

THE LANGUAGE *with*
DISPLAYED ART (EFACTS)

linguistic and sociological perspectives
on meaning, accessibility and knowledge-building
in museum exhibitions

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a thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for a

Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Technology Sydney
November 2016

'... ism, ism, ism, the words flying around him
like buzzing insects. Why couldn't these fellows
talk normally? wondered Maneck'

– Rohinton Mistry, *A fine balance* (1996: 244)

ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to provide a sensitive, principled and integrated account of the verbal texts in two museum exhibitions: sensitive in terms of being able to show the impact in meaning of even seemingly minor choices made in language; principled in terms of being informed by a rigorous theory of meaning; and integrated in terms of referencing both the process of developing the verbal texts and the range of modalities possible within an exhibition context. In this way, this thesis aims to bring into view the kinds of meanings verbal texts bring to the exhibition experience in the particular context of the role of museums as learning institutions and their mandate to provide inclusive and equitable access to the cultural capital they control.

The study draws on two theoretical frameworks: a theory of meaning, systemic functional semiotics (SFS), and a theory of knowledge, legitimation code theory (LCT). Both have demonstrated track records of providing deep and useful descriptions of language and other semiotics in their social context and, importantly, of their underlying organising principles. It builds on earlier work within the museum field using these frameworks, and on more recent work beyond the museum field in the context of academic literacies. The data comprises team interviews and a range of museum texts.

The thesis makes a number of significant contributions. Through the analysis of team interviews, it brings into view the different disciplinary practices and beliefs concerning knowledge and ways of knowing that were present on the two teams. Analysis of the exhibition texts then shows how these practices and beliefs in turn produced very different kinds of texts, both in terms of what they say (their meaning and learning potentials) and how they position the visitor to interact. In particular this thesis elaborates the intermodal relations between text, displayed artefact and visitor, proposing the idea of verbal vectors as a feature which explicitly scaffolds or 'motivates' visitors to look at the displayed artefact. It also draws on concepts of commonsense and uncommonsense discourse to elaborate notions of linguistic accessibility and to demonstrate the pedagogy at work in museums texts. Significantly too, it contributes to the linguistic description of the discourse of art, to date only rarely described from a systemic functional perspective. This thesis also raises many questions for further research around the meaning-making work of museum texts across the diversity of platforms, voices and technologies in use in museums today, and hopes to stimulate further research into this important area.

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Jennifer Blunden

3 June 2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support and generosity of many people, and to all of them I am deeply grateful. Firstly I thank my supervisor, Associate Professor Sue Hood, who has guided me through this at times fraught process with the most inspiring mix of knowledge, passion, patience, wisdom, rigour and warmth, all underpinned by an unwavering commitment to the processes and values of scholarship and belief in me as a researcher. She has both challenged and encouraged me at every turn, and pushed me to understand our social world in new ways. I actually cannot put into words how much I have learnt from her, and the effect that has had on me both personally and professionally. I also extend my deepest thanks to my co-supervisor Professor Paul Ashton, who has so enthusiastically steered and challenged my exploration of museum history; to my original supervisor Janette Griffin, under whose encouragement and guidance I originally entered the program; and to Associate Professor Karl Maton, whose sheer energy and capacity in giving support and guidance to those working with legitimisation code theory is remarkable. I am certainly one who has benefited enormously from his help, his passion and his critique, and I thank him deeply for that.

I have been extraordinarily fortunate in being able to draw on the remarkable collective knowledge and experience of the wider SFL community, again so warmly and generously shared. I acknowledge in particular Jim Martin, Shooshi Dreyfus, Sally Humphrey and Theo van Leeuwen. Within this broader group, my PhD cohort has been a constant source of inspiration and affirmation, and it has been a joy and a privilege to share this journey with them; Lucy, Yaegan, Trish, Lucy, Margarita, Jing, Talia, Eszter, Harni and Jodie, you have kept me going and kept me (mostly) sane, as has my very dear museum colleague and also PhD co-traveller Helen Whitty.

I also express my sincere thanks to the museums and their staff who have participated in this research for contributing their time and their words to this project with such generosity and candour. It is no easy thing to offer up your own writing and talking to the kind of scrutiny this project required, and it is a testimony

to their spirit of inquiry and the importance they place on issues of communication and learning that they have done so with such good grace. Both Beth Hise at Sydney Living Museums and Simon Elliott at the National Gallery of Australia were instrumental in getting this project off the ground, and I thank them for their initial and continuing interest and support. I would also like to acknowledge with the deepest gratitude the Education Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in particular Will Crow and Marcie Karp, as well as the many staff and volunteers who also so generously provided their words for analysis during my fellowship there. Although these texts do not form part of the data set in this thesis, the opportunity afforded by the fellowship in providing the stimulation and space to think through and apply ideas and methodologies used in this project has been, and continues to be, extraordinarily valuable.

And finally I acknowledge two further sources of inspiration. Firstly Rohinton Mistry, who, in his fine novel *A fine balance*, put so perfectly into words the feeling I had often had that there was something 'not normal' (not commonsense) in the way people spoke and wrote about subjects which they had studied. In doing so, he triggered in me a determination to find out how and why this was so – a journey that took me into the field of linguistics and ultimately this project. I am also indebted to Michael O'Toole, whose seminal publication *The language of displayed art* has inspired the title of this thesis, and, in writing about the meanings in artworks but not the words that accompanied them, showed me a gap that helped to keep the determination alive through the many challenges and doubts in completing this thesis.

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1.

INTRODUCTION

‘The world is grasped through language’

– Gunther Kress & Robert Hodge (1979: 9)

1.1. OVERVIEW & RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

Museums today are highly significant and influential cultural and educational resources. From major state and national institutions to small local museums, museums and their collections shape our collective and often personal sense of history and identity, our understanding of past, present and future. And while almost daily our notion of what a museum actually is – or can be – seems to shift, the museum remains in essence a place that offers an experience of material culture that is physical, sensory, visceral, emotional, even spiritual. Yet much of how we come to know, appreciate and understand the artefacts and collections on display (or online) is mediated through language. Language is – and always has been – absolutely central to the work and experience of museums.

Perhaps surprisingly, in recent years the expanding range of interpretive media used in and by museums has dramatically increased this role; almost paradoxically, as the museum experience has become more multimodal, the role of language has become even more critical and pervasive. Spoken or written, on walls or on screens, in books or in apps, language frames the way content is represented and knowledge is constructed, and in doing so, it construes a complexity of relations, both outwardly

between a museum and its audiences and inwardly among the various disciplines involved in its development and production.

The centrality of language to the visitor experience and museum practice is reflected in the body of scholarship that has built up over the past century, but particularly in the past four decades. Echoing broader discourses of progressivism and constructivism in education (Hein 1998a; van Krieken et al 2010), through the late 1970s and 1980s, a wave of ‘visitor-centred’ studies into museum audiences, museum learning and museum communication was carried out. Museum labels, seen as – and now *proved* to be – a critical semiotic link between the museum and the visitor (eg, Borun 1977; Borun & Miller 1980b; McManus 1989) became the focus of intense but relatively superficial scrutiny. Since then, a small number of studies have used the systemic functional theory of language to look more deeply and systematically at the language of exhibition labels (eg, Ferguson, MacLulich & Ravelli 1995; Macken-Horarik 2004; Martin & Stenglin 2007; Rada 1989; Ravelli 1996, 1998, 2006a, 2006b; White 1994) but these have remained relatively isolated. Also framed within a social semiotic tradition underpinned by systemic functional theory, a number too have explored the meaning-making potential of artefacts within the recontextualised composite design of the exhibition as well as the role of semiotics such as physical space, exhibition design and visitor movement (eg, Diamantopoulou 2008; McMurtrie 2013; Pang 2004; Ravelli & Stenglin 2008; Stenglin 2004). This work has made a significant contribution to museum scholarship, firstly in conceptualising exhibitions as complex multisemiotic (and multidisciplinary) systems where a range of semiotic modes interact to contribute to the totality of the meaning potential of the exhibition experience; and secondly in framing a common language of description that can be used to elucidate the web of meanings and relationships construed within and across the various semiotic systems at play.

However, in bringing these other systems into focus to create a more holistic view of the exhibition experience, language-based semiotics have tended to slip to the sidelines. Similarly, in the still burgeoning field of visitor studies, following an initial focus on language, research interests have broadened in an attempt to come to terms with the totality of the visitor experience. In the words of John Falk, one of the most

active researchers in the field of museum learning over the past 40 years, ‘to get the complete answer to the question of why people visit museums and what learning/meaning they derive from the experience’ he has drawn on his ‘understanding of psychology, neurobiology and marketing research’ to develop ‘a unified model of the visitor experience’ (Falk 2009: 10). Yet as the embrace of his model, and others, has widened, the agency of language has become increasingly assumed rather than specifically examined. The focus has shifted from the message to the visitor. Interestingly, this is a shift also evident beyond the museum field; reviewing the ‘landscape’ of applied linguistics research in 2010, Mahboob commented, ‘in recent years a growing body of applied linguistics research has focused on the political, psychological and social aspects of language use without really engaging with language ... [it] focuses on studies of speakers, users and uses of language rather than studying language (in) use’ (Mahboob & Knight 2010: 3).

