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Disseminating the Heritage of Sacred Places in the 21st Century

The Websites of British and Italian Cathedrals

Abstract

This paper considers how cultural and religious heritage is disseminated in websites presenting British and Italian cathedrals. Sacred places are typically at the intersection of different forms of tourism—cultural tourism and religious tourism—and contribute to the transmission of tangible and intangible assets ("buildings and monuments, artistic objects, and also texts, legends, rites and so on" [Aulet and Vidal 2018, 244]). The study is based on a corpus of webtexts in Italian and English, collected respectively from the official websites of Italian and British cathedrals. The analysis looks at this kind of tourism discourse as a form of expert-to-non-expert communication that makes the visitor take part in an imaginary journey (Bonsignori and Cappelli 2019; Cappelli and Masi 2019; Cappelli 2016) in which different types of explanation (Calsamiglia and van Dijk 2004) are adopted to make specialized vocabulary accessible to visitors. The focus is on definitions and denomination (in relation to both art/architecture and religion). The quantitative study shows that the Italian corpus presents a marked preference for denomination (and denominations in the field of art/architecture in particular), while the corpus of British cathedrals is characterized by a marked preference for definitions. The qualitative analysis suggests that this may also depend on a marked stylistic preference in Italian for introducing the nicknames of the artists or specifying names in the local dialect, as against a clearer intention of disseminating the cultural and religious heritage to non-experts in the corpus of websites of British cathedrals. The cultural and the religious components, however, seem to be equally important in both corpora and are often inseparable for the two often superimposed types of visitors.

Keywords: *tourism, cathedrals, heritage, website communication, knowledge dissemination*

> *As long as art lives never*
> *shall I accept that men are truly dead.*
> (Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*)

1. Introduction

Tourism is a composite socioeconomic phenomenon permeating many different sectors and offering a wide variety of products and services. It also maintains a complex and undisputed relationship with language, firmly standing against the background of the socio-cultural and psychological spheres it involves (Urry 2002). As pointed out by Dann, "[S]o pervasive and essential is the language of tourism that, without it, tourism itself would surely cease to exist. In the absence of a sociolinguistic basis, the world's largest industry would simply grind to a halt, and we would all remain at home" (1996, 249). The inescapability of this bond between language and tourism resides in the peculiarity of the product sold by tourism, whose knowledge on the part of the consumers before their actual trip largely depends on language: in-between the tourists' expectations and their factual holidays, there lies language (see Maci 2013).

For this reason, the discourse of tourism language is extremely persuasive as it must appeal to the interests of different tourists and attract them to the experience of visiting other places. Promotion is at the heart of tourism discourse, and "in the act of promotion," the language of tourism "via static and moving pictures, written texts and audio-visual offerings […] attempts to persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings, and, in doing so, convert them from potential into actual clients" (Dann 1996, 2).

As a social phenomenon, tourism and its language have been tackled by four main theoretical approaches in the literature (Dann 1996, 12-17), each focusing on different sets of values attributed to tourism itself. The first one is the *authenticity* perspective (MacCannell 1999): it sees tourists seeking an authentic experience that is embodied in the search for local traditions, history, and lifestyle. Yet, in their "quest for authenticity" tourists incur into an artificial, or rather "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1999, 98-99), organized precisely with the aim of attracting them. This is enhanced by a 'rhetoric' made up of expressions such as "this is a *typical* native house; this is the *very* place the leader fell; this is the *actual* pen used to sign the law; this is the *original* manuscript; this is the *authentic* Tlingit fish club; this is a *real* piece of the *true* Crown of Thorns" (Dann 1996, 14).

The *strangehood* perspective is based on "the appreciation of the experience of strangeness and novelty" (Cohen 1972, 165) on the part of tourists, who can be identified as "explorers." In this case, as observed by Cohen (1989) when analysing promotional materials about Thailand, the language of tourism relies on qualifying adjectives such as "untouched," "remote and unspoiled," "colourful," "picturesque," "quaint," "fascinating," "almost unknown," "newly discovered" to create the image of "exotic" destinations (see Maci 2020, 82).

The *play* perspective sees tourism as a game (Urry 2002), an entertainment, in which "popular pleasures and fun are key concepts" (Cappelli 2007, 50) for what Cohen terms "recreational tourists" (1979, 184). Their destinations are, for example, theme parks (e.g Disneyland), pivoting around the concept of "spectacle" or hyper-real simulations (Urry 2002, 131). This form of tourism does not imply any contact between the tourists and the local culture.

The last perspective is one of *conflict* and appropriation (Dann 1996, 24-25; Said 1991). It is mainly associated with (but not limited to) the Third World and "the focus is the contrast between societies" (Cappelli 2007, 50) between the familiar (us) and the strange (the Others).

These four approaches are obviously conveyed and shaped by language. In particular, there are many verbal techniques adopted in promotional tourist materials: for instance, the use of qualitative adjectives and language euphoria, that is, abundance of hyperboles to make the destination appear as the best possible (Dann 1996, 65), ego-targeting, namely the direct address to the tourist to make him/her feel unique (Dann 1996, 187-192), or the use of keywords to fire tourists' imagination (Cappelli 2007, 133) and "keying" (Cohen 1985, 16), or "communicative staging" of an artificial place described as authentic "to convince the tourists of the 'authenticity' of the sites they are about to see, although these sites are so obviously substantively staged" (Cohen 1989, 33).

Language also moulds tourism products into a wide variety of genres such as brochures, guidebooks, leaflets, tourist posters, travelogues and websites (Maci and Sala 2017, 9-10) that create a "future-oriented travel in the present" (Jack and Phipps 2005, 82).

The complexity of tourism discourse is mirrored by the ramifications of research in the field. Acknowledged as specialized discourse *per se* (Gotti 2006; Dann 1996), tourism discourse has been investigated from different—and very often overlapping—perspectives and research has been growing rapidly over the last decades, especially in Italy (Agorni 2016, 13).

