"A VERY GAY CITY, ALSO A BEAUTIFUL ONE"
The role of attitude markers in early travel guidebooks to China

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Abstract – According to Marjorie Morgan (2001), the "traveling age" in its contemporary meaning began in the early Victorian years, when leisure traveling within and outside Britain became increasingly common. It is around the same time that we witness a divergence between the traditional genres of "travel account" and "travel guidebook", which become "better defined and more easily distinguishable" (Buzard 1993, François 2012, pp. 72-73). In addition to more practical information, one of the distinctive characteristics of the modern travel guidebook is their objectivity (Behdad 1994). The author's subjectivity, ubiquitous in travel accounts, appears here to be condensed in adjectives (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 61). This study attempts to analyze the presence of authorial subjectivity in early travel guides to China by looking at attitude markers, in order to determine whether and how the authors express opinions and judgements. The study is carried out on a corpus of travel guidebooks to China published between 1866 and 1934, compiled using OCR software ABBYY FineReader PDF 15 and investigated with corpus analysis software Sketch Engine. A mixed approach is adopted, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. Hyland and Tse's interpersonal model of metadiscourse (2004) is borrowed to investigate authorial stance, focusing specifically on attitude markers, namely, attitude verbs, sentence adverbs, and adjectives (Hyland 2005b, p. 180). Results highlight an overall positive assessment of the locations described in the guidebooks as well as of the products themselves and of the travel services offered. Attitude markers also steer the tourist towards certain locations and itineraries, also contributing to shaping how travelers "gaze" (Urry 1990) at China as a destination.

Keywords: tourism discourse; attitude markers; tourist gaze; travel guidebooks; China.

1. Introduction

Tourism may be defined as "a phenomenon of determinate historical origin in the modern industrializing and democratizing nations of northern Europe and, later, America" (Buzard 1993, p. 4). Leisure and educational traveling have been attested since ancient Egyptian times, when privileged people traveled for pleasure and to visit places of historical interest, such as the pyramids of Giza (Gyr 2010). This continued over the centuries, from the spa and seaside destinations of ancient Romans (Lomine 2005) to the educational travels and pilgrimages of the middle-ages, a time when traveling started being conceived as a way "of confronting oneself and achieving self-realisation" (Gyr 2010). Between the 16th and 18th century, the youth of European upper classes undertook educational trips to the continent that acted as a "rite of passage from childhood to adulthood" (Zuelow 2015, p. 21) and a "finishing school" (Hibbert 1974, p. 15). Known as "Grand Tour", these trips often lasted two to three years and often included "France, Italy, Switzerland, and the German Empire" (Verhoeven, 2013, pp. 267-268). The Grand Tour is commonly referred to as a precursor to modern tourism, although it should be noted that it may not be considered tourism in a modern sense (e.g. Lavarini, 2009, p. 3). While the Tour originally held more educational and practical purposes, from the late 17th century onwards it turned into a "leisurely arts tour" (Verhoeven 2013, p. 275), and "leisure, cultural interest, and

nature had become powerful incentives for embarking on a classic Grand Tour" (Verhoeven 2013, p. 276). Indeed, a new, more "hedonistic approach to consuming" (Zuelow 2015, p. 21) is discernible in later Grand Tourists in the 18th century, a feature that is still part of modern tourism. In the same years, other segments of the population other than the youth of the wealthy aristocracy started traveling "in search of education and art" (Gyr 2010), also taking shorter trips for pleasure[1], which, at this stage, is starting to replace educational aims as the main purpose for traveling (Gyr 2010). These developments have paved the way for modern tourism in the 19th century, when the Industrial revolution significantly changed both travel practices and representations (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 16). Indeed, the word tourist itself is tied to the 19th century, when advances in transportation technology and the development of events such as World's fairs have contributed to making traveling – and leisure traveling – more frequent (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 15, see also Bertrand and Guyot 2002, p. 4). According to Verhoeven, "[i]t was not until the nineteenth century, when holiday-makers were first lured to the seaside at Blackpool and Brighton, the romantic shores of Lake Windermere, and the vibrant city of London, that the true features of modern tourism began to emerge" (2013, p. 263). In these years, the concepts of holiday and of traveling for tourism purposes prospered and matured, with railways, steam navigation, and the establishments of grand hotels acting as support for these new endeavours of the upper classes (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 19). As per Morgan (2001), it is the start of the "traveling age", when leisure traveling within and outside Britain became increasingly common.

