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EDITORIAL

Bridging the gap: Languages, literature, and tourism

This special issue inaugurates a new stage for our journal, by publishing two issues per year, one of which will be under the responsibility of invited guest editors, who will focus on a specific theme or area of studies.

Editorial work for any journal involves various tasks – such as guiding submitted manuscripts along numerous stages from submission to final publication. For this particular issue, this task was perceived as both more challenging and more rewarding, since we were playing the role of “guest editors” to our regular publication.

Whether it is people privileged enough to travel or people who are “toured”, there is seemingly no one whose life remains unaffected by tourism – the single largest international trade in the world (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010), producing one of the greatest population movements of all time. Even though we sometimes forget, tourism practices involve flows and meeting points of languages and encounters with other languages and their speakers. We decided to invite contributions that would explore the multi-faceted links between tourism, languages, and literatures, as the movements across languages and cultures, inherent to transnational mobility practices, are increasing in today’s global flows, even though these movements are often absent in discussions in the social sciences and in particular in linguistic approaches or literary analysis. Indisputably, in tourism, language (for example, in printed texts or websites) plays a key role in promotion and creation of tourist destinations. An unavoidable consequence of tourism is that language in the shape of codes, discourses, styles, genres, voices, or repertoires participates in the global flows of tourists and their hosts. The language that accompanies, facilitates, or results in these flows is also “on the move”, becomes locally lived and produced in terms of language practices, an unavoidable part of everyone’s everyday social life (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010).

Literature through both its texts and its authors has also often been an inspiration for tourists that frequently travel to visit the writers’ homes or the places where the characters have inhabited or the plot was set. On the other hand, tourism has long
inspired literature. Consequently, literature has constructed tourist stories and identities and in turn, tourists read these fictional texts and feel motivated to visit particular places, which are legitimated for tourists, as often they become key tourist attractions.

Underpinning the choice for this theme was our aim to narrow what we believe is a research gap in the field of social sciences and critical tourism studies, as it has in many ways overlooked the intersections of language and mobility, and of language and tourism (with some notable exceptions such as the work by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010a; 2010b - who have made impressive contributions to the field), and a desire to consider the important role of languages and literature in travel. In fact, “linguists ignore tourism in their research, with one or two exceptions making forays into the study of travel writing”, and generally speaking tourism academics tend to ignore the main medium of tourism – languages (Phipps, 2007: 1).

However, and even though scholarly interest in the intersections between literature and tourism has been slowly developing (Hendrix, 2014) in the humanities, we feel that “the examination of tourism centered literary texts still awaits serious critical interest” (Osagie and Buzinde, 2011: 213), and we believe the contribution should also come from multidisciplinary work within critical tourism studies.

The articles assembled for this special issue have empirically sustained our claim that it is possible to apply various research approaches to language and tourism and literature and tourism. Taken together these articles may be seen to contribute to the agenda that, as stated above, has been fairly neglected within tourism studies.

This special issue comprises a selection of papers which we believe take innovative approaches to the multifarious phenomenon of tourism in its links to languages and literature. Although evidently multidisciplinary in nature (with authors with a linguistic background and authors from literary studies), all the articles selected for this issue investigate the connections between language and tourism or literature and tourism through written texts. For Quinteiro and Baleiro (2014) and Prata (2014), the point of departure is a novel; Torkington (2014) explores the semiotic landscape of the Algarve (Portugal) as a nexus point for discursive practices, Etrillard (2014) focuses on lifestyle migrants’ memoires and Lawson (2014) on British media texts. Within the context of teaching language for tourism, Cordeiro (2014) analyses language course books and

We start this special issue with a paper by Sílvia Quinteiro and Rita Baleiro which focuses on the relationship between literature and tourism, entitled *A character in search of literature: Literary fiction and tourism*. This contribution is particularly relevant for this special issue as the authors explain in detail the relevance of the emerging field of interdisciplinary research which combines literary studies and studies in tourism, and draw a distinction between this line of research and that on 'travel literature’. Also, the authors provide us with the definitions of key concepts such as *literary site, literary tourist, literary pilgrim* and *authenticity* before they plunge into an analysis, within the scope of bridging literature and tourism, of the fairly recent novel *Dublinesca*, by Enrique Vila-Matas (2010).

The second paper focusing on literature and tourism, *The non-place as a tourist destination in Michel Houellebecq’s Platforme* by Ana Filipa Prata, analyses the representation of mass tourism in Michel Houellebecq’s *Plateform* (2001) in relation to the concept of “non-place”, defining the “supermodern” spaces proliferating in the globalized world which are deprived from historical, identity and relational values. Through the analysis of the production and consumption mechanisms of adventure circuits and vacation clubs, characteristic of sex tourism in Thailand, Ana Filipa Prata highlights how *Plateform* exposes an alienated Western society looking for an escape from everyday life in exotic destinations and à la carte sojourns.

This issue presents three papers dedicated to lifestyle migration, from the viewpoint of language and discursive practices. Kate Torkington explores the transformations in both the ethnoscape and the semiotic landscape of the Algarve due to tourism-related mobilities, highlighting how English (the language of ‘lifestyle migration’) is everywhere, whilst the languages of the eastern European migrant communities are almost entirely absent, paying particular attention to various circulating discursive practices. The author argues that such practices are spatially and temporally embedded in a dialectical relationship with the politics of place and contribute to the discursive construction of the inclusion/exclusion of different social groups. Aude Etrillard conducts a critical analysis of travel writings, claiming that these texts participate in the fetishisation of British lifestyle migration to rural France. British
migration to south-west France is also the social and geographical context in which Michelle Lawson conducts a discourse analysis of a corpus of UK media texts on British migration to France, and how these representations construct two distinct groups: the older migrants and the newcomers.

The last two papers focus on language as a means of instruction to tourism undergraduate students, exploring two little-known approaches. Maria João Cordeiro critically addresses the role of foreign language in encounters framed by tourist mobilities, as disseminated by English and German course books for tourism purposes, which is, as the author argues, a text genre which is hardly recognized as a genre of a ‘tourism literature’, but which is crucial, together with guidebooks or travel phrasebooks, for “othering” host identities, thus reinforcing the ideology, power relationships and the cultural politics of hospitality underlying the world of contemporary tourism. Correia, Ribeiro and Cabral present a detailed description on subject-verb agreement errors in the simple present in the texts written by a group of Tourism undergraduate students. By focusing on language learning and written texts in this context, the authors ask relevant questions about foreign language proficiency levels of professionals in the tourism trade.

All articles in this special issue - and special issues to come – have received - and will receive - the usual rigorous Dos Algarves: A Multidisciplinary e-Journal peer review from a pool of national and international experts to evaluate the scholarly contribution in each article. We would like to thank the reviewers for the challenging insights they offered into the papers we assembled.

In the short- and mid-term, we remain committed to publishing a variety of material, theoretical, empirical and policy-oriented papers, using quantitative, qualitative and multiple methods of social research. Together with the respective Guest Editors, we are currently planning three special issues (on ICT applied to Tourism, Slow Tourism and Accounting).

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References


Uma personagem à procura da literatura: A ficção literária e a prática turística

A character in search of literature: Literary fiction and tourism

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Resumo

Neste artigo, pretendemos explorar a interseção entre literatura e turismo. Num primeiro momento, esclarecemos a pertinência deste recente campo de investigação interdisciplinar – literatura e turismo – no qual se mesclam os estudos literários e os estudos em turismo, e estabelecemos a distinção entre esta pesquisa e aquela relativa à “literatura de viagens”. Num segundo momento, focamo-nos na oposição viajante/turista, bem como observamos alguns dos principais conceitos associados a esta área de investigação: lugar literário, turista literário, peregrino literário e autenticidade. Por fim, oferecemos uma leitura do romance Dublinesca, de Enrique Vila-Matas (2010), resultante de uma aproximação a este texto mediada pela perspetiva dos estudos em literatura e turismo.

Palavras-chave: turismo e literatura; literatura de turismo; Dublinesca; turista literário; peregrino literário.

Abstract

This paper aims at exploring the interrelation between literature and tourism. At first, we start by explaining the relevance of the emerging field of interdisciplinary research – literature and tourism –, which combines literary studies and studies in tourism, and by drawing a distinction between this line of research and that on ‘travel literature’. Secondly, we focus on the opposition traveller/tourist, as well as on some of the key concepts in this area of research: literary site, literary tourist, literary pilgrim and authenticity. Finally, we analyse the novel Dublinesca, by Enrique Vila-Matas (2010), within the studies in literature and tourism.

Keywords: tourism and literature; tourist literature; Dublinesca; literary tourist; literary pilgrim.
1. Introdução

Podemos afirmar que a prática de turismo literário tem, pelo menos, 400 anos, se considerarmos que já no século XVII, os jovens aristocratas europeus viajavam por países como a França e a Itália, também, com o objetivo de visitar as casas e/ou as sepulturas dos autores, motivados por uma vontade de se aproximarem dos escritores que admiravam. Não obstante a longevidade destas práticas, a linha de investigação multidisciplinar em turismo e literatura é muito recente. De facto, só a partir da penúltima década do século XX, com Richard Butler (1986), surgiram os primeiros estudos académicos sobre este nicho de turismo no qual se alia a literatura à experiência turística. Sendo, porém, apenas no século XXI que se registra um aumento do interesse dos investigadores pela interseção entre turismo e literatura (ver, por exemplo, Busby e Hambly, 2000; Herbert, 2001; Robinson e Andersen, 2002). Este aumento do número de investigações terá resultado da constatação de que o turismo literário é economicamente vantajoso (Watson, 2006). No entanto, mesmo após esta viragem, esta linha de investigação ainda surpreende pela novidade os mais desatentos, principalmente por ser ainda reduzido o número de estudos realizados.

Quando se pensa numa investigação na qual se articulam as áreas da literatura e do turismo, a associação à “literatura de viagens” é quase imediata e, aparentemente, óbvia. Em larga medida, porque em ambos os casos, a viagem ou o ato de viajar são, indubitavelmente, o elemento central a partir do qual se exploram temas e imagens. No entanto, há diferenças entre estas duas aproximações ao texto literário. Caso contrário, como se justificaria a existência da nova linha de investigação interdisciplinar designada por “literatura e turismo”? Neste artigo, damos resposta a esta questão, bem como distinguimos, o mais claramente possível, entre “literatura de viagens” e “literatura de turismo”. Começando por nos dedicarmos a esclarecer qual o espaço, ênfase e objetos de investigação de cada uma destas áreas, focamo-nos, de seguida, na apresentação dos conceitos que, frequentemente, são convocados na pesquisa em literatura e turismo. Referimo-nos às conceções de lugar literário, turista literário, peregrino literário, autenticidade e simulacro. Na parte final deste artigo, analisamos a obra Dublinesca, de Enrique Vila-Matas (2010): um exemplo paradigmático do tipo de texto literário cujas particularidades permitem que seja
estudado a partir do prisma de uma investigação sobre a inter-relação entre literatura e turismo.

2. Literatura e turismo, “literatura de viagens” e “literatura de turismo”

Num primeiro passo, para distinguir “literatura de viagens” de “literatura de turismo”, recordamos que a primeira designação corresponde a uma classificação do texto literário e a segunda, a uma abordagem interdisciplinar na qual apenas alguns textos de literatura de viagens são objeto de estudo, ou seja, o foco não se limita aos textos agrupados sob a designação de “literatura de viagens”, embora possa incluí-los, como veremos adiante.

Num segundo passo, invocamos Harald Hendrix (2014: 22), por ter sido este autor o pioneiro a nomear o conjunto de textos analisados nas investigações em “literatura e turismo”. Referimo-nos à designação “tourist literature” que, numa transposição para a língua portuguesa, poderemos traduzir por “literatura de turismo”, uma vez que “literatura de turista” poderia, no nosso ponto de vista, apontar erroneamente para os textos utilizados pelos turistas, i.e., guias de viagens (um tipo de texto informativo e promocional que não se inclui na ficção literária).

Na nossa opinião, a criação de Hendrix (2014) tem o poder de, não só, reconhecer a existência da “literatura de turismo”, como de firmar a distinção entre esta última e a “literatura de viagens”:

[...] cujos textos, de caráter compósito, entrecruzam Literatura com História e Antropologia, indo buscar à viagem real ou imaginária (por mar, terra e ar) temas, motivos e formas. E não só à viagem enquanto deslocação, percurso mais ou menos longo, também ao que, por ocasião da viagem pareceu digno de registro: a descrição da terra, fauna, flora, minerais, usos, costumes, crenças e formas de organização dos povos, comércio, organização militar, ciências e artes, bem como os seus enquadramentos antropológicos, históricos e sociais, segundo uma mentalidade predominantemente renascentista, moderna e cristã. (Cristovão, 2002: 35, maiúsculas no original)

No entanto, e, no nosso ponto de vista, é importante que a distinção entre “literatura de viagens” e “literatura de turismo” não seja categórica, tanto mais porque, no que respeita à classificação dos textos literários, reconhecemos a ausência
de fronteiras entre géneros – uma ausência que resulta de uma visão menos formalista desta forma de classificação –, e que parte da crença de que o gênero de um texto não se define pela existência de constelações comuns de características textuais, mas sim pela interação entre textos, ou seja, por diferença e contraste (Cohen, 1986: 207). Assim sendo, e tal como afirmámos acima, os textos estudados na esfera da investigação em literatura e turismo não se esgotam nos textos de literatura de viagens, mas tal não significa que alguns dos textos não pertençam a esta categoria. Afinal de contas, o próprio gênero1 “literatura de viagens” é híbrido, contendo tipologias textuais diversificadas: a prosa diarística, os ensaios, a poesia, e o mesmo sucede com os textos que podem ser agrupados sob a designação de “literatura de turismo”. Não obstante os contrastes entre “literatura de viagens” e “literatura de turismo”, há, pelo menos, uma convergência: em ambos os casos, a palavra escrita é a matéria-prima, por ser esta a expressão artística que melhor permite deixar marcas visíveis das “peripécias indefinidas do viajar”, tal como refere o escritor italiano, Claudio Magris (2010 [1986]: 18).

Existem, no entanto, traços peculiares da “literatura de turismo” que permitem distingui-la, por oposição, da “literatura de viagens”. Referimo-nos ao facto de estes textos apresentarem referências explícitas a práticas turísticas e de encerrarem representações do espaço que adquirem o valor de atrações turísticas, quando percecionadas desse ângulo:

I would still be hesitant to include all travel writing within our specific field of literature and tourism. To my mind such a connection exists only in a few particular cases, where on the one hand authorship can be explicitly linked to tourist practices, and where on the other hand the literary representation of space adds to its value as a tourist attraction. (Hendrix, 2014: 22)

Por outras palavras, na categoria “literatura de turismo” incluem-se os textos literários que têm a capacidade de acrescentar valor turístico a um lugar, o que, por sua vez, origina uma qualquer prática turística. Neste sentido, podereamos classificar como “literatura de turismo” qualquer obra literária que promova o turismo literário: uma forma de turismo, cuja principal motivação para visitar determinados locais se relaciona com o interesse pela literatura, e que pode incluir a visita a casas antigas ou

1 A propósito da questão do gênero veja-se Carlos Reis (2001).
atuais de autores (vivos e mortos), a locais reais e/ou míticos descritos em textos literários, e a locais associados a personagens e eventos literários (Butler, 2000: 360).

Assim, apesar de no estudo da relação entre literatura e turismo, assistirmos a uma prevalência natural de textos que pertencem à “literatura de viagens”, a “literatura de turismo” contempla um conjunto de textos mais amplo, já que ela se torna possibilidade sempre que se estabelece uma associação entre um determinado lugar e um texto literário. Efetivamente, apesar da convergência frequente entre a “literatura de viagens” e a “literatura de turismo”, há desde logo um elemento que as diferencia e que registamos aqui. Enquanto na primeira sobressai de imediato a figura do viajante, na segunda, a figura central é o turista. O que distingue, então, um viajante de um turista? A resposta a esta pergunta é fundamental para que possamos determinar o corpus desta área recente que promove a interseção entre literatura e turismo.

3. Viajantes, turistas, turistas literários e peregrinos literários

Aparentemente a WTO (World Tourism Organization) (2014) oferecer apenas uma definição de viagem e turismo, este último é referido como uma prática subsidiária da viagem, considerando-se que um viajante é alguém que se move entre diferentes pontos geográficos, com objetivos e durações definidas, ao passo que o turista é um tipo particular de viajante. Ou seja, todos os turistas são viajantes mas distinguem-se, desde logo, o facto de o turista empreender sempre uma viagem circular, ao passo que o regresso do viajante não é inevitável. Em 1953, na crónica “Roma, turistas e viajantes”, Cecília Meireles estabelece claramente a distinção entre estas duas figuras, afirmando que o turista:

[... ] é uma criatura feliz, que parte por este mundo com a sua máquina fotográfica a tiracolo, o guia no bolso, um sucinto vocabulário entre os dentes: seu destino é caminhar pela superfície das coisas, como do mundo, com a curiosidade suficiente para passar de um ponto a outro, olhando o que lhe apontam, comprando o que lhe agrada, expedindo muitos postais, tudo com uma agradável fluides, sem apego nem compromisso, uma vez que já sabe, por experiência, que há sempre uma paisagem por detrás da outra, e o dia seguinte lhe dará tantas surpresas quanto a véspera. (1998-99: 101)
Já o viajante “é criatura menos feliz, de movimentos mais vagarosos, todo enredado em afetos, querendo morar em cada coisa, descer à origem de tudo, amar loucamente cada aspeto do caminho, desde as pedras mais toscas às mais sublimadas almas do passado, do presente até o futuro – um futuro que ele nem conhecerá.” (*ibidem*).

Esta distinção entre turista e viajante assente nas diferentes formas de se atingir a felicidade, na velocidade com que se “consome” o destino, na busca do superficial e momentâneo por oposição à busca da origem, dos elementos que permitam fazer a ligação entre o passado, o presente e futuro para que se possa conhecer de facto o espaço visitado, é, no fundo, muito próxima da proposta de distinção feita por Jonathan Culler, em *Semiotics of Tourism* (1981: 128-129). Com efeito, também Culler distingue o turista do viajante na medida em que este último procuraria experienciar o autêntico e o primeiro o simulacro, a “encenação do autêntico”, até porque o autêntico, a seu ver, já não existe: não há descoberta, nem há risco. Segundo este autor, só é possível seguir percurso já trilhados e repetir imagens e narrativas anteriores. Logo, e como bem nota Luís Romano, o turista é um “narrador às avessas”, alguém que não tem “nenhuma sabedoria a transmitir” (2013: 44).

Ainda no mesmo sentido, encontramos a distinção entre viajante e turista apresentada por Daniel Boorstin em *The Image* (1962). O turista surge aqui como alguém em busca do prazer, passivo, aguardando apenas que coloquem todas as comodidades ao seu dispor (alguém “feliz”, nas palavras de Cecília Meireles), enquanto ao viajante se associa uma ideia de esforço, de trabalho (e, por isso, é “menos feliz”):

> The traveler, then, was working at something; the tourist was a pleasure-seeker. The traveler was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes ‘sight-seeing’ (a word, by the way, which came in about the same time, with its first use recorded in 1847). He expects everything to be done to him and for him. (Boorstin,1962: 85)

Na “literatura de turismo”, a distinção entre viajantes e turistas nem sempre é fácil, principalmente, porque a conotação menos positiva da palavra “turista” (associada desde o século XIX a turismo de massas e baixo nível cultural) leva a que muitos turistas se identifiquem como viajantes ou como peregrinos. Há, pois, que
considerar as várias perspetivas a partir das quais se pode analisar o turista, quando tal é feito do ponto de vista das relações que se estabelecem entre literatura e turismo, considerando: (i) as representações do turismo na literatura, o que pode passar pela verificação dos diferentes tipos de turismo representados e pelos destinos e património que lhes estão associados, (ii) as representações do turista e das suas experiências na literatura (o escritor turista/o leitor turista/o turista cultural/o relato da experiência turística do próprio ou de outrem), e (iii) o turismo literário (turistas literários / peregrinos literários / itinerários literários).

Neste ponto, é essencial referir que a “literatura de turismo” pode existir apenas como uma categoria literária “virtual” (nomeadamente a que não implica a representação de práticas turísticas e de lugares literários), ou seja, como possibilidade e não como objeto, na medida em que só se concretiza, enquanto tal, quando é materializada pelo leitor/turista que quer visitar determinado lugar referenciado num texto literário, por exemplo. De facto, só quando a relação entre o mundo da imaginação (onde o leitor estabelece as conexões entre texto e lugar/autor e lugar/personagem e lugar) e o mundo físico (os lugares geográficos para os quais os textos remetem) se concretiza, por via de uma deslocação do turista ao lugar literário, é que podemos falar de “literatura de turismo”.

Em suma: “literatura de turismo” refere-se a todos aqueles textos literários cuja associação a um espaço físico pode ter o efeito de promover a criação de um lugar literário. E o que é um lugar literário? Antes de respondermos a essa questão, distinguimos “espaço” e “lugar”, dois termos semelhantes e complementares. Sucintamente, o “lugar” constitui-se quando lhe é atribuído um sentido, ou seja, quando o espaço é dotado de valor transforma-se em lugar (Cunha, 2008: 184). Nesta medida, o lugar é sempre uma construção social e o lugar literário é aquele que tem a particularidade de a sua construção ser mediada pela literatura, por via de um “arrastar” (Rojek, 2003 [1997]: 52-74) do literário para a paisagem física. No mesmo sentido, Dieter Müller (2001) alude ao modo como a literatura assinala os lugares que, de alguma forma, estão associados aos autores e obras, referindo-se ao elemento de ligação entre literatura e lugar como “marcador”. Este “marcador” confere significado ao lugar e pode assumir diversas formas: no caso do turismo literário, a literatura desempenha um papel crucial e é um “marcador” bastante forte, uma vez que gera
consciência da existência de determinados lugares e desperta o interesse por eles pelo simples facto de os referir.

Em nosso entender, podemos distinguir dois grandes tipos de lugares literários. O primeiro inclui aqueles que foram representados em textos literários (Fawcett e Cormack, 2001: 687) — que lhes serviram de cenário ou constituíram fonte de inspiração. O segundo, e o mais popular, associa-se claramente à figura do autor. Se, no primeiro tipo, o turista literário (conceito que retomaremos adiante), motivado pelo desejo de encontrar na paisagem real aquilo que leu nas páginas de um livro, procura o produto da imaginação — específica do mundo da ficção literária — na realidade do mundo físico, no segundo tipo, procura-se, acima de tudo, um encontro com o autor. Dentro deste último grupo, encontramos figuras informadas, profundas conhecedoras das obras e dos autores que procuram nesse encontro um momento de comunhão e de proximidade do “sagrado”, os “peregrinos literários”:

The idea of literary pilgrims has existed for some time. It engenders the image of the dedicated scholar prepared to travel long distances to experience places linked with writers of prose, drama, or poetry, including the cemetery in Rome where the remains of Keats and Shelley lie or Rupert Brooke’s grave on the Greek island of Skyros. Literary pilgrims in this sense are well educated tourists, versed in the classics and with the cultural capital to appreciate and understand this form of heritage. (Herbert, 2001: 312-313).

O peregrino literário é uma figura com origens no Grand Tour (Urry, 2002 [1990]: 11), cuja designação se aplica a alguém que, movido por uma profunda admiração por um “autor-Deus” (Barthes, 1977: 146), percorre voluntariamente longas distâncias com o principal objetivo de experimentar, em primeira mão, uma comunhão com o autor que admira, de ver o que ele viu, sentir o que ele sentiu, estar onde viveu, onde escreveu, onde morreu, onde foi sepultado, sentar-se onde o autor se sentou, observar e tocar os seus objetos. Apropriamo-nos aqui da expressão de Roland Barthes para sublinhar o caráter devocional da viagem do peregrino literário para quem o autor é, sem dúvida, o elemento inspirador da viagem, pois é com ele que procura um encontro imaginário, num desejo de ser associado ao seu génio e de, por essa via, poder elevar-se ao nível intelectual e cultural do escritor alvo da sua admiração (v.
Dávidházi, 1998: 63).\(^2\) Por contraste, o turista literário poderá ser descrito como tendo uma ligação menos sentimental e mais racional com os lugares literários. Ou seja, tal como o peregrino literário, este turista pode ser informado, revelar um conhecimento profundo do observado e viajar com a ambição de procurar, identificar e confirmar esses conhecimentos anteriores que, em última instância, contribuem para a própria construção do lugar literário, ao descodificá-lo e ao usufruí-lo\(^3\); no entanto, ao contrário do peregrino literário, dá à viagem uma maior ênfase não só no tocante à ampliação do seu capital cultural, mas do seu capital simbólico, consciente de que o consumo da literatura é em si mesmo um diferenciador de classes (v. Baudrillard, 1998 [1970]: 59) e de que entre todos os produtos à disposição do consumidor, as obras de arte legitimamente reconhecidas são as que mais positivamente distinguem os indivíduos (v. Bourdieu, 1984: 103).

Associada aos lugares literários, aos quais fizemos referência previamente – por vezes, construídos, amplificados e, até mesmo, criados e encenados para atrair os turistas, – o que os transforma em mais um dos produtos da indústria do turismo, surge a questão da “autenticidade”. Na realidade, a apropriação da cultura pelo setor do turismo resulta, frequentemente, na encenação, em maior ou menor grau, dos lugares, o que coloca em causa o seu estatuto real. Estamos a pensar, nomeadamente, nos lugares literários que são levados ao extremo artificial, como sucede com os parques temáticos construídos com base num autor ou numa obra (como, por exemplo, o Dickens World, em Kent, Inglaterra, ou o Quarteirão Jorge Amado, em Ilhéus, Brasil). Nestas situações, a reprodução de objetos “originais” (v. Benjamin, 2001 [1935]: 48-71), como sejam os elementos tangíveis que pertenceram ao autor, por exemplo, corrompem a sensação de autenticidade, uma vez que mesmo na reprodução mais perfeita está ausente a substância do objeto/obra no espaço e no tempo (ibidem).

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\(^2\) Em *The Romantic Cult of Shakespeare: Literary Reception in Anthropological Perspective*, Péter Dávidházi (1998) indica um estudo antropológico sobre as semelhanças entre o culto religioso e o culto literário, relembrando que, desde o século XVIII, os turistas viajam até Stratford-upon-Avon quer para coleccionar objetos que rapidamente adquirem o valor de relíquias, quer para visitar a sepultura de Shakespeare, com quem acreditam poder ter um encontro místico neste local.

