

The representation of gastronomy in travel journalism across cultures: food and drink collocate pairs in English, Italian and Polish*

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Abstract

Using a corpus-driven approach, this paper will address aspects of formulaicity in the thematic area of **food and drink** in travel journalism, an under researched genre that has hitherto received scarce attention on the part of academics in general and linguists in particular. Three 1-million-word corpora, compiled by the authors for a previous study, were used to carry out the analysis. These were comprised of articles downloaded from the online versions of the *Guardian*, *La Repubblica*, and *Gazeta*, constituting representative and comparable samples of the genre of travel journalism in English, Italian and Polish. The texts were annotated for part-of-speech and lemma using TreeTagger. Collocate pairs were then extracted from the annotated data using tailor made Perl scripts. Subsequently a dispersion filter of presence in at least 20 different texts was applied.

The resulting collocate pairs were placed into various thematic areas from which those pertaining to the **food and drink** group were isolated for further analysis. Similarities and differences among the three languages were thus identified that point to differing ways in which eating and drinking, coupled with the tourism experience, are represented in the corresponding cultures.

1 Introduction

Recent reports by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO 2025) point to a marked expansion in the tourism industry, with a surprisingly rapid recovery from the severe blow it suffered in 2020 as a consequence of the COVID-19 epidemic. While international travel arrivals have reached the impressive figure of 1.46 billion travellers in 2024, international tourism receipts have exceeded 1.7 trillion USD, contributing to 4% of Europe's GDP. In more general terms, the notable growth of this industry has been a constant feature of recent decades, and this has been accompanied by a proportional increase in travel-related publications designed to inform and inspire a growing global readership, with guidance and information provided by travel journalists readily available to prospective travellers when planning their trips. As a result, travel journalism has served a critical function in connecting the tourism industry with its target audience by shaping destination imagery and contributing to motivating tourist

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behaviour. Rosenkranz (2016: 56) maintains that “the travel journalist as an expert and taste-maker is in a position of power over the consumer, a position that is of value for commercial interests—whether directly in the form of encouraging us to buy into a particular destination or more indirectly in the form of promoting goods such as guide books or clothing”. His words highlight one of the key features of this form of lifestyle journalism, i. e. its service-oriented and market-related nature, as also noted by other scholars (cf. Hanusch/Fürsich 2014: 10f.; Pirolli 2019: 36; Cocking 2020: 13). In this respect, a journalist’s narrated travel experience combines the delivery of practical, useful information about destinations and related services with an inherent promotional character.

Travel articles reporting on the journalist’s eating and drinking experiences are not limited to providing practical information to the prospective tourist, since they often tend to represent gastronomy as a form of cultural communication. Furthermore, connections between the food practices and the cultures encountered are drawn in ways that contribute to their mutual valorisation as part of a lifestyle worthy of attention and, possibly, exploration on the part of the reading public. Unsurprisingly, therefore, “food tourism has been gaining momentum over the last decade around the world for two main reasons. First, a desire for people to discover where their food comes from and second to discover new foods and food preparations” (Stanley/Stanley 2014: 3). Various scholars have pointed to the important role of gastronomy for the tourism industry (cf. Hjalager/Richards 2002; Kivela/Crotts 2006; Sanchez-Canizares/Lopez-Guzman 2012; Seyitoglu/Ivanov 2020; Picazo et al. 2025). While food and drinking activities used to have a supplementary role in tourism experiences, destinations nowadays are showing an increasing tendency to include gastronomy in the construction of their image. As part of their marketing strategies, therefore, food and drink have become pull factors affecting destination choice. At the same time, studies on how gastronomy has been dealt with in print journalism (cf. Voss 2012; Jones/Taylor 2013; Fusté-Forné/Masip 2018; Fusté-Forné 2020) underscore both its growing presence and its key role as part of popular leisure culture. In particular, Fusté-Forné (2017) offers an analysis of the coverage of gastronomic themes in the lifestyle sections of some Spanish and Catalan print newspapers and the US-based *The New York Times* between 2005–2015, while in another study, Fusté-Forné (2020) concentrates on the treatment of gastronomy in the latter. In both research studies, he points to the role of food as a symbolic marker of particular lifestyles and the fact that its media coverage in soft news is both a source of inspiration and motivation for the reading audiences who want to know more about leisure practices centred on culinary culture.

In our paper we focus on how topics related to food and drink are dealt with in a corpus of travel reports from three daily newspapers in English, Italian, and Polish, namely *The Guardian*, *La Repubblica*, and *Gazeta*, respectively. We adopt a corpus-driven methodology by concentrating on the identification and study of statistically relevant collocate pairs. This type of analysis provides a fundamental approach to uncovering recurrent semantic connections within a specific social or cultural context, such as the community of practice of travel journalists or other communities defined by shared interests, culture or language. Our goal is to describe how collocate pairs in the three subcorpora contribute to construct the discourse on food- and drink-related activities in travel journalism and, at the same time, to shed light on possible linguistic

and cultural variations in accordance with assumed potential differences in sensitivity and taste among the target audiences.

2 Gastronomy and tourism

Food plays a vital role in tourism, not only because eating is a basic need, but especially because it is a significant part of a destination's culture. For Kivela/Crotts (2006: 359), gastronomy satisfies all the requirements of a cultural tourism product as a key resource for niche destinations and, most of all, as an enhancer of the tourist experience for travellers with a penchant for novelty and an interest in broadening their horizons. Because local cuisine is shaped by a region's social, natural, and cultural elements, it serves as a powerful way to portray a destination's identity. In this respect, both media narratives and marketing strategies play a critical role when they emphasise the relationship between certain geographical areas and specific types of gastronomic products. Tourists are often motivated to try local food and drinks to learn about different cultures, and this becomes a key factor in their overall travel experience. Experiencing local food provides new tastes and learning opportunities, with the consequent accruing of socially valuable cultural capital. When tourists seek out these novel experiences, they are more likely to have a memorable trip, which can lead to greater satisfaction, and possibly a desire to return. This strong link between gastronomy and a memorable experience gives tourism destinations a competitive advantage. As a result, many destinations have begun to use their unique food resources as a strategic tool to stand out from competitors. Kivela/Crotts (2009) and Sanchez-Canizares/Lopez-Guzman (2012), for example, notice the positive impact of local gastronomy in the overall experience of tourists when visiting Hong Kong and Cordoba (Spain), respectively. In exploring the role of culinary tourism in Ireland, O'Riordan/Ward (2014) point to food as a marker of cultural authenticity capable, on the one hand, of engaging tourists on multiple levels, and, on the other, of preserving local heritage vis-a-vis globalization. The issues of sustainability, environmental awareness, conservation of heritage, and retention of regional identity are also brought to the fore by Everett/Aitchison (2008) in relation to food tourism in Cornwall.

