Standards and Norms in the English Language

edited by

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Contributions to the Sociology of Language

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Editor

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Acknowledgments

Dedication

This collection of papers is inspired by the work of Richard J. Watts, whose wide research interests are reflected in the topics covered in this collection. The contributors to this edited book have answered the call to work on the the theme of 'norms' and 'standards' in relation to the English language. Many other colleagues who worked together with Richard over the years or who appreciate his contribution to the filed of linguistics have added their names to the tabula gratulatoria. All of us would thus like to dedicate this work to Richard as a token of our appreciation of his academic work, which inspired many linguists in the more than three decades of his publishing activity, his collegiality, his friendship, support, encouragement, humour and the many folk song events that he shared with us. We wish him all the best for his retirement and have no doubt that there will be many more exciting research findings to be reported from his current research projects that we can look forward to in the upcoming years.

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Chapter 15
Linguascaping Switzerland:
Language ideologies in tourism

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1. Language ideologies and media representations of tourism

The area of sociolinguistic research known as 'language ideologies', i.e.,
the study of a set of discourses "on language which represents a coherent
set of beliefs about language, a language, a language variety, language use,
language structure, etc." (Watts 2001: 299) has for the past decade pro-
duced a number of insightful studies placing language at the centre of vari-
ous social, cultural and political debates (see, for example, Schieffelin,
Woolard and Kroskrity 1998; Blommaert 1999; Jaffe 1999; Kroskrity
2000; Johnson and Ensslin 2007). These studies are usually based on the
examination of competing discourses on language in particular countries,
locations, communities, and so on, in overt texts, written or spoken, evalu-
ating different aspects of language use from a variety of perspectives, such
as those of government officials, educators, media organizations, 'ordi-
nary' individuals, as well as other self- and other-appointed 'experts', in-
cluding linguists. The ideologization of language, however, does not only
take place through explicit metalanguage. Ideas about, beliefs of and atti-
tudes toward language with regard to patterns of prestige and standardness,
displays of authority and hegemony, acts of subversion and contestation,
orientation to the aesthetic dimension of code, and so on may be articulated
explicitly or made manifest in *communicative practice*, and they are always
linked to specific contexts of use and the speaker's/writer's sociocultural
knowledge (see, e.g., Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Kroskrity 2004). In
this sense, all language use displays various degrees of reflexivity, or meta-
level which is inextricably linked with the indexing of specific language
forms as ideologically charged with respect to the relative power position
and identity of their speakers (or writers) (cf. Coupland and Jaworski 2004
for an overview). One recent example demonstrating language ideological
work through code choice in a bilingual setting is Alexandra Jaffe's (2007)
study of language representation and use on Corsican radio and television.

Jaffe demonstrates how the choice of a minority language (Corsican), and the degree to which it is spoken in media broadcasts indexes their audiences as 'Corsican', whether a bounded and homogeneous speech community through hypercorrect, Corsican monolingual, authoritative news radio broadcasts, or a community undergoing a language shift in more relaxed, mixed-language use in light radio entertainment programmes. Jaffe also demonstrates how the representation of Corsican–French bilingual education in a TV documentary is achieved, somewhat paradoxically, by the editorial process of *erasing* in the final version of the programme most of the French language usage by pupils and teachers to normalize, or authenticate the use of Corsican as an academic register.

In an earlier study (Jaworski et al. 2003), we have examined the uses and representations of languages other than English in tourist destinations featured in British TV holiday programmes. In this work, we follow Deborah Cameron's claim that one of the central tasks of critical analyses of language practice is to reveal how institutions like the broadcast media (cf. Silverstein's 1998 notion of 'centering institutions') produce and reproduce linguistic norms, and then to consider "how these norms are apprehended, accepted, resisted and subverted by individual actors and what their relation is to the construction of identity" (Cameron 1990/1999: 62). Watts (1999: 84) raises a similar sentiment when he states: "Since any language ideology is constructed from mythical accounts of language use and language structure, it is important to locate examples of those accounts when observing the social practices of everyday life."

