The Language of Tourists in English and Italian Travel Blogs and Trip Reports: a Corpus-based Analysis

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Abstract

Over the last few decades there has been wide interest in linguistic and cultural mediation in tourist communication as a result of the growth of global tourism. Linguistic research in this field has mainly focused on the linguistic features of mediatised representations, such as brochures, websites and guidebooks. It is only very recently that some scholars have started to discuss the contribution of traveller-generated content to the linguistic and cultural mediation in the language of tourism. This study explores the language used by ordinary travellers through a corpus-based analysis of travel blogs and trip reports to show to what extent the 'tourist gaze' is shaped and mediatised by the tourist industry and how tourism can emerge through tourists' mediated actions and remediated practices. The results also demonstrate that what tourists actually do and gaze at a site may be used to mediate tourist texts across different cultures.

Keywords: cultural mediation, insiders, linguistic mediation, outsiders, tourist gaze, travel blogs, trip reports.

1. Introduction

The notion of 'mediation' as "a symbolic space for interplay and negotiation" (Agorni 2012, 10) is the main feature of the language of tourism (Castello 2002; Gotti 2006; Nigro 2006; Manca 2008, 2011 and 2012).

Following Agorni (2012), the strength of tourism communication lies in its capacity to develop a language that meets the needs of a number of components: (a) thematic components, due to the fact that different disciplinary fields and professional domains, such as economics, marketing, sociology, history, geography to mention just a few, are included in this field; and (b) communicative components, as any type of tourist communication entails an efficient use of language in order to mediate across cultures (D'Egidio 2009 and 2014; Katan 2012; Manca 2012) and promote geographical areas and, especially in translation, to overcome linguistic, social and cultural barriers.

Over the last decade, the concept of linguistic and cultural mediation in tourism discourse has mainly been explored in those genres with a more or less overt promotional intent, such as brochures, websites and guidebooks (Cappelli 2006; Nigro 2006; Francesconi 2007 and 2014; Manca 2011). In particular, Francesconi (2014) points out that the travel industry uses brochures, websites and guidebooks as tools for cultural mediation to exert power over tourists. As a result, tourist actions are mediatised across a range of commercial and commodified practices of representation (e.g. brochures). This is evident when tourists enact and embody the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011). Indeed, tourists arrive at a place with already-framed narratives in their minds (Francesconi 2012) turning their gaze on extraordinary, distinctive and unusual objects and places they have already heard or read about. The mediatised tourist gaze, hence, "enacts all the individual tourist expectations, experiences and memories" (Francesconi 2014, 76). Furthermore, tourist actions at a site mediate the site itself through the observations of other tourists' behaviour or the act of taking photos of the site (Thurlow and Jaworski 2014). These mediated actions are, in turn, digitally remediated when tourists decide to share their experiences by narrating them on the Internet.

This study investigates the embodied tourist gaze, i.e. what tourists actually do and gaze at when visiting a tourist site and how they evaluate it, by exploring the language used by travel bloggers and trip reporters writing in English and Italian. The aim is to show to what extent "the model of perception tourists adopt while performing the practice of sightseeing" (Francesconi 2007, 47) is shaped and mediatised by the tourist industry, and to gain insights into how tourism can emerge through tourists' mediated actions and remediated practices.

2. Travel blogs and trip reports: two genres to identify the tourist gaze

With the evolution of technology traditional forms of travel narratives have yielded to digital story-telling in the form of individual travel blogs and trip reports published on various public blog hosting websites or online travel communities, such as *TravelPod*, *TravelBlog*, *YourTravelJournal*, *RealTravel*, *TravelPost*, *Igougo*, *VirtualTourist*; and in Italian, *Turistipercaso*, *Paesionline* and *ViaggiScoop*. These new forms of travel writing allow travellers to share and leave a record of their travel experience, and include multi-media materials, such as photos and videos. Although there is an increasing number of people writing and sharing travel-related content online, very few studies have so far focused on the linguistic analysis of travel user-generated content (Orlando 2009; Fina 2011; Cappelli 2012) or shed light on its impact on tourism as a form of remediation of ordinary, personal experiences into shared public sphere (Thurlow and Jaworski 2014).