So while language is fundamental in and to museums, in many ways it flies under the radar, coming into focus and under detailed scrutiny only in part and only intermittently; there is a kind of ‘language blindness’. Compared to other forms of public and educational discourse,¹ museum discourse remains relatively poorly studied and little understood. Thus, while issues of communication, accessibility and inclusion, education and learning, scholarship and populism continue to dominate the agendas of museums,² the explicit role of language in these processes remains clouded and contested, and at the very time when a dramatic, almost explosive, surge in the use of language as an interpretive medium makes its detailed and systematic analysis even more valuable.

This is a central concern of this thesis: as museum professionals, how can we look at the verbal texts produced by museums across an increasingly diverse and ever-changing array of modes and media more deeply and with greater insight and delicacy than we have done to date? How can we bring the process of their development into view in new ways and talk about it with fresh perspectives that might progress debates

¹ For example, discourses of formal education (school and tertiary), media, science, politics.

² Evidenced for example in the annual reports of a wide cross-section of museums, in the themes and programs of museum conferences, in the number of issue-focused organisations being established, and in blogs, discussion groups and online forums.

around museums and communication, accessibility and scholarship, rather than recycle entrenched assumptions and beliefs? How can we improve the ‘toolkit’ that we bring to the task of creating and critiquing these texts so that as writers, editors, curators, educators, designers and publishers, we can think, evaluate and talk about language and meaning in more precise and purposeful ways? As scholars, how do we better understand the communicative and pedagogic work being done by museums as they traverse modalities and disciplinary fields to recontextualise disciplinary knowledges for public and other audiences? These are issues and processes that are vital to the field of museology today but also resonate well beyond the museum field.

In its focus on these issues, this is a thesis inspired by and grounded in practice. Yet it draws on the explanatory power of theory to progress that practice, and in turn, through the practical application of theory, hopes to contribute to the development of theory. More particularly, this thesis draws on the theoretical frameworks of systemic functional semiotics (SFS), an approach to multimodal discourse analysis underpinned by systemic functional theory (see Bateman 2014: 45), and of legitimation code theory (LCT), a multidimensional framework ‘that enables knowledge practices to be seen, their organising principles to be conceptualized and their effects to be explored’ (Maton 2014a: 3). In recent years the combined lenses of these two theories have been especially fruitful in exploring a diverse range of knowledge and discursive practices in a range of educational and other contexts (eg, Maton 2014a; Maton, Hood & Shay 2016).

Key outcomes, or contributions, of this thesis include:

- providing an integrated and principled account of exhibition text and its impact on the visitor experience that is inclusive of the developmental process and the range of modalities possible in an exhibition context
- elaborating the intermodal relations between text, displayed artefact and visitor
- demonstrating the value of concepts and metalanguage from academic literacy pedagogies in usefully elaborating the notions of linguistic accessibility and the learning potential of museum texts
- contributing to the linguistic description of the discourse of art.

A note on technicality

This is also a thesis that is interdisciplinary in its embrace; it speaks from and to three worlds. The first is the world of museums, the object and focus of this study, in which my roots are long established. The second is the world of systemic functional semiotics, and the third, the educational sociology of legitimation code theory.³ In these latter worlds I am a relative newcomer, but I have journeyed there because of the power and delicacy of these theoretical and analytical frameworks. So, to shift genres for a moment, *bear with me dear readers*. For museum readers, have patience through the technicality of systemic functional and legitimation code theories as it is a necessary by-product of theories that so extensively seek to describe a phenomenon as complex and ephemeral as meaning making, but trust that the insights to be gained are worthwhile (see also appendix 1 for a glossary of concepts used). For the systemicists and sociologists, museological issues and practice may need additional backgrounding while the theoretical and analytical commentary may seem laboured for a doctoral dissertation. But this also is necessary, for while my aim is certainly to contribute new knowledge to your domains, if I lose my museum readers along the way then this project is absolutely a failure.

Accordingly, this introductory chapter follows with an overview of the nature and role of museums today and previews three key themes or paradigms that impact on text development and production and will be taken up in more detail in the chapters to come. It then identifies the research focus of this project and introduces the theoretical frameworks used. Finally it outlines the structure of this thesis.

1.2. THE 21st - CENTURY MUSEUM

1.2.1. What is a museum?

One decade and a half into a new century, museums find themselves immersed in a period of enormous change. Museums are more numerous and more popular than ever before – recent estimates put the number of museums in Australia at over 2500 (Museums Australia 2016), with an estimated 30.7 million admissions (physical) and

³ Note the convention within this theory to capitalise LCT when in full is respectfully varied in this thesis for consistency with other theoretical frameworks.

51.5 million online visits in the year 2007–08 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2010).⁴

Yet they face a raft of challenges, both pragmatic and philosophical, both internally and externally driven, as they position themselves within a dynamic and rapidly evolving cultural, economic and technological landscape.

Even the very notion of what a museum *is*, is at issue. In its most recent definition, adopted during the 21st General Conference in Vienna in 2007, the United Nations International Council of Museums (ICOM) defined a museum as:

a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.⁵

Yet only a few years on, this seems ludicrously out of date. Certainly there are many ‘for profit’ museums, and many public museums which not only aspire to be profitable but need to be profitable to survive in a climate of decreasing government support.⁶ The notion of permanency seems equally irrelevant in the ‘pop-up’ and increasingly digital age: while for centuries, temporary exhibitions have been stock-in-trade for even the most permanent of museums, temporary *museums* are becoming equally so (the Mardi Gras Museum in Sydney’s Oxford Street, open from January to March 2013 as a ‘pop-up’ to coincide with Mardi Gras is one local case in point),⁷ as are virtual museums that exist only online (which then invite the question: is it possible to ‘exhibit’ online, or is that publishing?). And while the pursuits of acquiring and conserving ‘tangible and intangible heritage’ remain core business for many museums, they are by no means

⁴ These are the most recent figures on museum attendance in Australia published by the ABS, and the most recent aggregated figures available (pers communication, Museums Australia, March 2016).

⁵ The ICOM definition of a museum has evolved since 1946 ‘in line with developments in society ... and the realities of the global museum community’. See <http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition> [accessed 25 Oct 2015].

⁶ For example, for at least the past 5 years in Australia both federal and NSW governments have reduced funding to museums, galleries and other cultural institutions through annual ‘efficiency dividends’, currently 3% to federal agencies (Council of Australasian Museum Directors 2016) and 1.5% to state agencies (Baird 2013).

⁷ See Museum 2.0 for a definition and ‘how to’ of pop-up museums. <http://museumtwo.blogspot.com.au/2011/11/radical-simple-formula-for-pop-up.html> [accessed 25 Oct 2015].

essential: take, for example, science centres, which have flourished since the 1960s and typically do not have collections, or the more recent ‘eco-museums’, which require only place, heritage, memory and people (Davis 2007: 199). Debates around the role and nature of collections continue to play out within museums, in the printed literature, at conferences, and in the growing number of online forums and discussion groups.⁸ The remaining elements of the ICOM definition – researching and communicating for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment – while an integral part of the work of most museums, are equally integral to a host of other organisations, processes and things (a book, a webpage, a radio broadcast, a classroom) and thus fail to capture the defining essence of what it is to be (or not to be) a museum. According to arts consultant and founder of the MuseumNext network Jim Richardson, ‘A museum is no longer somewhere you go but something you do’ (Richardson 2010). Echoing the perennial discussions around ‘what is art?’ perhaps a museum is a museum if someone calls it that! Yet even this kind of circular non-definition seems obsolete in the age of the ‘post-museum’ (Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Witcomb 2003) and the ‘UnMuseum’ (Cincinnati Contemporary Arts Center 2014), where it seems a museum is a museum by *not* being, or *not* calling itself, a museum.

As the boundaries around what constitutes a museum as an entity crash and blur, inside museums boundaries are also shifting, blurring, vanishing. What were once relatively clear and stable boundaries between disciplines and roles are increasingly dynamic and ambiguous; they can no longer be assumed or taken for granted. Curating exhibitions, for example, once the exclusive domain of the curator, is now also (although not equally) the domain of the educator, the conservator, the external expert or celebrity, the resident artist, the designer, the director, while the title ‘curator’, traditionally the person who holds specialised knowledge of the collection or collection area (curator of international art, numismatics, reptiles, pre-colonial history) can now be the person who recontextualises that knowledge for various audiences (a curator of interpretation). Inside museums, roles and disciplinary identities are being challenged

⁸ See for example Conn (2010), *Do museums still need objects?*; examples of online or other forums on the role of museums include <http://www.museumnext.org>; <http://bickersteth.blogspot.com.au>; <http://museumliteracies.blogspot.com.au>

and renegotiated, defended and maintained, and in the process so are relations of power, status and authority.

What then is the 21st-century museum? How can it be described and identified?

Museums today are complex and diverse, dynamic and contradictory: they are rapidly changing yet bastions of stability; they are deeply concerned with preservation – of things, places, practices, memories – but also radical innovators; they are strongholds of inertia and authority yet responsive and dynamic agents of social change; they are indoors and outdoors, permanent and ephemeral; they are local, national and global, found across the developed and developing worlds. No two are the same. Yet while the boundaries around the full embrace of what museums consider their legitimate business to be continue to shift and reconfigure, there remains an established and growing quorum of institutions whose central mandate (and public identity) is to exhibit and interpret material culture for public audiences.⁹ Museums then are knowledge-based institutions. Whether physical or virtual, they are pervasive and influential sites for the production and reproduction of knowledge and agents in the creation of meaning; they are organisations whose purpose is their meaning (Handy 1994; Janes 2007); they are ‘sites of public address’ (Barrett 2010). Which brings us back to language: knowledge, meaning and language are inseparable.

