LANGUAGE, KNOWLEDGE AND COMMUNITY IN MUSEUM DISCOURSE: TATE AND GAM

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Abstract

A prominent segment of Tourism Discourse, Museum Discourse is under-researched, notably in terms of its positioning and dynamic meaning production. Museums should be critically approached as knowledge sites where, besides artifacts and artwork, verbal and visual language are on display, constructing specific socio-cultural mind-frames and construing community involvement. Documents from the Tate Gallery (London) and the Galleria d'Arte Moderna (Turin) are cross-culturally examined as 'best practice' case studies in the transition from 'traditional' and asymmetric to multimodal, symmetric triangulation of the key agents in Museum Discourse: the institution, visitors and local communities.

Within a constructivist model of knowledge, language is crucial to fostering interaction, socio-cognitive alignments and socio-economic benefits particularly for the museum's local area. My aim in developing the two case studies is to pursue these 'outward-bound' discursive practices, notably the strategies displayed in the 'participatory mission' statement. Using a contrastive/comparative approach, I investigate two sets of texts, as well as the central element in the visual grammar of each of the two institutions, namely its logo, to identify the distinctive textual features through which both museums set an authoritative self-representation and establish rapport with their respective audiences.

My focus is on texts which activate a positive 'brand identity' for external addressees, promoting innovative, participatory socio-cultural mind-sets through persuasive language (e.g. evaluative lexis, personal pronouns for ego-targeting, proximal vs distal deixis) and enhancing both context-oriented and customer-centred strategies. I therefore examine the textualization process, in particular the lexical and interpersonal features deployed to discursively 'situate' and position the two institutions in addressing their publics, within their broader cultural systems.

1. Introduction

Museum Discourse (henceforth MD) is a markedly hybridized discourse comprising features of Tourism Discourse (henceforth TD), Marketing/Promotion, and Advertising Discourse. Since museums cut across a plurality of domains and their respective specialized languages, they animate linguistic, communicative and social practices depending on specific factors such as the nature of the displays, the location of the sites, the socio-economic impact on the local communities (Anderson 2002; Carbonell 2004; Preziosi and Farago 2004; MacDonald 2006; Cuno 2011). But the one element common

to all museums – and this is especially relevant for the present analysis – is their main aim: conserving and transmitting knowledge. Thus, any investigation into the language(s) of museums could benefit from a preliminary reflection on the etymological meaning of some of the content words that both describe and embody the essence of the communication practices a museum can establish. First of all, "museum" (from Latin *museum* and Greek *mouseion*) means "*a place of study* (my emphasis), library or museum, school of art or poetry", originally "a seat or shrine of the Muses" (Barnhart 1988). The key actor within the museum is the curator. From the Latin *curator* (agent noun from *curatus*, past participle of *curare*), the word means "overseer, manager, guardian", originally designating those in charge of people (minors, lunatics, etc.) and property (*ibid.*). The principal action originally carried out by the curator in the museum space is "to exhibit", which, from the Latin "exhibere", means "*to show, display, present, deliver*", literally "*hold out, hold forth*", from ex- "out" + habere "to hold" (*ibid.*, my emphasis). Through the common root of "habere" (from PIE root **ghabh-* "to seize, take, hold, have, *give, receive*"), "exhibit" is cognate to "habit" ("habitare" as frequentative of "habere", "to have, to hold, possess"), i.e. "to dwell, *inhabit; have dealings with*" (*ibid.*, my emphasis).

Thus, the etymological origins of these key concepts and their multiple semantic refractions provide the gist of the communicative practices established by a museum. An authority holding knowledge has the task of guarding and conserving such knowledge and also of exhibiting and delivering it, in other words literally "holding it out" to a public (as the double meaning of "hold out" suggests, i.e. "to deliver" and "to make it last"). In doing so, the museum both "inhabits" a particular place ("habitare") and has "dealings with it", shaping, as I shall argue, the socio-cultural habits of the individuals that experience this site of communication and learning ("a place of study"). Hence, the museum not only displays objects but, through precise linguistic strategies and communicative modes, it displays ideas and ideologies that shape the mind-frames of both the local people and the global visitors.

This article intends to underscore how the asymmetrical construction and distribution of knowledge operated by the authority/curator – namely the approach traditionally adopted in museums – has changed into a more participatory, symmetrical and democratized interaction and knowledge construction model that increasingly enhances the role of global and local visitors. As Anderson (2004) remarked, museums have undergone a "paradigm shift" firstly in the ways they exhibit knowledge and, secondly, in the new practices of actually "communicating" it. In terms of best practice, museums are no longer mere repositories of objects or artworks. They are places where social interaction is paramount for the construction and legitimation of knowledge, as well as to foster socio-cultural identity and social practices in a given local community.

In this light, referring to the early examples of Wunderkammer, i.e. "the cabinet of curiosities" (seen as the precursors of museums), proves significant. In the Renaissance, these cabinets contained collections of potentially infinite "wonderful" objects organized and "exhibited" by a patron, curator or scholar. They were meant as microcosms capable of containing representations of the whole world and they had an important socio-political function:

> Wunderkammer or curiosity cabinets were collections of rare, valuable, historically important or unusual objects, which generally were compiled by a single person, normally a

scholar or nobleman, *for study and/or entertainment*. The Renaissance wunderkammer, like the modern museum, were subject to preservation and interpretation. However, they differed from the modern museum in some fundamental aspects of purpose and meaning. Renaissance wunderkammer were private spaces, created and formed around a deeply held belief that all things were linked to one another through either visible or invisible similarities. People believed that by detecting those visible and invisible signs and by recognizing the similarities between objects, they would be brought to an understanding of how the world functioned, and what humanity's place in it was. (from the Tate Gallery website: http://www.tate.org.uk/learn/online-resources/mark-dion-tate-thames-dig/wunderkammen, my emphasis).

Due also to their highly entertaining and popular nature, the cabinets could establish the social prestige of the curators and enhance their political and economic power (Grinke 1984; Impey and MacGregor 1985; Putnam 200; Mauries 2002; Hooper Greenhill 2003). Nowadays these early exhibition practices could be usefully taken into account to reflect on the paradigm transition mentioned above[1]. Inasmuch as the ancient forms of museum relied on "curiosity" arising from the exhibited items, the new museums also rely and lay stress on the "wonders" and the (socio-cultural) interest that their knowledge-related activities can stimulate. In doing so, the new communicative and multimodal practices encompass and promote several diverse functions besides "exhibiting" items, such as social interaction and dynamic participation, in order to prompt such "curiosity" in the audience. The museum, in other words, establishes its own identity as a highly recognizable microcosm which both distant and local audiences are called upon to construct (see Macdonald 2006).

