

Towards a morphosyntactic classification of travel influencers hashtags on Instagram

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Resum. Cap a una classificació morfosintàctica de *hashtags* d'*influencers* de viatges a Instagram. El present estudi explora el llenguatge utilitzat pels *influencers* de viatges a Instagram. Més concretament, se centra en la creació dels *hashtags* des de la perspectiva de la formació de paraules i la fraseologia. L'objectiu d'aquest estudi és doble: 1) identificar i analitzar els *hashtags* que utilitzen els *influencers* de viatges a Instagram, i 2) proposar una taxonomia morfosintàctica dels *hashtags* trobats. Per dur a terme aquest estudi s'ha seguit un enfocament basat en corpus. Les dades es recopilaren d'Instagram, una de les xarxes socials més populars a l'actualitat, que proporciona una mostra autèntica i actualitzada. Com a resultat, es van recopilar 372 *hashtags* per a aquest estudi, que es classificaren en quatre grans grups: (1) # + paraula, (2) # + frase, (3) # + oració, (4) # + altre.

Paraules clau: turisme, fotografia, *hashtags*, *influencers*, Instagram.

Abstract. Towards a morphosyntactic classification of travel influencers hashtags on Instagram.

The present study explores the language used by travel influencers on Instagram. More specifically it focuses on the creation of hashtags from the word-formation perspective and phraseology. The aim of this study is twofold: 1) to identify and analyze the hashtags used by travel influencers on Instagram, and 2) to propose a morphosyntactic taxonomy of the hashtags found. In order to carry out the study, a corpus-based approach was followed. The data was gathered from Instagram – one of the most popular social networks at present, providing an authentic up-to-date sample. As a result, 372 hashtags were collected for this study, which were consequently classified into four major groups: (1) # + word, (2) # + phrase, (3) # + clause, (4) # + other.

Keywords: tourism, photography, hashtags, influencers, Instagram.

1. Introduction

There is widespread recognition that tourism and photography are very close in many aspects (Osborne, 2000). The role of photography within the modern tourist gaze is fundamental (Urry, 2002; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Taking photographs is deeply rooted in tourists' experiences (Cederholm, 2004, p. 226; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003, p. 23-24; Markwell, 1997, p. 131). As noted by Sontag (1977) "it seems positively unnatural to travel for pleasure without taking a camera along [...] Most tourists feel compelled to put a camera between themselves and whatever is remarkable they encounter" (pp. 9-10).

In recent years, with the growing popularity of social media, the relationship between traveling and photography has strengthened. Social media has altered the way tourism-related information is distributed and consumed (Buhalis & Law, 2008). Researchers agree that social media platforms like Instagram are the most effective in promoting tourism (Christou, 2015; Xiang and Gretzel, 2010).

The increasing role and use of social media in tourism have been widely discussed in recent years; in particular, there seems to be a growing interest in the impact of influencers in decision-making behaviors (Barbe et al., 2020; Berjozkina & Garanti, 2020; Gretzel, 2017; Magno & Cassia, 2018; Palazzo et al., 2021). It has been proved that travel influencers are gaining a significant role in the travel industry as they can be directly responsible for the decisions of other travelers (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010). Thus, influencer marketing has become an important tool for promoting not just products and services but also destinations (Bokunewicz & Shulman, 2017; Stoldt et al., 2019).

Social media influencer is still an emerging practice. The majority of the research undertaken in this field focuses on marketing (Brown & Hayes, 2008; Stubb et al., 2019) or visual content of the images shared (Webb et al., 2017, 2019; Zappavigna, 2016). There are no studies, to the best of my knowledge, on the language used by travel influencers on Instagram, which, without any doubt, constitutes a rich source for investigating language. This study seeks to address that gap and explore the language used by travel influencers on Instagram from a lexicological perspective. More specifically it deals with the use of hashtags from the word-formation perspective and phraseology.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. *Tourism and photography*

Since its beginnings, photography was linked to traveling and tourism. As Osborne (2000) notes "as soon as there was photography, there was travel photography" (p. 3). Barely nine months since the French Academy of Science in 1839 had announced the Daguerre's invention – the daguerreotype, the first successful form of photography, and less than two months since it had been revealed to the world at the *Institut de France*,

Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière —an amateur daguerreotypist— was already “taking pictures” of the Acropolis in Athens (Lemagny & Rouille, 1987, p. 20; *apud* Osborne, 2000, p. 3). Two years later, the first travel book appeared. It included lithographs (paper copies of daguerreotypes) of Acropolis taken by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière years earlier and works of other “photographers” (Osborne, 2000, p. 19). In the same year, Thomas Cook – famous for founding the travel agency Thomas Cook & Son – organized the first packaged tour, an event that is often regarded as the beginning of the tourism industry (Garlick, 2002, 290; Urry, 2002, p. 148). Therefore, both modern tourism and photography emerged in the same period and developed alongside. In Urry and Larsen’s (2011) words “this is the moment when the ‘tourist gaze’, that peculiar combining together of the means of collective travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction, becomes a core component of western modernity” (p. 14).

In the beginning, both photography and traveling were expensive, arduous, and time-consuming and over time they evolved to be more accessible and slowly developed into a popular industry (Connors, 2018). A turning point came in 1888 when the first compact camera was released by George Eastman, the founder of Kodak. Since then, the camera has been “one of the tourist’s primary ‘identity badges’” (Chalfen, 1987, p. 101). The earliest Kodak advertisements reflect the correlation between traveling and photography: “Vacation days are Kodak days. The Kodaker has all the vacation delights that others have —and has pictures besides” (May 1904); “Vacation without a Kodak is a vacation without memories... (and) is a vacation wasted. A Kodak doubles the value of every journey and adds to the pleasure, present and future, of every outing. Take a Kodak with you” (June, 1909); “There’s more to the vacation when you Kodak. More pleasure at the moment and afterward the added charm of pictures that tell the vacation story” (June, 1908). Consequently, the camera became promoted as a requisite for traveling (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 172). In fact, one of the first commercially produced 35mm cameras was specifically called “the Tourist Multiple”. For Eastman, to travel meant ‘to Kodak’ and he was eager to tie the relationship between being a traveler/tourist and being a ‘Kodaker’ (Chalfen, 1987, pp. 101-102).

As a result, both tourism and photography (in particular amateur photography) have become pervasive throughout Western societies. Nowadays taking photographs is part of traveling. As Cederholm (2004, p. 226) points out “tourist photography can be regarded as a ritualized activity, inherent in the activity of traveling”. Moreover, with the introduction of digital photography and the appearance of social-networking sites, photographs became widely produced and consumed.

The relationship between both has long interested academics. There are studies from a cultural perspective (Albers & James, 1988; Garlick, 2002) and on the role of photography in the promotion of tourism destinations (Chalfen, 1979; Garrod, 2009; Jenkins, 2003; Jimura, & Lee, 2020), although researchers mainly seem to focus on the analysis of the content of photographic representations (Donaire et al., 2014; Feighery, 2009). To the best of my knowledge, no studies have been carried out in the field from

the linguistic perspective. Most linguistic studies focus either on the language of tourism from the different perspectives (Dann, 1996, 2012; Rață, 2013; Soto Almela, 2019) or the language of photography (Mykytko, 2016, 2020a, 2020b). This study aims at joining both tourism and photography from a linguistic perspective.

2.2. Social media and influencers

In general, social media refers to web-based interactive platforms that allow users to create, discuss, modify, and share user-generated content (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 241). It is used as an umbrella term to describe a variety of online platforms, such as blogs, business networks, collaborative projects, social networking sites, forums, microblogs, photo sharing sites, consumer review sites, social bookmarking, social gaming, video sharing, and virtual worlds (Aichner & Jacob, 2015, p. 258). It is not simply a new means of communication, but an entire online environment based on the contributions and the interactions of its users (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014, p. 28). As noted by Kietzmann et al. (2011) “we are in the midst of an altogether new communication landscape” as social media is changing the communication between organizations, communities, and individuals (pp. 241, 250).

Social media is one of the most powerful online networking tools nowadays (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014, p. 27). It has become an integral part of modern life influencing all its aspects, including the way people travel (Garner, 2020, p. 316) by radically altering the travel information search and destination selection process (Morosan & Jeong, 2008). According to Buhalis and Law (2008), it can now be considered as a critical component of the tourism info-structure.

