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CHAPTER ELEVEN

PAST IN PRESENT.

DISSEMINATING CREDIBLE HERITAGE KNOWLEDGE ONLINE

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1. Introduction

The growing significance attributed to the past has been witnessed in both interest and concern for heritage by a variety of groups, such as local communities, governments, academics, owners, business entities, developers, tourists and others identified as heritage stakeholders, users, or markets of heritage. The “ubiquitous reach” (Lowenthal 1998) of heritage derives from it being perceived as human centered, socially constructed, more of a public than a private good, and a common legacy belonging to all mankind (Loulanski 2006). Such a perception has gradually centred heritage dissemination while it is becoming an important aspect of economic development.

Heritage, though, cannot be thought of as a commodity in the conventional sense, as it has to be credible when presenting visitors with something they will consider authentic. Thus, when heritage is represented and promoted in online guidebooks the latter not only provide cultural, historical representations of a destination (Samson 2016a). They also build and disseminate heritage knowledge. But can such representations be considered credible?

To date, a plethora of studies has examined several issues regarding website credibility, including site design features (Fogg *et al.* 2001; Flanagan and Metzger 2007; Palmer *et al.* 2000), cross-media comparisons (Kioussis 2001), source attributions (Sundar and Nass 2001), and the role of users’ reliance on web-based information (Johnson and Kaye 2000, 2002). However, the diversity of information on the web suggests further research, in particular of those websites that might be highly relevant for academic and professional ends as, for instance, the many heritage communication websites. Thus, this chapter aims to extend extant research by analysing the repeated use of clusters, that is, the multi-word combinations occurring within a corpus of online heritage guidebooks of Florence (OHGFLO). Moreover, the examination of how the clusters are implemented can reveal which discursive strategies are adopted to represent, maintain and disseminate credible heritage knowledge on the Web. For this purpose, I seek to answer the following questions:

- Which are the most frequent clusters emerging in a corpus of online heritage guidebooks of Florence (OHGFLO)?
- How are the recurring clusters used to maintain and disseminate credible heritage information in OHGFLO?

The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 defines the concept of heritage. Section 3 discusses prior research on guidebooks and website credibility. Section 4 describes the corpus and explains the methodology used, section 5 presents and analyses the findings and in section 6 the concluding observations are discussed.

2. Heritage

Heritage has undergone significant conceptual changes that have led it to be considered a complex and contested term in extant literature as well as in institutional practice. A number of assumptions inherent in its continued use have generated contrasting views over it. For instance, Hewison (1987) considers heritage a word without definition, Tivers (2002) sees it as a synonym of ‘inheritance’ of mostly material manifestations of the past, whilst Dragoni and Montella (2010) argue it is a dynamic and elastic term without a univocal meaning. In addition, most of the definitions have been increasingly recognised as problematic because they ignore the polysemous and controversial nature of tangible, intangible (Kidd 2011) and, I would add, e-heritage.

Recently, a number of scholars have placed less emphasis on material culture *per se* and have, instead, allowed more distinct understandings of the term to emerge. Chastel (1986) sees tangible heritage as an important part of the cultural heritage of towns and cities, since the term includes a large range of goods whose definition changes over time and space as, for instance, the variety of symbolic, cultural, national identity-oriented, social and suchlike dimensions. Benhamou (2011) argues that heritage can be seen as a social construction whose boundaries are unstable and blurred with a twofold source of extension: historical additions and an enlargement of the concept towards other entities, such as gardens, industrial buildings, and so on. As such, objects become a starting point not an end in and of themselves, and heritage becomes reconceptualised as a ‘process’ of passing on and receiving memories, not just the artefacts themselves (Smith 2006). Heritage is, thus, viewed as the wealth of knowledge in its different forms of cultural capital and skills transmitted from one generation to the next (UNESCO); it embodies a community’s social, historical, or cultural dimension (Throsby 2003) and, as such, it is not only about tangible material artifacts and/or intangible forms of the past, but it is also about the meanings placed upon them, the representations created for them (Smith 2006). Heritage is therefore seen as an integral part of the identity of a region, or of a cultural destination (ICOMOS 2002).