Perhaps another defining feature of museums is their status as ‘trustworthy’ sources of knowledge, a quality often claimed to stem from the physicality, the *reality*, of the artefact: ‘by keeping real things they [museums] gave knowledge an underpinning framework and thus they became a powerful networked technology which interlinked this knowledge and assured the visitor of its veracity’ (Knell, MacLeod & Watson 2007: xix). Adapting earlier studies in America and Canada, a major inquiry into how Australians acquire historical knowledge (Hamilton & Ashton 2003) found that Australians rate museums ‘by far the most trustworthy’ source of historical knowledge’, outranking all other sources, including schools and universities (see figure 1.1). Of

⁹ I use ‘material’ here to include both tangible and intangible culture, as even ‘intangibles’ such as memories, knowledge, experience, have to be construed in some material form if they are to be shared, eg as sound, image, performance, gesture.

respondents in the national survey, 56% rated museums ‘the most trustworthy’ source of knowledge about the past and 36% ‘very trustworthy’; 0% rated them ‘very untrustworthy’ (2003: 15). The potency of this public perception of trustworthiness (see also Chen 2013; Cuno & MacGregor 2004; Dean 2009; Tam 2012) adds further to the need, indeed obligation, for museums to understand the nature of the kinds of messages they produce, and it is to this issue that we now turn.

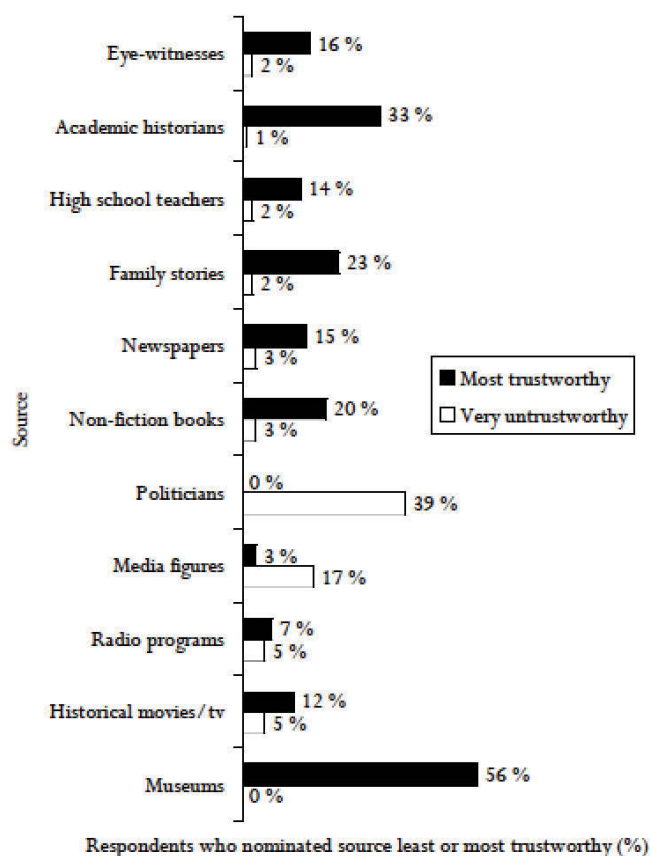


Figure 1.1. Trustworthiness of historical sources, lowest and highest rankings only (from Hamilton & Ashton 2003: 16)

1.2.2. Key paradigm shifts

As communicators, museums in recent decades have experienced a series of interrelated paradigm shifts. Driven largely by the postmodern and post-colonial turns in tandem with equal rights movements and progressive pedagogies, these shifts have reverberated – and continue to reverberate – across three key dimensions of the

communicative process. The first concerns the *author*: who can be, or can appear to be, the legitimate voice of the museum? The second concerns the *audience*: who are the authors addressing in their various texts; how do they 'imagine' and construct their audience/s? The third concerns the *message*, in terms of field (what is being said) tenor (how is it being said) and mode (through what channels). Central to these shifts has been a swing towards greater 'accessibility' and social inclusion, a 'democratisation' of museums, both internally and externally (Cossons 1991; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Vergo 1989a). Museums, to various degrees and in various ways, have actively worked to broaden their audience base. In the rhetoric of the day, they increasingly focused outwards towards audiences, rather than inwards on their collections; they shifted from being 'keepers' to 'communicators', where 'themes, ideas and relationships' rather than objects have become increasingly important (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 208), where 'the importance of visitors and the visitor experience' has increasingly achieved 'ascendancy over the single-minded pursuit of the collection and preservation of the object' (Falk & Dierking 2000: 205). Partly too, this refocusing has been a response to a range of political and economic pressures to meet targets and accountabilities tied to public funding or to attracting private funding. Thus the extent to which the push to expand audiences through greater accessibility and inclusion represents the process of the 'democratisation' of the museum versus its commercialisation has been, and continues to be, a hotly debated issue (O'Neill 1991; Witcomb 2003; Tyler 2010; Lerner 2011), as does the heady mix of internal and external relations involved.

While the focus of this thesis is firmly on 'the message', all three dimensions are integral to its production and final form, and therefore to this discussion and research design, both analytically and structurally. As such the three paradigm shifts are introduced here, and will later provide an organising framework that informs the methodology and presentation of findings.

Museum as author

Prior to the 1970s, the responsibility for presenting displays and interpreting collections was largely the sole remit of the curator, a remit typically fulfilled with little

if any input from others (North 1957). The museum's voice was a curatorial voice, or, more often, a series of curatorial voices. Different kinds of museums (science, history, art, for example) had recognisably different curatorial voices, while even within museums whose collections encompassed a number of fields, cross-departmental collaboration was rare (Davison & Webber 2005; see also Kavanagh 1991a, Handler & Gable 1997, and MacDonald 2002 for other examples). O'Neill (1991: 30), then keeper of social history at Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, described the disciplinary subcultures between museum curatorial departments as one of 'mutual incomprehension or even hostility' and cross-departmental collaboration as a 'titanic struggle'.¹⁰

With the arrival of educators in significant numbers from the 1970s followed by designers, editors, interpreters, marketers, publishers, web teams, producers and others, this singular-albeit-fractured curatorial authority and voice began – and continues still – to shift, although not evenly and not without resistance. Reflecting on her experience at the Australian Museum in the early 1990s, Ravelli recalls 'debates' concerning exhibition text being described as 'bloody battles' (2006b: 4). Anecdotally, such accounts are widespread,¹¹ as internal relations reconfigure to accommodate newer voices that seek to make intellectual and creative contributions to what were once curatorial texts. In the present study, 'battle' metaphors ('So it's a battle really', 'a losing battle', 'You choose your battles', 'It's just hell!') feature prominently in staff descriptions of the text development process (see chapter 4). Recent years also have seen an increasing trend towards interdisciplinary projects, for example, social historians and scientists working together on a single exhibition, bringing, to reprise O'Neill's words, their own 'titanic struggles'.

Public as audience

Driving much of this shift from singular to 'communal' authorial voice has been a shift in terms of audience. While 'the public visitor', 'the working man' (Barrett 2010;

¹⁰ Indeed, on accounts of curatorial specialisation, O'Neill cites another curator, Stuart Davies (Davies 1985: 155): 'the archaeologists are held together by dirt; the fine art curators are held together by taste, and the decorative arts curators are held together by class' (O'Neill 1991: 30).

¹¹ I draw here on my personal experience working in the museum sector from the 1980s on.

Davison & Webber 2005), has been the putative museum audience particularly since the rise of the 'public museum' in late 18th century, the reality through much of the 19th and 20th centuries was a 'public' highly restricted by social class (Bennett 1995; Bourdieu & Darbel 1991; Cossons 1991; Wittlin 1970). By the early years of the 20th century, previous restrictions to 'genteel' opening hours that directly coincided with the working day had largely been abandoned (Campbell 2012; Ripley 1969). Yet, as observed by Wittlin (1970), 'most visitors remained debarred from the experience even when they were physically admitted', with their prior knowledge, experiences and priorities 'radically different from those of private collectors, princes or scholars' (Wittlin 1970: 119).

Gathering pace in the post World War II years but particularly from the 1970s, the exclusivity of the 'public' who could access museums was questioned. As universities, along with a mix of other government and non-government organisations opened themselves up to previously disenfranchised sectors of the community (Eagleson 1983; Rose & Martin 2012), so too did museums. And in a bid to keep these new audiences coming and meet their needs, the visitor and their experience of the museum were soon being studied as much as the collection object. In this initial wave of interest,¹² a more culturally inclusive conception of 'the public visitor' took hold, but one that was predominantly generic, homogenous and collective (Hooper-Greenhill 1995: 5).

By the early 1990s, a second wave of interest increasingly sought to understand 'the visitor' on individual terms. Influenced by socio-cultural theories of learning and meaning making (eg Dierking, Ellenbogen & Falk 2004) and by ever more sophisticated marketing strategies, the visitor was again reconceptualised. Visitor 'profiling' in terms of social and cultural backgrounds, personal interests, motivations and needs, 'lifestyles' and situational factors informed the construction of an evolving mix of audience segments, for example, from 'explorers', 'experience seekers' and 'self-

¹² This 'first wave' was located more within science museums (driven by the broader push for 'public understanding of science: see MacDonald 1995, 2002) and history museums (driven by the ideologies of postmodernism, post-colonialism and the emerging fields of social history and cultural studies; see for example Wallace 1995).

improvers' to 'rechargers', 'facilitators' and 'third-spacers' (see Falk 2011; Morris Hargreaves McIntyre 2007). More recently still, the continuing quest for individual 'connection' has produced a range of 'personae', in which segment attributes are personalised into fictional 'real' characters (Brown 2006: 15). Meanwhile, in the 'participatory' museum, audiences were also being invited to take on the role of author and producer (Adair, Filene & Koloski 2011; Kavanagh 1991b; Wallace 1995).