Travel blogs and trip reports have been brought together in this study because they share several common features. First, they are initiated at the tourist destination and published on the road or, in a few cases, when the holiday is over. Second, they are personal accounts spontaneously written for the benefit of other travellers or future travellers. Tourists write their travel blogs or trip reports without being influenced by others and they are not forced to follow any criteria for publication. Freedom and spontaneity in the act of writing may make travel blogs and trip reports a more reliable source of information on real travel experiences than guidebooks or brochures, which are mainly written with promotional purposes in mind. Linguistically speaking, it is not surprising that in travel blogs and trip reports the narration is in the first person (plural or singular). Furthermore, as already pointed out by Cappelli (2006), positive and negative evaluative expressions are also very common in both genres and convey the writer's subjectivity regarding the various aspects of the destination and holiday in general, and the traveller's cultural needs and expectations.

Travel bloggers and trip reporters have been considered "unmediated witnesses to the events, places, services or facilities they describe" and evaluate (Francesconi 2014, 64). But, inevitably, when narrating their experiences they tend to remediate both "pre-figured, mediatised representations and embodied, mediated actions" (Thurlow and Jaworski 2014, 471).

3. Corpora and methodology

This study presents the preliminary findings of a wider research project on on-trip genres of tourism discourse, focusing on Florence as a case study. The current project, in particular, seeks to demonstrate the mutual interplay between mediatised representations of tourist destinations and tourists' mediated actions when remediating them in the form of travel blogs and trip reports. More specifically, it reports on the analysis of the tourist gaze in six comparable corpora of travel blogs and trip reports describing itineraries in Italy and published between 2000 to 2013 on public blog hosting websites or online travel communities, and written by Italians (insiders), and by American, British, Australian, Canadian travellers and non-native speakers of English (outsiders). Only travel blogs and trip reports published by travellers who specified their nationality on their public profile were included in the corpora. *Table 1* provides a summary of the composition of the corpora in terms of running words and number of writers.

Table 1. – Composition of the six corpora.

Profile	Number of writers	Running words
Americans	101	562,805
British	28	159,229
Australians	27	117,667
Canadians	18	153,397
Non-native speakers of English	33	220,502
Italians	89	121,574

The linguistic analysis was carried out by means of Wordsmith Tools 6.0 (Scott 2012), a suite of integrated software programmes. Before compiling word frequency lists, specific stop lists were made to filter out function words and other non-desired words in order to avoid raw wordlists. Lemma lists were also applied to automatically recognise all the inflected forms of each word. The English lemma list[1] currently contains 40,569 words and 14,762 lemma groups. It is not complete, but will suffice for

[1] This list was compiled by Yasumasa Someya in 1998 and is freely available online at http://www.lexically.net/downloads/BNC_wordlists/e_lemma.txt [30/11/2014].

the purpose of this study. The Italian lemma list, instead, was adapted from a lexicon created by Zanchetta and Baroni (2005) and comprises 506,827 word forms and 31,955 lemmas. For the purpose of this study, POS tags were automatically deleted and the text format of the lemma list was converted to be readable by WordSmith 6.0.

Subsequently, two word frequency lists for each corpus were generated. The first one was useful to identify the most frequently occurring words used to describe and comment on the whole itinerary in Italy; whereas to compile the second one we first selected the descriptions about Florence and created sub-corpora for each corpus. The concordance lines for each of the words chosen in the six corpora and sub-corpora were retrieved and classified, using Bianchi's terminology (2007 and 2010), for *conceptual domains* (higher level, broader categories) and *semantic fields* (lower level, more fine-grained categories), each time primed by the data.

Qualitative as well as quantitative analyses were performed, at the level of both semantic fields and conceptual domains. By qualitative analyses we mean manually scanning the corpora multiple times to take account of more distant collocates which helped identify further comments and positive or negative evaluations of the items being analysed.