The main controversy, though, in defining heritage seems to derive from it being a cultural and economic subject, possessing both cultural and economic values, and performing both cultural and economic functions (Loulanski 2006). Merriman (1991) claims heritage is understood, on the positive side, as culture and landscape that are cared for by the community and are passed on to the future to serve people’s need for a sense of identity and belonging; but, on the negative side, heritage is considered equal to the heritage industry, which has become a synonym of manipulation (or even invention) and exploitation of the past for commercial ends. However, it is erroneous to disregard or underestimate either one, no matter how distant these perspectives may be. Such features are both present in guidebooks (Samson 2016b) and demand an updated and expanded vision of heritage.

3. Guidebooks and credibility

For long guidebooks have been neglected, despite their crucial role and widespread use. Such limited interest might derive from considering these texts as ‘agents of blindness’ (Barthes 1957), or superficial and formulaic, “a debasement of an earlier and more sophisticated travel literature of the Enlightenment” (Kosher 1998, 324). From this viewpoint, guidebooks have repeatedly been seen as a key instrument of the death of the ‘active’ traveller and the development of the modern ‘passive’ tourist who, as Gilbert (1999, 282) claims, follows “a prescribed route through a landscape of selected and ready-interpreted sites and monuments”. However, guidebooks have also played an emancipatory role. On the one hand, they offer an essential aid to autonomous travellers; on the other, they contribute to distinguish their users from package tourists who are the most important group of travel guides’ non-users (Nishimura *et al.* 2007).

Recent research has mostly focused on the actual use of guidebooks (Jack and Phipps 2003), on their contribution to construing generic histories of tourism (Bruner 2005), or on people’s narratives about their travelling experiences (Beck 2006). Guidebooks have also been at the centre of studies on genre (Denti 2012), on textual and visual content analysis (Bhattacharyya 1997), on verbal descriptions of built heritage spaces (Samson 2016a), on the use of common and proper nouns (Samson 2016c), on the construal of heritage identity within a corpus linguistic approach (Samson 2011), or on the popularisation of tangible and intangible heritage on the Web (Samson 2014).

According to the literature, guidebooks are considered to be responsible for the truthfulness¹ of their content (Salvi *et al.* 2005), even though they generate specific meanings from particular ideological positions (Saarinen 2004). Their authority in presenting a certain idea, or image of a place, is seen as masking the fact that their descriptions are not a straightforward depiction of reality, but a highly selective socially constructed representation (Bhattacharyya 1997). Thus, guidebooks are considered interpretive, as they build expectations while providing a framework for experiencing a destination (Lew 1991), and helpful in shaping the destination behaviour of tourists, since they seek to create (in this case) a wide restorative experience through interactions with heritage for knowledge, enjoyment and recreation. In a similar vein McGregor (2000, 47) concluded that “these texts provide lenses for viewing the world” and they play a role by encouraging the formation of place images, even where no actual visitation occurs. By such means, guidebooks facilitate the creation of a context for readers, when depicting what a place is like and what is worth seeing and experiencing and simultaneously build and disseminate a certain level of knowledge of the place. Indeed, by enacting such processes of inclusion and/or exclusion, guidebooks lead to the highlighting of particular features of an area that will become known or will remain unknown, even though the extent to which these perspectives will be accepted will only depend on the traveller’s individual interests and needs.

