 'variety' is not anymore dependent on a central standard of English but on an abstraction, a virtual language. The reconceptualization of 'variety' by its dissociation from a fixed location and

community lies at the core of the theoretical approach to English in the hotel business of South Tyrol. In the traditional sense no variety of English is spoken in South Tyrol. Taking a reconceptualized stance, varieties of English are constructed with any verbal communicative interaction in English. The next sections establish more common ground that deepens the discussion of the phenomenon.

3.4. Communities of Practice (CofP)

The variety concept outlined above does refer to English as an abstract, pluralistic superordinate that indicates the existence of manifold varieties of Englishes. This assumption may account for the pluralistic nature of language and language use but it is less helpful in the analysis of concrete sociolinguistic phenomena. This is especially due to the abstraction, not only from codifications and standards of English but also because of its detachment from any idea of community. In order to take into account the extensive changes in global communication in the past twenty years, a re-conceptualized notion of 'community' needs to be included in the corresponding considerations. As has been shown earlier, the view that only "frequent face-to-face contact between people living in close proximity to each other" constitutes a community "does not hold any more" (Seidlhofer 2009: 238). Wenger offers an alternative concept that may be more beneficial to the observation of current uses of English in the world: communities of practice. He introduces the concept as follows: as human beings

we are constantly engaged in the pursuit of enterprises of all kinds [...] we interact with each other and with the world and we tune our relations with each other and with the world accordingly. [...] Over time this collective learning results in practices that reflect both the pursuit of our enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. It makes sense, therefore, to call these kinds of communities *communities of practice*. (Wenger 1998: 45; original emphasis)

Closely tied to a certain practice, the notion 'community' becomes more flexible and can be applied to all kinds of communicative interactions as long as they

share a “mutual engagement”, a “joint enterprise” and a “repertoire” (ibid.: 73). A group of people who share a device featuring Internet connection, the knowledge of how to operate the device and the necessary language proficiency, owns the necessary shared repertoire to communicate instantly over long distances. If, in addition, the group members have agreed on a jointly negotiated enterprise, say, the writing of a scientific paper for the relevant journal, and further, every single person involved is doing some work for that purpose, thus showing a mutual engagement, they can be called a community of practice. As Wenger’s introduction suggests, the purpose of the interaction does not need to be as specific as in the given example.

All people belong to several CofP at any given time and “a single organization usually creates more than one CofP” (Smit 2010: 9). Hence, two members of the paper-writing group meet to discuss in more detail one specific chapter because they are considered the experts for this topic. Here, the joined enterprise is to deliver a chapter that may be more elaborate than a version written by other members of the group. The two experts form a kind of sub-community of practice (sub-CofP) in that they are mutually engaged in negotiating meaning for the production of their specific chapter and possibly using a more specific linguistic repertoire.

The notion *community of practice* has become an important feature for a fairly recent model of language in use: English as a lingua franca (ELF). ELF is a crucial concept for the description of English for hospitality purposes and will be described in the following section.

3.5. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

3.5.1. Some Definitions

In the most general terms, a lingua franca can be delineated as the “language of communication between persons who have different first languages” (Jackson 2007: 86). This applies to languages such as Swahili, which is often used in East Africa by people who speak different tribal languages (ibid.), as well as to English used in many parts of the world. In the past ten years, increasing effort has been invested in the investigation of the communicative purposes as well as the formal consistency of English as a lingua franca. This interest is most importantly due to the fact that the phenomenon has become immensely frequent on a global scale: the number of people who speak English in addition to their first language is substantially larger than its L1 speakers (House 2003: 557).

A more restrictive interpretation of the ‘Lingua Franca’ concept would exclude first language speakers and people with similar cultural backgrounds. Accordingly, Firth understands English used as a Lingua Franca as

a ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue, nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language of communication. (1996: 240, original emphasis)

The term ‘Lingua Franca’ has also been found to refer to a pidgin language, an additionally acquired language system that does not have any first language speakers (cf. Seidlhofer 2000: 61). Correspondingly, one of the term’s possible historical origins refers to a pidgin based on Italian vernaculars and a number of other Mediterranean language varieties. This ‘language’ was used for a specific purpose: to facilitate maritime trade (Meierkord and Knapp 2002: 9). In contrast, House states that the term goes back to the Arabic expression “*lisan-al-farang*’ and intermediary language used by speakers of Arabic with travelers from Western Europe” (2003: 557). The today’s meaning of ELF, she explains, is very different compared to the original one. Taking a similar stance as Firth, she argues that ELF is neither a language for specific purposes nor a pidgin because it is not

a restricted code, but a language showing full linguistic and functional range” (ibid.). Despite the evident disagreements in ELF research, the following sections will present a practicable approach to this notion.

3.5.2. The English L1 speaker in ELF settings

As indicated above, definitions of ELF sometimes differ in terms of the in- or exclusion of English L1 speakers in ELF settings. This may also depend on the scholar’s research goal. In his study, Firth focuses on “the naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction produced by non-native speakers” and thus prefers an exclusive approach (1996: 239-40). An example of partial inclusion is the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English. The aim of this project is to “open the way for a *large-scale and in-depth linguistic description*” of ELF (VOICE 2011, original emphasis). In this research project 10% of the participants in an ELF exchange are allowed to be English L1 speakers. This regulation is seen as necessary to single out formal properties of ELF that are less influenced by English L1 speakers. The participation of a minor share of English L1 speakers is not perceived as a problem (Jenkins 2009a: 201). In contrast to Firth’s study and the VOICE project, which aim at the description of ELF discourse, the focus of this thesis lies on the extent of ELF use and its communicative purposes. Thus, it is possible to include English L1 speakers to the widest extent. In an ELF setting at least one participant must speak a first language other than English (see also section 3.5.6. on the prototypical differentiation between ELF settings that in- and exclude English L1 speakers).

3.5.3. The Communicative Purposes of ELF

Concerning the communicative purposes the prime aim of a lingua franca, and of ELF discourse in particular, is shared understanding (cf. Smit 2007: 229). It is primarily used as means to allow communication to take place, whatever the goal of the communication might be. ELF is not one kind of English for specific purposes but may be used for a vast range of communicative purposes. In

exclusive discourse communities, for example among lawyers, ELF can be the bridging tool for English for special legislative purposes as the sole language everybody understands. On the other hand, ELF can be used for more general purposes, such as in small talk (cf. Smit 2010: 56-8). According to Seidlhofer ELF interactions have a “consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive nature” (2000: 60). This statement is confirmed by House and points out the solidarity between the participants in her study on ELF interactions between speakers of different L1s (2003: 566 and 569). However, even if most ELF interactions may retain these positive characteristics, they are not automatically given: more fluent ELF users may also exploit the deficits of their less proficient counterparts for their own advantage (cf. Meierkord and Knapp 2002: 18). Nonetheless, as Seidlhofer states, “the central concerns for this domain are efficiency, relevance and economy in language learning and language use” (2001: 141).

Taking a similar position as Seidlhofer, House views ELF as “a transactional language for their [the speakers’] own communicative purposes and advantage” (2003: 560). It is used for “a largely utilitarian motive” (ibid.). In addition she affirms that ELF is not used for “identity marking” because “there is no definable group of ELF markers (ibid.). Instead, it “is a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital” (ibid.). Thus, identity building cannot be seen as a communicative purpose of ELF. However, the participants’ individual identity does have an important role in ELF exchanges. This is shown in section 3.5.5. on the linguacultural approach to ELF. The following section is concerned with the question about what ELF is formally constituted.

3.5.4. The Formal Consistency of ELF

According to Seidlhofer, ELF research attempts to describe an “extremely diverse” and “ephemeral” phenomenon that creates “as many varieties as there are individual speaker constellations” (2000: 57). Despite such ubiquitous variation the claim is that there is enough linguistic consistency for successful communication (cf. Seidlhofer 2001: 138). As Jenkins points out, in order to participate

in international communication [one] needs to be familiar with, and have in their linguistic repertoire for use, as and when appropriate, certain forms (phonological, lexicogrammatical, etc.) that are widely used and widely intelligible across groups of English speakers from different first language backgrounds. (2006: 161)

Much of this common formal ground derives from standardized inner circle varieties of English but there are also forms that differ from these varieties. One cause is the influence of the speakers’ different L1s on the ELF interaction. The resulting heterogeneity has been found to create repercussions on the formal level. An example regarding ELF is the use of uncountable nouns as countable nouns, such as in ‘informations’. Another manifestation is the speakers’ possible aim to make the utterances more intelligible, which can involve repetition or the avoidance of idiomatic language (cf. Jenkins 2009a: 201). Correspondingly, one may argue that these modifications reflect the quality of lingua francas to include simplified and reduced manifestations of the language on which they are based (cf. Meierkord and Knapp 2002: 16). However, this does not take into account the variability in lingua franca use. One user of a lingua franca may use more idiomatic expressions or adhere more to the standard variety pronunciation or grammar, etc., than another. To ensure successful communication they need to negotiate common terms of use to narrow down the variability. According to the participants’ agreement, it is possible to say in how far their discourse differs from the standard. The formal consistency of ELF depends on the most common results of such kind of communicative negotiation in English.

The question if ELF research on shared formal characteristics of ELF communication could or should lead to a codification and a body of language norms is part of an ongoing controversy. A possible normativization of ELF core

forms by their introduction in English language teaching generated an intense debate. It is feared that the legitimate descriptive research on ELF may be followed by uncertain prescriptive measures. This leads Prodromou to the comment that “ELF risks sending the student stuttering on to the world stage, with limited resources” (ibid.: 52). Furthermore, he affirms that “[d]enigrating core standard English grammar only serves to strengthen the power of those who already ‘have’ standard English grammar” (ibid.). In addition to the doubts on the prescriptive consequences of ELF research, Saraceni criticizes the methodological aim of the descriptive ELF endeavor. Pointing out the fast and complex change of the phenomenon he expresses the limitations of corpus analysis in the expanding circle as follows:

What *is* describable by means of corpus-based research is the ways in which in expanding circle settings some distinct features occur with sufficient regularity in the use of English. (Saraceni 2008: 26; original emphasis)

Thus, due to the fleeting nature of ELF, corpus-analysis may not be able to trace regular linguistic features that are stable enough to be relevant as a common core for normativization. Another criticized point is that the investigation of a common core of forms in ELF may be eurocentric. Thus, the claim that there is a shared basis of ELF-specific forms on a global level may be contested as far-fetched. Despite its empirical substantiation by corpus-data this may be a problematic issue for ELF research (cf. Prodromou 2007: 47).

On the other side of the ditch, Jenkins suggests that ELF features can be identified and codified (cf. 2009a: 202). She denies that ELF researchers claim that these features “should necessarily be taught to English learners” (ibid.). Stressing the descriptive quality of ELF corpus research Jenkins perceives the use of British or American corpus studies as more problematic since their findings tend to be transferred

immediately to English language teaching publications for circulation all round the Expanding Circle, without seeing any need for the mediation of pedagogic and sociolinguistic considerations. (ibid.)

In contrast to English L1 corpora, ELF research focuses on successful communication in ELF settings (Seidlhofer 2001: 141). Further, ELF research may

provide language awareness on formal language features that are necessary for an effective interaction and do not depend on standard variety norms. The common core of ELF should not be seen as an alternative to standard variety norms but, as Seidlhofer suggests, they exist side by side:

we are witnessing, alongside local speech communities sharing a dialect, the vigorous emergence of regional and global [...] communities of practice with their particular ELF registers constituting shared repertoires for international/intercultural communication. (2009: 238-9)

Thus, the aim of ELF research is not to replace norms set by standard language varieties. Moreover, it is not about the use of language by an expanding circle community bound to a certain location. Rather, ELF is described as a linguistically multilayered phenomenon with some formal consistency in multifarious communities of practice across the globe. So far, the extent of common ELF ground cannot be predicted (cf. Jenkins 2009a: 201). However, it cannot be excluded that the knowledge about the formal consistency of ELF acquired by its description may influence English language teaching.

3.5.5. The Linguacultural Approach to ELF

In an outline of ELF Jenkins refers to a “specific communication context” that is “not tied to any particular geographical area, but defined by who the participants are and how they orient to English” (2009a: 200). Put differently, there is a strong connection between linguistic and cultural aspects in the use of ELF that does not depend on the location of the ELF exchange. As a consequence, the participants “need to make adjustments to [their] local English variety for the benefit of [their] interlocutors”. Thus, ELF is not about “the norms of a particular group of English speakers, but of mutual negotiation involving efforts and adjustments from all parties” (ibid.: 201). In other words, wherever ELF spreads to, it is subject to adaptation by the immediate local context. The English L1 speaker is not anymore seen as the dominant provider of linguacultural norms. Seidlhofer asserts that

the majority of uses of English occur in contexts where it serves as a lingua franca, far removed from its native speakers' linguacultural norms and identities. (2001: 133-4)

This concern had become a “leitmotif” in the discussion about “[f]undamental issues to do with the global spread and use of English” (ibid.). The dissociation from the English L1 norm is reflected on the individual level. The participants in ELF exchanges set up their own linguacultural basis for successful communication.

It is plausible to claim that users of ELF are rarely concerned with affairs concerning the English L1 speakers and their collective identity. The description of topics such as of ‘native English’ used within the so-called ENL communities in the inner circle is rather not of interest in ELF exchanges (cf. Seidlhofer 2000: 57). As briefly indicated at the end of section 3.5.3. on communicative purposes, ELF is not used to strengthen a collective identity but cannot be considered *culture-neutral*. As Meierkord indicates,

In lingua franca communication, both the communicative goal as well as the speakers’ competence in the language they use for interaction influence performance just as much as cultural background does. (2002: 129)

Even though no use of language can be regarded as fully detached from any cultural background, one may argue that ELF exists and develops independently from the cultural environment of the inner circle that gave birth to the L1 varieties of English. Subsequently, ELF can be delimited from English as a foreign language. EFL has been found to be strongly tied to inner circle cultures. Thus, people who study English to obtain access to British, North American or other inner circle Englishes may be labeled as ‘EFL learners’. In contrast, ELF is rather acquired to serve as an instrument to make oneself understood to any speaker of English (cf. Breiteneder 2009: 7-8). However, this dichotomous differentiation between ELF and EFL is not precise enough to account for the role of ‘culture’ in ELF settings. This distinction does not adequately account for the complexity of individual linguacultures that influence a particular ELF exchange.

A more promising approach to the linguacultures involved in ELF settings consists in the investigation of the relationship between a concrete oral practice of ELF to its ‘language-scape’, i.e. “the range of languages operating in a community”

(Wajnryb 2005: §7 as quoted in Smit 2010: 53). The central aspect of the language-scape and its possible influence on ELF interactions are the roles and functions that English assumes in a specific area. This may include the importance of English in a hotel as well as its status in national language planning. According to this stance, all participants contribute to an ELF interaction with their unique use of and attitudes towards the language as well as their individual cultural background and create something new. In other words, two or more partly overlapping linguacultures form a further, local one (cf. Smit 2010: 54-55).

3.5.6. A Prototypical Approach to ELF

In the light of the different approaches above and the related areas of debate it has become obvious that there is no clear-cut way to determine what ELF is and what it is not. Given this fact a promising perspective on ELF is the assumption of an idealized ELF prototype. Around this point of reference various less typical forms of ELF can be individuated with some cases falling into a gray area. With her “sociolinguistic descriptive frame of oral ELF practices” Smit provides a useful tool to indicate the variable characteristics of manifestations of English in use (2010: 66). The model comprises the frames on *communicating*, *individual repertoire* and *established practice*. Instances of interactions that can be most obviously attributed to English used as a lingua franca lie at the center of the *communicating* frame. They include the following characteristics: firstly, prototypical ELF interactions are fully situated, i.e. happening at a certain moment in time in a certain local setting. Thus, written interactions can be considered as less typical forms of ELF because they are less immediate and can happen independently from any location. Secondly, they serve the “communicative purposes and discursive content that the participants [or the community of practice] co-construct [...] negotiating the momentarily relevant norms of interaction and interpretation” (Smit 2010: 63-4; original emphasis). Typically, this suggests an interaction of at least two people who, for example by negotiating turn taking behavior, are actively engaged in the co-construction of meaning. In relation to this, a less typical or atypical example of ELF may be a monologue that is

directed to an audience. Here, the turn taking behavior is usually fixed. Thus, one feature of a prototypical use of ELF is not present in this mode of communication. However, there are enough features that indicate this use of English to be an instance of the use of ELF. The monologue can be seen as a first step to the initiation of a follow-up co-construction of meaning. At the end of a panel discussion, for example, consisting of several long single turns by the speakers as well as the chairperson, the audience is invited to take one or more turns themselves. One step further away from a prototypical ELF manifestation would be a formal speech that by communicative convention does not include verbal response of the crowd. Still, the audience may indicate approval and disapproval by clapping or booing. This too can be considered as co-construction of meaning. In contrast to the panel discussion example above this instance is more atypical because the medium of communication is non-verbal. An even more atypical instance of ELF would be a written monologue, for example on a website. If the text was produced to initiate a co-construction of meaning it can still be included in the *communicating* frame. This could be, for instance, a hotel website inviting the reader to book a stay. However, it is a borderline case if a website was translated into English only because of the unilateral assumption that this would increase the hotel's prestige. This emblematic use of English may be seen as an extremely atypical instance of ELF if the communicative purpose of the co-construction of prestige is successful. If that is not the case this kind of use cannot be called an instance of ELF. Since it is not possible to assess the actual co-construction of prestige in this thesis, the emblematic use of English falls into a gray area, the category 'possibly ELF'.