4. Data analysis and preliminary findings

4.1. *The statue of David: a mediatised site?*

The analysis initially focused on the David, the giant marble statue sculpted by the Italian artist Michelangelo which is one of Florence's most popular attractions. It started with the investigation of the concordance lines for 'David' from the wordlists of the sub-corpora only describing the travel experience in Florence. The choice to focus on the statue of David was guided by the fact that it is among the first 100 content words in each wordlist and therefore can be considered as one of the most gazed upon landmarks.

As a result of the analysis of the expressions used to comment on the David four conceptual domains were created: appearance, emotions, do orientation and knowledge. The lemmas in the conceptual domain appearance can be subdivided into three semantic fields, namely *size*, *material* and *details*. The conceptual domain emotions includes words or expressions used in reference to the *awe* aroused by the statue, whereas as part of the broader category do orientation comments on the chance of

taking *pictures* were identified. Finally, the conceptual domain KNOWLEDGE includes words or expressions related to the other statues displayed in the museum.

Generally speaking, lemmas or expressions referring to the judgment of appearance are a very important group, in that the gazing process (Urry 2002) is what constitutes tourism. To put it differently, the first contact tourists have with foreign places and people, i.e. the *Other*, is visual. As Thurlow and Jaworski explain, "the *embodied* gaze [...] necessarily include sight" (Thurlow and Jaworski 2014, 483), being sight "the noblest of the senses, the most [...] reliable of the sensuous mediators between humans and their physical environment" (Urry 2002, 146). People and places are thus captured, consumed and judged visually by tourists, partly as a result of their mediatised tourist gaze.

The analysis of the concordance lines for 'David' suggests that both the insiders and outsiders focus on the *size* of the statue but with a different frequency and in a different way, as shown in *Table 2*.

Table 2. – Semantic field of 'size'.

	Insiders		Outsiders			
APPEARANCE	IT	AM	UK	AUS	CAN	NON-NAT
Size	24%	32%	39%	31%	54%	35%

Table 2 illustrates that the outsiders tend to comment more on the *size* of the statue than insiders. What is most interesting is that the outsiders often specify how tall the David is as in examples (1) to (4) below. Conversely, very few cases of expressions referring to the precise height of the David were found in the Italian corpus, and in these few cases, the insiders almost always resort to adjectives such as *imponente* (imposing) and *colossale* (majestic), as in (5) and (6), hence contributing to the overall impression that travel bloggers and reporters writing in Italian tend to be more vague and less precise.

(1) It's about 15 feet tall and huge (AM_Corpus).
(2) He was bigger, taller than I had expected standing 4 metres high (AUS_Corpus).
(3) I've seen pictures before, but didn't realize that the statue is about 3 times my height! (CAN_Corpus).
(4) I didn't think he was that big (13 feet tall...) (NON-NAT_Corpus).
(5) Per ammirare l'imponente David di Michelangelo (IT_Corpus).
(6) L'immenso e colossale David (IT_Corpus).

Furthermore, as part of the collocational profile of 'David', the expression *block of marble* was noted in all the six corpora. The number of occurrences related to the material used by Michalangelo is however generally higher in the English corpora, as illustrated in *Table 3*.

Table 3. – Semantic field of 'material'.

	Insiders			Outsiders		
appearance	IT	AM	UK	AUS	CAN	NON-NAT
Material	9%	32%	30%	50%	34%	64%

The automated and manual investigation of the concordance lines shows that the outsiders tend to be more detailed and itemised than the insiders. The *details* mentioned are pervasive in the English corpora and include comments on the parts of the David's body, as in (7) to (11). On the contrary, no occurrences of such details were found in the Italian corpus.