\(^3\) Não podemos, porém, afirmar que o turista literário é sempre alguém informado e com um grande capital cultural (v. Herbert, 2001: 313) O próprio turismo literário tem vindo a ser massificado ao ser associado a *best-sellers* por via da criação de múltiplos itinerários criados em torno dessas obras e das suas adaptações ao cinema.
De facto, na pós-modernidade, caracterizada pela presença do “simulacro” (v. Baudrillard, 1983), no contexto das atrações e experiências da indústria turística fará mais sentido falar da presença de “gradações de autenticidade” do que em “autenticidade”, por si só. Apesar de autores como Dean MacCannell (1989), sobrevalorizarem o valor da experiência, defendendo que os turistas persistem sobretudo na procura de experiências autênticas, a verdade é que o simulacro da lógica pós-modernista pode ter o condão de condenar os turistas à deceção. Assim, os turistas da pós-modernidade, os quais Maxine Feifer (1985) designa por “pós-turistas”, mais do que procurar objetos autênticos, carregam a expectativa de simulacro, principalmente porque já aprenderam a apreciar “the fakery, the games of simulation and the virtual imaginary” (Franklin, 2003: 9). Estes “pós-turistas” aceitam, e por vezes procuram, o kitsch4, os objetos e as representações de baixa qualidade, produzidas em massa, e apreciadas por quem não valoriza a verdade.

Tal como refere John Urry (2002 [1990]: 12), a “autenticidade” pode justificar a peregrinação ou a sacralização de lugares literários, mas não é uma razão necessária para empreender essa peregrinação ou proceder a essa sacralização, tendo em conta que os pós-turistas tiram prazer do inautêntico, pois reconhecem à partida não existir experiências turísticas autênticas, mas sim um conjunto de jogos ou textos produzidos pela indústria turística com os quais se podem entreter. George Ritzer e Allan Liska (1997 [2003]: 107) atestam as convicções de Urry e acrescentam que os turistas da pós-modernidade não reconheceriam uma “experiência autêntica” se a encontrassem (na Imagem 1, podemos ver um desses exemplos de encenação proposta pelo Turismo de Dublin: assinalando o lugar de nascimento de uma personagem como se se tratasse de alguém real).

Posto isto, nos lugares literários, mais do que “autenticidade” (uma impossibilidade em si mesma, como vimos acima), o visitante encontra nas “gradações do autêntico” um caminho para uma maior aproximação ao autor ou às personagens e cenários das obras, que ainda assim lhe permitem materializar, em algum grau, quer o sentimento quer o conhecimento. Ao assumir a autenticidade como implausível, o

4 De acordo com Calinescu (1987: 234), a palavra “kitsch” foi utilizada pela primeira vez no século XIX para designar as imagens de baixa qualidade vendidas como lembranças aos turistas.
turista desloca-se aos lugares literários ciente do simulacro, mas convicto de que esses lugares só existem porque foi/é real o autor dos livros que lhe estimulou a imaginação e a vontade de viajar. Neste sentido, o simulacro que é a ficção narrativa é o propulsor do turista/leitor, contribuindo para moldar não só os lugares, como o modo como o turista os vai sentir e viver.

Imagem 1: Placa que assinala o local de nascimento da personagem Leopold Bloom, de James Joyce


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⁵ “Desde há dias que Riba se interessa por tudo o que gire à volta do tema dos *hikikomori*, que são autistas informáticos, jovens japoneses que, para evitar a pressão exterior, reagem com um completo retraimento social. De facto, a palavra japonesa *hikikomori* significa isolamento. [...] Riba interessa-se muito pelo tema, porque desde que deixou a editora e o álcool está a fechar-se sobre si mesmo e a converter-se, com efeito, num misantropo japonês, um *hikikomori*.” (Vila-Matas, 2010: 30)
de Riba interessa-nos, não só por tematizar a viagem, mas porque tem o potencial de mapear um conjunto de lugares literários que descreveremos no ponto 4 deste artigo.

4. Os lugares literários e o peregrino literário em *Dublinesca*

Em *Dublinesca* encontramos lugares literários que correspondem aos dois tipos referidos previamente, *i.e.*, por um lado, há os lugares que, na cidade de Dublin, serviram de cenário às personagens de *Ulysses*, como, por exemplo, o pub frequentado por Leopold Bloom (o protagonista desta obra de Joyce) ou o cemitério de Glasnevin (onde se realizou o funeral de Patrick “Paddy” Dignam, uma outra personagem deste romance). Por outro, os lugares associados à figura do autor – James Joyce – que transformam toda a cidade de Dublin num imenso lugar literário\(^6\), sendo exatamente por este motivo que Riba escolhe Dublin para realizar o funeral da literatura que, de acordo com o protagonista de *Dublinesca*, “nos nossos dias [...] [se] assemelha a uma grande empresa de urinóis.” (*idem*: 202), ou seja, perdeu a qualidade e o valor de outros tempos.

Ao viajar para Dublin, ao encontro de Joyce e de uma personagem ficcional na qual sintetiza a literatura – Leopold Bloom – (uma personagem que, tal como o narrador refere em determinado ponto da narrativa, “assenta muito bem” a Riba (*idem*: 56), pois ambos são judeus, forasteiros, estranhos e estrangeiros), Riba persiste em procurar, na ficção, um sentido para a sua vida e esse sentido passa necessariamente por confirmar aquilo que ele acredita ser real. A literatura como ele a conhece e define chegou ao fim, transformou-se na prostituta decadente de *Dublinesque*, cujo cortejo fúnebre é desenhado no poema de Philip Larkin: “The hearse is ahead, / but after there follows / a troop of streetwalkers / in wide flowered heads / Leg-of-mutton sleeves, / and ankle-length dresses” (Larkin e Burnett, 2013). O paralelismo que levou Vila-Matas a dar o mesmo título à sua obra fica aqui evidente: se a literatura é a prostituta de *Dublinesque*, Riba é o editor falhado, que nunca

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\(^6\) Tal como mencionámos anteriormente, são estes lugares associados à figura do autor, aqueles que mais frequentemente se transformam em produtos da indústria turística. Em Dublin, esta associação aos autores (James Joyce, Jonathan Swift, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, W.B. Yeats, Samuel Beckett, entre outros) é de tal forma estreita que, em 2010, a cidade foi classificada como “Cidade Património Mundial da Literatura” pela UNESCO.
encontrou “o autor” o que o assemelha a uma das não menos decadentes prostitutas que acompanham a morta à sua sepultura, num misto de homenagem e de antecipação do seu próprio fim.

Riba decide celebrar o funeral da literatura precisamente no dia 16 de junho (o dia em que decorre a ação de *Ulysses* e o dia em que se comemora o *Bloomsday*, em Dublin), realizando um cortejo fúnebre que percorre diversos espaços reais na cidade (os mesmos descritos por James Joyce, em *Ulysses*), opções que concorrem para o efeito de materializar o conceito abstrato de literatura ocidental em declínio e de assinalar o “último fulgor da desgraçada literatura” (*idem*: 239). Um efeito conseguido por três vias: (i) através da representação da literatura num corpo físico, já que só algo tangível é suscetível de ser enterrado, (ii) através da sinalização de uma sepultura para a literatura, *i.e.*, um espaço físico concreto no qual pode ser chorada e que, em última instância, pode ser transformado num lugar literário, e (iii) através da cristalização da literatura no corpo morto da prostituta do poema *Dublinesque*, o que transforma a literatura numa figura que se vendeu até à exaustão e a quem mais nada resta senão a morte, um pequeno cortejo fúnebre e um funeral quase secreto.

Tal como referem Daemmrich e Daemmrich (1987: 78), na literatura ocidental, o momento da morte é recorrentemente associado a um momento de avaliação da vida, mas, em nosso entender, também pode constituir um momento de avaliação de uma era da história e um momento de transformação/renascimento. Em *Dublinesca* este funeral da literatura é também uma ocasião para Riba analisar o seu percurso, concluindo que esta celebração se realiza não só pelo fim da “era Gutenberg” e de “tudo o que se sente falta hoje em dia” (Vila-Matas, 2010: 98), mas é também “uma cerimónia fúnebre pela sua atual condição de desempregado, de editor meio fracassado, de vergonhoso ocioso e de autista informático” (*idem*: 75).

Assim, Riba cumpre esta encenação – o funeral da literatura no dia em que se festeja uma personagem ficcional – para que, numa época em que “não resta outra coisa além de uma grande massa analfabeta criada deliberadamente pelo Poder, uma espécie de multidão amorfa que nos enterro a todos numa mediocridade generalizada, [e em que se assiste a] uma trágica embrulhada de histórias góticas e editores porcos, culpados de um monumental equívoco.” (*idem*: 145-146, itálico no original), haja uma possibilidade de renacer a autenticidade literária dos bons autores
e dos textos de qualidade e, deste modo, haja também uma hipótese de renascimento para os editores que, como Riba, valorizam a boa literatura e os grandes autores. Ou seja, Riba procura nesta viagem não só assinalar um fim, mas também um (re)início, acreditando que é possível “[...] nascer-se na morte.” (idem: 235). E, ao fazê-lo, o percurso de Riba confunde-se com o da literatura, surgindo como forma de narração de uma história que relata uma ação fundadora (de uma nova era da literatura) e, portanto, uma ação de cariz mitico (Cuddon, 1999 [1977]: 526), traduzida numa catarse que só poderia ser realizada num local profundamente associado à literatura como é a cidade de Dublin, e mediada pelo gênio (agente sobrenatural) de Joyce.

Riba representa na obra todos aqueles que têm consciência da má qualidade da literatura publicada no seu tempo e que partem em busca da possibilidade de renovação:

Every period has its bias, its particular prejudice, and its psychic malaise. An epoch is like an individual; it has its own limitations of conscious outlook and therefore requires a compensatory adjustment. This is effected by the collective unconscious when a poet or seer lends expressions to the unspoken desire of his times and shows the way, by word or deed, to its fulfilment, regardless whether this blind collective need results in good or evil, in the salvation of an epoch or its destruction. (Jung, 1966: 98)

Assim, tal como os peregrinos, que viajam com a expetativa de transformação pelo contacto com o local sagrado, prontos a sacrificarem-se pela esperança de renovação e purificação (Noyd, 2007: 3), Riba sacrifica o corpo da má literatura (metaforizado na figura da prostituta do poema de Philip Larkin, como referimos previamente) e enterra-o com o intento de transformar o estado atual da literatura e, assim, conseguir ressuscitar a literatura de qualidade. À semelhança do peregrino, também Riba escolhe o destino da sua viagem em função do seu significado e do seu potencial de transição para a transformação. Deste modo, a viagem a Dublin é uma deslocação em direção a um “centro” (James Joyce) que tem a capacidade de promover “a grandeza que a ocasião exigirá” (Vila-Matas, 2010: 124). Aliás, “sem grandeza, além do mais, a paródia [da encenação do funeral] não se entenderia” (ibidem). Se não fosse a proximidade com Joyce, seria apenas Riba, “em Dublin, em contacto com a sedativa ordinarice do quotidiano, quer dizer, a comprar T-shirts nuns
grandes centros comerciais, repimando-se com um vulgar caril de frango numa taberna da O’Connell Street, e, enfim, levando o ritmo do prosaico.” (ibidem), seria apenas mais um turista.

Ao procurar a explicação e lógica da vida na literatura, pois só esta é capaz de “dar forma ao caos” (Vila-Matas, 2010: 83) de modo encontrar “a lógica entre as coisas” (ibidem), ao ler a vida como um texto literário (Vila-Matas, 2010: 10, 57 e 107), Samuel Riba vive a vida como se de uma peregrinação literária se tratasse. Ele é o editor-peregrino literário que vive na permanente busca do autor, numa procura obsessiva que o leva a aproximar-se tanto quanto possível dos espaços dos autores que admira. Tal como nos primórdios da peregrinação literária, Riba visita as casas e a sepultura dos autores no decurso das suas várias viagens: as casas de Samuel Beckett, em Londres, e de Paul Auster, em Nova Iorque, e a sepultura de Hermann Melville, também em Nova Iorque.

Em Dublin, a afeição por Joyce aumenta a emoção de estar nos mesmos lugares nos quais o seu ídolo colocou as personagens de Ulysses: “[...] frente à porta do lugar, Riba emociona-se ao ver as grades de ferro. São as mesmas referidas por Joyce no sexto capítulo [o capítulo onde se descreve o funeral de Dignam]” (idem: 195), “Aqui mesmo, pensa, esteve o caixão de Dignam que tantas vezes imaginei quando lia Ulysses. Esse caixão esteve aqui um dia, nesta capela, e não parece que as coisas tenham mudado muito desde a época de Joyce. Parece tudo conservado idêntico no tempo, idêntico no livro.” (idem: 200). Mais adiante, a mesma emoção nascida do contacto com o que surge descrito nas páginas do livro de Joyce: “Aqui mesmo. Aqui, [Bloom] ajeitou suavemente o chapéu preto no joelho esquerdo, e segurando-o pela aba, inclinou-se, há mais de um século. Mas está tudo igual. Não é emocionante?” (idem: 201). Na realidade, Riba, tal como outros peregrinos literários, procura viver no local – neste caso em Dublin, na Irlanda – o que leu nos livros. De resto, de acordo com Noyd (2007: 1), esta ida ao encontro de uma narrativa, esta procura de conexão com uma história é comum a todos os atos de peregrinação (“Pilgrimage can be described as a journey to a story.”). Assim, o peregrino desloca-se aos lugares da primeira história/narrativa e, por essa via, transforma-se ele próprio em parte da história e em protagonista de uma nova narrativa construída sobre a original. No caso do peregrino literário Samuel Riba, a ida ao encontro da primeira narrativa surge como uma procura
do mundo literário no mundo real, sendo que nesse encontro, não obstante a expetativa e a ambição de identificar marcas do mundo ficcional na paisagem real, não deixa de estar presente uma sensação de espanto e maravilha potenciada pelo facto de se viver numa época em que, para Riba, a encenação e o simulacro são mais frequentes do que “a verdade”.

5. Considerações finais

Quando dois campos de pesquisa, i.e., duas disciplinas se interseccionam, promovendo, inclusivamente, uma nova área de investigação, é frequente que a reação inicial seja de suspeição, tendo em conta que, como é sabido, a Academia tem uma forte e longa tradição de separação disciplinar. De facto, e tal como afirma Pierre Bourdieu (2004: 92), as disciplinas são espaços delimitados com estruturas bem definidas, correspondendo a campos relativamente estáveis e delimitados. Consequentemente, esta forma de organização do conhecimento poderá, num primeiro momento, contrariar a aproximação entre disciplinas. Porém, é o mesmo Pierre Bourdieu a garantir que a interseção disciplinar pode ser “útil” como plataforma de criação de ideias (idem: 93).

Neste sentido, acreditamos que o cruzamento interdisciplinar dos estudos literários e dos estudos em turismo potencia a desejável promoção de ideias. Para além disso, defendemos que aprender a conhecer significa também ser capaz de estabelecer pontes entre diferentes saberes (Nicolescu, 2000: 150), sendo, por esse motivo, que acreditamos que a interseção entre literatura e turismo traz possibilidades de se conhecer/interpretar o texto literário.

A propósito desta relação entre literatura e turismo, iniciámos este artigo pela distinção entre “literatura de viagens” e “literatura de turismo” e pela delimitação definitória do corpus que dá forma a esta última. Se na diferenciação entre ambas se destaca a questão da oposição viajante/turista, já relativamente ao conceito de “literatura de turismo” será de sublinhar as seguintes ideias: tanto se refere ao conjunto de textos literários nos quais há representações de práticas turísticas, como a um corpus virtual, que só se concretiza quando o leitor-turista-peregrino atribui valor
turístico a um determinado lugar em função de um determinado texto literário ou autor.

Na terceira parte do artigo, dedicámo-nos à análise dos lugares literários e à figura do peregrino literário em *Dublinesca*. Um romance que, como vimos, tematiza o ato de viajar para um lugar, profundamente, literário, e que, para o protagonista/peregrino, adquire tonalidades de lugar sagrado, pois nele existe a capacidade de promover a transformação quer do sujeito devoto – Riba – quer do objeto da sua devoção – a literatura.

Referências bibliográficas


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Tourism-related mobilities and discursive landscaping in the Algarve

Mobilidades relacionadas com o turismo e a paisagem discursiva do Algarve

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Abstract

Besides receiving large numbers of tourists, the Algarve is also becoming home to growing communities of migrants whose first language is not Portuguese. Besides the so-called “economic migrants” who have arrived from eastern European countries, attracted by the employment opportunities in construction and the service sectors that have resulted from the development of mass tourism, there are also growing numbers of northern European “lifestyle migrants” in search of a better way of life in the sun. The transformations in the ethnoscape of the region due to these tourism-related mobilities have impacted on its semiotic landscape. Notably, English is seemingly everywhere, whilst the languages of the eastern European migrant communities are almost entirely absent. In this paper, I explore how some of the texts that appear in the semiotic landscape can be viewed as nexus points for various circulating discursive practices. Such practices are spatially and temporally embedded in a dialectical relationship with the politics of place and, ultimately, contribute to the discursive construction of the inclusion/exclusion of different social groups.

Keywords: tourism; mobilities; migration; semiotic landscape; discursive practices; Algarve.

Resumo

Para além do grande número de turistas que recebe, o Algarve é também o destino de eleição de comunidades crescentes de migrantes cuja língua materna não é o Português. Por um lado, há os chamados “migrantes económicos” de países da Europa de leste, atraídos pelas oportunidades de emprego na construção civil e no setor de serviços resultantes do desenvolvimento do turismo de massas. Por outro, há um número crescente de “lifestyle migrants” da Europa do norte, em busca de um estilo de vida melhor. Estas transformações na paisagem etnográfica da região também tiveram impacto na paisagem semiótica. De salientar que a língua inglesa surge por todo lado, enquanto as línguas das comunidades de migrantes da Europa de leste estão quase ausentes. Neste artigo, analisa-se a forma como alguns dos textos visíveis na paisagem semiótica podem ser vistos como “pontos de nexo” de diversas práticas discursivas em circulação. Tais práticas estão espacial e temporalmente incorporadas numa relação dialéctica com as políticas de lugar e contribuem para a construção discursiva da inclusão/exclusão de grupos sociais distintos.

Palavras-chave: turismo; mobilidades; migração; paisagem semiótica; práticas discursivas; Algarve.
1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, tourism-related mobilities have led to vast changes in the landscape of the Algarve region. It is often remarked upon that the physical landscape (both in its natural and built aspects) has changed almost beyond recognition in many parts of the region due to mass tourism. However, the changes in the semiotic aspects of the landscape that have accompanied these physical changes are not always so obvious. For Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 2), semiotic landscapes may be defined as “any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning-making”. The study of semiotic landscapes is a relatively recent line of research, and is concerned with the ways in which various discursive practices interact, for example through language, images, or even architecture, in particular spaces. By including other discursive modalities, therefore, the concept of semiotic landscape goes beyond the notion of linguistic landscape, which comprises “visually situated language in public spaces” (Hult, 2009: 90 – my emphasis). Although tourism is undeniably a “supremely semiotic industry” (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 188), to date there has been scant detailed research on the relationships between tourism and language in the landscape, and even less into how the semiotic landscape is being shaped through discursive practices that emanate from different forms of tourism-related mobilities, which include various migrant as well as tourist flows.

In this study, I follow Blommaert (2014) and Blommaert and Maly (2014) in taking an ethnographic approach in order to shed some light on how the presence (and absence) of languages and other semiotic aspects in the landscape might be linked to the patterns of social interaction among different communities of people within particular spaces. By exploring how various discursive features in the landscape of the Algarve can be viewed as localized instances of globalized discursive practices, this paper explores how such practices contribute to the discursive construction of the inclusion/exclusion of different social groups that inhabit or use the place. Besides reflecting on how tourist practices have shaped the semiotic landscape of a popular tourist resort (Vilamoura) in the central Algarve, I also examine in detail the cases of
two examples of highly visible signs which can be seen as nexus points for different types of tourism-related discourses and mobilities.

The methodological approach taken, therefore, does not seek to “catalogue” the landscape, as more quantitatively-driven studies of the linguistic landscape have done. Nor does the scope of this paper allow for any detailed or exhaustive exploration of the various types of signs and other instances of written texts that may make up a landscape. What this paper rather hopes to achieve is a reflection on how qualitative analysis of particular aspects of a semiotic landscape can reveal how signs in public spaces can be “indices of social relationships, interests and practices, deployed in a field which is replete with overlapping and intersecting norms – not just norms of language use, but norms of conduct, membership, legitimate belonging and usage” (Blommaert and Maly, 2014: 4). In the following sections, I will provide some further theoretical and methodological considerations in support of a more discursive approach to landscape studies.

2. Semiotic landscapes and inclusion/exclusion

The underlying assumption of this research conforms to the perspective currently emphasized across the social sciences that the notion of “landscape” corresponds to a particular “way of seeing”; it is a “contrived scene” that is (re)produced primarily by power relations enacted through cultural, political and social practices (Trudeau, 2006). As such, landscapes do not simply “exist” as backdrops to social life; rather, they are constructed through an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining material and discursive boundaries that correspond to “imagined geographies” (Trudeau, 2006: 422). Within landscapes, particular sets of values and aesthetics and particular patterns of social practices, behaviour and activities can become normalized (or, on the other hand, marginalised or even excluded). Furthermore, since spatialised social identities and modes of belonging in place are also strongly connected to the construction of landscapes, landscapes are also constitutive of social relations and the relative social standing of individuals and social groups (Duncan and Duncan, 2001).

The growing body of empirical research on linguistic landscapes (LLs) around the world (see, for example, Gorter, 2006; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009) has provided a
window on how language practices contribute to the “visual ideology” (Cosgrove, 1985) that shapes its overall landscape. For example, the simple presence or absence of different languages in a landscape may transmit “symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance and relevance of certain languages or the irrelevance of others” (Shohamy, 2006: 110). Following such a line of enquiry inevitably leads to issues of social group identity, since languages are intricately tied to collective identities (Ben-Rafael, 2009). At the same time, social identities are not easily separable from place-making practices, since places are not only constructed by people, but are also constitutive of people: who we are is inevitably linked to where we are (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 210). For the purposes of my research, I consider that this dialectical relationship can be encapsulated in the concept of “place-identity”, which I specifically take to mean the relationship between the discursive construction of place and the discursive construction of the multiplicities of the individual and collective self.¹

Semiotic landscapes are privileged sites for studying the in situ construction of place-identity, since the texts, images and other discursive modalities we find in them are at once “social semiotic resources” (van Leeuwen, 2005) for meaning-making and also, crucially, material elements of a place. Studies of the linguistic landscape (LL) have therefore proved to be a fruitful means of exploring how social identities can be strongly related to both language policies and practices in places at various scales (i.e. local, regional, national, global). What such studies can reveal, for example, is how the highly visible presence of a particular language or language variety within a landscape strongly indexes the social inclusion of the in-group(s) that identify - or are identified - with that language. In the case of tourist destinations, for example, it is common to find that the language(s) of the major tourist markets, and/or English (as the lingua franca of international tourism) are extremely visible in the landscape, thus not only providing a means of communication but also transmitting a message of welcome and acceptance of tourists.

Likewise, language exclusion in the landscape may also relate to some form of social exclusion and may even indicate an underlying social struggle – although this aspect may be more difficult to tease out. Where linguistic exclusion and situations of

¹ See Torkington (2011) for a more detailed discussion of this conceptualisation of place-identity.
linguistic conflict have been mentioned in LL studies, it has usually been in the context of “official” language policies and the exercise of language politics that can be traced in particular territories. Sebba (2010: 63), for example, explains how in South Africa the politically dominant white population “erased from public texts all but their own native languages” (English and Afrikaans), meaning that the South African LL became an ideological project that far from reflects the true linguistic diversity found within the territory. However, in other places the practices of language exclusion and the precise reasons for and consequences of this are much harder to pinpoint, when they are not related to clear-cut political processes. Furthermore, the notion of “exclusion” has connotations of deliberate social action, although sometimes there is no evidence of an obvious intention to “exclude” a language from a landscape: the process of landscaping, after all, is complex and involves diverse social actors. It is not simply the result of top-down language policy execution. There might be reasons for individual sign-producers to “exclude” languages that might be expected (socially or geographically) since the choice of language might be determined by market forces, for example, or simply the intended receiver(s) of the message.

In a country like Portugal, officially (and, seemingly, consensually) a monolingual nation, with no apparent need for explicit, state-imposed, language policies, one would not expect much in the way of linguistic conflict, in the landscape or indeed in any other socio-political arena. Since there is only one official language, and no other competing languages or language varieties within the nation-state, one may assume that national identity is closely related to a single, unified national language and therefore not only would one expect that language to dominate in the LL, but since the social group who speak that language apparently includes the entire population, its use is socially inclusive. Indeed, it may not make sense to speak of “language exclusion” in the LL of a supposedly monolingual country, since theoretically there may not be any reason to include any other language in public spaces: thus, all other languages are equally excluded.

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2 See also, for example, Backhaus (2009) for the case of Quebec; Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) for the case of Ethiopia.

3 The Portuguese State Constitution refers to Portuguese as the official language, although in a subsequent revision Portuguese Sign Language is also recognised. In the district of Miranda do Douro, Mirandê is also recognised as an official language, although its speakers are said to number less than 5,000.
This is clearly not a reflection of reality, however. Moreover, such an argument reflects a static, territorialized view of the landscape, by assuming that language use is tied to the geographical boundaries of nations (and/or regions) as well as to well-established traditions and linguistic history. Yet many contemporary places and their landscapes are also shaped by mobilities, including the global mega-phenomena of tourism and migration. It is therefore pertinent to consider how languages are being included and (apparently) excluded from the linguistic landscaping of places that are strongly characterised by shifting, mobile “ethnoscapes” (Appadurai, 1996). As Kallen (2009: 272) has pointed out, the model of the LL that takes account of tourism “must incorporate transience and diversity as an essential part of the social environment”.

3. A discursive approach to the landscape

Although the majority of the work to date on the LL has arisen from the fields of sociolinguistics and multilingualism, there have been some moves towards a more discursive approach. This has emanated mainly from the work of Scollon and Wong Scollon, who introduced a novel way of examining interactions among the “in-place” meanings of signs and discourses and the meanings of our actions in and among these discourses in place (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2003: 2) - a social phenomenon they called “geosemiotics”.

This work was further developed in their framework for nexus analysis (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2004), where they argue that an individual action, such as producing a sign to position in a certain way in the physical environment, is a mediated social action. The action is generally mediated in two dimensions: the physical and the symbolic. The physical mediation refers to the means of production of the sign, which could be hand-written (e.g. a lunch menu chalked on a board outside a restaurant), painted on a wall (graffiti, for example), type-written or type-set and printed (a flyer, or a notice stuck in a window, for instance), and so on. The symbolic form of mediation refers to the beliefs and values attached to the action, which could be linked to individual and cultural tastes, social identities, language ideologies, and so forth. Since these sorts of beliefs and values are circulated in and through discourse, and since there is always a multitude of discourses in circulation, a social action such as
producing a sign can therefore be seen as a nexus point where multiple discourses may meet and interact. Crucial to their argument is the way in which even the most mundane of social actions is a nexus through which the largest cycles of socio-cultural and political organization and activity flow and circulate (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2004: 7).