If the years 1820–1850 saw the expansion and consolidation of the new means of transport, they also saw the establishment of numerous institutions either indirectly enabling tourists or designed expressly to facilitate it (Buzard 1993, p. 47). Indeed, from 1850 onwards, the travel and hospitality industries start taking shape, expanding to work with large numbers of clients. In Europe, we start seeing a standardization of the tourist offer (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 45), with professional figures emerging as well as proper travel agencies: the British Thomas Cook is the first in 1845, soon followed by others across the continent (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 45). These professionals organize and standardize the many aspects that make up a trip, taking care of "railways, custom houses, inns and hotels, currency exchange regulations, and so forth, not to mention the diversity of interests and temperaments among the clientele they served" (Buzard 1993, p. 48). Advice on these matters is also offered by travel guidebooks, which start circulating at the same time: they similarly rationalize the travel possibilities offered by railways and hotels (Bertho Lavenir 1999; Buzard 1993). Guidebooks provide prospective travelers with the necessary information and details to independently follow the itineraries suggested in the books themselves, therefore allowing tourists to save time, avoid potential unpleasant incidents and maximize efficiency and pleasure (Calvi 2016). One of the dominant features of guidebooks, when compared to the related genre of travel accounts, from which guidebooks themselves originate, is non-fictionality, that is, objectivity and truth-telling (Alacovska 2015, p. 607; Han 2003, p. 270; see also Behdad 1994). While travel accounts are characterized by the expression of the feelings and sentiments arisen by the travel experience, in guidebooks this dimension increasingly disappears, and claims are made to impartiality and to the authority of the sources employed.

However, the author does not disappear entirely behind the text, as evaluations of places and people are made through the widespread use of adjectives (Bertho Lavenir

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[1] e.g. see Verhoeven 2013 for an overview of the *speelreis* and *divertissant somertogje* in 17th and 18th century Netherlands.

1999). Indeed, "[g]uidebooks are presented as excellent sources for the study of the "national" and especially for the analysis of intercultural perceptions and stereotypes" (François 2012, p. 73)

This study attempts to analyze the presence of authorial subjectivity in early travel guides to China by looking at attitude markers, in order to determine whether and how the authors "signal their attitude towards both their material and their audience" (Hyland, Tse 2004, p. 156).

2. Travel literature and the birth of the travel guidebook

Travel literature, in its different forms, has enjoyed success and popularity over the centuries. In the second half of the 18th century we start seeing a demand for travel accounts in Britain, as a result of increased economic wealth and of "political and material improvements for travelers" (Geurts 2020, p. 12). Travel journals, diaries, letters and guidebooks also survive from the era of the Grand Tour, but, as Bertho Lavenir remarks, a major shift is seen in the number and content of travel accounts from the 19th century (1999, p. 16): the "comprehensive apodemic and encyclopedic travel handbooks" develop into more individualized narratives that highlight and showcase the traveler's subjective experience rather than more clinical information about the countries visited (Baumgartner 2015, p. 4). In the plethora of travel accounts that are published in the 1830s–1840s (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 44), the narration strictly follows a chronological and geographical order, with observations on the views and on the monuments encountered. The emotions felt by the traveler vis-à-vis their experience take a central role in the accounts: the reader learns about what the writer has seen, but also their emotional perspective on the trip, their feelings and their weariness (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 44). These texts often include digressions and detailed data on different facets of the country described in the account: history, politics, ethnology, and economics (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 46), in addition to comprehensive descriptions of landscapes and anecdotes regarding the local population (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 55). Indeed, two different registers may then be identified: an objectivation of the country on the one hand, and an intimate experience on the other (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 55). Travel accounts have multiple purposes: they offer an interpretive framework for the destination, through which to non-travelers can discover the territory, while also providing behavioral models for other travelers (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 44).

At the height of the popularity of travel accounts, we also witness the birth of the modern travel guidebook and a divergence between the classic travel accounts and this new developing genre, as travel literature reflects the changes in travel habits and is influenced by the budding industry of tourism. These two genres soon become "better defined and more easily distinguishable" (Buzard 1993; François 2012, pp. 72-73). Bertho Lavenir states that travel guidebooks could be considered a version of travel accounts that's standardized and systematic (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 61). In their early days, travel accounts and travel guidebooks were indeed still very similar in writing style, however, they are written for different audiences, as guidebooks target tourists who travel further away from their home, by train or steamboat, and have different desires and needs (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 58).

Bertho Lavenir traces the evolution of the guidebook by differentiating three generations of texts. The first generation includes works published around the Napoleonic wars (1803–1815) up until 1830: these are still very similar to travel accounts, reporting

the writer's own opinions, and displaying an interest for the locals and their activities in addition to monuments and sites (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 58). The second generation is exemplified by guides published by John Murray, closely tied to the development of the railways and to the industrialization of tourism (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 59). These texts become gradually more impersonal, providing more systematic and complete information. Anecdotes and information on the local population disappear entirely, or are relegated to introductions and prefaces. Later on, it's the German Baedeker guides which become the most popular, providing information on the main itineraries and focusing on the practical details of the journey. At this time, travel agencies such as Thomas Cook's also start publishing their own guides. Finally, the third generation starts appearing from 1870, with guides dedicated to specific areas or specific activities, such as winter sports, biking, and so on, published by the Touring Club, Alpine Clubs, or similar associations (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 59).