Novelty and authenticity are keywords in marketing strategies for culinary tourism as they are a motivating force in tourists' decision-making process and a means to directly engage with and make sense of the destination and its culture. For Bezzola/Lugosi (2018: 486), for example, the culinary experience is a way to explore and assess the foreign space, endowing it with personal meaning. Food can therefore encapsulate the essence of a place, and the success of a destination may then be linked, among other things, to how memorable the gastronomic experience has been. According to Quan/Wang's (2004) model, memorability results from peak experiences when travellers are driven by a genuine interest in local, authentic food. This effect may be enhanced when cultural mediators are successful in conveying the cultural values associated with the various aspects of the tourist experience, including gastronomy. In this respect, Fusté-Forné (2020: 19) highlights the importance of lifestyle journalism in contributing to establishing gastronomy as an important cultural theme in contemporary society.

The relevance of gastronomy in tourism warrants a study of the discourse of food and drink in travel journalism as a way to ascertain how this topic contributes to the construction of destination images in the three different European legacy newspapers and, to a broader extent, cultures under investigation.

3 Corpus linguistics studies of travel journalism discourse

Early research on travel journalism was limited due to a general hesitation among journalism and media scholars to delve into softer forms of journalism (cf. Hanusch/Fürsich 2014: 2). However, recent studies (cf. Hanusch/Fürsich 2014; Pirolli 2019; Cocking 2020) have begun to fill this void. For these authors, this is a type of journalism that is characterised by a service-oriented approach, offering information and guidance to help readers, viewed as potential consumers, choose from various products and services. As a subgenre of lifestyle journalism, travel articles help prospective tourists to make informed decisions about destinations and experiences. For this reason, travel journalism plays a key role in tourism, acting as a broker that shapes a destination's image, enhances its brand, and entices future travellers. It is therefore surprising that scant attention has so far been paid to this genre by scholars of applied linguistics, notwithstanding the significant tradition of research on the adjacent field of communication in tourism (cf. Manca 2016; Gotti/Maci/Sala 2017; Maci 2020). Only recently has an interest in analysing the discourse of travel articles from a strictly linguistic point of view started to emerge (cf. Brett/Pinna 2013; Brett/Pinna 2015; Pinna/Brett 2025).

Corpus linguistics is a particularly apt approach to analyse the linguistic features of travel reports. For example, Brett (2023) conducted a comparative analysis of twelve linguistic features in a travel journalism corpus with comparable corpora representing nine other newspaper sections and tourism promotion texts to assess the extent to which travel journalism is influenced by promotional writing. His results indicate a clear distinction between travel articles and those belonging to the other subgenres of newspaper language. At the same time, there is also sufficient difference with tourism promotional texts, thereby suggesting that travel journalism can be acquitted of claims that it is excessively influenced by promotional materials from the tourism industry.

Other studies have focused on phraseology. Brett/Pinna (2020), Pinna (2020), and Pinna/Brett (2022) used the sem-gram technique to automatically identify specific combinations of grammatical and semantic tags which, applied to a 4-million-word corpus from *The Guardian*, enabled the identification of recurring phraseologies. In particular, Brett/Pinna (2020) identified patterns featuring body-part terminology that realize common conceptual metaphors, such as A LANDSCAPE IS A HUMAN BODY or A CITY IS AN ORGANISM. Pinna (2020) focused on evaluative phrases that express the author's opinion and serve to promote a destination by creating expectations and guiding readers. Pinna/Brett (2022) explored the link between synthetic personalization and specific phrases that reassure readers, helping them to make decisions about their holidays.

Furthermore, as part of an ongoing research project, the authors of the present study have explored travel reports from a multicultural and multilingual perspective. Using comparable, 1-million-word corpora in English, Italian, and Polish, their work examined various features, including adjective/noun collocation (cf. Brett/Loranc/Pinna 2021), negative-positive adjective

pairing (cf. Brett/Pinna/Loranc 2024), and collocate pairs and collocation (cf. Brett/ Pinna/Loranc 2023; Pinna/Brett/Loranc 2025). The latter strand of investigation is specifically relevant with respect to this study as it demonstrates how the analysis of collocate pairs may not only show thematic differences among the three textual corpora but also reveal that there could be considerable variation among the three leisure cultures and the specific contexts of production and consumption of travel journalism.

4 Collocate pairs and collocation

The earliest use of the term *collocation* with a meaning similar to that adopted in linguistics today dates to Palmer's *Second Interim Report on English Collocations* in 1933 (cf. Barnbrook/Mason/Krishnamurthy 2013). However, despite the term having been used for almost one hundred years it has yet to acquire a clear unanimously agreed upon usage within the field. In fact, Gries (2013: 138) observed that "the notion of 'collocation' is probably best characterized as a radial category whose different senses are related to each other and grouped around one or more somewhat central senses, but whose senses can also be related to each other only rather indirectly". In a similar fashion, McEnery/Hardie (2011: 123) highlight the "great multitude of different definitions" for the term. Evert (2009: 1214) distinguishes between empirical and theoretical concepts when collocation is discussed. The former concerns quantifiable co-occurrences of lexical items that can be observed in natural language. The latter are "idiosyncratic multiword expressions, defined by linguistic tests and speaker intuitions" (Evert 2009: 1214). While generative artificial intelligence may assist in the identification of such idiosyncratic patterning in the future, it would appear that at present they cannot be elicited by automatic processes without some form of human intervention. In the following pages co-occurrences that display a statistically significant tendency to co-occur will be referred to as *collocate pairs*. Only when one or both of the words is "lexically determined and has a modified or bleached meaning" (Evert 2009: 1214) will the term *collocation* be used. As a consequence, the results of the automatic procedure described in the methodology section are not to be considered collocations, but rather potential collocations, and only later analysis by the research team will be able to ascertain whether or not this is the case. This study builds on previous work published by the authors in which collocate pairs were extracted and organised into semantic groupings (cf. Brett/Pinna/Loranc 2023; Pinna/Brett/Loranc 2025).

Hence, the research questions of this study are the following:

- 1 What are the most widely dispersed statistically significant collocate pairs in travel journalism in English, Italian and Polish relating to the semantic field of **food and drink**?
- 2 Can fully-fledged collocations be identified amongst the collocate pairs identified in RQ1?
- 3 Can interlingual differences be identified between the collocate pairs identified in RQ1 in travel journalism in English, Italian and Polish?