The *individual repertoire* frame denotes the speech community each participant belongs to and helps to differentiate between different participant constellations. The individual repertoire exists independently from the concrete situation and is thus un-situated. Hence, the more linguacultural repertoire is shared by the participants the less meaning has to be immediately negotiated in an exchange. For example, two French L1 speakers talking to a German L1 speaker in English would use a less prototypical ELF because of the shared speech community of the French. Following the three frames model, a participant constellation that includes English L1 speakers of an atypical ELF language-scape may also be seen as a

part of atypical ELF interactions. The key prerequisite concerning the linguistic repertoire of the participants is that their “diverse linguistic repertoires overlap in English” (Smit 2010: 69). One argument why an ELF exchange that includes English L1 speakers is farther away from the prototype is the possibility that they introduce L1 “in-group markers” to the exchange (Seidlhofer 2007: 315) and might “(unwittingly) act as norm-providers, making the other speakers feel under pressure” (Jenkins 2009a: 201).

The third frame in Smit’s model concerns variation in relation to an *established practice* (cf. 2010: 64) in an interaction. Put in few words, this label stands for the degree of specificity of language use. If the English-for-specific-purposes component becomes more dominant then the interaction becomes a less typical instance for ELF. This concerns interactions between participants who share a discourse community, for example a Russian and a Mexican IT specialist, whose conversation is more about professional topics featuring highly specific terminology. As with the higher degree of shared individual repertoires, the shared ground in the form of an established practice diminishes the need to negotiate meaning (ibid.: 65).

The typological attribution of distinct uses of ELF on the basis of the *communicating*, *individual repertoire* and *established practice* framework serves as guiding principle in the description of English in use in the distinct professional domains of the hotel business in South Tyrol. The following section will show that the variable uses and settings of ELF in the hotel business are determined by the uneven relationship between guest and host. Analogically, this also applies to the whole private sector between customer and supplier.

3.6. Code Choice in the Private Sector

The perspective of business administration offers an additional, thematically closer approach to the characteristics of language use in hotels. In this regard Bäck (cf. 2004 and 2009) analyses the code choices by predominantly export-oriented

companies and their employees towards customers (see also section 2.3 on English in the Private economic sector of South Tyrol). His point of view is enriching for the means of this paper because the focus on export-oriented companies and Romance languages speaking customers can be changed to hotels and guests. Bäck states three reasons for the relevance of this research area: firstly, code choice is assumed to have a certain impact on the success of the company; secondly, the importance of foreign trade arises from the demand of specific markets supplied by these companies, which involves certain “foreign” languages; thirdly, the diversity regarding the linguistic repertoire and proficiency of customers leads to multiple possibilities of code choice (2009: 63-4). As a basis for this model, he cites Vandermeeren’s distinction of three possibilities of code choice: a) adaptation, i.e. the choice of the customer’s language; b) non-adaptation, i.e. the choice of the company’s/salesperson’s language; and c) standardization, i.e. the choice of a lingua franca (Vandermeeren 1998 in Bäck 2009: 63). Note that this use of the expression *standardization* is fundamentally different from the implementation of a collective standard language, such as *standard German*. Here, the standard is set up by individuals as an implicit prearrangement for the co-construction of meaning. Bäck tries to find the rationale for the customer contact language of choice with a three-level factor model that comprises a macro-, meso- and micro-level. The most relevant factors are summarized in the following paragraph.

The macro-factors for a specific code choice cover the international level. This includes the global importance of a language, the language policy and planning in the involved countries and their inhabitants’ collective proficiency in particular foreign languages. The next lower level, the meso-level, describes single companies or economic sectors. This level covers factors such as the competition and internationality of a sector, the mindset of the management on foreign languages or the imbalance of power between the consumer and the provider. For example, choice of customer contact-language can be altered by the decision of the management to employ staff with high language proficiency in a relevant language. Further, due to a possible increase of supplier competition a consumer may be empowered to choose the one who offers customer service in his/her preferred language. The micro-factors on the lowest level concern single

departments and employees and can be differentiated by three more categories: dispositional, motivational and situational factors. Most importantly, the first category relates to the employee's interest to learn the language he/she is in contact with. If this interest is high, the readiness to choose adaptation or standardization might be higher. The motivational factors comprise, for instance, the relation between efficiency and genuineness, the accommodation to the customer's wishes and the salesperson's attitude towards prestige in the sense of the intention to impress the consumer or to prevent a loss of face. Finally, the situational factors pertain, for example, to the medium of communication in terms of oral or written exchange. Additional factors that may influence the participants are the location and the topic of the exchange as well as the point in time. The two final points of this category enlisted here refer to the type of interaction and the combination of participants. This refers to the range of formality in certain situations and to the individual status as well as the communicative competence and preferences of the participants (ibid.: 65-8).

Whereas Bäck devised his model to analyze export-oriented companies, Haarmann takes a broader viewpoint on various economic sectors including tourism. He affirms that "language choice in resort facilities is customer-oriented" and that "tourists are preferably addressed in their home language, even if communication is limited to basic functions or to pidginized language use" (2005: 53). This suggests a strong correspondence between the tourism industry and the private sector as a whole. A closer view is offered in the ensuing sections on language and hospitality.

3.7. Language use for Hospitality Purposes in Hotels

Acts of hospitality occur in innumerable situations ranging from having friends over for dinner to the interaction with the receptionist at a holiday resort. As the examples suggest, the notion 'hospitality' implies a wide range of language uses for various aims in many different settings. A shared characteristic of all acts of hospitality, including a possible use of English for hospitality purposes, is the

distribution of two basic roles: guest and host. In consideration of the theory of code choice in the private sector and the conceptualization of ELF further above, the following sections attempt to design a model of English use in a specific domain of hospitality: the hotel. That does not only concern the host, i.e. the staff, *or* the guests of a hotel. The hotel is seen as a social entity incorporating both roles. It is jointly constructed by distinct communities of practice involving the linguistic repertoire of guest and staff. The staff is not a homogenous group but consists of various subgroups with different tasks. The personnels' internal communicational needs have to be taken into account as well. The diversity of staff members and guests is a consequence of socioeconomic and sociolinguistic factors. To make sense of these complex influences a simplified representation of a hotel structure will be put forward.

3.7.1. Communities of Practice in Hotels

First of all, the sum of guests in a hotel cannot as such be seen as community of practice. Even if they are all pursuing the same basic goal, i.e. to enjoy their vacation, it is far-fetched to claim that this would be a "sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise" (Wenger 1998: 45). Further, guests may share some (linguistic) repertoire, such as the competence to use ELF, but that possibility cannot be generalized. Finally, the sum of guests in the hotel does not mutually engage in having vacation but are spending the time rather separately (cf. *ibid.*: 73). That does not mean that the guests are irrelevant for this topic. Rather, these characteristics are decisive for the staff who have to satisfy the guest's diverse demands.

Given the premise that the jointly negotiated enterprise of the staff is to satisfy or outperform the guest's expectations and that they are all engaged in this task, the hotel features the following mainly relevant communities of practice: firstly, the hotel as the hosting social structure, i.e. the sum of all members of staff; secondly, particular sub-CofPs of specialized staff members who have direct contact with the guest, such as the waiters; thirdly, the corresponding sub-CofPs in co-operation

with the guest. The enterprise and the mutual engagement are very similar regarding all three communities of practice. Obviously, it would be contradictory to the nature of hospitality if the hotel staff or sub-CofPs did not want to please the guest and vice versa, to be pleased as a guest. This reciprocal engagement is understood as involving the interactional as well as the transactional function of language. The former concerns the social relationship between people, for example communicating friendliness towards the guest or co-operation towards a colleague. The latter consists of the communication of knowledge and skills, such as informing the guest about the safety regulations in the hotel or the exchange of expertise between staff members. The transactional function of language in the hotel is seen as a prerequisite to keeping the guest happy and is thus understood as an aspect of 'pleasing'.

The crucial difference between the three communities of practice is their shared repertoires. The staff as a whole does not necessarily share much linguistic repertoire. It might be very improbable that, say, a waiter does not share any language variety with a receptionist. However, it is the hierarchical structure of the CofP, which makes a shared variety between sub-communities not relevant. The management on top of the hierarchy is, theoretically, the only sub-CofP who needs to share linguistic repertoire with all others. The differences related to shared repertoire between the sub-CofPs are of crucial importance. Here, it is useful to introduce a rough distinction regarding the language proficiency required for the respective sub-CofP, i.e. oral and written language skills. A receptionist is usually in charge of correspondence in addition to face-to-face contact with a (potential) guest. In contrast, a waiter may need to use language for more specific purposes, for example concerning foods and drinks. This would only involve oral language skills.

So far, these considerations do not include the individual properties of a guest. As indicated above, the sum of guests alone does not constitute a community of practice. However, in combination with the staff, they do form a special kind of CofP with a common goal and a mutual engagement to achieve it. Accordingly, to be satisfied by a stay at a hotel, guests need to be able to state their preferences. To outperform a guest's expectations the host needs to recognize them. The

shared linguistic repertoire is key to this enterprise. Thus, it is no surprise that the host tries to adapt to the code choice of the guest. If this adaptation strategy fails or is not at disposal, the next best choice is to try to negotiate the joint enterprise via a lingua franca.

The issue of code choice in the hotel can be described by the help of Bäck's three-layer model (2009: 65). Here, the management sub-CofP assumes a pivotal role in a wider context, specifically concerning the wider language-scape on the macro- and meso-level. The management is responsible for the employment of personnel with adequate (linguistic) repertoire. One aspect of this task is to ensure that the prerequisites for the adaptation strategy or the use of a lingua franca are given. Thus, this sub-CofP needs to have an overview of the hotel's language-scape, which includes the linguacultures of the staff as well as the guests. In the case of South Tyrolean hotels German and Italian are more frequently used than ELF. The economic relevance of ELF is seen as being on the rise in at least some of the province's holiday regions (see section 4.3.). Obviously, knowledge about the changing language demands can be advantageous. It may lead to a successful promotion of further language education and may thus increase the availability of relevant linguistic repertoire. The staff may be better prepared to fulfill the future guests' wishes if the management is able to adapt the hotel's language policy according to the guests' linguistic repertoire. By taking into account the given linguistic repertoire of the staff and the linguacultures that are most likely to play a vital role in the future, it is possible to estimate which languages and lingua francas will be important in guest-host interactions and which are not.

The hotel's specific language planning may not only be determined by the guests' linguistic repertoire. Also, the competition within the tourism sector may have an impact on decision-making. In an area featuring a high density of hotels, a guest has a wide choice to find the best place to stay. Hotels that share linguistic repertoire with the guest, preferably the L1, a lingua franca at the minimum, have an advantage over other hotels. On the other hand, an additional language may mostly serve as a prestige-marker in comparison to other hotels.

Bäck's micro-factors concern all members of staff in all kinds of contact situations with the guest. A motivational factor is related to the possibility that a successful use of a range of languages other than an employee's L1 may not only impress a guest but also contribute to the overall prestige of the hotel. On the other hand, a staff member may also refrain from following the guest's choice to prevent a possible loss of face. A dispositional factor that eases the interaction between host and guest is the host's personal interest to improve his/her individual communicative competence. Also a number of situational factors have an impact on code choice. As already pointed out, the guest-host context of the exchange favors the use of the guest's L1 or his/her preferred lingua franca. The point in time is not only important regarding, for example, individual moods but more importantly for the probability that guest's from different countries of origin may favor different seasons or months to spend holidays in a given resort (cf. 2009: 65-8).

In short, the model of the hotel as social entity presented in this section is a compound of entangled communities of practice in the broadest sense. It is the interaction between guest and staff that forms a community of practice for hospitality purposes. The sum of guests as such does not fulfill the characteristics of a CofP but – ideally – by stating their preferences to the staff, mutual engagement in a joint enterprise occurs that requires some shared linguistic repertoire. The staff can be differentiated into a number of different sub-CofPs. One distinction is task-specific: members of certain sub-CofPs have acquired different (linguistic) repertoires in order to accomplish their specific tasks. For example, receptionists need to be very proficient in the use of language in spoken and written form because of their close contact with the guest, from chatting to e-mailing. Waiters are usually not confronted with tasks that involve as much writing as a receptionist. Another distinction is hierarchy-specific: The management is the only sub-CofP whose (linguistic) repertoire needs to overlap with all other sub-CofPs. The waiters, for instance, do not necessarily need to understand the receptionist, but the management, if they want to be supervising all employees, do need some shared repertoire with all other sub-CofPs. In addition to this characteristic, the management fulfills a number of specific language-related tasks on the meso- and micro-level of tourism. The meso-level concerns the adaptation

of the staff's (linguistic) repertoire according to current and future demands in order to be able to compete with other hotels. This has direct consequences on the micro-level, for example the concrete decision by the management to foster single employee's linguistic repertoire.

3.7.2. English as a Lingua Franca for Hospitality Purposes in Hotels

As the heading suggests, the ELF model will play a crucial role for the study described in the final chapter of the thesis. The typological and linguacultural perspectives on ELF will be central to this investigation. The main question that is addressed in this section is in how far prototypical ELF exchanges are different from ELF used for hospitality purposes in hotels. Note that even though the following scenarios are fictitious they reflect situations that may, as reported by hotel managers, increasingly occur in relation to South Tyrolean hotels (see the managers' retrospect and outlook in section 5.2.5.4.).

Scenario #1: A Polish L1 speaker arrives at the reception of a hotel in Brunico, South Tyrol. The German L1 speaker receptionist and the guest talk about the booked rooms and the weather in English.

This instance of ELF comes closer to the prototypical exchange than all other manifestations of ELF in hotels described in this section. The communication is happening at the same place and at the same time, thus fully situated. The talk is orally co-constructed on the basis of their individual linguacultural repertoire. Only the fact that the code choice behavior is conditioned by the guest-host context diminishes the typicality. If the guest was an English L1 speaker the receptionist might be more conscientious about his proficiency. In that case the interlocutor would belong to the norm-providing language community and might use idiomatic expressions that are not usually used in ELF. In that constellation the employee might be puzzled by a supposedly unexpected idiom such as "I'm under the weather." Such in-group markers are expressions of affiliation to a community with norm-providing status. This may have a negative influence on the language use of the participants in the ELF exchange. From the English L1 speaker's perspective the guest might perceive the conversation as 'odd' or containing 'incorrect'

features by referring to the personal linguacultural background. This may lead to misunderstanding and less co-operative communication. Thus, seen from the receptionist's as well as the guest's perspective, the influence of an L1 speaker would lead to an ELF exchange that is less typical.

Scenario #2: A hotel manager takes advantage of the moment shortly before dinner to welcome the newly arrived guests. The vast majority of the attendants are German or Italian L1 speakers but a small group of guests is known to speak other L1 languages. The manager decides to add a few words in English to include this group. The audience is noticeably delighted.

Here, the "few words in English" are delivered as a monologue without the expectation of a verbal reaction. However there is still an overt reaction by the manager's audience. A monologue and the non-verbal reaction are very atypical characteristics for an ELF exchange. Nevertheless, the audience's reaction constitutes an implicit co-construction of meaning that crucially involves ELF. In addition to this, English is used as an emblematic device: the interaction creates prestige for the hotel and the manager, even if the speaker's utterance does not exactly correspond to standard English.

Scenario #3: A German L1 waiter with a high level of English proficiency compared to his colleagues is assigned to a table of Dutch guests. Even if the guests speak some German the participants decide to use English as a lingua franca because it offers the largest shared linguacultural basis. The waiter has difficulties to answer spontaneous questions but he is able to fluently describe dishes and wines.