Reflecting on this shifting conception of, and relationship with, audiences as visitor, learner, consumer and partner, Kavanagh in 1991 described the situation thus – and while the relative proportions have perhaps changed, the description still resonates today:

Many museums still perceive visitors as a homogenous group, unaffected by factors such as socio- or political circumstances, cultural backgrounds & personal interests ... Others believe the visitor to be of no importance whatsoever, and therefore direct their exhibitions at what or who they know: friends and fellow scholars. In such instances the 'collective self' of the exhibition begins and ends with the curator's own mind and personality ... these exhibitions leave the visitor with the feeling that they are walking uninvited around someone else's space and are at best unwelcome and at worst trespassing.' (1991b: 125)

An issue of particular relevance in this relationship between museum and audience is the idea of accessibility in terms of language: what does accessibility *mean* linguistically? While 'access' and 'accessibility' appear almost universally in museum mission statements, objectives, strategic plans and style guides, they are rarely defined beyond 'commonsense' notions. The perennial formula of 'aim for a reading age of 12 years' (eg, Glasgow Museums nd; Jones 2007; MacDonald 2002) or 'use the active voice, short sentences and no jargon' belie the nature and effect of the linguistic choices involved in the shift from specialised to everyday discourse (Halliday & Martin 1993; Hood 2011b; Martin & Veel 1998; Ravelli & Ellis 2004), and form very blunt if not misleading guidance for authors trying to recontextualise different kinds of disciplinary knowledges for audiences outside their field (Ravelli 2006b).

Message / field, tenor, mode

Along with this push towards greater cultural and social inclusion in terms of audience has been a parallel shift in both the content and form of museum communications. Under the scrutiny of critiques of postmodernism, post-colonialism, feminism and identity politics, the prevailing modernist metanarratives of a singular progress were challenged. Many were reshaped to give representation to other narratives and histories, and to redress the invisibility or marginalisation of various groups and minorities, for example, women and indigenous people and cultures.

Integral to these critiques of the politics of power and representation within museums has been a questioning of the idea that 'objects can speak for themselves'. This produced a shift away from the 'cabinet of curiosity' style displays, where objects and specimens of natural, 'national', scientific and/or artistic merit or significance were arranged and displayed with only minimal taxonomic information (typically name/title, materials, maker, date, and donor or acquisition details). In its place came the 'thematic exhibition', which included an array of interpretive texts (both verbal and multimodal) which linked objects to constructed storylines. While museums had always been multimodal and multisemiotic 'texts', they now became increasingly so.

From the late 1980s but particularly in the last five years, the development and take-up of new communication technologies have dovetailed with ideological shifts to radically reshape the way visitors and the museum profession itself engage with collections, research and knowledge. While the deployment of these technologies has not come without criticism, typically for overwhelming the objects on display and turning museums into 'theme parks' and 'Disneyworlds' (Schaffner 2006; Tyler 2010), it has been remarkable in pace and spread, transforming museums into ever-more complex sites of intersemiosis. As more platforms and modalities come into play, not only has the volume of verbiage increased but also the range and number of intertextual and intersemiotic affordances and relations to be negotiated in any given exhibition or interpretive experience.

This expansion in the number and range of communicative channels and shifting conceptions of audience and author have similarly produced a shift in tenor, in how a

given text positions the audience to interact: what role/s does the author take up, how does the author position the viewer/listener/reader to respond, how much distance does the author construct between themselves and their 'imagined' audience, and how or how much control? The general trend and rhetoric within the museum sector has been to flatten hierarchical power relations, reduce the social distance and 'include' the audience. Linguistically, an obvious example might be the shift from third person and often singular pronouns (it, its) to first and second person pronouns (us, we, our, you, your), reconstruing the museum/author from impersonal institution to community of people and practices (eg, 'The museum is open from 10am–5pm daily' vs 'We are open from 10am–5pm daily. Please come and visit us'). Choices in language similarly shape the kind of communicative and pedagogic offer being made: is a text giving information, persuading or arguing; is it dialogic or monologic; what choices does it leave open for visitors to take up; what choices are closed down; how does it act to control communicative interaction; is the desired outcome knowledge, appreciation or action? Such patterns may be less easily brought into view, but they are always present in any text (Martin & White 2005).

In summary then, museums can be seen as places that enact and control complex relationships between culture, communication, learning and identity, relationships which resound internally and externally within a dynamic web of shifting practices, aspirations and beliefs. These in turn have been framed by a series of recent and ongoing paradigm shifts which, as they converge in the process of text production, drive a series of tensions which, as will be shown in the following chapters, play out in the literature and in the data gathered in the present study.

1.3. RESEARCH FOCUS

The core premise of this thesis is that verbal texts are a central, and indeed growing, element of museum work and the visitor experience, yet they remain poorly understood. They are a key platform through which the knowledge and ideologies of the institution, the disciplinary fields and the individuals involved in their production are construed for public and other audiences. They are a 'valuable commodity' yet they are

in many ways poorly scrutinised, undertheorised and often contested. There is indeed a kind of creeping ‘language blindness’ as the attention of researchers has shifted from the message to the visitor and to non-linguistic elements of the exhibition experience. So while audience and communication studies remain thriving areas of research, the concern has been around questions such as how visitors experience, engage with and ‘make sense’ of the message rather than with the message itself.

This thesis, in short, aims not only to bring the message back into focus but indeed to sharpen the focus through the use of more powerful and delicate analytical tools. The primary focus of this research is the role played by verbal texts in interpreting collections, research and knowledge for public audiences. The primary research site or medium is the exhibition within the physical space of the museum. Exhibitions are of course only one of many places and platforms used by museums to do this interpretive work, but they remain, at least for now and at least for most museums, a primary means through which public interaction with collections and knowledge is organised, and a key impetus for many other programs and activities; in other words, most museums still have exhibitions and their exhibition program drives much of their programming overall.

The research is concerned with both spoken and written texts, although it has a particular focus on written texts, as – at this time – written texts continue to have the greatest audience reach¹³ and their production forms a significant and growing part of the work of museum staff. Having tangible and (mostly) enduring form, written texts are also valued and contested in ways that spoken texts evade. They are the tangible realisations of the knowledge, ideas and values of the field/s, the individual/s and the

¹³ In most exhibitions, written labels carry the primary storyline and are viewed by most visitors to the exhibition while resources such as audios, apps, tours and public programs are taken up by only some visitors. For example, in the exhibitions in this study, the written mode for *Renaissance* included the exhibition labels viewed by c213,000 visitors and the catalogue purchased by c18,000; the spoken mode included audiotours purchased by c46,000 and public programs, including guided tours, lectures and other events, attended by c8700 (figures provided by the NGA). Written label texts for *The Wild Ones* exhibition were viewed by c36,870 (although in this case so was a film); figures are not available on numbers taking part in guided tours or public programs (figures from the HHT Annual Report 2012–13).

institutions that created them, and a key basis of legitimation within professional and disciplinary practice (Christie & Maton 2011; Hood 2011b; Perkin 1989).

While the primary focus is verbal text, this research is concerned to situate these texts within the multimodal contexts in which they exist and to explore the intersemiotic relationships that are an essential part of their meaning-making potential. And, while this research is concerned with exhibition-related interpretive verbal texts, it recognises that this is only one dimension of museum practice. This research does not purport to speak about operational and promotional texts (for example, directional and programming signage, calendars, advertisements and promotions, media releases), nor about scholarly texts produced primarily for peer audiences (for example, journal articles). It does not include corporate publications such as annual reports, submissions and plans or non-exhibition-related publications such as monographs and books. Largely for practical reasons, it does not include texts from the full range of programs delivered in conjunction with exhibitions, for example, lectures, workshops, special tours, education programs. But while these other texts have been excluded from this study, the findings and analytical methodology have relevance across the diversity of discursive practices that make up a museum, and could be used as a basis for future research. The findings and methodology also have relevance beyond the museum field, to other contexts involved in the recontextualisation of specialist knowledge for public audiences, and to projects and organisations involved in interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary work.

The approach taken is qualitative and interpretive, underpinned by the theoretical frameworks of systemic functional semiotics and legitimation code theory (see section 1.5 below and chapters 2 & 3 for elaboration). The aim of the research is to put verbal exhibition texts under close and extended scrutiny of a kind that rarely occurs in museum practice in order to bring into view the meanings and relations they construe both for public visitors and for those involved in their production.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

By foregrounding a deep analysis of the meanings construed in language within and across a range of the interpretive media used by museums, this thesis aims to explore two primary research questions, each with a number of sub-questions:

1. What semiotic work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?
 - (a). what meanings do verbal texts bring to the exhibition experience; how do they add to the meanings gained from looking alone?
 - (b). how do verbal texts work to make specialist knowledge and discourses accessible to public audiences; what does accessibility mean linguistically?
 - (c). in what ways do verbal museum texts contribute to knowledge building?
2. What kinds of knowledge orientations and practices underlie the development of these texts?
 - (a). what kinds of orientations to and around knowledge are evident among the team members involved in developing museum texts?
 - (b). how are these orientations valued, ie, what knowledge or whose knowledge is considered important and on what basis?
 - (c). how do these orientations shape the exhibition texts, and in turn the visitor's experience?