A prolific area of research is the analysis of tourism websites (inter alia Maci 2020; 2012; Manca 2017; 2013; 2008; Cesiri 2016; Pierini 2007), mainly examined from a promotional point of view and in a contrastive Italian and English perspective. The relevance of websites is unquestionable because, together with brochures and travel guides, "websites available to tourists shape their expectations long before they arrive at their destination. Thus, the representations of local life presented in those texts become the codified and authorized versions of local culture and history" (Papen 2005, 94). Websites function as "mediators" between tourists and their destination, offering "the linguistic and visual instruments through which content is negotiated between text and reader and ultimate tourism decisions are made" (Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010, 88), by strategically combining persuasion and information (Manca 2016,

65).

The present paper intends to focus on specific religious tourist sites and their websites. More precisely, it centres on cathedrals' websites. Rather than looking at them from a promotional point of view, however, we examine them from the point of view of the dissemination of knowledge that is inherently involved in their communication. Cathedrals' websites are studied here as places where cultural and religious tourism meet, and art/architectural and religious assets and information are disseminated. In this regard, an interesting perspective is offered by the analysis of the technical terms related to art/architecture and religion that characterize cultural and religious heritage at large, and a study of how they are popularized for non-expert believers and visitors. Popularization can be seen as a form of recontextualization and reformulation of expert discourse that is intended to meet the layperson's prior knowledge, requirements, and needs, thanks to a set of explanation strategies (Calsamiglia and van Dijk 2004). The present study revolves around two of these strategies—definition and denomination. These are analysed in the websites of Italian and British cathedrals, comparing their use and their occurrences in the two different languages. Cathedrals in Italy and Great Britain are among the most visited religious sites by pilgrims and by both religious and secular tourists. Many of them have webpages in dioceses' websites or entire websites that the different types of tourists can visit before their travel. The study of their websites may provide insights into the intended audience of this kind of website and into the processes by which relevant knowledge is presented to the potential visitor. Cross-cultural comparison may reveal different perceptions of the nature and interests of the potential visitors.

The structure of the paper is then as follows. Section 2 discusses the peculiarities of cathedrals' websites and presents the focus of the study. Section 3 introduces the materials used for the study and the methodology. These consist in two comparable corpora including both website pages of Italian cathedrals (IT_Cattedrali) in Italian and pages of British cathedrals in English (EN_Cathedrals). The methodology is based on the manual annotation of both corpora with the two strategies of definition and denomination, and on the statistical analysis provided by the UAM software. Section 4 explores the preliminary results, providing an overview of quantitative data and a discussion of examples of definition and denomination in the two corpora (EN_Cathedrals and IT_Cattedrali). Section 5 offers a few final remarks.

2. Background: cathedrals and tourism

"[I]n Christian churches that have an episcopal form of church government," a cathedral is "the

church in which a residential bishop has his official seat or throne, the cathedra."[1] Thus, in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Church of England, they are the seat of the bishops; after the 16th-century Protestant Reformation, the order of the bishops was indeed retained in the Church of England. Cathedrals are usually the most important churches in a city and even if they are not always impressive or magnificent architectural examples, many of them are.

As other sacred places, they are therefore "[t]he most visible connection between tourism and religion" (Aulet and Vidal 2018, 239) given their importance from both a religious and an artistic point of view. As a matter of fact, they catalyse two forms of tourism—religious tourism and cultural tourism. These are two specialty tourism niches that can be labelled "adjectival tourism," an expression that "refers to various forms of tourism that have emerged over the years, each with its own 'Adjective (Adjective or Noun used attributively) + *Tourism*' structure […]" (Rață 2012, 19). Indeed, in her list of adjectival tourism terms and their Romanian translations, Rață (2012) includes also religious and cultural tourism.

In particular, the former can be defined as a form of tourism that "encompasses all kinds of travel that is motivated by religion and where the destination is a religious site" (Blackwell 2007, 37). Aulet and Vidal specify that it is "a type of tourism which is primarily motivated by religion (whether in combination with other motivations or not), which has a religious place as a destination, and which may or may not be linked to participation in ceremonies and religious activities" (Aulet and Vidal 2018, 239). It does not have any missionary or pilgrimage aims (see also Rață 2012, 19), but it is religiously determined. It differs from pilgrimage because the path or route is not part of the faithful's experience: it can fall under Nolan and Nolan's description of those visitors "essentially religious persons who visit sacred sites as part of a vacation trip or as members of a religious tour that is conceptualized as different from a pilgrimage per se" (1992, 69). Nonetheless, the pilgrim and the religious tourist share the same attitude of "veneration and respect, and both seek to have an experience that will put them in contact with the divinity and with a transcendental beyond" (Aulet and Vidal 2018, 242).

Cultural tourism, instead, is a "recreational travel that takes people to specific cultural attractions, such as artistic heritage sites and cultural events, away from their usual place of residence, with the aim of acquiring new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs" (Aulet and Vidal 2018, 243). Centred on cultural heritage, cultural tourism is one of the oldest and most important forms of tourism in Europe because of this continent's "rich and cultural historic legacy" (Richards 1996, 5). It is no coincidence, for example, that the most

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[1] https://www.britannica.com/topic/cathedral-Christian-church. Last visited 23/09/2021.

frequent nouns in *VisitBrit* (the official website of UK national tourism agency) and *VisitIt* (the official website of the Italian national tourism agency) are linked to Italy and Great Britain's culture and heritage (such as castles, museums, churches etc.) (Manca 2016), as these have a fundamental role in the two nations' promotion as tourist destinations.

A clear-cut distinction between the two kinds of tourism is often hard. Religious motivation, as well as cultural motivation, can go hand in hand with other types of motivations, such as educational or nostalgic reasons (Olsen and Dallen 2006, 5). Jackson and Hudman add the fact that anyhow when on the spot some non-believers "[…] are usually touched by religious feelings" (1995, 40). Furthermore, religious and secular visitors do behave as much as in the same way (Abad-Galzacorta et al. 2016).