Most of the information found in guidebooks is produced by external groups of writers/contributors not residing in the destination described and published by international companies (Nelson 2012). Ultimately, though, there is a

¹ Baedeker in 1832 was the first to abolish the author’s name from the text as well as from the guidebook’s cover as the publisher’s reputation was sufficient to guarantee the guidebook’s quality. Thomas Cook with his 1875 edition of *Cook’s Tourist’s Handbook for Southern Italy and Sicily* is the first example of guidebook in the modern sense of the word wherein Cook felt a moral obligation towards his clients, thus contributing to build trust in his organisation and person (Salvi *et al.* 2005).

growing number of local online guidebook writers that provide less stereotyped information and more in-depth knowledge about a destination and its culture (Samson 2016a). This is an essential feature to consider since, as mentioned, online guidebooks are not viewed as neutral vehicles for communication, but sites in which social meanings are created, reproduced, and social identities are formed. Therefore, these texts should not be seen as static markers of cultural traits but as dynamic agents that have the power to shape, alter, and reify meanings associated with places and ways of seeing those places (McGregor 2000). While shaping meanings across their webpages, though, guidebooks need their propositional assertions to be characterized by credibility.

Credibility has been described by Fogg and Tseng (1999) as a perceived quality composed of multiple dimensions; Newell and Goldsmith (2001) define credibility as a construct that has evolved from research in the area of source credibility, which broadly defines it as one aspect of message sources (persons, groups, or organizations) that influences the persuasiveness of a communication (Petty and Wegener 1998). More specifically, source credibility refers to the state of being perceived as expert and trustworthy, and thereby being seen as worthy of serious consideration by others (Kelman 1961). As to this point, Pornpitakpan (2004) argues that credibility consists of two dimensions: expertise and trustworthiness. Expertise refers to the *perceived ability* of a source to provide precise information (Petty and Wegener 1998), while trustworthiness refers to its *perceived willingness* to provide accurate information (McCracken 1989).

Moreover, Metzger *et al.* (2010) claim that the credibility of website expertise may be reflected in site informativeness, that is, the display of the appropriate credentials, or the site sponsor's reputation. Trustworthiness may be communicated through explicit policy statements or a lack of commercial content whereas attractiveness or dynamism may be communicated through various dimensions of the website's appearance (e.g. layout, graphics, font, color). Thus, in many respects, websites may be considered to be analogous to individuals or organizations that act as information sources whose characteristics engender greater or lesser credibility. Credibility, then, can be seen not as a characteristic of the information or source, but as a property that is judged by the receiver of the information. However, Metzger *et al.* (2010) underline that credibility judgements may be influenced by objective properties of the information or its source and it is on this definition that the present chapter draws on.

4. Corpus and methodology

The data of the current study, in line with Ghadessy *et al.* (2001) and Coniam (2004), form a small corpus of online heritage guidebooks of Florence in English (OHGFLO) published by Tuscany's Regional Tourism Agency. The English version of these guidebooks were taken into consideration because English is considered the lingua franca of tourism and it allows a destination to be positioned in a globalised market (Maci 2012). Thus, representing Florence in English implies the city has globally achieved a prestigious status within the tourism sector.

The corpus was compiled by downloading the guidebooks, indicated in Table 1, describing Florence's heritage sites, specifically the main monuments, museums, places, public figures and artists of the city. All the webpages describing Florence's heritage were first saved as txt texts, in order to be then processed by Wordsmith Tools 0.5 (WST) (Scott 2010), a commercial computer software.

Although the corpus is small, it presents the advantage of being homogeneous, as regards time of publication (2013-2014), genre and, as Coniam (2004), Ghadessy *et al.* (2001) and Sinclair (2001) note, a small corpus, properly constructed, can be viewed as a body of relevant and reliable evidence. OHGFLO also reflects Swales's (2009) notion of an occluded corpus, that is, a narrow focus on a specific genre.

Name	Words
Virtual Florence	12,099
APT Museums of Florence	9,223
Musei Civici of Florence	4,500
APT Florence	921

Table 11-1. Online heritage guidebooks of Florence - OHGFLO.

The methodology adopted in this study is a mixed one. It starts with a corpus-driven approach wherein the linguist is committed to the integrity of the data as a whole, and the descriptions of language emerge from the corpus itself (Sinclair 2004). The corpus is not seen as a repository of examples that back pre-existing theories, but provides the evidence that reflects and supports directly the theoretical assumptions. Examples are, therefore, not adjusted to fit pre-existing categories of the analyst; recurrent patterns and frequency distributions are instead expected to form the basic evidence for linguistic categories and the absence of a pattern is considered potentially meaningful (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). Wordsmith Tools 0.5 (2010) was used to generate a Word list OHGFLO, as shown in Table 2, in which the most frequent words are closed-class ones.