Our earlier study reveals that languages other than English in TV holiday programmes function in four main categories: (1) expert talk (e.g., guided tours, explanations, instructions); (2) service encounters (e.g., purchasing foodstuff in shops or markets); (3) phatic communion (e.g., exchanging greetings, thanking – often as part of a service encounter); and (4) naming and translating (e.g., providing labels for local concepts, artefacts or dishes, translating local place names). However, further inspection of metapragmatic comments about host languages made by programme presenters, suggested an underlying set of beliefs about these languages: that although tourists may have 'fun' trying them out in travel destinations, they are primarily employed to index local people as out-group members in relation to the British travellers (here, presenters and the implied tourists, i.e., TV audiences), and a useful semiotic resource in creating a linguascape of the travel destination, an authenticating and exoticizing strategy relying on the display of host languages alongside iconic sites, 'typical' dishes, artefacts, activities, etc. Whether using a local language (other than

English) addressing the TV viewers or in face-to-face interactions with local people, presenters rarely venture beyond acts of language crossing, i.e., using (snippets of) languages or varieties of language which the speaker cannot legitimately claim membership of (see Rampton 1995, 1998). By appropriating host languages in this way, the presenters in the holiday programmes never claim to be 'really' French, Italian, Kenyan, or Fijian. On the contrary, more often than not, they emphasize their difference from their hosts. For example, by often sending themselves up as incompetent host language speakers they position themselves firmly as British (English-speaking) tourists. Different from the hosts and aligned with the (implied) tourists in front of the TV screens, their ultimate aim is to create a sense of community of (British-international) tourists with their viewers, only playfully and fleetingly enacting a different linguistic, ethnic or national identity. Through these programmes, and venturing into host languages, they reassure their compatriots about the safety of foreign travel in these destinations: they can remain British even outside of Britain, finding the comforts of 'home away from home' and ways of getting by with no or little foreign linguistic skill. Using host languages may be useful and fun, but the low-level proficiency required on holiday does not threaten anyone to having to become 'someone else'. Not unlike Rampton's discussion of linguistic crossing creating new cross-ethnic patterns of identification, crossing in the holiday programmes may be regarded as creating new cross-national or inter-national allegiances, which allow one to maintain a preferred, conservative national identity while momentarily venturing outside of one's own national boundary. Even if one ends up in Italy, France, Kenya or Fiji becoming Italian, French, Kenyan or Fijian is no more than an optional pretend play.

Such play with local languages and orienting predominantly to the TV audiences by the presenters leaves local people depicted in the programmes with little control over their own subject-positioning or footing in relation to the presenters and TV viewers, as their role in the participation framework is constantly changing from the ratified hearer to ratified eavesdropper, onlooker, or bystander, and object of the (implied) tourist gaze (Urry 2002). In Goffman's (1981) terms, theirs is truly "subordinated communication" – in an interactional and also in a sociopolitical sense.

These mediatized representations of staged encounters in tourism are indicative of the degree to which language has come to be ritualized and commodified in tourism performances – what Jack and Phipps (2005) refer to as the "languaging and translating" of the tourist landscape. By referring to linguascapes and linguascaping, however, we mean also to reveal the

very particular deployment and devaluing of local languages as both back-drop and ludic resource. It is in this way, that, as powerful ideological me-diators, TV holiday programmes and their style-setting presenters promote a regime of touristic and intercultural truth about local languages which construct subjectivities for hosts and identities for viewers (cf. Foucault 1980; Mellinger 1994). Specifically, host languages are appropriated as a primary identity resource by which visitors may construct themselves as tourists. Furthermore, it is through their playful, transient crossings into local languages that they further position themselves as "cosmopolitan internationals" – not in the sense of their being culturally engaged with, or embracing of, local people (cf. Hannerz 1996), but rather with respect to their appeals to the elite caché of global citizenship. These are people freely traversing national boundaries but staying firmly rooted in their mu-tual identification as (British) nationals.

Just as tourists pre-visualize before their holidays the famous landmarks to be visited, local 'types' to be encountered, leisure activities to be en-gaged in, etc., so is the linguistic situation in the destination scrutinized and assessed, even if only through the most banal, rhetorical question: 'Do they speak English there?' Much of the tourist texts consulted before the holiday provide just this information. Most tourist guidebooks published in the UK, for example, include language glossaries, information on local languages, the ability of locals to speak English or, more rarely, other tour-ist languages, the desirability of tourists speaking some local language, usually limited to a few phatic phrases, and other sorts of 'facts' on the use and ecology of language in the tourist destination. Such descriptions, inevi-tably conceived of as acts of linguistic differentiation are socially con-structed and ideologically embedded practices (Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000).