The emergence of social networks has given a chance for social media influencers to appear. An influencer is “a person who is able to generate interest in something (such as a consumer product) by posting about it on social media” (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2021). According to Rojas (2020), there are 5 types of influencers depending on the number of followers: nano-influencers (between 2 and 5 thousand followers), micro-influencers (between 5 and 100 thousand followers), macro-influencers (between 100 and 500 thousand followers), fame-influencers (between 500 thousand and a million followers), and mega-influencers (more than a million followers).

With the tourism industry being one of the world’s largest and most dynamic industries (Aratuo & Etienne, 2019) and the appearance of digital photography, the Internet, and social media, influencer marketing has become an important tool for promoting tourist destinations (Bokunewicz & Shulman, 2017; Stoldt et al., 2019; Xu & Pratt, 2018). This, at the same time, has yielded to the emergence of a new field of research – social media and tourism (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014, p. 28). This study focuses on the language used by travel influencers on Instagram, a field which has not been researched into so far.

2.3. Hashtags

The launch of the first hashtag in 2007 on Twitter irreversibly changed the way society communicates (Boling, 2020, p. 3). It was introduced with the intention to classify messages (tweets) according to the topic and allow users to easily find tweets related to a specific subject and share information related to it. A hashtag may be defined as “a word or phrase preceded by the symbol # that classifies or categorizes the accompanying text” (*Merriam Webster Dictionary*, 2021). This combination serves as a label for the message itself and is “linked to a search for those characters” (Sagolla, 2009, p. 167).

Despite its ubiquity, relatively little research has examined hashtags till now. The existing studies mainly focus on activists’ movements (Chen & Wang, 2020; Williams, 2015; Yang, 2016), or emotions (Mohammad & Kiritchenko, 2015; Müller & Schwarz, 2020; Qadir & Riloff, 2014), and very few researchers have devoted themselves to studying hashtags from a linguistic perspective. Thus, for example, Celebi and Özgür (2018) research hashtags segmentation, or Dewi et al. (2015) examine the word-formation in hashtags. To date, no research has addressed hashtags used by travel influencers, which is precisely the aim of the present study.

3. Objectives and methodology

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the hashtags used by travel influencers on Instagram (<https://www.instagram.com>) – one of the most widely used social networks nowadays. More specifically, the aim is to identify the hashtags that exist in this particular field, analyze them and classify them according to their morphosyntactic features, following a corpus-based methodology. My sources have been 5 travel influencers of different categories (from micro to mega influencers) from the English-speaking countries whose images and subsequently hashtags were published mainly in 2020 (see Table 1).

TABLE I. COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Influencer	Origin	Type	Tokens	Year
ThePlanetD	Canada	Macro influencer	198	2020
divergenttravelers	US	Micro influencer	124	2020
Izkiz	UK	Mega influencer	57	2019-2020
Mindz.ey	Canada	Fame influencer	194	2020
Jasoncharleshill	Australia	Fame influencer	83	2020

As a result, a sample of 656 tokens and 363 types was collected. Once the sample was compiled, I proceeded with the analysis and the classification of the hashtags. *Merriam Webster Dictionary* was used to check the grammatical category of the words.

4. Morphosyntactic classification of travel influencers hashtags on Instagram

Table 2 illustrates the classification of hashtags found in the sample. Taking into account their morphosyntactic features, I have divided them into main 4 categories: 1) # + word, 2) # + phrase, 3) # + clause, and 4) other formations. As can be observed, the most common category # + other – with 133 items (37 % of the total). It is composed of neologisms, agrammatical formations whose aim is to condense the information and make the hashtag shorter, creative phrases or idiomatic expressions whose meaning is extremely obscure, and code-switching examples. Other quite common groups include # + word (118 items; 32 %) and # + phrase (106 items; 29 %), being in the second and the third place respectively. Finally, the least common pattern is # + clause with only 6 examples (2 %).