(7) The best example of this (in our opinion) was the detail of the veins in the right hand and the lack of veins in the left hand (AM_Corpus).
(8) David, naked in near totality (excepting the leather sling clutched nonchalantly over his left shoulder) (UK_Corpus).
(9) His wavy, curly hair, smooth face and eyes that stared blankly back at the crowd (AUS_Corpus).
(10) I was absolutely taken back by the amount of detail present in this tall man. His hand clearly had the hard knuckles of a strong man and were laced with thick veins which ran throughout the rest of his body. His muscles were immaculate and no detail was forgotten. (CAN_Corpus).
(11) It is so detailed, with veins on his arms. The muscles on his legs [...] (NON-NAT_Corpus).

The choice of the outsiders to dedicate so much space to the size of the statue and the description of details might be interpreted with the fact, as Urry (2002, 12) points out, that the tourist gaze is mediatised and leads them to turn their gaze on unique objects, which are "famous for being famous" and out-of-the-ordinary, particular signs, which tell them that what they are looking at is extraordinary and worth seeing, or unfamiliar aspects not typically encountered in everyday life. Evidently, the statue of David is so heavily mediatised in guidebooks that it affects the outsiders' embodied tourist gaze and leads the outsider tourists to be more emotive than the insiders in their narrations, as can be noticed in *Table 4*.

Table 4. – Semantic field of 'awe'.

	Insiders		Outsiders			
emotions	IT	AM	UK	AUS	CAN	NON-NAT
Awe	21%	46%	31%	31%	58%	39%

The tourist gaze on distinctive and unusual objects, which seems to be carefully constructed and mediatised by the tourist industry, in turn, helps create anticipations in tourists about what they will encounter during their trips. Consequently, it is not surprising that expressions referring to the *wow-factor* occur more frequently in the English corpora than in the Italian one. Examples (12) to (22) below exemplify some of the many awe-related expressions found in the six corpora:

(12) Ci fa rimanere proprio a bocca aperta (IT_Corpus).
(13) It was a very emotional experience (AM_Corpus).
(14) It was one hour spent in awe (AM_Corpus).
(15) Immediately you are awe-struck by David (AM_Corpus).
(16) Truly amazing (UK_Corpus).
(17) I remember being in awe of the statue (AUS_Corpus).
(18) Impressive (AUS_Corpus).
(19) I sat mesmerized by the statue (CAN_Corpus).
(20) It left me quite speechless (NON-NAT_Corpus).
(21) I am surprised (NON-NAT_Corpus).
(22) What an impressive statue (NON-NAT_Corpus).

As a result, for the outsiders the David is more of an icon than it is for the insiders. Travelling abroad with a higher mediatised tourist culture or model of reality, the outsiders show a higher degree of emotional intensity due to their expectations. Examples (23) to (30) illustrate the sentences used by the outsiders to describe how (and why) the statue exceeded their expectations:

(23) Almost breath-taking in person (AM_Corpus).
(24) Whatever you have seen in books doesn't prepare you for the moment that you walk into the room (AM_Corpus).
(25) You think it looks awesome in photos, right? And it does, but: it is even MORE amazing in person (AM_Corpus).
(26) [...] is outstanding when seen in person (AUS_Corpus).
(27) He was bigger, taller than I had expected (AUS_Corpus).
(28) I've seen pictures before, but didn't realize that the statue is about three times my height! I'm not sure why I thought it was smaller (CAN_Corpus).

(29) I didn't realize until today that it's about four metres tall (CAN_Corpus).
(30) I didn't think he was that big (NON-NAT_Corpus).

As mentioned earlier, as part of the broader category DO ORIENTATION, comments on the chance of taking *pictures* were retrieved. The data (summarised in *Table 5*) demonstrate that the outsiders tend to mention the chance they had or not to take pictures much more frequently than the travel bloggers and reporters writing in Italian.

Table 5. – Conceptual domains of DO ORIENTATION.