The newspaper travelogue is a well-established and popular genre of tourism writing. In the UK, for example, many weekend editions of news-papers, both those traditionally referred to as 'quality' / 'broadsheet' as well as the 'tabloids', carry travel sections full of stories and accounts of different types of holidays by travelling journalists, assorted 'celebrities', and – increasingly – the reading and travelling public. These texts regularly involve three major types of metalinguistic information with regard to the destinations they describe: (1) naming of site-specific objects and concepts in a local language (e.g., indigenous people, dishes, traditions, animals, plants, artefacts, modes of transport, etc.); (2) quoting local people (e.g., in interaction with the writer in English, or in another language, with the Eng-lish translation present or absent); (3) metapragmatic comments about local

languages and hosts' use of English; (4) describing holidays involving foreign language learning.

In the following analysis of extracts from UK travelogues focusing on Switzerland as a travel destination, we examine how the communicative practices and the Swiss linguistic situation at large are reported as indexes of particular types of people and Switzerland as a particular type of travel destination. We particularly focus on the three semiotic processes of the ideologization of language proposed by Judith Irvine and Susan Gal (2000; see also Gal and Irvine 1995): iconization (attribution of an inherent connection between a linguistic form or linguistic variety and social groups or activities; a transparent and dependable representation of the specific and distinctive qualities of the group), fractal recursivity (transposition of a meaningful opposition salient at one level of social and linguistic organization onto another level, e.g., projecting intra-group contrasts onto inter-group contrasts, or vice versa); and erasure (a simplification of the sociolinguistic field through which some sociolinguistic phenomena, and the social actors involved in them, are rendered invisible, e.g., imagining a social group or a language as homogeneous by disregarding its internal variation).

2. Switzerland as a tourist destination in the UK weekend travel sections

Our analysis is based on an 'opportunistic' sample of 23 travelogues published in three UK national, middle-class-oriented, weekend national papers: *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* published between 1999–2006. The predominant focus of the articles is on winter holidays in the Alps, particularly reporting and giving advice on winter sports (mainly skiing), food and drink, accommodation and transport. Four articles differ (slightly) from this pattern: one article features a report on a 'walk' across the Bernese Alps during summertime; two articles choose non-Alpine locations, these being reports on the attractions of Zürich and Lucerne; and another article also stands out: it is a feature on Romansch in the canton of Graubünden (Milnes 2001; see Sources below for an overview).

Various countries and regions around the world have developed specific genres of tourism for which they are known internationally (Urry 2002). Probably most famously, the UK seems to have morphed into a giant 'heritage site' attracting international tourists seeking to gaze at 'history' and

'tradition'. Although not exclusively, France is typically associated with romantic (Paris) and gastronomic tourism, Italy with cultural tourism and Thailand with sex tourism. As reflected in our data, in the context of the British media representations of tourism, and probably conforming to the stereotype and also patterns of actual British tourist behaviour, Switzerland appears to be associated predominantly with Alpine sports holidays. British tourism to Switzerland has a comparatively long history as Tissot (2000; 2003) demonstrates: it is British travellers who actually "discovered" the Alps as a tourist destination (rather than a hindrance or a place of hardship and even terror to be avoided). Even today, British tourists are amongst the top 5 source countries for tourists to Switzerland (No author 2006). One consequence of the traditionally very strong presence of British tourists and British institutions in Swiss tourism is the ubiquity of English in Swiss tourism contexts (see Piller 2007 for an overview). Although English is not an official language in Switzerland it is often called the fifth national language (see, e.g., Watts and Murray 2001). The most widely-known socio-linguistic characteristics of Switzerland are its diglossia in the German-speaking region (Ferguson 1959) and its official quadrilingualism. The official languages are (Standard) German, French, Italian and Romansch (in order of frequency) although the most widely used languages are probably German, French and Italian, with English being widely used as the 'first second language'.

2.1. Exotic linguascape – Romansch

Not unlike in travel stories about other destinations, where relatively lesser spoken languages are used (e.g., Wales, the Basque Country, Malta, and so on), articles about Switzerland often mention the smallest of its national languages, spoken as a first language by approximately 0.5 percent of the population – Romansch.

Extract 1 (Source: Kennedy 2002)
> If Switzerland is the Greta Garbo of European states (its federal slogan should be 'We want to be alone'), then the Engandine [sic] must be its most isolated outpost. Nearly four hours by train from Zurich airport, and 1,650 metres above sea level, it's a collection of medieval villages and small farming communities stretched out across a vast Alpine valley.
>   Romansch, that curios hybrid of French, German and Latin, is the central language of this canton. To add to the sense of seclusion, the Engandine

remains one of the least developed corners of the country, free of the high-rise developments and commercial glitz that so characterise the usual ski-resort scene. St Moritz is its notable exception. [...]