Thus, nexus analysis is a useful tool to explore the linguistic landscape, as a way of bringing traditions of ethnographic, sociolinguistic and discourse analysis together to focus on “how discourses are socially contextualized across space and time, on how discourses operate moment by moment in social interaction, and on how socio-political factors shape and are shaped by language use” (Hult, 2009: 92). Central to this approach is the concept of discourse as not merely language-in-use, but rather as language-in-action (Blommaert, 2005; Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2004) or language-as-practice (van Leeuwen, 2008). Also fundamental is a sensitivity to the way that the circulating discourses which meet up at the nexus points we choose to analyse are not only geographically emplaced but also embedded in historicity. Of course this does not mean that they are “fixed” in time and space: to consider the semiotic landscape as being comprised of a set of discursive practices means remaining open to its dynamic, processual, shifting nature.

In his study of tourism and representation in the Irish linguistic landscape, Kallen (2009) considers that the linguistic landscape as a whole should be taken as a form of discourse, with each sign within it being “a localized act of communication” with its own producer(s), receiver(s), addressee(s) and intended addressee(s). This suggests that the LL cannot therefore be circumscribed into one bounded, observable unit; at best we can explore what particular, localised acts of communication might reveal about the ongoing process of linguistic landscaping in the surrounding space.

A discursive approach to the landscape has a further advantage. By understanding discourse as a form of social practice (e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Leeuwen, 2009; Wodak and Meyer, 2009), we can then examine how one particular form of discursive practice (such as producing, distributing and receiving the message(s) inscribed on a sign) articulates with other forms of social practices which also contribute to the landscape in other ways: through the material organization of space, through architecture and building practices; through the incorporation or
adaptation of natural physical features, as well as the encouragement (or prohibition) of activities in certain localities. Therefore, because there is always some kind of dialectical relationship between any discursive event and the social and material world in which it is emplaced, we can say that discourse (re)produces and shapes social situations, objects of knowledge, social identities and social relations as well as being (re)produced and shaped by them (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258).

4. Tourism-related mobilities in the Algarve

Until fairly recently, the Algarve was all but cut off from the rest of Portugal both geographically and politically. Physically, the region is bordered to the south and the west by the Atlantic, to the east by the Guadiana river (that separates it physically from Andalucía in Spain) and to the north by a range of small mountains, which give way to the seemingly endless plains of the Alentejo region. For several hundred years, the region was a separate province, ruled by the north African Moors until the 13th century, when it was known as Al-Gharb (the West) and then, after the Christian reconquest, as the Kingdom of the Algarve. The subsequent Portuguese monarchs called themselves King of Portugal and the Algarves until the declaration of the Republic in 1910. During the 50-year dictatorship of the Estado Novo (1926-1974), the Algarve was a remote land of market towns, declining ports, fishing villages and small-holdings, with barely any connection to the rest of the world.

Tourism development began in the late 1960s, after the inauguration of Faro airport and the subsequent construction of new hotels along the coast and the first golf courses. Tourism nights in Algarve hotels increased from a mere 232 in 1950 to over one million by 1970 (Silva and da Silva, 1991). Following the Portuguese democratic revolution in 1974, tourism in the Algarve grew at an exponential rate. Construction began in earnest along the coastal belt of the Algarve, transforming small fishing villages into sprawling resort towns. The resulting “development” was intense but somewhat chaotic. By the early twenty-first century, the region received over 40% of the total of overnight stays in Portugal and tourism-related jobs accounted for around 60% of the regional employment market (WTTC, 2003). The regional economy
has, over the past decade, remained heavily dependent on tourism, in particular international tourism from northern European countries, especially the UK.\(^4\)

However, tourism-related mobilities are not restricted to tourist flows. In parallel with the development of the tourism industry in the Algarve, there has been a rapid increase in inward migration to the region, the majority of which can be directly related to the development of tourism. Throughout the twentieth century, until the 1960s, migratory flows were characterised by outward migration, with large numbers of Algarvians emigrating as far afield as North and South America and South Africa, as well as to northern European countries (notably France, Switzerland, Luxemburg and Germany). However, after the 1974 Revolution and the independence of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, incoming migratory flows began, originating initially from the so-called PALOP\(^5\) countries and joined in the 1990s by Brazilians and, importantly, eastern Europeans, attracted by the employment possibilities in the burgeoning construction industry and the service sector due to the ever-growing tourism industry. Therefore, although these so-called “labor” or “economic” migrants usually take a back-stage position as far as tourism is concerned, in this region employment-related migration can be said to be a form of tourism-related mobility.

At the same time, there has been a steadily increasing in-flow of so-called “lifestyle migrants” (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009) from northern European countries. The lifestyle migration phenomenon in Europe is clearly a tourism-related form of contemporary mobility. The favoured destinations are typically areas in southern Europe that are already associated with and developed for tourism and leisure, and which (besides the promise of sunshine and a better climate) are perceived as affording the more relaxed and sociable lifestyle that northern Europeans often associate with southern European cultures. In short, such migrants are relatively affluent people who have made conscious lifestyle choices, including the decision as to where to live. Whilst the lifestyle orientations of these migrants may differ, perhaps the one unifying factor of this broadly defined social group is their belief that a change of residential place will lead to a better and more fulfilling way of life (Torkington, 2009).

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\(^4\) Almost 2.6 million international passenger arrivals were recorded at Faro Airport in 2007, half of which originated in the UK (INE, 2008).

2010). The Algarve is certainly the most popular region of Portugal for northern European migrants (including full-time settlers, those who spend part of the year in Portugal and frequent-visitor second-home owners). The largest national group by far is the British with significant numbers also hailing from Germany, Holland and Ireland, as well as Scandinavian countries.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that over the past decade there has been a sharp rise in the number of Chinese taking up residence in the Algarve, with 1,311 registered in 2010. The Chinese who live in the Algarve are generally involved in family-run businesses, particularly restaurants and shops, many of which are located in tourist resorts. Recently, many Chinese migrants (along with others such as Russian and South African nationals) have taken advantage of the so-called “Golden Visa” incentive programme. This allows non-EU nationals who pursue investment activities, transferring large amounts of capital, creating jobs or acquiring real estate in Portugal (over the value of 500,000 euros), to apply for a Residence Permit, which subsequently gives them the right to family regrouping, and possible access to permanent residence and Portuguese citizenship.⁶

In sum, the rapid and profound socio-demographic changes that have taken place in the Algarve as a consequence of tourism development mean that the Algarve is becoming an increasingly multicultural and multilingual place. The potential impact on the Algarve region in terms of increasing multilingualism due to migrant groups can be seen in the fact that the combined number of legally registered foreign nationals from non-Portuguese speaking countries in 2010 was almost 48,000. This accounts for around 12% of the total regional population, but undoubtedly the real figures are higher since many EU migrants (particularly northern Europeans who may not live year-round in the Algarve) do not register themselves as residents.

Indeed, the Algarve is the only region in Portugal where the number of migrants from non-Portuguese speaking countries is higher than the number from Portuguese-speaking countries. When added to the fact that the Algarve is the region with the largest number of international tourist arrivals, we can see that the potential impact

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on language choice in the landscape is therefore higher than in any other region (Table 1).

Table 1: Largest groups of foreign nationals (from non-Portuguese speaking countries) legally registered in the Algarve, 2010 (Source: SEF)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>11,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>9,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>8,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldavia</td>
<td>4,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3,526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>2,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>2,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indeed, the Algarve is the only region in Portugal where the number of migrants from non-Portuguese speaking countries is higher than the number from Portuguese-speaking countries. When added to the fact that the Algarve is the region with the largest number of international tourist arrivals, we can see that the potential impact on language choice in the landscape is therefore higher than in any other region (Table 1).

5. The influence of tourism in shaping the linguistic landscape

A visit to any of the coastal resort towns in the Algarve will leave no-one in any doubt that English is seemingly “everywhere” nowadays in this region. Besides hearing English spoken in public spaces, written English is also highly visible on the local signage. However, the discursive functions that English performs within the “semiotic aggregate” (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 2003) of the linguistic landscape, where signs are produced by a variety of social actors for a variety of reasons, are overwhelmingly within what Kallen (2010) would call the “marketplace” and “portal” discourse frames; that is, English is being used either for commercial practices associated with tourism (the buying and selling of goods and services), or for practices associated with movement (of people, goods, information, money, and so on).
Strolling around the marina area of one of the most popular tourist resorts in the central Algarve - Vilamoura - one is bombarded with texts in English, vying for attention to announce restaurant and café daily “specials”, “full English” breakfasts, “big game” fishing trips, champagne cruises, “Sky Sports fixtures” on plasma screen TVs, discounts in shops, currency exchange, the marina facilities, and so on. What is also immediately noticeable is that other languages are absent in this landscape. Even Portuguese seems barely to be present, although it is used within the “civic frame” (Kallen, 2010) – or, as Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003) designate it, for “official regulatory” and “infrastructural” functions. In both commercial and informational contexts, however, it seems to play second fiddle to English. Elsewhere, I have discussed how the majority of the signage in the Algarve that is bilingual employs strategies to make the English text salient (e.g. by placing the English on top, or to the left, of the Portuguese, using a larger font and brighter colours) and thus the semiotics of the landscape give a clear message about the relative status of both the language itself and those who speak it (Torkington, 2013).

Moreover, in the discursive frame of the marketplace, there are examples of the commodification of the Portuguese language, in conjunction with other “authentic” local markers such as the Portuguese flag, to sell tourist souvenirs that at least give a fleeting impression of being emplaced on one’s holidays rather than being in the midst of an impersonal, global setting that could in fact be in any one of a number of international tourist destinations. Figure 1 neatly captures this: within a snapshot of a semiotic landscape dominated by signage in English, a tourist is taking her own snapshot of a store front dedicated to Portuguese football souvenirs, with the logo “Força Portugal®” across the front.7

Whilst other languages (which, according to the nationalities of visitors to Vilamoura might include German, Spanish, French, and Russian) are not obviously present in this landscape, meaning that English is framed as the dominant language of communication in this particular resort, it can also be noted that the tourist geography of the Algarve tends towards the formation of “enclaves” dominated by certain nationalities. Vilamoura is well-known as a tourist destination for the British market,

7 This is the widely used slogan used for mustering support for the national football team. Interestingly, here the phrase has been trademarked.
whilst in other areas of the Algarve, there are greater numbers of, say, German or Spanish speaking tourists. In such areas, those languages are more visible in the landscape.

**Figure 1: Snapshot of the semiotic landscape, Vilamoura Marina**

Of course none of this is surprising; local entrepreneurs who rely on the tourist trade are certainly aware of how few people (in Europe) speak Portuguese, even as a foreign language, and it is clear that in order to do business, a *lingua franca* is required. In this way, “tourist” languages – especially English – are given a front-of-stage position in tourist spaces and thus play a fundamental role in the “touristification” of the landscapes of many parts of the Algarve. As a symbolic marker, the widespread use of English helps to construct not only a tourist-friendly but also a cosmopolitan identity for the place (Torkington, 2009) as well as indexing more general cultural and economic values associated with globalization (Hult, 2009) and, consequently, serving as a marker of social inclusion on a wider, global scale.

Indeed, as well as appealing to tourists, the use of English also seems to be important for the place-identity of younger generations of Algarvians, who are keen to position themselves as global citizens and to cast off the pre-tourism image of the Algarve as an isolated, rural region. The use of English is certainly not restricted to the
status of *lingua franca* in the landscapes of the tourist spaces in the Algarve. English is increasingly visible in other contexts, where the intended audience appears to be “local” people rather than tourists. As in many other parts of the world, advertising campaigns for global brands make ample use of English, often “blended” with the local language, to stylize modern, elite identities. A blatant example of this was spotted on a roadside billboard in the residential outskirts of Vilamoura - an advertisement for a well-known (Swedish) make of car, with the slogan *Novo Volvo V40 – IT’S YOU!* In this way, linguistic resources are being used to flag not only spatial mobilities, but seemingly also potential social mobility within a local place. Furthermore, mobility also has an inseparable temporal dimension. Sociolinguistic environments, including LLs, “follow and reflect the history of places” (Blommaert, 2010: 151), and thus what might at first glance seem like a chaotic aggregate of language practices in many contemporary places can often, on closer inspection, be understood as “sedimented layers” of discourse reflecting the presence of different social groups over time. In order to further illustrate and develop this line of thinking, I now turn to a more detailed analysis of two examples of signs found in the central Algarve.

6. Vilamoura: ‘National Quality of Life Reserve’

Recently, I came across a huge roadside billboard on the outskirts of Vilamoura. The billboard was composed of an image of a young woman on a bicycle, her arms stretched upwards and her eyes closed in an ecstatic, dreamlike state, accompanied by the following text apparently etched into the clear blue sky above a glimpse of a verdant landscape: *I WASN’T BORN HERE BUT IT’S WHERE I BELONG* (Figure 2).

This billboard is striking for several reasons. Firstly, although (as described above) it is by no means unusual for texts in public spaces in the Algarve to be in English due to the enormous tourist presence, this is a clear departure from the plethora of LL texts which are clearly touting for tourist business. It doesn’t, at first glance, appear to be advertising any particular tourist product or service; not does it have an informational or regulatory function. Upon further inspection, I found the billboard to

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8 Complete translation into English: “The New Volvo V40 – IT’S YOU!”
be part of a new advertising campaign for the place itself with a further text (top left) announcing: NATIONAL QUALITY OF LIFE RESERVE. VILAMOURA. Whilst this might not make immediate sense to an English-speaking “outsider”, it is doubtless intended as a playful reference to the Ria Formosa Natural Reserve⁹ – a protected area of salt marshes, sandbanks and tidal lagoons which stretches eastwards along the Algarvian coastline for 60 kilometres. It is a unique landscape, and is a tourist attraction in its own right. Its status as a “Natural Reserve” dates from 1978 – about the same time as the development of Vilamoura began. In many ways this is ironic, since Vilamoura is the complete opposite of a “natural” reserve – it is a purpose-built resort town, constructed from scratch on a large area of previously undeveloped land, much of it agricultural.

Figure 2: Roadside billboard in the outskirts of Vilamoura

![Figure 2: Roadside billboard in the outskirts of Vilamoura](image)

Often billed as one of the largest purpose-built resorts in Europe (currently covering around 20 km²), it comprises a marina, several golf courses, a range of four and five star hotels, as well as many thousands of apartments and villas. The resort

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⁹ Nowadays, the area is officially designated as a “Parque Natural” (Natural Park), but it is still often referred to as a “Natural Reserve”, since this was how it was first classified as protected land.
area is owned and managed by one company – presently called Lusort – who can therefore market and promote the resort as a single bounded place: in this case, a “National Quality of Life Reserve”. The main aim of this billboard, then, is place marketing, but it also appears to be an indirect form of real estate marketing.

In many ways, this billboard text encapsulates the discursive construction of place-identity among British lifestyle migrants to this part of the Algarve. One of the findings of my own research into this is the strong sense of feeling at home, or belonging in place, that British residents in the Algarve forge for themselves in talking about their migration experiences, despite the fact that they generally have little knowledge of the Portuguese language, culture, country or its affairs. Their mode of belonging is very much a contemporary form of “elective belonging”, based on the notion that a residential place is actively chosen for its apparent fit with one’s lifestyle requirements and as such, being “born and bred” in a place is not a pre-requisite for developing place attachments (Torkington, 2011; 2013).

At the same time, in talking about their experiences of living in the Algarve, these migrants discursively construct a very bounded sense of place - although the boundaries are typically imagined rather than having actual physical borders - within which they live alongside other “Brits” in a somewhat self-marginalised, but highly privileged, existence (see Torkington, 2011 for a full discussion of this). In this way, the idea of living in the “container” of a “Quality of Life Reserve” could well be appealing. The concept of a “Reserve” has discursive connotations of both security and exclusivity, as well as privilege and luxury (think, for example, of gold reserves, and Reserve wines). The link to natural reserves also brings in the currently fashionable discourse of nature and eco-tourism (again, a type of lifestyle practice associated with the relatively affluent despite its seemingly ethical foundations). At the same time the image (of the woman on a bicycle) seems to denote a type of leisurely freedom - from the constraints of a life dictated by work and stress: in a nutshell, the “place in the sun” that lifestyle migrants are apparently seeking out. It is also worth noting how that the image denotes a young woman: the idea that this type of migration is purely for wealthy northern European retirees is no longer accurate, since surveys have shown that younger people, often with children, are increasingly making this type of move.
This particular sign is therefore a good example of how the discursive landscaping of a place is part and parcel of the physical landscaping of a place. By using the English language in such a highly visible manner, English-speaking people are being positioned as “belonging” in this landscape, and since the affordances of the landscape are being heavily associated with global social practices that signal a certain kind of leisured lifestyle (another billboard from the same campaign, with the same slogan, depicts a young woman jogging along a deserted beach at sunset), it is not only their presence but their right to enjoy this type of lifestyle in this particular place that is being somehow legitimised. In short, privileged place-identities are being shaped through the landscape itself for potential lifestyle migrants and also being reinforced for those already “living the dream”. The message is that the transience of the traditional tourist experience can be extended indefinitely and turned into a way of life.

7. Transilvania: Multilingual flavours

The “Transilvania” shop is located in the outskirts of Almancil, a small town a few kilometres inland. It belongs to the same Concelho (municipal district) as Vilamoura, but serves mostly as a support town for the nearby upmarket coastal resort developments. From its origins as a small, rural village that lost a great deal of its population to outward emigration in the latter half of the twentieth century, it now has a large migrant population, from a variety of national origins, but notably over the past decade, a large Romanian community has settled in the town. The “Transilvania” shop is owned by a Romanian family and principally run one of the daughters, who arrived in Portugal when she was twelve years old. Having gone through the local high school and now in the final year of a university degree course, she is multilingual, speaking fluent Portuguese and English as well as Romanian.

Outside the shop is a large, clearly visible sign in three languages: Romanian, Portuguese and English (Magazin Românesc / Mercearia Romena / Romanian Grocery). Above the door is another large placard with the name of the shop, and underneath, in the same three languages, the inscription Gusturi Românești / Sabores Romenos / Romanian Flavours (Figure 3). Although the signs are visually balanced in

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10 Figures suggest that around one third of the population is comprised of foreign nationals.
terms of the salience given to each language through graphic design (the same font, colour and size for each phrase), the order in which the three languages are presented suggests something about the ranking of importance of the intended receivers of the sign.

Figure 3: Shop front in Almancil

I asked the shopkeeper why she had designed signs in this multilingual way. She explained that obviously she needed Romanian, since the shop is selling Romanian food products (imported from Romania) specifically aimed at the Romanian community. Portuguese is there because “it’s obligatory”, and anyway she hoped to attract some Portuguese customers (although this had not really happened). Finally, since the shop is in an area where there are a lot of tourists, she thought they might be curious and come into the shop. In fact, she told me, many English people do come into the shop – although not so much tourists as “people who live round here”. Many of them have Romanian people working for them (often as domestic help, or as kitchen or waiting staff in restaurants that they own) and because of that, she said, they know something about Romanian food products and visit her shop because they are curious to try them. They also like to try the Romanian wines that she stocks.

This is, in fact, the only example I have found of highly visible Romanian in the linguistic landscape of this area. However, it does seem to be emblematic of the fact that the Romanian community has grown enough over the past decade and become
stable enough to enable businesses to start up which are run by Romanians and which target the Romanian community. Until very recently, this kind of intra-community entrepreneurship was confined to the northern European migrants, who had sufficient economic resources to start businesses catering to their fellow nationals, most of whom were unable or unwilling to communicate with the local Portuguese community and so provided a large target segment for services offered in their own languages. However, this type of entrepreneurship among eastern European migrants remains relatively limited. The shopkeeper told me she knew of just two other similar Romanian shops across the Algarve region.

What is also interesting is that the dynamic young proprietor has made a clear effort to cash in on the opportunities offered by tourism – rather than targeting the Romanian community exclusively, she is clearly aware of the marketing strategies aimed at attracting a clientele who are curious about other cultures and their traditional products. By choosing the word “Flavours” (and “Sabores” in Portuguese), she is showing a discursive awareness of the current vogue for “exotic” and “authentic” food products, culinary styles and gastronomy which has been greatly encouraged by lifestyle magazines, TV programmes and indeed the tourist industry as a whole. In this way, the shop owner is positioning herself as a provider of “exotic” products for a “foreign” clientele, as well as “home” products for a “displaced” community. The very choice of shop name, in fact, is making the shop not only a transnational location, but is also bringing the best-known tourist region in Romania into the best-known tourist area of Portugal.

In the shop window, I noticed that two hand-made signs were displayed (A4-sized computer print outs), each advertising services in Romanian only: one for translation, legal and documentation services, and one for beauty therapies and massages. I asked the shopkeeper why she thought there were so few of these types of signs written in Romanian on display in the area. She replied that Romanians are still not really “employment generators”, nor are they self-employed with services to offer other Romanians. Most Romanians in the town are employed by Portuguese or British, or are looking for employment, and therefore they might write small ads (to put on shop notice-boards, for example), in Portuguese or English, offering services such as
domestic work, gardening, building, babysitting, and so on. In sum, the presence of Romanian in the landscape of the town and surrounding area is negligible.

8. Discussion and conclusions

This paper has aimed to illustrate how it can be worthwhile studying the semiotic landscape not only as a bounded “whole”, but also by examining in detail specific signs (or acts of communication) which are both spatially and historically emplaced. These signs can be analysed as nexus points for various circulating discourses, through which broader cycles of socio-cultural practices flow and interact with other elements of the surrounding landscape and ethnoscape. The discursive practices that contribute to the on-going process of shaping landscapes can thus be considered as spatial practices which help to actively construct localities. In this way, an analysis of elements of the discursive landscaping of a place can focus on “how different linguistic resources are used, different worlds evoked, different possibilities engaged in” (Pennycook, 2010: 69) in the complex processes of place-making and place-identity construction.

Fundamental to place-making and place-identity processes is the notion of inclusion/exclusion of social groups. In the case of Vilamoura, it is clear that the place is actively being constructed through discursive landscaping as a space where English-speaking tourists and “lifestyle” migrants are not only welcome but also legitimized as “belonging”. This then forges a privileged place-identity for these social groups and reinforces an acceptance of the type of social practices associated with them – whether the more transient tourists and their leisure- and entertainment-based activities or the practices associated with settling in the area: principally the purchase of real estate that has been designed and built specifically for this social group. In this way, the physical landscape as well as the semiotic landscape speaks volumes about the social inclusion of relatively wealthy northern Europeans.

In the case of Almancil, despite the significant presence of a stable Romanian community (many have been living in the town for at least ten years), there is a noticeable absence of Romanian in the landscape. Whilst it may be expected that “official” signs will not use this language, and nor will signage that is explicitly directed at the northern European tourist and migration industries, it is surprising that there
has not been a “bottom-up” filtering through of this language into the landscape. Other research (particularly in city/urban contexts) has indeed shown that in certain neighbourhoods, where particular ethnic groups are concentrated, the linguistic landscaping process means that community languages become quite visible (see, for example, Blommaert, 2010; Collins and Slembrouck, 2004). Further research would be needed to determine why this is not the case in this instance; however, I would venture a suggestion that it may have something to do with the general willingness of these Romanian migrants to fully integrate into the local community, not only by achieving a good command of Portuguese (and, usually, English) but also through strong place attachments which generate a feeling of “being at home”. Interestingly, the reasons given for settling in the area are often very similar to those of the northern Europeans – i.e. a perceived better quality of life and lifestyle affordances (even if these may differ somewhat from those cited by northern Europeans).  

In other words, the exclusion of the “community” language of this group of migrants does not in fact seem to contribute to their social exclusion in any immediately obvious way, although the absence of Romanian from the landscape does give a clear message about the relative status of the language and, by extension, its speakers, not only in the local geosemiotics but in terms of the social positioning of the group as a whole. Although this study has not specifically addressed other eastern European languages in the Algarvian landscape, it can be noted that the languages of large migrant groups, such as Ukranians, Moldavians and Bulgarians (see Table 1 above) are again noticeable by their almost total absence.

It could therefore be argued that whilst tourists and lifestyle migrants from the UK (and other northern European origins) are pushed to front-of-stage position through the semiotic landscape, the “back-stage” position of other migrant groups, who tend to work in construction and low-skilled service industry jobs, is reinforced by a lack of presence in the same landscape. This seems, therefore, to be a reflection of the socio-economic structure of the region, which continues to be first and foremost a tourist destination. The languages on display are the languages of tourism and, by extension, of economic and symbolic power.

11 See Perdigão Ribeiro (forthcoming) for more discussion on this.
References


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‘This book will trigger dreams’: The memoirs of lifestyle migrants in rural France - recounting, entertaining, promoting

‘This book will trigger dreams’: As memórias dos migrantes de estilo de vida na França rural - recontar, entreter, promover

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Abstract

The migration of British individuals in rural and coastal areas of Europe and beyond has received an outstanding attention in media, with TV programs, movies, news articles or news magazine entirely dedicated to it and with a plethoric entertainment literature of “travel writings” and memoirs. In this paper I will present a critical analysis of such a literature, which explores how it is participating to the fetishisation of lifestyle migration, producing commercial argumentation for a lifestyle change via positive narratives and depictions of the migration processes, of the French rural places and of autochthone populations, marked with the socioeconomic structural conditions of lifestyle migration.

Keywords: lifestyle migration; commodity fetishism; memoirs; British migrants; rural France.

Resumo

A migração de indivíduos britânicos para as zonas rurais e costeiras da Europa, e outros locais, tem recebido grande atenção dos media, com programas televisivos, filmes, notícias de imprensa e revistas totalmente dedicados a esta questão, para além de uma pletora de literatura de entretenimento de “escrita de viagens” e memórias. Neste artigo, apresento uma análise crítica deste tipo de literatura, explorando a forma como participa na fetichização da “lifestyle migration”, produzindo argumentos comerciais para uma mudança de estilo de vida através de narrativas positivas e de descrições dos processos migratórios, dos lugares da França rural e das populações locais, marcadas pelas condições estruturais socioeconómicas da “lifestyle migration”.

Palavras-chave: “lifestyle migration”; fetichismo comoditizado; memórias; migrantes britânicos; França rural.
1. Introduction: conceptualising *lifestyle* as a fetish

1.1. The critique of *lifestyle*

North-to-South and North-to-North migrations have been conceptualised as residential tourism (McWatters, 2009), retirement migration, amenity migration (Moss, 2006), privileged mobility (Amit, 2007; Croucher, 2012) or lifestyle migration (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009), depending whether the perspectives taken were that of social geography, anthropology or sociology. Indeed, the broad and accurate definition of these migrations is challenged by the variety of their timespan, their locations of origins and destinations, their purpose and their connection to economic dynamics and tourism.\(^1\)

In the context of a critical sociolinguistic study of the interactions between British migrants and autochthones in rural Brittany, France, I have chosen to retain the critical and socioeconomic perspective integrated in the concept of *privileged mobility* (Croucher, 2012), and the focus on the narrative and reflective perspective of the migrants in the anthropological concept of *lifestyle migration* (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009).

The improvement of the *lifestyle*, in comparison with a hectic life in Britain, is indeed a goal shared by these migrants. However, the accuracy of the lifestyle migration framework has been discussed with the argument that any migration leads, if not to an improvement, at least to a change in the migrants’ life. Therefore, Benson and Osbaldiston have lately refined the definition of lifestyle migration as linked to specific socioeconomic dynamics: “rather than a focus on production and the involuntary nature of many migrations, lifestyle migration appears to be driven by consumption and is optional and voluntary” (Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014: 3).