In the analysis that follows, I argue that this dynamic socio-cognitive approach construing the social reality of museums is also "displayed" and "exhibited" in the museum's marketing material: indeed, in museum terminology the nouns "exhibit" and "display" have become almost interchangeable, although they retain different semantic auras. What the museum displays in fact is "arranged and designed to please the eye or the senses" (see "display" in *OED* 2015), as in advertising and promotion (de Mooij 2004). Research on advertising has been carried out from various perspectives due to its multifaceted features, which are of interest both for consumer research studies and linguistics (Maci 2013: 137) as well as sociology, media studies and visual design. Similarly, researching and teaching MD should ideally involve a transversal, multidisciplinary approach: museums are "socially situated" and MD must be recog-

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[1] It is worth noting that in the 1999 Tate-commissioned work *Tate Thames Dig*, artist Mark Dion used the form of the Wunderkammer to exhibit objects dug from the Thames. The work is associated "with the beliefs that underlie the way in which Renaissance society organized and categorized the world within the space of the curiosity cabinet". Dion used "this association *to make the viewer question why the modern museum is organised in the manner that it is, and what lies behind the rules that curators and art historians follow in the classification and organization of objects*". The local community was involved in the project in terms of volunteering work: "As part of Tate Modern's pre-opening programme in 1999, artist Mark Dion and a team of local volunteers combed the foreshore of the river at Bankside in front of Tate Modern, and at Millbank, opposite Tate Britain. Their aim was to explore London's rich industrial and cultural history through its material remains, the artifacts buried within the mud and gravel of its beaches". Besides Dion's final installation, works by several artists in the Tate Collections are cabinet-related, from Marcel Duchamp to Jeff Koons and Damien Hirst (http://www.tate.org.uk/learn/online-resources/mark-dion-tate-thames-dig/wunderkammern/mark-dion-and-wunderkammer; my emphasis).

nized as a "social interaction among institutions or social communities" whose practices are shaped in a social context and, in turn, construct a social context (Hong 2010; Van Dijk 1997, 2006).

1.2. *Museum Discourse and participatory policy*

Amongst the features and functions MD shares with the promotional segment of TD are lexical density, exploitation of pre-modification, use of epistemic (and, to a lesser extent, deontic) modality, highly evaluative lexis pointing to the deployment of the so-called authenticity perspective (MacCannell 1989). As for "attention-grabbing" devices and rhetorical strategies, MD especially exploits ego-targeting, sometimes through puns and word-play and, to a much lesser extent than in TD proper, humour and irony (the latter especially in museum advertising).

Within tourism socio-linguistic practices, MD (as "best practice") can be approached using Dann's trialogical dimension, which insightfully illustrates the shifting paradigm of the current language of tourism (Dann 2012). Mindful of the democratization offered by the new technologies, Dann identifies a trialogical discourse involving the three key players of tourism: industry, tourist and touree [2]. Likewise, in museum best practice, the democratization process actualized by websites, interactive digital tours and smartphone applications leads us to identify the key players of MD in the Museum/Institution, the (global) visitor and the local communities. The intra-group categories and "sub-communities" (Davies 2007: 59) of these three main players generate, I argue, a *plurality of dialogues*, a Bakhtinian polyphonic interaction that construes highly dynamic social practices awaiting exploration. Hooper Greenhill (2003: 1) affirms that:

> Museums have always had to modify *how they worked*, and *what they did*, *according to the context*, the plays of power, and the social, economic, and political imperatives that surrounded them. Museums, in common with all other social institutions, serve many masters, and *must play many tunes* accordingly (my emphasis).

Hooper Greenhill significantly connects the sociology of museums to a constructivist model of knowledge, fostering the analysis of the learning exchange triggered by museums in relation to their social context. By playing "many tunes" simultaneously, museums construe meanings and bestow new meanings on pre-existing mindsets. This complex learning exchange is also to be seen as socio-semiotic change involving semogenesis (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999). As argued by Stenglin (2009: 249), including semogenesis (and especially logogenesis) in such a discourse analysis "enables us to see how a person or cultural institution [in the present study a museum] engages dynamically with individual texts/exhibitions as they unfold in time and space" (Stenglin 2009: 249).

The dynamic range of meanings generated in museums by multi-modal communicative strategies construes specific context-related knowledge and "this common ["to make the many into one"] knowledge is *created by language*" (Riley 2007: 30, my emphasis).

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[2] In TD, a "touree" is a member of the host population, that is to say, the local population in tourist areas. This term is extensively used by Dann (2012) and was initially coined by Van der Berghe (1994).

Riley singles out a set of practices and functions through which a society manages the "social knowledge system": among them, as we shall see, *legitimation* is paramount for my present purposes [3], although in MD it principally works as "self-legitimation".

In discussing these practices, Riley claims that the primary mechanism of the knowledge system and of the social learning process is language "in dyadic or group interactions" in which participants establish "intersubjectivity" (*ibid*.: 39) and construe "culture". However, Riley maintains, "individuals acquire and construct their personal cultural repertoires on the basis of the interactional *opportunities available to them*" (*ibid*.: my emphasis). In this sense, MD, as shown by the case study of the Tate Gallery in section 3 below, is firmly rooted in *a highly participatory policy*, aiming at attracting as many visitors as possible and fostering the plurality of dialogues mentioned above. Although they are profit-oriented bodies, in some cases museums are catalysts of social interaction and intermediaries in a robust relationship between the local community and the global visitors. Promotional linguistic strategies, then, suggest a solid concept of cultural exchange through art (or any given discipline related to specific museums), in accordance with Hooper Greenhill's (2003: 198) notion of "all-encompassing" knowledge:

> The basic structures of knowledge of the modern *episteme* are totality (a story, a theme, a history, organic relationships) and experience (relationships of things to people, knowledge evolved through the study of and activity in empirical events). Knowing and knowledge have become three-dimensional, all-involving, and all-encompassing. The main themes of knowledge are people, their histories, their lives, and their relationships. These themes and structures underpin the shifts and changes in museums and galleries that can be observed today. New technologies, and new articulations of space, individual subjects, and objects, have emerged to enable the new themes and structures of knowledge to do their work […].This potential for intervention and for new perspectives has called forth its own response in terms *of totalising and all-encompassing 'experience'*.

2. Materials and method

How is the "potential for intervention and for new perspectives" communicated to the public? How do museums seek to establish dynamic social practices with the public and to comply with "the social, economic, and political imperatives that surround them" (Hooper Greenhill 2003: 1) at the same time?