    Guidebooks provide what Bertho Lavenir calls a "virtual" trip, which can be built on the basis on the information and suggestions presented in the text. It also acts as a sort of self-defense tool, as it supplies updated and clear information to travelers plunged in an entirely unknown environment (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 61). They act as organizers and co-ordinators for tourists, who "needed the guidance, the advice, the solicitude offered them by the new firms" (Bertho Lavenir 1999, p. 61). The aim of guidebooks is not limited to giving prospective tourists practical tips and information, but also to communicate "what ought to be seen" (Koshar 1998), separating between those locations that are worth seeing and those that are not. To do so, the author assumes the identity of a destination expert, who disseminates knowledge about the destinations as well as provide practical information about how to navigate the multiple aspects of travel (Calvi 2016, p. 19), reducing the amount of work and preparation for the trip (Han 2003, p. 270).

2.1. Guidebooks as apodemic literature

While, as mentioned in Section 2, travel accounts were rich in descriptions of feelings and emotions evoked by the sights during the trip, non-fictionality is on the other hand a central characteristic of the travel guidebook. In Han's words, "the guidebook derives its authority from its very authorial detachment, from its supposed "objectivity" and most importantly, from its claim towards verifiability" (Han 2003, p. 270, see also Behdad 1994 and Koshar 1998). This statement is also supported by references made to "academic and 'authoritative'" sources (Han 2003, p. 270), which add a more 'scientific' quality to the text. The expression of subjectivity in these texts is therefore said to be covert, limited to a pervasive use of adjectives (Bertho Lavenir 1999: 61).

    However, travel guides may also be defined as apodemic literature, that is, "literature which is written and consumed with the precise intention – on both parts – of affecting behaviour" (Jack, Phipps 2013, p. 283). The claim to the objectivity of guidebooks is therefore arguable, as they steer the reader towards pre-constituted itineraries, highlighting certain sights and monuments through the use of positive evaluative markers, and discouraging from visiting others (MacCannell 1975). Guidebooks therefore contribute to the construction of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990) on the destination, that is, the way tourists perceive and experience the different elements of a trip and the meanings they attach to those elements. The gaze is in turn influenced by the tourism industry itself: indeed, "[g]azing at particular sights is conditioned by personal experiences and memories and framed by rules and styles, as well as by circulating images and texts of this and other places" (Urry, Larsen 2011, p. 2). As a matter of fact, these new

guidebooks provide an interpretative framework of the travel experience and a way to recount this experience to others after the trip (Han 2003, p. 270).

2.2. Early tourism to China and the appearance of guidebooks to Chinese destinations

Westerners have been traveling to China for a long time and for multiple purposes. We can trace Western presence in China back to when a delegation sent by emperor Marcus Aurelius reached the then capital Chang'an – modern day Xi'an – in 163 a.d.. They were followed over the course of the centuries by different types of travelers: "gens d'Eglise, hommes de guerre et hommes de science, diplomates et journalists, marchands et artistes, etc."[2] (Boothroyd 1992, p. x), who produced detailed accounts of their experience in the territories. It is however after the Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860) that we start seeing an increase of foreign visitors to China, the establishment of "Western style inns" and travel agencies (Shu 1995, p. 156). At this time, Westerners become more numerous in China, where they set up a number of different establishments such as churches, hospitals, hotels, banks, and others within their concessions[3]; concurrently, they improve transport infrastructures by building railways and introducing steam-powered navigation along rivers and the coasts (Détrie 1992, p. 1075).

As it happened for tourism in Europe in the previous decades, the presence and expansion of these infrastructures started attracting tourists to the country. Classic tourist circuits were constituted initially by Macao, Hong Kong and the five ports opened by the treaty of Nanking[4] (1842). To these, other destinations were added from 1860, that is, Tientsin (Tianjin), Nanking (Nanjing), and Peking (Beijing). More adventurous travelers would venture outside the beaten path, producing unique travel accounts, whereas the majority of tourists would keep to more comfortable itineraries.

As Boothroyd (1992, p. xix) points out, while there are plenty of different types of travel accounts, guidebooks to China started appearing later, towards the end of the 19th century: one of the central guidebooks for British tourists, Carl Crow's *The Traveler's Handbook for China*, was published in 1913.

3. Expression of evaluation

The expression of an author's opinion within their linguistic production is a subject of academic interest and investigation, with scholars referring to the concept with multiple labels, such as evaluation (Hunston, Thompson 2000), attitude (Halliday 2004), affect, (Ochs 1989), epistemic modality (Hyland 1998), appraisal (Martin 2000; Martin, White, 2005), stance (Biber 2006; Biber *et al.* 2006), and metadiscourse (Crismore, 1989; Hyland 2005a; Hyland, Tse 2004). "[T]he words chosen to describe the world in a text inevitably reflect the ideology of the writer" (Hunston 2000, p. 195), overtly or covertly.