1.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The core aim of this thesis is to explore the meaning-making work of verbal language. To achieve this aim it draws on theoretical frameworks from systemic functional semiotics in dialogue with theoretical perspectives from the sociology of education. Systemic functional theory, pioneered as a theory of language by Michael Halliday in the 1960s and '70s and since developed by Halliday himself and a growing community of scholars (notably Halliday 1961, 1975; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007; Martin & White 2005, with

specific contributions referenced as this thesis unfolds) is a valuable framework for a number of key reasons. The first is its *delicacy* both as theory and as analytical methodology in enabling the detailed and systematic description of language (Eggins 2004: 21). The second is its application *across semiotic modes*, allowing an integrated description of meaning making across the range of meaning-making modes deployed in museum exhibitions – objects, still and moving images, sound, gesture, built form and physical space; it provides an overarching framework that allows both *intrasemiotic and intersemiotic* relations to be described and analysed (eg, Kress 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006; Macken-Horarik 2004; McMurtrie 2012, 2013; Ravelli & Stenglin 2008; Stenglin 2009c; see also volumes by Bednarek & Martin 2010; Dreyfus, Hood & Stenglin 2011). The third is its track record in investigating language and communication issues in a diverse range of *social contexts*, from classrooms to emergency wards, tweets to youth justice conferencing, with a particularly extensive track record within educational contexts (Dreyfus et al 2015; Hao 2015; Inako 2013; Martin, Zappavigna & Dwyer 2014; Slade et al 2015). According to Halliday, the systemic functional model aims to ‘make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text, spoken or written’ (Halliday 1984: xv); 30 years later and now embracing multimodal texts, in the words of Wyatt-Smith (2013), it ‘gets work done in real social contexts’.

Legitimation code theory (LCT) is a more recent theoretical framework although also with deep roots, extending back to the philosophy and social theory of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Max Webber, Michel Foucault, Karl Popper, Mary Douglas, Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein (Maton 2014c). Pioneered by Karl Maton in the 1990s, LCT is a multidimensional framework developed for the study of knowledge and knowledge practices, initially within education but quickly extending into a growing range of social and cultural contexts. In theorising knowledge practices, LCT draws particularly on the work of educational sociologist Basil Bernstein (also a key influence in systemic functional linguistics, see, for example, Halliday 1975/2009: 177). From its early years the theory has developed in close association with systemic functional linguistics and in recent years the two approaches in collaboration have proved successful in providing fresh insights into the nature and interplay of language, knowledge and

literacy within and across different disciplinary fields and social contexts (eg, Christie & Martin 2007; Christie & Maton 2011; Maton, Hood & Shay 2016; Matruglio 2014; Weekes 2014). Working together, the complementarity of linguistic and sociological lenses brings added explanatory power to the investigation of particular objects of study, and for this reason they are used here.

1.5.1. Systemic Functional Semiotics

Initially pioneered as a theory of language, systemic functional theory is a general framework for expressing the social meaning of language and other semiotics. Halliday's motivating purpose was to explain how semiotic acts are encoded in language and how linguistic meanings are interpreted as semiotic acts, to develop 'a unifying conception of language as a form of social semiotic' (Halliday 1975/2009: 169). The theory is 'systemic' because it conceptualises language as a system of choices, or rather as an integrated network of interrelated systems of choices, each progressing through various degrees of delicacy; it is 'functional' because its concern is with how language functions to create meaning in actual social contexts. The central focus then is on authentic texts considered in relation to the social and cultural contexts in which they are negotiated (Eggins 2004: 2).

Interestingly, in the context of this thesis, the theory has its roots in classical Greece, associated with Plato's academy and the sophists, a history it shares with the museum (see chapter 2). As argued by Halliday (1977/2003), it is likely that the origins of linguistics in the West, and indeed the division between formal and functional linguistics which endures to this day, lie in BCE 4th century Athens, in the conceptions of language developed by the sophists and Plato on the one hand with their concern for rhetoric, argumentation and the structure of discourse,¹⁴ and by Aristotle on the other, with his concern for the logic and truth value of language, for language as a set of rules and a mode of judgment. In this 'earliest flourish of western linguistics', observes

¹⁴ Halliday notes that the sophists identified the basic speech functions of statement, question, command and wish, which form the basis of the first steps in grammatical analysis, identified words in terms of classes and functions, and the notion of a theme, that which makes a sentence arguable Halliday 1977/2003: 96–97.

Halliday, are evident the two strands which persist in the subsequent history of ideas about language in the West – the ‘philosophical-logical’ and the ‘descriptive-ethnographic’:

The one stems from Aristotle; it is ‘analogist’ in nature, based on the concept of language as rule, and it embeds the study of language in philosophy and logic. The other ... can probably be traced to Protagoras and the sophists, via Plato; it is ‘anomalous’ in character ... It is not philosophical ... but rather descriptive, or, to use another term, ethnographic; and the organising concept is not that of *rule* but of *resource* ... as a mode of action and a means of putting things across to others (Halliday 1977/2003: 99, 98; emphasis in original).

For much of the intervening millennia, the study of language developed within the broader field of philosophy, particularly as philology, concerned with the study of historical and canonical texts rather than with ‘living language’ (Bloor & Bloor 2013: 243). The ‘descriptive-ethnographic’ stream, however, continued primarily through imperial and religious expansion, which brought European powers, scholars and missionaries in contact with other languages, to emerge more fully in the anthropology of Bronislaw Malinowski and J R Firth. Both would be key influences on the systemic functional conception of language (eg, Firth 1959, 1962, 1968; Malinowski 1923, 1935), as were Saussure (1959) and Hjelmslev (1961), particularly for their conception of ‘the sign’ as a bonding of the signified and signifier. Extending and elaborating Halliday’s pioneering work, the systemic functional model has developed as a comprehensive and cumulative theory of language built up by a diverse community of scholars,¹⁵ and continues to evolve in dialogue with other linguistic and theoretical orientations and through its engagement with contemporary discursive practices and issues. The current interest within SFL in various aspects of interdisciplinarity, disciplinary literacies and new digital modalities meshes closely with the concerns of this thesis, adding further to its relevance as a framework in the present study.

¹⁵ Note that within the broad SFL tradition there are a number of different streams or ‘schools’ and individual or local variation in terms of particular aspects of the theory, for example, the so-called Sydney school and Cardiff school (see Fawcett 2008; Martin 1992); it is not a homogenous and static theory.

In systemic functional theory, language is understood as social process, as text and as system. Fundamental to this view are the following principles, introduced briefly here and elaborated in later chapters along with further concepts as needed in the context of this study (see also appendix 1).

Language as resource

As noted above, SFL views language as a resource for making meaning, a resource structured as a system of choices. While of course there are conventions or patterns in the kinds of choices that can be made if an instance of language is to be meaningful, SFL does not view language as a series of rules which if followed will produce ‘correct’ language. A text then is the product, or instantiation, of choices made from the system in a given moment of language in use. Importantly, the *system* is not the sum of all possible texts, but of all possible choices, or pathways; it is a theoretical entity which represents the underlying meaning potential of the language, the underlying reservoir of language as resource (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 27).

Language as choice; meaning as valeur

Integral to the view of language as resource is the concept of choice, where any instance of language results from choosing particular options within the system. Such choices, furthermore, are not arbitrary or random; rather, they are motivated, and thus each choice is meaningful ‘in the context of what might have been meant but was not’ (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 24). Wherever there is choice – the possibility of choosing one word or way of saying something rather than another – there is meaning because it *means something* to choose one possibility over another. It means something different, for example, to say ‘Lotto’s quiet yet eloquent style fulfilled the requirements of the Counter Reformation’ rather than ‘Lotto paints with a quiet yet eloquent style that fulfilled the requirements of the Counter Reformation’; the first is a message about a style, the second a message about Lotto.

Drawing on the work of Saussure and Hjelmslev, as noted above, this notion of choice is central to the systemic functional conception of *how* language means: meaning is not ‘inherent’ in a text (or sign); rather it arises from the relationship or difference (*valeur*) between signs. In Martin’s words, ‘Language is thus conceived as a system of

signs, in which meaning is difference'; to use his example, 'The common sense idea that signs *stand* for something, so that, for example, a stop sign *means* 'stop' is precisely what Saussure [and Hjelmslev were] trying to supplant (Martin 2011b: 243).

Language as multifunctional and multistratal

But meaning itself is complex and multifaceted, and SFL argues that language functions to construe three types of meaning: meanings about the propositional content or subject matter of a message (ideational meanings); meanings which convey attitudes and construe relationships, for example between the author and receiver of a message, and between author and various participants in the message (interpersonal meanings); and meanings which organise a text as a message (textual meanings). Every message is *about* something (ideational), while at the same time *enacting* relationships and values (interpersonal), and *is* something, in other words, it has material form and structure (textual).

As each instance of language unfolds in context, the three meanings, or metafunctions, are enacted simultaneously. In unfolding text they are inseparable but for the purposes of analysis they can be teased apart, much like the strands in a piece of string (Fawcett 2008: 45). The theory also argues that language is organised in a series of layers, or strata, which exist in a relationship of realisation (Hasan 2010: 276; Martin & Rose 2007: 4). In other words, it is a stratified model of language, where the strata exist along a hierarchy of abstraction and each layer is realised by, and in turn realises, configurations of meaning in the adjacent layer. For example, sounds or letters (phonology/graphology) realise words, which realise clauses (lexicogrammar), which realise texts (discourse semantics), which realise social contexts (register and genre) and vice versa: social contexts are realised by texts, which are realised by clauses, and so forth.