5 Methodology

Three comparable corpora of travel journalism that were compiled for a previous study (cf. Brett/Loranc/Pinna 2021) were used to investigate the research questions formulated in the previous section. For English, articles were collected over a 7-year time frame from the "Travel" section of *The Guardian*. The Italian section was comprised of texts from the "Viaggi" section

of *La Repubblica* and the Polish section featured articles from the “Podróże” section of *Gazeta*. The three newspapers are of a comparable standing in their respective cultures, as they are all considered to be quality publications, with a middle-class readership endowed with medium-high education. The articles were saved using a semi-automatic procedure described in detail in Brett/Loranc/Pinna (2021) that resulted in the compilation of three comparable corpora of travel journalism, each of which consisted of about one million tokens.

The corpora were annotated for part-of-speech and lemma with the TreeTagger tool. Collocate pairs (4L 4R) featuring lexical lemmas (adjectives, common nouns and lexical verbs)¹ were then extracted from the three corpora by way of a tailor-made Perl script, featuring the application of the mutual information (MI) test with a minimum threshold for statistical significance of 3. The procedure adopted is analogous to that of the Concgram program (cf. Greaves 2009), i. e. collocations are extracted in a “grammatically blind” manner (Ferraresi et al. 2010: 338), rather than undergoing syntactic constraints. Given that dispersion is a stronger and more unique predictor of word naming and lexical choice than token frequency (cf. Gries 2021), a dispersion filter was then applied to the results (occurrence in at least 20 texts) to avoid taking into consideration collocate pairs present in high concentrations in only a small number of texts. The results were subsequently analysed and classified by semantic field. The lists of collocate pairs for each language were initially tagged for semantic field in an independent manner. The lists of categories were then compared, and a single set of categories was agreed on for the three languages. The following discussion focuses solely on the collocate pairs that were classified as being in the **food and drink** category.

6 Results and discussion

6.1 English

In the English section of the corpus 74 collocate pair types (7.52% of all types), which amount to a total of 1,613 tokens (7.22% of all collocate pair tokens), belong to the **food and drink** category. Various subcategories can be identified: the largest, including 25 collocate pair types (30% of all the types in this category), delineates information regarding what is included in a holiday package; other subcategories identify places where food and/or drinks are served, specify types of food or drink, highlight their authentic and healthy nature, or focus on the activities of preparing, serving and consuming food and drinks. There is an evident overlap between the first of these subcategories and the category of **logistics**, particularly when information about meals is associated with accommodation (ACCOMMODATION+MEAL, ACCOMMODATION+FOOD),² and other services in a holiday package (e. g. BOARD+FULL, BOARD+INCLUDE, MEAL+FLIGHT, BREAKFAST+NIGHT, DINNER+COURSE, DINNER+LUNCH) (Examples 1–4).

- 1) Prices start at £629 for flight, airport transfers and seven nights’ **accommodation**, including **meals** and drinks (14 nights from £789).

¹ Each unit tested for co-occurrence was composed of a lemma followed by underscore+PoS tag (e. g. town_NN). Note that the tags were modified so that all nouns were normalised into singulars, and all adjectives and verbs into base forms.

² Here and in the following, lemmas will be shown in small caps.

- 2) Around 65% of the price we charge goes overseas – some to the project itself, but also on **accommodation**, drivers, **food**, materials, equipment.
- 3) The trip costs from £895, including accommodation, **flights**, transfers, most **meals**, boat trips and guiding.
- 4) The package includes a full lift pass for the Massif des Aravis, ski or snowboard hire, a three-**course dinner**, sledging and snow-shoeing and accommodation.

This is further signalled by collocate pairs where the lemma INCLUDE is associated with BOARD, FULL, MEAL, BREAKFAST, DINNER, and LUNCH to specify what a given travel offer comprises.

Another subset consists of a handful of collocate pairs identifying places where food and drinks are served, i. e. BAR+RESTAURANT, BAR+CAFE, CAFE+SHOP, FOOD+RESTAURANT.

The subset denoting types of food or drink is organised along a hyponymic axis with FOOD+DRINK as a superordinate of, for example, GOAT+CHEESE, MINCE+PIE, COLD+BEER, FISH+CHIP, and ICE+CREAM. An exploration of this subset shows two different ways of representing the association between food and culture. On the one hand, collocate pairs such as FISH+CHIP, MINCE+PIE, and MULL+WINE highlight cultural specificity pertaining to the English-speaking world. In particular, mince pies and mulled wine are mentioned in contexts that are linked to Christmas traditions in English-speaking countries (Examples 5–7).

- 5) Christmas lunch, carol singers, **mince pies**, **mulled wine** and children entertainment included
- 6) **Mince pies** and **mulled wine** will be on offer while you listen to the butler imparting some Victorian gossip
- 7) While children get their mitts on their present [...], adults enjoy **mulled wine** and **mince pies**.

On the other hand, some types of food are outside the traditional Anglophone countries' culinary traditions. This is the case of the collocate pair OLIVE+OIL, present in texts that deal with recipes, instruct on, or extol the quality of the product, as illustrated by Examples 8–11.

- 8) Grind in a pestle and mortar and mix with the zest of a lemon, pinch of chilli and a glug of good **olive oil**.
- 9) The Taste of the Festival tent offers tutored tastings of wine, beer, **olive oil**, sausages and even balsamic vinegar
- 10) We get good **olive oil**, eggs and cheese from the village, and cheaper than the mass produced versions back at home.
- 11) its farm shop gives you the chance to buy delicious homemade **olive oil**, bread, cheese, and wine

The collocate pair OLIVE+OIL pays attention to cultural diversity and shows openness to different culinary traditions. Olive oil is portrayed as something outside the experience of the prototypical reader. It is an ingredient of recipes that have to be learned, or a taste that must be acquired. Olive oil abroad is contrasted in terms of price or quality, e. g. homemade v. mass-produced, with what the journalist finds at home. Finally, GOAT+CHEESE is a mainstay as the vegetarian option on menus in the United Kingdom and Ireland, and appears in this context, as well as being an example of local produce within the same geographical area (Examples 12–13)

- 12) The baked rice briquettes (Fri/Sat only, £3.25) are fantastic: dense, fragrant, a veritable vegetable bingo, topped with grilled **goat cheese** and olives.

- 13) Held within the grounds of Cardiff Castle, the enormous, self-proclaimed focal point of the cheese lovers calendar showcases a mind boggling 400 British and Irish sheep, cow, **goat** and buffalo **cheeses**, including the winners of the British Cheese Awards.