In this example the typicality of the ELF exchange is diminished because of the speaker constellation: there are two or more people involved that share a large linguacultural basis. Further, the higher degree of English for specific purposes used by the waiter to talk about the cuisine and beverages at the end of the scenario is less concerned with the ad hoc co-construction of meaning and thus less typically ELF. Instead, the spontaneous questions and answers are more typical.

Scenario #4: A Czech Internet user is interested in South Tyrol for a wellness holiday. She finds two attractive English hotel websites. On

the following day she books a stay at one of the two hotels via e-mail. On return from her stay she is enthusiastic about South Tyrol but disappointed about the hotel. Via e-mail she recommends to visit South Tyrol to a Walloon friend but to try the other hotel that she had found earlier on. Her friend is persuaded and books a stay.

In scenario #4, the writing of the website texts and the Internet user's research are initial steps towards a direct contact involving ELF with a staff member. The use of ELF is fully non-situated. No exchange happens in real-time. The first complete ELF interaction occurs in the email correspondence between the Czech person and the disappointing hotel. The second interaction is led by the two friends and the third between the Walloon person and the alternative hotel. These three interactions can be subsumed under one very atypical form of an ELF exchange: a recommendation leads to the booking of a stay at another hotel. The exchange is especially non-situated because it is initiated by the website of one hotel and concluded by the Internet user's friend who then contacts a different hotel. Besides the ELF component of the exchange, the emblematic function is also successfully performed. The Internet user and the site's written monologue co-construct prestige. The website is able to impress the user. The co-construction of prestige by the user and the site's emblematic function successfully involves ELF. In contrast to this, if an English website version is rather meant to create prestige than to initiate a communicative exchange then this constitutes an extremely atypical indication of an ELF exchange or no such initiation at all. Especially if the management sees the website as a common standard feature among the competitors without aiming at attracting English speaking guests the use of English in the website cannot be regarded as an initiation of an ELF exchange. This is for example the case, if an English website version only consists of a few words on an otherwise German/Italian website. Such kind of website administration may occur if the hotel is already saturated by guests who do not use ELF in South Tyrol and only wants to appear as an international hotel.

All scenarios exemplify the adaptation strategy followed in hotels: the receptionist, the manager and the waiter decide to talk in English. The Dutch guests in scenario #3 co-negotiate the use of ELF. Hence, the combination between guests and staff is a community of practice in hotels conditioned by the code choice behavior

specific to the guest-host context. Parts of the staff use a different (linguistic) repertoire in the accomplishment of this strategy. The waiters, for example use ELF for their specific purpose (ESP). Hence, they are a sub-community of practice who have ESP in their repertoire and use it to participate in less typically ELF exchanges. This applies to a lesser extent to receptionists and managers since their repertoire of ESP is most likely less specific.

3.7.3. Conclusion

This section constitutes a review of the models of English encountered in this chapter. The concepts ‘(non-)native speaker’, ‘mother tongue’ and ‘ENL/ESL/EFL’ have been found unfit for a description of the roles of English in hotels, despite their frequent colloquial use. The native/non-native or mother tongue/ foreign language distinction suggests a predetermined superior language proficiency, which is not a desired effect. Further, there is no relation to the functions of language, which means that the terms cannot account for different ways in which English may be used. These two aspects are implied in the distinction between English as a native, as a second and as a foreign language. In addition, ENL/ESL/EFL traditionally describes macro-phenomenon, i.e. the relation between countries around the world. The attempt to use the model for individual proficiency levels is necessarily abstract and thus difficult to apply to concrete linguistic phenomena. The introduction of English for specific purposes and English for specific cultures firstly enables the distinction between English speakers that have accomplished different tasks with their repertoire and between English speakers from different cultural backgrounds. However, the cylinder model is still stuck in the ENL/ESL/EFL paradigm. Another paradigmatic blur concerns the controversy about whether a contact language used by people with different L1s should be called a variety and if these people constitute one community. The fear of a possibly ensuing normativization of this ‘variety’ fueled the criticism on the codification of English as a lingua franca. Going beyond this controversy, manifestations of ELF can also be described according to their typicality, from the perspective of communities of practice and regarding the participant’s

linguacultural backgrounds. The study on the roles of English in the South Tyrolean hotel business is based on this approach.

The following chapter gives an overview of the South Tyrolean tourism industry which will set the scene for the core part of the thesis. The study ELF in the province's hotels will be presented based on the theoretical considerations above and the local context described in chapter two and the subsequent sections.

4. Tourism in South Tyrol: an Overview

4.1. The Economic Importance of Tourism

Tourism is one of the main pillars of South Tyrol's economy. Especially the hotel business, comprising all three to five star accommodations, has become more and more significant in recent years (cf. Pörnbacher 2009: 42; Santifaller 2010: 2). The economic importance of the tourism sector can be shown in at least two ways: firstly, by comparing South Tyrol to regions on a national and international level and secondly, by considering the impact of tourism on the general economy of the province.

In a paper on tourism in alpine regions Santifaller (2010) presents a comparative study covering ten Swiss, German, Austrian and Italian regions/provinces close to South Tyrol. The gathered data shows that in the last twenty years, South Tyrol and the neighboring province of Trento were the only provinces with an almost uninterrupted increase of overnight stays. Unlike the general downward trend, this number rose almost 0.9% from 2008 to 2009. In 2009 South Tyrol kept the highest density of beds for the accommodation of tourists, i.e. 20.5 beds per sq km. Regarding bed occupancy South Tyrol's four and five star hotels achieved the highest rate, i.e. 57.1%; its three star hotels the second highest with 44.6%. The index of tourism intensity, which denotes the relationship between the number of overnight stays in a region and its population in a given period of time, shows an exceptional impact of tourism on South Tyrol (ibid.: 3-4).

In a national comparative survey on economic development, the Italian Institute for Statistics applies two indicators for the tourism sector: the workforce productivity and the attraction of tourist expenses (cf. ASTAT 2010d: 36). In this case the workforce productivity is calculated by considering the gross value added (GVA) and the working hours in a year that were needed to produce all goods and services. In general, the GVA can be regarded as the actual contribution to the economy which results from the entire economic output of a sector or hotel minus the cost of all services and goods that were needed to create the output (Eurostat

2010a; ASTAT 2010c: 321). In 2009 the workforce productivity in the South Tyrolean tourism sector was far above the Italian average (ASTAT 2010d: 35). The attraction of tourist expenses, on the other hand, considers the relation between the sum of overnight stays in all tourist accommodations and the number of local inhabitants. In this regard the tourism sector of South Tyrol reached the highest score compared to all other Italian regions (ASTAT 2010a). In sum, surveys on the national and international level show that the tourism sector of South Tyrol is in an exceptionally favorable position.

The performance of the tourism sector, which is mirrored by the comparisons above, has important implications on crucial parts of the South Tyrolean economy. A large amount of the intermediate consumption, i.e. the costs necessary to produce the GVA, is spent on services and goods produced in South Tyrol. It is thus probable that a guest in a local hotel is served locally produced food by a waiter trained in a local vocational school. Consequently, even if the tourism sector as such is not the largest sector of the South Tyrolean economy, it may be seen as the most important one. Accordingly, Walter Meister, the president of the 'Hotelier- und Gastwirteverband', i.e. South Tyrolean association for hotel and restaurant management, estimates the share of tourism including tourism-related production between 50 and 60% of the gross domestic product (7:40)⁷.

4.2. Tourism Related Education and Training

The importance of the tourism sector for South Tyrol is reflected in the well-established educational infrastructure consisting of vocational schools on the secondary level and specialized courses of study on the tertiary level. Additionally, the extent of the time reserved for English teaching compared to other language subjects is a suitable indicator for its importance in the tourism sector.

⁷ All time designations of this kind relate to interviews conducted with superordinate experts (see also section 5.1.1. on sampling for a brief introduction to the secondary interviewees).

4.2.1. Vocational Schools for Hotel Management (Hotelfachschulen)

The South Tyrolean vocational schools for hotel management offer two to five years of education and training programs for future professionals in the tourism sector. The first two years, which correspond to 9th and 10th grades, constitute the final stage of compulsory education. In this period of time the students receive practically oriented introductory training in all areas of the tourism industry including cooking, waiting, and receptionist services. Subsequently, the student may continue with a specialization that lasts two to three years and conclude the high school program with a diploma in hotel management. The general education component of the program is predominantly concerned with language learning (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011a). The schools offer four compulsory language subjects with an unchanging amount of weekly teaching hours in all five grades: three hours for German, Italian as well as English, and two hours for French (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011b). The fact that English is taught for the same amount of hours as the two local languages reflects the school administrators' opinion that it plays a very important role in the tourism sector. Furthermore, in the course of the ongoing reform of the secondary school in South Tyrol (see section 2.2.) four new schools are planned that shall contribute to the promotion additional languages (HGV 2011a).

4.2.2. Tertiary education

From the academic year 2010/2011 onwards the Free University of Bolzano has offered a new three year tourism related bachelor program: the "Bachelor in Tourism, Sport and Event Management." This course of study will gradually replace the "Bachelor in Economics and Management Sciences – Major in Tourism Management." The new program is more centered on subjects directly related to tourism and the acquisition of additional languages than its predecessor (Free University of Bolzano-Bozen 2011a). This shift towards the embracement of

language education, specifically regarding English, is based on the general trilingual language policy adopted by the university. Correspondingly, the standard requirements for the enrollment at the Free University of Bolzano-Bozen involve strict provisions to the prospective student's language repertoire. Firstly, the prospective student has to successfully complete a high school diploma course whose main language of instruction is one of the three official university languages, i.e. German, Italian and/or English (ibid.: 2). Secondly, the student's language competence has to be verified either by a university internal language exam or by language competence certificates from prestigious institutions. These include, for example, the Cambridge ESOL "First Certificate in English" and the A-level diploma of bilingualism in German and Italian awarded by official South Tyrolean authorities (ibid.: 3-4; Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011c). Further, each course may be given in one of the official languages. The lecturer may switch to any of the other two languages for specific contents. The final exam, however, must be set in the official language of the course. An exclusive prerequisite for the admission to the exam is the attestation of the language competence in the corresponding language (Free University of Bolzano-Bozen 2011a: 9). In addition to the three official languages of the university, its "language centre" offers education in Latin, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Arabic (ibid. 2011b).

The importance attributed to English and tourism by the local university can be deduced from three arguments. Firstly, the university's general language policy raises English onto the same level as German and Italian, even though English is not locally spoken. Secondly, the tourist related bachelor program was implemented as one of the earliest in the university's young history. Thirdly, the recent development of a study program more focused on tourism and languages shows a continuing interest in these subjects.

Another possibility of tourism related education on the tertiary level is presented by the *Landeshotelfachschule Kaiserhof* in Merano. Besides providing for the grades eleven to thirteen as a vocational school, this institution offers a two-year diploma course for hotel and tourism management. The main language of instruction is German, though some modules are held in Italian and English. In both years the

yearly amount of hours spent on language education is distributed as follows: German and Italian – fifty hours; English – seventy hours; and as a free compulsory elective Spanish or Russian – fifty hours. The language learning objectives are explicitly centered on the production and translation of oral and written texts for hospitality purposes. The study program includes several compulsory short-term international excursions to hotels and other tourism related establishments (Kaiserhof 2011a). Compared to tourism related vocational schools and the Free University of Bolzano, which consider English at least as important as Italian and German, the tertiary level curriculum of the Kaiserhof puts English in a more special position. In addition to the shift towards English, the two weekly hours of French taught in secondary school have been dropped in favor of Spanish and Russian (ibid. 2011b). The language education policy of the Kaiserhof suggests that there is a strong expectation of a more diverse tourism industry in terms of the origin of guests.

4.3. Languages in Traditional and Emerging Markets

This section approaches the question where the tourists visiting South Tyrol come from, what languages they most probably speak and the related development over the recent years. A rough but handy basis to estimate the extent of tourists using English as a lingua franca is the categorization of tourists in markets, i.e. according to their state of provenance (cf. Bäck 2009: 69). Of course, one cannot assume a generally valid direct connection between the linguistic repertoire of an individual and his/her citizenship. The diversity of repertoires is too complex within a citizenship for it to be generalized over a whole state. For example, one might assume that English is always the first choice in an interaction between a person from the Netherlands and a South Tyrolean. Such an assumption ignores, for example, the possibility that German and/or Italian might be part of foreign language teaching in that country. Further, the language may be part of a citizen's linguistic repertoire because of the geographical proximity to German and/or Italian language communities. This may be the case across national borders or by the

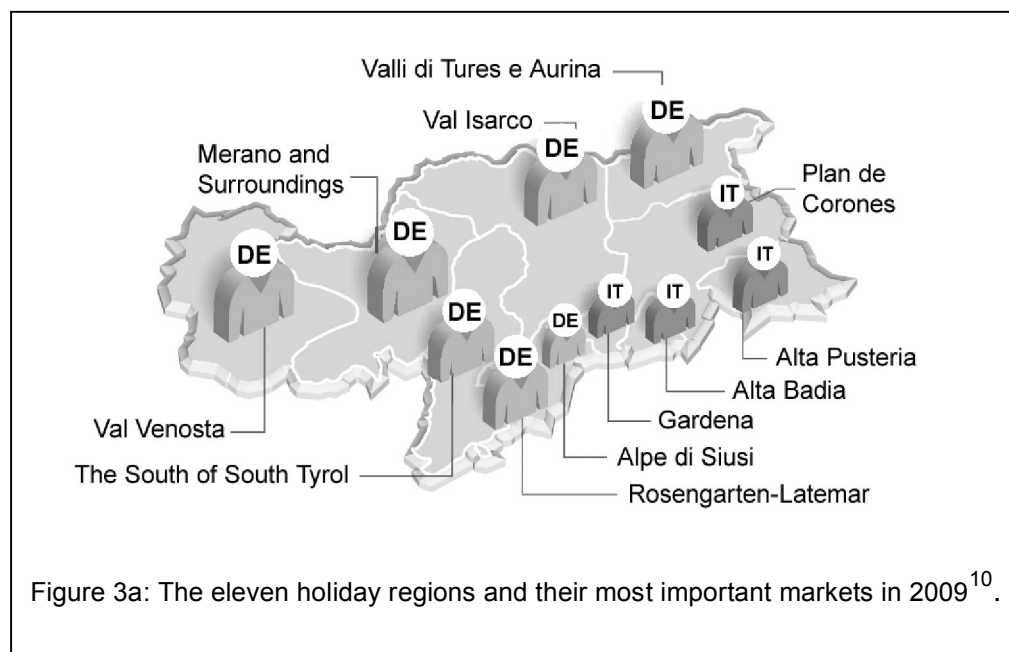
presence of language minorities within the state. Correspondingly, Pörnbacher shows that in the private economic sector a number of customers from the Netherlands speak German with their South Tyrolean interlocutors (2009: 35-6). Language minorities and different combinations of L2, L3, L4 learning in public schools or independent learning add to the repertorial diversity in any state. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that guests from Germany and Italy are most commonly addressed in the national languages and that most other visitors coming from other relevant countries are addressed in English (ibid.). This is confirmed by Walter Meister and Barbara Prugger, a market research expert and member of the executive board at the “Südtiroler Marketing Gesellschaft” (SMG), the South Tyrolean Marketing Association (see section 5.1.1. for a brief introduction to these informants).

In 2009 the South Tyrolean tourism industry registered 28,086,707 overnight stays, 1.3% more than in 2008 (ASTAT 2010a: 441). This number can be divided into three categories: the traditional stem markets, the most important emerging markets and markets of moderate or minor importance. The traditional markets include countries that lie next to South Tyrol and whose national language is either German or Italian. Germany accounts for 46.0%, Italy for 37.1%, Switzerland for 3.7% and Austria for 2.8% of all overnight stays (ibid.: 443). Thus, in 2009, the use of languages other than German and Italian was not necessary regarding around 90% of the markets hosted in South Tyrol. A significant part of the remaining 10% is constituted by important emerging markets. Their share of overnight stays lies above 0.3% and at the same time they have had a substantial increase of over 5% over the years 2005 to 2009. These significant emerging markets include the Czech Republic, Poland, the Netherlands, France, and Russia⁸. The third category includes markets with a higher share than 0.3% but which do not show a significant growth. For example, Belgium as well as all of Great Britain fall into this category of moderate importance. A comparison between the years 2008 and 2009 shows a negative development for Great Britain, which held 0.6% of the overall overnight stays. Belgium, on the other hand, can be seen as a more important market with 1.4%, but again, the development between 2008 and 2009

⁸ The importance of Russia is derived from the increasing number of arrivals from 6,064 in 2005 to 13,879 in 2009 (ASTAT 2011).