Evaluative resources are closely connected with the discourse community the author is writing for. Indeed, we can identify a number of different linguistic features,

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[2] "Men of religion, war, and science, diplomats and journalists, merchants and artists, etc." (my translation)
[3] An international concession may be defined as a region "set apart by the Chinese Government within which foreigners may reside and lease land" (Quigley 1928, p. 150).
[4] The ports are Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy (Xiamen), Foochowfoo (Fuzhou), Ningpo (Ningbo) and Shanghai.

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which allow readers to "connect, organize, and interpret writing" (Hyland, Tse 2004, p. 157) as intended by the author of the text, and according to the interpretative framework of specific discourse communities. Evaluation then becomes meaningful if it fits the values of the community the author is writing for and within, including "what is taken to be normal, interesting, relevant, novel, useful, good, bad, and so on" (Hyland 2005b, p. 175), which in the case of travel guidebooks concerns the selection of sights and monuments worth visiting at the destination described. As with other models of stance analysis, Hyland's framework has been founded on and applied primarily to academic genres (e.g., Almeida 2012; Kashiha 2021; Peacock 2015), but the model has been recently applied to other textual genres, such as shareholders' letters (Lee 2021), opinion articles (Gulzar *et al.* 2020), and letters to the editor (Ahmed, Masroor 2018).

In travel guidebooks, as was seen, authors aim to project authority on the different aspects of traveling (e.g., transportation, accommodation, currency exchange and prices, etc.) as well as to persuade readers to visit certain locations. The reliability of the information relayed in the text in turn involves the capability on the part of the author to make successful claims to the quality of the book itself. Indeed, authors "signal their attitude towards both their material and their audience" (Hyland, Tse 2004, p. 156). The linguistic features which more prototypically express the "writer's affective, rather than epistemic, attitude to propositions" are attitude markers (Hyland 2005b, p. 180), which in turn include attitude verbs, sentence adverbs, and adjectives.

Attitude verbs are incorporated in other frameworks for stance analysis, such as Biber's, who includes attitude verbs as part of "stance complement clauses controlled by verbs" (that-clause) alongside epistemic and non-factual verbs (Biber 2006, p. 101). Evaluative sentence adverbs fit in Biber's three-way categorization of adverbs (Biber 2006) as stance adverbials[5], which express "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements or assessments" (Biber *et al.* 2006, p. 966), and specifically in the subcategory of attitudinal stance adverbials, which convey speaker evaluation. Attitudinal stance adverbials and verbs have not been as frequently analyzed as epistemic and evidential stance features, as "overall, attitudinal stance markers are less common than epistemic markers, and they are also more limited grammatically" (Biber *et al.* 2006, p. 974), especially in written academic registers where stance analyses are more frequent. For what concerns the latter category, it is evaluative adjectives that are generally employed "in argumentation and persuasion" and can reveal the speaker/writer's opinions (Scotto di Carlo 2015, p. 205). Evaluative adjectives may also "play a crucial role in argumentation" (Herman, Liberatore 2022, p. 156): in the specific case of guidebooks, evaluative adjectives may act as a call-to-action, prompting the reader to follow the guide's advice as to which itineraries to follow. Adjectives have been defined and categorized following different criteria, such as semantic (Dixon 1982; Swales, Burke 2003), syntactic (Ferris 1993; Teyssier 1968), functional (Biber et al. 2006; Halliday 2004; Sinclair, 1990) and pragmatic (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980). For this study a choice was made to follow Kerbrat-Orecchioni's categorization (1980, pp. 111-113) of adjectives, which classify how subjectivity is conveyed differently in adjectives. She identifies four main categories: objective adjectives, which do not involve a personal judgement (e.g., "blue", "married"); affective adjectives (e.g., "sad", "funny"), which convey an emotional reaction towards what is being described; subjective evaluative adjectives, which are further separated in axiological and non-axiological. Axiological adjectives imply a qualitative judgement

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[5] The other categories are linking adverbials or adverbial connectives (related to coherence), and circumstance adverbials (encoding time, manner and place).

("gorgeous", "unfortunate"), whereas non-axiological adjectives have a gradual nature, indicating size, quantity and temporal expressions (e.g., "large", "hot"). Emotional and subjective axiological adjectives will be taken into consideration in this analysis. It should be noted, however, that it may sometimes be hard to classify an individual adjective as axiological or non-axiological, as they may be "not axiological in language but in context" (Herman, Liberatore 2022, p. 166).

4. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to investigate authorial stance in early guidebooks to Chinese destinations, focusing specifically on attitude markers expressing affective evaluation, namely attitude verbs, sentence adverbs, and adjectives (Hyland 2005b, p. 180), integrating Kerbrat-Orecchioni's 1980 pragmatic categorization of adjectives to select specific subsets of adjectives to study.