In general, they both long for MacCannell's "authenticity" (1976), an authentic experience of the place that is mainly the "authenticity in local environments" for cultural tourists while it is "an existential authenticity" for religious tourists (Abad-Galzacorta et al. 2016, 51).

As stated above, British and Italian cathedrals are key destinations for religious and cultural tourists and, besides being mentioned and described in guidebooks and other tourist genres, many of them have their own websites. In particular, cathedrals in tourist cities, and/or those inscribed in the World Heritage List, frequently have highly articulated websites, while minor cathedrals tend to have one or two webpages on the website of their diocese. In general, these websites and webpages mirror the two types of tourism characterizing these sacred places: not only do their websites and webpages serve as 'mediators' between the believer and the 'home of God,' but also between the tourist and the place he/she longs to visit.

This duality permeates the structure of the websites itself: there are sections devoted to the cathedral's history and heritage, with related sub-sections exploring its different artistic features (such as its architecture, its chapels, its art, its treasures, its bells etc.) and indicating the visiting hours, and sections dedicated to worship, its community, its clerics, or to the sacraments and Mass times, which are equally addressed to local worshippers and religious tourists. There are also sections in which the boundary between the two dimensions is fuzzy, therefore evoking the multiplicity of motivations that may lead tourists to visit these buildings: for instance, several Italian cathedrals have the website sections on history presenting the life of the Saint the cathedral is consecrated to, and the reasons and the legend behind its foundation.

In addition, cathedrals' websites usually have sections entitled "Donazioni" or "Safeguarding" describing the different processes of the cathedral's restoration: since cathedrals are the epicentre for the transmission of tangible and intangible assets, "sacred space and sacred time

(buildings and monuments, artistic objects, and also texts, legends, rites and so on)" (Aulet and Vidal 2018, 244), their conservation is perceived to be of paramount importance. Cultural and religious tourists alike see cathedrals as "a space to be preserved rather than used, to be gazed upon but not changed (Urry 1990)" (Shackley 2002, 350), as an additional attractiveness of religious sites is provided by "the religious landscape features of the past" and "the patina of age" (Jackson and Hudman 1995, 45). The main difference between Italian and British cathedrals' websites is the presence in some British cathedrals' websites of the section of the cathedral's café or restaurant where visitors can eat or drink. Cathedrals' cafés and restaurants are adjacent to or within the premises of the sacred building and are not found in Italian cathedrals; consequently, there are no specific sections in the Italian cathedrals' websites.

Like guidebooks, the sections and sub-sections of cathedrals' websites centred on their history and heritage are basically informative rather than promotional (with regard to guidebooks, see Cappelli 2007; Dann 1996). The links to these webpages can be said to be "instructional," i.e., "in theory, seem to offer only information, in practice they demand an action to read that particular information, that is to say, they invite the reader to click on the link" (Manca 2016, 39; see also Lemke 2002, 319), as if the users were asking "What can I see there?" or "what do you suggest I should see there?" (see Manca 2016, 39).

These webpages expressly offer religious, cultural, and historic information. More specifically, the language employed abounds in technical terms of cultural and religious heritage, which are the gateway for its knowledge and dissemination. As Funari (2020, 8) points out, the lexicon and terminology of cultural assets are key carriers of knowledge about heritage, as well as for its promotion and dissemination. In point of fact, cathedrals' websites thrive on technical terminology (see, for example, Cappelli 2007; Nigro 2006; Calvi 2005), borrowed from the specialized discourses they cut across. When dealing with texts on churches' architecture and art, terminology may be the cause of inaccuracies or mistranslation (Maci 2019), as well as of expansions with specific characteristics emphasizing local flavour (Agorni 2012) and intersecting a wide range of domains such as economy, gastronomy or art (Calvi 2005, Nigro 2006).

It is therefore our aim to investigate how the use of expert terminology combines with popularizing strategies. These recontextualize expert discourse, not only from a cultural perspective (Cappelli and Masi 2019) but also from a religious one, thus making the specialized terms more accessible to the general public (Bonsignori and Cappelli 2020; Cappelli and Masi 2019; Cappelli 2016).

3. Materials and methods

The study of recontextualization procedures is carried out on comparable corpora of website pages from British and Italian cathedrals. The methodology is both quantitative and qualitative. The aim is to explore cross-cultural variation in the use of denomination and definition and to contribute to their description in this kind of discourse.

3.1 The EN_IT Cathedrals corpora

The comparable corpora under analysis (EN_IT Cathedrals) include two components: one corpus of British cathedrals' webtexts in English and one corpus of Italian cathedrals' webtexts in Italian (translations from Italian into English were not taken into consideration). More specifically, the first corpus (EN_Cathedrals) comprises thirty websites of Anglican cathedrals and eighteen websites of Catholic cathedrals, mainly located in England, Wales, and Scotland, for a total amount of 48 websites (the only exception is the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Gibaltar),[2] whereas the Italian corpus (IT_Cattedrali) is composed of 55 Italian cathedrals, comprising *Duomi* (the principal churches of cities) and *basiliche* (churches with special privileges granted by the Pope because of cultural, spiritual or architectural importance). The corpus, however, is still *in fieri* as it is part of a larger project, the CAP project,[3] which is meant to make the final corpus available for online consultation.