Authenticity, genuineness, and nutritional healthiness are highlighted by collocate pairs featuring the lemmas LOCAL (in association with BEER, WINE, CHEESE, PRODUCE), ORGANIC (which collocates with FARM and FOOD), and REAL (with ALE); other collocate pairs in this subset are FISH+FRESH, MARKET+FOOD, and FOOD+FESTIVAL, the last two pointing at places where genuine food may be found. Many of the instances of the adjective *local* seem to regard food or drink produced in the United Kingdom (e. g. Wales in Examples 14–15), where the prototypical readers of *The Guardian* are based. Mentions of local produce are particularly noteworthy as they directly or indirectly make reference to low food miles and its contribution to the economy of specific rural communities. These aspects of economic and environmental sustainability often combine with contemporary concerns for a natural, healthy diet, as highlighted by the co-occurrence of the adjectives *local*, *organic*, and *seasonal* in Examples 16–17.

- 14) The food stalls stock **local produce** including Celtic **wines**, **local** brews, Snowdonia cheese and speciality ice creams.
 15) Exhibitors include **local** producers of **organic cheese**, ice-cream, Welsh wine and honey
 16) The food is lovely **local, seasonal produce** at reasonable prices and the views are amazing.
 17) Attention to detail carries through to the dining room, where you feast on **local organic food** prepared to native recipes.

A final subset of collocate pairs denote the activities of preparing, serving, and consuming food or drinks (e. g. MEAL+COOK, FOOD+SERVE, FOOD+EAT, WINE+DRINK).

As regards our second research question (RQ2), the collocate pairs extracted for English do not contain a large number of fully-fledged collocations. It could be argued that the adjective in REAL+ALE (Example 18) displays some semantic shift when it co-occurs with the noun: it does not imply that all other types of ale are non-existent or fake, but rather that they are mass-produced without traditional ingredients and methods and hence tend to be “bland” in taste (cf. CAMRA 2025). Also related to quality and traditional methods is the pair ORGANIC+FARM (Example 19): it is clearly not the farm that is organic, but the food that is produced there (ORGANIC+FOOD is also present). As suggested in Example 20, the co-occurrence of TEA with AFTERNOON provokes a semantic shift in the former, as what it is in the offing is not merely a beverage, but an array of accompanying sweet or savoury snacks.

- 18) the bar dispenses **real ales** across four pumps, with an emphasis on Norfolk brewers such as Winter and Wolf.
 19) we are headed for the fields of La Colombaia (‘The Dove’), an **organic farm** in Tuscany.
 20) Each afternoon we returned to the ship and sat down to a proper **afternoon tea**, with endless pots of Earl Grey and cucumber sandwiches.

6.2 Italian

In the Italian section of the corpus, the **food and drink** category is exemplified by 52 collocate pair types (4.43% of all types), which amount to 873 tokens (3.63% of all tokens). Various subcategories overlap with those identified for English, and precisely: specification of types of food and drink, reference to places where food and drinks are served, denotation of activities

involving production and/or consumption of food and drinks, and finally an emphasis on their authenticity and genuineness. There is, however, a subset providing explicit positive evaluation of food and drinks that is not found in the English section of the corpus. The subset specifying types of food and drink is organised hyponymically, with VINO+CIBO ['wine+food'] as a superordinate of, for example, VINO+ROSSO ['wine+red'], OLIO+OLIVA ['oil+olive'], TARTUFO+BIANCO ['truffle+white'], FRUTTA+VERDURA ['fruit+vegetable'], FRUTTO+MARE ['fruit+sea' (seafood)] and ERBA+AROMATICO ['herb+aromatic']. One cannot fail to notice that this list contains not only high-end products, but also fruit and vegetables, which receive particular attention in terms of their quality. Furthermore, the linguistic context may be characterized by lexical choices that tantalise the reader with the sensuality of the descriptions, making them fantasise about participating in the experience portrayed (Examples 21–22), or draw attention to the journalist's expertise, thus emphasising her/his status as a reliable guide in terms of good taste (Examples 23–24).

- 21) *è difficile resistere all'inebriante aroma del **tartufo bianco***
['it is hard to resist the heady aroma of white truffles']
- 22) *guida il palato alla scoperta di **frutta e verdure** maturate naturalmente, con cotture e preparazioni che salvaguardano le proprietà nutritive*
['guides the palate to discover naturally ripened fruit and vegetables, with cooking and preparations that safeguard the nutritional properties']
- 23) *questo **vino rosso** morbido e di gran corpo, piacevolmente fruttato*
['this soft and full-bodied red wine, pleasantly fruited']
- 24) *un **vino bianco** leggero e fruttato con un sorprendente retrogusto di pepe bianco*
['a light and fruity white wine with a surprising white pepper aftertaste']

Among the products, olive oil has undergone a process similar to that of wine, by means of which a staple of the Mediterranean diet has been upgraded into a high end commodity which is best appreciated through a connoisseur's competence (Example 25); moreover, high quality is signalled by the collocate pair EXTRAVERGINE+OLIO ['extravirgin+oil'], and/or by its association with traditional, healthy foods and specific rural locations (Examples 26–27).

- 25) *il percorso tra gli oliveti e la degustazione finale di diversi **oli extravergine di oliva***
['a visit of the olive groves and a final tasting of various extra virgin olive oils']
- 26) *coltivazione biologica con produzione di nocciole, castagne, ciliegie e **olio extravergine d'oliva***
['organic cultivation with production of hazelnuts, chestnuts, cherries, and extra virgin olive oil']
- 27) *dalle proprietà organolettiche del suolo deriva l'aroma peculiare dell'**olio d'oliva** del Soratte*
['the peculiar aroma of Soratte olive oil derives from the organoleptic properties of the soil']

Reference to places where food and drinks are served is mostly centred on the lemma RISTORANTE ['restaurant'], which collocates with BAR, NEGOZIO ['shop'], ALBERGO ['hotel'], and HOTEL. Activities of production or consumption of food and drink are also organised hyponymically, with BERE+MANGIARE ['drink+eat'] as a superordinate of ASSAGGIARE+PIATTO ['taste+dish'], ASSAGGIARE+TIPICO ['taste+typical'], GUIDARE+DEGUSTAZIONE ['guide+tasting'], ACCOMPAGNARE+ VINO ['accompany+wine'], and DEGUSTAZIONE+PRODOTTO ['tasting+ product']. ACCOMPAGNARE, ASSAGGIARE and DEGUSTAZIONE are positively connoted words, as shown by Examples 28–31, and end up overlapping with the subsets providing positive evaluation and highlighting authenticity.