To answer these questions, I investigate below the writing protocols of two leading museums in modern and contemporary art, respectively the Tate Gallery in London and the GAM (Galleria d'Arte Moderna) in Turin (Italy). I examine sample texts from their websites – in the case of TG, also some fact-sheets available from the Information Department upon request – to highlight discursive practices in "outward" communication. In-house documents involving sponsors and the staff, including the research

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[3] By "legitimation", Riley (2007: 32) refers to the ways "dominant discourses are established through discussion, power, interest and ideology [and] justified by authority, rationality, consensus, pragmatic procedures".The other practices are respectively: creation /production, organization, storage, distribution, and use (*ibid*.: 31-32).

specialists working for the museum, i.e. "inward" communication, is beyond my present scope (see Preziosi and Farago 2004; MacDonald 2006); my focus is on texts which construe and enhance a positive "brand" for external addressees. Using a contrastive/comparative approach, I investigate these two sets of texts, as well as the central element in their visual grammar, their respective logos, to identify the distinctive textual features which construct an authoritative self-representation and establish rapport with their audiences. My aim, in developing the two case studies, is to pursue these "outward-bound" discursive practices, notably the "participatory mission" discourse, by displaying the strategies applied in fulfilling this common goal. I examine the textualization process, in particular the lexical and interpersonal features deployed to discursively "situate" and position each institution in addressing the public, within its broader cultural system.

3. Case study 1: Tate Gallery

For the purposes of the present case study I shall analyse documents selected from the Tate Gallery (TG) websites and from TG Information and Communication Departments fact-sheets. The latter are used in promotional activities, in liaising with other international galleries or universities, or sent to the general public upon request. Although their manifest purpose is informative, these texts employ evaluative lexis serving both an expressive and a persuasive function; in performing this three-fold function (informative-expressive-persuasive), they construct context-oriented meaning through interaction and identification. The fact-sheets selected concern TG's economic impact, marketing strategies, logo, community projects and volunteering.

In the analysis below, I will sample and discuss TG's language, notably its rhetorical strategies in various domains, from marketing proper to cultural activities. Starting from a consideration of how such linguistic practices have significantly fulfilled their persuasive function and thus achieved impressive socio-economic benefits (as in Table 1 below), I will focus on how language has also encouraged a democratization of the museum's practices, especially concerning the participation of both the visitors and the local population.

3.1. *Tate's economic impact*

According to the Tate fact-sheet on the Economic Impact, since the opening of Tate Modern in 2000, the trading impact on the local area of Southwark has significantly exceeded expectations. By bullet-pointing this impact, community involvement is constantly highlighted (see Table 1).

The informative content of the fact-sheet clearly reveals a persistent persuasive function through the use of carefully calibrated lexis: besides frequent repetition of "Southwark" and "local area", when the city of London is mentioned, words such as "outpaced", "popularity", "capitalize", "increase", and "specific" exemplify how the museum has created benefits for the whole city but "especially" for Southwark, which thus acquires the connotations of excellence, fostering pride in the neighbourhood's inhabitants. The lexis is also meant to suggest evidence concerning the fast growth and development of the area ("forever growing", "huge increase", "increase in the number"). If we recall Riley's notion of legitimation of knowledge, i.e. that dominant discourses need to be established

- The estimated economic benefit of Tate Modern is around £100 million, of which £50-70 million is *specific to Southwark*.
- There *has been* a *huge increase* in footfall of visitors coming to the *Bankside area*.
- The number of hotel and catering businesses *in the local area has increased* by 23% from 1997-2000. This has led to an estimated 1800 new catering jobs *in the Southwark area*.
- There is a *forever growing* number of restaurants coming to the *area* to *capitalize on the popularity of the area to tourists*. There are approximately 20 restaurants in the *area* now.
- Property prices and commercial investment levels *are increasing faster* in Southwark *than London averages*. There have been a *surge* of residential developments in the area […] Commercial *development in Southwark* has *outpaced the London average*. As has the *increase in the number* of new businesses. Approximately 3,000 jobs have been *created in London*, of which about just over half are *specific to the Southwark area*.
- Currently 35% of those employed at Tate Modern come from *the local area*.
- Tate is one of the partners of START – *Workplace Co-ordinator for Arts and Culture*, an employment project which gives unemployed adults in *Southwark opportunities* to work in the cultural sector. The project provides *a range of support* including pre-employment training, interviews skills, CV development and post employment support to successful candidates.

Table 1. Tate's economic impact (my emphasis)

and *justified*, we can see that the entire fact-sheet is an apt example of self-legitimation aimed at convincing visitors and especially local people of the development opportunities that Tate has come to provide. This message is rhetorically conveyed by a strategic use of the present perfect, which, combining the present tense with the perfect aspect, favours the "continuative reading" of the tense (and a continuative interpretation of the text): all verbs display experiences and accomplishments, positive changes over time, actions and situations leading to and including the temporal zero point and showing significant results in "development", socio-economic "opportunities", and wealth.

3.2. *Tate's marketing strategy*

In the Marketing domain, predictably, emphasis on the local involvement extends to global visitors and is nominalized as *pressure,* as the (informative) Marketing fact-sheet reveals (see Table 2).

As the lexis shows, these informative texts are covertly persuasive, in that they "extol the positive features of the places described and the services offered" (Gotti 2006: 27). In doing so, "the readers are rhetorically aligned" (Mocini 2013: 157) towards "appreciation", a lexical item that in the above table is used also as a meta-linguistic promotional device. Tate is said "to work towards increasing knowledge, understanding and *appreciation*" so as to involve both the whole of Britain and the world ("throughout Britain and internationally", "Tate as a whole around the world"). The qualifiers "proactive", "effective", "extensive" and "varied" show self-evaluation and self-legitimation and, in close connection with the verbs "encourage", "help" and "achieve" macro-structurally positively represent the effects of such working procedures. Furthermore, "encourage"

Tate aims *to attract* new and repeat visitors to its various sites to see the collection displays and special exhibitions. This is part of a key *Tate objective***:** *to work towards increasing knowledge, understanding and appreciation of British and Modern art throughout Britain and internationally*. There is a continuing pressure on Tate to earn more of its own income to supplement government grant-in-aid by *encouraging attendance*, advertising*, helping* generate revenue from ticket sales and visits to the shop and café.

Tate Communications in London works specifically on promoting exhibitions, along with public events, café, restaurant, shop and membership schemes. The department comprises 18 people who handle press and broadcast media, print production and distribution, advertising, visitor research, Tate online. The department promotes *Tate as a whole around the world*. Tate *achieves extensive and varied coverage across all media*, initiated by a *proactive* press office and supported on special projects by a public relations consultancy. Tate marketing also establishes *effective exhibition promotions* with a variety of organisations, including retail and media companies.

Table 2. Marketing fact-sheet (my emphasis)

Social Media. Tate's Social Media Strategy aims to help fulfill Tate's mission *to increase public understanding and enjoyment of British and modern international art. W*e also *want to sustain, build and broaden the range of audiences who experience Tate. We* want to develop our current audiences and *build new audiences* for the future – in particular by focusing on a *more diverse range* of young people.

Visitor Research. Tate researches its visitors through a regular tracking study, carried out three times a year, with a more in-depth qualitative survey every three years. *This enables us to understand our visitors and respond to their views,* while questions on media readership and motivation to visit *enable us* to identify likely new visitors and the *best ways of reaching them*. In addition this research enables Tate *to communicate particular messages to particular groups at particular time*s. Methods include targeted advertising, direct mail campaigns and print distribution and generic promotional partnerships with other organizations.