This complementarity of metafunctional meaning and multistratal realisation provides an analytical methodology that allows the selective focus on particular threads and/or layers of meaning in a text to enable a deep, detailed and systematic description of particular features of language but always in the context of the whole, and of language as it interacts with other semiotic modes. In short, it is a framework that can take you

deep inside the architecture of language to understand how particular linguistic choices manipulate and construe meaning.

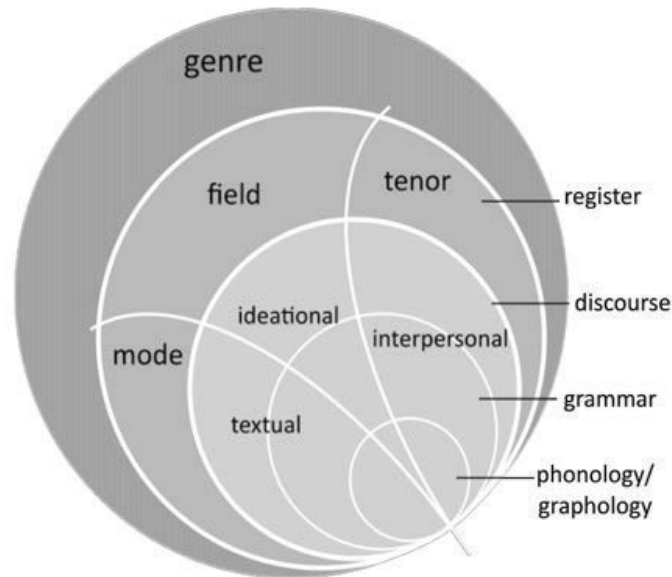


Figure 1.2. Language as multifunctional and multistratal (Rose & Martin: 2012: 311)

Language as constitutive

SFL also understands language as constitutive, in other words, language actively constructs meaning, it does not simply convey pre-existing meaning. In the context of museums, the language museums use to talk (or write) about themselves does not just convey their image and identity but actively creates it; the language they use to talk (or write) about their collections or displays or research does not just convey knowledge but actively constructs it, and in the process constructs a series of relations and values to and around that knowledge. Critical too for museums is the central role of language in the construction and practice of disciplinary fields. Disciplinary writing is central to the process of socialisation into various disciplines (Hood 2004: 25) and integral to the production of disciplinary knowledge (Halliday & Martin 1993).

From language to multimodality

Language then, according to systemic functional theory, as system, as text and as process, is a multifunctional and multilayered resource for making meaning that is activated by choice and embedded in context. From the mid 1990s, this theoretical perspective has been extended as a basis for developing conceptual frameworks and

'grammars' to describe and theorise the process of semiosis within and between a variety of semiotic modes, and indeed as a general theory of semiosis. Kress & van Leeuwen's seminal publication *Reading images* (first published 1996, second edition 2006) drew directly on SFL to propose a 'grammar' of visual design,¹⁶ again not in the sense of 'set of rules' but as system of choices through which visual elements are combined to realise meaningful wholes, as a resource 'for encoding interpretations of experience and forms of social (inter)action (2006: 1). The model is similarly metafunctional, as, Kress & van Leeuwen argue, the visual, like the linguistic and indeed all semiotic modes, makes meaning simultaneously along three semantic dimensions: representing experience (ideational), enacting relationships (interpersonal), and forming coherent 'texts' from smaller units of meaning (textual).

As more semiotic modes have been explored using the systemic functional model, it has been increasingly possible 'to overlay their different grammars to see where and how they overlap and where and how they don't; to see what principles are common across semiotic modes and which are specialised' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001: 3). This continuing endeavour allows not only the particular affordances and mechanisms of specific modes and the process of semiosis in general to be understood but in the process generates a metalanguage that enables the meaning-making work of multimodal texts to be systematically and deeply described and understood. And it is this that makes the systemic functional model especially valuable and powerful to this study and to the museum context more generally. In terms of this study – and indeed to museums more generally – key influences include work on visual semiotics and intersemiotic visual-verbal relations (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001; 1996/2006; Liu & O'Halloran 2009; O'Halloran 2005; O'Toole 1994/2011; Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013; Royce 2007), on spatial and architectural semiotics (McMurtrie 2013; Ravelli & Stenglin 2008; Stenglin 2004, 2009c) and on gesture (Hood 2011a; Martinec 2001). Interestingly, while intersemiotic relations between verbal text and image have been well explored, relations of text to displayed object have been far less so, and

¹⁶ And indeed in doing so, they also drew on many of SFL's predecessors, including, for example, the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and of the Prague School of the 1930s and '40s; see Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 6.

these relations have thus become the focus of a later chapter in this thesis (see chapter 5).

1.5.2. Legitimation Code Theory

While systemic functional semiotics enables the detailed description and analysis of the meanings encoded in verbal texts and other semiotics, it does not fully explain *why* particular choices are made; what makes certain linguistic choices more desirable or legitimate than others, for example within different disciplinary fields. While systemic functional semiotics recognises that disciplinary knowledge and identity are construed in and through discourse, it does not directly address the underlying orientations, values and practices that produce and sustain disciplinary and other discourses. For this reason, this thesis also draws on the sociological lens of legitimation code theory (LCT), a framework which builds particularly on the work of Basil Bernstein (eg, 1975, 1977, 1990, 2000) and Pierre Bourdieu (eg, 1977, 1990, 1991) on the nature and processes of cultural transmission to conceptualise knowledge and knowledge practices. A central concern of LCT is making visible the underlying basis of 'legitimation' within knowledge practices. This, the theory argues, is specialised into a series of modalities or 'codes'.

This idea of codes is a key component of the framework inherited from Bernstein, for whom the concept became 'almost an obsession' (Bernstein 1977: 5) as he sought to move beyond the empirical description which he argued had become typical of educational sociology:

I am well aware of the importance of, and need for, descriptive research which maps the vicissitudes of a problem yet one wants to grasp somehow the underlying principles of the map itself (1977: 2).

In terms of knowledge practices, Bernstein theorised these principles as a series of relations which primarily act to translate relations of power and control into discourse – relations of power which act to create boundaries between fields of practice (classification) and relations of control which act to establish protocols and forms of discourse within fields of practice (framing). Particular patterns or configurations of

these relations form the basis of codes of specialisation, which both characterise and actively maintain such fields and thus their discourse:

It is a matter of considerable sociological and linguistic interest how it is that certain rules generate distinctive texts. It then becomes important to understand the different forms of socialization into distinctive underlying rules ... The process of cultural reproduction is accomplished by the controls on the selection and institutionalizing of these underlying rules, which create ways of experiencing, of interpreting and telling about the world. I believe that the structure of socialisation is not a set of roles but classification and framing relationships ... *Thus from this point of view, power and control are made substantive in the classification and framing which then generate distinctive forms of social relationships and thus communication* (1977: 11, emphasis in original)

Dimensions of LCT / Specialisation

LCT extends and subsumes this ‘inherited Bernsteinian framework’ into its multidimensional theory that, like its precursor, aims to move beyond empirical description to analyse the principles underlying those practices. LCT Specialisation – one of the five principal dimensions of LCT – develops Bernstein’s work on relations *within* knowledge to account for relations *to* knowledge; in other words, it argues that knowledge practices, and knowledge claims, are not just about ‘the knowledge’ but equally about ‘the knower’ – they are both about or oriented towards something (the object) and by someone (the actors, for example teacher, curator, visitor). Thus knowledge practices and claims involve relations to an object (termed epistemic relations, or ER) and to the subject/s (termed social relations, or SR). Each of these relations may be more or less emphasised as the basis of a given practice, giving rise to four principal ‘specialisation codes of legitimation’ (Maton 2011a: 131). In essence, LCT Specialisation offers an analytical methodology for conceptualising and systemising underlying attitudes and orientations to knowledge so that they can become objects of study in their own right – a way of showing, in Bourdieu’s terms, the unwritten ‘rules of the game’ (Bourdieu 1990).

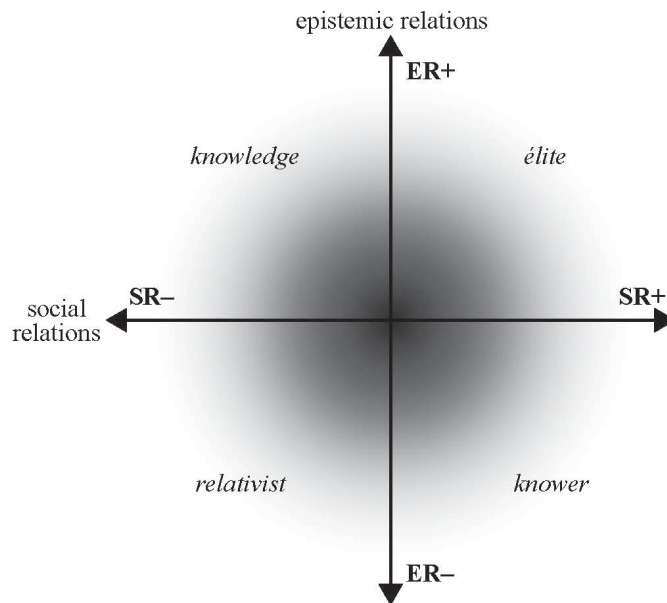


Figure 1.3. **Specialisation plane**, showing the four principal codes characterised by their relative strengths of epistemic relations (ER) and social relations (SR)
(Maton 2014a: 30)

LCT Semantics

This thesis also draws on another dimension of LCT, LCT Semantics. This framework looks at how knowledge, and the discourse through which it is construed, patterns in terms of two key attributes – dependency on context (semantic gravity) and density of meaning (semantic density) – which, the theory argues, are critical to learning (Maton 2014a). As an instance of text unfolds, the relative strengths of these attributes can vary, and thus can be represented as different patterns or profiles. For example, a text may unfold as waves, with rhythmic movements in the strength of semantic density (how much meaning is packed into particular segments of text) and semantic gravity (the degree of context dependence of meaning), or as flatlines, where they are maintained at a relatively steady level throughout a text. While the two semantic attributes are independent, they often shift together but inversely, so when plotted on a scale produce profiles where texts or segments of text which are relatively tied to a particular context and loose or light in terms of density of meaning (for example, everyday conversation) pattern along the baseline, while texts or segments of text which are highly dense in terms of meaning and independent in terms of context (for example, a highly abstract piece of academic writing) pattern along the top. In a sense,

the profiles represent the dynamic interplay of Bernstein's concepts of vertical and horizontal discourse (ie, the 'uncommonsense' discourse of specialised fields of practice vs the 'commonsense' discourse of everyday life) that occurs as we experience language in the real world.