TABLE 2. TAXONOMY OF HASHTAGS

Type of hashtag		Example	N°	%
# + word		<i>#beach, #landscapephotography</i>	118	32 %
# + phrase		<i>#bestvacations, #travellife, #explorechina</i>	106	29 %
# + clause		<i>#doyoutravel, #ilovemyhorse</i>	6	2 %
# + other	# + neologism	<i>#canadagram, #igcaptures, #instautah</i>	133	37 %
	# + condensed phrase	<i>#canadalife, #tlpicks, #travel2china</i>		
	# + creative phrase	<i>#lensbible, #shotzdelight, #earthfocus</i>		
	# + code switching	<i>#mexicolindo</i>		
Total			363	100 %

4.1. # + word

This group yielded 118 items (32 % of the total) as shown in Table 2, which were classified into three subgroups: nouns, adjectives, and verbs. It should be noted that both simple and compound words were included. The number of simple words is almost

double that of compound words (75 simple words compared to 43 compound words), which is quite remarkable.

Results show that the vast majority of items in this group are nouns (109 items; 92 % within this category). These are used either to describe the pictures (e.g., *#beach*, *#glacier*, *#landscape*, *#sunrise*, *#nationalpark*) or to mention the places the influencer is visiting and, therefore, advertising (e.g., *#cuba*, *#utah*, *#rome*, *#prague*, *#northdakota*). Hashtags with proper nouns appear to be quite popular among travel influencers (60 proper nouns compared to 49 common nouns). Such a high presence of proper nouns in this area is not surprising as we are dealing with travel influencers whose main objective is to visit and, consequently, to promote the different tourist destinations. Thus, proper nouns of one, two, three, and four words have been identified (e.g., *#cappadocia*, *#bajacalifornia*, *#cassowarycoast*, *#yellowstonenationalpark*, *#theodorerooseveltnationalpark*). Regarding the common compound nouns, many of them are photography terms, which refer for example to the different types of photography (e.g., *#travelphotography*, *#streetphotography*, *#landscapephotography*, *#aerialphotography*). This may be due to the fact that the travel influencers are frequently also travel photographers who need some photographic ability and knowledge in order to make their photographs appealing to the audience.

Even though nouns are most frequently used within this group of # + word formations, scarce examples of adjectives (6 items; 5 %) and verbs (3 items; 3 %) were found too. Examples of the former are a few demonyms (*#greenlandic*, *#cuban*, *#czech*, *#swiss*) and common adjectives (*#tropical*, *#equine*), while the latter are represented by the following verbs: *#explore*, *#travel*, *#visit*.

4.2. # + *phrase*

The next group of hashtags consists of phrases that follow the hashtag symbol. 106 items were identified (29 % of the total) which have been classified into nominal, verbal, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases. Nominal phrases are among the most popular (69 items; 65 %) followed by verbal (34 items; 32 %), being the others extremely rare with just one item in each subcategory (1 % each).

Apart from being the most frequently used by travel influences in this particular sample, nominal phrases also seem to be the most diverse in nature. Variety of patterns have been distinguished within this group. For instance, there are N+N formations (e.g., *#landscapelover*, *#worldcaptures*, *#globetravel*, *#adventurecouple*), A+N (e.g., *#awesomeearth*, *#beautifuldestinations*, *#bestvacations*, *#wonderfulplaces*) including denominal adjectives (e.g., *#cubanfood*, *#italianplaces*, *#caribbeanlife*) or Adv+N (*#simplyadventure*). Longer formations (of three and four words) were found too, for example, N+Prep+N or N+Prep+Det+N including both common and proper nouns (e.g., *#imagesofcanada*, *#streetsoftoronto*, *#photooftheday*, *#inlovewithswitzerland*). The majority of nominal phrases are made up of two words (42 items; 61 %), being the

three-word nominal phrases in the second place (19 items; 27 %), and four-words the least common (8 items; 12 %).

Regarding the verbal subgroup, the range of patterns that occur in this type of construction is not especially varied. In fact, there is only one pattern distinguishable within two words phrases – V+PN – with 24 examples (71 %). Hashtags here include verbs such as *see*, *visit*, *travel*, *discover*, *explore*, *enjoy*, followed by the place the influencer is advertising: e.g., *#seeaustralia*, *#travelalberta*, *#visitcappadocia*, *#discoverqueensland*, *#exploreatah*, *#enjoycanada*. Three- and four-word verbal phrases were also found in the sample, although to a lesser extent (7 items or 20 %; 3 items or 9 %, respectively) (e.g., *#seetorontonow*, *#traveltheworld*, *#loveyouqueensland*, *#travellingthroughtheworld*).