OHGFLO
THE

OF
AND
IN
TO

Table 11-2. OHGFLO Word list.

The word list was compared with a reference corpus DATA² (approx. 700,000 words) to obtain a Keyword List. *Keywords* are words that appear substantially more frequently than expected (positive keys) in a corpus, or substantially less than expected (negative keys) in a given corpus than in a comparable reference corpus. That is, a corpus, as Scott and Tribble (2006) claim, which is much bigger than the corpus studied and that is constructed to be a sample of the language the corpus being studied contains.

Keywords provide a useful way to characterise a text or a genre especially when their recurring clusters are searched. These are, broadly speaking, stretches of language consisting of two, or more words forming multi-word units frequently occurring in a given corpus and that play a particular role in a given register (Hunston 2011). Multiword units of meaning (Sinclair 1991) are, in other words, flexible word sequences showing mostly consistency in meaning and some in form (Hunston 2011).

Recurring clusters can be scrutinised in *concordances* derived from the Concord function which runs through the corpus and returns a search word in numerous contexts and with co-texts to the left and right. The point of this is to work out characteristic lexical patterns (Scott 2010) deriving from the similarity of items occurring in proximity to a node item. Furthermore, since frequency is not seen as self-explanatory, but as data that needs to be explained, a qualitative discourse analysis integrates the interpretation of the recurring clusters across the corpus.

5. Findings and analysis

The first three relative most frequent key words in OHGFLO are *century* and *building*, and the proper noun *Medici*, as listed in Table 3.

N	Key words	Frequency
7	CENTURY	804
10	MEDICI	515
19	BUILDING	346

Table 11-3. OHGFLO Key words.

By carrying out a Concordancer statistical count per 1,000 words, the most frequent collocations of *century*, *Medici* and *building* were identified, as shown in Table 4.

century	Medici	building
me rare examples from the 16th century . The rooms, quipped	ceiling among the most admired in the Medici residence.	signed to him in the meantime. Building proceeded slowly
remains after the seventeenth century alterations. Along w	built by Michelozzo for Cosimo de Medici , where a considerable	the whole way up giving the building a considerable feeling of continuity
isters, built in the 16th-17th century by Ammannati and his	es of Man, commissioned by the Medici , which represented the	where Vasari was charged with building the main State buildings
of civic memories. In the 19th century the church received a	the buildings also contain the Medici chapels with their crypt	Once most of the building had been completed a
er the period between the 18th century and the present-day.	Furniture and textiles from the Medici collections and those	a monumental u-shaped portico building , a real masterpiece

Table 11-4. Concordances key words: *century*, *Medici* and *building*.

The repeated collocations of the key common noun *century* in OHGFLO highlight its semantic preferences which are linked to two or more words within a short space of each other. In Table 4, these mainly refer to the interior space of museums or churches, the historical changes Florentine built heritage underwent, the collections of most famous Renaissance artists, or the development of specific areas of the city in a period of time. The concordances, thus, point at the nodes' typicality or uniqueness (Scott 2010) within the corpus.

² DATA is a reference corpus which includes files of entire texts collected by the author during her participation to national interuniversity research groups sponsored by the Ministry of Education, University and Research of Italy. DATA is formed by files of published written economics lectures, industrial products, surgery products, EU and non-EU museum descriptions, collections, exhibitions, narrative guidebooks.

The semantic preferences of the proper noun *Medici* refer to the buildings, tombs, churches commissioned by and built under the Medici family, or to the architectural style of and the art collections housed in the Medici buildings. The key word *building* is used as a noun as well as a verb. The noun refers prevalently to the architectonic style and/or shape of buildings whereas *building* as a verb recurrently underscores the processes involved in constructing buildings during the Medici period.