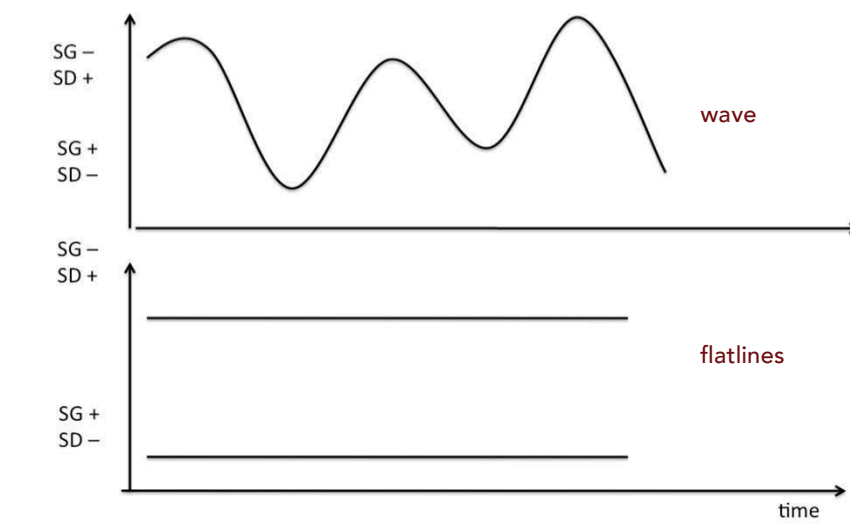


Figure 1.4. **Semantic profiles, patterning as waves and flatlines** (after Maton 2014a: 143)

Importantly for museums, as learning institutions, LCT argues that texts which scaffold 'cumulative and powerful' knowledge building unfold as waves, with rhythmic shifts in semantic gravity and density through which segments of more dense and abstract text are 'unpacked' or grounded with more concrete examples, and then repacked (Maton 2013). Importantly too, this thesis argues that the idea of the semantic wave is itself a powerful model for reconceptualising what have become entrenched dichotomies between 'scholarship' and 'populism' by bringing to view the complex and subtle dynamic between more and less semantically dense and abstract meanings that is an essential part of both learning and accessibility, and that moves beyond woolly conceptions of 'academic talk/language' to focus on key semantic qualities of text. Accordingly, this dimension of LCT is explored more fully in chapter 6, where it is used as a framework for exploring notions of 'accessibility' and learning in the exhibitions under study in the thesis.

In summary, this thesis aims to put a series of lenses on the texts produced for two exhibition projects in order to bring into view how, what and why they mean. The core argument advanced is that language plays a central and growing role in the experience and work of museums yet it is poorly understood, particularly in terms of key issues of accessibility, learning and meaning-making within the multimodal context of contemporary museum practice. Through a principled, systematic and detailed exploration of the two case-study exhibitions, this thesis argues that more powerful tools and a common metalanguage are increasingly valuable and vital to the museum community.

1.6. S T R U C T U R E O F T H I S T H E S I S

This thesis is organised into seven chapters.

This **first chapter** has introduced the object and focus of study as verbal exhibition texts in the contemporary museum, and contextualised these texts relative to contemporary museum practice and a number of key paradigm shifts that have shaped and continue to shape museum communications: shifts in terms of author, audience and message. It has introduced the core research questions and the theoretical frameworks that underpin this project. It has previewed a number of concepts that will play a central role in the methodology, analysis and interpretation.

The **second chapter** shifts in focus from museum as field of experience and practice to museum as field of research, mapping a number of research streams that have explored various dimensions of museum texts. While the present chapter has explored the evolving linguistic context of museums as workplace and visitor experience, this next chapter explores how these paradigm shifts have been conceptualised in research. The chapter reveals the field as one that is fractured, poorly theorised and increasingly prone to ‘message blindness’, focusing increasingly on the visitor rather than the message/text. It argues for a need to focus on both, and for the potential of systemic functional and legitimation code theories, as theories of meaning-making and knowledge practices respectively, as frameworks that can provide a unifying conception of museum communication practices.

Chapter 3 details the research design and introduces the two case study exhibitions which are the particular focus of this study: the art exhibition *Renaissance*, held at National Gallery of Australia in Canberra as its summer ‘blockbuster’ over the summer of 2011–12, and the social history exhibition *The Wild Ones*, held at the Museum of Sydney over the summer of 2012–13.

Chapter 4, the first of three findings chapters, addresses the primary research question: ‘what kinds of knowledge orientations and practices underlie the development of exhibition texts?’ The chapter draws primarily on interviews with the two exhibition teams for evidence of these underlying orientations and practices; in other words, it seeks to bring into view the bases on which particular choices in language are made. These are explored in the context of the three key paradigm shifts outlined in chapter 1: author, audience and message. Framed through the lens of LCT Specialisation, the analysis shows two highly complementary patterns across all dimensions.

Chapter 5, the second findings chapter, shifts focus to the texts that were produced for these two exhibitions. It takes a ‘bottom-up’ or micro-view of the first primary research question: ‘what meaning-making work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?’ It zooms in on the role played by verbiage in the multimodal experience of the individual displayed object, taking as a starting point the idea that verbal texts help audiences look more deeply at the displayed artefact by adding meanings that are not accessible by looking alone – an assumption that is widely and deeply held within the museum field. The chapter draws on the systemic functional concept of instantiation to model the web of intertextual and intersemiotic relations involved in the process of ‘deep looking’, and on the concepts of coupling and commitment to propose an analytical framework that can systematically describe the kinds of meanings that verbal texts bring to the experience of a displayed artefact and of the kinds of relations they ‘motivate’ between verbal and visual modalities.

Chapter 6 shifts again to take a complementary ‘macro’ view on these same exhibition texts. It looks again at the meaning-making work the texts have the potential to contribute, but this time in terms of the interplay of everyday and specialised

discourses and knowledges. Here the idea of ‘meaning-making work’ is explored from the perspective of access (what ‘work’ do the texts do to help *unpack* disciplinary discourse and knowledge into everyday discourse and knowledge) and knowledge-building (what ‘work’ do they do to *build* new knowledge, and/or *pack up* or *repack* everyday knowledge and discourse into specialised discourse and knowledge). In doing so, it also explores the idea of what ‘accessibility’ means linguistically.

The **final chapter**, chapter 7, firstly pulls together key elements from the analysis of each case study, previously dispersed through the other chapters, to give an integrated account of the exhibition as a communicative and pedagogic experience as construed through the verbal texts. It then summarises the main contributions of this thesis and directions for future research.

2.

FOUNDATIONS

researching the communicative role of the museum exhibition

While museums have always been communicators, the idea that they needed to look more closely and systematically at the way they use language gelled as a research field in the late 1970s. As outlined in chapter 1, this was due to a convergence of factors, although perhaps most directly to the desire to be more accessible to a broader audience combined with a shift to ‘thematic’ exhibitions, which gave language a new kind of presence and prevalence in the physicality of the museum. The realisation that words – particularly written ones – played a powerful role in shaping the story being told and the visitor experience triggered a wave of inquiry. But from the outset this seemed to fracture into two discrete streams. The first focused on ‘*content*’, recruiting various forms of critical discourse analysis to demonstrate that museum texts were heavy with assumptions and ideologies that privileged certain stories and certain voices while marginalising or excluding others. The second focused on the *effectiveness* of museum texts in speaking to a broader range of visitors, particularly visitors who were not part of the disciplinary field involved. While both endeavours were underpinned by a shared aspiration for accessibility and inclusion, as lines of research, they came to be ‘owned’ by two different domains: the first curatorial, the second, educational – in effect, a kind of ‘metafunctional split’ that separated responsibility for ‘representational content’ from ‘communicative role’. Reflecting and arguably

solidifying disciplinary roles emerging through this time (see section 1.2.2), with few exceptions these streams have since developed in parallel rather than together.¹

This chapter sets out to map this extensive but strangely fractured research terrain, identifying major contributions to and gaps in our accumulating understanding of the role played by language in contemporary museums, and which accordingly informs this research project. The review is structured around key theoretical perspectives that have shaped the research into museum communications. It takes a broadly chronological but highly selective view; selective in focusing on a relatively small number of studies, chosen either for being representative or especially noteworthy, and chronological with the caution not to suggest a linearity that does not reflect the actual nature of the research fields. The aim is to highlight the interconnectivity between internal (staff) and external (audience) relations rather than to focus on one or the other. As previewed in chapter 1, this chapter also shows how ongoing paradigm shifts within museum practice around the role of author, audience and message have generated a series of tensions which similarly play out in the literature. A key aim of this chapter is also to demonstrate the need for a more holistic approach that can bring the various research streams into more productive dialogue with each other.