Extract 2 (Source: Milnes 2001)

Mountains lock in languages, just as surely as they conserve old beliefs. Consider that in one corner of western Europe, women did not get the vote until 1990.

The location was the Romansch-speaking villages in the canton of Graubünden in eastern Switzerland. Question: Where in the western world was motorised transport not legalised until 1925? Answer: you're getting the picture.

So it was easy for me to assume in advance that the struggle to keep the Romansch language, spoken by just 0.6 percent of the Swiss population, from dying out was just another example of King Canute-type behaviour; trying in vain to hold back the tides of language change.

As I arrived in the pristine Alpine town of Chur, capital of Graubünden, the chilly mountain air acted as an antidote to the British traffic fumes lodged in my lungs. There was an appealing bleakness about the icy peaks looming over the little town. Once the heart of the Romansch-speaking world, Chur is still the seat of Lia Rumantscha (the central organisation for the promotion of the Romansch language and culture) and of Romansch radio and TV, so I was disappointed to find the German language leaping out at me from billboards, signs, books and magazines. And despite straining my ears for a foreign tongue, only the sound of Swiss-German floated over coffee and cakes in the crowded cafés.

Fortunately, in my *faux*-rustic hotel, the young Latin-looking receptionist, who was chatting to her mate in a language that sounded like hurdy-gurdy Italian, instructed me where to go for the "real" Romansch experience. Tracing a line up the Engadine with her finger, she explained, "All these villages used to be Romansch, but now they're Swiss-German. But if you go here or here." She pointed to the area around Bad Scuol near the Austrian border and around Ilanz and Disentis to the west, "everything is Romansch; the kindergartens, the schools, the banks – you have to speak Romansch to live there."

I asked her where I could find interesting literature about Romansch culture and history. "Well that's the problem," she said wistfully.

A sign for guests on the desk stated that the five major dialects of Romansch were all spoken in this hotel; Sursilvan (from the area of Surselva, "above the wood"), Sutsilvan (from Sutselva, "below the wood"), Vallader, Puter and Surmiran. The problem, I discovered, was that there was no single written Romansch language.

I picked my way down icy pavements to the library of the Lia Rumantscha where, wading through scholarly tomes on the subject, I learnt that Rumantsch Grischun was invented around 1982 to address this problem. Unfortunately, less than half the Romansch-speaking population support its existence, since it is natural to no one.

Leaving Chur behind, I travelled west by train through the steep valleys of Surselva, sandwiched between the Glarner Alps to the north and the Andulamassiv to the south, heading towards Andermatt. Once I'd got over marvelling that it was possible for trains to run on time even when there was several feet of snow, I started to understand how this diversity of dialects came about.

Today, the bright-red train of the Rhätische Bahn stops every 15 minutes or so, as a cluster of snow-capped roofs comes into sight. Small towns such as Ilanz, Trun and Disentis are linked to the outside world by rail, road and global communications, even in midwinter. But in the days before motorised transport and TV, these places must have been completely cut off for much of the year, linked only by hazardous mountain-passes.

The train conductor passed the time by giving me examples of words that vary from valley to valley; so "snow" in Romansch, I learnt, could be *"neiv"*, *"nev"* or *"naiv"*. Ever since Rome invaded Rhaetia and vulgar Latin got mixed in with the local Rhaetish, resulting in Romansch, dialects have developed differently in separate secluded valleys, meaning that today there is no united Romansch front to fight the battle for language survival.

Stopping in Ilanz, I attempted to get directions to the regional museum of Surselva in the hope of finding out more, but was told disapprovingly that Romansch was "being lived, not displayed", and that anyway the museum was shut. I was told this, of course, in Swiss-German.

But in fact, finding Romansch "being lived" didn't seem to be such an easy task. No doubt in some of the less-visited villages, white-bearded old men and women with weathered faces still thrived, and the colourful Alpine ceremonies I'd read about for taking the cows up and down the mountain still punctuated the calendar. But in Disentis, when I asked about "cumegn", the traditional village voting assembly held every three years on 1 May in which voters turn out in costume to elect their public officials, I was told that the ceremony would sadly not happen in future. In the past, every village had its own voting system, and it was this that enabled political conservatism to thrive.