The analysis employs a mixed-method approach, involving both quantitative and qualitative analysis. In the first stage, corpus linguistics methodology is employed to automatically extract verbs, adverbs and adjectives and their frequencies from a corpus of 9 early travel guidebooks to China published between 1866 and 1934, for a total of about 182,000 tokens. The texts are part of the TaLitE[6] (Traveling and Living in the East) corpus, which includes print travel accounts and guidebooks published between the 19th and early 20th centuries as well as contemporary travel vlogs. The project aims at investigating, also from a diachronic perspective, the evolution of Western perceptions on China as well as the characteristics of the textual genres involved. Out of the guidebooks currently available in the corpus, those that focused on traveling and tourism rather than on life for expatriates were selected. While all texts in the corpus are in English, due to the lack of information on some of the authors it is not possible to state with certainty whether they were originally written in English, or by English-speaking authors. The guidebooks, detailed in Table 1 below, vary substantially in length, and for some guidebooks only a limited amount of text was available from the selected source. In order to minimize skewing results, a choice was made to select a reduced sample (< 30,000 words) from the longer texts (7 and 8).

	Guidebook	Token size	Source
1	Unknown, (1924). City Guides, and descriptions of Tientsin, Shanghai, Peking, Hangschow, Tsinan, Hongkong, Tsingtao, Canton, Nanking.	19401	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
2	Unknown (1920). Information for travellers visiting Peking. Thomas Cook & Son.	4396	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
3	Unknown (1888). Guide for tourists to Peking and its environs. With a plan of the city of Peking and a sketch map of its neighborhood. Peking, Pei-T'ang Press	17693	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique

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6   https://dh.dlls.univr.it/it/progetti/patrimonio-linguistico-culturale/#talite (14.11.2022).

4	Dennys, Nicholas Belfield (1866). Note for tourists in the North of China. HongKong, A. Shortrede & Co.	26188	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
5	Mrs. Archibald Little (1904). Guide to Peking. Tientsin, Tientsin Press, ltd.	27370	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
6	Hans Balke (1909). Guide to Peking and Neighbourhood. Tientsin, Tageblatt für Nord-China.	5630	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
7	Darwent, Charles Ewart (Rev.). (1920). Shanghai. A handbook for travellers and residents. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh.	29407	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
8	Unknown (1917). Peking and the overland route. Thomas Cook & Son.	28461	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
9	Peter Gum (1934). Peiping and North China: information and illustrations of the important places to see. Peiping, Grand Hotel des Wagons Lits.	14193	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique
10	California Directory Association (1930). Tourist Guide to Shanghai - North China. Hongkong & Shanghai hotels, Ltd.	9979	Bibliothèque Numérique Asiatique

Table 1
Guidebooks in the corpus and their token size.

In order to investigate the guidebooks with corpus analysis software, the books have been digitized using the Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software ABBY FineReader PDF 15. This software was selected as it includes optical recognition of both simplified and traditional Chinese characters, which are frequently found in such texts. A number of actions were taken to prepare the texts for corpus analysis: for example, indexes and advertisements, where present, were expunged from the text, as well as page numbers. Repetitions of chapter titles at the top of each page were also not included in the finalized texts, to avoid skewing frequency counts for the words included in these strings. Mark-up, encoded in XML (eXtensible Mark-up Language) tags, indicates the presence of images (pictures, illustrations) and maps, unsure character recognition or unreadable words/strings of text, and presence of other languages, most notably Chinese.

The analysis was carried out using SketchEngine (Kilgarriff *et al*. 2014) corpus analysis software. SketchEngine automatically annotates corpora using the English TreeTagger Part of Speech tagset (pipeline version 3), allowing for automated extraction of the parts of speech under investigation. In the first stage of the analysis, the lemmas for all adverbs, verbs and adjectives with a minimum frequency of 5 in the corpus were extracted. The resulting output was filtered manually to identify sentence adverbs and adjectives and verbs expressing attitude. As pointed out by Herman and Liberatore (2022), adjectives with a non-axiological form may still be axiological by context of use: for this reason, concordance analysis was carried out on non-axiological adjectives which may express attitude to determine whether to include them or not in the list of evaluative adjectives. As a final step, concordance lines for all the items in the resulting lists were manually read in order to expunge items that were not employed as attitude markers. Discourse analysis was then applied to the resulting data, in order to identify how the

expression of attitude in guidebooks contribute to promoting the guidebooks themselves alongside the destinations, shaping the travel experience for their readers.

5. Results and discussion

The first stages of the analysis produced a list of attitude markers in the guidebooks under examination: sentence adverbs, attitude verbs and evaluative adjectives with frequency equal or over 5, detailed in Table 2 below.