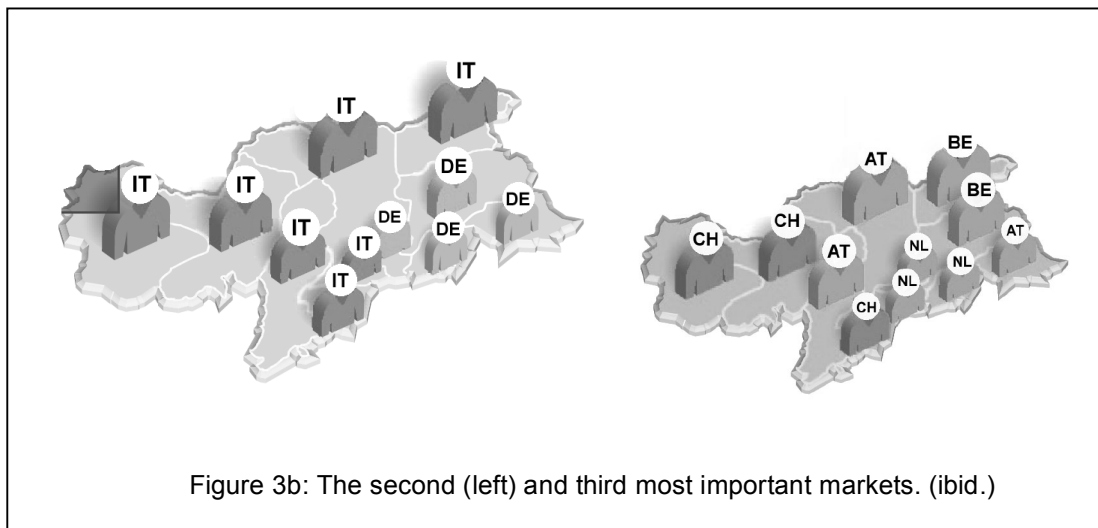
pointed downwards with -3,7% of overnight stays. In contrast, US-American tourists did not exceed 0.2% and showed a negative trend as well (cf. ASTAT 2010a: 443). Markets such as the USA are not (yet) economically significant and are thus of minor importance. The markets in the second and third categories, i.e. the most important emerging and markets of moderate/minor importance, are closely related to the demand of English as a lingua franca; in short they can be called 'ELF markets'.

The tourism industry of South Tyrol is exposed to heterogeneous market streams. Distinct markets tend to have more impact on certain holiday regions rather than others. Figure 3a and 3b show the geographical subdivision in eleven holiday regions and the most, second most and third most important markets for every single region⁹. Note that in 2008 the British were the third most important market in Alta Badia but have been succeeded in the following year by the Dutch.



⁹ By courtesy of the South Tyrolean Marketing Association (SMG).

¹⁰ DE = German; IT = Italian; AT = Austrian; CH = Swiss; BE = Belgian; NL = Dutch.



The geographical heterogeneity is a consequence of the difference between summer and winter seasons. Most ELF markets are more present in the winter season with about 15% of all overnight stays (Prugger 7:00). The use of English in South Tyrol depends on the future development of ELF markets. Among the various ways of interpreting the market development in recent years there are three factors with a major effect: first, specific marketing in various key markets; second, the increase of guests mobility; and third, the accessibility of South Tyrol for the guests.

The marketing efforts in the tourism sector are largely coordinated by the SMG, the South Tyrolean Marketing Association. As a senior market research expert in this organization, Barbara Prugger states that the association's strategy is primarily to keep up the traditional markets and to attract new target groups within these markets. To disregard traditional markets would be a case of economic negligence. They are of crucial importance at present and the lion share of the future tourist streams is expected to come from countries next to South Tyrol. Thus, about 70% of the SMG budget is being invested in these markets (36:00). This does not mean that other markets are of secondary importance. In fact, the remaining 30% are spent on promising markets that cumulatively bring about 10% of the overnight stays. HGV president Meister takes a corresponding stance by saying that markets other than Germany and Italy will play a small but increasingly important role (45:30).

Another factor that importantly influenced the provenance of tourists in the last twenty years is the fundamental change in personal mobility regarding the majority of the emerging ELF markets. For example for tourists from Poland, the Czech Republic and Russia it was very difficult to travel beyond the Iron Curtain until its fall in 1989. Ten years after this process of liberation, the Schengen Borders Code made traveling more convenient in terms of the abolition of visa requirements for most European countries (European Parliament 2006: art. 20). All traditional markets and important emerging markets except Russia are members of the Schengen area. Poland and the Czech Republic joined in 2007, Switzerland in 2008, all other markets have been members since 1995 (European Commission 2009). The fall of the Iron Curtain and the Schengen agreement meant a substantial increase in individual personal international mobility. The majority of tourists visiting South Tyrol enjoy the more or less recently acquired political freedom of movement. Besides these political developments the financial situation has probably changed for the better for many households in the former Eastern Bloc, which may enable more people to visit South Tyrol. Two crucial emerging ELF markets that were involved in both political shifts are the Czech Republic and Poland. According to statistics provided by Eurostat (2010b) individual households in both countries are now able to consume notably more goods and services. Obviously that may also include international travel. The political and financial aspects of individual mobility cannot be influenced by South Tyrolean institutions. Nevertheless, there is a growing potential of cultivating new markets, which once were affected by harsher limitations.

The political and financial mobility of potential guests is only one side of the coin. The physical accessibility of South Tyrol – as opposed to the virtual accessibility in regard to hotel websites – is at least as important as the tourists' personal freedom of movement. In contrast to individual mobility, some aspects of accessibility lie within the range of action of South Tyrolean authorities and tourism associations. The improvement of transit routes is at the center of all considerations concerning this subject. It is assumed that potential guests from a more distant location will be more inclined to choose South Tyrol as a holiday destination if it can be reached more conveniently than other places. Currently, South Tyrol is most commonly

reached by car. There are three alternative means of transportation that are being promoted or that may be extended in the future to attract more tourists including hotel guests from ELF markets: firstly, the Bolzano Airport; secondly, the use of Shuttle buses between South Tyrol and major other airports; and thirdly, the cooperation with railroad passenger companies.

The Bolzano airport is a small regional airport that contributes to the accessibility of South Tyrol. Currently, there are only scheduled flights between Bolzano and Roma. However, further connections are planned towards the north and the east (Landesverband der Tourismusorganisationen Südtirols 2011). Pressured by the national aviation authority, the provincial government proposed a master plan for the airport's development. The plan includes the expansion of the runway to allow for heavier airplanes (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011d). The discussion of the pros and cons concerning a possible extension of the airport have led to one of the major controversies in South Tyrol in the past four years. The master plan issued by the airport authority on behalf of the provincial government in 2006 was at the center of intense debates. It predicted a 10% grow of tourist arrivals between 2007 and 2010 due to the larger charter catchment area if the airport's runway was expanded (Airport Bolzano Dolomiti 2006: 6-7; see figure 4). In 2007 a mediation process between more than fifty involved parties, including the provincial government and the airport operator, ended with the distinct result that the status quo should be maintained (Falk GmbH 2007). Nevertheless, the provincial government is determined to hold on to an airport expansion (Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 2011d).

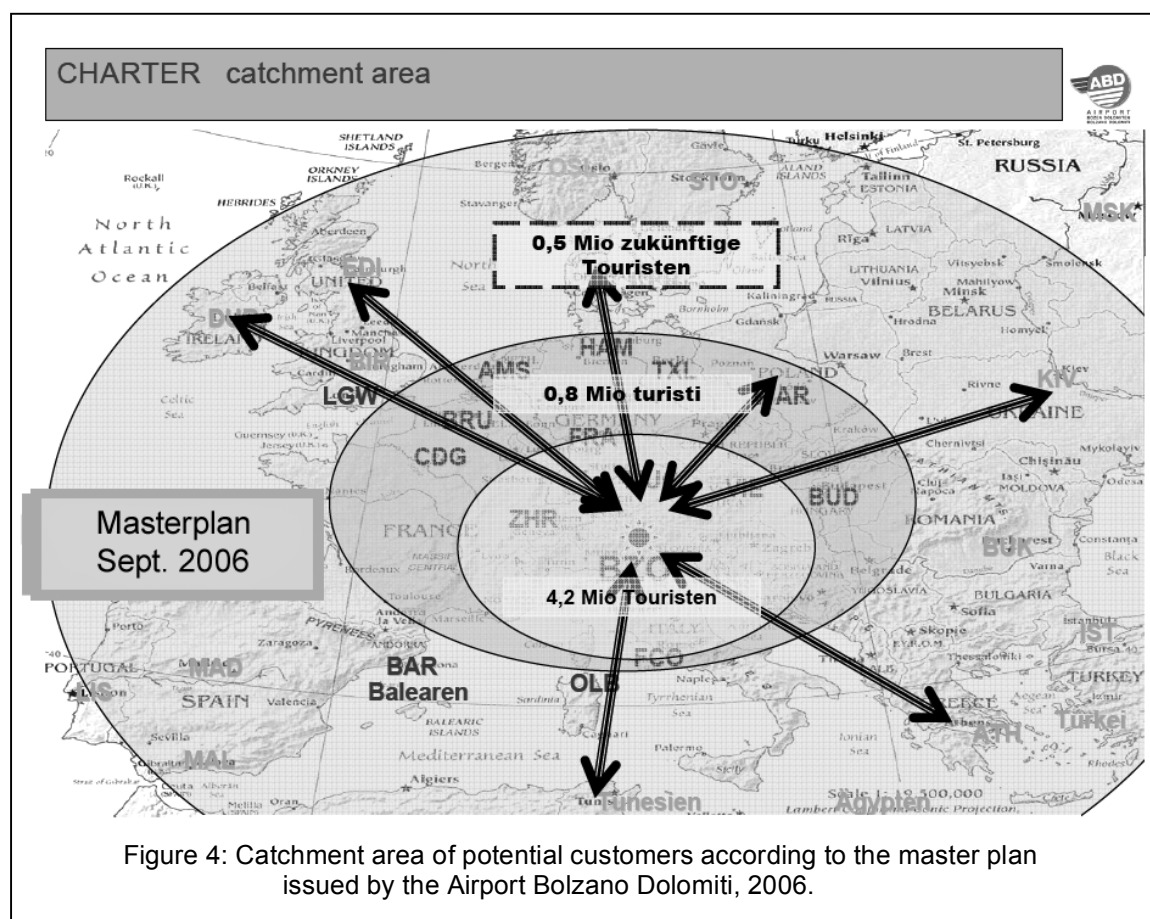


Figure 4: Catchment area of potential customers according to the master plan issued by the Airport Bolzano Dolomiti, 2006.

Walter Meister has more modest expectations than the airport authority regarding an increase in tourist arrivals as a consequence of an airport expansion. According to him an extension may lead to an increase by 2-3% a year (50:00). In addition, Meister considers air travelers to have a high spending capacity. On the other hand, air traveling might become more expensive and in addition to this, doubts about security issues may negatively influence the number of air travelers (Prugger 37:50). Thus, one cannot expect that the number of tourists will automatically rise with a larger airport but rather that the potential for growth is limited. Nonetheless, an extension may increase the accessibility of South Tyrol for a moderate number of tourists from ELF markets.

Of course, direct air travel to the province's capital is not the only alternative to car traffic. The development of railway routes and shuttle services between South Tyrol and low-cost-airports in nearby regions will also play an important role in tourist transportation (Prugger 37:00). The tourism industry seeks to set up perennial bus transfers to the airports of Bergamo, Verona, Venezia, Treviso and Innsbruck. Additional efforts consist in all-inclusive travel offers comprising shuttle

services and/or rental car service (Landesverband der Tourismusorganisationen Südtirols 2011). Compared to the development of shuttle services the cooperation with railroad passenger companies was, until May 2011, dominated by an obstructive contention between the involved parties. In December 2010 the Italian railroad regulation authority denied all trains on their way between Munich and larger Italian cities owned by German and Austrian companies to stop at intermediate stations. This affected all South Tyrolean destinations. The Italian authority claimed that the new services offered by the foreign companies would interfere with regional rail traffic. With the support of the European Commission this ban was eventually lifted in May 2011. It is planned that the Italian railway companies will start to publish information on foreign trains sell corresponding tickets in Italian train stations (stol 2011a and b). Given these favorable developments towards a more liberal railroad system in and around South Tyrol, the province's accessibility for ELF markets may be increased by further cooperation with European railroad companies.

4.4. Languages for Hospitality Purposes in South Tyrol

This section is concerned with the languages in use by the staff in the South Tyrolean tourism sector. As already pointed out in an earlier section, the exchange between guest and host is usually characterized by the tendency of the host to adapt to the guest's L1 or to use a lingua franca preferred by the guest. Given this tendency and the places of origin of the guests, it is understandable that German, Italian and English are perceived as essential assets in the South Tyrolean tourism sector. According to Prugger, English becomes relevant "if hotels [...] come to the conviction that they need other markets, become active on these markets [...] and have arrived at a demand from these markets" (22:40). For a considerable part of the South Tyrolean tourism sector this relevance has become a reality. As a host it "is a must [to be proficient in English] because every tenth [guest...] does not speak German or Italian." Further, Prugger points out that a generational shift in favor of English language competence is currently going on. In contrast to the

preceding generation young South Tyrolean professionals, who gradually are taking over positions in the management and decisive domains of the tourism industry, “have a good basis in English because they simply learned it at school” (Prugger 10:36). The probability that the staff in the South Tyrolean tourist sector would adapt to non-traditional markets by using their first languages is rather little. As claimed by Walter Meister, the use of these markets’ national languages is “not practicable [...because they are...] far too small” (51:20).

5. The Roles of English in the Hotel Business of South Tyrol from a Hotel Managers' Perspective

The construction of a contextual frame and the design of a model of ELF for hospitality purposes in the previous chapters were essential steps towards finding a suitable research method to investigate the importance of English in South Tyrol. As this chapter will show, the multilingual nature of South Tyrol and the change of tourist streams influence the roles and functions of English for different parts of the hotel staff as well as the hotel website. Finally, a number of factors will be described which have an impact on the future development of ELF in the South Tyrolean hotel business.

5.1. Methodology

The present study involves eleven one-to-one interviews conducted in 2010, between May 21 and June 23, in several districts of South Tyrol, as well as the application of one email questionnaire on May 5. A thorough analysis and interpretation of the questionnaire response as well as the transcribed recordings followed. This qualitative approach was chosen because of its exploratory nature. It allows for a detailed description of a recent phenomenon that, so far, has not been discussed by previous literature and that does not rely on prior empirical findings. Another advantage is that the focus on participant output leads to priority guidelines set by the participants themselves. This results in more practical findings that are less bound to theoretical constructs. Apart from that, an interpretation of findings that are based on authentic experience allows for a convincing argument (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 125-128).

In contrast to the method's advantages, the acquisition and processing of the acquired qualitative data is relatively time-consuming. This fact explains the small sample size compared to other methodological approaches, which raises the issue of the generalizability of the resulting findings. This is addressed in detail in the

next section on sampling. Another matter in question is the researcher's role in the interview. Personal expectations and biases may influence the wording of questions and the way of leading the interview. This could, in turn, influence participants' answers and, at worst, distort the data (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 39-42). The section on the interpretation of survey results will discuss that point in more detail. Regarding the interviewees' behavior there may be the tendency to give answers that are socially more desirable than others. This is especially relevant regarding participant opinions that had not yet been formed until the moment of articulating the answer. In spite of a large range of possible inaccuracies, the qualitative interview as a research method is the most promising way of data acquisition in this empirical study. Compared to the method's feasibility in terms of time and labor and its beneficial exploratory characteristics its unfavorable aspects are negligible. Despite of the limitations of this method, no other research strategy offers these advantages (cf. Kromrey 2002: 398).

The interviewer aimed at containing the negative aspects of this approach to a minimum. For example, a viable compromise was found concerning the relationship between personal limitations and the effort necessary to conduct the study. Further, the interviewer strictly focused on the acquired data to reduce the influence of personal experience made before the research enterprise. Additionally, the interviews could be conducted in a small enough timeframe to ensure a high level of synchronicity of the findings.