This refined definition takes us away from Giddens’ original proposal to understand lifestyle as a newly emerged ontological concern of modern society (Giddens, 1991). Indeed, even though Giddens links the concern for security and lifestyle improvement as one of the “consequence of the late-capitalism modernity”,

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\(^1\) For an overview of the wide range of lifestyle migrations, see for instance the bibliography of on Lifestyle Migration Hub website: http://www.uta.fi/yky/lifestylemigration/bibliography.html
and as made possible by a consumption society, he does not consider the structural power relations that this consumerist quest for lifestyle fosters inherently. Paradoxically, Giddens also considers that the notion of lifestyle can exist outside consumerism, and is “corrupted” by advertising and commodification of social life (Giddens, 1991: 197). Besides, he considers this ontological change to have penetrated all layers of society. Yet, these two claims are not demonstrated. More recently Bauman has more concretely linked lifestyle to consumerism (Bauman, 2007; 2008). But, as Benson (2011: 43) remarks, Bauman’s main focus on the individual’s rational fails to be relevant to account for the structural aspects of lifestyle migration.

Therefore, there might be a need to develop a critique of the concept of lifestyle to explain why the mobility patterns in lifestyle migrations seems not to be as erratic as one could expect when the narrative is about stepping away from the ‘rat race’ and taking the ‘side track’. The sudden popularity of destinations until the saturation of the local real estate markets cannot be considered as a coincidence. In fact as recent researches have started to demonstrate the choice and representation of the places is hugely determined by mediated representations (Akerlund 2012; Eimermann 2013). Indeed, the Southern Europe rural idyll has long existed in the romantic British imaginary (Barou and Prado, 1995), but it does not explain the suddenness of the waves of part-time and full-time relocations in these areas from the last quarter of the 20th century. Benson (2010) underlines that the migrants explain their choice regarding their destination in terms of cultural preferences, but drawing on a Bourdieusian sociology, she also notes that these choices fuels class distinction narratives (Benson, 2011). Therefore, as Harvey argues the cultural argument has to be looked at in a critical perspective:

Cultural life is often held to be outside rather than within the embrace of this capitalist logic. People, it is said, make their own history in these realms in very specific and quite unpredictable ways, depending upon their values and aspirations, their traditions and norms. [...] while it is indeed possible that speculative development in these latter domains would not be reinforced or discarded according to the post hoc rationalizations of profit-making, profitability [...] has long been implicated in these activities, and with the passing of time, strength of this connection has increased rather than diminished. Precisely because capitalism is expansionary and imperialistic, cultural life in more and more areas gets brought within the grasp of the cash nexus and the logic of capital circulation. [...] Wherever capitalism goes, its illusory apparatus, its fetishisms, and its system of mirrors come not far behind. (Harvey, 1989: 344)
Harvey does not disqualify the cultural perspective on consumption practices and the emergence of new social practices, but encourages us to look where they meet, or blend into, market logics, in order to explore their impact in terms of social structuration.

Starting from the definition of Lifestyle Migration as a consumption practice, and strongly linked to the tourism economy, the choice of the historical materialist framework offers the possibility to develop a critique of Giddens’s and Bauman’s conception of lifestyle. Indeed, I have come to conceptualise “lifestyle” as a fetish—in a Marxist understanding of the word. Considering the concern for lifestyle as a fetish, and exclusively as a process of capitalism expansion, enables to explain the disparities between the populations that spend some time in search of a lifestyle, and those struggling for economic survival. It implies to think this quest as the privilege of individuals, with purchase power and some legal freedom in a capitalist economy, and as a consequence of the very process of social life’s commodification.

In other words it is because some commodities had to be traded, and because some markets had to expand that the narrative of lifestyle was developed, as a way to trigger desire and goods consumption beyond material needs. As Guy Debord analysed in his critique of consumerism, the illusion of an infinite choice is the illusion of the individual’s complete freedom (Debord, 1996), whose empowerment remains relative and contingent to the development of niche markets.

However, this argument is not denying the reflexivity and agency of the individuals that Giddens or Bauman, link to the concept of lifestyle. As Benson demonstrates, lifestyle migrants have elaborated their decision to migrate to specific places in connection with their personal history (Benson, 2011). But this reflexivity, as well as the cultural proportion to do certain consumption choices, has become instrumental in the current stage of capitalism, away from standardisation.
1.2 The principles of commodity fetishism

The fetishism of commodity is one of the fundamental aspects of the materialist theory that irrigates the theoretical framework of this research. It is the process by which Marx explains the concealment of social relationships operated through the economical exchange and, reversely, the organisation of society through trade in a way that is left unquestioned and considered as “natural” by the individuals (Marx, 1976: 163). Thus, fetishism consists in giving as well as hiding the social value of commodities, by concealing the production conditions, the human and material costs and the consequences of the consumption. *Lifestyle migration* can be defined as a fetish given that it implies the trade of commodities (*i.e.* entertainments, housings, local products, books, magazines and newspapers, touristic and administrative services) wherein social relations are constructed ( attribution of the value and hierarchy of places, competitiveness, folklorisation, regionalisms and nationalisms, power etc.) and concealed by the production of myths (discourses defining cultures, identity of groups and places, or fictionalising the individual experience). Among these three consubstantial dimensions of the fetishisation process, this last discursive aspect will be my main concern in this paper.

Therefore, in the case of the lifestyle migration, what appears primarily as a philosophical, psychological, and maybe even ethical resolutions, are also choices made by consumers on an emerging market that generates and reproduces a social hierarchy in the globalised world. And, if commodities are indeed bought in the aim of increasing and changing the quality and style of life, and if on this consumption depends the meaning individuals make of their life, there has to be a *production* system of these commodities, a system that relies on and generates social order between the agents of the market, may they be producers, consumers, or both.

2. A critical reading of lifestyle migrants’ memoirs

The purpose of this paper is to analyse some of the discursive production that contribute to the expansion of the lifestyle migration markets and its fetishisms by creating an imaginary of rural France.
Giddens underlines that advertising and mediated images play a central part in the concern for lifestyle:

[...] the mass media routinely present modes of life to which, it is implied, everyone should aspire; the lifestyles of the affluent are, in one form or another, made open to view and portrayed as worthy of emulation. More important, however, and more subtle, is the impact of the narratives the media convey. Here there is not necessarily the suggestion of a lifestyle to be aspired to; instead, stories are developed in such way as to create narrative coherence with which the reader or viewer can identify. (Giddens, 1991: 199).

In this paper I will argue that lifestyle migrants memoires connects these two ideas that are not necessarily associate according to Giddens here: they portray modes of life to which the reader should aspire, in the form of a narrative that enables the readers’ identification to the story. With the empirical observation that this literature is discussed among British migrants, I will start from the hypothesis that lifestyle migrants’ memoirs are some of the commodities that participate to the lifestyle fetishism process, offering stories and myths that promote lifestyle migration, using and reproducing social constructions. Focusing on the discourse produced in this literature, this paper offers a different perspective from the works that have so far focused on the narrator’s self-identity (re)construction (Mastellotto, 2013) and on the literary construction of spaces (Ross, 2010).

As I am not coming from the field of literary studies but from Interactional Studies, I will construct this analysis by drawing on Monica Heller’s critical sociolinguistic analysis of discourse (Heller, 2001). This approach, in coherence with the materialist theoretical framework that was developed above, brings critical social theory into the analysis of the “linkage between local linguistic practices and processes of social structuration” (Heller, 2001: 117). Consequently, Heller insists on the necessity to connect discourse analysis to the interpretation of its socio-historical background, and to an analysis of social practices. This perspective implies to take the specific epistemological stand that discourse, and even more so media discourses, cannot be considered as the exact reproduction of actual social activity, but as one area of social practice, that is dialogically constructed with the others (Heller, 2001: 117). In other words, studying the imaginary broadcasted in the media does not enable to presume
that this identical imaginary will be found in actual social interactions, but it helps contextualise them and see the potential influences of these discourses of other social practices.

Illustration 1: From left to right, top to bottom, the book covers of A Year in Provence, Home & Dry in Normandy: A Memoir of Eternal Optimism in Rural France, Bon Courage!: A French Renovation in Rural Limousin, C'est la Folie, Tout Sweet: Hanging up My High Heels for a New Life in France and Tout Allure: Falling in Love in Rural France.

First contextualising this literature as both a product of, and a medium for, the promotion of lifestyle markets, the purpose will then be to outline the main themes and discursive strategies used in six lifestyle migrants’ memoirs, in order to sketch out
the image of lifestyle migration and of the local populations that are thereby produced to the readers.


P. Mayle’s book having inaugurated the migrant’s memoir formula with great success logically found its place on the list. *Bon Courage!: A French Renovation in Rural Limousin* was also advertised as a bestseller of the genre by its publisher. I first came to K. Wheeler’s and M. Wright’s works through the popular blogs and articles they wrote, during one of my earliest online search on the topic of British migrants in rural France. Finally, the more confidential *Home & Dry in Normandy: A Memoir of Eternal Optimism in Rural France* raised my personal interests because of its setting in a region similar in many aspects to the place of my ethnographic research.

3. **Situating the lifestyle migrants’ memoirs in the media**

Catalogued under “travel writings” these memoirs could probably be called a sub-genre, following the recipe of *A Year in Provence* (Mayle, 1991). This bestseller and its popular film adaptation by the BBC are known for having triggered the desire of many British to settle in the southern Europe countryside. But since the 2000s the publication of lifestyle migrants’ memoirs have intensified to the point that constituting an exhaustive bibliography may prove difficult. Hence G. East ironic jest in his own book “thanks to Peter Mayle, there were now more British people trying to write and sell books about their adventures in France than actually live there” (East, 2006).
These books often published by independent publishers accepting first authors’ works, are marketed as “summer readings”, and focus on the entertainment rather than on producing a literary creative work. They mostly are first printed in a few thousand copies and reprinted according to their success.

This literature is entangled with other media coverage of lifestyle migration. Several authors are freelance journalists who also write blogs and article for British daily newspapers, about their ‘expat’ life. Some of the covers also indicate that the lifestyle migrants’ memoirs are meeting the discourse of the lifestyle market and share its imaginary. The praise extracted from a review of the decoration and lifestyle magazine *Country Houses and Home* announces “This book will trigger dreams” on the back cover of *Bon Courage* (Wiles, 2003). On K. Wheeler’s *Toute Allure*, extracts from reviews of the author’s first book can also be read, and here again the theme of the dream is strongly emphasized: “prepare to daydream”; “Perfect summer reading for anyone who dreams of chucking away their blackberry and downshifting to France. *French Property News*”. Indeed it is not hard to understand why these magazines specialized in selling properties or in advertising for second home decoration materials praise these “true” stories that make a perfect case for a migration in rural France. Likewise, multiple references to lifestyle press, books and TV shows can be found in the text of all of the memoirs, either as being “inaccurate” (East, 2006), or as being inspirational to the move, and sometimes as being the production of the authors (Wiles, 2003; Wright, 2006). In her books, K. Wheeler for instance appears to be particularly keen on watching *A place in the sun* and reading books about moving to France. Advertisings for books on similar subject can also be found at the end of the books published by Summerdale. And right after the last words of *Bon Courage* (Wiles 2003), the reader will even find an ad for “the UK’s leading French holiday property directory” and for immersive French courses.

All the books are exclusively taking the perspective of one narrator, who is also the author. P. Mayle, G. East and R. Wiles also report their wives thoughts and often write at the first person plural, but there no doubt that the stories have the readers follow only their actions.

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² In the following sections I will therefore refer to the authors when addressing their literary choices, and to the narrators when analysing the heroes’ perspective.
The books follow similar and mainly chronological plots, from finding ‘the’ house to the making of a home. From their work on similar literature in Italian settings, Mastellotto (2013: 9) and Ross (2010) rightly suggest that these productions are not so much “travel writings” than “settlement” and “relocation” narratives. The narrators are early retirees, or freelance workers, either moving with their partners (Mayle, 1991; Wiles 2003; East 2006), or single, and therefore potentially subject to live a romance in the French countryside (Wheeler 2009; 2010; Wright 2006). It might be worth stating that the works of R. Wiles and G. East also offer didactic descriptions of the different administrative processes they go through, with G. East even providing a humorous glossary of some of the French technical and common words.

4. The magical attraction of the house and its surroundings

As hinted by their constant presence on the front covers (illustration 1), the houses are the central characters of all these books. Personified from time to time, they all exercise a magnetic attraction on the narrators. This is a very interesting demonstration of the fetishisation process, when the economical rational behind the buying of a property is almost erased behind the emotional connection with the place. The first visit of the house is told as a first encounter. Until the completion of the buying process - often described as a never-ending bureaucratic process - the narrators feverishly dream and project into their new house.

R. Wiles describes how he and his partner have been looking for a house that has some kind of undefined attracting charm until they find it. In K. Wheeler’s case, it is “the House that found [her]”. For P. Mayle, “In the end, [moving to France] had happened quickly – almost impulsively – because of the house. We saw it one afternoon and had mentally moved in by dinner”. And M. Wright’s formulation captures the ‘magic’ behind the buying of his property: “What disarms me is that this place has everything I have been looking for, down to the smallest detail. It’s like something a genie might have created, with a spell”. G. East and his wife, entering for their first time in the house that would soon become theirs “experienced that magical moment of silent communion and confirmation that comes only when finding exactly
what you have been looking for... even though you hadn’t realised it before”. However, G. East’s story differ slightly from the others, and there will be soon another occasion to fall in love with another property, an old mill with all the ideal characteristics of an authentic and idyllic rural property. G. East found this second property totally randomly, and M. Wright and K. Wheeler bought the first and only house they have visited during their very first trip to Limousin. For these narrators, it seems that destiny put the house on their way.

As the stories move on, the success of the move is contingent to the success of the renovation. The sense of achievement is acquired through the completion of the restoration, carefully detailed to the readers.

5. Misadventures, humour and optimism

The narrators are far from stating that settling in France is an easy process. In fact, along with idyllic description of the area, the misadventures provide the essential substance to the stories. *Bon Courage*’s opening scene for instance describes a cold, damp and sleepless night as the couple is camping in their newly acquired barn in ruin (Wiles, 2003). And G. East’s angle on his story is to insist on everything that did not go as planned (and in the event it did the author still provides the reader with anticipated nightmare scenarios). It transpires that following the relatively idyllic story of P. Mayle, later memoirs’ agenda is to account for the moments of doubts as migrants sometimes fail to live the exact dream they had fantasied, facing precarious economic conditions, loneliness, past personal problems and the lack of comfort that the renovation process implies. This purposely induces a ‘bittersweet’ atmosphere and reinforces the reader’s empathy with the migrants.

However, careful in crafting an entertaining uplifting story, all the authors use the same humoristic proceedings to recount the most ‘larger-than-life’ moments of their story. Comparisons, metaphors, antiphraisis, litotes, hyperboles and pleonasms fill in the text, leaving the reader to enjoy the moments of embarrassment and struggles. Besides, the emotions felt by the narrators are often overwhelming, such as the
‘horror’ of Karen Wheeler during her overdramatised first night in a French hotel close to the ferry terminal (Wheeler, 2009).³

Fictionalized as G. East and K. Wheeler admit in their acknowledgements, to prioritise the entertainment, and dramatized, the migration process itself is an attracting ‘adventure’ as M. Wright repeatedly calls his relocation, and the readers project themselves into the narrators’ lives that have become heroic.⁴ This is particularly interesting in contrast with the primary corpus I have been working with, composed of interviews and forum posts, where migrants recount their migration process. The situations related as embarrassing (misunderstanding and lack of language knowledge) or uncomfortable (absence of water, electricity or central heating, never-ending renovation works, etc.) are rarely recounted for the entertainment of the others and more than often remain a painful memory and a subject of depression and reflection on the reasonability of such a project as the migration in the French rural countryside. But in their books the narrators seem to always find the resources to see a brighter future allowing a positive projection of the reader in this experience. The irony washes away the anxiety and discouragement the authors might have gone through. If bittersweet, they remain “feel-good readings”. The authors seem to play with the myth of the relocation as a fun adventure without really scratching its surface.

6. Socialising in rural France

Despite the initial reluctance of some to get acquainted with other British migrants in an effort to blend with the local population, all the narrators owe the finding of the house or/and of the starting of their new social life, to other British people settled in the area. But they also all built successful relationships with the local populations.

³ As she hears someone walking up and down the corridor of her hotel, the narrator is seized by terror and call the police, only to find out the morning after that the person she was hearing was a local policeman guarding an illegal migrant’s room.

⁴ Yet, the reader will also find a recurring self-deprecating and anti-heroic theme, as the narrators reflect on their own flaws, humorously in the case of East and Mayle, or as a reflexive exercise for Wiles, Wright and Wheeler. But even more so, this window on the narrators’ emotions might prompt the empathy of the readers.
The socialisation processes offers the opportunity to exploit the cultural differences as another important humoristic material. With the exception of R. Wiles’ and of M. Wright’s careful characterisations that rarely rely on sociocultural features, many of the perceived different behaviours of the characters tend to be essentialised as typically French, rural, or British, generating or replicating positive and negative stereotypes that fuel humorous descriptions of both the French and British individuals met in rural France.

As for an example, we can find an extensive use of the word ‘Gallic’ when it comes to describe French men’s behaviour (“ruthless Gallic determination” in Wheeler, 2009; “typical Gallic exaggeration” in Mayle, 1991; “Classic Gallic tolerance” in East, 2006), or lists of burlesque social rules that apply to the French way of driving (East, 2006) or of playing the French game of boules (Mayle, 1991). P. Mayle and G. East are particularly keen on parodying the ethnographic description of ‘the French’ in general, estranging them in the process. With a less satirical tone, but filled with irony, the authors more often describe the interaction rites they have observed or integrated to socialise with the locals in rural areas:

It had taken me some months to get used to the Provençal delight in physical contact. Like anyone brought up in England, I had absorbed certain social mannerisms. (...) To be engulfed in a Provençal welcome, as thorough and searching as being frisked by airport security guards, was at first, a startling experience. Now I enjoyed it, and I was fascinated by the niceties of the social ritual, and the sign language which is an essential part of any Provençal encounter. (Mayle, 1991).

Alone again, and without method or masterplan, I am doing my best to m’intégrer avec les Français. I have now conquered my fear of entering the smoky, all-males cafés in town, where leather-faced farmers stand over their ten a.m. beers at the bar. The secret, I discover after a series of botched visits and bottomless silences, is to stride in with a cheery ‘Bonjour, Messieurs,’ and to shake hands with everything that moves. (Wright, 2006).

Given that Wright comes from an urban and wealthier environment than these ‘leather-faced farmers’, this extract exemplifies how strategies of condescension (Bourdieu, 1982) are regularly used in these memoirs, with often the paradoxical intention of the authors to praise their new social environments’ simplicity and

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5 Here I will only focus on cultural differentialism, but an interesting volume of heteronormative gender stereotypes can be found, particularly in G. East K. Wheeler and R. Wright’s works.
authenticity. A class contrast between urban UK and rural can also be read in K. Wheeler’s works:

But some days are not so good: queuing in the post office, for example, behind someone who is counting the contents of their piggy bank before the solitary cashier is never fun. And, although I did not expect life in the French countryside to be all pink champagne and Chanel suits, I do long for a little more glamour. The local Intermarché is a bit of a comedown after Planet Organic in Notting Hill or even Marks & Spencer food court in Kensington, where I bought chocolate ginger biscuits (...) alongside yummy mummies dressed more for clubbing than buying a pint of milk, in tight jeans and revealing tops. (Wheeler, 2010).

From time to time, some of the most simplifying stereotypes are deconstructed: for instance to K. Wheeler’s surprise, the lady mayor of a nearby village is often stylishly dressed, and M. Wright mocks is own expectation to find his neighbours living in a ramshackle house, when they actually live with all the comfort modern life can provide.

Yet, the authors - M. Wright, P. Mayle and G. East especially - continue playing on other stereotypes all through the books:

The French have the reputation for taking all the light-bulb with them when they move house. Actually that’s unfair. They don’t just take the light-bulbs. They also take the door handles, radiators, kitchen sink, the works. (Wright, 2006).

As in pre-war Britain, the ladies of Contentin still let their men appear to be in charge when out and about, excepting certain obvious arenas such as the shop, church and, when the [lady] patron is pushed too far, the Bar Ghislaine. (East, 2006).

In addition to prompt the readers amusement, the essentialisation reinforces the exoticism of living in rural France, and as the stereotypes usually revolves around the rusticity of the place, and presents it as preserved from the modern evolutions. The explorations of the perceived cultural differences are rarely perceived as potential deep frustrations, and remain on the anecdotal level.

Beyond generalisations and categories, the authors seem mainly to resort to strong, if not caricatured, characterisation such as the haughty British (K. Wheeler’s Annabelle; P. Mayle’s Tony), the rustic French man (G. East’s Georges and René; P. 6 A part of Normandy.)
Mayle’s Menucci; M. Wright’s Gilles and R. Wiles’s Mr André), the old and kind next door lady always offering her help (K. Wheeler’s Colette and R. Wiles’s Véronique). These personalities are usually constructed as radically different from the narrators, and will be either conflicting or bonding with them.

Strikingly, the status of the explorer puts the author in the powerful position of describing the others. A parallel can be made with the ethnographers’ ethical and critical problematic lying in the unbalanced power they have to publically expose their analysis of their informants’ social practices in a social field that the informants are unlikely to contribute (Heller, 2011). The authors, obviously, are not expected to develop such an ethical reflexivity. Yet, the same might understand the potential discomfort in being pictured and estranged in those books: “the townspeople have not felt the urge to drum me out of the region - though this may be because the book has not yet been translated into French” writes M. Wright in the note of the paperback edition of C’est La Folie.

Besides, the centration on the narrators’ perspective and the access the readers have to the most complex feelings of the narrators contrast with the fact that the reader has no access to the other characters’ inner thoughts. I would argue that this contrast tends to erase the other characters’ agency and promote that of the narrator.

7. The linguistic landscape: Spotting the patois and speaking French

Interestingly, M. Wright and K. Wheeler are the only two authors who spoke French before their arrival in Limousin, and they are also the only ones not to mention a local linguistic variation, a patois. In Limousin, R. Wiles (2003) documents the variations as “unwritten regional dialects” and “rustic speech[es]”, and he seems to have inquired about them as he rightly distinguishes the langues d’oc (towards the south), and langues d’oïl (towards the north). For G. East the variety of the Norman language he hears is a derivative form of the French standard, and is strategically used to exclude the outsiders (including the other Normans that speak a different patois). P. Mayle, seems not to distinguish between the Provençal languages and French spoken with a Provençal accent. He describes it as “a rich, soupy patois”. The local language adds here again to the rusticity of the place. And with the exception of G. East who
seemingly focus his learning effort on the Norman variety spoken in his village, they
tend not to be considered as the variety to be practiced.

R. Wiles, G. East and P. Mayle will all claim to be learning and progressing in
French, but this learning process is rarely explicated. It seems to so happen without
any specific studying strategy.

The resources and services in English that they benefit from is rarely questioned,
with G. East even questioning with a sense of controversy “why the French insist on
not speaking a perfectly acceptable language like English?” (East, 2006). Yet, apart
from this chauvinistic provocation, a recurring humoristic pattern used by the author,
they all seem to consider that speaking French with the local population is the norm to
reach. M. Wright even makes a point to speak French only, and this transpires in his
writing as French words or sentences can be read on most pages. R. Wiles describes a
scene during which he is shamed of not talking any French, and he adds quickly that
since then he “rapidly learned to understand and converse in French”. But it is not
always explicit what language is spoken in the dialogs reported, which gives the
readers the impression that the dominant language is English.

The recurring use of code switching contributes in giving a sense of authenticity to
the stories and brings the readers into the French landscape. French is notably used to
designate the house they are working on, by the name of origin of their property (Le
Mas Mauvis, le petit bijou, le Moulin de la Puce, La Folie), a generic name (la grange),
or by a newly attributed name (Maison Coquelicot). The specific vocabulary of
construction and bureaucracy tends also not to be translated, especially if it has no
equivalent, so as the basic greetings and titles.

8. Conclusions: Perpetuating the fetishisms of the lifestyle migration

With this outline of common features among six lifestyle migrants’ memoirs, I
attempted to describe what expectations these accounts of French rural life can
convey to the readers.
As products of the lifestyle market, they have to be engaging and have the readers positively projecting themselves into the narrators’ choices. Some of these books’ functions could be linked to those that Giddens find in the soap operas:

[...] a mixture of contingency, reflexivity and fate. The form is what matters rather than the content; in these stories one gains a sense of reflexive control over life circumstances, a feeling of a coherent narrative which is a reassuring balance to difficulties in sustaining the narrative of the self in actual social situations". (Giddens, 1991: 199).

Reading stories where individuals master they fear, unexpected misadventures and gain control on their life by making life-changing decision might indeed be reassuring. Meanwhile, the narrative structure of the books, centred on one character, encourages the empathy of the readers, seduces and entertains them. Indeed, I would argue that this focus on the narrator’s self-identity help structure and “trigger” the desire for mobility by shifting the focus away from the most pragmatic aspects of the economic exchange that is behind the “dream”. These accounts mainly produce images that are not conflicting with the development of the lifestyle markets. The last chapter of each book presented here leave the reader on the perspective of more good times to come in France, and with the resolution of the narrators to pursue their quest. M. Wright’s introductory note is an invitation to follow his steps as he writes, “there are many other little towns, and many other incarnation of Jolibois, waiting to be explored”.

Considering media as “a social relation among people” (Debord, 1996), it is apparent that the overall description of the places and local populations in these memoirs remains positive, but often stereotypical in a condescending way. This condescension is notably achieved by an insistence on describing the rusticity of the place, a token of the rural myth, rather than its modernity. This observation can be link to the structural socioeconomically aspects that condition lifestyle migration: the urban places the migrants come from may not offer a satisfying lifestyle, but they concentrate more economic resources, are considered as nexus of modernity, and have a higher economic value, which enables the migrants to have the economical means to relocate. Therefore, such social structural aspects as the privilege of the

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7 Without presuming that they can actually afford the relocation on the long run.
migrants (Croucher, 2012) behind the possibilities of a voluntary migration, of buying properties or of benefiting from local welcoming strategies (Etrillard, forthcoming) transpire in this discursive construction of the idyll. It is also represented in the inequality of the self-centred perspective of the memoirs that only gives the floor to the local populations via the narrator’s gaze, which estranges them in the process.

The relocation literature illustrates the discursive production of myths that is comprised in the fetishisms of lifestyle migration markets. These writings presented as memoirs, do not aim at producing the most accurate account of the British migrants’ life in rural France, and to develop the readers’ critical reflexivity about their potential relocation in rural France. Commodities themselves, they are part of the ‘illusory apparatus’ necessary to promote lifestyle markets.

To follow Heller on her insistence on linking public and media discourse to social practices, an interesting agenda might be opened here, to develop more thoroughly the linkage between discourse and actual social structuration, as Heller would argue, (Heller, 2001) to investigate the actual impact of this literature on the migrants’ relocation processes and practices.