Sentence adverbs	evidently, singularly, unfortunately
Attitude verbs	seem, believe, consider, think, wish, recommend, suppose, enjoy, regard, want, attract, desire, please, feel, appreciate, improve, hope, advise, care, assume, boast, like, need, suffice, suggest, threaten, judge, love, deserve, claim, surprise
Evaluative adjectives	great, good, beautiful, fine, interesting, worth, important, magnificent, modern, excellent, necessary, special, rich, splendid, remarkable, pleasant, natural, picturesque, grand, handsome, delightful, considerable, pretty, attractive, perfect, wonderful, advisable, bad, clean, complete, charming, useful, fair, particular, quiet, curious, endless, lovely, exquisite, lofty, impossible, favourite, convenient, hard, worthy, pleasing, striking, impressive, suitable, superior, interested, unusual, extraordinary, comfortable, quaint, gorgeous, sufficient, inferior, elaborate, wretched, exclusive, fascinating, peculiar, plain, brilliant, rare, artistic, dilapidated, celestial, imposing, dull, triumphal, weird, strange, extreme, notable, precious, rugged, heavenly, disagreeable, sweet, gay, graceful, amazing, skilled, distinguished, superb, unique, veritable, elegant, lesser, fantastic, primitive, crude, severe, singular, happy, ideal, agreeable, tremendous, tolerable, uncomfortable, well-kept, mere, noteworthy, extra, equal, characteristic

Table 2
Attitude markers identified in the corpus.

As can be seen, sentence adverbs were scarce in the corpus: out of 179 total adverbs, only 3 were sentence adverbs (1,6% of the total). 31 attitude verbs were identified in a total of 476 verbs (6,5%) and finally, 117 out of 431 adjectives were deemed to be evaluative, around 27% of the total. It does show here that adjectives, while not as common as verbs, seem to express judgements or evaluations on the object they are modifying distinctly more often than verbs. As will be seen, attitude markers are frequently used by writers to express an opinion or judgement on the destinations contained in the guidebooks, and on the many aspects related to travel. At a first glance to the items in table 2, the picture emerging is of a positive evaluation of the destinations illustrated, as can be inferred from a prevalence of positive evaluative adjectives and their higher frequencies – items in the cells are ordered according to frequency. Negatively-connoted terms, such as *threaten*, *bad*, *hard*, *inferior*, etc., indeed appear less frequently in the corpus. As these guidebooks also act as promotional material and have the purpose of calling the potential traveler to action, it is not surprising that the majority of the locations would be described in positive terms.

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5.1. Promoting guidebook reliability

Looking at the concordance analysis for the items, one first observation that can be made is that evaluation is expressed on the guidebooks themselves. While not preponderant in the corpus, writers express their stance on the quality of the information they are providing, addressing their readers to promote their work or correlated services:

(1)   We may therefore **hope** to meet a real want by publishing the following pages, which intend to give an abridged description of Peking according to the actual state of our knowledge, and trust that the work will prove to be what it **desires** to be: A GUIDE FOR THE TOURISTS TO PEKING. (#3)

(2)   Cook & Son will gladly give information in regard to sightseeing in Peking, arrange for automobile and carriage excursions, **recommend** reliable native guides, issue tickets, forward curios, etc., exchange foreign money and undertake all travellers requirements. (#2)

(3)   With every season's change, facilities for extending travel are **improving**, and it will be always our first care to keep pace with these developments to secure the latest information as well as the comfort and convenience of our world-wide clientele. (#8)

In these first examples, we see how attitude verbs are used to state the intentions of the writers and to promote the books by underlining the reliability of the information provided (1 and 3), and the comprehensiveness of the other services offered (2). In example (4) below we see on the other hand how a sentence adverb may be used to introduce a disclaimer on the accuracy of the information, anticipating the potential presence of mistakes in the text.

(4)   **Unfortunately** these authorities seem rarely to be agreed even about measurements, and as one of the wittiest writers says: "One never can tell the truth about China without telling a lie at the same time" so I can but throw myself upon the mercy of succeeding generations of sightseers, begging them very kindly to remember that everyone, sending me a correction of a misstatement or inaccuracy, may be helping towards building up a really good guide in the future. (#5)

Early guidebooks often make use of previously existing information from other sources that are considered authoritative, in order to project an image of objectivity and reliability. Here, *unfortunately* appears to be employed to remove the author's responsibility in relation to any mistakes found in the guidebook, which would be due to a lack of agreement even by authorities on China. In the second part of the sentence, the request to send correct information highlights the intention of author and publisher to produce a quality product for tourists.

        While self-mentions as a stance marker (Hyland 2005b) are not under investigation in this study, it should be noted here that in examples (1), (3) and (4), first person personal pronouns, possessive adjectives and active constructions are employed; these contribute to the personalization and overtness of the expression of stance, as "stance structures with a 1st person subject are the most overt expressions of speaker/author stance" (Biber 2006, p. 99). According to Hyland, "the presence or absence of explicit author reference is generally a conscious choice by writers to adopt a particular stance and disciplinary-situated authorial identity" (2005b, p. 181). The use of personal pronouns is not common in combination with attitude markers in this corpus but may be more frequent in passages describing the guidebooks, as in the examples above. Here, the writers state the aim of their texts and highlight the hard work behind providing a service to the reader as a way to

promote their product and services.