5.1.1. Sampling

The sampling strategy of this study follows Dörnyei's stance, who sees the main goal of sampling in qualitative inquiry in finding

individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn [...and to this end...] we often need to follow multiple strategies into multiple directions at multiple levels. (2007: 125-6)

Accordingly, the participants have been selected in regard to specific criteria that meet the needs of the study. They are expected to offer valuable information on

the use of English as a lingua franca for hospitality purposes in their hotel and South Tyrol. The value of the obtained data is determined by the degree of saturation of the participants' answers. The stage of saturation, can be defined as "the point when additional data do not seem to develop the concepts any further but simply repeat what previous informants have already revealed" (ibid.: 127). At this point the findings are considered as generalizable. A more practical issue is that the number of participants must be manageable in terms of financial expenses and the amount of time spent to process the gathered data. Aiming at the acquisition of preferably quickly generalizable data, two groups of overall twelve participants were selected. The first group, the primary experts, consists of ten managers of at least ten year old hotels. The considered establishments are classified as three, four or five star accommodations. The hotel manager is seen as the most suitable interlocutor. He/she is expected to provide an overview of the hotel's past and future developments including the functions and competence of the employees and the provenance of the guests. To obtain an overview of the whole province's hotel business, including a possible geographic heterogeneity, the considered hotels are located in different holiday regions: Merano and surroundings, Val Isarco, Val Pusteria, the South of South Tyrol, Plan de Corones, Valli di Tures e Aurina, Gardena and Alta Badia. Due to feasibility issues, four regions, Val Venosta, Alta Pusteria, Alpe di Siusi and Rosengarten-Latemar, could not be taken into consideration (see section 4.3. for an overview of the holiday regions). The restriction concerning the hotel's age ensures that the participant can draw from an adequate amount of experience with the use or absence of English.

The selection of primary experts according to this mixture of characteristics is the first step to raise saturated data in order to portray the hotel business of South Tyrol. To consolidate the findings three secondary experts, members of crucial tourism and economy related associations were taken into consideration. These informants with a presumably farther-reaching overview on the South Tyrolean economy were interviewed to gain insight into the hotel business as a whole. Mentioned in chronological order of interviewing this group of informants consists in, firstly, Walter Meister, president of the association for hotel and restaurant management South Tyrol; in German: "Hoteliers- und Gastwirteverband Südtirol"

(HGV). The HGV is a lobbying organization which, according to its homepage, represents 93% of South Tyrol's companies in the tourism industry (HGV 2011b). In addition to this, the HGV provides various services for its members, such as legal advice, management consultancy and further education (Meister 1:40). Besides his supervisory position as the highest representative of HGV, Meister co-manages the *Hotel Irma* in Merano. Thus, he assumed both interviewee roles as a primary and secondary expert. Meister's account proved to be especially valuable concerning information about the manager's perspective on the tourism industry. The subsequently interviewed secondary expert interviewee was Barbara Prugger, a market research expert and member of the executive board of the South Tyrolean Marketing association, i.e. the "Südtiroler Marketing Gesellschaft" (SMG). The role of the SMG is to convey a strong image of South Tyrol in selected markets. In order to increase the number of guests they aim at popularizing South Tyrol as a destination and as a label for typical local products (Prugger 0:10). As a complement to Meister's hotel management perspective, Prugger's interview is especially helpful in view of information about guests, including distinct tourist markets. The third superordinate expert interviewee was Barbara Moroder, appointee for education and economy at the Institute of Economy Research, the "Wirtschaftsforschungsinstitut" (WIFO). The WIFO is not exclusively involved in the tourism industry and thus, Moroder's account is particularly useful as constituting a more general and independent perspective.

5.1.2. The Interview Procedure and Question Design

Eleven of the twelve participants were interviewed by means of semi-structured interview guides (see annex, section 8.2.). In line with the research topic's exploratory character, the guides consist of largely open main questions and a varying number of probe expressions to further develop the exchange in the desired direction. Three different interview guides were applied: one for hotel managers or primary experts, another for secondary experts. The third guide was prepared for Walter Meister, who, as the president of the HGV and manager of the *Hotel Irma*, represents both kinds of participants. The hotel managers answered more specific questions, especially about their own hotel, whereas the secondary

experts were confronted with more general questions about the tourism industry. There are numerous overlaps between the sets of questions directed to primary and secondary experts. These overlaps were designed to increase the validity of primary experts' answers regarding topic areas that go beyond their immediate domain, i.e. the managers' hotels. Thus, the primary experts provided first hand information about their hotel and jointly with secondary experts they answered questions concerning the whole tourism industry.

For reasons of practicability, one participant, a hotel manager, responded to an e-mail questionnaire that largely corresponds to the interview guide for primary experts. The disadvantages of a questionnaire compared to a face-to-face interview become evident observing the participant's answers. This exchange was far less revealing since the possibility to ask follow-up questions is more restricted in an email correspondence. Nevertheless, the questionnaire participant was able to add some valuable facts about his hotel.

5.2. Topic Areas, Answers, and Interpretations

The interview questions can be classified into five topic areas. Four of them concern the status quo: the interviewee, the guest, the staff and management decisions. The fifth topic area covers the historical development of the use of languages in the hotel business and future trends. A number of questions contribute to more than one topic area. In the interpretational sections below, the links between topic areas and questions will be indicated by references to the interview guides included in the annex (see section 8.2.). To this end, abbreviations for the single interview guides will be used: "PEG" stands for questions in the primary expert interview guide, "SEG" for the secondary experts' and "PSEG" for Walter Meister's mixed guide. All Interviews were conducted in German¹¹.

¹¹ For a comprehensive English translation of the questions consider the interview guides in the annex (see section 8.2.). The transcripts were not included in the paper because some interviewees preferred to stay anonymous. The author refrained from publishing the remaining to avoid a biased representation of data.

5.2.1. The Interviewee

PEG 1; SEG 1; PSEG 1 and 2.

The first questions functioned as an introduction to the interview. Its most important purpose was to establish rapport to the interviewee, a “climate of trust”, as Dörnyei (2007: 137) puts it, to facilitate the flow of information. Secondly, the requested personal details and facts about the workplace should ensure the suitability of the interviewee. For primary experts this concerned the verification of being a manager or co-manager of a three to five star hotel and, if not confirmed elsewhere, that the hotel had been in business for ten or more years. For secondary experts this was meant to demonstrate their competence to provide valuable information about the South Tyrolean economy and tourism industry. The initial answers show that all interviewees met the criteria of suitability in order to participate in the present study. In addition, this first exchange led to a supportive interviewing atmosphere.

5.2.2. The Guest

PEG 2 and 3; SEG 2; PSEG 4, 5 and 6.

This topic area involves questions about the languages used by the guests in South Tyrolean hotels. The two key issues are the comparative importance of languages and the share of guests who speak English with the staff. A starting point to approach these subjects is provided by statistics on the provenance of guests which offer rough estimates for the actual languages used in the hotels (cf. ASTAT 2010a: 443; for more specific information consider section 4.3. on languages in traditional and emerging markets). Around 10% of guests do not come from Italy, Germany, Austria or Switzerland and are thus likely to use English as a Lingua Franca in the exchange with the hotel staff.

All participants confirmed that German and Italian are the two most important languages used in the tourism industry of South Tyrol. The heterogeneity within

the province, which especially concerns the use of ELF, was also substantiated by most responses. The western and southern parts of South Tyrol mostly depend on German speaking guests and accommodate only a relatively small number of guests from other markets (Prugger 9:10; Meister 11:05). Italian L1 speakers and probable users of ELF are more likely to visit the central and Eastern parts of the province. Corresponding to this distribution, the yearly average number of ELF users varies from virtually none to about ten percent. In addition to the geographic heterogeneity there is also a seasonal difference. ELF users rather visit in South Tyrol in the winter seasons. In the winter months the share that does not speak German or Italian reaches about 15 percent because of a higher internationalization (Prugger: 7:40).

The general question “Which languages are important in your hotel?” was most importantly associated with the shares of guests from different nations and less with the language competence of the host, i.e. the staff members. The reason why eight of ten hotel managers and all secondary experts responded in this way is probably due to the specific code choice behavior in hotels. As one hotel manager (Int. 9)¹² put it: “Die Leute schätzen es, wenn man ihre Sprache reden kann” – *people appreciate it if one [the host] is able to speak their language*. Correspondingly, another manager added the use of a lingua franca: “Der Gast soll schon beim ersten Anruf [...] das Gefühl haben [...], dass er in seiner Muttersprache, bzw. in der Zweitsprache [...] seine Wünsche darbringen kann” – *already during the first phone call [...] the guest should get the feeling that he can [...] state his wishes in his mother tongue or in the second language*. Hence, the language in use is, if possible, chosen by the guest. Ideally, this demand is fully met by the language competence of the staff. Barbara Prugger believes that even if the number of guests who do not speak German or Italian is very small, the use of an additional language and especially English makes an internationally more favorable impression (12:40).

¹² The abbreviations (Int. 1) to (Int. 12) stand for single interviewees and indicate extraordinary responses. A comprehensive list with further details, such as geographical information, is included in the annex (see section 8.1.).

5.2.3. The Staff

PEG 2, 4, 5 and 6; SEG 2, 3, 9 and 10; PSEG 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

The expression 'staff' comprises all employees including managers as far as they have direct contact with the guest, for example by representing the hotel. The decisions made by the management regarding the organization of the hotel and some managers' attitudes towards relevant issues will be addressed in a different section (see 5.2.4.). This topic area comprises the following subjects: first, the linguistic diversity of the staff in the South Tyrolean hotel business; second, the staff positions which require written and/or oral competence of English; third, the differences between the staff members in terms of age, gender and origin in relation to the English language competence; and fourth, the benefit of the English hotel website. The website is part of this topic area as an instrument of communication administered by the staff.

5.2.3.1. The Linguistic Diversity in the South Tyrolean Hotel Business

The South Tyrolean hotel business employs a linguistically very diverse workforce. In most hotels under consideration the German L1 speakers were the largest language group but also hotels with a majority of Italian or Ladin L1 speakers can be found, for example in Bolzano and Alta Badia. Every hotel considered in the study employs people from outside of South Tyrol who do not speak Italian or German as their L1. Usually, these employees form the second largest group, with a share of up to a quarter of the staff. They are required to either speak basic Italian or German or both languages. The hotel managers usually do not expect these employees to be able to speak English. Their places of origin include Hungary, Poland, Macedonia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Bosnia, Romania, Croatia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Pakistan, Canada and South America. They are often employed as dishwashers and room cleaners, mainly because local people are reportedly difficult to find for these less prestigious and low-pay jobs. Employees from outside of South Tyrol are also found in service but more rarely.

5.2.3.2. Proficiency in English in Relation to the Staff Position

To estimate the staff's English language competence the interviewees were asked to differentiate between five groups, the reception, service, the management including the secretary, the kitchen staff and the room cleaning service. The level of competence was estimated by the distinction between oral and oral as well as written. All participants of the study, primary as well as secondary experts, agree that a certain level of English language competence is required for all staff positions that involve direct contact with the guest. This demand is probably best summed up by Barbara Moroder's statement: "Wer es [English] können muss ist natürlich das Personal, das mit dem Gast direkt zu tun hat" – *who must know English is obviously the staff that has directly to do with the guest* (9:40). Members of the kitchen staff and the room cleaning service are not required to speak or write in English because they have only little if any direct contact with the guest. Among the interviewees there was only one case, a five star hotel, where allegedly all employees are able to speak English (Int. 11). On the other hand, another manager stated that a room cleaner who can speak English would be overqualified for this job (Int. 8). In most South Tyrolean hotels the reception, the waiting service as well as the management have direct contact with the guest. Hence, all these occupations require a certain degree of English language competence. The receptionists are required to be at least trilingual. They are expected to adequately talk and write in German, Italian and English. Depending on the expectations of the managers they need to be proficient in French as well but that is rather rare. Usually the receptionists are not only concerned with face-to-face contact but also with the production of various written texts, for example the correspondence with potential guests, menus, direction signs, the written content of the hotel homepage and others.

Regarding service only oral proficiency in English is seen as necessary, but not strictly for all waiters in a hotel. Especially in hotels where languages other than German and Italian play a minor role during the whole year there is no need for each member of the waiting team to be proficient in English. In general, the staff follows a flexible assignment strategy. If there are English speaking guests the

waiters with the highest proficiency in English are assigned to the corresponding tables.

In South Tyrolean hotels the members of the management often take on tasks of waiters and receptionists. According to Walter Meister, the guest feels at home in family-led hotels where the managers seek contact with them (13:00). Especially the guest-oriented manager, who does not exclusively pull the strings behind the stage, needs English in oral and written form. Besides leading small talk in the lobby a hotel manager would also be able to wait on a table with English speaking guests and engage in correspondence in English.

Barbara Prugger (18:55) added further occupations that require English to those above that are especially relevant to more prestigious hotels: services such as hiking guides, riding instructors, golf trainers, the wellness area staff, caretakers and alike need at least some oral competence of English. All these staff positions form separate sub-CofPs using a less typical kind of ELF for the fact that they speak English for more specific purposes.

5.2.3.3. Age and Gender Differences

An undisputable result of the interviews is that the younger members of staff are more proficient in English than the older generation. Employees who left school more recently, i.e. people aged between seventeen and thirty-five, are seen as better equipped with language skills, which mainly applies to English. Older staff members, especially in smaller businesses studied English more rarely and if they did, they probably lost most of their proficiency because of too little practice (Meister 17:20). In contrast, younger employees, be it the nineteen-year-old beautician or the new manager in her early thirties, possess a good basis of English. Barbara Prugger believes that a “Generationswechsel” – *a generational change* is taking place (10:15). Meister recommends young people who enter the tourism industry to work abroad to acquire language skills: “Junge Leute hinaus in die Welt, solange ihr jung seid, und nicht zum Nachbarn arbeiten gehen” – *young people go abroad to work as long as you are young, rather than at your neighbor’s*

(15:40). Learning a language requires great effort and investment of time. Most importantly due to flexibility issues this is perceived as easier for a younger person.

Concerning gender differences the responses did not reach a convincing degree of saturation to be meaningful for the study. There is no sign that in the hotel business women could be more proficient in English than men or vice versa. Concerning the differences associated to the origin of the employees, guest workers are often seen as being less proficient in English. However, the more determining factor of English language proficiency is definitely the staff member's age and less their origin or gender.

5.2.3.4. The Website

The development towards the use of English in the hotel business of South Tyrol is particularly obvious regarding the hotels' web presence. In contrast to about ten years ago a hotel website containing an English version is not seen as a novelty anymore; all interviewees judge hotels without this feature as behind the times. Despite the fact that a hotel may accommodate hardly any English speaking guests an English version is seen as a must. All ten hotels under consideration maintain a website available in at least three languages: German, Italian and English. Additional versions were found in seven instances, six of them in French, two in Dutch.

Hotel managers perceive English as 'the' international or world language. Hence they see it as the ideal means to provide information online. The site is used to create an attractive representation of the hotel for multiple language communities accessible at any time worldwide. It adds an impression of internationality and is meant to increase the prestige of the hotel. The emblematic function of the hotels' websites, most often goes hand in hand with the communicative ELF function to attract new guests. In some instances, however the English version is used rather or exclusively for the emblematic function (Int. 1; Int. 5). Even though the staff as

such may not reflect the multilinguality of the website it is hoped to attract more guests who do not speak either German or Italian.

The English version assumes a special role compared to the other language versions. This process can be described as an initial stage of a lingua franca exchange. Obviously there may be internet users who would prefer to use German, Italian or French as a lingua franca, but from the hotel administration's side, no other language version of the website fulfills this role to this large extent. A complete ELF exchange may develop by the response of a potential guest in a written or oral form, for example by an email exchange or a phone.

The use of more than the three basic languages is perceived as advantageous by the majority of the interviewees because interested people from other language communities than the German, Italian and English might feel more directly addressed. However, some managers regard this higher diversity as unnecessary additional expenditure.

According to the significance of the English website version, hotels may be differentiated in three groups: firstly, those whose English page assumes a rather minor role. In these cases the site is merely used as a means to meet at least the minimal representational standard, i.e. a strongly abridged version of their main website. An additional value in terms of higher numbers of guests from ELF markets is not necessarily expected. Here, the website's focus on the emblematic function removes it far from an initial step towards ELF. Nonetheless, the achievement of meeting the minimal representational standard can be seen as a small but important benefit of the use of English. Typically those who implemented the English website version mostly for representative reasons, do not expect a relevant increase in English speaking guests in the years to come unless the Bolzano airport is enlarged (Int.s 2 and 5).

For the second group of hotels the English site has a moderately important role (Int.s 6, 9, 8, 10 and 12). Even if ELF users are rather rare guests, managers consider it as more probable that ELF markets become more important for their hotel and their holiday region. In addition to complying with higher representational

standards, these hotels seek to be prepared for a possible increase in English speaking guests. To this end the maintenance of an English website is seen as a necessary provision. The largest share of the hotels can be attributed to the second group.

For the third group of hotels the EFL markets are already economically important (Int. 11). These hotels accommodate a fair number of English speaking guests who may have used the website to gain initial access to the hotel and subsequently to communicate directly with the staff. Managers in this group regard the English language version to be similarly important as the German and Italian versions.