Table 3. Marketing fact-sheet (bold in the original, my emphasis)

points again to the participatory policy illustrated above, and connects to the second section of the fact-sheet devoted to social media and "visitor research" (see Table 3).

Here, the rhetorical locution "increase public understanding" is repeated, providing semantic coherence but also adding a reference to "enjoyment" that fulfils the typical "play perspective" of TD. The verbs "sustain", "build" and "broaden" suggest an approach towards marketing promotion that focuses on TG ethics, in that their aim appears as inspired by a desire to broaden not only a "diverse" audience but also their understanding of art. The second paragraph shows the recurrent use of the personal pronouns "we" and "us" that fulfil an indirect ego-targeting deictic function. Visitors are not directly addressed as in typical TD texts ("you will"), so as to promote an awareness-raising strategy: the readers of the text infer a concern on the part of TG about visitors, a desire on the part of TG ("want") to "communicate" with them, "respond" to their "views" and find "the best ways to reach them".

Addressing both 'global' visitors and local people, promotional strategies constantly point out the opportunities that are provided and the advantages offered in terms of learning and gratification. Both the 'traditional' and multimodal texts suggest that this

range of benefits can be enjoyed once the readers decide to 'experience' the gallery, not only as visitors but as active 'participants'. This is further exemplified by the texts below.

3.3. *Tate logo and (visual) "corporate identity"*

In their analysis of websites, Pierroux and Skjulstad (2011: 206) defined the notion of "global brandscape", that is to say "a multimodal tool through which the museum's public image is composed, developed, and communicated to increase tourism, among other aims". Within this marketing perspective, logos are crucial.
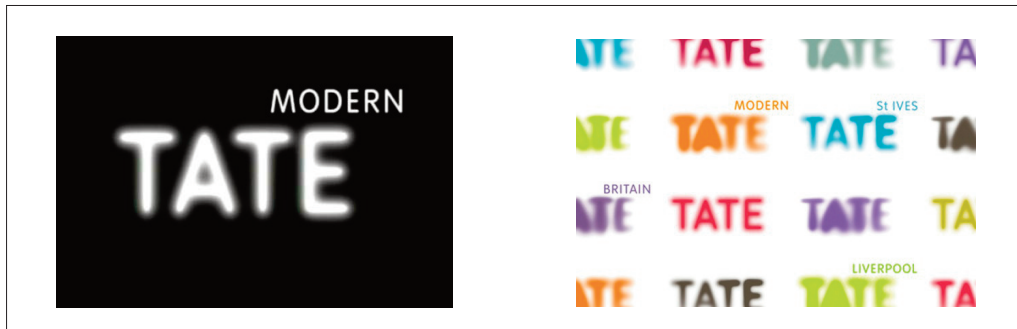
Figure 1. Tate logo(s)

Within the policy of inclusion that characterizes TG promotion, aiming at appraisal and identification, the choice of the logo is highly significant. TG launched "a new corporate identity in spring 2000" (designed by Wolff Olins) to be used for all Tate material: a range of Tate logos, a colour palette and a special typeface.

As stated in the fact-sheet, a number of variations are provided (from a standard logo to blurred, faded and halftone versions). This visual peculiarity helps "to build a brand that is fresh and fluid, but has some consistency – *one Tate, with constantly changing expressions*". So, while the variations point at including as many identities as possible, engaging the above-mentioned plurality of dialogues, consistency refers to the unity and cohesiveness of the social group they aim to construct. There are eighteen colours in the palette, ranging from "strong colours" to "more subtle colours". They have been "chosen for their legibility" where the aim is to "reflect different moods and styles".

The typeface, chosen "*to manage Tate's identity*", is described as "clear, contemporary and distinctive". Figure 2, retrieved from the TG website, shows the typeface's qualities.

The notions of "character" and "recognition" stress the balanced approach ("personality") of the gallery ("contemporary but not trendy", "challenging but not intimidating") aiming to attract a diverse range of people and to satisfy the needs of all. Indirect ego-targeting strategies ("individual messages", "accessibility") combine with a focus on community ("connections", "priorities", "cumulative sense", "different contexts"). Pragmatic "impression-making" on potential visitors is achieved through a representation of Tate which stresses its communal identity, encompassing a variety of individual identities. In a persuasive synergy with the verbal text, the visual texts allow TG to represent this same compact and yet diverse, context-oriented solidarity, deploying symmetrical interaction within the triad TG staff, the local community and the visitors.

- Character: giving people who may not have visited the galleries an idea of the Tate personality. e.g. 'contemporary but not trendy', 'challenging but not intimidating'
- Clarity: it is simple, clear and bold, for impact and accessibility
- Connections: the identity links all the diverse activities that come under the Tate umbrella, so that successive items build a cumulative sense of Tate's diverse collection and programme. All materials help promote the organisation as well as communicating individual messages
- Recognition: each item can quickly be identified as Tate's, rather than trying to establish and popularise a series of new styles
- Quality: an agreed high standard applies in many different contexts and materials, from advertising to the website, from merchandise to gallery uniforms
- Practicality: the identity enables Tate to commission design efficiently and maintain a high level of output
- Priorities: consistency and simplicity in design focuses attention on the gallery's real point of interest – works of art

Figure 2. Logo fact-sheet from the Tate website

3.4. *Tate Community Projects*

Figure 3. Advertising billboard

Figure 3 exemplifies TG's policy of participation and inclusion through the rhetorical repetition of the locution "free for all": in the first instance (central in the image), it strategically appears at the end of the verbal message and stands out on its own ("free" is carefully placed above as a pre-modifier of "art festival") so as to highlight the all-inclusiveness they advocate. This wide invitation addresses both the global public and the local community that is actively engaged in the socio-cultural interaction Tate has construed. Since its opening, in fact, TG has involved "the locals" in non-traditional, interactive projects and programmes, ranging from visual arts to eco-sustainability, culture, theatre, music. The explicitness and assertiveness that qualify such a strong commitment towards the community are worth noting (Fig. 4).

Self-appraisal and legitimation make it clear that TG has operated from within its neighbourhood and has presented itself as a continuous source of socio-cultural and economic development, as well as of infrastructure improvement: "Tate is part", "inhabits", "has made a major contribution", "engages", "broadens". The pre-modified noun-phrases are highly eulogizing both for the semantic aura of the nouns and for the evaluative nature of the adjectives, stressing the "continuity" of positive actions and the remarkable

Community

Tate Modern is part of the neighbourhood it inhabits. Its presence has made a major contribution to the ongoing revitalisation of Southwark, and it recognises the importance of building strong links with the local community. The Transforming Tate Modern project will be a catalyst for engaging local audiences more deeply and broadening access to the museum. The new development will continue to bolster the growth of the borough. A public walkway through the building will make possible a direct route from the City to the heart of Southwark. There will be two new public squares to the south and west of the building. To the east, a new planted area will be created especially for the use of the local community and staff.