Today, insularity is gradually giving way to internationalism; Disentis is offering holidaymakers the opportunity to build and sleep in their own igloo; and in Ilanz the ancient cattle-market and old alleyways are now complemented by an internet café. As communications have finally broken down the isolation of different communities, the rural life and customs are evolving to suit the growing tourist industry.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Bad Scuol in the lower Engandine, where, though tourism has not yet reached the mammoth proportions of St Moritz, thermal spas and skiing mean that the town now has 3,000 beds for visitors. Here, as in the glitzier resorts of the Upper Engadine, the old custom of "schlitteda", in which boys sledge from village to village taking a girl with them, has now become a kitsch tourist activity, with sledges replaced by horses and carts in the summer. Alongside genuine traces of the past, such as the benches outside houses, where residents still sit to exchange gossip with their neighbours, are fake frescos painted on modern hotels, offering visitors the clichéd Switzerland of their imaginations.

In the year 1000, just about everyone in the current geographical area of Graubünden would have spoken Romansch in some form. But gradually, over the years, the language has been pushed aside – by German-speaking settlers, the emigration of Romansch-speakers to Austria and the US, and, more recently, by tourism and global communications. "The trouble is", one of the mountain guides told me "that when young people leave the villages to work in towns, they don't come back to the country."

The receptionist in Chur had followed the same path as many of her contemporaries, away from the country and the language she grew up with. Switzerland is renewing financial and legal efforts to foster the Romansch language and culture, but the evidence so far is that the growth of tourism is inseparably linked to the decline of Romansch. So does it matter if Romansch disappears? In theory, one language is enough for the whole world, let alone one canton. But as I was blasted by English advertising in Zürich Airport, I felt a wave of resistance to the loss of diversity. Perhaps, I started to think, a little Romansch conservatism was not such a bad thing after all.

Then again, perhaps I'd just spent too much time in Graubünden.

To begin with, it is worth noting that each of these extracts is characterized by factual inaccuracies that serve to exoticize Romansch even further: Engadin, for instance, is not actually a canton as Extract 1 asserts – it is a region in the canton of Graubünden. Women won the right to vote only in 1990 not in a Romansch-speaking area as Extract 2 claims but in the German-speaking canton of Appenzell-Innerrhoden.

As is clear from the above extracts, mention of Romansch comes with comments of 'isolation', 'seclusion', 'underdevelopment', and (traditional) rural life. The principle of fractal recursivity is manifested here, by extending the 'remoteness' and other 'peculiarities' of the language to the geographical and social characteristics of the community. But just as in Extract 1, Romansch seems to be mentioned 'for colour', to add a little exoticism to the skiing experience which the article focuses on, Extract 2 is a lengthy (1220 word) feature centring wholly on the language and the Romansch-

speaking areas of Graubünden and Engadine. The same tropes of relative isolation and backwardness are exercized, but here they are coupled with nostalgia for (possibly) disappearing linguistic and cultural diversity under the pressures of tourism and globalization, and the view of Romansch, and the way of life associated with it, as 'authentic'. The tourist quest for authenticity (MacCannell 1989) is clearly a top priority for the author, and as far as socio-linguistic authenticies are concerned, she finds them alongside a number of different criteria (cf. Coupland 2003) such as

- Romansch indexing individual *authentic* speakers, e.g., 'the young Latin-looking receptionist', or the pedagogically-inclined 'train conductor';
- Romansch being an attested and attestable, naturally occurring language in 'the area around Bad Scuol near the Austrian border and around Ilanz and Disentis to the west', and in the form of different dialects which 'vary from valley to valley';
- Romansch being a fully owned, unmediated language, even if it is only declared as such by a local resident: 'Stopping in Ilanz, I attempted to get directions to the regional museum of Surselva in the hope of finding out more, but was told disapprovingly that Romansch was "being lived, not displayed", and that anyway the museum was shut. I was told this, of course, in Swiss-German.' (but was the author attempting to speak to the local resident in Romansch or even Swiss-German?); and, finally,
- Romansch indexing authentic cultural membership – 'the young Latin-looking receptionist' again: 'everything is Romansch; the kindergartens, the schools, the banks – you have to speak Romansch to live there'; even though some traditional forms of cultural life are disappearing 'cumegn', or becoming commodified and stylised: 'schlitteda'.