The significance of the English site rises with the number of English speaking guests and the favorable expectancy of the ELF market development. Hotels that are saturated by the traditional markets can be attributed to the first group. The majority of the hotels is more open to new markets and can thus be assigned to the second group whereas hotels in the third are still more rare. This classification roughly corresponds to the geographical distribution of potential ELF users outlined in the general description of South Tyrolean Tourism: hotels in the south of South Tyrol rather belong to the first group; those from the other holiday regions considered in the study tend to belong to the second and third group (for an overview of the holiday regions see section 4.3.).

Meister indicates that by now the hotel homepage has superseded printed information as most important marketing tool, such as the traditional catalogues and brochures (27:50). Yet, Barbara Prugger indicates that a website is only one prerequisite and that an English version does not automatically attract or even address English speaking people. A hotel manager needs to make sure that this online catalogue is easily found on the web. “Habe ich diesen Katalog im Keller, dann ist es egal in welchen Sprachen er ist” – *If this catalogue is in the cellar then it does not matter in which languages it is written* (41:30). Besides the physical accessibility described in section 4.3., the tourism industry needs to improve its virtual accessibility as well. According to Prugger successful online marketing also includes, for instance, the awareness of the number and the origin of people who

view the site, a search engine optimization and the collaboration with tour operators that are active outside German and Italian regions (ibid.). Her statement can be read as a recommendation to use the website not only for its own sake to meet a minimal representational standard for emblematic purposes but to use it in a more communicative way and in combination with other important means to attract new guests. Consequently, the website should be used for more typical ELF exchanges. Such a site would be specifically designed to facilitate interaction between guest and staff. For example, the availability of English speaking personnel could be indicated explicitly on the website. Further, the website could recommend situated communication in favor of non-situated media. A direct ELF conversation via telephone might be more effective than a non-situated E-mail communication.

5.2.4. Management Decisions

PEG 9, and 10; PSEG 13 and 14.

This section is about two management decisions that indicate the importance of English for the hotels. The first concerns the question if and how English language competence is assessed in job interviews. In a hotel where the assessment is more rigorous English can be seen to assume a more significant role. The second management decision involves further language education. If the management motivates the employees to learn English, be it by special training offers, financial support or simply by the utilization of working time, then the role of English can be seen as correspondingly important.

In job interviews, South Tyrolean hotel managers follow comparable procedures showing some important differences. In general, the language proficiency of a potential employee is tested depending on which working position is at stake. These positions involve direct contact with the guest such as the reception and the service as outlined above in the section on staff. As reflected by the main markets served by the hotel, German and Italian are more frequently tested than English. In hotels where ELF markets play a minor role, English may not be tested at all. The common way of testing an applicant's language competence is through a

short conversation in the target foreign language(s). In addition to this, hotel managers greatly rely on the demonstration of previous work experience. The applicant's former employers' may be taken into consideration as an additional source of information. Further, the applicant's educational background is often taken as a reliable enough indicator of language competence. Especially recent graduates, be it from vocational schools for hotel management or other schools, are expected to be proficient in English.

Among the hotels with a significant share of English speaking guests there are a number of different approaches to motivate the relevant staff to learn the language. The most economical way for a manager to motivate an employee is by openly showing a favorable attitude towards language learning. Any further measure taken to encourage staff members is tied to the condition that the employee continues to be engaged in the hotel for at least one more season. A second crucial requirement for any further support is the employee's genuine interest in an offer. Employees tend to be only motivated to improve their English proficiency if there is also a demand for English in the hotel and only in the respective working positions with direct contact with the guest. Consequently, management may reimburse course fees, put at disposal working time to attend the course, arrange internships in a country where the demanded foreign language is widely spoken or decide for a combination of these options. The most common procedure involves the joint investment of both parties: the management refunds the employee, who, in turn, attends the course in his/her free time. As Meister points out this is the usual way concerning courses organized by the HGV. However, he indicates that "Englisch lernen oder Sprachen im Allgemeinen, das sind Langzeitprogramme" – *learning English or language learning in general are long-term programs* (30:45). He recommends spending at least half a year abroad and avoid too much contact with speakers of one's own first language (ibid.). In other words, professionals in the hotel business should thoroughly broaden their linguacultural horizon to be better prepared for ELF exchanges.

5.2.5. Attitudes and Perspectives

PEG 7, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 14; SEG 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8; PSEG 11, 12, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

So far, this chapter has only illustrated the status quo of English in the hotel business of South Tyrol. In addition to the description of the current situation a central aim of this study is to trace the change in the use of English in the past decades which led to the present situation. The attitudes and perspectives of managers and secondary experts to this development allow an estimation of expectations towards the roles of English in the hotel business in the future. The key points of this topic area are, firstly, the managers' attitude towards the spread of English in general and in relation to the tourism industry; secondly, their opinion about the changes in the educational system of South Tyrol, which includes the increase of English language learning; thirdly, their position regarding globalization, a notion that suggests substantial international change. The fourth part of this section takes in the managers' retrospective and an outlook on English in the hotel business.

5.2.5.1. The Spread of English

Without hesitation all interviewees took a favorable stance towards the worldwide spread of English (see chapter 2 and more specifically section 2.4. for an outline of this phenomenon). Doubts about this development, for example through the assumption that there might be a negative influence on the local languages, did not occur. One manager argued against an excessive use of English in the hotel business such as by the replacement of lexical items, for example 'Kaffeepause' with 'Coffee Break'. She stressed the importance of authenticity in the tourism industry and the balanced use of different languages. For her own hotel she regards the spread of English as beneficial (Int. 12).

Due to the spread of English and its function as a lingua franca, potential international guests are believed to be more confident to choose a South Tyrolean hotel even if they do not understand local languages. Barbara Prugger asserts that

nowadays, most tourists staying in South Tyrol learned English as L2 (6:20). She also affirms that tourists who stay in up market accommodations tend to have a higher English competence (29:45). Therefore, communication in English is perceived as more and more important in the hotel business. Yet, the spread of English is not seen as an everlasting development. Some managers believe that languages other than German, Italian and English might become important on a global scale and subsequently for the local tourism industry. In these cases managers seem to be assured that their hotel is flexible enough to adjust to such a development (Int.s 9 and 11).

5.2.5.2. Education

Concerning the relation between education and tourism, many interviewees explicitly stressed the favorable position of South Tyrol as a bilingual country. Two large European language communities partly overlap in this province which creates the necessity and opportunity of language education in German and Italian. A kind of education which adds English to this diversity is seen as crucial. The fact that recent school reforms involve earlier English language teaching (see section 2.2.2. for a brief review) is undoubtedly seen as a step in the right direction. In other words, the interviewees share the position of the province's language policy makers: English as a lingua franca is used in wide parts of the world and has thus turned to be an important commodity. Three decades ago basic English had to be learned autodidactically, now it is a compulsory subject in elementary school. However, for many managers the recent reforms are not extensive enough. Today's hotel managers go further by thinking that English ought to be taught from a very early age. Their conviction is not necessarily tied to the hotel business but expresses an appeal to sustainable province-wide language planning. Accordingly, English should be made available in a playful way in kindergarten.

Hotel managers agree that earlier English teaching may be useful for the tourism industry but it would be more important to foster German-Italian bilingualism. A high proficiency in both languages is seen as a self-evident skill that cannot yet be

taken for granted. The lack of proficiency concerns graduates of secondary schools and vocational schools for hospitality purposes alike. Prugger adds that German L1 speakers who graduated from foreign tertiary institutions are often more competent in English than in Italian (20:00). To improve the situation trilingual competence could be deepened in internships located in linguistically suitable regions.

Meister indicates that the hotel staff is rather made up of graduates from vocational schools for hospitality purposes than any other institutions. Hence, for the hotel business the reforms in language education most importantly affect the secondary level. Tertiary study programs on tourism management offered by the University of Bolzano only have a subsidiary impact. Graduates from these courses are rather employed in tourism associations, in the tour operating industry, etc., and not as receptionists or waiters (34:40).

5.2.5.3. “Globalization”¹³

The question about the effect of globalization on the hotel led to very diverse answers. As expected, the vagueness of this buzzword was reflected by the interviewees’ interpretation. The conception of globalization ranged from a ‘process of assimilation’ (Int. 7) to the ‘internationalization of markets’ (Int. 11). There is no reason to believe that an unclear understanding of the key word in this question leads to valid findings on the macro-phenomenon globalization itself as approached in section 2.4. Nevertheless, “globalization” served as a provocative catchword to elicit further information about the micro- as well as the meso-level: the specific hotel and the hotel business in general. Thus, there are a few points worth mentioning. The question¹⁴ links “globalization” to the increasing exchange between language communities world wide. Further, the question’s probe

¹³ The quotation marks indicate the interviewees’ diverse understanding of this notion and shall direct the focus to the outcome of the questions and not to the phenomenon itself.

¹⁴ “Globalization has brought about a greater exchange between language communities worldwide. Is this effect perceivable in your hotel? (Assumption: globalization led to higher mobility; much is told about ‘new markets’, e.g. SMG – relation to globalization?).”

associated “globalization” with increased personal mobility and related to the search for new markets. The absolute majority of the interviewees share the opinion that the guest situation in their hotel as well as in South Tyrolean hotels in general has become more international. Now that a tourist can travel to virtually everywhere in the world in 48 hours, English as the most widely spread lingua franca is perceived as invaluable for hospitality purposes.

One interviewee gave a striking example for the recognition of market internationalization with the renaming of a hotel. The former name was officially used for forty years without any association to English or other languages than German. After its expansion the ‘Hotel Edith’ became ‘The Vista Hotel’. The replacement was intentionally chosen to meet the new market situation (Int. 12).

Adding another perspective, Barbara Prugger claims that the greater exchange between language communities in South Tyrolean tourism “hat mehr mit Marktbearbeitung zu tun als mit Globalisierung” – *has more to do with market cultivation than with globalization* (32:50). The development towards a more diverse market is only partly caused by external factors. Marketing may play a fundamental role in shaping the tourist streams of the future. International tourists, Prugger continues, come to South Tyrol “nicht weil sich’s jetzt globalisiert und sie fahren herum [...], sondern weil wir sie eben holen” – *not because of globalization and that they simply go around [...] but because we take hold of them* (ibid.). Indeed, the marketing efforts by tourism-related organizations or by single hotels are seen as the main cause for the higher number of ELF using tourists in South Tyrol. Besides this, there is no disagreement between managers and secondary experts that political changes, such as the fall of the iron curtain, are also a reason for the diversity of tourists.

What “globalization” in relation to the staff is concerned, employees who perform less prestigious work, such as house cleaning and dishwashing have become more diverse in terms of places of origin. Apparently, so managers state, South Tyrolean employees are harder to find for these jobs than in the past. For other staff positions no substantial change has been noticed. Some managers attempt to preserve the hotel’s authentic atmosphere, especially regarding those

establishments that mostly house regular guests (Int. 9). Hence, these managers tend to employ local people for jobs that involve direct contact with the guest. For the use of English this means that in these cases it is mostly up to the workforce trained in South Tyrol to study and apply the language as a lingua franca. In contrast, there are also managers who adjust to the higher guest diversity by employing staff members who speak the guest's L1, for example a Czech waiter during the winter months (Int. 12). Even if this might reduce the degree of localism the use of the L1 might be more appealing to a significant share of guests. However, hotel staff with direct guest contact in South Tyrol need to be proficient in, most importantly, German and Italian, and preferably also in English. Employees with this range of plurilingual competence are certainly harder to find compared to 'authentic' South Tyrolean workforce.

5.2.5.4. The Managers' Retrospect and Outlook

The interviewees' retrospect and outlook revealed that in the past decades the use of English has become more frequent. This development is perceived by all secondary experts and most managers and is expected to continue in the future. For the staff of a five star hotel in Gardena, English became important on the occasion of the alpine world ski championships in 1970 (Int. 11). At that time, in most South Tyrolean hotels a staff member fluent in English was seen as extraordinary. Forty years ago the tourist market situation was very different. Almost all visitors came from the Germanophone market. Since then the number of travelers has steadily increased and, correspondingly, the markets have become more diverse. The increase of Italian tourists in the 70s and 80s represents the first major diversification. The second has developed for the last fifteen to ten years, with first initiatives for a strategic marketing move against the dependence from the two traditional markets (Prugger 23:50).

Meister declares that "die Hauptmärkte werden nicht nur mehr Deutsch und Italienisch bleiben; andere Märkte werden zunehmend auch eine kleine Rolle spielen" – *the German and Italian markets will not continue to be the only important ones; other markets will increasingly play a small role* (45:30).

Accordingly, many hotels already accommodate an economically relevant share of guests from several European countries – including the British Isles. The large majority of the managers agree that one cannot always rely on the persisting profitability of the same markets. Further, there is a tendency towards shorter stays from nearby markets, which is seen as a difficult development if one does not cultivate additional markets. However, the consideration of possible negative development of traditional markets is mostly seen as more advisable than to wait for stagnating tourist streams. As one manager (Int. 11) put it: “Südtirol muss die Scheuklappen ablegen und internationaler denken” – *South Tyrol must remove its blinders and think more internationally*. Many managers affirm that the times when one could choose one’s guests are over. Accordingly, most hotels considered in the study are open-minded to tourists from new markets, even if that is widely seen as a linguistic challenge. Enabled by English as a Lingua Franca the accommodation of further international markets, for example Asia, Australia and the Americas are not seen as a problematic issue.

There has been a substantial change especially regarding accommodation in higher categories. Along with a large number of managers, Walter Meister argues that nowadays a guest from distant ELF market is disappointed if he/she arrives at a four star hotel and nobody is able to speak English (21:00). Meister concludes that “das Niveau der Hotellerie ist gestiegen und mit diesem Anstieg sind die [sprachlichen] Ansprüche [...] höher geworden. – *the levels in the hotel business have increased and subsequently also the aspirations regarding language* (ibid. 26:30). These opinions are also shared by those hotel managers who, so far, only accommodated a low number or virtually no English-speaking guests (Int.s 1, 5 and 7). Taking a step further, Prugger asserts that in the future tourism industry, English will be taken for granted (36:45). Barbara Moroder agrees that the use of English in South Tyrolean tourism will become more intense (30:30). In addition, along with the majority of hotel managers, she views the relationship between the staff’s language competence and the guests’ linguistic demands as an example of a market’s self-regulation. According to this assumption, the internationalization in the tourism sector leads to a confrontation with characteristics of the new markets. As a consequence staff members and managers need to deepen and to advocate language skills. Hotel managers need to adjust to the challenges of the new

markets including the resulting language issues if they want to stay competitive. The requirement to be proficient in English in order to be employed as a receptionist or waiter in a South Tyrolean hotel may thus become more strictly assessed in job interviews.

The managers agree on the assumption that the accessibility of South Tyrol is a crucial factor in gaining a higher number of guests and more diverse markets to their hotels. Their opinions do not conform in terms of which means of transportation should be promoted to achieve this goal. Especially those managers who do not (yet) accommodate a relevant share of English speaking guests claim that a larger airport in Bolzano could be helpful to increase the number and diversity of guests (Int.s 2, 5 and 7). One manager included the shuttle service into his criticism about the missing airport development. He presumes that shuttle buses would not be effective for his hotel. Air travel to airports outside South Tyrol would rather keep tourists away (Int. 5). In contrast, a relevant share of managers see an enlargement of the airport with a more skeptical or indifferent eye (Int.s 6, 8 and 12).

The expansion of the rail services is a less controversial topic. All managers agree with Meister's opinion that corresponding investments and negotiations with railroad companies should be intensified. The railroad is not only seen as less environmentally damaging than the air travel but, as Meister believes, it is also more comfortable. In contrast to the airplane a train may stop near the city center (48:40).

Further, the accessibility may differ between locations within South Tyrol. Compared to the hotels in the main towns and other hot spots the more isolated accommodations may profit from a better accessibility in terms of improvements to the local transportation infrastructure (Int. 12).

5.3. Main Findings

The study confirmed that the language used in the hotel business is, whenever possible, determined by the guest. German and Italian are by far the most important languages used in the tourism industry of South Tyrol followed by English used as a lingua franca. The distribution of ELF using guests is characterized by a great geographic heterogeneity and seasonal difference. In some areas of South Tyrol hotels are saturated by traditional markets, i.e. Germanophone countries and Italy. Thus, the share of ELF users varies from virtually none in certain districts to a maximum of 15% in other parts of the province in the winter season. The future use of English in the hotel business of South Tyrol depends on the market situation. An internationalization of guests is taking place: the traditional markets will continue to be the most important ones, but also smaller markets will play an increasing role. Most guests from these countries are expected to use ELF in the exchange with the South Tyrolean hotel staff.