- 28) *non perdetevi l'occasione di fermarvi in qualche locale tipico per **assaggiare i piatti** tradizionali polacchi, cucinati con ingredienti semplici ma dal sapore intenso*
 ['do not miss the opportunity to stop in some typical place to savour the traditional Polish dishes, prepared with simple ingredients with an intense flavour']
- 29) *La creatività si insinua anche sulle tavole degli chef con **degustazioni di prodotti** locali coltivati negli orti*
 ['creativity also influences the chef's menus with the tasting of local products grown in vegetable gardens']
- 30) *in programma ci sono **degustazioni guidate** (conosciamo i vari oli e le loro potenzialità d'uso)*
 ['the programme includes guided tasting sessions aimed at becoming acquainted with the various types of olive oil and their potential for use']
- 31) *i ristoranti della zona proporranno un menù speciale con piatti della tradizione culinaria **accompagnati dai vini** del Garda*
 ['local restaurants will offer a special menu with traditional dishes accompanied by Garda wines'].

Tasting sessions offer participants the chance to learn about the characteristics of a given high-end food or drink product from an expert, who will also guide them in the best way in which to consume it. Since this form of cultural practice is acquired through specialised knowledge, tourists could thus boast enviable cultural capital that enables them to live out their elitist, gourmet fantasy.

Explicit positive assessment is shown by the lemma BUON ['good'], which collocates with CUCINA ['cuisine'], TAVOLA ['cuisine/food'], CIBO ['food'], and VINO ['wine'], and the collocate pair VINO+OTTIMO ['wine+excellent']. These collocate pairs are mostly used in a figurative sense, as they actually tend to refer to a lifestyle centred on *joie de vivre* and the appreciation of good food and drinking as an integral part of the travel experience, as shown by Examples 32–34.

- 32) *una rete di appassionati e amanti del bello, dell'arte, della cultura del relax, del **buon cibo** e del **buon vino***
 ['a network of enthusiasts and lovers of beauty, art, the culture of relaxation, good food, and good wine']
- 33) *Metti una sera al museo, tra vino e **buona cucina**, happy hour e chef stellati*
 ['Imagine an evening in a museum, between wine and good food, happy hour and award-winning chefs']
- 34) *fra le terme dei centri benessere e i santuari della **buona tavola**, gli itinerari turistici sono immersi in un paesaggio incantevole*
 ['between spas and gourmet sanctuaries, tourist itineraries unfold in an enchanting landscape']

Not only do the lexical choices of the examples above evoke the promise of sensory pleasure but the use of the word *santuari* (literally, 'sanctuaries/shrines') in Example 34 elevates the eating experience to a completely new level. Although *buona cucina* and, most of all, the collocation *buona tavola* (literally, 'good table') may be translated into English as 'good food', they actually convey a complex cultural experience in which exquisite food is but one component that is complemented by its outstanding preparation and presentation for consumption in a pleasant atmosphere. *Buona tavola*, in particular, recalls the very common idiomatic expression *amante della buona tavola* ['connoisseur, gourmet'] and implies that eating and drinking

is a peak cultural experience, one in which diners do not just have a passion for good food, but also fully appreciate the art of combining the various dishes and pairing food and wine.

Finally, authenticity and genuineness are key notions in the contemporary discourse on gastronomy, particularly when the culinary experience is one of the key aspects of travelling. These concepts are conveyed by the lemmas *LOCALE* ['local'] (in association with *PRODOTTO* ['product'], *CUCINA* ['cuisine'], *PIATTO* ['dish'], and *VINO* ['wine']), *TRADIZIONALE/TRADIZIONE* ['traditional/tradition'] (with *PIATTO*, and *CUCINA*), and *TIPICO* ['typical'] (with *PRODOTTO*, *PIATTO*, and *CUCINA*), as illustrated by Examples 35–38.

- 35) *in un ambiente familiare potete gustare piatti di **cucina tipica locale** in una cornice davvero suggestiva*
 ['in a family environment you can enjoy typical local cuisine in a truly evocative setting']
- 36) *viaggiare all'insegna della sostenibilità alla scoperta dei **piatti tipici** e unici della nostra splendida Italia*
 ['travel sustainably to discover the typical and unique dishes of our splendid Italy']
- 37) *a fare la differenza è ovviamente il cibo, con i **prodotti tipici** della regione come il Parmigiano Reggiano, il ragù bolognese e il prosciutto di Parma*
 ['what makes the difference is obviously the food, with the typical products of the region such as Parmigiano Reggiano, Bolognese ragù and Parma ham']
- 38) *alcuni offrono **piatti tradizionali** come la fabada, a base di fagioli e salumi locali*
 ['some offer traditional dishes such as *fabada*, made with local beans and cured meat']

In its linguistic context, the concept of authenticity is reinforced by the frequent mentioning of foods in association with very specific, not particularly well-known locations, while its positive aura is strengthened by the presence of favourably connoted words. This emphasis on the local origin of food conveys the idea that the products are fresh, and therefore it highlights their nutritional value and greater taste, in line with contemporary dietary values according to which what is genuine is tasty and what is natural is healthy. Additionally, the notion of sustainability is also mentioned (as in Example 36), with positive implications in environmental terms, i. e. low food miles, economic terms, as the consumption of these goods helps the local economy, and also cultural terms, since the uniqueness of these dishes is the result of the preservation of centuries-old traditions. Cultural authenticity is especially highlighted by listing specific types of food and dishes originated in a particular area, occasionally employing the languaging strategy (cf. Dann 1996: 183) by means of foreign words (Example 38). In this way food becomes a key place marker establishing the gastronomic unique identity of the destination.

To answer RQ2, a number of fully-fledged collocations can be recognised amongst the Italian collocate pairs. A number of items collocate with *PIATTO* (literally 'plate'), such as *TIPICO*, *TRADIZIONE* and *ASSAGGIARE*, all of which prompt a reading of *PIATTO* as a plate containing food, similar to the English *dish*. Similarly, the adjective in *BUON+TAVOLA* ['good+table'] is not an evaluation of the table itself, but rather of the food that is placed upon it. The term *PUNTO* is a polysemic word in Italian. Its base meaning is similar to the English *point*, but its senses range from 'full stop' to 'conclusion' (e. g. 'arrivare al punto'). Its co-occurrence with *RISTORO*, prompts the reading of a point along a route at which food and drink are available. Finally, *ACCOMPAGNARE+VINO* ['accompany+wine'] endows the elements of the gourmet experience with

human traits, as food is personified as a traveller who benefits from the presence of a companion in the form of a suitably chosen alcohol beverage.