Thus, even though still holding on to the status of an *icon* of the region and part of the local linguistic landscape (cf. the mention of the sign in stating that 'the five major dialects of Romansch were all spoken in this hotel'), the language seems to be giving way to one of a more prominent official language of Switzerland ([Swiss] German) and the globalizing use of English (cf. 'English advertising in Zürich Airport'). This imbalance in the use of Romansch and other languages of Switzerland (including English) is reflected in the remaining travelogues we analyse below.

2.2. Multilingual linguascape – German, French and Italian

Despite Switzerland's multilingualism as a nation consisting of several distinct linguistic areas, the majority of its population is said to remain monolingual. For example, quoting Dürmüller (2001), Demont-Heinrich (2005: 73) claims that "a majority of its citizens, with the exception of the speakers of what some have called 'small' languages of Italian and Romansch, are in fact monolingual". It is the peculiar tension between *state* multilingualism and individual monolingualism that remains one of the defining features of the Swiss ethnolinguistic identity (Demont-Heinrich 2005; Watts 2001). British press travelogues featuring Switzerland draw on this fact by slipping in the display of the rather predictable snippets of German, French and Italian words and phrases. As in other publications of this type, they predominantly draw from the semantic domains of food, drink, and other aspects of the locale. In our sample, we have found several examples of this sort of language crossing, reproduced in Extracts 3–6 below, mostly but not exclusively dealing with the culinary semantic field.

Extract 3 (Source: Scott 2001)
Specialities here include warm chicken salad with wild mushrooms, *pot au feu* and pancakes with berries.

[…]

Situated in a tiny hamlet of little *mazot* huts, Zum See has its own formal terrace with Matterhorn views, but in busy periods – which seems like every day in springtime – extra tables (sometimes simply comprising slates on oil drums) are sited in sunny corners amid the huts. Max Menning is an accomplished cook, and his home-made pasta is superb. Many people phone ahead on their mobiles to reserve slices of *Apfelstrudel* and other confectioneries. Max's wife, Greti, exudes a serene calm as the ambience gets ever more frenetic.

Extract 4 (Source: Anonymous 2005)
For rustic Alpine atmosphere: really, almost anywhere that sells *vin chaud* or schnapps will do – provided the view's good. Last season, our favourite was the very rudimentary Holzerbar, at the side of the Tschuggen piste in Grindelwald.

Sure, the gluhwein was good enough, but what really mattered was the weather, the scenery (care of the north face of the Eiger) and the skiing: the Tschuggen is one of the best high-speed carving tracks we know.

Extract 5 (Source: Bray 2000)

On the slopes by the Klein Matterhorn, it was even better – long, flattering stretches of dry powder reaching down to Plan Maison, above Cervinia, over the invisible frontier in Italy. We lunched off *capaletti* and *tagaliatelle ai funghi porcini* and skied down, no passports needed, enjoying the sunshine from the south and the enthusiasm of Italians up for Sunday from the Aosta Valley.

Extract 6 (Source: Brown 2006)

German-speaking Lucerne is a smooth, near-silent 50-minute train ride from the airport at Zürich.

[...]

The name (spelt Luzern in German) probably derives from the Celtic *lozzeria*, meaning "a settlement on marshy ground", but the town dates its origins from the mid-eighth century, when its Benedictine monastery is believed to have come under the control of the Alsatian Abbey of Murbach. Lucerne's ecclesiastical past keeps watch over the modern town from its many spires and bell-towers, and the verdigris-laden onion domes of the Jesuit Church, where several of this year's spiritually-inclined concerts will take place.

You might also try a little lip-smacking walnut schnapps. [...]

Many venues will also warm guests with a Kaffee fertig: a coffee laced with schnapps.

All the forms quoted above, *pot au feu, mazot* huts, *Apfelstrudel, vin chaud*, schnapps, gluhwein, *capaletti, tagaliatelle ai funghi porcini,* Kaffee fertig (see also *"neiv"*, *"nev"* or *"naiv"*, in Extract 2), show considerable variation in the use of the scare quotes, italics, or no special marking for the non-English words and phrases. This seems to reflect the uncertainty of the texts' authors whether to treat these forms as foreign citations, loanwords, or fully assimilated English-language forms. Collectively, alongside overt comments about languages spoken in particular towns or areas (see Extract 6), they appear to add to the iconization of Switzerland as a foreign-language *and* multilingual tourist destination.