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[2] *Church of England:* Arundel Cathedral; St. Philip's Cathedral (Birmingham); Brecon Cathedral; Briston Cathedral; Coventry Cathedral; Derby Cathedral; St. Paul Cathedral (Dundee); Durham Cathedral; Ely Cathedral; Exeter Cathedral; Canterbury Cathedral; York Cathedral; Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Gibraltar); Lichfield Cathedral; Lincoln Cathedral; Liverpool Cathedral; Newcastle Cathedral; Newport Cathedral; Norwich Cathedral; Church of St. Barnabas (Nottingham); Cathedral of Christ Church (Oxford); Cathedral Church of St Thomas of Canterbury (Portsmouth); St. David's Cathedral (Pembrokeshire); Sheffield Cathedral; St. Albans Cathedral (Hertfordshire); St. Paul's Cathedral (London); Salisbury Cathedral; Cathedral Church of All Saints (Wakefield); Westminster Cathedral; St. Mary's Cathedral (Wrexham); *Roman Catholic Cathedrals:* Arundel Cathedral; Clifton Cathedral; Lancaster Cathedral; Leeds Cathedral; St. Mary's Cathedral (Middlesbrough); Northampton Cathedral; Cathedral of Church of St. Mary and St. Boniface (Plymouth); Salford Cathedral; Shrewsbury Cathedral; St. Mary Cathedral (Aberdeen); St. Margaret Cathedral (Ayr); St. Mary Cathedral (Edinburgh); St. Andrew Cathedral (Glasgow); Motherwell Cathedral; St. Mirin Cathedral (Paisley); Cardiff Cathedral; Cathedral Church of St. Joseph (Swansea); St. Mary Cathedral (Wrexham).

[3] Comunicazione Accademica e Professionale, Department of Studies on Language and Culture, University of Modena and Reggio Emilia: https://www.dslc.unimore.it/site/home/ricerca/progetti-in-corso.html. Last visited 23/09/2021.

EN_Cathedrals	No. of tokens
Anglican Cathedrals	186.714
Catholic Cathedrals	66.488
Tot.	253.202
IT_Cattedrali	189.213
Tot.	442.415

Tab. 1: No. of tokens of the corpora EN_Cathedrals and IT_Cattedrali[4]

These webtexts were collected between July 2020 and June 2021, during the global lockdowns due to Covid-19. Tourism is one of the sectors that has been the "worst affected of all economic sectors in the world" (Maci 2020, 78) by the Coronavirus pandemic. The traces of the emergency situation with its developments during the period under investigation are found in some of the websites of the corpus. For instance, some of the first websites collected specify in the sections of the Mass and Visit Times that it was impossible to go in person due to Covid-19 and provide the times of online Mass. Or, a "Norme" ("Norms") section has been added to the website of the Cathedral of Agrigento explaining the anti-Covid norms as decided by the Italian Ministry of

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[4] Santa Maria Assunta (Catanzaro); Santa Maria de Episcopio (Benevento); Santa Maria degli Angeli, San Matteo e San Gregorio VII (Salerno); Santa Maria Assunta e Santa Giustina (Piacenza); Tempio Malatestiano - Santa Colomba (Rimini); San Marco (Pordenone); San Giusto (Trieste); Santa Maria Annunziata (Udine); Santa Maria Assunta (Frosinone); San Giovanni in Laterano (Roma); San Lorenzo (Genova); Cristo Re (La Spezia); Nostra Signora Assunta (Savona); Sant'Alessandro (Bergamo); Santa Maria Assunta (Como); Santa Maria Assunta (Cremona); Natività della Beata Vergine Maria (Milano); San Giovanni Battista (Monza); Santo Stefano protomartire e Santa Maria Assunta (Pavia); San Vittore (Varese); Santa Maria Assunta (Fermo); Santa Maria Assunta (Pesaro); Santa Maria Assunta (Urbino); San Pietro Apostolo (Isernia); Santi Pietro e Marco (Alessandria); Santa Maria Assunta (Asti); Santo Stefano (Biella); Santo Nicola Pellegrino (Trani); Visitazione e San Giovanni Battista (Brindisi); Beata Maria Vergine Assunta in Cielo/Santa Maria (Foggia); Maria Santissima Assunta (Lecce); San Cataldo (Taranto); Cattedrale di San Nicola (Trani); Santa Maria Assunta e Santa Cecilia (Cagliari); Santa Chiara (Iglesias); San Gerlando (Agrigento); Sant'Agata (Catania); Santa Maria Nuova (Monreale); Santa Vergine Maria Assunta (Palermo); San Giovanni Battista (Ragusa); Natività di Maria Santissima (Siracusa); San Lorenzo (Trapani); Santa Maria del Fiore (Firenze); San Lorenzo (Grosseto); San Martino (Lucca); San Zeno (Pistoia); Santa Maria Assunta (Siena); San Vigilio (Trento); San Lorenzo (Perugia); Santa Maria Assunta (Terni); Santa Maria Assunta (Aosta); San Martino (Belluno); Santo Stefano (Rovigo); San Marco (Venezia); Santa Maria Assunta (Verona).

the Interior: it is specified that the priest can avoid wearing gloves during the Communion rite and that brides and grooms can avoid using masks during weddings. The section "Visiting" of Canterbury Cathedral's website (one of the last websites included in the corpus) welcomes its tourists with a video entitled "Welcome back - safely discover England's first Cathedral" featuring mothers with their children visiting the cathedral, hence emphasizing the fact that "people are just waiting to be offered a safe way of travelling" (Richards 2020, 30).

3.2. Methodology

The present analysis is based on two of the six "types of explanation"[5] defined by Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004, 372), namely:

1. *Denomination* or *Designation:* new terms or objects are introduced indicating their specialized denominations (2004, 381). Garzone (2006, 91-92) underlines that "[T]his strategy is often integrated into a sentence dealing with something else, often making recourse to expressions like 'called,' 'known as,' 'meaning…,' etc. or also 'so called,' 'technically called,' 'in other words' etc.;"

2. *Definition* is closely interconnected with denomination. It refers to the explanation of unknown words through the description of the characteristics or components of the object referred to (2004, 375); it is the "conceptual delimitation of a term by a brief description of some general and specific properties of the thing the term is referring to" (Garzone 2006, 92).