5.2. Qualitative, aesthetic and emotive evaluations

The concordance analysis has shown that the guidebooks are rich in qualitative, aesthetic, and emotive evaluations regarding the locations visited, the quality of the infrastructure (e.g. transport routes and roads) and of the services offered (e.g. accommodation, means of transportation). Oftentimes these elements are found in passages without explicit attribution. As Biber (2006, p. 99) points out, "the normal inference is that these devices express the stance of the speaker/writer." He refers specifically to grammatical stance elements, such as stance adverbials, and extraposed complement clauses (Biber 2006, p. 99), although this inference could be made for the attitude markers under investigation here. At times, attitude markers, especially verbs, are used to target a specific type of traveler rather than express a broader evaluation on a location or an aspect of the trip or of China:

(5)   […] a picnic ground for travellers who **want** to see something of Chinese rural life and something of Chinese temples in a rustic setting. (#8)

In example 5 advice is given to tourists who may have specific interests. In this case, these evaluations have the purpose of directing these subgroups of readers to specific locations, performing therefore a call to action. A more generalized positive stance towards the locations described is expressed through the use of attitude verbs and evaluative adjectives, as may be seen in the three examples below.

(6)   Any well-balanced mind must **enjoy** a drive through such a smiling, fertile country. (#7)

(7)   This singularly **beautiful** building, like some anti-diluvian monster, **seeming** to belong to a different world from ours, can be visited on the return journey from the great Bell Temple. (#5)

(8)   Aptly named "The Paris of the East"– a very **gay** city, also a **beautiful** one. (#10)

While not within the scope of this study, we may also notice the use of modality in different degrees, from the use of the strong verb *must* in (6), indicating necessity, to the expression of possibility (*can*) in (7), which provides tourists with information about what should not be missed and what may be an added pleasure during the trip. Modality is a grammatical stance device (Biber 2006), and in this case, combined with attitude markers, modal verbs contribute to constructing the tourist gaze on Chinese destinations by prioritizing locations to be seen and underlining their positive effect on the tourist experience. Example (7), highlighting the otherworldly quality of the building he's describing, draws on Cohen's strangerhood perspective, that is, a tourist's desire for an "experience of strangeness and novelty, "removed from the routine and environment of home (Cohen 1972, p. 165).
     In a small number of occurrences, we can see the authors emerge explicitly from the text, providing overt personal evaluations. Such instances are not however found in comparable amount in all texts, but appear to be more frequent in texts #4 and #7. Although it is not possible to provide a definite reason for the higher frequency of overt stance expression in these two texts, we can assume that text #4, published in 1866, may still be influenced in style by travel accounts, which is, as established earlier, strongly characterized by personal considerations on the author's part (Bertho Lavenir 1999).

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(9) Some Europeans are to be found who declare they "**enjoy** a ride in a cart above all things;" but the writer confesses to an angularity of body which he presumes the aforesaid persons do not possess, if, as they state, they "**enjoy**" so diabolical a torture. (#4)

The author refers to himself in third person, avoiding the use of a first person pronoun, but there is no attempt at maintaining any degree of objectivity here, as he first states his physical condition and his own opinion of riding in a cart, which he equates to a diabolical torture.

(10) The Northern District is usually **considered** to contain no places of interest, a view which is entirely wrong, as I **hope** to show. (#7)

In example (10) above the author openly disagrees with the notion that the Northern District has no attraction of interest for Western tourists and uses the attitude verb 'hope' to signal that what follows has the purpose of convincing the reader to visit this area of Shanghai. In example (11), the author similarly disagrees with the information provided by other travelers and does so explicitly in the text.

(11) I cannot see how anyone with any eye for landscape, however disposed to rail at the want of interest in the scenery of this part of China, can fail to be **pleased** with the Rubicon Road. (#7)

From the same guidebook, this time the author uses a first-person pronoun to express his personal opinion on Rubicon Road, which he evaluates very positively, to the point that he would judge whomever would not appreciate it as lacking "any eye for landscape."

  The positive evaluation of the suggested locations is also expressed through the skillful construction of snapshots of China and of Chinese life, depicting landscapes and characteristic city scenes that immerse the reader in the narrative and increase desire to live that same experience.

(12) For a confused scene of boats, houses, pontoons, shanties, boatmen, coolies and passengers, rich and poor, with "big box, little box, band-box, and bundle," hawkers, cooks and loafers, the scene is unrivalled. **Unfortunately** the noise cannot be photographed. (#7)

In the example above, a sentence adverb expressing a judgement is employed by the author to imply that travelers will be unable to capture the full extent of this distinctive scene in a photograph to be brought back home, as the sound would be impossible to record in a photograph.

(13) We **seem** to **feel** the hot breath, the **wild** excitement of the chase, and hear the roll of the chariots, and see the charioteers flogging on their horses, […] (#5)

Here, the author includes herself in the description, trying to engage the reader in a shared experience that may only be lived at the destination described. Whereas in example (12) the focus, in addition to the visual, was on the aural dimension, here physical sensation is evoked through the feeling of "hot breath".