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An invading army without a spirit of adventure: Media representations of the British in France

Um exército invasor sem espírito de aventura: Representações nos media dos britânicos em França

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Abstract

This paper forms part of a wider study of migrant identity within the context of British lifestyle migration to south-west France. Using an integrated methodology of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis (Appraisal), the research is situated within its wider social context by examining how British migration to France is represented within the UK media. The analysis reveals common keywords and patterns of language use that carry negative evaluation with respect to the British, their settlement patterns and behaviour. Lifestyle migration is presented on different levels, with writers distinguishing between a recent and more generalised phenomenon of migration and more established migrants who are represented as having more cultural capital. Readers are positioned to make sociocultural conditioned inferences about the behaviour of the more recent migrants, which also offers a resource for writers to self-identify against such stereotypes.

Keywords: lifestyle migration; British migration; corpus linguistics; Appraisal; media discourse.

Resumo

Este artigo é parte de uma investigação sobre identidade dos migrantes no contexto da “lifestyle migration” britânica para o sudoeste de França. Com uma metodologia integrada de linguística de corpora e análise de discurso (linguagem avaliativa), o estudo foca o contexto social mais alargado e analisa a forma como os migrantes britânicos em França são representados nos media britânicos. A análise revela palavras-chave e padrões de linguagem com avaliação negativa no que respeita aos britânicos, às suas práticas de migração e comportamento. A “lifestyle migration” é apresentada em níveis distintos, pois os jornalistas distinguem entre o fenómeno de migração mais recente e generalizado e os migrantes já instalados, cuja representação apresenta maior capital cultural. Os leitores são posicionados de forma a construir inferências socioculturalmente condicionadas sobre o comportamento dos migrantes mais recentes, o que também permite aos escritores identificarem-se em oposição a estes estereótipos.

Palavras-chave: “lifestyle migration”; migração britânica; linguística de corpora; linguagem avaliativa; discurso dos media.
1. Introduction

Few can have failed to notice the active promotion of the search for a better life abroad within today’s media. From broadsheet articles evaluating the most popular countries for British emigration, the marketing of foreign property amid images of ‘lifestyle’ (French Property News), and television programmes such as A Place in the Sun that follow prospective emigrants in their search for a property and a ‘better way of life’, destinations for lifestyle migration are socially constructed within the media. Interpretations of what constitutes a better lifestyle are the “visible role models” that help reify a narrative of self-identity (Giddens, 1991: 81) and all too often, lifestyle migration is promoted in a way that presents it as relatively unproblematic; for those with the means, initiative and the ability to assess the available opportunities, it appears to be an accessible and desirable alternative to a stressful and unfulfilling life, across all social classes.

The existing literature relating to British lifestyle migrants has noted a common theme of migrants seeking to construct a “positive self-representation as successful migrants in control of life-choices” (Torkington, 2012: 88). Benson’s ethnographies of British settlers in the Lot département indicated that claims to authenticity and understanding of rural France were the marker by which migrants judged the relative success of their lives, including against others (Benson, 2009, 2011b). Benson suggests that such claims to a particular kind of local identity were often a response to other more stereotypical representations, as a way to affirm “this is what we are not” (Benson, 2009: 126). It appears that these claims of distinctness derive from ideologies of how the British should live in France; however, moving beyond local discourse, to what extent are such identity constructions situated within a broader ideology about the behaviour of British expatriates? This paper examines the role of prevailing (media) discourses and their contribution towards a socially constructed lifestyle migration for the British in France. Other studies of migrant discourse have shown a local reflection of global arguments (Del-Teso-Craviotto, 2009), prompting speculation on the nature of the interactions between local and global discourse and the role of the latter in maintaining value judgements.
2. Theoretical and methodological focus

The study uses an integrative balance of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis to gain an overall picture of how the British in France are represented in the media. Such combined approaches are increasingly used to examine the presentation of migrant groups in newspaper discourse, particularly representations of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker and McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008); for a useful overview of combining corpus linguistics with discourse analysis, see Baker et al (2008).

Starting from statistically significant keywords and lexical patterning highlighted by corpus-driven methods, analysis of a specialised corpus can reveal underlying ideologies. The reader may not be consciously aware of patterns of association, but examination of keywords and how they collocate can reveal underlying semantic roles and associated ideology that is promulgated with cumulative use. While this paper uses semantic prosody to refer to evaluative aspects or the writer’s stance seen at word level, as in the British invasion, I use the term discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2001) to emphasise the idea of coherence across discourses, with evaluative meaning not necessarily derived from adjacent lexis but due to association over time, as may be seen across a corpus of texts. We might, for example, consider that the phrase Brits in France is neutral, carrying no overt evaluation, but if it regularly occurs alongside negative evaluations, it may begin, in some contexts, to extend the evaluation back to the originally neutral word/phrase across discourses.

While the corpus analysis will highlight larger scale patterns across the media discourse, it cannot fully take account of the sociocultural context of the data, including wider social attitudes towards the topic (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008). A corpus-based analysis directs the researcher towards any frequent or unexpected linguistic patterns, which can then inform a more critical discourse analysis: what Baker et al term a “methodological synergy” (2008: 274). In this paper, a more detailed analysis of textual extracts has been made using the Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2007) in order to examine how particular aspects of lifestyle migration are evaluated to serve the writers’ interests.
2.1 Building a media corpus of lifestyle migration

The first step towards examining the representation of lifestyle migration in the media was the building of a corpus of media texts. A search was made for articles published in English language news between 2004 and 2011, in order to yield a relatively current corpus that covered the period before and during the global economic downturn. The search terms [British OR Brits OR Britons] AND [expats OR expatriates OR migrants] were used initially. In order to narrow the focus to articles where the main topic was lifestyle migration in France, further searches were made within these results using narrower search terms such as Brits AND France AND expats (274 articles), “British expats” (141 articles) and “British residents” (28 articles). These articles were examined individually. Anything with a focus on sport, economics, politics or general articles about property hotspots in Europe was disregarded, as were articles published outside the UK. The final 69 articles, totalling over 410,000 words, were selected for having content loosely focused on the context of British nationals who were living in France. These articles included some news features but many had been published in sections such as Property and Cash, or were regular diary features by British writers living in France.

A second reference corpus was obtained in order to have access to normative patterns of language use for comparison. The British National Corpus (BNC) represents a cross-section of current British English, mostly written but including some spoken, and it offers a point of comparison for the frequency list produced from the media texts. Comparing the two corpora using WordSmith software enabled a list of keywords to be drawn up in relation to the media corpus, i.e. those words which occur in the specialised corpus more frequently than we would expect compared with more general use (Baker, 2006).

2.2 A methodology for analysing the representation of lifestyle migration

The Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2007) helps to capture how evaluative meanings are constructed in texts, and its attention to norms of behaviour
and social value is particularly relevant within a study that investigates underlying ideologies about migrant behaviour. The framework developed from the Systemic Functional Linguistic paradigm (see Halliday, 1994) to explore the interpersonal function of resources, by focusing on the ways in which the speaker’s/writer’s intersubjective stance may be analysed through their attitudinal evaluations. Some of the more covert evaluations are interesting because of the different ways in which they position the reader towards what is being expressed; for example, assumptions of reader compliancy with a lack of alternative positions may naturalise the evaluations, as illustrated in Figure 6 (below), where the inappropriateness of British customs is presented as a commonsensical world view.

Appraisal is conceptualised as three intersecting domains of ‘engagement’, ‘graduation’ and ‘attitude’. Particularly relevant for this analysis is the latter, with its dimension of judgement; this investigates the kind of assessments made by writers with reference to culturally-determined value systems, or norms of behaviour within lifestyle migration. One sub-category of judgement considers assessments of social sanction, or the extent to which rules of behaviour have been upheld or breached. A further category of social esteem, a judgement of a person’s regard within society, can be analysed to see how the British are assessed in terms of capacity or capability, their possession of social and cultural capital and the extent to which migrant behaviour is appraised according to how they are categorised.

The second relevant dimension is that of affect, which assesses the language used to convey emotions. Bartlett (2014) uses four categories of emotion: un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction and dis/inclination. Analysis of affect may reveal how British migrants are portrayed according to different emotional states or responses, particularly with respect to the decision to migrate. For example, analysis of affect was used by Torkington (2011) to explain how Algarve migrants used positive affect alignment with Portugal and negative alignment with the UK.
3. Analysing lifestyle migration within the media corpus

WordSmith software was used to compute a list of keywords that occurred more frequently than expected in the lifestyle migration corpus, with $p$ set at $> 0.000001$ and removal of common grammatical words and proper names relating to authors or local people, plus the joining of simple plurals such as expat/s. Only keywords with a minimum frequency of seven occurrences, and seen across a minimum of seven texts, were included. This resulted in a list of 162 keywords which occurred more frequently in the corpus in comparison with the BNC. While the presence of many words such as property, life and Brits as keywords was not unexpected, the corpus offers a way to examine common associations among keywords (collocates) and the use of evaluative nouns such as invasion and ghetto.

3.1 Being British

Nouns and adjectives such as British, Britons, English etc. were naturally high in the keyword ranking since the corpus was obtained using these as search terms. However, a concordance search highlighted some interesting patterns of use. One noticeable pattern was in the phrase of British, where words occurring to the left mostly showed quantification of some kind. Non-numeric quantification included lots of, multitude, thousands, hordes, as well as more abstract conceptualisations of the British as a phenomenon, wave, influx or having an impact.

WordSmith also highlighted patterns of collocates with the word British. Discounting the verb form are, the five most frequent nouns to follow British were people, expats, residents, invasion, migrants, although the latter was not seen across sufficient texts to be included in the keyword list. The relative frequency of expat/s (below) demonstrates that this word is frequently used to reference the British, although there is a belief that the British themselves dislike it and avoid it (Benson, M., personal communication). Also worthy of investigation is the collocation of British + invasion across five texts (see below).
The corpus revealed a contrast between the use of *British* and *Brits*. The more frequent collocates to the left of *British* were common grammatical words (*the, of, a, are, by, for*), reflecting its use as an adjective. In contrast, collocates to the left of *Brits* included more specific determination, as they included *many* (10), and also other (12 occurrences), with half of the latter being overtly negative in characterising the other *Brits*:

1. "I didn’t come to France to hang out with other Brits" attitude...
2. FIND A RUSTIC RETREAT AWAY FROM OTHER BRITS
3. There were other Brits around, of course, but they were all very expat types.
4. ... many other Brits are suckered into buying similarly unsuitable properties
5. ...they came in such numbers that they’ve ended up with precisely what many had hoped to leave behind - other Brits.
6. Several work as cowboy tradesmen, helping other Brits carry out their house renovations without having to stoop to that ugly business of speaking French.

Yet *other* was rarely seen before *British* and only when the latter was used as an adjective, for example other *British-owned bars*. What was also interesting about *Brits* was how it was used in clusters. The 3-word cluster *Brits in France* (8) suggests a pattern with the noun phrase used to reference the phenomenon of the British migration to France. These examples included a couple of positive references, such as the Brits in France being resilient, yet it was frequently seen within negative narratives, as in *Wake up call for Brits in France* and *But the adventurous spirit of the Brits in France has its limit*. The phrase was also seen in narratives where the conclusion was
not positive for the British, such as tales about the British being *suckered* into buying unsuitable properties. While this is not a strong indication of negative semantic prosody, it can nevertheless be argued that *Brits in France* is not an entirely neutral construction.

### 3.2 A swelling army of migrants

A conceptual grouping of keyword nouns relating to being a migrant was made, in order to explore any patterns across the different terms. Keyness ranking is the relative position of the word in order of keyword strength; the higher the ranking, the lower the number. Frequency is the number of occurrences of the keyword in the corpus; figures in square brackets denote individual figures where keyword variants were combined. The final column shows how many of the 69 articles the word occurred in.

**Figure 2: Keywords associated with being a migrant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Keyness</th>
<th>Keyness ranking in list of 162 keywords</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of articles seen in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expat, expatriate, Expats, expatriates</td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>184 [40, 13, 117, 14]</td>
<td>30, 11, 51, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residents</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreigners</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invasion</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen that ‘expat’ and related forms are the most common collective noun/adjective used in the corpus to describe the British in France. While the majority of usage is straightforwardly as an adjective, e.g. *expat neighbour, expat cricket club*, some interesting usage indicated that the word was associated with a conceptualisation of the *expat* as a particular type or types:
1. There were other Brits around, of course, but they were all very expat types.
2. ...the expat cricket club as a good place to hunt for more, shall we say, traditional expat views.
3. The kind of expat you become will depend mainly on the company you choose to keep.

A suggestion of categorisation is thus emerging but it is as yet undefined. Examination of other collective nouns which collocate with British explores this a little further. Although the word migrants did not make it into the final refined keyword list, it is worth looking at its usage, especially in comparison with other lexis. For example, there were clear differences between the use of residents and migrants. The word residents was mostly seen in phrases that evoked permanence, established residency, and complaints about the new arrivals: the longer-established British residents who feel most threatened by the "new" British invasion of "Dordogneshire" and its borders. In contrast, the nine examples referring to British migrants were associated with more recent activity:

1. a wave of younger British migrants to the French south-west;
2. causing the new British migrants to scatter over a wider area;
3. there are signs that younger British migrants are trying hard to integrate with the locals;
4. a swelling army of migrants and second-homers is heading across the Channel.

This is suggestive of categorisation where migrants are younger and new and associated with continuing migratory activity as they are heading, trying hard or finding it hard to integrate, scatter[ing], as well as being conceptualised in mass terms: a swelling army, a deluge, a wave. These examples may not be representative of a pattern across the discourse of lifestyle migration, but what they do indicate is that the word migrant in the corpus is used to represent more recent ‘waves’ of British, along with conceptualisations of the size of the phenomenon.

One particular text showed a clear attempt by the writer (Lichfield, 2004) to categorise and make distinctions between older and more recent migration using these terms. Lichfield’s article offers a particularly rich example of collective identity representations in terms of social categorisation, including reference to an out-group within the title itself: Find a rustic retreat away from other Brits. He describes his own region in northern France as one where the lower concentrations of British incomers
are not only “welcome, but prized” in contrast to the south-west of France. This enabled him to construct identity in terms of articulating what he is not – a strategy seen not only within the literature of lifestyle migration (Benson, 2011a) but also familiar within the discourse of refugee migration (Baker and McEnery, 2005: 222).

Conceptualising migration as *invasion* is not new, particularly within discourse relating to economic or refugee migration, where analysts have discussed the conceptualisation of refugees ‘as invaders’ (Baker and McEnery, 2005). Admittedly the use of *invasion* in relation to the British in France may evoke historical events, including military invasions from both sides, and it could therefore be somewhat tongue in cheek. Nevertheless, it has a fairly strong collocation with *British* here, and repeated usage without any evaluation may “lead people to accept without question” (Hunston, 2002: 119) the idea of a large scale incursion of British property seekers with its connotations of a relentless, out of control mass force. It is, of course, difficult to argue that such usage is motivated by underlying cognitive metaphor of an invasion. However, consider that a British expat bemoaning cultural isolation would never say *I’m looking forward to an invasion of Brits*, whereas it is just possible that they might look forward to an influx of Brits. We can therefore see that the association between *British + invasion* is not neutral.

Moreover, ‘invasion’ presents the British as a mass noun rather than individuals. This obscures their personal agency, as they are presented as a generalised phenomenon rather than specific social actors who are making individual decisions. However, not all of the 20 examples are used in pejorative contexts, and some relate to the economic downturn and a decline in British visitors; for example, number 3 relates to a French couple bemoaning the lack of British bookings for their gite. Nevertheless, besides the semantic prosody of an association of large-scale incursion, there is clearly some pejorative usage when viewed in context: “vitriolic” complaints from the locals about the British who *don’t integrate properly, and they mess up the local economy* (no. 4); *It’s English suburbia gone badly wrong* (no. 10). Mixed messages were given in one text (nos. 10, 15), where the writer started by reporting anti-British demonstrations in Brittany and then, while claiming it unfair for expats to complain about yet another Ryanair flight route, added the aside: *Gosh, imagine Brummie mummies in the local supermarché, buying ketchup to put on their magret.*
3.3 A half-baked dream

The inspiration of the French rural idyll was seen across the corpus, sometimes with reference to England as it was in former decades (usually the 1950s or the 1930s), but the references were also used to contrast the imagined life with reality, from a need to protect the rural idyll from new developments, to the suggestion that British expats could be destroying an idyllic French paradise. The latter example was in a Daily Mail article (Rawstorne, 2008) which referenced British interlopers and their foods sold in Eymet, and it quotes a “renowned French academic” who blames a surge in benefit fraud and binge-drinking on the British.

Similar contrastive patterns were seen with the word dream. While it was certainly seen across positive narratives, e.g. a dream of a childhood, our dream home in France, the word was frequently used to introduce the reasons for lifestyle migration before developing into a more negative narrative that referred to harsh truths, wake up call for Brits, the dream is now over and a half-baked dream. There
were three examples of the dream turning sour, and two examples of the dream turning into a nightmare. Although the corpus did not highlight an overall negative lexis association for dream (semantic prosody), I would nevertheless argue that there is an overall discourse prosody that the British are uninformed in their decision to migrate. Words such as dream and idyll are so often used to show the distortion between dreams and reality that the cumulative effect is of a feeling that the British act on impulse without thinking through the decision to migrate.

3.4 In the ghetto

Perhaps surprising is the use of the word ghetto, a subjective category of settlement traditionally used to describe isolated minorities forced into particular areas, and therefore not a straightforward choice when describing the relatively affluent British migrant who has chosen to follow a ‘dream’ of a better way of life. ‘Ghetto’ originated in 16th century Venice with Jewish segregation, but more recently became associated with poor ethnic minority neighbourhoods in the USA (O’Reilly, 2000). O’Reilly discusses similar popular representations of the British on the Costa del Sol, citing four articles in the press of 1993. Although it could be argued that in Spain it is related to the urbanizaciones, or purpose built tourist/residential developments, O’Reilly nevertheless argues that this ignores the multiethnic character of such settlements, obscuring the mechanisms of community networking. So while the term does not appear to reflect the racial segregation and isolation implied by its historical usage, it perhaps evokes more symbolic boundaries, which serve to define people (of different nationalities) who have lifestyle migration in common (O’Reilly, 2000: 118).

Of the instances below, only example 10 is positive, in terms of “most British try to integrate and don’t hide themselves...”. But if no actual British ghettos are named, (and even in Spain, O’Reilly argued against the existence of a singularly British ‘ghetto’), can we be sure of the intended meaning in the other twelve? O’Halloran and Coffin (2004) suggest looking for dynamic experiential meaning associated with a word in order to locate any pattern of imbued meaning. Examples 3, 5 and 6 seem to mirror socialising limited to one’s own compatriots, with examples 9 and 12 reflecting a belief that the British do not make links with the French, and example 8 inferring that a
‘ghetto newspaper’ would not include any French news or views. This association is recycled in comparisons with a different kind of ‘other’, with reference to the ghettos of Algerians (line 11) and Arabs (line 13) in the city suburbs. This seems to portray the British as a more rural counterpart of urban monolingual segregation.

**Figure 4: Concordance of ghetto**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concordance</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>find it less easy to become part of a ghettoised English-speaking group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>with too many other expats as joining a ghetto doesn't count as genuinely living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tried very hard not to fall into a British ghetto - we have French friends, too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>branded her as belonging to the &quot;British ghetto&quot;. Sad, but it wasn't the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>group as I call them live in British ghettos, surrounded by British mates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>people remain stuck in this cosy ghetto, watching repeats of Little Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>he says. &quot;If you are outside an English ghetto, you have to depend on locals to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>way. This will not be an expatriate ghetto paper. TheFrenchPaper's second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>do themselves no favours. &quot;They form ghettos and buy isolated properties. It's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>and don't hide themselves in golfing ghettos. If you really want to avoid other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>the British to the Algerians, gathering in ghettos in the city suburbs. In some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>are complaining that the British live in ghettos, overload the health service and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>them speaks French. They stay in their ghettos, just like Arabs in the city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variant spelling of *ghettos* was not in the keyword list but has been included here as it is clearly the same keyword.

Therefore, the semantics of the word ‘ghetto’ do appear to vary according to context, and where there is little dynamic meaning in context, as in example 7, it leaves the reader to make an assumption. While some of these examples are clearly pejorative, it is difficult to extract a firm sense of meaning beyond a vague sense of ethnic clustering, rather than actual racial segregation. It can perhaps be seen as a conceptual metaphor that is stronger than the underlying meaning that it represents. In this way it is similar to the metaphor of *invasion*, which carries negative connotations of taking over without actually being an invasion.

Nevertheless, the use of the word across ten articles is likely to reflect or trigger a cultural stereotype (Stubbs, 2001). While the reader may not agree with the reported voices of “some [people]” in examples 11 and 12, in other cases the existence of ghettos is presented in a more taken-for-granted way, as seen in the stated inconvenience of having one’s rental property situated outside an English ghetto, or branded as belonging to the English ghetto. Such references present the clustering of
the British as more factual, or ‘given’, than if the writers had described the settlements as “like ghettos”. By presenting the British ghettos in a de facto way, the reader is not positioned to make a decision as to whether they agree with the label; as White suggests (2004), the reader’s acceptance is assumed and the writer’s subjectivity is concealed.

4. Appraisal analysis and judgements of behaviour

While the corpus analysis highlighted the frequency of references to other Brits, this section makes a more detailed analysis of evaluation in the surrounding co-text, particularly where writers attempt to explain or justify a categorisation of the British. The Appraisal framework helps to capture how evaluative meanings are constructed in texts, including the linguistic construction of social categorisation, and its attention to norms of behaviour and social value is particularly relevant within a study that investigates underlying ideologies about the behaviour of migrants. Judgement (reference to culturally-determined value systems) and affect (conveyance of emotional states or responses) can be seen throughout, while appreciation (value ascribed to objects, processes or states) is also present.

Two themes are examined in this section: an attempt to differentiate between the original immigrants and those who come now; and the explanation surrounding the limited adventurous spirit of the Brits.

Evaluation that is inscribed or explicit, where lexis carries an attitudinal value that is largely fixed across contexts, is the most transparent and explicit articulation of evaluation (White, 2004). Inscripton using judgement and affect is seen in the extract below from an article in the Sunday Express by Tominey (2005), who includes a quote attributed to an external source. The behaviour of migrants of “the past few years” is explicitly characterised as uninformed and unprepared by those who lack the necessary cultural or economic capital. The appraisal categories are shown thus: Judgement inscriptions are underlined, while affect is in bold, and appreciation in SMALL CAPITALS. Positive/negative polarity is given in brackets (after Bartlett, 2014):
Figure 5: Appraisal analysis of the Tominey extract

“We are not talking about the people who have retired here and have a lot of money and can comfortably live out the rest of their days in France¹ with no worries². We are talking about the person who buys into a halfbaked dream without realising that no one can live a dream for ever³.

If you fail to embrace the culture and the language⁴ then you are finished⁵.”

Tominey (2005), Sunday Express.

¹ Inscribed - judgement – social esteem – capacity (+) = existing migrants are successful
² Inscribed - affect – security (+) = existing migrants are happy and secure
³ Inscribed - judgement – social esteem – capacity (-) = migrants are coming who are ill-informed
⁴ Inscribed - judgement – social esteem – tenacity (-) = some migrants refuse to take up the requirements of integration
⁵ Inscribed - judgement – social esteem – capacity (-) = migration will not be successful

This quote, ascribed to a French house owner, shows a clear attempt to differentiate between migrants. The use of *embrace* is interesting as it represents the failure of integration as a failure to actively take up or adopt; a refusal rather than a difficulty.

However, language does not always explicitly carry a positive or negative value when triggering an evaluative viewpoint. White (2004) argues that *attitudinal tokens*, which rely on the reader to make socially and culturally conditioned inferences, are the most manipulative and coercive meanings, as the reader is positioned to interpret them according to some underlying value systems or sociocultural norms. In the example below from *The Times*, Roche (2004) labels (*scribes*) the Brits as limited in their capacity for adventure, but he also describes some generalised and outwardly neutral behaviour that may evoke a negative judgement, dependent on the reader sharing the writer’s cultural positioning.

Roche contrasts the pioneering spirit of the British with a growing reluctance to be adventurous. Appraisal analysis has highlighted a judgement of *Tenacity* to keep up the spirit of adventure, as well as the emotional motivations behind their behaviour (*Affect*). What seems interesting here is that, following on from these explicit evaluations, Roche lists examples of behaviour that seem unexceptional in their
norms, yet they are presented as a kind of evidence for the British being unadventurous. In itself, a new life that includes the BBC and English style food is not explicitly negative; it is the juxtaposition of this behaviour with the limited spirit of adventure from which a particular judgement may emerge.

Figure 6: Appraisal analysis of the Roche extract

For French people, it is difficult to understand the Brits. They like an adventure\(^1\) into the unknown. They have a famously deep pioneering spirit\(^2\), but it is becoming more home than empire-based\(^3\). I suppose they are also motivated by a desire to better themselves\(^4\), to change their lives in middle age. But the adventurous spirit of the Brits in France has its limit\(^5\). They really want to rebuild on the other side of the Channel the same life they have in England\(^6\). They listen to the BBC, make sausages and mash and drink too much wine\(^7\).

Roche (2004), The Times.

\(^1\)Inscribed – affect – inclination (+) = the British enjoy being adventurous
\(^2\)Inscribed – judgement – capacity (+) = the British are known for their pioneering nature
\(^3\)Inscribed – judgement – tenacity (-) = the British are becoming less exploratory in their adventures
\(^4\)Inscribed – affect – inclination (+) = the British are inclined to seek a better life
\(^5\)Inscribed – judgement – tenacity (-) = the British sense of adventure is lessened in France
\(^6\)Evoked – affect – insecurity (-) = the British in France want the security of familiarity
\(^7\)Evoked – judgement – normality (-) = British behaviour in France is essentially English

Again, the interpretation will depend on the extent to which the text activates a sense that such behaviour is somehow remarkable and inappropriate within the context of lifestyle migration, if the reader accepts what White (2006: 10) terms these “socially and culturally conditioned connections and inferences” about the right way to live in France. It may, for some, evoke a sense of emotional insecurity, although alongside some of the evaluations we have seen above, it could well evoke a sense of lack of knowledge or appreciation of the French way of life.

The strategy of comparison is also used in relation to such value systems. In the Daily Telegraph, Loos (2005) quotes a British estate agent working in France for twenty years, where the reader is led to pass judgement based on an ideological value of how lifestyle migration should be, concluding with a cause and effect process. The third
A sub-category of Appreciation highlights where worth or social value has been assigned to various states of affairs.

**Figure 7: Appraisal analysis of the Loos extract**

"The original immigrants came because they really loved France\(^1\)," she says. "Those that come now are here to take advantage\(^2\) of the better style of living\(^3\) and they don't mind whether it is France, Spain or Italy\(^4\) - they simply want a detached house with their own grounds\(^5\). They come to France because they have seen it on a TV programme\(^6\). And among them are those who don't want to become part of the French community\(^7\). They grumble about the shops closing at lunchtime and having to stand in queue\(^8\) while the French talk about the niceties of the day. And not surprisingly, the French get resentful\(^9\)."