	Insiders		Outsiders			
DO ORIENTATION	IT	AM	UK	AUS	CAN	NON-NAT
Pictures	23%	45%	31%	31%	57%	36%

In line with Orlando (2009) and Katan's (2012) conclusions that Italian travel bloggers focus more on 'what there is' rather than 'what to do' (Katan 2012, 92), the data above seem to confirm that Anglo-American people focus more on *Do*, on actions and activities than Italians. In our study, this conclusion can also be extended to the Australian and Canadian travellers and non-native speakers of English, as all the outsiders seem to share the *Do* pattern, which Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) classify in terms of an orientation activity and Katan (2012, 92) argues to be "at the base of many culture-bound appropriate or natural ways of perceiving the world". Therefore, this part of the data seems to suggest that the tourist gaze at a site can not only be affected by mediatised representations but also by cultural variables.

Interestingly, even though not allowed to, most of the outsiders took photos, as in (31) to (34). This might be interpreted with the fact that photography is a form of visual representation and perception and a way to record reality (Urry 2002). The need to take pictures can also be explained with the tendency of tourists to replicate those pictures seen on guidebooks or websites that have shaped and mediatised their gaze (Francesconi 2014). Also, in view of the fact that the David is perceived as a unique object, when going back home, probably their aim is to demonstrate proof of their visit to an extraordinary and unfamiliar sight. In other words, out-of-the-ordinariness and unfamiliarity are the main aspects that the outsiders associate with the David.

(31) You are not even allowed to take a picture of the statue, but I did anyway. (cuz I'm sneaky like that!) (AM_Corpus).
(32) As usual in Italy no photography is actually permitted within the Academia either. So aside from a few 'sneakies' (UK_Corpus).
(33) Got my illegal photo of the Statue of David (AUS_Corpus).
(34) Tons of people sneaking illegal photographs (Ness got some great ones) (CAN_Corpus).

Finally, the analysis of the collocational profile of 'David' suggests that more than 20% of the outsiders focus on the context, i.e. the museum, in which the David is. They show their KNOWLEDGE about the other works by Michelangelo, commenting on the other statues, known as the 'Unfinished Prisoners', which are displayed in the museum. As pointed out by Urry and Larsen (2011) in their analysis of the places, such as museums, which are shaped through the different forms of the mediatised tourist gaze, this might depend on the fact that emphasis is no longer only being placed on great works of art.

Comments on the museum, on the other hand, do not feature prominently in the Italian corpus: less than 10% of insiders deal with this aspect. In order to confirm the tendency of the outsiders displaying their knowledge, we investigated the lexico-collocational profile of another element of attraction in Florence, namely the Ponte Vecchio. For this reason, only occurrences in which reference to historical information was made were retrieved, as shown in examples (35) to (38). As could be expected, they are considerably more frequent in the English corpora (more than 20%) than in the Italian corpus (only 4%).

(35) The bridge over the Arno built in 1345. The bridge used to be populated by grocery and meat stalls, but in 1593 the Medicis, the ruling family of Florence (AM_Corpus).
(36) This bridge was built in 1345 and is the only bridge over the Arno that wasn't destroyed during the second world war (UK_Corpus).
(37) This bridge was built in 1345 and was lucky to survive the retreating Nazi's decision to destroy all of Florence's bridges. The shops built upon the bridge have been occupied by jewellers since 1593 to this date (AUS_Corpus).
(38) The bridge was the only bridge which the German troops didn't destroy when they retreated from the city during the Second World War – they did destroy the buildings (NON-NAT_Corpus).

4.2. *'Tourist' vs. 'Local'*

This section explores the way travel bloggers and trip reporters perceive and what they think about other tourists and the 'tourees' (Dann 2007), e.i. the local people. The latter group has generally been forgotten by the media and by the official tourist gaze (Dann 2007; Francesconi 2014). This part of the analysis seeks to demonstrate that remediating practices (e.g. travel blogs and trip reports) are useful tools to also understand tourists' subjectivity regarding the various aspects of the destination and holiday in general, and their cultural needs and expectations.