5.1 ‘century’

To examine more in depth the semantic preferences of the key common noun *century*, a 4-word cluster search of the concordances in Table 4 was undertaken. The most frequent cluster emerging is shown in Table 5:

N	Cluster	Frequency
1	THE END OF THE	59

Table 11-5. Most frequent 4-word cluster: century.

The cluster THE END OF THE and its discourse functions were identified by looking at its proximity to a consistent series of collocates that beyond the cluster share its semantic preferences. The qualitative interpretation of THE END OF THE shows it is repeatedly used with referential expressions to identify an entity or to single out some particular attribute of that entity as especially important (Biber and Barbieri 2007) with the scope of underscoring the value of the sites promoted in the online guidebooks.

In examples 1, 2 and 3, THE END OF THE is most frequently used in impressionistic descriptions to present phenomena from the point of view of the encoder’s subjective impressions of positions, directions in space, relations, and qualities (Werlich 1983, 47).

(1) At **the end of the** *right aisle* there is a doorway *leading* to an oratory *containing two Arks*. (Museum of Hebraic Art and Culture txt)

(2) At **the end of the** *corridor* there is a *Medici chapel* with a *fine two-tone altarpiece in glazed terracotta by Andrea della Robbia*. (Santa Croce txt)

(3) The small cloister *gives access* to the Refectory and at **the end of the** *room* it *leads* to the Large Cloister. (Santa Maria Novella txt)

In the above examples, the cluster refers cataphorically to nouns (*aisle, corridor, room*) which horizontally define a building’s internal space. The orientational features of language are expressed through deixis (Werlich 1983) which, in this case, includes the use of expressions directing the browser’s gaze through the interior space (*At the end of the right aisle, at the end of the corridor, at the end of the room*) of a museum, church or cloister. In addition, the descriptions portray also the content of the spaces (*Arks, altarpiece, Cloister*) by specifying their attributes (*two-tone in glazed terracotta, large*) while evaluating them (*fine*) for someone not sharing the same visual experience (Smyth 2008). Moreover, the spatial references are integrated by fictive motion verbs (*leading, gives access, leads*) that express no explicit motion or state change, but include a mental simulation (Matlock 2004) which in guidebooks have a crucial role in construing representations of a destination³ (Samson 2016b). The use of repeated spatio-orientation references have more than one function. They guide the traveller’s gaze through the Florentine heritage buildings by stimulating vivid visual representations and the historic context in the recipient’s mind who, in this way, will feel as if s/he is already on the spot. They foreground the guidebooks’ expertise, accuracy and educational role within an asymmetrical relationship. In addition, the recurring accurate context descriptions, which the traveller might visit in future, help to build trustworthiness which, according to Selin (2006), is a two-way street down which all must travel to reach amiable ends. In this case, online guidebooks have to be willing to provide accurate information whilst travellers have to possess positive expectations about the guidebooks’ motives.

The cluster THE END OF THE has a time reference function which classifies items by locating them in time (*15th century, 13th century*), while characterizing them against other works in a historical narration of art characterised by the use of past tense (*were painted, were invited*)⁴, as in the following example.

(4) Towards **the end of the** *15th century* two *important* frescoes *were painted* for the church by Domenico Ghirlandaio and Filippino Lippi. (Santa Maria Novella txt)

Furthermore, in (4), (5), (6) and (7) the cluster refers to historic/factual phenomena within action recording sentences (Werlich 1983, 21) which characterise narrative text types wherein the events are repeatedly portrayed

³ For the construal of heritage representations in guidebooks see Samson (2016a).