6.3 Polish

The analysis of Polish culinary vocabulary discussed in Przybylska/Ochmann (2021) shows that food- and drink-related collocations in Polish are often rooted in religious and social rituals, or regional traditions, for example, *święcone jajko* [‘blessed egg’] (cf. Przybylska/Ochmann 2021: 107), or *wódka weselna* [‘wedding vodka’] (cf. Przybylska/Ochmann 2021: 115), *sękacz podlaski* [‘Podlasie tree cake’] (cf. Przybylska/Ochmann 2021: 150). In travel journalism, these collocations can thus serve to emphasize authenticity, sensory appeal, and cultural identity.

Although in the Polish section of the corpus only 34 collocate pair types (3% of all collocate pair tokens) belong to the **food and drink** category, a number of subcategories can be identified. A considerable proportion of the collocate pairs in Polish would refer to practical aspects of food- and drink-related activities, such as places where food and/or drinks are served, i. e. **BAR+RESTAURACJA** [‘bar+restaurant’] or more detailed information related to types of gastronomic services offered (e. g. **DANIE+RESTAURACJA** [‘dish+restaurant’]). Examples [39–41] illustrate the collocate pairs denoting practicalities of the gastronomic offer. Interestingly, places where food and drinks are served are most often referred to in the plural, to emphasize an extensive range of dining options at the destination.

- 39) *na trasach jest masa **barów i restauracji** w charakterystycznych drewnianych chatach z grubych bali*
[‘on the slopes, there are plenty of bars and restaurants located in characteristic wooden huts made of thick logs’]
- 40) *turyści i prażanie raczą się jadłem i napitkiem w okolicznych **barach i restauracjach***
[‘both tourists and Praguers enjoy food and drink in the nearby bars and restaurants’]
- 41) *W samym Kos nie brakuje **restauracji, tawern i barów**, jest także kilka nocnych lokali*
[‘In Kos itself, there is no shortage of restaurants, taverns, and bars, and there are also a few nightclubs’]

The number of collocate pairs found in the **food** subcategory in the Polish subcorpus is quite limited and includes merely five collocate pairs denoting the type of food, i. e. **WARZYWO+ŚWIEŻY** [‘vegetable+fresh’], **OWOC+ŚWIEŻY** [‘fruit+fresh’], **RYBA+ŚWIEŻY** [‘fish+fresh’], **WARZYWO+OWOC** [‘vegetable+fruit’] and **MORZE+OWOC** [‘sea+fruit’ (seafood)]. It is noteworthy that these collocate pairs refer to simple, local food products rooted in a rural tradition and emphasize their sensory appeal (Examples 42–44).

- 42) *Można tam kupić m.in. **świeże owoce, warzywa** i pyszne słodkości.*
[‘There you can buy, among other things, fresh fruit, vegetables, and delicious sweets’]
- 43) *co rano zaopatrując się w **świeże owoce, ryby** i pieczywo (oraz starocie) na targu*
[‘Every morning, while stocking up on fresh fruit, fish, and bread (as well as antiques) at the market.’]
- 44) *Na stoiskach piętrzą się kolorowe **warzywa, owoce** i pachnące przyprawy.*
[‘Colorful vegetables, fruits, and fragrant spices pile up on the stalls’]

The Polish section includes only one collocate pair with the adjective **LOKALNY** [‘local’], which denotes a type of cuisine: **KUCHNIA+LOKALNA** [‘cuisine+local’]. The concordance line examples

presented below further clearly indicate a positive connotation associated with local cuisine, implying the excellent taste of dishes characteristic of a given region. It is important to note that local cuisine is to be found predominantly in foreign destinations than within the domestic domain (Examples 45–47).

- 45) *Wybierzcie się na spacer promenadą, delektujcie się **lokalną kuchnią**, zajrzyjcie do sklepów*
‘Take a walk along the promenade, delight your palate with the local cuisine, and browse the shops’
- 46) *mogą tu również spróbować wyśmienitych potraw **lokalnej kuchni** oraz wybrać się na wycieczkę po okolicznych winnicach*
[‘they can also try exquisite dishes from local cuisine and go on a tour of the nearby vineyards’]
- 47) *żeby skosztować absolutnie wyjątkowej **lokalnej kuchni**, w której łączą się smaki Francji*
[‘to taste the absolutely exceptional local cuisine, in which the flavours of France come together.’]

Within the **drink** subcategory the Polish part of the corpus includes collocate pairs denoting types of drink, i. e. either a hot drink, such as: HERBATA+GORĄCY [‘tea+hot’], HERBATA+KAWA [‘tea+coffee’] or alcoholic drink, such as: NAPÓJ+ALKOHOŁOWY [‘alcoholic+beverage’]. The most productive collocate in this thematic group is WINO [‘wine’], which co-occurs with two adjectives denoting its type: CZERWONY [‘red’] and BIAŁY [‘white’]. Interestingly, WINO is also one of the very few collocates in the entire **food and drink** category that co-occurs with the evaluative adjective DOBRY [‘good’] (Examples 48–50).

- 48) *Warto zaplanować tu miłą kolację we dwoje z butelką **dobrego wina***
[‘It’s worth planning a pleasant dinner for two here with a bottle of good wine.’]
- 49) *Szczególnie **dobrych win** można degustować w miejscowości Badacsony*
[‘Particularly good wines can be sampled in the town of Badacsony’]
- 50) *wieczorami i tak wszyscy razem piją **dobre** cypryjskie **wina** i wspólnie balują na dyskotekach albo w lokalnych tawernach*
[‘In the evenings, everyone still drinks good Cypriot wines together and dances at discos or in local taverns’]

Other collocates of the evaluative adjective DOBRY [‘good’] involve RESTAURACJA [‘restaurant’] and JEDZENIE [‘food’] (Examples 51–53):

- 51) *Szukając **dobrej**, tradycyjnej **restauracji** w Pradze, warto kierować się opinią znajomych*
[‘When looking for a good, traditional restaurant in Prague, it is worth relying on the recommendations of friends’]
- 52) *Za taki sam obiad, elegancko podany w **dobrej restauracji**, zapłacimy już 15 dolarów*
[‘For the same meal, elegantly served in a good restaurant, we will already pay 15 dollars.’]
- 53) *Na Sycylię z całego świata przyjeżdżają turyści spragnieni kojących widoków, **dobrego jedzenia** i mocnego wina*
[‘Tourists from all over the world come to Sicily in search of soothing views, good food, and strong wine.’]

With regard to RQ2, the Polish section of the corpus does not contain a large number of fully-fledged collocations. Similar to the English data, it includes the collocation PEŁNE+WYŻYWIENIE [‘full+board’] denoting details of the gastronomic service as part of a holiday package (Examples 54–56).