Figure 4. Transforming Tate Modern project

results: "ongoing revitalization", "major contribution", "strong links", "broadening access", "new development" etc.

The "Community Partnership" fact-sheet displays "outreach" programmes [4] through which Tate "has pioneered the *social model of a museum*". Strategy and key principals are self-explanatory:

Tate Strategy
1) Seeks *to involve communities* and *encourage partnerships* across *the whole* of Tate's business and activities.
2) *Places the museum in the centre of the areas they are situated*. This involves *being socially responsible* for *the impact a major visitor attraction has on its locality* and *becoming involved in the ongoing development of those areas*.
3) *For Tate "community" equals "society" and our work involves a broad range of relationships with business, cultural, tourism and residents' partners.*
4) Tate works in *a variety of local, national and international partnerships. Increasingly we aim* to *connect communities and audiences across these areas.*
Key Principals
1) *Encourage dialogue and learning with and from our communities.*
2) *Democratise* the work of the museum.
3) Create projects and partnerships which are *active, participatory and empower communities in developing our work.*
4) Put artists and creative practice at the heart of community projects.
5) Personalised and active programme.
6) Partnerships with other cultural organisations *to engage communities in new dialogues*.

Table 4. Community Partnership fact-sheet (my emphasis)

"Community equals society" and TG places its activities at the 'centre' of 'its' area. Again, pronouns and possessives ego-target the local population and also reinforce appraisal on the part of global visitors. The focus is on notions of dialogue, social interaction

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[4] These include START – a project which gives unemployed adults in Southwark opportunities to work in the cultural sector; COMMUNITY GARDEN TATE MODERN – A garden created through partnerships and local residents; SOWF – 22 cultural organizations will work with 80,000 young people in Southwark and Lambeth for 3 years; COMMUNITY FILM CLUB – Involving South London, the Bankside Residents Forum and other local partners, and available to those who live or work in Southwark or Lambeth, the initiative (over 1,000 members) *has attracted a diverse audience*, including *non-traditional gallery-goers*, and *helped to break down the barriers that some of these audiences face*. The aim is to *strengthen community cohesion and engage a wide range of community members*. Capital letters in the original, my emphasis.

and involvement, in order to make the local readers feel enabled and 'empowered' to actively participate in the museum's activities: the democratized practices of TG thus envisage an interactive multimodal involvement of the audiences. The latter is also achieved through digital interactive, customized tours, social networks and an 'art-map' smart-phone application:

> The Art Maps project aims *to improve the quality of the geographical data* relating to these works, *with members of the public contributing information* about the specifics of the imagery and viewpoint used or associated sites. It also *will allow people to record and share their memories and emotional or creative responses to the places associated with the artworks in ways that will generate learning experiences and create new communities*. Over the course of 2012 and 2013 the Art Maps project will develop one or more applications for use on smart phones that will allow people to relate artworks to the places, sites and environments they encounter in daily life (http://www.tate.org.uk/about/projects/art-maps; my emphasis).

The focus on the plurality of dialogues and the construction of "new communities" is unmistakable, as is the highly self-evaluative lexis emphasizing the relationship between social learning and participation. The Curator explains that by "using photography, audio, text and sketching" the 'art-map' application is meant to capture (in the audience) "the feelings or thoughts evoked", "the associations suggested", "the memories triggered", and "the questions raised". This shows the innovative approach to "curating", favouring symmetrical interaction through multimodal texts whose ultimate goal is "to *offer* a *deeper learning activity*":

> We want to know if people want to *interact* with their mobiles in this way and to what extent they wish to *share* this experience with each other. We *want to explore the value of this knowledge*, *to the institution and to our audiences*. We're interested *to examine* both how users and the technology might deal with these more subjective and ambiguous interactions and responses, *including the social aspects* of this, and to what extent *they may offer a deeper learning experience* (Sinker 2012, http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/blogs/art-maps-learning-perspective; my emphasis).

3.5. *Volunteering at Tate*

Another key aspect of Tate's inclusive positioning is the active role of volunteers: usually young people seeking work experience, retired people and refugees with know-how and expertise [5]. On the volunteering webpage and fact-sheet, they are emphatically presented as the "local link between the gallery and the public". This page promotes volunteering by focusing on its value ("we *gain immensely* from the input and insights of volunteers") and by laying stress, again, on the participatory mission that includes and provides access to "all sorts of people". Ego-targeting is more direct in the *What's in it for you* paragraph, where Tate as a corporate identity and deictic centre ("we") typically

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[5] It is worth mentioning that in 2012 Tate created a "Silent University" to support the expertise of asylum seekers and refugees: "It is a knowledge exchange platform [...] working with asylum seekers and refugees who, although having a professional background, are unable to practice their profession due to a variety of reasons including their status. They have become lecturers, academic consultants and research fellows of The Silent University" (http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/blogs/silent-university-curious-case-silence).

addresses potential volunteers using the "inclusive you" pronoun and a more informal register. The text persuasively deploys ego-targeting devices (volunteers' "manageable commitment"), evaluative language ("great", "get the chance", "gain") and epistemic certainty ("will"). Lexical choices identify volunteering tasks by highlighting a sense of belonging ("our") and the need to make visitors feel "independent and yet guided" ("taken care of" as in TD) in a shared, interactive construction of knowledge and learning: "*help visitors* make the most of their time"; "*introduce visitors* to *our* art Collection and *encourage* them to *explore* further *on their own*"; "*help* make our library and archive materials *more widely available to the public*".

Volunteering, a typical practice of contemporary museums, is thus marketed and "languaged" by deploying the same lexico-grammatical and rhetorical/persuasive strategies used in other domains of the museum's activities. The local community is highly encouraged to play an active role in the museum's life and its members feel empowered by having their ego targeted. This positive perception fosters alignment and supports involvement with the brand.

4. Case study 2: GAM

The Galleria d'Arte Moderna (GAM) in Turin is one of Italy's major attractions for modern art, combining a permanent collection with international exhibits which prove its outstanding international liaising capacities. From the PR perspective, however, its main virtue lies with its fast transition from a traditional approach offering wall-text information and printed brochures ('handing out' information) and of course guided tours typically "handing down" knowledge to visitor groups, to well-organized, efficient contact-oriented initiatives, such as learning-through-entertainment workshops addressing adults as well as children, school visits, and special activities for the disabled. Indeed, GAM has moved from a conservative type of knowledge storage and dissemination to a more participant-oriented attitude whereby knowledge is shared through cooperation.

From a business and PR perspective, this change is part of a global move to "modernize" and promote museums (Skydsgaard, Andersen and King 2016). How is the new perspective presented discursively in GAM documents?

4.1. *GAM's policy of inclusion*

The Gallery logo (Figure 5), presented in a single version that is reproduced in the posters and marketing materials, enhances verbal identification. The large, bold fonts visually anticipate a self-identification in the third person which, as we shall see in GAM documents, is in stark contrast with Tate's communitarian and collectivist *we*.