Loos (2005), *The Daily Telegraph*.

\(^1\) Evoked - judgement - propriety (+) = original immigrants did things the right way
\(^2\) Inscribed - judgement - propriety (-) = recent migrants are taking advantage
\(^3\) Inscribed - APPRECIATION - valuation (+) = life is better in France
\(^4\) Inscribed - affect - disinclination (-) = recent migrants do not appreciate France
\(^5\) Inscribed - affect - inclination (-) = recent migrants want a large house
\(^6\) Evoked - judgement - capacity (-) = recent migrants take inspiration from the television
\(^7\) Inscribed - affect - disinclination (-) = recent migrants don't want to integrate
\(^8\) Inscribed - affect - dissatisfaction (-) = recent migrants don't like French customs
\(^9\) Inscribed - APPRECIATION - reaction - impact (-) = the French resent British migration

This apparently factual description forms the basis of the writer’s justification to compare the “original immigrants” with those who come to “take advantage”. These are mostly explicit statements relating to what the British are or are not inclined to do, and their reasons for coming to France. However, the comparison leaves some inference up to the reader, who is provoked to compare the appreciation of the original setters with those who are inspired by a TV programme and the size of property. Again, the negative polarity is, of course, dependent on the reader accepting a particular perspective from which to view this behaviour – that the behaviour of those who come now is shallow in comparison to that of the original migrants.
It could also be argued that the writer is invoking the forms of capital that are significant within the social field (Bourdieu, 1990) of lifestyle migration. The tendency to represent the original migrants as in possession of cultural capital (knowledge) and symbolic capital (integration) distinguishes them from the more recent migrants who clearly possess the economic capital to make the move, yet *don’t mind whether it is France or elsewhere* as long as it is a big house, and do not care about integrating into the community. This supports prevailing arguments within the literature that systems of distinction in lifestyle migration are based more on levels of integration than on occupational prestige or economic capital (Oliver and O’Reilly, 2010).

5. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has explored the concept of identity and distinction within British lifestyle migration by looking at the extent to which such evaluations are part of a broader ideology about the behaviour of the British in France. The corpus analysis shows that British lifestyle migration to France is represented in the media on different levels. Most notable is how more recent migration is represented in terms of a flood or invasion, where the dream of a better life has little basis in reality for those whose decision is based on ignorance of reality.

Corpus analysis has also identified semantic prosody in collocations of lexis such as *British* and *invasion*, while a closer analysis of concordances and specific extracts has brought the sociocultural context into focus, identifying a discourse prosody that presents an invasion of British property hunters, highlighting a lack of integration where more recent British expat communities are said to cluster in ‘ghettos’. Such place distinctions are not unfamiliar in the literature, with Torkington’s (2011) discourse analysis of Algarve lifestyle migrants highlighting ‘there-place derogation’ and ‘here-place celebration’ as discursive strategies linked to the construction of ideological social group membership (van Dijk, 2009). In such a way are ideas about the British as a migrant group constructed and repeated across texts, resulting in discourse prosody related to an ideology about lifestyle migration to France.

But what are the social conditions that led to so many writers striving to distinguish between migrants, their patterns of settlement and phases of migration?
The values and beliefs expressed suggest that the sociocultural context of lifestyle migration is one of conflict: resentment between older and more recent migration; divergence between the dream and the lived reality, and distinctions between ‘types’ of expat. Thus much of the discourse is oriented towards positions of power, whereby cultural capital is invoked to symbolise the ‘right kind of migrant behaviour’. By drawing on their own cultural capital and maintaining socially acquired prejudices, these writers are the “symbolic elites” (Baker et al., 2008: 280) who play a part in reproducing dominant ideologies of [lifestyle] migration. As the existence of “British ghettos” and generalised behaviour is reproduced through these representations, at the same time the ideologies of a social group are normalised and legitimised (van Dijk, 1990). These texts show how the ideologies are taken up by members/writers who wish to construct a position of identity in relation to the beliefs, as a way to affirm what they are not (Benson, 2009).

Despite not being a marginalised and vulnerable group, these British settlers are presented in surprisingly similar ways to the immigrants and asylum seekers within media texts that have undergone critical discourse analysis. Lexis such as the terms flood and swamped (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008) are typical of media constructions of refugee movements, which Baker and McEnery (2005) argue give a sense of being difficult to control, without a sense of its own agency. In this corpus the frequent ‘invasion’ metaphors similarly portray a sense of inexorability, a mass force that lacks individual agency. While the threats are represented using the same linguistic strategies that portray similar notions of being overwhelmed by mass hordes of the ‘other’, here the divisions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ are cultural divisions within the same ethnic group, rather than between ethnicity or nationality.

Of course we cannot infer too much significance and assume that these evaluations are all universally held views. Nevertheless it is an accepted notion that some people will accept received values that are current in the media, and we are more likely to note and remember detail about people when it is consistent with perceived stereotypes of a social category and prior schema (Wetherell, 2003). What is significant for this study is that there is a pattern of negative representations, and they appear to broadly correspond to the views held by the more established migrants
of Benson’s study, those who strive to be distinct from migrants who stick within British communities.

While this analysis goes some way towards broadening existing studies, it nevertheless looks at ‘otherness’ only as a phenomenon within the British community. Future research into representations within French media would be welcome in order to develop our knowledge of how the British in France are represented from a different perspective – that of their hosts.

References


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The cultural politics of hospitality: Hosts and guests in foreign language coursebooks for tourism

A construção político-cultural da hospitalidade: Anfitriões e hóspedes em manuais de língua estrangeira para o turismo

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Abstract

This article aims at critically addressing the role of language in highly sensitive “contact zones”, such as the wide variety of encounters framed by tourist mobilities. It will particularly focus on the representations of these encounters disseminated by foreign language coursebooks for tourism purposes – a text genre which is generally hardly recognized as a tourism genre, but which is, in fact, as much responsible as any guidebook or travel phrasebook for the construction of “otherness”, and for the consolidation of tourist-host identities and performances through the (pre-)configuration of communicative exchanges. Drawing on a selection of English and German language coursebooks, the analysis further attempts at providing insight into the way they replicate and reinforce the ideology, power relationships and the cultural politics of hospitality underlying the world of contemporary tourism.

Keywords: hospitality; languages; tourism; interaction; communication; coursebooks.

Resumo

O presente artigo procura analisar criticamente o papel da língua em “zonas de contacto” altamente sensíveis como é a grande variedade de encontros ocorridos no âmbito das mobilidades turísticas. Incide, em particular, nas representações destes encontros, disseminados pelos manuais de língua estrangeira para fins turísticos – um género textual geralmente pouco reconhecido como um género turístico, mas que, na verdade, é tão responsável como qualquer guia de viagens ou de conversação pela construção do “outro”, e pela consolidação das identidades e das performances turísticas através da (pré-)configuração de intercâmbios comunicativos. Com base numa seleção de manuais de língua inglesa e alemã, a análise procura também revelar a forma como aqueles reproduzem e reforçam a ideologia, as relações de poder e a construção político-cultural da hospitalidade subjacentes ao mundo do turismo contemporâneo.

Palavras-chave: hospitalidade; línguas; turismo; interação; comunicação; manuais.
1. Introduction

Hospitality is the key concept around which tourism revolves and develops; it is the core feature of a varied and complex field of practices, which rely on communication, encounters and exchanges, occurring in mobility and displacement experiences.

Tourism sets in motion massive flows of people, allowing for multiple contacts not only among travellers on the move but also between tourists and tourism staff in travel destinations. These become the crucial terms of service-based interactions, which are powerfully framed by a flourishing language learning industry, allegedly intended to facilitate and promote linguistic exchanges between hosts and guests.

This article critically addresses the way these encounters are depicted by foreign language textbooks for tourism purposes – a text genre which is generally hardly recognized as a tourism genre, but which is, in fact, as much responsible as any guidebook or travel phrasebook for the construction of “otherness”, and for the consolidation of tourist-host identities and performances through the pre-configuration of communicative exchanges. More importantly perhaps, they also provide valuable insights into the ideology and power relationships underlying the world of contemporary tourism, participating actively in the construction of a cultural politics of hospitality.

The article starts by discussing the role of languages in hospitality and tourism, and focuses on the concept of hospitality, the central cultural construct that governs service-encounters in tourism contexts. It moves on to debate the host-guest paradigm, which despite being often contested, still prevails in the mythology of tourism. The paper concludes with an analysis of the tourist-host representations in a selection of English and German language coursebooks for tourism purposes.

2. Languages, hospitality and tourism

In his seminal text on the hospitality issue, Derrida claims that the first violence imposed on a foreigner is a linguistic one. He recalls *The Apology of Socrates* and the
linguistic helplessness in which Socrates finds himself before the accusation of the Athenian court: “he doesn’t know how to speak this courtroom language, this legal rhetoric of accusation, defence, and pleading; he doesn’t have the skill, he is like a foreigner” (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000: 15, italics in original). Socrates’ inaptitude to understand the legal language and therefore to defend himself before the law makes him a foreigner, a condition which places him in a very delicate, vulnerable situation. By defining linguistic incompetence as a trait of foreignness, Derrida (and Socrates) also unravel the dilemma of hospitality: should the host speak the language of the stranger, or should the stranger be asked to speak the language of the host (and in this case, if he could speak the host language, would it still be appropriate to consider him a stranger?).

Language difference is crucial to defining foreignness. Linguistic competence and performance become central in travel experiences, and hospitality is a practice which involves overcoming the foreigner’s potential linguistic unfamiliarity, disorientation or even humiliation, and minimizing her/his linguistic anxieties and potentially stressful “communication challenges”.

Linguistic interaction is a vital element in mobility experiences – not only due to practical reasons (simply the need to get by in an unfamiliar environment, seek orientation or help, order food, negotiate prices, or ensure one takes the right bus back to the hotel), but also due to the spiritual need to make travelling a meaningful, rewarding experience, which is often related to such widespread assumptions as “travelling enlarges one’s cultural horizons”, and “it brings people together and promotes intercultural understanding”. Much of this transforming and enriching potential attributed to travelling is related to the idealised possibility of immersing in the culturally different other, of experiencing social interaction, making connections, and thus satisfying a basic human need of association with others – what Georg Simmel has defined as the “sociability impulse” (Harrison, 2003).

Tourism provides a myriad of opportunities to realise that sociability impulse, producing moments of contact between strangers, which, however casual, superficial or ephemeral, can fulfil the desire to “either affirm or experience anew some form of human connection across time, space, or cultural difference” (Harrison, 2003: 46). Such potential moments of communication are born of a (temporary) but crucial
suspension of (or disruption with) one’s time, space, social relations, and the native language. And under such imposed circumstances of anonymity and void, a whole range of ontological possibilities arises from inhabiting unknown worlds, which imply for instance slipping into new roles and learning everything anew. This rebirth can be partially perceived and embodied in the face-to-face encounter with “host” or “local” people, by attempting to penetrate cultural opacity through verbal/oral exchanges. These linguistic attempts are crucial to establishing host-tourist identities and to reinforcing (or not) the relational/emotional dimension and potential involved in host-tourist encounters.

3. The host-guest paradigm

Hospitality refers to a complex “geography of proximity” (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000: 2), which puts into play relationships between the so-called “hosts” and “guests”, “natives” and “tourists”, “locals” and “foreign visitors”.¹

These notions and the nature of these binary dynamics have been the object of critical debate and deconstructive approaches in the context of contemporary, globalised mobilities (Aramberri, 2001; Bell, 2009). Such classic, space and time-bound, antagonistic identities are rightfully contested in the light of the current paradigm of increasingly changing social relationships, characterised by fluidity and mobility (Appadurai, 1996; Bauman, 2000; Cresswell, 2006). In fact, the encounters between strangers – traditionally identified with those who travel and are mobile – and locals – traditionally identified with those who dwell and are therefore static and territorialis – must be questioned according to new patterns of worldwide, physical and virtual “circulation, intersection and proximity between strangers” (Molz and Gibson, 2007: 6), which undermine traditional notions of distance and proximity (Cordeiro, 2011b), and subvert the conventional model of movement/transience and stillness/permanence, associated respectively with the terms “guests” and “hosts”.

¹ Hospitality is a phenomenon which suggests a wide range of multidisciplinary approaches (see Lashley and Morrison, 2001), whose debate goes beyond the analytical purpose and scope of this article.
Studies have shown how these terms fail to acknowledge the complex and flexible nature of contemporary interpersonal (tourist) encounters, since it is no longer admissible to consider the conventional host-guest polarity as fixed categories and space and identity-bound labels\(^2\); these should be preferably, as Molz and Gibson (2007: 7) note, be seen as “fluid, contested social roles that people move into, out of, and between as they negotiate extensive overlapping mobilities and social memberships”. Bell (2009: 22) proposes the formulation of “hostings and guestings” to refer to practices and performances carried out in tourist contexts, underlining the importance of “doings” instead of “beings”.

Aramberri (2001: 746) goes a step further in the criticism of the host-guest formula, sustaining that in the context of current mass tourism “hosts are no longer hosts, just providers of services, while the guests are no longer guests, just customers”. Aramberri’s criticism is reflected in the argument that modern tourism has destroyed the pre-modern paradigm of the host-guest relationship, based on the traditional covenant of protection, reciprocity and mutual obligations and duties. This scholar draws attention to the industrialisation of hospitality and the commercialisation involved in tourist encounters, which subvert entirely – on a different level – the host-guest relationship.

From the moment tourism implied the provision of services (from transportation to accommodation) and tourist experiences became subject to processes of commodification, “the nonmaterial reciprocity of the old covenant” (Aramberri, 2001: 746) was broken and replaced by a financial contract (a payment for the deliverance of goods).

However, “service” is itself a highly contested notion, the purchase of which being much more comprehensive and complex than that of a manufactured good or article. Since a service always implies a form of social interaction and most often a spatial proximity between consumers and providers, “to buy the service is to buy a particular social or sociological experience” (Urry, 2002: 60). This is also the point made by Hemmington (2007: 749) in his debate of hospitality products, which he labels as experiences: “customers do not buy service delivery, they buy experiences; they do not

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\(^2\) For a discussion of the most recent studies on the contested nature of the host-guest relationship, see Bell (2009) and Molz and Gibson (2007).
buy service quality, they buy memories; they do not buy food and drink, they buy meal experiences.”

The experience factor of hospitality services relates to their inherent “intangible” value (Urry, 2002: 65) – to that immeasurable, unquantifiable, affective value that can potentially transform an “instrumental transaction” into an “emotional transaction” (Lugosi, 2008: 141).

The emotional element involved in these services is often pursued through communication and can be identified with what has been called “emotional labour” (Cameron, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Urry, 2002), i.e., the sort of work that actively contributes to others’ well-being and requires thus the management of feelings. Displaying positive feelings towards tourists, smiling at and engaging in a helpful way with consumers (in friendly conversations with customers) are examples of this kind of labour. In tourism-related services there is an innumerable variety of potential encounters between guests and hosts, in which verbal/oral communication is the very substance of such emotional labour.

4. The tourist-host encounter: Performing contact

However contested the host-guest paradigm might be in the light of the contemporary world, it is still a pervasive cultural construct which underlies every representation of the tourist encounter – a much mythified moment in tourist imagination, as the success of travel is very often identified with the possibility of engaging with host populations and plunging into local life (Cordeiro, 2011a).

As with many other moments of travelling, encountering and engaging with the other has a performative character. Drawing on the theatrical metaphors used by Goffman (1959) to explain processes of social life and human interactions, tourism can also be viewed as a series of performances, subject to norms and conventions, on different stages.

Edensor (2000: 324) has argued for the “increased staged nature of tourism”, considering that tourist practices are actually performances, happening in strictly organised sites which are comparable to theatrical settings. He further notes that
tourists resemble actors, playing roles, according to pre-established rules and behaviour conventions: “[…] when tourists enter particular stages, they are usually informed by pre-existing discursive, practical, embodied norms which help to guide their performative orientations and achieve a working consensus about what to do.” (Edensor, 2001: 71).

Edensor does not consider in his analysis the linguistic dimension of such performances. And yet tourists are not only bodies in transit, performers of ritualised acts, they are language speakers, uttering their native sounds as they move across space, and hesitantly or adventurously trying out interactions, possibly in foreign words, i.e., performing intercultural encounters.

These linguistic encounters between “guests” and “hosts” are also subject to a high-level performativity. Just as tourist practices and movements are pre-configured by an overwhelming range of travel guides, brochures, programs, etc., which play the role of “stage directors”, recommending and instructing their actors on itineraries and sights, for example, so are host-tourist linguistic interactions highly scripted performances, powerfully fictionalised in a text genre which exuberantly grows in the book market for the alleged benefit of people on the move: guidebooks, language guides and phrase books are every traveller’s best companion. A huge language-learning industry flourishes around tourists’ need for cultural mediation and preparation for different linguistic spaces: additionally to language sections included in guidebooks, there is a profusion of pocket language guides, “essential guides”, “mini dictionaries”, “phrase books”, “conversation guides” in all possible languages. This text genre, aimed at the second term of the host-guest equation, has received some critical attention (Cordeiro, 2011a; Phipps, 2007; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010). There is, however, another text genre, addressed to the first term of the host-guest dynamics, which remains underresearched. Just as its counterpart for tourists, the foreign language coursebook for tourism purposes idealises the host-tourist encounter, setting the “stages” of the encounter, depicting the “roles”, providing the “scripts”, and framing the contexts and linguistic exchanges.

The next section focuses on English and German language coursebooks for tourism, attempting at disclosing the mechanisms of representing language interactions in tourist encounters.
5. Host-guest\textsuperscript{3} interactions in foreign language coursebooks for tourism

5.1 Foreign language coursebooks for tourism purposes – an overall view

Foreign language coursebooks aimed at the professional field of tourism have predominantly been the object of analyses concerned with the actual linguistic needs of people working in tourism-related contexts (see Bosch and Schlak, 2013).

This paper, however, does not intend to focus on linguistic or pedagogical issues; it does not aim at revealing content gaps or evaluating textbooks structurally or in terms of their didactic methodologies. The analytical approach considers these texts as cultural artifacts, i.e., powerful disseminators of cultural representations and ideological messages (Gray, 2010). As Apple and Christian-Smith (1991: 3-4, italics in original) aptly state, textbooks “signify – through their content \textit{and form} – particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing the vast universe of possible knowledge. […] They participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful.”

This is paradigmatically proven by textbooks for tourism purposes, for they are embedded in the larger set of discourses, representations and images which powerfully shape tourism processes and identities. In the particular case of coursebooks designed for the tourism-related professional activities, they are bound to reflect and (reinforce) the power relations and ideologies which underlie the world of contemporary tourism. The way they culturally frame and linguistically regulate tourist/guest-host interactions is intertwined with the dominant discourses of what tourists are expected to do and say and of how hosts are supposed to act and respond. As a result, coursebooks forge and reinforce a specific cultural politics of hospitality. Considering Jackson’s definition of cultural politics as “the domain in which meanings are constructed and negotiated, where relations of dominance and subordination are defined and contested” (Jackson, 1991: 200), tourism constitutes undoubtedly one

\textsuperscript{3} In spite of the contested character of the concepts “guests” and “hosts”, discussed earlier, for practical reasons and analytical purposes, the article opts for the indistinctive use of the “guest-host” or “tourist-host” formula.
such domain of representations structured by prevailing cultural and political discourses (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998); and language learning/teaching for tourism becomes a means to represent and legitimise power relations between visitors and visited. They organise tourist practices, disciplining and systematising interactions and encounters, minimising the negative impacts of the “worlds clash” that might occur when people travel. As Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 11) argue, “[i]t is in communication with each other, in every instant of contact, that hosts and tourists negotiate the nature of their experience, the meanings of culture and place, as well as their own relationships and identities.”

The coursebook market is currently well provided for not only in the language of international tourism (English) but also in other languages, such as German, the native language of those who allegedly travel the most worldwide. Tables 1 and 2 show some of the currently available titles in both languages.

Table 1: English language coursebooks for tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Be my guest! English for the Hotel Industry (2002) by Francis O’Hara, Cambridge University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>English for International Tourism (1997) by Miriam Jacob and Peter Strutt, Longman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>English for International Tourism New Edition (2013) by Peter Strutt, Margaret O’Keeffe and Iwonna Dubicka, Pearson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>First Class English for Tourism (1991) by Trish Stott and Roger Holt, Oxford University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ready to order: Elementary English for the Restaurant Industry (2002) by Anne Baude, Montserrat Iglesias and Anna Inesta, Longman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: German language coursebooks for tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Deutsch im Hotel – Gespräche führen (2000) by Paola Barberis und Elena Bruno, Hueber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Deutsch im Hotel – Korrespondenz (2001) by Paola Barberis und Elena Bruno, Hueber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Herzlich willkommen – Deutsch in Restaurant und Tourismus (2001) by Ulrike Cohen, Langenscheidt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ja, gerne: Deutsch im Tourismus (2014) by Anita Grunwald, Cornelsen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kommunikation im Tourismus (2005) by Dorothea Lévy-Hillerich, Cornelsen/Fraus Verlag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pluspunkt Beruf – Erfolgreich in Gastronomie und Hotellerie (2011) by Kathleen Born et al, Cornelsen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these titles appeared in the 90s and were republished or updated in new editions; contemplating different language levels, they partially concentrate on specific but central tourism-related professional subareas, such as the hotel and restaurant industries.

What they all have in common is a stated interest in providing learners with the “language and professional skills required to perform effectively in all sectors of the industry” (Jacob and Strutt, 1997: back cover). They “train communication at the workplace” (Born et al., 2011: 3, my translation) and provide “the linguistic knowledge needed to deal with the most important daily situations when working with […] tourists” (Cohen, 2001: 6, my translation). A special focus is given to the development of speaking skills “for key job-related situations” (Jacob and Strutt, 1997: back cover), “in order to work effectively in this challenging international sector” (Harding, 1998: back cover) and to play the “roles which arise in the actual communicative contexts at workplaces” (Cohen, 2000: 6, my translation).

The performative character of professional activities, to which the communicative facet is inherent, is a crucial feature of all these coursebooks. In fact, foreign language coursebooks do conceive interactions between hosts and guests as linguistic enactments, in which learners are provided with scripts and roles to “act out similar conversations” according to given dialogue models, and in the expected professional
scenarios, “tak[ing] turns to play [parts]” or “chang[ing] roles (Harding and Henderson, 1994: 14, 26).

Learners are asked to “imagine” roles, “invent” details (Harding and Henderson, 1994: 97, 144) and “act out” conversations with partners according to flow-charts (Harding and Henderson, 1994: 48) or pre-defined instructions concerning the context, conditions and outcomes of conversations; coursebooks provide role-cards, in which dialogues are prepared in great detail, including stages, which should be linguistically performed through the use of language functions (the “script lines”) previously given in language sections (see Figure 1). An unequivocal example of this theatrical approach is provided by Harding (1998). Learners are given role-play cards and instructed to act out mini-dramas, for example, between flight attendants and airline passengers. Interaction stages are clearly defined for both groups of “actors”: cabin crew are told “what to say and do” (“Stage 1: 1 Greet passengers; 2 Seat passengers; 3 Stow baggage […]; 4 Make safety announcement; Stage 2: 1 Serve drinks […]; 2 Collect lunch trays; 3 Serve tea and coffee; 4 Collect lunch trays; 5 Offer duty-free goods; Stage 3: 1 Prepare landing; 2 Say good-bye”) (Harding, 1998: 71), passengers are asked to play the role of “airline inspectors travelling in secret” and to “act like a ‘normal’ passenger at first” (Harding, 1998: 176).

Figure 1: Host-Tourist scripts

![Host-Tourist scripts](source)

Source: Cohen, 2001: 69

The main didactic resource used by foreign language coursebooks relies thus heavily on the conceptualisation of communication acts as performances: learners
become actors in pre-defined work scenes, and are routinely trained in the accomplishment of linguistic tasks.

5.2 Host-guest encounters in coursebooks – an analysis

This performative nature of communication provides a useful set of analytical concepts. Focusing on a sample of 6 of the above listed coursebooks (identified with nos. 2, 5, 6, 12, 15 and 16), the analysis only considered speaking and listening exercises, in which any form of interaction between hosts and guests is enacted, and aimed at identifying: a) the settings (stages, in which interactions between hosts and guests are framed); b) the roles played by hosts and guests; and c) the linguistic performances attributed to them respectively.

The findings were collected and summarized in Tables 3 to 6.

**Table 3: Settings portrayed in foreign language coursebooks for tourism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Airport/plane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise/ferry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/Resort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist information centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist site/attraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel agency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4: Roles played by hosts and guests in foreign language coursebooks for tourism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hosts are...</th>
<th>Guests are...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>airline check-in clerks</td>
<td>business travellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car-hire representatives</td>
<td>passengers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flight attendants /cabin crew</td>
<td>(groups of ) tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground stewards</td>
<td>enquirers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotel managers</td>
<td>customers / potential tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receptionists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>survey conductors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tour company representatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tour guides</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tour operator sales staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tourist information officer/clerk
travel agent
waiters

Table 5: Hosts’ linguistic performances in foreign language coursebooks for tourism

asking reasons for travelling
booking holidays
checking in
dealing with communication difficulties
dealing with complaints giving flight safety procedures
dealing with difficult guests
dealing with problems
describing events/monuments/itineraries/accommodation/rooms
explaining bills
finding out about the needs of travellers
giving directions
giving information on accommodation/sights/travel times/means of transportation
giving tourist advice
guiding tourists round places of interest
making flight reservations
making suggestions
recommendating leisure activities/services/attractions/excursions/gastronomy/wines
selling tickets
suggesting action plans
taking and confirming bookings
taking messages
welcoming guests

Table 6: Guests’ linguistic performances in foreign language coursebooks for tourism

asking for (general) information/recommendations about accommodation
facilities/services and prices/directions/travel times/weather conditions/upgrades/attractions/leisure activities
buying services/tickets
complaining
expressing wishes
finding out about good deals
leaving messages
making reservations

The data gathered in Tables 3 to 6 provide insightful information on the settings
host-guest interactions are expected to occur, on the roles both parts are likely to play
and, of course, on the scripts, dialogues and lines both hosts and guests are meant to perform verbally.

The settings identified are those specifically designed by the tourist industry and materially frequented by tourists and thus defining them as such: settings which owe their raison d’être to people on the move, and where tourist life is supposed to develop: hotels, railway/bus stations, airports, restaurants, travel agencies, tourist sites are the spaces of travel in which tourist-host identities and relationships are established.

Coursebooks frame verbal interactions at information counters, hotel receptions, check-in desks, restaurant tables, and guided tours; they are rigidly contextualised, consisting, in fact, of service exchanges between tourism workers and tourism customers. Tourist stages portrayed in coursebooks are thus the settings of service encounters.