The distinction between the two is mainly one of focus, as both clarify the meaning of a term in the immediate context by establishing some form of equivalence, so much so that denomination has often been classified as a form of definition (e.g. Loffler-Laurian 1994). From the point of view of knowledge dissemination, however, denomination consists in introducing new terms that can be used to point to specific meanings that have already been presented in more general terms; the process goes from the meaning to the word, thus highlighting the need to identify specific terms for referents. Definition, on the other hand, involves the explanation of terms by their classification or by the identification of their function or components. The process highlights the need of the reader/hearer to be provided with the meaning of an expression, meaning that may be (or is supposed to be) unknown. Denomination somehow reverses the

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[5] Denomination or designation, definition, reformulation or paraphrase, exemplification, generalization, analogy or association.

ordinary "topic-comment" structure identified by Sinclair (1991) and Barnbrook (2002) in the structure of definitions, placing the informational focus on the 'term' itself. What is presented as 'new' is the word in a denomination and the meaning in a definition. The two processes can be seen as complementary from the point of view of establishing a link between words and meanings.

These two strategies were chosen as a starting point for more extensive future research, once the entire EN_IT Cathedrals corpus is completed. The corpus was annotated using UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell 2008a, 2008b), a free software for manual and semi-automatic annotation of corpora that admits two types of annotation: users can assign features to entire texts and then they can assign features to segments within every single text, by using their own coding scheme. The EN-IT Cathedrals Project had to be set up (created and named) in the software in order to annotate the corpus. The text files were then uploaded so that the corpus was annotated at a document-level by dividing the individual texts according to the categories deriving from the two comparable corpora: EN_Cathedrals and IT_Cathedrals. Then, all the texts were manually annotated through a project window that allows annotators to underline segments and to assign them tags (in this regard, the two selected strategies). The scheme of annotation for denomination and definition also contemplates a further subdivision between the two spheres of religion and art/architecture (including history).

It must be underlined that multiple tags can be assigned to each segment, thus foreseeing the possibility of ambiguous segments where a neat distinction between the two dimensions is not possible. Definitions in the EN_IT corpus are particularly blurry, since the boundaries between art/architecture and religion, and between description and definition[6] cannot be clearly traced.[7] The following extracts demonstrate this 'fluidity,' showing for example that cathedrals are described/defined combining architectural/artistic with religious asset, thereby underlining the fact that they are "artistic monuments of outstanding interest" and "places of prayer and worship":

(1)   Salisbury Cathedral is a truly remarkable building, a testimony to the faith and practical skills of the medieval craftsmen who built it but it is much more than a historical monument (EN_Cathedrals: Salisbury_The Cathedral Chapter)

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[6] Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004, 379) distinguish between definitions "used to explain unknown words" and descriptions used "to explain unknown things."

[7] Cappelli and Masi point out the difficulty of differentiating between the two and consider them as one, affirming that "definition/description is probably the most common explanatory strategy found in guidebooks" (2019, 131).

(2)   Essa è certamente un monumento artistico di notevole interesse, ma prima di tutto è "luogo di preghiera," legato alla presenza di Dio sotto le specie eucaristiche (IT_Cattedrali: Catania_Sant'Agata_Descrizione)

Examples like those above were annotated as referring to both art and religion.

This sequence of operations enables the software to perform comparative statistics in feature-based studies. By measuring the propensity to select a particular feature as opposed to another in the same system, it is possible to measure whether the differences between the two datasets is statistically significant, using a Chi-square test. In our case, the software automatically highlighted whether there was statistical significance in the propensity for different popularising strategies in the two corpora.

4. Findings

The annotated corpus offers an overview of quantitative data about the features under investigation.

A very rough measure of the frequency of the use of definition and denomination could be provided by the average number of occurrences of both strategies in the two components of the corpus: with a total of 258 occurrences of the strategies in the English corpus (48 cathedrals) and 246 in the Italian corpus (including texts from 55 cathedrals), the average number of strategies used is about 5 per website in both corpora (5.37 in English vs 4.47 in Italian). In terms of the number of words, as the websites in the British corpus have more words (and more pages), we can see that, on average, there is one definition/denomination every 981 words in the EN_Cathedrals corpus and one every 769 words in the IT_Cattedrali corpus.[8]

Overall, the webtexts of EN_Cathedrals and IT_Cattedrali do not often resort to the two popularising strategies under investigation. This means offering the lay audience many specialized architectural and artistic descriptions, where specialised vocabulary (highlighted in bold) is employed without explanations, as in the following examples:

(3)   La sua costruzione fu ampia a tre **navate**, suddivise da pilastri. Di essa ne rimangono i muri perimetrali con portali e **finestre monofore** e alcune coperture, come quelle a **crociera costolonata** delle due cappelle ai lati del presbiterio e quella **polilobata** dello stesso. La facciata, si presenta oggi con la sovrapposizione dei due stili

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[8] These figures were obtained by dividing the number of words by the number of definitions or denominations. Another measure could be the normalized frequency of both strategies per thousand words (ptw): this would be an average of 1.01 ptw in English and 1.30 ptw in Italian.

architettonici: con il suo **portale** in **stile arabo normanno** a **forma ogivale** del 1361 e stupendo **rosone a raggiera**, e con la cornice e il rialzo settecenteschi. Essa è affiancata dal monumentale campanile **barocco** (1655-1671), opera del capomastro Nicola Pisano, con le quattro campane […] (IT_Cattedrali: Santa Maria di Trapani_Architettura)

(4)   The interior consisted of a simple rectangular **nave** with **aisles** either side separated by **square fluted Doric fluted piers**. Originally there were three galleries (two of which remain), rows of **double sided pews** and a **triple decker pulpit**, the original **altar rail** remains in the building but no longer functions as an altar rail. The third gallery would have run from north to south across the west end of the nave, and would mostly have been used by the choir. The organ was originally located at the west end. (EN_Cathedrals: Birmingham_the building)

The reduced linguistic accessibility of these descriptions cannot be ascribed to the presence of detailed accompanying pictures, as there is no systematic reference to them (even though in the case of Birmingham Cathedral there is a video of presentation of its architecture right above the text). This tendency has been also observed in audioguides: by comparing a corpus of fifty British, American, and Italian professional city audioguides, Fina underlines how the three corpora show very few occurrences of definitions (2018, 106).