⁴ For the use of verb tenses in guidebooks see Samson (2016b).

through temporal circumstances (*two important frescoes were painted, the Umiliati were invited, Santa Croce church reached its maximum extension and importance, Via Larga was seen pre-eminently as the street of the Medici*):

(5) By **the end of the 13th century** the Umiliati were invited to become members of the public administration. (Cenacolo di Ognissanti txt)

(6) At **the end of the fifteenth century** Santa Croce church reached its *maximum* extension and importance. (Santa Croce txt)

(7) At **the end of the fifteenth century**, Via Larga was seen pre-eminently *as* the street of the Medici. (Palazzo Medici Riccardi txt)

The factual phenomena are further underscored by the use of evaluative adjectives (*important*), artists' names (*Domenico Ghirlandaio, Filippino Lippi*), the name of those granted the honour of becoming members of the Florentine public administration (*Umiliati*), the name of the church (*Santa Croce*) and of the most trendy street in Renaissance Florence (*Via Larga*). By doing so, the guidebooks explicitly boost their know-how image, their authority and credibility online, including their trustworthiness, by engaging with the incomplete knowledge-base (Hyland 2010) of the non-specialist traveller.

5.2. 'Medici'

A cluster search was also undertaken for the key proper noun *Medici* and the relative most frequent cluster emerging is indicated in Table 6.

N	Cluster	Frequency
1	OF THE MEDICI FAMILY	42

Table 11-6. Most frequent 4-word cluster: Medici.

The cluster OF THE MEDICI FAMILY is repeatedly used to underline the importance and power of the Medici family in Florence. This is not expressed by factual descriptions of battles, or any other specific activity the various members of the Medici family were engaged in, but through the description of how any space related to the family was used, as shown in example 8.

(8) The church buildings also contain the Medici chapels with their crypt, in which lie the remains of 50 members **of the Medici family**. (Basilica of San Lorenzo txt)

The use of background historical information on the buildings constructed for the Medici in Florence is based on phenomenon-identifying sentences (Werlich 1983) which correlate with time references (*in the early 17th century, from 1865*) and with verbs in the past tense that, as in the previous examples, increase online guidebook credibility. Such accurate information is further supported by the evaluation of spatial dimension (*fourteen magnificent rooms*) which, on the one hand, reflects the power of the Medicis, but on the other, helps to condition the travellers' decision to eventually visit the places described on the basis of the trust in the guidebooks.

(9) The Chapel of the Princes was begun in the early 17th century to become the mausoleum **of the Medici family** grand-dukes. (Medici Chapel txt)

(10) The Royal Apartments consist of fourteen magnificent rooms which were the home **of the Medici family** and, from 1865, of the king of Italy. (Pitti txt)

Although the exposition is transparent, that is without the use of the personal pronoun, the narration includes a homo-diegetic *narratee*, the would-be tourist to whom the text is addressed, who is consistently inscribed in the text and is the privileged point of view for space narrative. This is foregrounded when OF THE MEDICI FAMILY is used to focus on how art was one of the media used by the Medicis to show off their power and wealth, as shown in the following examples:

(11) Michelangelo sculpted this statue between 1502 and 1504; this was the most commonly portrayed Biblical character in the Renaissance, because he symbolises astuteness winning over brute force. The statue became the symbol of the city right from the time **of the Medici family**. (Accademia Gallery txt)

(12) The allegorical paintings on the ceiling and the walls narrate the triumphal Return of Grand Duke Cosimo I to Florence, illustrate the possessions **of the Medici family** and the Stories of the Conquest of Pisa and Siena. (Salone dei Cinquecento txt).

5.3 'building'

The cluster search of the key word *building* highlighted that it is most frequently used as a gerund and its most repeated cluster is indicated in Table 7.

N	Cluster	Frequency
1	THE BUILDING OF THE	21

Table 11-7. Most frequent 4-word cluster: building.

THE BUILDING OF THE is frequently linked to architectural nouns, as listed in Table 8, which have the function of specifying what was built in the past.

Nouns
dome
cupola
structure
complex
passageway
church
basilica

Table 11-8. Architectural nouns.

The cluster THE BUILDING OF THE is used not only to specify the massive parts of the buildings constructed, but also to underline the difficulty of such endeavours in past centuries, while attributing value to the constructions. By choosing to describe realistic aspects of the Renaissance life in Florence, the guidebooks enhance their know-how and informative role. The latter is characterized by expositions of factual phenomena that overlap with descriptions and evaluations which are educational and promotional at the same time.