We investigated the concordance lines for the lemmas *tourist/turista* and *local* from the wordlists of the corpora describing the whole itinerary in Italy. Concordance lines for the lemma *tourist* were divided into negative and neutral evaluative categories in a subjective way. Generally speaking, the outsiders seem to perceive more negatively the high number of tourists they encounter in Italian tourist destinations, and tend to be more disappointed by the tourist factor or crowds of tourists than insiders. As a result, most of the outsider bloggers and reporters tried to get off the beaten track (away from tourists) to discover authentic places. What prevails in the Italian corpus is the neutral perception. The analysis of the lemma *turista*[2] suggested that the insiders mention the presence of other tourists (but they are not annoyed by their presence) and underline the fact that the visited place is a must-see destination for tourists. *Table 6* summarises the results of how the insider and outsider travellers perceive the presence of the other tourists.

Table 6. – How insiders and outsiders perceive other tourists.

		Negative perception	Neutral perception
Outsiders	Americans	57%	43%
	British	71%	29%
	Australians	62%	38%
	Canadians	60%	40%
	Non-native speakers of English	64%	36%
Insiders	Italians	26%	74%

[2] In English the lemma *tourist* includes both the adjective and noun inflected in the plural, whereas in Italian the lemma *turista* does not include the adjective.

As observed in Table 6, American tourists seem to perceive less negatively the tourist aspect of Italian destinations than the other outsider tourists. However, the English lemma list also included the inflected form *touristy* as belonging to the lemma *tourist*. According to *Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary of English* (2012, 1657), "if you describe a place as 'touristy', you do not like it because it is full of tourists or full of things for tourists to buy and do". It has an evident negative evaluative component. The investigation of the adjective *touristy* in the English corpora revealed that it is more frequently used by American travel bloggers (25% of entries for the lemma *tourist*) and much less used by British (15%), Canadian (0,07%), Australian (0,06%) and international (0,01%) bloggers and reporters. For this reason, the collocates of *touristy* were only analysed in the American corpus. The analysis showed that it was used as a negative perception in two ways. First, 65% of the American travel bloggers and reporters comment negatively on the tourist aspect of cities, sights, spots, restaurants, reducing their authentic appeal, or when mentioning the chance they had to get off the beaten track, whereas 35% of them used it to state their meta-awareness of the type of destinations, as they knew they were visiting *touristy* cities. Urry (2002, 91) defines this category of tourists as 'post-tourists' in that they know they are tourists and that "tourism is a series of games with [...] no single, authentic experience". Thus, this reinforces the hypothesis previously made, that is to say that the American bloggers and reporters, in particular, tend to perceive the high number of tourists and tourist aspect of a number of Italian destinations negatively.

The adjective *turistico*, on the other hand, confirmed the tendency of the insiders to perceive the high number of tourists neutrally, as exemplified in (39) to (42):

(39) Lasciamo l'albergo e ci rechiamo per un giro turistico vario (IT_Corpus).
(40) Data la levataccia dopo un veloce giro turistico della zona, decidiamo di cenare e andare a letto (IT_Corpus).
(41) Abbiamo pranzato con un buon menù turistico a 13 euro a testa primo, secondo contorno e caffè (IT_Corpus).
(42) Fatto il biglietto a 6 euro a testa, prendiamo anche l'audioguida a parte a 5 euro che ci accompagna per il percorso turistico (IT_Corpus).

Interestingly, the Italian adjective *turistico* collocates with *giro*, *menù* and *percorso* in 81% of cases, so it does not have a negative connotation.

Another important example of different perceptions of the tourist experience between insiders and outsiders is also represented by the

importance the outsiders attribute to what is *local*. As could be expected, the analysis of the lemma *local* showed that this aspect is more prominently featured in the English corpora. As already found by Cappelli (2012) in her corpus-based study on the differences in English and Italian travel reviews, there is in principle no particular cross-cultural interest in the local culture or people for tourists travelling in their own country.

We expected, however, that the outsiders would focus more on the local food and drink than on the local culture. When in Italy, instead, their main aim is to be immersed in the host culture while very few interact with the locals. *Table 7* reports on the results of the investigation of the lemma *local* in the English corpora.