2.3. Safe linguascape – English

However, in our data, by far the most frequent language to represent interactions between tourists (writers) and local people is English. Whether English was the original language of the interaction, which is most likely,

or whether it is an unacknowledged translation is never clear. As has been mentioned, most features in our sample present the attractions of winter / skiing holidays, with only occasional mention of non-Alpine resorts. The Swiss people represented in these stories are quite limited in type, mostly (named or unnamed) tourism operators such as owners or managers of restaurants, hotels, skiing businesses, guides, and so on. One of them – a named 'igloo supervisor' – in Extract 7 below appears in dialogue with the author of the article:

Extract 7 (Source: Newson 2006)
'Now,' said Rahel Zürcher, the igloo supervisor, as she gave me my 8am cup of tea, 'do you want to catch the railway back down the mountain, or shall we go sledging?'
Of course, we took the less sensible option.

Other English-speaking Swiss (and foreign) people encountered in our data are other Swiss and international, always English-speaking tourists. In extract 8, the two tourists are a Swiss male skier and an Italian female train passenger. They are both 'othered' somewhat through the author's mild ridicule of their attire, taste and intellect. However, as they are members of the privileged 'leisure class' (Veblen [1912/1994], the damage of such prejudicial language, in our view, is relatively minor:

Extract 8, continuing from Extract 1 (Source: Kennedy 2002: 5)
'This is where the jet set come in', Gerhard told me.
    Gerhard was a middle-aged gent decked out in one of those stretch-Lycra tracksuits that tends to accentuate every bulge in the human body (and that led me to wonder: why do the taciturn, uber-controlled Swiss go in for these cartoonish super-hero outfits?). As we stood there talking, a Gulf-stream jet made its approach towards the nearby runway.
    'It's probably Naomi Campbell,' Gerhard said, with a mischievous smile. 'It's only a 15-minute drive from the airport to St Moritz, so all the *beau monde* land here.'
    'And how far is it by skis?' 'Another 13km.'
    I paid the equivalent of three quid for a train ticket to Zuoz, and stood for most of the way back, gazing out at the terrain I'd covered earlier that day. By rail, the journey took 20 minutes. A seat finally opened up and I flopped into it – right next to a chic Italian woman in regulation electric-red parka and overpriced eyewear.
    'You look happy,' she said.
    'That's because I'm not skiing any more,' I said, then explained that it had taken me five unstinting hours to haul myself from Zuoz to St. Moritz.

> 'Five hours by skis?' she said, aghast. 'You must be insane. The train is so much faster.'
>   'Really?' I said.

The English spoken by the authors, hosts and other tourists in these and other extracts creates a sense of cosmopolitanism of Switzerland. The unproblematic use of English as a lingua franca indexes the tourists and hosts as international, globalized, well-educated and wealthy. Given that the newspapers in which these travelogues appear aim at elite, middle-class UK readership who arguably identify themselves with this sort of self-image, seems to lend support to this interpretation. The topics of the conversations and of the descriptive parts of many extracts are also frequently focused on 'global' topics such as 'designer' brands, royalty, 'celebrity', elite lifestyle. In Extract 8 above, this is achieved through the mention of the approaching Gulfstream jet, Naomi Campbell and St Moritz as an apparent magnet for 'the *beau monde*' in general. In other articles, readers are exposed to typical lists of available 'designer' shops located in various towns and resorts, e.g., 'Prada, Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Dolce & Gabbana and Bulgari are only the start of it' (Newsom 2003). These signifiers of extreme luxury lifestyle, 'iconic' media personality, and the crossing into French (in the predominantly Romansch/German speaking area) reinforce the status of Switzerland generally and St Moritz in particular as a glamorous and elite tourist destination.

English-speaking hosts and tourists are not the only resource used in these travelogues to create a sense of familiarity with Switzerland for the British readers. Continuing the recognizable trope of high-profile portrayal of the Swiss ski resorts, the authors repeatedly mention other 'celebrities' frequenting their slopes, exclusive hotels, bars, and discos such as British royals and an assorted list of mostly British and some 'international' celebrities: Prince Charles (and his family), the Duchess of York (with princesses Beatrice and Eugenie), George Clooney, Claudia Schiffer, and many others. As a sure sign of Switzerland being internationalized, albeit from a decidedly 'Anglo' perspective, references to the British presence in Switzerland past and present are common. For example, Extract 9 plays on a commonly acknowledged 'appropriation' of Switzerland by British tourists going back to the Victorian era:

Extract 9 (Source: Brown: 2006)
>   It was the English who began the vogue for Swiss tourism, my guide Gabby tells me as we strike out on a bracing hike around the lake, and Lucerne's popularity snowballed after a long stay by Queen Victoria in 1868.