The younger South Tyrolean hotel staff members who are involved in direct interaction with the guest are required to be proficient in English. The level of proficiency depends on their position. Apparently, a generational shift is taking place with younger members of staff being more proficient than their older peers. Thus, younger receptionists and members of the management are expected to be at least trilingual¹⁵ in speech and writing to accomplish tasks ranging from small talk to dealing with (e-mail) correspondence. The individual English proficiency is more variable concerning the service personnel. More proficient waiters can be assigned to ELF user tables. Due to this flexibility only a small share of the service personnel is usually required be proficient in English. Further, their language skills may be limited to spoken use of English.

South Tyrolean hotels usually maintain an at least trilingual internet presence. The managers' attitude towards the English version of the hotel website may serve an

¹⁵ Here and henceforward trilinguality refers to German, Italian and English.

indicator for the importance of English in a hotel. A hotel website fulfills two functions at the same time: a communicative function and an emblematic function. English plays a minor role for the hotel if the emblematic function dominates the communicative. This occurs if the English version is rather meant to elevate the prestige of the website to the common standard level in the hotel business and less to communicate with ELF users. A website design which focuses more on communicative purposes shows a hotel's interest for ELF markets. This is the case for the majority of South Tyrolean hotel websites. Even if English speaking guests are not (yet) economically significant for the hotel, the website indicates a moderate importance of the language. Hotel websites that are regularly used to communicate with English speakers are still rare.

The examination of two management decisions helped to estimate the importance of English in South Tyrolean hotels. One decision concerns the assessment of English proficiency in job interviews. In general, the applicants' working experience and educational background are of major importance. The only ad hoc language assessment procedure is a short conversational test. Corresponding to the numbers of ELF using guests in a hotel this method may become more common. The other management decision is about motivating employees to acquire more language competence. A usual procedure involves the refund of the language class fees and the employee's use of a holiday to attend the class. This and similar kinds of support are only granted under two conditions. Firstly, the employee must work for the hotel for at least one more season and secondly, he or she must show a genuine interest in learning the language. Most motivation to further learn languages is related to German and Italian because of their traditional importance, but the motivation regarding English is increasing alongside a positive ELF market development.

Hotel managers in South Tyrol welcome the worldwide spread of English. It is claimed that ELF may empower potential guests who do not understand locally spoken languages, to visit the province. The gradual extension of English language teaching in South Tyrolean education over the last decades has led to a generational change. The age of a staff member is the most defining factor regarding English language proficiency in the hotel business. According to hotel

managers the ELT extension should develop further, for example towards the inclusion of all primary school grades in the German school. Further, they believe that English should be deepened in internships abroad. Thus, from the hotel managers' perspective the general aim of South Tyrolean language education should be trilinguality.

In the future, the significance of ELF markets in South Tyrol will be determined by at least three variables: marketing efforts, the individual mobility of potential guests and the accessibility of South Tyrol. The current marketing strategy of the South Tyrolean marketing association provides about a third of their budget for the comparably small share of ELF markets. Moreover, all of the hotels in the study have acquired an English website version during the last fifteen years, especially for marketing reasons. Hence, the marketing efforts in the South Tyrolean hotel business aim at a more diverse market situation. If they are successful they may probably contribute to an increase of ELF in South Tyrol. The individual mobility of potential guests has been found to depend on political and financial restrictions. It is not possible to estimate the development of the second variable here, nor is it possible to influence it from South Tyrol. In the past years this factor has improved. The third variable, the accessibility of South Tyrol might be improved by investing in transportation infrastructure. Some managers doubt that enough is done for effectiveness of shuttle bus lines and the transportation infrastructure within South Tyrol. The extension of air travel is stuck in an entrenched controversy. Moreover, hotel managers are divided on this issue. In contrast, the increase of railroad traffic is generally welcomed.

6. Conclusion

The objective of this paper is to apply linguistic theory on English as a lingua franca to an economic domain on a regional level. The bilingual European border Province of Bolzano-Bozen, South Tyrol (Italy), offers an intriguing subject for this cause. As an important part of the South Tyrolean tourism sector, the hotel business crucially contributes to the province's economic wealth. Since the sector's impact has been increasing alongside the use of English it has become necessary to describe the roles and functions of the language used for hospitality purposes. The scarcity of previous empirical work in this field determined the choice of an exploratory research method. The conduction of qualitative interviews with hotel managers and three superordinate experts in the tourism industry provided a rich body of data.

The study is based on a model of English that is used as a lingua franca for hospitality purposes in hotels. It is an attempt to shed light on the nature of English used in the specific sociolinguistic context. The model design roots in a review of several approaches to language use. This includes the discussion of the native/non-native distinction (Kachru 1992, Quirk 1990 and Widdowson 2003), English as a native, second and foreign language (Kachru 1992, Lesznyák 2004 and Yano 2009) as well as the traditional understanding of the notions 'variety' and 'community' and their reconceptualization (Bruthiaux 2003, Seidlhofer 2009). Bäck's (2004 and 2009) approach to code choice in the private economy sector, Wenger's (1998) notion of communities of practice and Smit's (2010) prototypical distinction between ELF exchanges were the most supportive sources in modeling the use of English in South Tyrolean hotels.

The outcome of these theoretical considerations is a rather liberal stance towards the ELF paradigm. English as a lingua franca is understood as a tool of communication between persons who have different first languages and whose linguacultural background mainly overlaps in English. Thus, also English L1 speakers may take part in ELF exchanges. In a group of ELF interactants at least

one person must have a L1 other than English. During a mutual negotiation of meaning the participants find a common linguacultural basis that is characterized by their unique use of – and attitudes towards – the language including their individual cultural backgrounds. This interpretation of the ELF concept allows for a categorization of a wide range of language uses. The most useful way to comprehensively describe ELF manifestations in the hotel business is a prototypical approach based on the idea of shared linguacultural ground. According to the degree of situatedness, to the a priori shared individual repertoire and established practice, communicative interactions can be categorized as more or less prototypical examples of ELF exchanges.

The prototypical approach allowed for the estimation of the importance of English according to its use on the hotel website. The English website version is a special example of ELF. It cannot be seen as an exchange as such but as an initial step towards an ELF exchange. Those hotels usually accommodate more English speaking guests whose website contains communicative features invite to more situated interactions, for example by suggesting direct contact between potential guest and a staff member. The majority of South Tyrolean hotels do not yet accommodate an economically significant share of English speaking guests but they demonstrate openness towards ELF markets by the communicative design of their English website version.

English assumes several different roles in a South Tyrolean hotel. To make sense of this diversity the hotel is described by means of its communities of practice (CofP), i.e. groups of people who share a mutual engagement, a joint enterprise and a specific (linguistic) repertoire (Wenger 1998). The hotel staff is one of these CofPs which consists of a number of sub-communities. For the purpose of this paper only the sub-CofPs are important who have direct contact with the hotel guests: for example the reception, the waiting service and the management. The difference between these sub-CofPs is mostly due to the different linguistic repertoires that are necessary for the staff positions. Consisting of staff and guests the hotel can be interpreted as a community of practice in its own right. This is the case if there is cooperation between the two parties to meet the demands of the guests, such as declaring preferences on the one hand and fulfilling these

demands on the other. The prerequisite is a common linguistic repertoire which is characterized by the supplier-customer code choice behavior. Accordingly, the guest is free to choose a language and the staff will try to adapt to this choice. With his model of code choice in an export-oriented private economic sector Bäck (2009) helps to build the bridge between ELF theory and the description of English in the South Tyrolean tourism industry.

The analysis of the interviews shows that German and Italian are by far the most important languages in the tourism business. English is becoming more and more important in some districts of South Tyrol, especially in the winter season. The worldwide spread of English is welcomed. It is seen as possibly empowering potential guests to visit South Tyrol even if they do not understand the local languages. Hotel managers embrace the extension of English language teaching and partly demand further reforms to that effect. A generational shift is taking place concerning English language competence. The younger workforce who is involved directly with the guest is expected to be trilingual in German, Italian and English. Depending on the market development conversational English testing in job interviews may become more common and the management's disposition to invest in the staff's English language competence may increase. The future of English use in the South Tyrolean hotel business is contingent on at least three variables: the aim and success of marketing efforts, the individual mobility of potential guests and the province's accessibility.

As a final point should be noted that the study is not exhaustive. Its primary data source, the management, is only one sub-community of practice in the hotel business. This calls for the consideration of other perspectives, such as from employees or guests. In addition to this, a change of focus on the communicational needs of one particular sub-community of practice could be an interesting field of further research. The results of such a study may lead to a more informed and thus more effective use of languages in the tourism industry.

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8. Annex

8.1. List of Participants and Interview data

Date	Indication	Name	Holiday Region	Length	Expert Status
5.5.2010	Int. 1 (Interviewee 1)	anonymous	Merano and surroundings	n/a (Questionnaire)	primary
21.5.2010	Int. 2	idem	Valli di Tures e Aurina	36:08	primary
idem	Int. 3	Barbara Prugger	n/a	50:29	secondary
idem	Int. 4	Barbara Moroder	n/a	47:58	secondary
25.5.2010	Int. 5	Helmut De Carli	The South of South Tyrol	27:27	primary
idem	Int. 6	Francesco Morini	The South of South Tyrol	22:45	primary
27.5.2010	Int. 7	Walter Meister	Merano and surroundings	56:21	primary & secondary
17.6.2010	Int. 8	Edith Stolz	Val Isarco	29:57	primary
18.6.2010	Int. 9	anonymous	Plan de Corones	29:17	primary
idem	Int. 10	idem	Alta Badia	26:07	primary
22.6.2010	Int. 11	idem	Gardena	38:25	primary
23.6.2010	Int. 12	idem	Val Isarco	25:17	primary

8.2. Interview Guides

8.2.1. Primary Expert Interview Guide (PEG – Hotel Managers)

Participant: Hotel Manager

Day/Time:

Setting:

Comments:



Interview-Leitfaden

- Vorstellung
 - Zweck des Interviews
 - Einverständniserklärung
 - Informationen werden vertraulich behandelt
 - Sie werden nur für die Diplomarbeit benutzt
 - Ihre Teilnahme am Interview wird als Einverständnis gewertet
 - Wollen Sie anonym bleiben oder darf ich Sie namentlich nennen?
 - Haben Sie noch Fragen zur Einverständniserklärung?
- => Einschalten des Aufnahmegeräts
-

1. Könnten Sie sich, Ihre Tätigkeit und Ihren Hotelleriebetrieb bitte kurz vorstellen?

[Could you please briefly introduce yourself, your occupation and your hotel?]

2. Welche Sprachen sind in Ihrem Hotel von Bedeutung?

(Wie wichtig sind die einzelnen Sprachen in Ihrem Hotel im Vergleich?)

[Which languages are important in your hotel?

(How important are the single questions in your hotel in comparison?)]

3. Wie groß ist der Anteil Ihrer Gäste, die im Umgang mit Hotelangestellten auf Englisch sprechen?

(Damit sind nicht nur Muttersprachler gemeint).

(Gibt es Unterschiede zwischen Sommer- und Wintersaison?)

[How many of your guests speak English with your staff?

(This does not only concern native speakers)

(Are there differences between the summer and winter season?)]

4. Ausgehend von den Mitarbeitern in Ihrem Hotel – wie vielsprachig ist Ihr Betrieb?

Welche Muttersprachen sind vertreten?

[Considering the staff – how multilingual is your business? Which mother tongues are spoken?]

5. Wer „kann“ Englisch in Ihrem Betrieb?

(nach Tätigkeit, Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft)

(Unterscheidung Sprechen / Schreiben)

[Who is able to speak English in your business?

(regarding occupation, age, gender, origin)

(Differentiation spoken / written)]

6. Die Webseite Ihres Hotels ist auch auf Englisch verfügbar. Wie erklären Sie sich den Nutzen dieser Seite?
(Repräsentativer Anstrich ohne spürbaren Erfolg vs. erfolgreiche Strategie gemessen an Englisch sprechenden Gästen)

[The website of your hotel is also available in English. How would you explain the benefit of this site?

(representational function without noticeable success vs. successful strategy as measured by the number of ELF speakers)]

7. Ein Rückblick – Wie hat sich die Englische Sprache in Ihrem Hotelleriebetrieb entwickelt?

(Unterscheidung Gäste / Angestellte)

(Wann und warum ist sie für den Betrieb wichtig geworden?)

[In retrospect – How has the English language evolved in your hotel business?

(Differentiation guests / employees)

(When and why has English become important for the hotel?)]

8. Wie schätzen Sie die bisherige Entwicklung des Englischen in den Südtiroler Hotels im Allgemeinen ein?

[How would you assess the past development of English in the South Tyrolean hotels in general?]

9. Werden in Ihrem Hotelleriebetrieb bei der Einstellung von neuen Mitarbeitern Sprachkenntnisse getestet?

(Wie?)

(Wie viel Wert wird auf Englisch gelegt?)

[When hiring new staff members, do you test their language proficiency?

(How?)

(How important is English?)]

10. Werden Ihre Mitarbeiter zum Englischlernen motiviert? Zum Beispiel durch Fortbildungsangebote, finanzieller Unterstützung, Kursbesuche während der Arbeitszeit?

[Do you motivate your employees to learn English? For example by providing further education, financial support, attendance to language classes during working hours?]

11. Der Englischunterricht wurde vor kurzem in der Volksschule eingeführt. Die Uni Bozen bietet dreisprachige Studiengänge an (speziell Tourismusmanagement). Englisch scheint im Bildungsbereich als wichtiges Gut bewertet zu werden. Wird diese Ansicht von gastgewerblicher Seite geteilt?

(Inwieweit profitiert Ihr Betrieb von diesen Bildungsangeboten?)

(Erwarten Sie in Zukunft größere Auswirkungen dieser Angebote?)

[English language education was recently introduced in elementary school. The University of Bolzano offers trilingual courses (especially tourism management). Apparently, English is considered to be an important commodity. Is this opinion shared by the tourism industry?

(To what extent does your business benefit from these educational opportunities?)

(Do you expect a bigger impact of these educational opportunities in the future?)]

12. Im Hinblick auf Ihr Hotel – sehen Sie die Ausbreitung des Englischen als positives oder negatives Phänomen?

(Warum?)

(In der angewandten Sprachwissenschaft wird es eher als negatives Phänomen beschrieben wird)

[Concerning your hotel – do you regard the spread of English as a positive or negative phenomenon?

(Why?)

(In applied linguistics this phenomenon is rather described in an unfavorable way)]

13. Die Globalisierung hat weltweit einen größeren Austausch zwischen Sprachgruppen mit sich gebracht. Ist diese Wirkung in Ihrem Hotel spürbar?

(Annahme: Globalisierung => größere Mobilität)

(Es wird viel von den ‚Neuen Märkten‘ gesprochen (z.B. SMG); Zusammenhang mit Globalisierung?)

[Globalization has brought about a greater exchange between language communities world-wide. Is this effect perceivable in your hotel?

(Assumption: Globalization => higher mobility)

(Much is told about ‘new markets’ (e.g. SMG); relation to Globalization?)]

14. Welchen Trend sehen Sie für den Gebrauch der Sprachen in Ihrem Betrieb?

(Speziell Englisch?)

(Wie schaut es für das Südtiroler Gasgewerbe allgemein mit Sprachen aus?)

(Speziell Englisch?)

[Which trend do you see concerning the use of languages in your business?

(Especially English?)

(How would you evaluate the use of languages in the South Tyrolean tourism industry in general?)

(Especially English?)]

15. Ich habe keine weiteren Fragen. Möchten Sie noch etwas hinzufügen?

[I do not have any further questions. Would you like to add something?]

Vielen Dank für das Gespräch!
[Thank you very much for the conversation!]

8.2.2. Secondary Expert Interview Guide (SEG)

Participants: Barbara Prugger, Barbara Moroder

Day/Time:

Setting:

Comments:

Interview-Leitfaden

- Vorstellung
- Zweck des Interviews
- Einverständniserklärung
 - Informationen werden vertraulich behandelt
 - Sie werden nur für die Diplomarbeit benützt
 - Ihre Teilnahme am Interview wird als Einverständnis gewertet
 - Wollen Sie anonym bleiben oder darf ich Sie namentlich nennen?
 - Haben Sie noch Fragen zur Einverständniserklärung?
 - => Einschalten des Aufnahmegeräts



-
1. Könnten Sie sich, Ihre Tätigkeit und Ihr Institut (Ihre Gesellschaft) bitte kurz vorstellen?
(Inwieweit beschäftigt sich die WIFO/SMG mit dem Hotelleriegewerbe, siehe Best 100 Ranking)
(Welche Beziehung zu anderen Institutionen, z.B. HGV und Hotelbetrieben?)