Table 7. – The lemma 'local' in the English corpora.

Local/Locals	Being immersed in the local culture	Local food and drink	Interaction with the locals
Americans	57%	41%	7%
British	77%	21%	11%
Australians	52%	52%	14%
Canadians	63%	44%	17%
Non-native speakers of English	52%	45%	15%

The data can be interpreted and discussed with reference to Cappelli's conclusions that the contact with the local culture becomes a crucial part of the tourist experience, because it gives the outsider "the chance to feel less of a 'tourist' in the host country and more of a 'traveller'" (2012, 79), the chance to be part of a country and discover authentic places. The outsider tourists' gaze on the local culture, customs and traditions, and on places where the locals are, live, eat or walk is evident in examples (43) to (51):

(43) It made me feel like a local (AM_Corpus).
(44) [...] sit outside a small bar/café and feel like a local (AM_Corpus).
(45) It was filled with local people, probably on their lunch breaks (UK_Corpus).
(46) I want to get out here and explore the region, culture and lifestyles of the locals (UK_Corpus).
(47) [...] with a plan to try and do what the locals do (AUS_Corpus).

(48) Daily market where the locals can find all their needs (CAN_Corpus).
(49) The locals flock here for lunch (CAN_Corpus).
(50) That's why I love to follow the locals to their favorite restaurants and eat like they eat (NON-NAT_Corpus).
(51) I did go out of the touristic area and ventured out in the area were the locals live (NON-NAT_Corpus).

However, Italy also fascinates for its food. Examples (52) to (57) clearly illustrate that tasting local food and drinks is an important part of the travel experience or even a reason why the outsider tourists would visit Italy:

(52) We had pastas, pizza, good local draft beer and gelato for dessert (UK_Corpus).
(53) Thankfully most of the restaurants actually have local food (AUS_Corpus).
(54) A nice assortment of the local-favorite boiled variety including beef (CAN_Corpus).
(55) We had a simple lunch of local hams, salamis, cheeses (CAN_Corpus).
(56) They had an excellent selection of local wine (NON-NAT_Corpus).
(57) Remember that tasting the local specialties is an important part of the experience (NON-NAT_Corpus).

5. Conclusion

By exploring the language used in travel blogs and trip reports, in this study we have demonstrated that tourist performances, experiences and expectations at a tourist destination – Florence – are deeply affected by the tourist gaze that is mediatised through brochures, travel guides, websites, etc. The results clearly indicate that the way insider and outsider tourists behave, perceive and represent a tourist destination or an attraction is often different. In particular, the outsiders' tourist gaze at a tourist site is highly mediatised. This is evident, for example, when they describe the statue of the David in detail or show a higher degree of emotional intensity due to their framed mental model of reality which heightens their expectations. Moreover, the constant interplay between mediatised representations of tourist destinations and tourists' mediated actions when remediating them in the form of travel blogs and trip reports was highlighted, for example, when tourists mentioned the chance they had or not to take pictures or when they took illegal pictures. Finally, the digitally remediated travel material served as a tool to understand the negative outsider tourists' perception of the high number of tourists they

encountered in Italian tourist destinations, their search for authentic places and the importance they attribute to the local aspects of a site.

The preliminary findings of the previously mentioned wider research project on on-trip genres of tourism discourse seem also to suggest that online traveller-generated content may provide useful suggestions for translators. In a cross-cultural textual practice these remediated texts may be used, in turn, to mediate tourist texts across different cultures to better promote tourist destinations as they show the emerging common patterns of the outsider/global tourist gaze. Therefore, they could help understand the degree of the translator intervention necessary for mediating across the insider and outsider tourist culture in order to fit target readers' expectations. For example, more emphasis could be placed on the local culture, food, drink and local people in promotional tourist texts in English for an international consumption.

These are, however, tentative conclusions, and further investigation of the six corpora and analysis of other elements of attraction, including the semantic field of food and drink, is needed to confirm these first results.

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