Finally, adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional phrases are extremely limited in this particular sample of hashtags (1 item and 1 % each subgroup) being represented by *#mostdeserving*, *#thisweekoninstagram*, and *#hellofrom*, respectively.

4.3. # + *clause*

The next group of hashtags includes clauses. This is a rather small group, as can be seen in table 2 – 6 items, 2 % of the total. They have been classified into declarative clauses (3 items) (*#fromwhereidrone*, *#ilovemyhorse*, *#iamdji*), exclamative clause (2 items) (*#wowutah*, *#thisisqueensland*), and interrogative clause (1 item) (*#doyoutravel*).

4.4. # + *other*

The final group comprises those hashtags that did not fit in the previous categories. It is the largest of all groups with 133 hashtags (37 % of the total) (see Table 2). For instance, it includes neologisms (40 items; 30 %) created through different word-formation processes. In this particular sample I have mainly found examples of derivation (34 items; 85 %) using the prefixes ‘ig-’ (e.g., *#igcaptures*, *#igshots*, *#igtoday*, *#igcapturesnature*, *#igitalia*), ‘iger-’ (e.g., *#igerchina*, *#igerskrakow*), ‘insta-’ (e.g., *#instacrew*, *#instacuba*), and suffixes ‘-gram’ (e.g., *#tuscanygram*, *#canadagram*, *#moodygram*), ‘-stagram’ (e.g., *#travelstagram*), and ‘-ig’ (e.g., *#proig*). It should be noted that these affixes apparently originated as shortenings (ig < Instagram, iger < Instagrammer, gram < Instagram, insta < Instagram, stagram < Instagram) that due to their high use on Instagram turned into very common prefixes and suffixes. Apart from derivation, a few initialisms were located too (*#tbt* < throwback Thursday, *#nps* < national parks), together with one blend (*#mexicolors* < *mexico* + *color*) and a few cases of wordplay (e.g., *#icatching* < *eyecatching*, *#beautahful*, *#beutahful* < beautiful Utah).

I have also included here what I have called ‘condensed phrases’, that is phrases that are not grammatically correct and therefore not included in the # + phrase group (section 4.2). They resemble phrases, but their combinations are atypical – either missing words or including abbreviations or numbers. The purpose of such formations seems to be

the condensation of information. For example, in *#parkcanada* or *#chinatrip* the order is not syntactically correct and it seems that prepositions are missing (park of Canada, and trip to China). Similarly, in *#tlpicks* (< travel picks) or *#travel2china* (< travel to China) abbreviations and numbers are combined with words in order to condense the information and shorten the hashtag. Typically these formations include proper names. There are combinations of PN+N (e.g., *polandphotos*, *#quenslandtourism*, *#canadaday*, *#chinatrip*), N+PN (*#parkcanada*, *#tourismquensland*), or PN+PN (*#albertacanada*, *#zionnarrows*). The latter seem to follow the pattern of general-specific or vice-versa: being Alberta a province of Canada while (the) Narrows a part of Zion National Park. Other less frequent patterns found were V+V as in *#createcommune* and *#createexplore*, missing the conjunction 'and' and resembling elliptical phrases, and V+N as in *#goparks*.

The next subgroup in my taxonomy consists of what I have called 'creative phrases' – those that seem phrases, but their meaning is very obscure. Many of these hashtags originated as Instagram profiles and became used by other users. For example, *@earthcaptured* is the profile of a landscape and sports photographer Serge Skiba, while *#earthcaptured* is widely used by other users. Similarly, *@passionpassport* is a name of profile dedicated to traveling with 5 thousand posts, while *#passionpassport* has been used with nearly 30 million of pictures on Instagram. This often happens to gain visibility as some hashtags are more popular than others. Other examples found in this sample are *#depthsofearth*, *#phototerminal*, *#droneofficial*, *#wondermore*. In addition, certain hashtags belong to communities as is the case of *#yourshotphotographer* which belongs to National Geographic's photography community – *@NatGeoYourShot*. Users who tag their photos with this hashtag have more chances to be featured. Moreover, it should be also noted that some of the hashtags included in this sub-category present orthographic variations. For instance, *#earthshotz*, *#exklusiveshot*, *#shotzdelight*, *#earthshotz*, *#citykillersz*.

The final sub-group, although very limited (7 items; 5 %), is worth mentioning. It comprises examples of code switching between English and Spanish (e.g., *#vivemexico*, *#mexicomagico*, *#mexicomaravilloso*).