In recent years GAM has developed a number of initiatives aimed at different kinds of audiences, especially those who have difficulty in enjoying the knowledge exchange offered by the museum. The new Director has recently stated the necessity to reconsider the role of the museum in the 21st century:

> […] come possiamo immaginare poeticamente, attraverso l'arte e la sua alleanza con altri campi del sapere, nuove visioni del mondo per il Ventunesimo secolo? Come questi grandi interrogativi possono misurarsi con l'esperienza particolare e individuale della nostra vita

quotidiana? Quale è il ruolo del museo oggi? *Come può servire e crescere insieme alla propria comunità, ai visitatori, agli amanti dell'arte in tutto il mondo* […]? [6]

Figure 5. GAM logo

Museums are to recapture the "poetry of imagination" lost in the digital revolution. Their task is to serve their own community and grow with it, with visitors and those interested in art. Despite such spelling out of best practice prerequisites, it is worth noting that this is the only occurrence of the word "community" in GAM's website and informative/marketing materials: there are no other references to community involvement, or to the benefits the community has received or might receive from the Gallery's activities. Nevertheless, significant instantiations of discursive symmetry occur, not specifically rooted in an 'all-encompassing' participatory policy but rather in a 'politically correct' desire to be inclusive. A key example of a non-traditional, democratic approach to learning and knowledge exchange is the project "ospiti all'opera" ("visitors at work").

"Participatory" predicates list the "doings" of a museum: "propose", "accomplish", "create". The project is a catalyst for "active exchange of educational experience" addressing "diverse audiences" and focused on the "multiple expressive languages of our times". The objectives are "creating synergies and increasing the opportunities for developing innovative projects", promoting exchange amongst audience categories, experimenting diverse approaches, awareness-raising in "citizenship", providing tools and methods, promoting the museum as an "interesting site" for "privileged" relationships aimed at personal and professional growth, "socialization of contents", "shared" reflection, enriching competencies. This inclusive approach is reinforced by the initiative in Figure 6.

[6] Henceforth all translations are mine. For my present purposes, they are as literal as possible, in order to retain the features of the source text. "[…] how can we poetically imagine, through art and its alliance with other fields of knowledge, new visions of the world for the twenty-first century? How can these great questions be confronted with the particular, individual experience of our daily life? *What is the role of the museum today? How can it serve its own community and grow with it, with the visitors, with those who love art all over the world?* […]".

OSPITI ALL'OPERA

La GAM propone ai dipartimenti educativi dei musei d'arte contemporanea italiani di impegnarsi in un *ampio progetto* di rete che partendo dalla positiva esperienza piemontese di Zonarte possa *realizzare scambi attivi di esperienze educative.* I musei del territorio nazionale sono invitati a scrivere al Dipartimento Educazione GAM per organizzare attività formative rivolte a *pubblici diversi centrate sui molteplici linguaggi espressivi del nostro tempo con lo scopo di creare sinergie e incrementare le possibilità di sviluppo di progetti innovativi.*

Gli obiettivi del progetto sono:

1) Promuovere il confronto e lo scambio d'esperienze educative rivolte a tutte le categorie di pubblico in *situazioni museali italiane* dedicate all'arte contemporanea.

2) Sperimentare approcci diversi alle collezioni, alle mostre o alle opere d'arte pubblica.

3) Dedicare attenzione agli stimoli offerti dalle opere d'arte per *l'approccio estetico alla quotidianità* e per l'*educazione alla cittadinanza consapevole* di bambini, ragazzi, adulti.

4) *Fornire strumenti e metodi volti a promuovere la conoscenza e l'autonomia in ambito artistico.*

5) Favorire la concezione del museo come *luogo interessante* per lo sviluppo di *relazioni privilegiate* volte alla crescita individuale e professionale, alla *socializzazione di contenuti*, alla riflessione condivisa sui metodi per la formazione e l'*arricchimento delle competenze.*

6) Monitorare e integrare progetti esistenti con nuove proposte e promuovere inedite collaborazioni.

7) Far conoscere e diffondere buone pratiche.

VISITORS AT WORK

The GAM encourages education departments in Italian contemporary art museums to engage in a *wide networking project* which, starting from the Zonarte experience in Piedmont *may actively carry out exchanges of educational experience*. Museums from the national territory (Museums from all over Italy) are invited to write to the GAM's Education Department to organize educational activities *addressing diverse audiences and centred on the variety of expressive languages of our time with the purpose of creating synergies and increasing the opportunities for developing innovative projects.*

The aims of the project are to:

1) Promote the sharing and exchange of educational experience for every kind of public, in *Italian museum situations* devoted to contemporary art.

2) Experiment with different approaches to the collections, exhibitions and public art works.

3) Dedicate attention to the stimuli offered by works of art *in the aesthetic approach to daily life and the education to good citizenship* of children, adolescents, adults.

4) *Provide tools and methods for promoting knowledge and autonomy in the domain of art.*

5) Promote the conception of the museum *as an interesting place* for developing *privileged relations* for individual and professional growth, for the *socialization of content,* for shared reflection on methods for *training and enriching competencies*.

6) Monitor and integrate existing projects with new proposals and promote new forms of cooperation

7) Promote the knowledge [*make people get to know*] and dissemination of good practices.

Table 5. "Ospiti all'opera" (from the GAM website, my emphasis)

The "Open Art" project (2014) will make the collection of data and meta-data digitally available, so as to enhance knowledge of art and to make the gallery activities more "transparent" and comprehensible, also by networking applications, though no specific gallery-related application, such as the TG "Art-map", is provided. In the introduction to "data visualization" (in English on the website), the curator stresses the need to use "non-traditional graphic methods of representation" to facilitate readability and enhance the visitors' analytical skills.

CON **FONDAZIONE TORINO MUSEI** L'ARTE È **#OPEN**.

Per la prima volta in Italia, un'istituzione museale libera i propri dati e diventa "open".

Palazzo Madama Museo Civico d'Arte Antica,**GAM - Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea**,**MAO - Museo d'Arte Orientale** e **Borgo Medievale** rendono accessibili e utilizzabili: l'elenco delle opere con le immagini, le informazioni su restauri, i prestiti, l'affluenza del pubblico e le metriche web e social.

Obiettivo: trasparenza e creazione di valore.

Figure 6. "Open Art" web-page [7]

4.2. *GAM's language*

In Table 5, in lieu of the communitarian *we*, the voice of the Institution is in the third person ("La GAM"). The text designates GAM's elitist, high-profile standards through an even more distancing passive diathesis: ("I musei del territorio nazionale […] sono invitati a scrivere"; "the museums on the national territory […] are invited to write"). The deliberately formal style leads to unnecessarily complicated nominalizations ("situazioni museali italiane"; "Italian museum situations"), often with pompous effects ("socializzazione di contenuti"; "socialization of contents"), vague language ("Museo come luogo interessante"; "the Museum as an interesting place") and elitist locutions ("relazioni privilegiate"; "privileged relations"). Even where aims are listed with plain infinitives, the overall self-representation imposes a highbrow perspective on the propositional content, which is loaded with impersonal, bureaucratic phrasing and clear echoes of 'grey literature' which sound 'frozen', almost formulaic. This document will satisfy the needs of bureaucrats and business sponsors in need of dossiers, configuring a top-level role for the institution and its tasks, but it does not show any concern with attracting or appealing to people. In brief, it is set in authoritative language achieving distance, not involvement.