[Could you please briefly introduce yourself, your occupation and your institute (your association)?

(To what extent is the WIFO/SMG concerned with the hotel business, see also Best 100 Ranking)

(Which relationships exist to other institutions, e.g.: HGV and hotels?)

2. Welche Sprachen sind im Südtiroler Gastgewerbe von Bedeutung? Wie wichtig sind die einzelnen Sprachen in größeren Hotels im Vergleich?
(Annahme: größere Hotels => vielfältigerer Kundenhorizont) (speziell Englisch)

[Which languages are important in the tourism industry of South Tyrol? How important are the individual languages in bigger hotels in comparison?

(Assumption: bigger hotels => higher diversity of guests, especially concerning the English language)

3. Wer „kann“ Englisch im Tourismus?
(Alter, Geschlecht, Funktion ... schriftlich, mündlich, => welche Tätigkeiten erfordern Englisch-Sprachkenntnisse?)

[Who “knows” English in the tourism industry?

(Age, gender, occupation ... written, oral => which jobs require a knowledge of English?)

4. Ein Rückblick – Wie hat sich der Gebrauch der englischen Sprache im Hotelleriegewerbe entwickelt? Wann und warum ist Englisch für Hotels als wirtschaftlicher Faktor wichtig geworden?

[In retrospect – How has the use of the English language evolved in the hotel business? When and why has English become an important economic factor for the hotels?]

5. Im Bildungsbereich wird Englisch als wichtiges Gut bewertet. Das zeigt die Einführung des Englischen in der Volksschule und das Angebot von dreisprachigen Studiengängen der Uni Bozen. Inwieweit wird diese Bewertung im Hotelleriegewerbe Südtirols geteilt?

[In the educational domain of South Tyrol English is perceived as important commodity. This is shown by the introduction of English in elementary school and the provision of trilingual courses at the University of Bolzano. To what extent is this perception shared in the hotel business of South Tyrol?]

6. Im Hinblick auf die Zukunft der Tourismusbranche – sehen Sie die Ausbreitung des Englischen als positives oder negatives Phänomen?
(Warum?)

*[Concerning the future of the tourism branch – do you regard the spread of English a positive or negative phenomenon?
(Why?)]*

7. Die Globalisierung hat weltweit einen größeren Austausch zwischen Sprachgruppen mit sich gebracht. Inwieweit ist diese Wirkung in Bezug auf Englisch im Tourismus in Südtirol spürbar?
(Annahme: Globalisierung => höhere Mobilität)

*[Globalization has brought about a greater exchange between language communities world-wide. To what extent is this effect perceivable in South Tyrolean tourism?
(Assumption: Globalization => higher mobility)]*

8. Welchen Trend sehen Sie für den Gebrauch der Sprachen im Tourismus?
(Speziell Englisch)

*[Which trend do you see concerning the use of languages in the tourism industry?
(Especially English?)]*

[Zusatzfragen, Additional Questions]

9. Wie vielsprachig ist das Südtiroler Hotelliergewerbe? Welche Sprachen sind vertreten?
(Wie viele Mitarbeiter können Englisch sprechen bzw. schreiben?)

*[How multilingual is the hotel business of South Tyrol? Which languages are represented?
(How many employees can write and/or speak English)]*

10. Die Webseiten vieler Hotels sind auch auf Englisch verfügbar. Wie erklären Sie sich den Nutzen dieser Seiten?
(Repräsentativer Anstrich vs. erfolgreiche Marketingstrategie)
(Welche Hotels Kategorie/Anzahl der Betten?)

*[The websites of many hotels are also available in English. How would you explain the benefit of these sites?
(representational function without noticeable success vs. successful marketing strategy)]*

11. Ich habe keine weiteren Fragen. Möchten Sie noch etwas hinzufügen?

[I do not have any further questions. Would you like to add something?]

Vielen Dank für das Gespräch!
[Thank you very much for the conversation!]

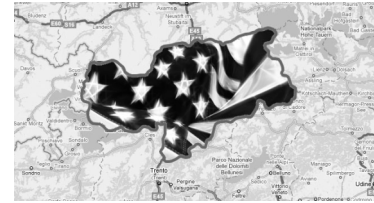
8.2.3. Primary and Secondary Expert Interview Guide (PSEG)

Participant: Walter Meister

Day/Time:

Setting:

Comments:



Interview-Leitfaden

- Vorstellung
 - Zweck des Interviews
 - Einverständniserklärung
 - Informationen werden vertraulich behandelt
 - Sie werden nur für die Diplomarbeit benutzt
 - Ihre Teilnahme am Interview wird als Einverständnis gewertet
 - Wollen Sie anonym bleiben oder darf ich Sie namentlich nennen?
 - Haben Sie noch Fragen zur Einverständniserklärung?
- => Einschalten des Aufnahmegeräts
-
1. Könnten Sie sich, Ihre Tätigkeit als Präsident des HGV und den HGV als solchen bitte kurz vorstellen?
(Beziehung zwischen HGV und Hotels/SMG/WIFO/...?)
[Could you please briefly introduce yourself, your occupation as president of the HGV and the HGV as such?
(Which relationships exist between HGV and Hotels/SMG/WIFO/...?)]
 2. Sie sind auch als Hotelmanager im Hotel Irma tätig. Könnten Sie Ihre dortige Beschäftigung und das Hotel beschreiben?
[You are also occupied as the manager of the Hotel Irma. Could you please describe your occupation there and the hotel?]
 3. Wie wichtig ist das Gasgewerbe für die Südtiroler Wirtschaft?
(Im Vergleich zu anderen Wirtschaftssektoren?)
[How important is the tourism industry for the economy of South Tyrol?
(In comparison with other sectors?)]
 4. Welche Sprachen sind in Ihrem Hotel von Bedeutung?
(Wie wichtig sind die einzelnen Sprachen in Ihrem Hotel im Vergleich?)
[Which languages are important in your hotel?
(How important are the single languages in your hotel in comparison?)]
 5. Welche Sprachen sind für das Südtiroler Hotelleriegewerbe allgemein von Bedeutung?
(Stimmt die Annahme „Je mehr Betten bzw. höhere Kategorie, desto vielfältiger der Kundenhorizont? (Je mehr Sprachen, desto mehr Englisch“?)
[Which languages are generally important for the hotel business of South Tyrol?
(Is the following assumption accurate: the more beds and/or the higher the hotel category the more diverse the clientele)
 6. Wie groß ist der Anteil Ihrer Gäste, die im Umgang mit Hotelangestellten auf Englisch sprechen?
(Damit sind nicht nur Muttersprachler gemeint).
(Gibt es Unterschiede zwischen Sommer- und Wintersaison?)
[How large is the share of your guests who speak English with the staff?
(This does not only concern native speakers)
(Are there differences between the summer and winter season?)]

7. Aus der Sicht des HGV Präsidenten: Wer „kann“ Englisch im Gastgewerbe und wer sollte es „können“?
(nach Tätigkeit, Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft)
*[From your perspective as the president of the HGV: who is proficient in English in the tourism industry and who should be proficient?
(regarding the occupation, age, gender, origin)]*
8. Ausgehend von den Mitarbeitern in Ihrem Hotel – wie vielsprachig ist ihr Betrieb?
Welche Muttersprachen sind vertreten?
[Concerning the staff of your hotel – how multilingual is your business? Which mother tongues are represented?]
9. Wer „kann“ Englisch in Ihrem Betrieb?
(nach Tätigkeit, Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft)
(Unterscheidung Sprechen / Schreiben)
*[Who is able to speak English in your business?
(regarding the occupation, age, gender, origin)
(differentiation spoken / written)]*
10. Die Webseite Ihres Hotels ist auch auf Englisch verfügbar. Wie erklären Sie sich den Nutzen dieser Seite?
(Repräsentativer Anstrich ohne spürbaren Erfolg vs. erfolgreiche Strategie gemessen an Englisch sprechenden Gästen)
(Trifft das auch auf Südtirol im Allgemeinen zu?)
*[The website of your hotel is also available in English. How would you explain the benefits of this site?
(representational make-up without noticeable success vs. successful strategy as measured by the number of ELF speakers)
(does that also apply to South Tyrol in general?)]*
11. Ein Rückblick – Wie hat sich die Englische Sprache in Ihrem Hotelleriebetrieb entwickelt?
(Unterscheidung Gäste / Angestellte)
(Wann und warum ist sie für den Betrieb wichtig geworden?)
*[In retrospect – How has the English language evolved in your hotel business?
(Differentiation guests / employees)
(When and why has English become important for the hotel?)]*
12. Wie schätzen Sie die bisherige Entwicklung des Englischen in den Südtiroler Hotels im Allgemeinen ein?
[How would you assess the past development of English in the South Tyrolean hotels in general?]
13. Werden in Ihrem Hotelleriebetrieb bei der Einstellung von neuen Mitarbeitern Sprachkenntnisse getestet?
(Wie?)
(Wie viel Wert wird auf Englisch gelegt?)
*[When hiring new staff members, do you test the language proficiency?
(How?)
(How important is English?)]*
14. Werden Ihre Mitarbeiter zum Englischlernen motiviert? Zum Beispiel durch Fortbildungsangebote, finanzieller Unterstützung, Kursbesuche während der Arbeitszeit?
[Do you motivate your employees to learn English? For example by providing further education, financial support, attendance to language classes during working hours?]
15. Der Englischunterricht wurde vor kurzem in der Volksschule eingeführt. Die Uni Bozen bietet dreisprachige Studiengänge an (speziell Tourismusmanagement). Englisch

scheint im Bildungsbereich als wichtiges Gut bewertet zu werden. Wird diese Ansicht von gastgewerblicher Seite geteilt?

(Inwieweit profitiert Ihr Betrieb von diesen Bildungsangeboten?)

(Erwarten Sie in Zukunft größere Auswirkungen dieser Angebote?)

[English language education was recently introduced in elementary school. The University of Bolzano offers trilingual courses (especially tourism management). Apparently, English is considered to be an important commodity. Is this opinion shared by the tourism industry?

(To what extent does your business benefit from these educational opportunities?)

(Do you expect a bigger impact of these educational opportunities in the future?)]

16. Im Hinblick auf Ihr Hotel und die Tourismusbranche – sehen Sie die Ausbreitung des Englischen als positives oder negatives Phänomen?

(Warum?)

(In der angewandten Sprachwissenschaft ist es eher so, dass es als negatives Phänomen beschrieben wird)

[Concerning your hotel and the tourism branch – do you regard the spread of English a positive or negative phenomenon?

(Why?)

(In applied linguistics this phenomenon is rather described in an unfavorable way)]

17. Die Globalisierung hat weltweit einen größeren Austausch zwischen Sprachgruppen mit sich gebracht. Ist diese Wirkung in Ihrem Hotel bzw. in Südtirol allgemein spürbar?

(Annahme: Globalisierung => größere Mobilität)

(Es wird viel von den ‚Neuen Märkten‘ gesprochen (z.B. SMG); Zusammenhang mit Globalisierung)

[Globalization has brought about a greater exchange between language communities world-wide. Is this effect perceivable in your hotel and in South Tyrol in general?

(Assumption: Globalization => higher mobility)

(Much is told about ‘new markets’ (e.g. SMG); relation to Globalization?)]

18. Welchen Trend sehen Sie für den Gebrauch der Sprachen in Ihrem Betrieb?

(Speziell Englisch?)

(Wie schaut es für das Südtiroler Gasgewerbe allgemein mit Sprachen aus?) (Speziell Englisch?)

[Which trend do you see concerning the use of languages in your business?

(Especially English?)

(How would you evaluate the use of languages in the South Tyrolean tourism industry in general?)

(Especially English?)]

19. Ich habe keine weiteren Fragen. Möchten Sie noch etwas hinzufügen?

[I do not have any further questions. Would you like to add something?]

Vielen Dank für das Gespräch!

[Thank you very much for the conversation!]

8.3. Zusammenfassung

Diese Diplomarbeit trägt zur Konzeptualisierung und Beschreibung von English als Lingua Franca (ELF) in der Peripherie der Englisch sprechenden Welt bei. Die mehrsprachige Europäische Grenzprovinz Bolzano-Bozen, Südtirol (Italien) stellt dafür ein faszinierendes Forschungsfeld dar. Durch die Anwendung von sprachwissenschaftlicher ELF-Theorie wird die Verwendung des Englischen in einer besonderen wirtschaftlichen Domäne, dem Hotelgewerbe Südtirols, beleuchtet. Da dieser Sektor in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten parallel zur Englischen Sprache an Wichtigkeit gewonnen hat, ist es notwendig geworden die Rollen und Funktionen von ELF zum Zwecke der Gastfreundschaft zu untersuchen.

Die theoretische Grundlage zur Unterscheidung von ELF-Manifestationen im Hotelgewerbe wurde durch die Aufarbeitung verschiedener Herangehensweisen zum Sprachgebrauch erreicht. Eine prototypische Annäherung an die Verwendung von English als Lingua Franca (Smit 2010), basierend auf Wengers (1998) Konzept der 'community of practice' sowie dem Prinzip der kundenorientierten Sprachwahl (Bäck 2009), bildet ein geeignetes Modell für ELF in Hotels. Die Spärlichkeit an bisherigen empirischen Studien in diesem Bereich führte zur Wahl eines explorativen Forschungsansatzes: qualitative Interviews mit Hotelmanagern und Hotelmanagerinnen sowie mit Experten aus der Tourismusindustrie und der Wirtschaftsforschung.

Die Resultate der Studie zeigen, dass die Mehrheit der Südtiroler Hotels noch keinen ökonomisch bedeutenden Anteil an Englisch sprechenden Gästen bewirten. Durch das kommunikative Design der Englischen Version der Hotel-Webseite demonstrieren sie dennoch mehrheitlich Offenheit gegenüber den Herkunftsmärkten von ELF-Verwendern. Des Weiteren ist Englisch nur für jenen Teil der Hotelbelegschaft wichtig, der in direktem Kontakt mit dem Gast steht. Anhand der Beurteilung der Englischkenntnisse dieser Gruppe lässt sich ein Generationswechsel beobachten. Von den jüngeren Arbeitskräften wird erwartet, dass sie über trilinguale Sprachkenntnisse in Deutsch, Italienisch und Englisch verfügen. Die Erweiterung des lokalen Englischunterrichtes wird, wie die weltweite

Ausbreitung des Englischen im Allgemeinen, ausdrücklich gutgeheißen. Abhängend von der Marktentwicklung könnten Sprachtests bei Vorstellungsgesprächen in Form eines Gesprächs üblicher werden. Die Bereitschaft von Managern in die Englisch-Sprachkompetenz der Mitarbeiter zu investieren könnte nach demselben Kriterium steigen. Die Zukunft der Verwendung des Englischen in der Südtiroler Gastronomie hängt von mindestens drei Variablen ab: der Zielsetzung bzw. dem Erfolg von Marketingmaßnahmen, der individuellen Mobilität von potentiellen Gästen und der Erreichbarkeit der Provinz.

8.4. Curriculum Vitae

1. Personal Information:

Name: Manuel Gatterer
Date of Birth: 03.10.1983
Place of Birth: Brixen / Bressanone, South Tyrol (Italy)
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2. Contact Information:

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3. Education:

03/2004 – present **University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria**
English Major (Diplomstudium Anglistik und Amerikanistik)
Major: English Linguistics, Minor: Intercultural Communication

09/2008 – 01/2009 **L-Università ta'Malta, Malta**
Erasmus Exchange Program
Attended courses in Intercultural Communication and Conversation Analysis

10/1997 – 07/2003 **Realgymnasium Brixen, Brixen, Italy**
Scientific Lyceum

4. Work Experience:

07/2006 – 09/2006 **Surveyor for TuGA GMBH, Brixen, Italy**
Survey of South Tyrolean hiking trails

06/2007 – 02/2008 **Chairman of the fraternity K.H.V. Babenberg, Vienna, Austria**
Organization and moderation of various academic lectures as well as a panel discussion on the Islam in Europe

05/2007 – 06/2008 **Editor-in-chief of *Impressum*, the quarterly journal of the fraternity K.H.V. Babenberg, Vienna, Austria**

Editing and contribution of various academic and non-academic articles; design of the page layout

5. Additional:

Language Skills:	Fluent in German, Italian and English; basic skills in Spanish
Computer Skills:	Experienced user of Mac, Windows, MS Office, Photoshop
Interests:	Intercultural encounters, Traveling, Photography, Dancing, Skiing, Running, Comic Relief, Clown volunteering