This clearly emerges in examples 13, 14 and 15 with the repeated use of expressions cumulatively construing positive evaluations of the enterprises undertaken by artists and builders in Renaissance Florence (*one of main building enterprises, a new attitude, they were different, one of the most important, enormous, for dozens, even hundreds of years*).

(13) Renaissance men were aware *they were different*: in less than twenty years, starting from **the building of the** Brunelleschi Cupola, a small group of artists in just one city, brought about *one of the most important* revolutions in cultural history, and *not only Italian*. (Brunelleschi's dome txt)

(14) The dome had to wait till 1420, the year in which Brunelleschi won the competition for **the building of the enormous** structure. (Cathedral txt)

(15) Works often went *on for dozens, even hundreds of years* making it impossible to forecast and control all **the building of the cathedral**. (Brunelleschi txt)

The evaluations included in the recurrent overlapping of narrations and expositions have the purpose of highlighting the uniqueness of Florence's heritage with the aim of distinguishing it from what can be found in other cities, or from what is conventionally encountered in everyday life. Furthermore, the constant time references (*twenty years, 1420, dozens, even hundreds of years*) contribute to reinforce the historic narration of Florence's heritage as well as the willingness to convey accurate information which is a fundamental property of trust and credibility.

6. Concluding observations

This study, by adopting a corpus driven approach, has highlighted the three most frequent clusters used in a corpus of online heritage guidebooks of Florence (OHGFLO), that is, THE END OF THE, OF THE MEDICI FAMILY and THE BUILDING OF THE.

The cluster THE END OF THE is repeatedly used with referential expressions to identify an entity or to single out its particular characteristics with the scope of underscoring its value and making the information provided in the online guidebooks credible. Through its use in descriptions and expositions, the cluster helps to underline particular features characterising interior spaces, the value of artworks and artists belonging to a specific period of time, or relevant historical events. The purpose is, on the one hand, to engage potential travellers by involving their senses in and out of the ordinary dimension with the typical push-and-pull promotional strategy. On the other hand, the aim is to disseminate Renaissance knowledge while preserving an asymmetrical position which typifies the expert-layman/traveller relationship. The expert role of the guidebooks emerges in the descriptions which are impressionistic, that is, they provide the encoder's perspective in directing the traveller's gaze through space while using fictive motion verbs. The

latter allow to construe credible trustworthy mental simulations which are relevant for educational purposes as well as for promotional ones.

The cluster OF THE MEDICI FAMILY, by contrast, has the function of conveying the connotation of power of the Medici family. The cluster's extended units of meaning referring to spatial descriptions provide the traveller with knowledge on the richness of the building materials implemented, the artistic representations commissioned by the Medici and the sense of power and wealth that the artworks still convey. The cluster has thus the function of shedding light on the Medicis while displaying the trustworthy know-how of the guidebooks.

The repeated use of THE BUILDING OF THE, unlike the previous clusters, is not related to spatial descriptions but to expositions. These are characterized by temporal events frequently referring to the many architectural transformations the Florentine buildings underwent over the centuries and to the artistic features of the buildings which help to underline the precise information in the guidebooks. This, with the recurring use of evaluative adjectives, foregrounds an image of uniqueness which typifies a highly promotional strategy.

In sum, the repeated use of clusters in OHGFLO suggests that online guidebooks are a key instrument for viewing, appreciating and learning about Florence's heritage, as they facilitate the creation of a context for travellers by depicting what a place is like and what is worth seeing and experiencing. Online guidebooks should, therefore, be considered dynamic agents that by using specific clusters, on the one hand, shape, alter, and reify meanings associated with places and ways of seeing those places as extraordinary within a constant binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary (Urry and Larsen 2011). On the other hand, they disseminate credible knowledge based on accurate information which reinforces and bolsters a trustworthy relation with their recipients.

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