Again starting out by stating its primacy, "La GAM" presents its educational guidelines in a hybrid, more accessible register, closer to the so-called 'neo-standard Italian' [8] which, however, after presenting the physical qualities of the site (space, light, accessibility to all) suddenly reverts to best practice terminology ("approccio estetico alle opere d'arte"; "aesthetic approach to works of art", "progettualità interdisciplinare": "the ability to design interdisciplinary projects") which promotes innovative knowledge exchange rather technically, and ascends to textbook language ("nuove chiavi interpretative dei

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[7] WITH FONDAZIONE TORINO MUSEI ART IS #OPEN

For the first time in Italy, a museum institution frees its own data and becomes "open".

Palazzo Madama Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, GAM – Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea,MAO – Museo d'Arte Orientale and Borgo Medievale grant free access to and make available: the list of artworks with photographs, information on restoration work, loans, number of visitors, web and social metric.

The aim is: transparency and creation of value.

[8] GAM's 'hybrid' register mixes elements of formal / standard Italian with features related to so-called 'neo-standard Italian'. According to the early theorizations by Sabatini (1985) and especially Berruto (1987), neo-standard Italian presents lexico-grammatical features that used to be mainly associated with the spoken language and thus do not belong to the grammatical canon. Another feature evident here is the frequent occurrence of Anglicisms (see also De Mauro 1986; Sabatini 1990; Tavoni 1999, 2002).

INFO E LINEE GUIDA GAM EDUCATION

La GAM, tra i primi musei italiani ad avviare esperienze educative, presenta le sue Collezioni […] Nella struttura sono presenti spazi attrezzati per laboratori e workshop che oggi dispongono di un'area di *500 mq al piano terreno, accessibile a tutti e molto luminosa*. Nelle sale del museo e in questo *piacevole contesto* si svolge quotidianamente un *ricco* programma di attività centrate *sull'approccio estetico alle opere d'arte e la progettualità interdisciplinare*. L'obiettivo è *far cogliere nuove chiavi interpretative dei linguaggi visivi e riflettere sulla costruzione della conoscenza attraverso percorsi partecipati e laboratori creativi. Si intende pertanto* consolidare l'impegno per lo sviluppo di un'offerta formativa che *si esplica* attraverso l'arte moderna e contemporanea e favorisce *esperienze attive e inclusive rivolte a* studenti, famiglie, persone diversamente abili e un vasto pubblico adulto in linea con il *"Lifelong Learning" ovvero l'apprendimento lungo tutto l'arco della vita.*

INFO AND GUIDELINES GAM EDUCATION

One of the first Italian museums to start educational programmes, the GAM presents its Collections […]

In the Gallery there are spaces equipped for laboratories and workshops, which today amount *to 500 square meters on the ground floor, an area accessible to all and very brightly lit*. In the museum rooms and in *this pleasant context* a *rich* programme of activities is run daily, *centred on the aesthetic approach to works of art and on the ability to design interdisciplinary projects*. The aim is *to get participants to grasp new interpretive tools for visual languages and to make them reflect on the construction of knowledge by means of participated tours and creative laboratories. Hence, this is intended to* consolidate the effort to develop an educational programme which *is expressed* through modern and contemporary art, and favours active, inclusive experience addressing students, families, the diversely enabled and a vast adult public, in line with *"Lifelong Learning", that is to say learning all through life.*

Table 6. GAM Education (my emphasis)

linguaggi visivi"; "new interpretive tools for visual languages"; "riflettere sulla costruzione della conoscenza"; "reflecting on the construction of knowledge") with a touch of the Orwellian ready-made, politically correct ("percorsi partecipati"; "participated visiting pathways"). Clichéd qualifiers such as "ricco" ("a rich programme of activities") and especially "piacevole" ("pleasant context") suggest an amiable experience but not one where participants feel "empowered". Audiences are never directly addressed: conversely, the locution "far cogliere" ("make [people] grasp") amplifies asymmetry, along with the impersonal passive voice ("Si intende": "is meant/intended to"; "si esplica": "is elucidated"), the formal connective "pertanto" ("hence"), the Anglicisms "esperienze inclusive" ("inclusive experiences") and "Lifelong Learning" (however periphrastically explained).

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1) Periodicamente *sono organizzati* workshop *molto coinvolgenti anche sul piano operativo* con *selezionati professionisti o qualificate Associazioni*. I programmi *vengono comunicati* attraverso il sito

2) Per incuriosire il pubblico […] *il Dipartimento Educazione si rende disponibile* per presentare

3) In questa proposta, attraversando […] *ai partecipanti verrà consegnata una macchina fotografica.*

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1) Workshops *which are very involving also on the operational level are regularly organized and run by selected professionals or qualified associations.* Programmes *are communicated* on the website.

2) To attract the public […] *the Education Department is available* [makes itself available] to present

3) In this tour, visiting […] participants will be given a camera.

Table 7. Further examples of GAM's impersonal, distal positioning (my emphasis)

The frequent occurrences of the passive voice in its impersonal form reiterate the impression that audiences are expected to be passive 'receivers', even where events are described as "molto coinvolgenti sul piano operativo" ("highly involving on the operative level") which, simply put, means participants will be doing things. The locution "the Education Department makes itself available to" carries a strong connotation of (patronizing) superiority. Likewise, the Anglicized pre-nominalizations stressing the high-profile expertise of the workshop leaders ("selezionati professionisti": "selected professionals" and "qualificate associazioni": "qualified associations", where Italian normally provides a different order of constituents with the qualifier coming after the noun) point to the institution's ability to choose: self-legitimation is here directed to museum activities rather than commitment to community.

Briefly, the symmetry prerequisites, though in actual fact satisfied by the actual "doings" in the Gallery, are posited in an opaque, unnecessarily complex and, in some places, pretentious language. This MD does not produce a sense of proximity, but rather seems to emanate from a distant site of knowledge and power: in other words, the perlocutionary effects on the whole contradict the communicative intentions.

5. Discussion

The findings show how MD, as a segment of TD with a logogenic capacity of its own, in the TG case study highly relies on lexico-grammatical patterns which, by performing a three-fold function (informative, expressive, persuasive), emphasize the dynamic role of the local community and its relation to the museum visitors. As far as Tate is concerned, MD thus deploys linguistic and marketing rhetorical strategies aimed at encouraging participation, exchange of knowledge and social interaction. Besides highly evaluative lexis (qualifiers and noun-phrases), the language used in Tate materials profusely uses verbs such as "invite", "help", "encourage", "involve" that underscore innovative, participatory socio-cultural mind-sets. These are firmly rooted in a non-traditional, symmetrical and pluri-discursive transmission and construction of knowledge involving the Museum institution, the local communities and the interactive audiences.