Table 2 presents the overview of the comparative data as provided by UAM. The strategies that are statistically relevant are indicated in the table with one or multiple "plus" signs: only one plus sign ("+") indicates a weak significance (90%), two plus signs ("++") indicate medium significance (95%), and three plus signs ("+++") signal a high significance.

As shown in Table 2, there is a significant difference in the choice between the two strategies of denomination and definition: the Italian corpus shows a preference for denomination while definition is by far the preferred choice in the English one. Interestingly, there is no substantial difference between the use of these strategies in the artistic (historical) or religious domains, thus confirming that religion and art/architecture are generally conceived as the two sides of the same coin, with equal importance in the two cultures. The data also show that definitions are more equally used for art/architecture and religion (with a slightly higher propensity for the definition of religious terms), whereas denomination is more often associated with the discourse of art/architecture. The preference is more marked in the Italian corpus, but this is not statistically significant when the two corpora are compared.

POPULARISING STRATEGIES	EN_Cathedrals		IT_Cattedrali			
Feature	**N.**	**Percent**	**N.**	**Percent**	**ChiSqu**	**Sign**
Total Units	258		246			
Popularising Strategies	N=258		N=246			
Denomination	90	34.88%	132	53.66%	18.011	+++
Definition	168	65.12%	114	46.34%	18.011	+++
Denomination-type	N=90		N=132			
Art	52	57.78%	84	63.64%	0.774	
Religion	38	42.22%	48	36.36%	0.774	
Definition-type	N=168		N=114			
Art	70	41.67%	47	41.23%	0.005	
Religion	98	58.33%	67	58.77%	0.005	

Tab. 2: Distribution of the popularising strategies in the two corpora

The overall quantitative findings, then, show that denomination tends to be associated with art in both corpora, whereas definition is more frequently used in matters of religion. The data also shows that the Italian corpus presents a marked preference for denomination (and denominations in the field of art/architecture in particular), while the corpus of British cathedrals is characterized by a marked preference for definitions. Irrespective of the actual frequencies, what the software measures – and signals as significant – in the comparative statistics component is the propensity for one feature over the other in terms of percentages, i.e. the preference for denomination in Italian and for definition in English.[9]

Looking more qualitatively into the examples identified, it is possible to see the types and functions of denominations and definitions more closely.

4.1 Denomination

Denominations are decisively the preferred choice in the Italian cathedrals' websites. As regards British cathedrals' webtexts, the examples of denominations mainly stick to the strategy's main

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[9] In terms of normalized frequencies, this would correspond to similar frequencies for definitions and denominations in Italian (6.0 and 6.9 pttw respectively) and a much higher frequency of definitions over denominations in English (6.6 vs 3.5 pttw respectively).

aim, that is, the introduction of a technical term referring to a specialized notion, such as in examples (5) and (6):

(5)   Each of the three smaller arches contains a basin and a drain. These are called the *piscinae* (a Latin word meaning pool). Piscinae were chiefly used for washing of the sacred vessels used at the Eucharist. (EN_Cathedrals: Brecon_Sanctuary)

(6)   The three panels - **triptych** - above the altar are also by Christopher Webb and include St Katharine with her wheel. (EN_Cathedrals: Sheffield_Chapels)

In example (5) the specialized Latin term "piscinae" for the stone basin employed for washing vessels during Mass or Communion is introduced with a metalinguistic item ("called") followed by the definition of the generic Latin word and by its definition in the art domain in terms of its use. In (6), the art term "triptych" is simply juxtaposed, as in many sentences where this strategy is detected.

These extracts are instances of "determinologization," namely "a process of recontextualisation and reformulation of specialized terms aiming at making the concepts they designate relevant to and understandable by a lay audience" (Montalt-Resurrecció and Shuttleworth 2012, 10). This dilution of the special or terminological meaning (see Meyer and Mackintosh 2000, 113) using general language (e.g., "three panels") has also been identified in audio-guides (Fina 2018, 107).

Denominations in the British corpus also concern religion, as in the case of religious designations and offices (7):

(7)   When a Canon has resigned from the Chapter he is known as a **Canon emeritus**. The head of the Chapter is known as the **Provost**. (EN_Cathedrals: Leeds_The Cathedral Chapter)

Rarely do denominations in the EN corpus deviate from this typology, except for few instances where the names or nicknames of works of art or historical figures are presented:

(8)   At its end lies the Great West Window, which was completed by 1340. The window, which is nicknamed **'the Heart of Yorkshire'** due to the shape of its upper stonework, illustrates the authority and purpose of the Church. (EN_Cathedrals: York_The Cathedral Chapter)

(9)   The reredos is the work of John Oldrid Scott and possibly incorporates earlier works while the high altar is by Frank Pearson. Some furniture in St Mark's Chapel is by

Robert Thompson, the '**Mouseman**.' (EN_Cathedrals: York_The Cathedral Chapter)

In the Italian corpus, the standard use of denominations for technical terms mainly concerns art and architecture terminology, like in example (10) where an architectural part of the cathedral (a "retro-crypt"—a crypt lower than the crypt) is described:

(10)   A ovest della cripta, ad un livello inferiore, vi è uno spazio denominato "**retrocripta**" con le tombe dei patriarchi di Venezia dal 1807. (IT_Cattedrali: Venezia_San Marco_Architettura)

Yet, denominations are used also for terms concerning religion, like in example (10) where the religious source is precisely identified in the Protovangelium of James:

(11)   La fonte prima che racconta l'evento è il cosiddetto **Protovangelo di Giacomo**, secondo il quale Maria nacque a Gerusalemme nella casa di Gioacchino ed Anna. (IT_Cattedrali: Santa Maria di Trapani_Architettura)

Most denominations, however, introduce technical terms in the field of art and architecture. The more marked recourse to denominations in IT_Cattedrali can probably be explained also by their intense use of artists' names and nicknames, mostly introduced by the metalinguistic item *detto* ("said"). As a matter of fact, presenting names or nicknames is common with many works of art, elements of architecture (12), kings (13), architects (14), and especially artists (15 and 16).