As for the roles played by “hosts”, they are not only in greater number and variety than those attributed to “guests”; they are also characterised by greater density, determined by their professional profiles: waiters, tour guides or receptionists make up very diverse professional identities. “Guests”, on the other hand, remain under the vague, rather undefined, large-spectrum label of “tourists”, occasionally identified as “passengers”, and most often dubbed as “customers”, not really being taken into consideration their potentially distinctive or individual traits.

Accordingly, the majority of linguistic performances listed in coursebooks are attributed to hosts; while tourists’ linguistic utterances typically revolve around emphatic and commanding acts of “asking”, “requesting” or “complaining” in order to fulfil their particular needs and wishes, hosts have to perform linguistically a wider range of functions, which are substantially associated to complying acts of “giving” (information, explanations, help, solutions, suggestions, etc.).

Tourists are shown involved in communicative acts that presuppose their comfort and engagement in amusing activities or in pleasurable and meaningful experiences. Hosts, on the other hand, occupy a subordinate position, whose linguistic production solely aims at securing the provision of services: they are service providers, playing competently their part within the mechanical workings of the tourist industry.
The performance of host-guest interaction depicted by coursebooks is a performance of the service encounter between service providers and service seekers, the latter being “in charge” of the communication process and imposing her/his terms over the “hospitality relationship”.

This functional communicative model generally adopted by coursebooks reflects the ideological power asymmetry of tourism in general and of the service encounter in particular. In fact, hosts and guests are the poles of an unequal relation – one which opposes employees to clients, producers to consumers, a working to a leisured class.

This unequal power relation is visually represented on the front cover of the recently released German language coursebook, *Ja gerne! Deutsch im Tourismus* (Grunwald, 2014), in which a smiling waiter emerging from the relaxing blue water of a swimming pool seems to epitomise the tourist dream of being served (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2: The tourist dream of being served?**

![Source: Grunwald, 2014: front cover.](image)

Hosts are predominantly depicted as helpers or servers: receptionists, waiters, officers at information counters (mostly low status professional individuals) are tourists’ main interlocutors. This is also visually reinforced by the pictures included in coursebook portraits of host-guest interactions: scenes at the hotel reception, in the restaurant or at information centres show guests being served, comfortably seated,
enjoyably relaxing, making requests, complaining, asking for information; hosts, on the other hand, are mostly represented in a servile attitude, sometimes wearing a uniform, always looking friendly, helpful and submissive (see Figures 3 and 4).

**Figure 3: Asking and requesting: tourists playing their roles**

![Figure 3: Asking and requesting: tourists playing their roles](image1)


**Figure 4: Working under the tourist gaze: friendly, familiar and servile hosts**

![Figure 4: Working under the tourist gaze: friendly, familiar and servile hosts](image2)


The asymmetric power relation between hosts and guests is also reinforced by what Lippi-Green (2012) calls the “communicative burden”, which relies on hosts, not on guests. The former are the ones instructed on how to deal with communication problems and difficult clients; it is up to them to make sure they understand tourists’ requests and service expectations. As native or non-native speakers (dealing with native or non-native speakers), they are the ones who need to listen attentively, be prepared to understand different accents, intonations and mispronunciations; they are
the ones who need to pronounce and spell correctly, provide accurate information, and not be misunderstood.

As already identified in interaction analysis of major tourist genres (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010), the host-guest paradigm is enacted as a series of service encounters, which are intrinsically characterised by their brief and pragmatic nature. The fleetingness and liminality of the tourist-host encounters determine hugely the way communication and linguistic exchanges are imagined in tourism performances.

Linguistic performances are reduced to standardised communicative routines which rarely go beyond the superficial, practical and courteous exchanges of greeting, helping, informing, explaining, suggesting, recommending, etc. Tourists take up the role of clients, needing practical help or advice, or involved in acts of purchasing, booking, etc.; accordingly, hosts are expected to respond as competent professionals, as providers of information, as helpers or even servers. Dialogues are strictly scripted, not only in terms of content and wording, but also in terms of their inner sequence and expected (successful) conclusion.

The performance of interaction depicted in coursebooks follows the rules of predictability and uniformity, almost exclusively not acknowledging any form of deeper engagement and relational content or intercultural exchange.

Tourists/guests and tourism workers are expected to interact according to coherently constructed fictitious dialogues, which end as abruptly as they begin (see Figure 5). Interaction sequences consist of automatised turns and lines, leaving no room to the spontaneity, relative randomness and messiness that characterise human conversations.

Interactions are based on a highly stylised “question-answer-question” communicative flow; they are represented as short and simple, instrumental, functional, and “clean” exchanges (stripped of any complexity and ambiguity, deprived of misunderstandings, humour, comments, inhibitions, silences or interruptions); they hardly allow for creative, spontaneous or unexpected deviations. They propose short, predictable conversation units in a standardised language, which are but abstract constructions of the idealised fluid and smooth communication flows in a linguistically “spiky” world.
6. Conclusion

In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent, globalised world, characterised by a post-industrial, informational and service-based “new economy” (Castells, 2000), communication and (foreign) language skills acquire a prominent role. One of the most important of such service sectors in which linguistic performances play a central part is tourism, the global arena of multilingual and multicultural encounters and exchanges. These are pre-configured by a vast array of cultural artifacts, ranging from guidebooks, travelogues, phrasebooks to foreign language coursebooks, all sharing the common responsibility of constructing “otherness” and regulating host-guest interactions.

In spite of the contested nature of this binary formula, it is still a prevailing paradigm in tourism practices, one that lies at the heart of a powerful tourism mythology concerning the tourist encounter and the need to establish some form of human connection in a foreign world. The emotional dimension is a core aspect of the tourist experience, in which the ability to communicate and interact (with “locals” or “hosts”) can play a decisive role. A substantial part of such exchanges occurs with so-called tourism staff, which is the core of the hospitality service-based industry.
The host-guest paradigm lies at the confluence of two contrasting facts: on the one hand, the practicalities of transactional, fleeting and superficial service-oriented interactions (reflected in a specific context-based, instrumental language use); on the other hand, the “emotional labour” of the “customer care culture”, which in the case of tourist experiences, relates to processes of engagement and relational content.

This article attempted to deconstruct the way English and German language coursebooks, deliberately conceived to frame communicative exchanges and interactions between tourists and tourism staff, do favour the transactional use of language at the expense of intercultural communicative opportunities, which is generally assumed as a prerogative of tourism. By doing so, coursebooks replicate the cultural politics of hospitality which dominates the asymmetric world of contemporary tourism: the host is attributed a subordinate, servile position; the guest is attributed a sovereign status, mainly interested in the fulfilment of “typical” tourist/consumer needs and desires.

Coursebooks are truly the products of a service-based economy and of the efficiency drive of tourism management; attempting at avoiding the messiness of real-life communication, they aim at disciplining and regulating communication encounters, potentially fraught with chaos, difficulties and tensions.

What (the analysed) coursebooks do not to incorporate in their didactic framework is the recognised need for intercultural awareness skills in the training of tourism and hospitality employees. According to an already substantial body of studies within the field of intercultural communication and tourism (Jafari and Way, 1994; Reisinger and Dimanche, 2009; Reisinger and Turner, 2002), host-tourist encounters are highly influenced by cultural differences; communication difficulties, tensions (and even hostility) can be attributed to a “lack of experience with the foreign culture” (Reisinger and Turner, 2002: 54).

I would like to suggest that the inclusion of an inter(cross)cultural awareness approach to foreign language teaching for tourism might provide a way out of the

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4 This idea is enshrined at the highest level of institutional responsibility in the World Tourism Organization’s Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which states the firm belief “that, through the direct, spontaneous and non-mediatised contacts it engenders between men and women of different cultures and lifestyles, tourism represents a vital force for peace and a factor of friendship and understanding among the peoples of the world.” (WTO, 1999: 2)
asymmetrical representation of tourist-host encounters based on a purely instrumental, strictly functional use of language in commercial exchanges. This might be attained if coursebook conceptualisation took into consideration culturally different tourist markets, instead of fictionalising an abstract identity called “the tourist”.

The awareness of tourist cultural differences for commercial purposes is interestingly exemplified by a recent initiative of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Tourism Regional Committee of Paris-Île-de-France. The portal and guide *Do you speak touriste?* are aimed at tourism professionals and intend to provide them with the knowledge of key cultural features of major nationalities visiting Paris, so that they “better know the foreign tourist customers”. The guide consists of mini-portraits of the city’s main tourist markets. 11 nationalities (including the French!) are briefly portrayed in touristic terms and their cultural profiles are outlined. Despite the clearly commercial objectives of the initiative, what stands out is the commendable preoccupation with the need to understand tourists in their different, culturally determined expectations. The guide includes, for example, besides a few welcome words in the foreign language and some important communicative tips, the idealised picture each nationality has in mind when visiting Paris, their socio-professional characterisation, the average time spent in the city, or elements of their tourist behaviour and preferences, such as the means of transport most used or their eating habits and rhythms.ª

Foreign language coursebooks are appropriate vehicles for the promotion of such an inter(cross)cultural awareness among tourism-related service providers/workers. By regarding tourists not just as mere consumers but as elements pertaining to a determined cultural group, with particular (culturally conditioned) service expectations, coursebooks might aim at more “relational” content-based tourist-host interactions.


ª For example, the guide (see previous note) informs about the German need of constancy and the Chinese preference for shopping luxuriously; it depicts Japanese as demanding but discrete tourists. When speaking to Belgian tourists, the guide advises to make sure they are francophone; Brazilians have a poetic image of Paris and plan their trip in great detail. The Spanish need attention and sympathy; the British expect personalised advice and sound explanations. Dutch are pragmatic and pay attention to details. Americans are very direct and need to be reassured about prices. Italians are impatient tourists and fond of organised tours.
References


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Concordância sujeito-verbo no simple present: Produção de erros por estudantes da licenciatura em Turismo

Subject-verb agreement: Error production by Tourism undergraduate students

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Resumo
Este artigo enquadra-se numa pesquisa mais abrangente sobre o erro na conjugação verbal em inglês. Com o objetivo de analisar os erros de concordância sujeito-verbo no simple present produzidos em textos de alunos da licenciatura em Turismo, parte do conceito de interlíngua e do modelo de análise de erros. De natureza descritiva, não-experimental, segue um desenho metodológico misto, aplicando análise quantitativa e qualitativa. Para a recolha de dados, aplicou-se um questionário para definir o perfil sociolinguístico dos participantes e o teste diagnóstico Dialang para aferir o seu nível de proficiência em inglês. Procedeu-se à compilação de um corpus de produções escritas que foi analisado e codificado manualmente por um painel de peritos a partir de uma taxonomia adaptada da classificação de erros do Cambridge Learner Corpus. Utilizaram-se os softwares Markin e Wordsmith para a codificação dos erros e para apoio à análise dos dados. Apresentam-se os erros de concordância e o seu cruzamento com os níveis de proficiência.

Palavras-chave: análise de erros; interlíngua; escrita; verbo; língua estrangeira; níveis de proficiência.

Abstract
The aim of this paper, which is part of a more extensive research on verb tense errors, is to investigate the subject-verb agreement errors in the simple present in the texts of a group of Tourism undergraduate students. Based on the concept of interlanguage and following the error analysis model, this descriptive non-experimental study applies qualitative and quantitative procedures. Three types of instruments were used to collect data: a sociolinguistic questionnaire (to define the learners’ profile); the Dialang test (to establish their proficiency level in English); and our own learner corpus (140 texts). Errors were identified and classified by an expert panel in accordance with a verb error taxonomy developed for this study based on the taxonomy established by the Cambridge Learner Corpus. The Markin
software was used to code errors in the corpus and the Wordsmith Tools software to analyze the data. Subject-verb agreement errors and their relation with the learners’ proficiency levels are described.

**Keywords:** error analysis; interlanguage; writing; verb; foreign language; proficiency levels.

1. **Introdução**

A língua inglesa tem vindo a desempenhar um papel proeminente no contexto global (Crystal, 2004; Comissão Europeia, 2010). Trata-se da língua estrangeira (LE) mais utilizada em dezanove dos vinte e cinco estados membros que compõem a União Europeia (onde não é língua oficial).¹ No entanto, no contexto português, e de acordo com o Special Eurobarometer (Comissão Europeia, 2012), somente 27% da população é falante de língua inglesa², ocupando a décima nona posição na percentagem de falantes de inglês na União Europeia.

Numa época de novos desafios originados pela globalização, dos quais destacamos o desenvolvimento da indústria hoteleira e turística no contexto nacional, e em particular na região do Algarve, a competência comunicativa em língua inglesa desempenha um papel indispensável para a comunicação global (Köhlmyr, 2003; Weigle, 2008). A partir destes pressupostos, desenvolvemos este trabalho de investigação dado que o domínio e proficiência da língua inglesa por parte dos profissionais do Turismo constitui um fator preponderante a considerar para uma carreira de futuro (Torkington e Perdigão, 2003).

Esperar-se-ia que os alunos que iniciam o seu percurso no ensino superior, após 7 a 9 anos de aprendizagem da língua inglesa (64,3% da população em estudo), fossem capazes de revelar competências linguísticas consolidadas ao nível do B1/B2 – descrito no Quadro Europeu Comum de Referência para as Línguas. Neste sentido, os docentes que ministram os três níveis da unidade curricular de «Inglês para Turismo»³ consideram essencial ter uma informação precisa e sustentada, e não somente conjecturada e

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¹ Dados retirados do relatório da Comissão Europeia Europeans and their Languages – Special Eurobarometer 386, 2012.
² Em confronto, por exemplo, com a França (39%), Alemanha (56%) ou Holanda (90%). Cf. Europeans and their Languages – Special Eurobarometer 386, 2012.
³ Professores de Inglês da Escola Superior de Gestão, Hotelaria e Turismo da Universidade do Algarve.
intuitiva, das principais dificuldades destes estudantes na medida em que têm sido várias as incertezas em relação às áreas específicas nas quais o ensino-aprendizagem da língua inglesa deveria incidir.

O ensino da língua inglesa para Turismo no ensino superior tem como principal objetivo a preparação dos aprendentes para uma utilização adequada da língua no contexto profissional e, de facto, estes aprendentes necessitam de uma variedade de recursos linguísticos para conseguirem dar resposta, enquanto profissionais, às constantes exigências do mercado de trabalho (Conselho de Europa, QECRL, 2001; Weigle, 2008). Neste contexto, consideramos que, para além da capacidade oral - indispensável para qualquer profissional da indústria turística -, é igualmente necessário que os aprendentes desenvolvam a sua competência escrita num número variado de géneros discursivos fundamentais no contexto profissional, nomeadamente, na escrita de e-mails, relatórios, comunicados de imprensa, etc. Convictos de que as tarefas escritas em língua inglesa têm adquirido um posicionamento cada vez mais dominante em programas educacionais e profissionais, no processo de ensino-aprendizagem de línguas estrangeiras, a escrita persiste em ser frequentemente depreciada. Por um lado, os aprendentes consideram a escrita uma atividade demorada e que impõe um elevado grau de concentração e reflexão, por outro, os professores pressupõem que as competências de escrita foram já adquiridas noutros níveis de ensino, não vendo necessidade da sua prática sistemática em contexto de aula (Fonseca, 1992; Cabral, 2010). Posto isto, a competência escrita dos aprendentes tem vindo a diminuir consideravelmente, nomeadamente devido à falta de competência linguística dos aprendentes, que leva professores e investigadores a considerarem esta área particularmente problemática (Torre, 1985; Chen et al., 2007; Johansson, 2012).

Logo, o foco do nosso estudo na produção escrita decorre da experiência de um grupo de docentes do ensino superior ao constatarem que a competência linguística na produção escrita tem sido uma componente por vezes negligenciada durante o processo de ensino-aprendizagem de língua inglesa e que uma parte significativa das dificuldades dos alunos durante o processo de aprendizagem incide na componente gramatical, especificamente quando se trata da conjugação verbal. Dado que, por definição, o ensino da língua comunicativa coloca o foco no aprendente, serão as necessidades comunicativas do aprendente a proporcionar o enquadramento para a elaboração dos
objetivos linguísticos em termos de competência (Savignon, 2001). Ora, estas circunstâncias implicam a análise das produções linguísticas do aprendente.

Conscientes da produção de erros aquando da aprendizagem da língua-alvo, e na sequência de outras pesquisas internacionais recentes\(^4\), confirmámos a necessidade de realizar um estudo no qual fossem analisados os principais erros de conjugação verbal cometidos por um grupo de alunos de Inglês, tentando inferir, sempre que possível, razões para a realização desses erros. Por limitações de espaço, neste artigo concentramo-nos apenas na concordância sujeito-verbo, com especial realce para o *simple present*, na medida em que verificámos ser este o erro com o maior número de ocorrências na produção escrita destes alunos.

Assim, recorrendo ao conceito de *interlíngua* (IL) e ao *modelo de análise de erros* (AE), apresentamos o enquadramento teórico seguido da metodologia, na qual explicamos a construção do corpus de aprendentes e a aplicação das ferramentas de codificação e análise *Markin* e *Wordsmith*. Segue-se a apresentação e descrição dos resultados quantitativos da análise realizada ao *simple present* e a comparação com os níveis de proficiência.

## 2. Enquadramento teórico

A descrição da língua do aprendente desempenha um papel central em investigações na área da aquisição de línguas estrangeiras (Gass e Selinker, 2008). Para designar o sistema linguístico do aprendente de LE, Selinker (1972) recorreu ao conceito de IL\(^5\), definindo-o como um sistema linguístico independente que o aprendente vai desenvolvendo ao longo do seu processo de aprendizagem linguística, resultante da sua tentativa de produção da norma da língua-alvo\(^6\) (Selinker, 1972: 35). Apesar de independente, trata-se de um sistema intermédio entre a língua materna (LM) e a

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\(^4\) Embora sejam escassos os estudos aplicados à população portuguesa, a concordância sujeito-verbo em língua inglesa tem sido objeto de estudo de investigadores a nível mundial: China (Chen et al., 2007); Filipinas (Gustilo e Magno, 2012); Indonésia (Wahyudi, 2012); Malásia (Stapa e Izahar, 2010); Suécia (Köhlmyr, 2003; Johansson, 2012; Jovanovic, 2014).

\(^5\) Vários termos alternativos têm sido aplicados por diferentes linguistas para nomear o sistema linguístico desenvolvido pelo aprendente a partir do *input* linguístico a que está exposto, nomeadamente competência transitória (Corder, 1967), dialeto idiossincrático (Corder, 1981) e sistema aproximativo (Nemser, 1971).

\(^6\) Neste artigo, não fazemos distinção entre os conceitos de língua estrangeira e língua-alvo.
língua-alvo, sendo influenciado por ambas na medida em que é composto por elementos da LM do aprendente, elementos da língua-alvo, assim como elementos inerentes à IL que se encontra em desenvolvimento (Saville-Troike, 2006; Gass e Selinker, 2008; Lennon, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 2014). Dado que manifesta consistência interna, a IL é considerada sistemática e assume-se como uma língua natural com o seu próprio sistema interno de regras linguísticas constituído por estruturas e vocabulário, cuja complexidade vai evoluindo num processo criativo, percorrendo etapas sucessivas delimitadas pelas novas estruturas e vocabulário adquiridos pelo aprendente (Saville-Troike, 2006). Apesar de sistemática, a IL do aprendente é também variável uma vez que nela surgem (na IL do aprendente) estruturas emergentes que vão sendo adquiridas, por vezes em simultâneo com as estruturas que vão substituir (Lennon, 2008; Lightbown e Spada, 2008; Ellis e Barkhuizen, 2009).

Também o fenómeno de fossilização desempenha um papel central para o conceito de IL, ou seja, este acontece quando uma determinada forma linguística, característica ou regra se estabelece permanentemente na IL do aprendente de uma forma desviante à norma da língua-alvo e tende a ser conservada na sua performance, independentemente do tipo de contacto com a língua-alvo (Selinker, 1972; Saville-Troike, 2006; Tarone, 2006). Isto é, o aprendente não consegue atingir a etapa final do contínuo da IL, tornando-se, por isso mesmo, incapaz de atingir a competência na língua-alvo (Selinker, 1972; 1992).

Ainda, na ótica de Selinker (1972), o processo de desenvolvimento da IL resulta de uma variedade de processos cognitivos subjacentes ao comportamento linguístico, facto que a distingue da forma usual de aquisição de uma LM pela ocorrência de fenómenos associados com transferência linguística (interferência de elementos ou estruturas linguísticas da LM na produção da língua-alvo); com transferência de instrução (a forma como a língua-alvo é ensinada, por exemplo, os procedimentos aplicados em sala de aula ou a natureza dos materiais pedagógicos); com o uso de diferentes estratégias de aprendizagem da língua-alvo (a forma como os aprendentes abordam a aprendizagem da língua, por exemplo, ou a tendência do aprendente para simplificar o sistema da língua-alvo); com o uso de diferentes estratégias de comunicação na língua-alvo (o aprendente recorre a estratégias alternativas para compensar a carência no seu sistema linguístico); assim como com a generalização de
padrões da língua-alvo (o aprendente apoia-se numa determinada regra da LE que foi previamente adquirida e aplica-a em circunstâncias não abrangidas por essa regra) (Saville-Troike, 2006; Lennon, 2008).

Partindo desses pressupostos, o objetivo central da análise da IL consiste, por um lado, em descrever e explicar o desenvolvimento da IL e, por outro, compreender o fracasso da IL para alcançar a língua-alvo (Tarone, 2006). Assim sendo, para proceder ao estudo da IL, autores como Selinker (1972) e Brown (2000) sugerem o estudo da produção linguística do aprendente no processo comunicativo na língua-alvo, recorrendo à análise dos erros produzidos enquanto objeto de estudo fundamental para o entendimento do processo de aprendizagem da língua-alvo (Lennon, 2008). De facto, os erros realizados pelos aprendentes ganharam uma nova perspetiva com a teoria da IL. Contrariamente à visão comportamentalista, na qual os erros eram tidos como elementos indesejados, a IL determina que os erros se constituem como elementos naturais da aprendizagem, dado que fornecem evidência de que os aprendentes se encontram a criar e a testar hipóteses, de uma forma sistemática, relativamente ao uso da nova língua (Gass e Selinker, 2008). Aliás, Lightbown e Spada (2008) sustentam que os erros na aprendizagem da língua são um dos indicadores mais relevantes do desenvolvimento do sistema de IL dos aprendentes de LE. Tendo isto como base, posicionamo-nos numa perspetiva prescritiva da gramática da língua e entendemos o conceito de erro enquanto qualquer desvio à norma do inglês padrão (Ellis e Barkhuizen, 2009).

Assim sendo, seguimos, neste trabalho, o modelo de AE iniciado com as reflexões desenvolvidas por Corder (1967; 1981), e posteriormente atualizado por Dagneaux et al. (1998), uma vez que o mesmo torna viável a identificação das áreas problemáticas e causadoras de dificuldades na aquisição de uma língua (Corder, 1967; 1981). De facto,

7 Importa clarificar o conceito de gramática prescritiva: «The kind of grammar-writing that determines the rules of the language by what is considered ‘good’ or ‘correct’ grammar.» (Leech, 2006: 92).
8 Greenbaum e Nelson apresentam uma definição de Inglês padrão, que apropriamos para a nossa pesquisa: «Standard English is the national dialect that generally appears in print. It is taught in schools, and students are expected to use it in their essays. It is the norm for dictionaries and grammars. We expect to find it in official printed communications, such as letters from government officials, solicitors, and accountants. We expect to hear it in national news broadcasts and documentary programmes on radio or television. Within each national variety the standard dialect is relatively homogeneous in grammar, vocabulary, spelling, and punctuation. [...] Standard English has prestige because people connect it with education and with higher-income groups.» (2002: 3-4).
esta abordagem tem sido alvo de um interesse renovado, especialmente em estudos baseados em *corpora* de aprendentes (Dagneaux et al., 1998; Granger, 2002), uma vez que permite desvendar particularidades importantes relativamente à produção do aprendente, especificamente em áreas de dificuldades recorrentes, e também evidencia como um *corpus* codificado pode ser utilizado como ferramenta de diagnóstico ao identificar os erros cometidos por grupos específicos de aprendentes (no nosso caso, futuros profissionais do Turismo). Assim sendo, esta análise permite também uma preparação mais sustentada dos programas das unidades curriculares de Inglês, assim como o desenvolvimento de materiais didáticos e a criação de ferramentas orientadas para a evolução da competência linguística dos aprendentes. Conscientes de que a abordagem comunicativa para o ensino das línguas coloca a ênfase na fluência, entendemos que a competência linguística não pode ser negligenciada no processo comunicativo. Com base nestes pressupostos, no âmbito do nosso estudo e no ensino-aprendizagem da língua enquanto meio de comunicação, consideramos o conhecimento da língua e do seu sistema de regras, utilizado para reconhecer e produzir estruturas de uma língua e aplicá-las de uma forma proficiente no processo comunicativo, um aspeto fundamental para alcançar os objetivos próprios da comunicação (Crystal, 2008). As circunstâncias tornam-se mais delicadas quando se trata do domínio da competência linguística na produção escrita. Tratando-se de futuros profissionais da indústria turística, encaramos o domínio da competência linguística em produção escrita como uma competência necessária a um desempenho profissional e competente no contexto profissional (Hu, 2014) e, por essa razão, de extrema importância para o contexto da aprendizagem de língua inglesa em sala de aula.

Dado que o conhecimento da concordância sujeito-verbo no *simple present* em língua inglesa desempenha um papel central no ensino-aprendizagem de LE (Granger, 1999), e que esta estrutura cria dificuldades acrescidas para aprendentes de nacionalidade portuguesa (Torre, 1985), os erros realizados neste contexto não podem ser descartados. Neste sentido, partimos da afirmação de Palmer para desenvolver este projeto: “learning a language is to a very large degree learning how to operate the verbal forms of that language.” (1997: 1).
3. Metodologia

Com base nos procedimentos metodológicos propostos por Corder (1967; 1981), Dagneaux et al. (1998) e Granger (1999; 2002), iniciámos a nossa pesquisa com a escolha do problema de investigação (a produção de erros de concordância sujeito-verbo na IL escrita de um grupo de alunos) e a seleção do contexto do estudo (uma escola superior de ensino politécnico). A população desta pesquisa corresponde à totalidade dos alunos portugueses que frequentaram a unidade curricular “Inglês I para Turismo” da Licenciatura em Turismo na Escola Superior de Gestão, Hotelaria e Turismo (Universidade do Algarve) no ano letivo 2010/2011 e é constituída por setenta alunos, sendo este o número de participantes que preencheram o questionário, realizaram o teste diagnóstico e produziram as duas tarefas escritas que compõem o corpus.

Os instrumentos de investigação utilizados neste estudo incluem um questionário do perfil sociolinguístico, construído e validado para o efeito, e o teste diagnóstico em língua inglesa Dialang, administrado com o propósito de aferir o nível de proficiência em língua inglesa dos aprendentes. De seguida, procedemos à compilação do corpus constituído por 140 textos expositivos em língua inglesa, com cerca de 150 palavras cada, escritos pelos alunos em dois semestres do ano letivo 2010/2011, com um total de cerca de 25 000 palavras. Na fase seguinte, elaborámos uma taxonomia de erros de concordância verbal com base na taxonomia para codificação do erro do Cambridge Learner Corpus (Nicholls, 2003) e procedemos à análise da totalidade das produções escritas e codificação manual dos erros de conjugação verbal por parte de um painel de peritos, tendo como base a taxonomia de erros adaptada. Finalmente, codificámos os erros no corpus digitalmente com apoio do software Markin e a análise dos dados foi realizada com o auxílio do programa informático Wordsmith (ferramentas Wordlist e Concord) (Scott, 2012).