The TG texts promote a social model which is involved and involving at the same time: in reaching out to people, with special concern for the needs of the unemployed and the underprivileged in the museum's milieu and neighbouring community, TG also clearly invites a truly participatory response from the community. Interactional opportunities are polyphonic to the extent of attracting even the silenced talents of asylum seekers and refugees (see footnote 4). This social model, in other words, is context-oriented in two directions: it is not only responsive to but also proactive towards the sociocultural environment. Language is a primary tool in this dynamic approach. TG projects lexically and syntactically accommodate a vast and educationally diverse readership; the persuasive function is primarily inclusive, involving all three agents in MD: the Museum as institution, the interactive visitors and the local community.

GAM presentations, instead, do not set up a trialogical discourse but rather a traditional dialogue between the museum and the audience, from which the local community is virtually excluded. The museum/audience dialogue is akin to an asymmetrical monologue wherein the museum is the only holder and distributor of knowledge, reductively interpreting best practice as expert discourse which confirms its authoritative, presti-

gious voice. The institution is positioned distally, above its potential interactants, ignoring socio-economic relations with and benefits for the surrounding community.

The key point here is that discursive strategies are crucial to social change, as clearly stated by Fairclough (2007:12):

> Social change takes place through dialectical interconnections between existing structures and the strategies of social agents and agencies to sustain or transform structures. Strategies have a discursive moment – part of what distinguishes one strategy from others is its particular configuration of discourses [...].

Through its explicit and assertive commitment to the community, TG has managed to construct and convey the image of a museum that changes the pre-existing social structures by "significantly" inhabiting its local area and by providing socio-economic benefits for it. Thus, the local community is drawn into the museum's activities and led to appreciation. This fosters the community's alignment with the museum's policies and practices: being such an active part of the museum becomes synonymous with being an active part of the community and of society as a whole, since for Tate "community equals society" (Table 4, "Tate's strategy"). The museum's "self-legitimation" is achieved by re-shaping the ideology and traditional "dominant discourse" (Riley 2007) of the museum as a "site of knowledge".

GAM's self-legitimation does not rely on the value if its interaction with the community in a broad sense but rather on the *mise en scène* of "highly qualified" experts that "are given" the task of bestowing their own knowledge "upon" the visitors, in line with traditional and monological MD. While TG constructs a "social model of museum", spelling out its goal in terms of "social learning through participation", GAM abstractly speaks of "socialization of contents".

GAM's language seems to echo a traditional, elitist conception of knowledge, displayed by linguistic patterns that are familiar to a "selected" audience [9]. The distal *origo*, in particular, seems to convey a 'highbrow' attitude, suggesting that the less privileged will continue to perceive the museum as an authoritative institutional body which is meant to store knowledge, yielding it "from above": the abstract language of the educational project reported here (e.g. Table 5, "Ospiti all'opera") is more concerned with defining than with illustrating and inviting. This *manifesto* does not attempt to engage readers and to actually change the gallery goer's traditional mind-set: it announces a new initiative without really coming to grips with the *enjoyment* side of participation, for example. Such programmatic language and lexical density is far removed from the 'communicative grammar' of the new generations of digital natives. In contrast, Tate's documents are far more reader-friendly and thus likely to stimulate curiosity.

The contradiction between GAM's manifested "participatory" intentions and the complex, heavily nominalized style in which they are couched may lie with a resistant semiosis – a resistance to 'step down' and adjust GAM's distinctive style, moving closer to the 'marketing style' in communications by, for example, Italian public utilities or institutions such as insurance companies, which have opted for corporate 'we' instead of third person *origo* and also *individually* address the public with the courtesy forms "Gen-

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[9] This hypothesis needs to be corroborated by further studies and by a larger corpus of textual data. Evidence from my current research, however, suggests that it is not implausible.

tile Signore" ("Dear Sir") or "Gentile cliente" ("Dear customer"). Yet discourse as semiosis is paramount to the implementation of the non-discursive elements in social change:

> If we work with a broad understanding of discourse as semiosis, meaning-making, through the deployment of a range of semiotic resources which include verbal language but also 'visual language' [...] then focusing upon relations between discourse and non-discoursal elements or facets of social phenomena is a means of addressing their socially constructed character. From this perspective, discourse is an inherent and irreducible element or facet of all social phenomena and all social change (Fairclough 2007:10).

On the other hand, looking at social change as a *dialectic*, the central notion in Fairclough's discourse analysis framework, one cannot ignore the risk of banalization. GAM's resistant discourse may be justified by a fear of excessive popularization, which is not foreign to Tate's communicative policy. TG's encouragement of a participatory policy is by no means irrelevant in terms of an excessive "democratization", or clichéd popularization of the arts. Although this is beyond the purposes of the present study, it is worth mentioning that such a popularizing effect – positive for the socio-cultural and economic benefits of the community – may fall into the category of "banal globalization" hypothesized by Thurlow and Jaworski (2010; 2011) in their approach to Tourism Discourse [10].

6. Conclusions

TG's Museum Discourse incorporates both the promotional, self-advertising and marketing features of Tourist Discourse, revealing a logogenic capacity which is in line with democratization and social change, whereas GAM's Museum Discourse seems resistant to play these tunes. GAM's educational activities indeed prove consonant with the "paradigmatic shift" in museum practices, whereas linguistic choices are in contradiction with it.

There is no doubt that by using digital facilities and broadening its programme of activities, GAM is successfully reaching out to wider/more differentiated audiences and enacting a more inclusive policy of participation[11]. However, so far the MD of the two Galleries considered in the present study has produced different textualization processes. The deictic centre (proximal in TG, distal in GAM) and the imbrication of lexis and syntax position the two institutions differently: the writing protocols and degrees of formality are regulated by a different socio-cognitive mapping of cultural institutions and of their role in the arena of public communication. These 'socially situated' bodies are inscribed in different cultural systems which affect concerns and constraints in their communicative practices.

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[10] On the subject of Tourism Discourse, Thurlow and Jaworski (2011: 285) claim that in global tourism "local languages are stylized, recontextualized and commodified in the service of tourist identities and of tourism's cosmopolitan mythology" and thus become "exemplary enactments of banal globalization, the everyday, micro-level ways in which the social meanings and material effects of globalization are realized".

[11] The museums of the Piedmont region are indeed considered a model of best practice in Italy, particularly their "tessera musei", a membership card that enables visitors (especially families) to take part in a number of initiatives. The card system has proved successful in improving the popularity of museums and will soon be extended to other Italian regions (*La Stampa* 06/02/2016).

Acknowledgements

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