The strong presence and 'Anglicization' of Switzerland appears to continue today, not surprisingly drawing on the imagery of traditional British upper-class lifestyle:

Extract 10 (Source: Mills 2005)

> Other recent developments include the acquisition (six years ago) of the Hotel de la Paix by Stephen Purdew, the owner of the famous Champney's health spa chain. Purdew has spent over £1 million furnishing the hotel in English country style. He's named the rooms after counties, fitted tartan carpets and en suite whirlpool tubs. In typically tricky Champéry style, it's a corporate-bookings-only operation. The owner insists it is a labour of love rather than a serious business venture.

Overall, the newspapers create an image of a safe English linguascape through easy English conversations with locals and other English speakers, being surrounded by international, commercial signage and more localized but resolutely English linguistic landscape, e.g., "...The Pipe, a snowboarders' hang out, which advertises 'groovy music, chillin' sport videos and wild party nights'" (Bray 2000), and Anglo-themed hotels (see Extract 10). To invoke Gal and Irvine's (1995) terminology again, all of these metadiscursive representations ideologize language by recursively transposing the international status of English (and French) to represent Switzerland as cosmopolitan and globalized, and by erasing local languages from the scene creating a sense of Switzerland as a familiar winter holiday destination.

3. Conclusion

Tourism has become a key practice of our age and tourism discourses constitute one of the key ways of producing knowledge about places. In this chapter, we have explored the linguistic knowledge about Switzerland that is produced and reproduced in one such tourism discourse, British newspaper travelogues. We observed three aspects of the language make-up of Switzerland that were discussed in those travelogues: to begin with, the smallest national language, Romansch, received a disproportionate amount of attention. It is the high level of attention in itself that serves to exoticize Romansch and additionally Romansch is exoticized by being presented as an aspect of nature – linked to the seclusion and isolation of the disparate mountain valleys where it is spoken, linked to speakers as phenotypes ("a Latin-looking receptionist"), and linked to political units that may seem

exotic to the British reader (e.g., the Engadin as canton) or to historical events that demonstrate backwardness (e.g., the late date when women gained the right to vote). The larger national languages of Switzerland – German, French, Italian – are also exoticized but to a relatively lesser degree and through one linguistic practice only, namely the use of local terms for local cuisine, landmarks or cultural events – a practice that can be observed relative to Romansch, too, of course. All these practices serve to render Switzerland linguistically special, "exotic" and a place that is clearly marked as "not home". It is also noteworthy that the writers have completely failed to see any languages they did not expect to see, namely the various immigrant languages of Switzerland. Given the high number of immigrants working in the Swiss tourism sector, it is unlikely that this oversight is due to a lack of opportunity but rather to a lack of expectation of those languages. In the same way that "all the dialects of Romansh" were spoken in the hotel that the writer of Extract 2 visited, typical Swiss hotels would also have staff who are speakers of Croatian, Portuguese, Serbian, or Spanish (these are immigrant languages in which training materials for tourism workers are typically produced; see, e.g., http://www.quality-our-passion.ch).

We can thus observe standardization in our data relative to what counts as touristically legitimate languages of Switzerland: the official languages only – the travelogues do not in any way deviate from the official version of the Swiss linguistic landscape. Another aspect of standardization that can be observed in the travelogues is the normalization of English: by not identifying the language in which encounters between the writer and locals took place or identifying it as English, English is naturalized as the language of tourism to Switzerland, and, of course, beyond – Switzerland is hardly an exception in this regard. Tourism discourses are yet another discourse where the ubiquity of English is brought into existence.

In sum, tourism as a practice carries with it its own form of linguistic standardization: to begin with, it is official versions of what counts as a language and which languages are spoken where and by whom that become widespread knowledge through travelogues and other tourism genres. Second, English is naturalized as the international lingua franca spoken by "everyone" – everyone who matters to the tourist that is. What becomes normalized is the cliché on the one hand and the convenient on the other – two forms of "nothing" – forms devoid of specific content – that Ritzer (2007) sees as characteristic of cultural globalization. The languages of tourism – be they local languages or English – have been standardized to become non-languages, devoid of anything that makes them special.

Acknowledgement

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