5. Discussion

Results show that there is a clear preference towards shorter hashtags. Thus, 82 % of hashtags (298 items) are made up of one and two words: almost half of the hashtags from my sample are made up of two words (49 %; 179 items), followed by one-word hashtags in the second place (33 %; 119 items). The three- and four-word hashtags are in the third place (14 %; 49 items) being the least common hashtags those made up of four words (4 %; 16 items). This preference towards one and two-word hashtags may be explained with the fact that longer hashtags are more difficult to read taking into account the lack of spaces between the words (e.g., *#travellingthroughtheworld*, *#thegreatindoorstravel*). Often for the sake of shortness, some of the hashtags are not grammatically correct or their meaning is unclear. I have referred to the former as 'condensed phrases' and to

the latter as ‘creative phrases’. For instance, *#cubalifestyle* instead of *#cubaNlifestyle*, or *#tourismqueensland* instead of *#tourismINqueensland* or *#tourismOFqueensland*.

It is also worth mentioning that some patterns function as formulaic expressions. For example, *#hellofrom+?* (e.g., *#hellofromitaly*, *#hellofromrome*), *#?+oftheday* (e.g., *#horseoftheday*, *#droneoftheday*, *#photooftheday*), *#imagesof+?* (e.g., *#imagesofcanada*), *#loveyou+?* (*#loveyouqueensland*) *#lifewell+?* (*#lifewelltravelled*), *#fromwherei+?* (e.g. *#fromwhereidrone*, *#fromwhereistand*, *#fromwhereiride*). The popularity of these expressions is constantly giving way to new formations. This and the high presence of hashtags belonging to # + other group (including neologisms, condensed and agrammatical phrases) suggest that we are dealing with a field where lexical creation is very productive.

5. Conclusions

The present study intended to shed light on the hashtags used by travel influencers on Instagram, a field that had not previously been researched. It is mainly linguistic in nature as it focuses on the formation of hashtags used to describe photographs. A variety of patterns in this particular corpus has been identified, and they have been classified and explained in detail. Specifically, the hashtags have been classified into four major groups according to their morphosyntactic features: (1) # + word, (2) # + phrase, (3) # + clause, (4) # + other. Within the first category – # + word – the vast majority are nouns (109 items; 92 %), either common nouns describing the places and the things shown on the pictures (e.g., *#city*, *#girl*, *#island*), or proper nouns advertising the places the influencer is visiting (e.g., *#kazakhstan*, *#prague*, *#yellowstone*). Similarly, the second group – # + phrase – is mainly represented by nominal phrases (e.g., *#globetravel*, *#landscapelover*, *#worldcaptures*) followed by verbal (e.g., *#seeaustralia*, *#explorechina*, *#visitgreenland*), apart from a few cases of adjectival (*#mostdeserving*) or prepositional phrases (*#hellofrom*). The third group – # + clause –, although not particularly popular, has also yielded some interesting results which have been classified into declarative clauses (e.g., *#fromwhereidrone*, *#ilovemyhorse*), interrogative (e.g., *#doyoutravel*) or exclamative (e.g., *#wowutah*). Finally, the last group – # + other – includes cases that did not fit in the before mentioned categories, namely neologisms formed through different word-formation processes (e.g., *#igerchina*, *#tuscanigram*, *#travelstagram*, *#nps*, *#beautahful*), the ‘condensed phrases’ – those that condense the information at the sake of correctness (e.g., *#parkscanada*), ‘creative phrases’ – whose meaning is obscure (e.g., *#deapthofearth*) and a few cases of code-switching (*#mexicolindo*). The group that yielded the highest results is that corresponding to # + other (37 %; 133 items), followed by # + word (32 %; 118 items) and # + phrase (29 %; 106 items), being # + clause the least common (2 %; 6 items). This indicates, on the one hand, a tendency towards condensation of information so typical in social media communication nowadays, and, on the other, a very productive lexical creation.

The results are based on a limited sample that may not fully capture the variety of hashtags. This could be remedied by conducting analyses of larger corpora and by considering other sources: travel influencers on other social networks or other Instagram users apart from travel influencers. Researchers are encouraged to continue studying hashtags, which still remain unexplored.

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