Segundo Sinclair (2001), os corpora de pequenas dimensões são frequentemente utilizados em pesquisas relacionadas com o ensino-aprendizagem de línguas. Consoante o âmbito da investigação, é exeqüível proceder-se a análises a partir de um corpus representativo que possua 30 000 palavras ou menos.
4. Análise de resultados

O corpus em análise é composto por 140 textos expositivos.\(^\text{10}\) Pela sua natureza informativa e descritiva, o tempo verbal a utilizar neste tipo de texto é, convencionalmente, o *simple present*. Efetivamente verificamos ser esta a conjugação verbal mais frequente com um total de 1586 ocorrências. Deste total, destacamos 268 erros divididos por diferentes tipos conforme Tabela 1:

**Tabela 1: Ocorrências totais e tipos de erros – *simple present***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tipo de erros</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concordância sujeito-verbo</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>11,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escolha errada do tempo verbal</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formação do verbo</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordem de palavras</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formação da negativa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total de erros</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>16,9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ocorrências totais *simple present* = 1586

Por limitações de espaço, e conforme referido anteriormente, neste artigo decidimos apresentar unicamente a análise do erro na utilização do *simple present* que verificámos ter o maior número de ocorrências, ou seja, a concordância sujeito-verbo, com 182 ocorrências, representando 11,5% da totalidade de ocorrências corretas e erradas do *simple present* no corpus. Para efeitos de comparabilidade, na análise abaixo, estas 182 ocorrências passarão a ser consideradas 100% da categoria em análise.

4.1 Concordância sujeito-verbo – *simple present*

Enquanto palavra variável, o verbo tem como função exprimir uma ação ou um processo representado no tempo. Este processo, por sua vez, reporta-se a um ser ou a um objeto denominados de sujeito. A interdependência entre o sujeito e o verbo determina que este último esteja em concordância com o sujeito em número e pessoa

\(^{10}\) O corpus apresenta um total de 906 erros relativos às diferentes conjugações verbais em língua inglesa.
(Quirk et al., 1985), tratando-se este do mais importante tipo de concordância. Assim sendo, a concordância sujeito-verbo consiste numa relação estabelecida entre o substantivo ou pronome, constituintes do núcleo do sujeito, e o verbo, em torno do qual se estabelece o predicado.

A língua inglesa tem um sistema de concordância bastante reduzido se o comparaarmos, por exemplo, com a língua portuguesa. Os verbos regulares conjugados no *simple present* flexionam apenas para mostrar a concordância na 3.ª pessoa do singular, acrescentando –s ou –es para que o verbo concorde em número com o sujeito (travel/travels; watch/watches). Dado que o sujeito da frase determina o acordo, as formas verbais estão dependentes do sujeito ser singular ou plural.

Contudo, as circunstâncias que definem a utilização da inflexão da 3.ª pessoa do singular são, para alguns aprendentes, complexas dada a necessidade de identificação do co-texto e dos elementos que definem a concordância. A dificuldade no reconhecimento desta regra significa o insucesso na utilização correta do verbo e, consequentemente, na construção de frases corretas (Stapa e Izahar, 2010).

Sendo uma das estruturas introduzidas no início da aprendizagem de língua inglesa no currículo escolar português, mesmo assim, e apesar de a maioria dos participantes no estudo terem estudado a língua inglesa durante sete a nove anos (64,3% da população deste estudo), verificamos que os estudantes se deparam com dificuldades na produção da forma correta da estrutura. Tal vem ao encontro do já afirmado por Celce-Murcia e Larsen-Freeman: «In spite of the early introduction and superficially simple rules of the subject-verb agreement, they still pose problems for ESL learners at all levels or proficiency.» (1999: 10).

Ora, estes erros de concordância são indicadores do conhecimento incompleto ou da utilização incorreta das regras gramaticais da língua inglesa (Stapa e Izahar, 2010). Neste sentido, os erros de concordância entre o sujeito e o verbo são manifestações de que a IL destes aprendentes ainda não evoluiu para um estádio de desenvolvimento

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11 Quando comparado, por exemplo, com a concordância do nome, pronome ou determinante (Köhlmyr, 2003).

próximo do adquirido por um falante nativo\textsuperscript{13}, e estes erros acabam por se estabelecer como habituais e recorrentes na produção escrita de aprendentes de língua inglesa, como língua estrangeira (Quirk et al., 1985; Jovanovic, 2014).

4.2 Resultados gerais dos erros de concordância sujeito-verbo

De acordo com os valores apresentados na Tabela 1, 11,5% dos erros ocorrem na categoria da concordância verbal, no simple present. A grande ocorrência de erros nesta categoria foi, de facto, inesperada. Na língua inglesa, a flexão verbal na grande maioria dos verbos conjugados no simple present encontra-se circunscrita a um número muito limitado de formas. No entanto, na prática, esta categoria evidencia um número excessivo de erros, divergindo da suposta simplicidade que a caracteriza: “English verbal agreement is normally described as easy, simple, transparent, and straightforward” (O’Grady, 2006: 3). A sua aparente simplicidade é refutada pela complexidade e pela dificuldade evidenciadas pelos aprendentes de Inglês como LE no domínio do sistema e, também, pelo elevado número de estudos sobre este tema, confirmando que os erros de concordância contribuem para a grande percentagem de erros produzidos por aprendentes de língua inglesa (Wee et al, 2010; de Vos, 2013).

Tabela 2: Simple present - erros de concordância sujeito-verbo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Erros de concordância sujeito-verbo</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erros de omissão</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>41,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros de adição</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros de seleção - to be</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros de seleção - to have</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros de seleção - there to be</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGVSPR*</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* O código AGVSPR é representativo dos erros de concordância verbal (AGreement+Verb - AGV) no Simple PResent - SPR.

\textsuperscript{13}Conscientes das variedades linguísticas da língua inglesa, neste estudo entendemos o falante nativo enquanto utilizador do Inglês padrão.
Assim, a secção seguinte encontra-se dividida em três partes visto que os erros de concordância entre o sujeito e o verbo foram diferenciados de acordo com a taxonomia sugerida por Dulay et al. (1982): erros de omissão, erros de adição e erros de seleção, conforme Tabela 2. Sempre que possível tentámos igualmente fornecer possíveis causas para a ocorrência dos erros detetados, conscientes, tal como Gass e Selinker (2008), que a análise de dados compilados em investigações na área da aprendizagem de LE poderá apontar para resultados ambíguos. Cientes das limitações das interpretações feitas apenas com base nas produções escritas, o objetivo do nosso estudo nesta fase consiste na descrição dos padrões de erros que mais se destacaram.

4.2.1 Erros de omissão

Os erros de omissão ocorrem quando elementos obrigatórios são omitidos de um enunciado elaborado corretamente, sendo, com frequência, caracterizados pela omissão de morfemas gramaticais (Dulay et al., 1982; Wee et al., 2010).

A omissão do –s na 3.ª pessoa do singular do *simple present* constitui um erro frequente para aprendentes portugueses de língua inglesa (Torre, 1985), assim como para aprendentes de outras nacionalidades (ver nota 4), seja qual for o seu nível de proficiência. Aliás, Celce-Murcia e Larsen-Freeman (1999) identificaram a omissão da inflexão da 3.ª pessoa como uma das principais dificuldades na aprendizagem de língua inglesa. Dos dados apurados, verificamos que 76 dos erros de concordância se situam na omissão do -s na 3.ª pessoa do *simple present*, sendo, pois, a ocorrência mais elevada dos erros de concordância, o que, tal como destacado por Torre, “confirma que se trata de um tipo de erro extraordinariamente resistente” (1985: 363). Mesmo partindo do pressuposto de que, no que respeita ao desenvolvimento da competência gramatical, percepção e produção são capacidades diferentes, os resultados encontrados, como referimos acima, excederam as expectativas iniciais relativamente à frequência elevada da ocorrência dos erros detetados. Assumimos, no início deste estudo, que durante o seu percurso de aprendizagem, estes alunos já teriam o domínio das regras básicas do uso do sistema da língua inglesa e que o tipo de erros verificado teria já sido corrigido inúmeras vezes. Além disso, estes alunos foram ainda expostos a amostras de língua
correta nos manuais de ensino com os quais lidaram ao longo do processo formal de ensino da língua alvo.\textsuperscript{14}

Apresentam-se de seguida exemplos de erros retirados do corpus:

(1) *he AGVSPR say (S1.8, B1)\textsuperscript{15}
(2) *he AGVSPR care about (S1.24, A1)
(3) *It AGVSPR involve many things (S1.64, A2)
(4) *it AGVSPR prevent decline (S2.63, A2)

Neste primeiro grupo, o pronome pessoal não parece ser elemento suficiente para que a regra da concordância sujeito-verbo seja respeitada. O pronome pessoal não funcionou, nestes casos, como elemento facilitador que orientaria para a utilização da forma correta do verbo.

Nos exemplos seguintes, os participantes não consideraram a presença de um sujeito singular imediatamente antes da forma verbal e não procederam à adição do morfema –s na 3.ª pessoa do singular.

(5) *author AGVSPR say (S2.1, A2)
(6) *festival AGVSPR need (S2.9, B1)
(7) *Tourism AGVSPR sell dreams (S1.42, A1)
(8) *tourist AGVSPR like (S1.42, B1)

Um número mais limitado de erros ocorre com pronomes demonstrativos, dado serem menos comuns no corpus, como podemos observar nos exemplos que se seguem:

(9) *That AGVSPR contribute to better (S1.35, A2)
(10) *This AGVSPR offer to the tourist (S1.12, A2)


\textsuperscript{15} Os exemplos apresentados correspondem à transcrição rigorosa das produções escritas dos participantes do estudo. O primeiro código no final de cada exemplo corresponde à produção escrita no primeiro ou segundo semestre do ano letivo em estudo seguido do número da produção escrita. O segundo código corresponde ao nível de proficiência do aprendente de acordo com o software Dialang.
De seguida, apresentamos outra modalidade do mesmo erro. Estes exemplos envolvem a utilização dos pronomes indefinidos *everybody* e *everyone* que funcionam, frequentemente, como elementos de interferência na construção da pluralidade:

(11) *everybody AGVSPR travel* (S1.61, A2)
(12) *everyone AGVSPR have access* (S1.36, B1)

Os exemplos apresentados resultam de um sujeito propenso à produção de erros na categoria que apresentamos. O sujeito *everybody/everyone* é frequentemente entendido como sendo plural (eventualmente resultante da transferência da tradução do português) e, por essa razão, o verbo que segue este sujeito surge frequentemente sem o morfema –s. No entanto, a utilização de pronomes indefinidos como *everybody/everyone*, sendo singulares, obriga a utilização do verbo no singular.

Nos exemplos que se seguem, verificamos a utilização de um pronome relativo entre o sujeito e o verbo:

(13) *the world’s biggest industry, which AGVSPR allow us* (S1.13, B2)
(14) *someone who AGVSPR organise it* (S2.51, B2)

O verbo deve concordar com o pronome que, por sua vez, concorda com o sujeito, ou seja, a concordância é definida pela relação entre o pronome relativo, o sujeito que o antecede e o verbo. Nestes exemplos, e apesar da presença de um sujeito no singular, os aprendentes não aplicaram a regra de concordância e omitiram o –s.

Para descrever os erros de concordância que se seguem, Quirk et al. (1985) e, mais tarde, Biber et al. (2007) empregam o princípio da concordância por proximidade, também denominado de atração que, ao verificar-se, estabelece a tendência para o verbo concordar com o nome ou pronome mais próximos, apesar de não constituir o elemento principal do sujeito da frase. Os exemplos seguintes demonstram a distância linear entre o sujeito e o verbo e confirmam que, quando o sujeito e o verbo não se encontram adjacentes, dá-se a ocorrência de erros:

(15) *this kind of things AGVSPR need* (S2.2, A2)
(16) *Organization of huge events like festivals AGVSPR require* (S2.56, B1)
Para os aprendentes, nem sempre é fácil identificar o sujeito da frase. A distância entre o sujeito e o verbo leva o aprendente a negligenciar o número do sujeito uma vez que o substantivo ou o pronome mais próximos, visto estarem linearmente junto ao verbo, funcionam como um elemento de atração (Duffield, 2012; Johansson, 2012).

Observamos, a seguir, um exemplo no qual dois verbos partilham o mesmo sujeito:

(17) *A festival CSPR\textsuperscript{16} is an event that AGVSPR involve people (S2.64, A2)

A partir deste exemplo, julgamos poder inferir que este aprendente consegue fazer a concordância entre o sujeito e o verbo de uma forma parcialmente bem-sucedida, contudo, não o faz com todos os verbos da frase, aludindo, mais uma vez, ao princípio da proximidade. Apuramos que o seu conhecimento dessa regra de concordância se manifesta somente no início da frase, principalmente com a utilização do verbo to be e que, posteriormente, é anulada no uso de verbos que se encontram mais afastados do sujeito, levando à realização do erro e confirmando o que Torre (1985: 365) havia já afirmado: «a proximidade do sujeito é uma condição importante para que os aprendentes cumpram corretamente as regras da concordância».

Os fatores associados à realização deste erro são, de alguma forma, de difícil interpretação. Se, por um lado, a concordância verbal do simple present é encarada como sendo demasiado simples (Franck et al., 2002), na medida em que são poucas as alterações a serem efetuadas, na realidade, e como já vimos acima, verificamos tratar-se de um erro frequente e resistente. A regra da 3.ª pessoa do singular no simple present em língua inglesa parece ser entendida pelos aprendentes como redundante e dispensável. De facto, verificamos que os aprendentes utilizam frequentemente as formas sem inflexão dos verbos como forma de simplificação das regras da língua-alvo, aplicando a regra mais genérica a todas as pessoas, incluindo a 3.ª pessoa do singular. Esta estratégia implica a ampliação da generalidade das regras ao aumentarem a diversidade das aplicações, rejeitando regras cuja aplicabilidade seja limitada. Neste sentido, os aprendentes envolvem-se na construção de uma gramática conveniente, isto é, uma gramática constituída por um número mínimo de regras que são aplicadas na maior variedade possível de circunstâncias (Wee et al., 2010).

\textsuperscript{16}O código CSPR significa a utilização correta (Correct) do Simple PResent (SPR).
4.2.2 Erros de adição do morfema –s

Os erros de adição ocorrem quando elementos desnecessários, ou marcadores redundantes, são adicionados a um enunciado formado corretamente (Dulay et al., 1982; Wee et al., 2010). Relativamente a esta subcategoria, há a registar 33 ocorrências (ver Tabela 2), das quais selecionámos os seguintes exemplos:

(18) *Festivals also AGVSPR requires a considerable (S2.3, B2)
(19) *This events AGVSPR involves many people (S2.39, A2)
(20) *If all these procedures AGVSPR goes well (S2.10, B2)
(21) *The tourists AGVSPR looks at holidays (S1.57, A2)

Estes aprendentes inclinam-se para uma utilização excessiva da inflexão –s como marcador do plural17, ou seja, na tentativa de pluralizar os verbos, os aprendentes acrescentam a inflexão -s estrategicamente, de maneira a fazê-los concordar com o sujeito plural.

A utilização de determinados substantivos pode criar dificuldades na realização da concordância entre o sujeito e o verbo, como no caso do substantivo people. Uma vez que se trata de um nome irregular plural, mas sem a inflexão –s marcadora do plural, implica a utilização do verbo na sua forma plural. Observemos alguns exemplos:

(22) *people AGVSPR goes (S2.50, A1)
(23) *people AGVSPR looks at them (S1.26, B2)
(24) *people that AGVSPR arrives (S2.38, A2)
(25) *People AGVSPR has more and more informations (S1.44, B1)

Apesar de incluirmos a listagem dos erros ocorridos neste tipo de concordância, inferimos que o facto de terem errado a forma verbal deriva não somente da falta de competência dos aprendentes relativamente às regras de concordância (Duffield, 2012), mas também de uma apreciação errada dos elementos que têm a função de sujeito na frase. Apesar de assumirmos que a causa do erro poderá não estar subjacente à forma verbal, é nesta que o erro se verifica, legitimando a inclusão nesta categoria de erros.

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17 Em inglês, tal como em português, a regra geral para a construção do plural consiste na adição do morfema –s.
Na generalidade dos casos, quer os erros de omissão quer os de adição não afetam o sentido genérico da frase nem a compreensão da mensagem, sobretudo se se tratar de um discurso mais informal, como diálogos ou conversas privada, uma vez que este tipo de erro opera ao nível da frase e dos seus constituintes. Todavia, em diversas situações linguísticas, das quais destacamos o contexto académico ou profissional, são exigidas a utilização correta e proficiente das estruturas gramaticais.

### 4.2.3 Erros de seleção

Os erros de seleção ocorrem quando o aprendente seleciona as formas erradas dos verbos ao invés das corretas. Este tipo de erro é frequente quando se tratam de erros de concordância entre o sujeito e o verbo, isto é, quando o aprendente aplica a forma errada do verbo. Apresentamos, abaixo, os três exemplos mais frequentes: to be, to have e there to be.

#### 4.2.3.1 To be

O verbo to be pode colocar dificuldades acrescidas na medida em que é constituído por três formas não relacionadas ortograficamente (am, is, are) ao invés das duas da conjugação dos restantes verbos no simple present. Vejamos alguns exemplos:

(26) *a Festival AGVSPR are an event (S2.53, A2)
(27) *the flight AGVSPR are more frequently (S1.62, B1)
(28) *Festivals AGVSPR is a good event (S2.16, A2)
(29) *Packages AGVSPR is a very good arrangement (S1.12, A2)

No nosso corpus, a utilização do verbo to be apresenta resultados inesperados em vários co-textos e níveis de proficiência, perfazendo 45 dos erros de concordância no simple present (ver Tabela 2). O número considerável de ocorrências deste tipo de erro parece evidenciar o desconhecimento desta conjugação verbal para um número elevado de aprendentes e referencia-se como uma área problemática na aprendizagem da língua inglesa destes aprendentes. Por outro lado, julgamos que uma parte significativa destas ocorrências poderá também estar associada a faltas de atenção na aplicação do verbo.
4.2.3.2 To have

Tratando-se da utilização do verbo to have, as circunstâncias são semelhantes às apresentadas acima. Os aprendentes parecem omitir a inflexão da 3.ª pessoa do singular has e utilizam a forma have indistintamente, levando a que este erro atinja as 23 ocorrências (ver Tabela 2). No nosso corpus, os aprendentes realizaram erros tais como:

(30) *Tourism AGVSPR have many services (S1.12, A2)
(31) *a tourist AGVSPR have a lot of options (S1.45, B1)
(32) *our hotels AGVSPR has very good condition (S1.35, A2)
(33) *The resorts AGVSPR has good accommodations (S1.27, A2)

A ocorrência de erros do verbo to have contrariou também as expectativas iniciais por razões semelhantes às evocadas anteriormente. Efetivamente, quer o verbo to be quer o verbo to have fazem parte dos currículos escolares logo desde as etapas iniciais da aprendizagem da língua inglesa dado tratarem-se de verbos irregulares, introduzidos logo de início para ensinar áreas de comunicação do quotidiano como informação pessoal, etc. e também necessários para a construção de tempos verbais compostos. Olhando a estas circunstâncias, esperaríamos que a aplicação destes dois verbos estivesse consolidada praticamente na sua totalidade à entrada do ensino superior.

4.2.3.3 There to be

Esta categoria apresenta a incidência mais baixa, com apenas cinco ocorrências. Todavia, mesmo nestas, observamos que os aprendentes não tiveram em consideração que o verbo to be terá que concordar com o nome subsequente (Biber et al., 2007; Johansson, 2012). Os exemplos que se seguem são ilustradores deste tipo de erro:

(34) *AGVSPR there is a lot of travel agencies (S1.4, B1)
(35) *AGVSPR there is many areas (S1.6, B1)
(36) *AGVSPR There is two types of festivals (S2.29, A2)
A utilização de expressões/lexemas como a lot of, many e two sempre que o aprendente utiliza o verbo there to be poderia verificar-se como fator facilitador de um uso correto desta regra, tanto que o substantivo que se segue às expressões referidas tomam a forma plural. Assim sendo, também o verbo o deveria fazer. Consideramos que o aprendente não flexiona o verbo em número e utiliza-o indiferentemente talvez por essa distinção não existir na sua LM. Este tipo de erro parece, pois, indiciar a influência da LM na medida em que o equivalente em língua portuguesa será o verbo haver que é unicamente aplicado na sua forma singular há, condição que parece ter sido transferida para a língua inglesa.

4.3 Erros de concordância vs. níveis de proficiência

Tendo sido clarificadas as dificuldades de concordância sujeito-verbo, será agora útil analisarmos como os erros são distribuídos pelos vários níveis de proficiência. Ao estabelecermos uma correlação entre os erros e os níveis dos aprendentes, verificamos que os desvios de concordância ocorrem em todos os níveis de proficiência e que mesmo aprendentes com um nível de proficiência elevado realizam este tipo de erro mais frequentemente que o esperado.

De maneira a fornecer uma imagem mais abrangente dos erros realizados, tendo como base os níveis de proficiência dos aprendentes, os resultados de cada grupo irão ser apresentados separadamente em dois grupos diferentes: A1/A2 e B1/B2. Estes resultados foram recolhidos e comparados com o objetivo de descrever as principais particularidades de cada um dos grupos. A Tabela 3 mostra a distribuição sistemática dos erros realizados pelos aprendentes que compõem cada grupo.

O conjunto de aprendentes que compõem o nível A1/A2 representa 41,4% (n=29) da totalidade dos participantes e a sua performance global de erros de concordância corresponde a uma média de 3,5 erros por aluno, com a média de 1,4 erros de omissão da inflexão –s por aluno; a ocorrência de erros de adição da inflexão –s é de 0,4 erros por aluno e da seleção do verbo to be é de 1,2 erros por aluno. Os erros de seleção do verbo to have e do verbo there to be apresentam 0,3 e 0,1 de média de erros por aluno respectivamente.
Tabela 3: Erros de concordância no *simple present* vs. níveis de proficiência dos aprendentes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AGVSPR - A1/A2</th>
<th>AGVSPR - B1/B2</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.º de participantes</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>41,4</td>
<td>58,6</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total de erros concordância sujeito-verbo</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros por aluno</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td>2,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omissão do -s</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros por aluno</td>
<td>1,4</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>1,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adição do -s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros por aluno</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seleção - <em>to be</em></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros por aluno</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seleção - <em>to have</em></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros por aluno</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seleção - <em>there to be</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erros por aluno</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Os quarenta e um alunos no grupo de nível B1/B2 apresentam menos 20 erros do que o grupo anterior, com uma média de 2,0 erros por aluno, o que de qualquer forma revela a dificuldade de estes alunos utilizarem adequadamente o *simple present*, uma vez que cada texto apresenta uma média de 22,6 ocorrências desta estrutura. Ao observarmos os erros de seleção realizados com o verbo *to be*, verificamos que atinge as 0,2 ocorrências por aluno. Conforme podemos verificar, a omissão do –s é a segunda categoria com maior expressão, totalizando 0,8 ocorrências por aluno. Com efeito, de acordo com o QECRL (2001), seria expectável que estes aprendentes dominassem estas duas subcategorias praticamente na sua totalidade. Neste sentido, consideramos que estes erros são provavelmente devidos ao fenómeno de fossilização (Selinker, 1972; 1992).

5. Considerações finais

A análise da IL deste grupo de aprendentes, nomeadamente a partir da definição do seu nível de proficiência e da identificação dos erros de concordância verbal mais frequentes em produção escrita, evidencia a diversidade dos erros de concordância.
sujeito-verbo realizados e em que medida se encontram distribuídos pelos vários níveis de proficiência. Apurámos que estes erros são mais frequentes nos níveis de proficiência mais elementares, sendo, no entanto, transversais aos outros níveis de proficiência dos participantes do estudo.

Globalmente, verificamos a tendência dos aprendentes para a realização de erros de omissão do morfema –s e erros de seleção do verbo to be. Ao confrontar os erros com os níveis dos aprendentes, os resultados demonstram que estes aprendentes portugueses ainda manifestam dificuldades na realização da estrutura em estudo, mesmo quando a maioria estudou a língua inglesa durante cerca de sete a nove anos antes de ingressarem num curso de ensino superior. Consideramos que, especialmente no nível B1/B2, os erros de concordância são demasiado resistentes, o que nos leva a considerar que poderão ser alvo de fossilização e que não serão de erradicação fácil. No entanto, para confirmarmos este fenómeno, teríamos que proceder a uma análise mais detalhada para verificar até que ponto os mesmos alunos realizam consistentemente os mesmos erros.

Neste sentido, confiramos que os erros na estrutura de concordância sujeito-verbo são manifestações de que a IL destes aprendentes ainda não evoluiu para um estádio semelhante ao da língua-alvo. Aliás, o elevado número de ocorrências deste tipo de erro é consistente com os resultados obtidos em estudos previamente mencionados, corroborando a tendência para a realização deste erro quer da população portuguesa (Torre, 1985), quer de populações de outros países (Köhlmyr, 2003; Chen et al., 2007; Stapa e Izahar, 2010; Johansson, 2012; Wahyudi, 2012; Jovanovic, 2014). Concentrando-nos no contexto nacional, a persistência destes resultados leva-nos a inferir que pouco tem mudado relativamente às estratégias de ensino que abordam esta problemática do ensino-aprendizagem de língua inglesa nos últimos trinta anos. Outras questões se colocam tendo como base os dados apresentados, designadamente se os erros realizados surgem porque o aprendente não assimilou a estrutura linguística ou porque não foi dedicada a atenção necessária durante o processo escrito. Efetivamente tratam-se de circunstâncias que implicam a aplicação de estratégias de superação bastante distintas.

Ora, os dados aqui apresentados fazem parte de um estudo mais abrangente que inclui a análise de todos os erros de conjugação verbal. É neste enquadramento que
consideramos que o estudo na sua totalidade vai contribuir para uma compreensão mais profunda do processo de ensino-aprendizagem de língua inglesa enquanto LE. A partir dos resultados desta pesquisa, poderão ser delineadas estratégias de ensino orientadas para as dificuldades recorrentemente manifestadas por esta população, de modo a tornar a sua produção escrita profissional mais proficiente, contribuindo, assim, para uma carreira bem-sucedida na indústria do turismo (Simion, 2012). De facto, ser capaz de comunicar por escrito em LE de uma forma proficiente com todos os interlocutores externos da indústria, particularmente no caso do turismo, constitui um aspeto valorizado e relevante para a imagem externa de qualquer empresa, além de constituir um indicador do empenho, competência e professionalismo dos seus colaboradores (Hu, 2014).

Referências bibliográficas


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