(12)   Qui è collocato un dipinto bizantino, in olio su tela molto venerato, detto "**Madonna dei Canonici.**" La tradizione lo dice proveniente dall'antica chiesetta di Santa Maria del Chiostro che si trovava sotto gli archivi della Cattedrale nel XVI secolo. (IT_Cattedrali: Bergamo_S.Alessandro_Cappelle della navata)

(13)   Il complesso monumentale, costituito dalla Basilica, dal Convento con il Chiostro e dal Palazzo reale, venne fatto costruire nel XII sec. dal giovane re normanno Guglielmo II detto "**Il Buono**." (IT_Cattedrali: Monreale_Storia)

(14)   Nel 1490, per ordine del cardinale Domenico Della Rovere dei signori di Vinovo, si diede inizio ai lavori di demolizione delle tre antiche basiliche e alla conseguente edificazione di una nuova fabbrica su progetto dello scultore e architetto Amedeo da Settignano, detto **Meo del Caprina**, che portò in Piemonte le nuove forme del Rinascimento. (IT_Cattedrali: Torino_ S.Giovanni_Storia)

(15) […] capolavoro della prima maturità di Giovanni Antonio de' Sacchis, detto **il Pordenone** fu commissionata da Francesco Tetio, ritratto con i propri familiari sotto l'ampio mantello della Vergine (1515). (IT_Cattedrali: Pordenone_ S. Marco_Storia)

(16) Ultima cena - Jacopo Robusti detto "**Tintoretto**" e Domenico Robusti, 1594. Uno degli ultimi capolavori di Tintoretto, realizzato con l'aiuto del figlio Domenico. Una tela che contiene tutti i tratti caratteristici e innovativi di questo straordinario artista: la tavola in obliquo per creare profondità […] (IT_Cattedrali: Lucca_ S. Martino_Opere)

In particular, the habit of giving nicknames is typical of Italian Medieval and Renaissance artists: "Tintoretto," for example, derives his nickname from the word *tintore* ("dyer"), his father's job.

Finally, it may be important to notice a further type of denomination, which can be considered a form of 'languaging': i.e, the use of different languages in tourist texts (Fina 2018; Cesiri 2017, 2016; Cappelli 2013; Dann 1996). Names or nicknames referring to art and architecture (17, 18) can also be presented in the local Italian dialects for adding local flavour to the description (Fina 2018; Dann 1996), even if these denominations are rare in the texts analysed:

(17) Sulla cuspide conica del campanile si innalza la statua della creatura celeste nota a tutti i Piacentini come "**Angil dal Dom**": la figura dorata, composta da 34 lamine di rame sbalzato fissate da chiodi, è alta 2,75 metri e pesa 104,500 chilogrammi. (IT_Cattedrali: Piacenza_Cattedrale_Campanile)

(18) Un'antica leggenda circa l'origine di questo simbolo narra che, quando Catania fu abitata per la prima volta, un elefante allontanò tutte le bestie feroci che si trovavano in zona e i catanesi, per rendere omaggio a questo animale, eressero una statua ancora oggi chiamata, in dialetto locale, "**liotru**." (IT_Cattedrali: Catania_Sant'Agata_Descrizione)

In particular, in (17), a statue on the cathedral (Duomo) in Piacenza is said to be called "the angel of the Duomo" and the meaning of the Italian dialectal expression is easily understandable by Italian native speakers. On the other hand, in (18), the Elephant fountain, symbol of Catania, which stands in the cathedral square is said to be named "liotru," after a malapropism of the name of a local legend protagonist, Eliodoro, who rode the elephant. Even though the legend is not explained, this does not hamper the accessibility of the text. The dialectal element of the denomination is more functional to recalling Italian regional expressions than to actually explaining them.

In general, this preference for denomination and for introducing many specialized terms is in line with Fina's (2018) study of audioguides underlining how descriptions in Italian have a

"taste for technicality" and suggesting that "the massive presence of such terms in descriptions responds to a need for accuracy and completeness, which is in line with the KILCy style preferred by the Italian culture" (2018, 111). By KILCy style she refers to the contrast between KILC ("keep it long and complete") as opposed to KISS ("keep it short and simple") style.

The "taste for technicality" can be seen to depend on the Italian view that sees the use of such technical terms as a sign of reliability and authority of the sources (Fina 2018, 111).

4.2 Definition

The use of the two subtypes of definitions in the two domains of religion and art/architecture shows no significant difference in the two corpora of EN_Cathedrals and IT_Cattedrali.

A large number of definitions deal with the main focus of the websites, the Cathedral itself, explaining what it is:

(19)   Cathedral, from the Greek word cathedra, meaning 'seat' or 'chair,' **is home of the seat of the Bishop. As the leader of the Church in this area, the seat is the place from which the Bishop teaches and leads the people.** The bishop's seat remains the focal point of the building. (EN_Cathedrals: Norwich_The role of Norwich Cathedral)

(20)   La Cattedrale, **chiesa principale della diocesi per la presenza della cattedra episcopale**, o Duomo, cioè casa per eccellenza del Signore, fin dalle origini fu uno dei poli della vita cittadina e, soprattutto, dal Medioevo, uno dei simboli della città stessa, per la presenza dei Santi Patroni. (IT_Cattedrali: Catanzaro_SantaMariaAssunta_Descrizione)

Definitions also involve very specific architectural/artistic terms (21, 22) describing the interiors and exteriors of the cathedrals, as well as religious concepts, such as offices and sacraments (25, 26). As examples (21, 22) show, definitions (of the Roman "propyleum," a portico, and of roof boss) are often simply juxtaposed to the term they define through brackets or dashes:

(21)   Se tale basilica suburbana sia stata preceduta da altre più modeste sedi di culto dentro o fuori le mura, non è dato di sapere. Viceversa le modificazioni e i graduali sviluppi degli edifici cultuali sul colle di San Giusto attestano la vitalità della Chiesa locale dal sec. V, fin da quando cioè, sulle rovine di un probabile tempio dedicato alla Triade capitolina (Giove, Giunone, Minerva), sorse la basilica cristiana impostata sul **propileo romano (un ingresso monumentale costituito da colonnati e scale)**, di cui restano inconfondibili tracce. (IT_Cattedrali: Trieste_San Giusto_Storia)

(22) High overhead, the Cathedral has over a thousand **roof bosses—carvings in wood or stone that cover the joins between the stone ribs of its vaulted ceilings**. These roof bosses range from simple 13th-century leaf designs, to elaborate Renaissance images of angels, animals and beasts, heraldic badges and the emblems of Christ's Passion. (EN_Cathedrals: Winchester_Roof Bosses)

In the following examples, religious terms are explicitly defined. These definitions might be addressed both to religious tourists with a catechetical function and to tourists with no religious background and knowledge.

(23) Il **capitolo dei canonici**, sia cattedrale sia collegiale, **è il collegio di sacerdoti al quale spetta assolvere alle funzioni liturgiche più solenni nella chiesa cattedrale o collegiale**; spetta inoltre al capitolo cattedrale adempiere i cómpiti che gli vengono affidati dal diritto o dal Vescovo diocesano. (IT_Cattedrali: Como_Cattedrale_Capitolo)

(24) The corporate body of Salisbury Cathedral is the Chapter, the College of Canons and the Cathedral Council. **Chapters were formerly exclusively clerical bodies** but after the 1999 act every cathedral chapter must now include at least two lay members. (EN_Cathedrals: Salisbury_Who is in our Chapter)

(25) Il **Santo Battesimo è il fondamento di tutta la vita cristiana, il vestibolo d'ingresso alla vita dello Spirito, e la porta che apre l'accesso agli altri sacramenti**. Mediante il Battesimo siamo liberati dal peccato e rigenerati come figli di Dio, diventiamo membra di Cristo; siamo incorporati alla Chiesa e resi partecipi della sua missione. (IT_Cattedrali: Monza_S.GiovanniBattista_Sacramenti)

(26) **Holy Baptism is the basis of the whole Christian life, the gateway to life in the Spirit and the door which gives access to the other Sacraments. Through Baptism we are freed from sin and return as children of God**. We become members of Christ, are incorporated into the Church and made sharers in the mission. Baptism is a Sacrament of regeneration through water and the Word. (EN_Cathedrals: Clifton_Baptism)

The Italian corpus offers numerous instances of highly specialized vocabulary with definitions of rare terms such as *cleristorio* ("clerestory") or *cenotafio* ("cenotaph").

Definitions are indeed more largely employed in the British corpus, therefore signaling the desire of British websites to be more explicit and adopt a more reader-friendly approach (see Katan 2006), typical of low-context cultures (Hall 1990) like the British one.

An outstanding example of the reader-oriented and of more informal way of address is the website of Durham Cathedral, one of the most important cathedrals in the UK. Domain-specific

words are often introduced by *wh*-questions, simulating an interactive expert to non-expert conversation (Hyland 2002):

(27) What is Romanesque architecture? The name means 'from Rome'. This style of architecture dominated Western Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries. It often features rounded arches and vaults (EN_Cathedrals: Durham_Architecture)

(28) What does the word 'plate' mean? It describes dishes, bowls, cups, and other utensils made completely of gold, silver, or other metal. (EN_Cathedrals: Durham_Churchplate)

5. Concluding remarks

Cathedrals' websites are catalysts of two forms of tourism, religious and cultural tourism. As is the case with brochures and guidebooks, one of their main characteristics is the presence of specialized vocabulary from different domains—in this case religion and art/architecture. These are not always defined or introduced, making these texts obscure for lay readers, even though they are supposedly meant to provide information on the cathedrals. However, an attempt to render them more accessible is testified by the presence of denominations and definitions within the comparable corpus of Italian and British cathedrals. So far, the data show that denominations are more prominent in proportion in the Italian webtexts, and the qualitative analysis seems to suggest that this partly depends on the introduction of the nicknames of the artists or the names of places (and possibly on the perception of technical terms as adding authoritativeness to the text).

As for religious and architectural information, the investigation also highlights that cathedrals' websites tend to give similar importance to both spheres, even though a clear-cut distinction between the two cannot be traced, as religion and art/architecture overlap in many denominations and definitions. This feature reveals once again the "elusive physiognomy" (Calvi 2005, 33) of tourism discourse as a hybrid discourse where boundaries are difficult to determine, and where also the motivations leading visitors to a sacred place intertwine, thereby disclosing the fact that sometimes it is difficult to think of religious tourism and cultural tourism as two separate fields.

When considering the knowledge dissemination function of the two corpora, one cannot avoid noticing that the propensity for definitions is significantly higher in the British corpus, while in the Italian corpus some terms are more specialistic, as already noted (Fina 2018), and the preference is for denominations. These tendencies are in accordance with the description of Italian culture as a high context communication culture and British culture as a low context communication culture (Katan 2006). There is a clearer intention of disseminating the cultural

and religious heritage to non-experts in the EN_Cathedrals corpus, thereby implying that these texts do not take their audience's religious (Christian) and art history knowledge for granted. Italian texts, on the other hand, tend to use denomination to introduce more technical terms and specific expressions, while the presence of definitions of religious sacraments and offices in the Italian corpus might be interpreted as having either a catechetical function or a popularizing function for non-believers.

Finally, the study has also highlighted that a reconsideration of ways of disseminating cultural and religious heritage might be necessary. This reconsideration should move towards more interactive and popularizing websites of these sacred places, in order to mirror the inevitable changes both in society and in the rapidly changing world of tourism.

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