- 54) *za 17 euro otrzymamy łóżko w dwuosobowym pokoju i **pełne wyżywienie***
 ['For 17 euros, we get a bed in a double room and full board']
- 55) *W czasie pobytu w uzdrowisku zapewnione jest **pełne wyżywienie***
 ['During the stay at the spa, full board is provided']
- 56) *Zazwyczaj na **pełne wyżywienie** składa się śniadanie (najczęściej serwowane w formie szwedzkiego stołu)*
 ['Full board usually includes breakfast (most often served as a buffet)']

Another collocation found in the Polish section of the corpus is MORZE+OWOC ['seafood'] indicates an interest in exploring the flavours of local culinary specialties while traveling abroad (Examples 57–59):

- 57) *Australijczycy są dumni przynajmniej z dwóch swoich specjalów: wołowiny i **owoców morza***
 ['Australians are proud of at least two of their specialties: beef and seafood']
- 58) *Przeróżne **owoce morza**, od potężnych krewetek, krabów, ryb wszelakiej maści*
 ['All kinds of seafood, from giant prawns and crabs to fish of every sort.']
- 59) *Istria i Dalmacja przejęły od Włochów upodobanie do **owoców morza** i potraw mącznych*
 ['Istria and Dalmatia adopted from the Italians a fondness for seafood and flour-based dishes']

Finally, in the Polish part of the corpus, there is one further collocation used to evaluate food: the metaphorical collocation GĘBA+NIEBO ['heaven+mouth'], which denotes an exceptional culinary experience enjoyed while eating food that both thrills and delights the palate (Examples 60–62).

- 60) ***Niebo w gębie** poczułam też w Lizbonie , palaszując pieczone na ruszcie krewetki*
 ['I also experienced heaven in my mouth in Lisbon while devouring grilled prawns']
- 61) ***Niebo w gębie** poczułam jedząc ostrygi wylawiane prosto z dna zatoki Apalachicola*
 ['I experienced heaven in my mouth while eating oysters freshly harvested from the bottom of Apalachicola Bay.']
- 62) *czegoś tak dobrego nie jadłam nigdy. Tak, poczułam **niebo w gębie**, niezaprzeczalnie!*
 ['I have never eaten anything so good. Yes, I truly experienced heaven in my mouth, undeniably!']

To sum up, the Polish section of the corpus displays a relatively narrow range of food- and drink-related collocate pairs, which, while thematically varied, reveal certain limitations compared to English and Italian data. The frequency of collocates such as: BAR+RESTAURACJA ['bar+restaurant'] or DANIE+RESTAURACJA ['dish+restaurant'] suggests that Polish travel discourse tends to put an emphasis on infrastructural convenience over nuanced gastronomic representation. An example of fully fledged collocations like PEŁNE+WYŻYWIENIE ['full+board'] further reinforce this functional orientation, reducing food largely to a component of package tourism. Furthermore, few food-specific collocate pairs – e. g., WARZYWO+ŚWIEŻY ['fresh+ vegetable'], RYBA+ŚWIEŻY ['fresh+fish'], KUCHNIA+LOKALNA ['local+cuisine'] reflect interest in authenticity and the sensory experience embedded in rural and idyllic tradition. The evaluative expressions also appear limited: DOBRY ['good'] emerges as the sole collocate linked with the following: WINO ['wine'], RESTAURACJA ['restaurant'], and JEDZENIE ['food'], and GĘBA+NIEBO ['heaven+mouth'] stands as an isolated metaphorical collocation of gustatory pleasure. Such findings suggest that, unlike the richer associative fields in Italian, the Polish data relies on more conventionalized expressions related to authenticity and simplicity.

6.4 Interlingual differences

As noted elsewhere (cf. Brett/Pinna/Loranc 2023: 268; Pinna/Brett/Loranc 2025: 63-64), the preponderance of logistics-related collocate pairs is a crucial difference between the three corpora: while the English and Polish articles seem to prioritise the practical aspects associated with tourist activities to the point of frequently providing a series of details useful for the organization of a trip, the Italian reports tend to trigger the readers' imagination with sensual, evocative imagery and entice them through explicit positive evaluation.

In terms of hyponyms of **food**, the Polish section features only five collocate pairs, furthermore these collocate pairs refer to simple, local food products. The collocate pairs in the English section are somewhat more culturally specific, relating to local practices (e. g. *MINCE+PIE* and *MULL+WINE*), or typical products from abroad (*OLIVE+OIL*).

Variation in the amount of reference to localness and authenticity was varied, in Polish it is present in only one instance with *KUCHNIA+LOKALNA* ['cuisine+local'], while the English *LOCAL* is a component of four collocate pairs. Italian is the language that displays most interest in these features, as its results include no fewer than nine pairs with *LOCALE*, *TIPICO* and *TRADIZIONALE* ['local, typical and traditional'].

One sphere in which there is a great degree of comparability between the three sections is that of *WINE*. Corresponding collocate pairs concern types of wine (*RED*, *WHITE*), containers (*BOTTLE*, *GLASS*) and verbs (*TASTE*, *DRINK*). Interestingly, non-alcoholic beverages do not appear amongst the Italian results, while *COFFEE* and *TEA* are present in the Polish and in particular the English sections.

7 Conclusion

This corpus-based exploration of travel journalism in English, Italian and Polish has the aim of shedding some light on the discourse of **food and drink** in the three cultures by way of the extraction and analysis of well-dispersed statistically significant collocate pairs. The collocate pairs identified have been placed into sub-categories and inspected on a one-to-one basis with concordance lines. The analysis initially focussed on the characteristics of the collocate pairs, and possible fully-fledged collocations in each language. The results for each of the three languages were then compared in an attempt to identify differences in the discourse concerning **food and drink** between the languages.

On the whole, the English section of the corpus confirms the characteristic attention that the authors of the articles reserve to practical details: the informational nature of the text prevails with respect to the promotional aspect. The Italian section, on the other hand, not only lacks the same level of detailed information, but includes a series of lexical choices that more or less directly emphasise promotion. The Polish section is somehow in the middle, in that its informative dimension is not as detailed as the English articles but it also, in a similar manner to the English section, in general does not include many explicit markers of positive evaluation among the collocate pairs of this category.