  Guidebooks are orienting the readers to certain destinations and locations through descriptions with positively-connoted terms and, at times, through explicit recommendation of the author, who emerges from the text to provide their own personal view on locations, as in example (10), where the author openly contrast the popular

opinion on certain areas. The vivid descriptions in examples (12) and (13) attempt to immerse the reader in the picture they paint, creating an expectation of an experience that the reader will wish to partake in during their trip. The gaze of the reader is therefore directed towards certain destinations (Urry 1990).

5.3. Passivization and impersonal constructions

The previous examples have shown how attitude markers appear in guidebooks to construct a positive image of the destination, outline the must-see locations, engage with the reader by immersing them in detailed descriptions of recommended locations and itineraries, and build trust with the audience relating to the quality of the guidebook itself.

However, as was said, guidebooks make a stronger claim to objectivity, contrary to travel accounts, as they aim to provide their readers with objective, verifiable information. Despite the pervasive presence of evaluative content, it appears that passive and impersonal constructions are often employed, even in combination with attitude verbs, to project neutrality.

(14)   The choice must of course rest with the traveller, who is **recommended** as a matter of comfort
         to choose the latter; […] (#4)

In example (14), the recommendation to choose accommodation in the Tartar city rather than in the Chinese city is made in a passive form, used in this case to construct objectivity. At the same time, it is the traveler, rather than the author, who is put at the center of both the sentence and of the activity. The same occurs in example (15) below, where the author disappears behind the use of another attitude verb in a passive form.

(15)   Visitors are **advised** that arrangements for this trip can be made through the hotels or Thos.
         Cook & Son, […] (#1)

In the following example, it is the destination which becomes the object of the passive construction and is positively appraised with the frequent evaluative adjective interesting:

(16)   This is near Jên-shou-tien, the, building first visited, and completes a tour of what is
         considered the most **interesting** summer retreat in China. (#1)

In all these examples, the subject of the action is not reported. It may therefore be assumed to be the author themselves, as any source of information deemed authoritative would likely be reported, as seen here in example (17), where an authoritative source, albeit very generic, for the historical hypothesis is provided.

(17)   The Temple and Altar of Heaven. (天壇) A **beautiful** and pretentious building, or group of
         buildings, **considered** the most **important** monuments in China to the prehistoric
         monotheistic faith which is generally **considered** by scholars to have preceded Buddhism,
         Taoism and Confucianism. (#2)

6. Conclusions

The analysis of this corpus of guidebooks to China seems to show that the claim to objectivity and verifiability for guidebooks does not hold, as attitude markers, especially adjectives, appear extensively in the texts. The use of such markers contributes to the

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construction of an attractive image of the destination described, with the purpose of inviting the reader to try the travel experience first-hand, and see the all the attractions, landscapes, and exotic scenes of local life with their own eyes. In most cases, as seen from the examples, the idea of objectivity is maintained through the prevalence of indirect expression of evaluation, via evaluative adjectives and attitude verbs that may not be directly attributed to the writer. Passive and impersonal constructions are also common, as seen in examples (14) to (17), behind which the author of the text seems to 'disappear'.

More overt evaluation is rarer and not found consistently in the texts under investigation: the presence of first-person constructions is more frequent in reference to the guidebook itself, with the author underlining the quality of the product, its current reliability, and the intention of continuing to work hard to improve or fix inaccuracies in the work. This helps build a relation of trust with the reader, who may therefore be more inclined to accept the advice provided in the following pages. Other overt expressions of judgement/opinion are rare and limited to two of the books in the corpus.

The small size of the corpus and the limited number of guides, , some of which only contribute a small number of tokens to the overall corpus, is indeed a drawback of this study: due to the size of the corpus, it is not possible to determine whether this is simply a matter of personal style on the part of the author, or, as in the case of the 1866 text, the potentially fuzzier boundaries of the time with the more intimate genre of the travel account may explain this occurrence. Another limitation we may mention is the choice to extract attitude markers that occurred at least 5 times in the corpus, which therefore do not constitute a complete list of the markers appearing in the guidebooks: this, however, had the purpose of reducing data output in order to make it more manageable by a single researcher.

The implicit expression of evaluation emerging from the data is in line with a view of the guidebook as apodemic literature, and its purpose to promote destination and travel itineraries to increasingly large number of tourists. Even from these early times guidebooks started shaping the reader's gaze on the and attractions advertised in the books. The author's attitude, therefore, while not always explicit, still comes to light through attitude markers that have the purpose of leading the reader to visit certain destinations rather than others, building "systematic rules useful for travel and observation" (Jack, Phipps 2003, p. 283), an interpretative framework through which to filter and recount the travel experience and which is then perpetuated as certain destinations become "famous for being famous" (Urry, Larsen 2011, p. 15).

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