The thematic distribution of collocate pairs also sheds light on how culinary vocabulary is distributed across the three corpora. The Polish results are relatively modest, with only a small

number of collocates denoting simple local products i. e. fresh fruit and vegetables and just one instance invoking local identity related to local cuisine. English collocations are somewhat richer, often tied to culturally specific food items (mince pie, mulled wine) or internationally recognizable products (olive oil). Italian, however, emerges as the most culturally embedded, with multiple collocates invoking *locale*, *tipico*, and *tradizionale*, reflecting a strong emphasis on authenticity. These patterns confirm that collocations serve not only as lexical building blocks but also as subtle markers of how different linguacultures conceptualize and promote the travel experience. Furthermore, there are a number of collocate pairs in Italian that point towards a far more sophisticated treatment of the theme of **food and drink** than in the other two languages. It would appear that not only do aspects relating to **food and drink** assume greater importance in leisure travel in Italian culture, but that the quality bar is set quite high indeed. The texts seem to imply that it is not enough for the readers of travel journalism in Italian to know where they can eat, they want to know where they can eat well.

Before concluding, some caveats concerning the results of the current study must be outlined. First of all, the discourse regarding food and drink in travel journalism has been analysed by way of collocate pairs, thereby providing insight into recurrent word combinations. The different ways in which languages encode lexical items may result in an apparent lack of correspondence, which may instead be present. For example, FRUTTO+MARE and OWOCE+MORZE are both present amongst the results for Italian and Polish, respectively, however the English equivalent, *seafood*, counts as a single token and as such will never appear amongst the results provided by the current methodology. Furthermore, the application of a dispersion filter of presence in a minimum number of texts is certainly necessary. However, the fact that this is set to 20, while providing manageable amounts of results, may result in interesting insights being excluded as they are just below the cutoff point. In short, the results highlight the strongest and most widely dispersed collocate pairs across the corpora in the three languages, providing a picture of generic tendencies, rather than aiming to throw light on niche subjects.

Finally, the corpora were compiled just before one of the largest events to take place worldwide in the last fifty years: the COVID-19 pandemic. This wreaked havoc on tourism and leisure travel for at least two years, before the industry recuperated, apparently returning to an even more buoyant state than before. That all of this had no effect whatsoever on travel journalism is highly unlikely, and future studies will have to update the corpora in order to allow this to be investigated.

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Appendix A – English collocate pairs for food and drink

Lemma A	Freq. A	Lemma B	Freq. B	Freq. AB	MI	N. files
board_NN	466	full_JJ	555	89	6.60	64
meal_NN	322	include_VV	1869	67	4.97	56
breakfast_NN	314	include_VV	1869	67	5.01	46
board_NN	466	include_VV	1869	58	4.23	44
cream_NN	107	ice_NN	411	53	8.41	42
full_JJ	555	include_VV	1869	49	3.73	41
board_NN	466	night_NN	1835	51	4.07	38
restaurant_NN	448	bar_NN	499	38	5.58	32
drink_NN	183	food_NN	784	38	6.22	30
board_NN	466	half_NN	198	33	6.65	30
meal_NN	322	accommodation_NN	569	35	5.75	26
produce_NN	65	local_JJ	986	34	7.22	26
chip_NN	71	fish_NN	441	35	8.30	23
food_NN	784		569	22	3.80	23
tea_NN	159	afternoon_NN	205	23	7.63	21
accommodation_NN	569	full_JJ	555	22	4.29	21
wine_NN	323	mull_VV	36	33	9.64	21
farm_NN	203	organic_JJ	173	23	7.53	21
bar_NN	499	restaurant_NN	448	22	4.79	21
drink_VV	170	eat_VV	414	18	6.17	19
meal_NN	322	evening_NN	326	18	5.59	18

Table 1: The twenty most highly dispersed statistically significant collocation pairs in the English section of the corpus

Appendix B – Italian collocate pairs for food and drink

Lemma A	Freq. A	Lemma B	Freq. B	Freq. AB	MI	N. files
tipico_ADJ	377	prodotto_NOM	316	52	6.83	45
locale_ADJ	558	prodotto_NOM	316	34	5.65	33
tipico_ADJ	377	piatto_NOM	196	32	6.82	30
ristorante_NOM	554	bar_NOM	231	23	5.55	23
colazione_NOM	92	primo_ADJ	1664	29	5.63	22
oliva_NOM	40	olio_NOM	133	21	10.01	19
bar_NOM	231	ristorante_NOM	554	20	5.356	19
vino_NOM	534	buon_ADJ	141	19	6.04	19
rosso_ADJ	216	vino_NOM	534	20	5.50	18
piatto_NOM	196	assaggiare_VER	121	18	7.63	18
Food_NOM	33	slow_NOM	77	22	11.14	17
tradizionale_ADJ	270	cucina_NOM	311	19	5.89	17
verdura_NOM	49	frutta_NOM	69	19	10.52	17
ristoro_NOM	35	punto_NOM	613	18	7.78	17
tradizione_NOM	540	piatto_NOM	196	18	5.47	17
cibo_NOM	126	buon_ADJ	141	17	7.97	16
prodotto_NOM	316	degustazione_NOM	149	17	6.56	16
vino_NOM	534	degustazione_NOM	149	17	5.80	16
locale_ADJ	558	vino_NOM	534	17	3.90	15
base_NOM	265	piatto_NOM	196	15	6.24	15

Table 2: The twenty most highly dispersed statistically significant collocation pairs in the Italian section of the corpus.

Appendix C – Polish collocate pairs for food and drink

Lemma A	Freq. A	Lemma B	Freq. B	Freq. AB	MI	N. files
bar_NN	295	restauracja_NN	616	38	5.23	35
morze_NN	571	owoc_NN	204	44	6.62	35
restauracja_NN	616	dobry_ADJ	1287	26	3.09	25
gęba_NN	29	niebo_NN	259	23	9.64	20
woda_NN	1276	pić_VER	173	22	4.70	20
sklep_NN	506	restauracja_NN	616	18	3.91	18
owoc_NN	204	warzywo_NN	117	20	7.77	16
owoc_NN	204	ryba_NN	314	15	5.93	15
jedzenie_NN	243	dobry_ADJ	1287	16	3.74	15
alkohol_NN	150	zawartość_NN	52	20	9.38	14
owoc_NN	204	świeży_ADJ	189	15	6.66	14
ryba_NN	314	świeży_ADJ	189	14	5.94	14
warzywo_NN	117	owoc_NN	204	14	7.26	14
wino_NN	440	dobry_ADJ	1287	18	3.05	14
restauracja_NN	616	obiad_NN	125	14	5.57	13
wino_NN	440	butelka_NN	139	14	5.90	13
wyżywienie_NN	85	pełny_ADJ	499	16	6.62	13
zjeść_VER	165	coś_NN	513	14	5.43	13
danie_NN	204	restauracja_NN	616	12	4.64	12
wino_NN	440	biały_ADJ	429	14	4.27	12

Table 3: The twenty most highly dispersed statistically significant collocation pairs in the Polish section of the corpus.