2.1. PRECURSORS

From reading the museum ‘visitor studies’ and communication literatures, there is a sense that museums had little interest in their communicative relationship with the ‘public’ visitor before the 1970s. This literature presents a predominantly uniform view of the pre-1970s museum as a place of introverted self-focus (eg, Hooper-Greenhill 1988; Schauble, Leinhardt & Martin 1997: 3). Pre the 1970s, museums were ‘as deadening to thought as to feeling’ (Harrison 1967: 5); as ‘dull, musty, dead ... [and] uninviting ... as cold baths before breakfast or enforced doses of castor oil’ (Ripley 1969: 38–39). The ‘traditional curator’ is portrayed as a person focused exclusively

¹ One major exception would be work coming from the then recently formed Department of Museum Studies at Leicester University in Britain. Established in 1966, it was the first university department dedicated to ‘training’ people to work in the museum industry. See particularly the work of Eileen Hooper-Greenhill and Gaynor Kavanagh in relation to communication.

on their collections and coterie of peers, oblivious to, if not disdainful of, the public at large. Their prime concern was simply ‘the care and conservation of the objects in their charge’ (Vergo 1989b: 41), not ‘the way in which people interact with their displays’ (Hooper-Greenhill 1988: 229). Recurring claims, often ‘packaged’ as givens,² repeatedly assert that for museums to ‘value’ their visitors is a new phenomenon (Hooper-Greenhill 1988: 215). There is, in effect, a near unrelenting prosody of ‘burnishing’ the new and ‘tarnishing’ the old (Humphrey & Hao 2013), where the old is inexorably linked with the curatorial role.

By today’s mores, this depiction has significant basis, yet it belies a more complex history. Museums through their history have engaged with public audiences in a range of ways (Anderson 2004; Barrett 2010; Bennett 1999), and the broader museum literature documents a concern to communicate with and be relevant to the public that extends back to the formation of ‘public museums’ in the late 17th century and indeed to the museum’s classical precursors. As a thesis concerned with meaning, it would be remiss not to note that the very term ‘museum’, derived from the Greek *mouseion*, meaning seat or home of the muses, embeds the idea of communication. Mothered by Mnemosyne, goddess of memory and ‘the language of words’ (Theoi Project 2013), and fathered by Zeus, king of the gods, to bring joy and inspiration to the mortal world, the muses and thus the concept of the museum literally fuse the attributes of verbal language with power, knowledge, memory and inspiration.³ Alexander & Alexander (2008: 4) and Stenglin (2009a) note the term’s association with the verbs ‘muse’, meaning to reflect or consider deeply and also ‘amuse’, to delight, entertain, please or

² For example, in the statement, ‘Those that cling to irrelevant and insular activities will find that their visitor numbers are falling’, the ‘arguable proposition’ is that ‘those’ will find their visitor numbers are falling (identified by adding a tag question to the end, ie, ‘won’t they’); and that ‘they cling to irrelevant and insular activities’ is beyond arguability as it is ‘packaged’ (rankshifted) as an embedded post-qualifying clause. Example from Hooper-Greenhill 1988: 230. Similarly, in the statement, ‘If museums begin to interact with their public rather than just expect visitors to come ..., the impact could be enormous’ (Weil 2002), the arguable proposition is that ‘the impact could be enormous’, not whether or not museums have interacted with their publics.

³ In Greek mythology Zeus and Mnemosyne slept together for nine consecutive nights to conceive the muses, each to preside over a particular branch of the arts and sciences: Calliope, epic poetry; Clio, history; Erato, love poetry; Euterpe, music; Melpomene, tragedy; Polyhymnia, hymns; Terpsichore, dance; Thalia, comedy; and Urania, astronomy.

begile.⁴ Historically, Ripley (1969: 24) argues that Alexandria's famous *mouseion* shares a common lineage with Plato's academy and Aristotle's lyceum, and thus a common purpose as a place of knowledge creation, collective learning and knowledge dissemination. Established by Ptolemy Soter about 280BCE and widely considered the forerunner of the modern museum,⁵ the *mouseion* included collections of artefacts and manuscripts, botanical and zoological gardens, lecture halls and laboratories where scholars, novices and publics would gather and interact (Alexander & Alexander 2008; McManus 2011). In Roman times, the *mouseion* became associated with the display of captured treasure, often in temples, where it was used to signify imperial power and cultural authority to the public (Rowell 1966: 79).⁶

With the fall of Alexandria in 614CE, the term *mouseion* dropped from use. While it did not appear again until the mid 17th century in the context of princely 'cabinets of curiosities' and then more directly with 'the museum' as we know it today (Ripley 1969), this early history is germane to the present discussion in two ways. Firstly, it highlights the intertwined but not always compatible purposes of collecting treasure (museum as temple/palace) and disseminating knowledge (museum as lyceum/forum) that lie at the very core of the idea of the museum – in a sense, a hardwiring into its DNA of a tension in the museum's relationship with publics. In the museum literature, this inherited tension plays out through various phases of the museum's evolution as a series of dichotomies and metaphors: collecting versus displaying, keeping versus sharing, the private versus the public, inclusion versus exclusion, knowledge production versus recontextualisation. Writing in 1969, then secretary of the

⁴ And interestingly, throughout the 18th century, the primary use of 'amuse' was to mean to delude or deceive (see Online Etymology Dictionary, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=amuse>).

⁵ There are exceptions to this view of continuity between earlier 'progenitors' and modern museums. See Arnold (from Durrens 1988: 166) for a discussion of the 'tussle between continuity and discontinuity' in the development of museums.

⁶ According to Rowell (2006: 1–7) the concept of the *mouseion* was introduced to Rome by Marcus Fulvius following his conquest of Ambracia (on the site of the present-day city of Arta) in 189BCE. Returning to Rome with a hoard of looted treasure that included over 1000 bronze and marble statues, he built a temple to display them which he dedicated to the muses. The temple became the first of many similar 'places for ... [the] exhibition of treasures wrested from the ancient world'. Many such temples also included natural history specimens, either for their reputed connections with the gods or as 'curiosities' brought back from distant provinces by soldiers or travellers (from Durrens 1988: 166).

Smithsonian Institution, Dillon Ripley referred to the central paradox of museums as the nation's attic versus the people's university (1969: 68); in 1971, museologist Duncan Cameron described museums as being in 'an advanced state of schizophrenia' (1971: 11). In its report on the present and future of museums in the United States, the Commission on Museums for a New Century (1984: 57–58) speaks of the concern for preservation and the demands of public access as 'a tension of values that is inherent in the very mission of museums ... a contradiction lived out in every institution'. Low (2004: 32) describes these tensions as 'creating a sharp inner division'.

The second point of relevance is that this early history makes clear that the relationship with the public has been a matter of interest through much of the museum's history rather than a recent revelation; it builds on a history of cycles of continuity and 'reinvention' rather than on linear progression and 'revolution' (Knell, MacLeod & Watson 2007: xix). As Barrett observes, 'it appears that many museums in the 20th century [and before] were engaging with new audiences and moving beyond merely adding to existing collections and displaying ... the collection for the benefit of the learned scholar' (2010: 55). Among the examples she cites are the accounts of a British natural history curator who in 1908 argued that 'one of the great differences' between the 'old' museum of 25 years earlier and the 'new' museum of the day was that the former 'displayed objects while the other aims to illustrate ideas' in ways that are meaningful to the 'average visitor'. In 1918, Benjamin Gilman, curator of the Boston Academy of Fine Arts and an early figure in audience research, noted that to fulfil its purpose, a museum 'must arrange its contents so that they ... help its average visitors to know what they mean' (Gilman 1918: 280).

In 1957, F J North, then keeper of geology at the National Museum of Wales, published a 42-page monograph on 'museum labels' as part of a *Handbook for museum curators* produced by the (British) Museums Association. In this monograph, North documents a history of writing for public audiences and in particular 'the museum label' that dates back to the late 16th century, his purpose being to help museum writers 'profit from the experience of others' and not 'waste time in re-discovering what is already known'

(North 1957: 4–11). On ‘language matters’, he argues for the important role of language in both creating and bridging what he describes as an increasing gap between the research worker and the layman as ‘the language of the former became less and less intelligible to the latter’:

It is because the museum has to bridge the gap between expert knowledge and public comprehension that label writing becomes so important and so difficult – important because it is the link between the curator and the public, and difficult because it means more than translating the results of modern research from the jargon in which it is often recorded into the language of the layman; it means arousing and stimulating an interest in the subjects with which the museum can deal, for as the gap has grown wider and deeper, the ordinary person has felt less and less inclined to take the first step towards bridging it. To stress the importance of the label is not to belittle the specimen. It is the specimen which has a story to tell, but the descriptive label often determines the degree of success with which the story will be told.

‘The idea of having a label’, he continues, ‘is to anticipate questions that the visitor might be disposed to ask but cannot answer for himself merely by looking at the specimen or exhibit’ even though, ‘It is not always easy to do this clearly, concisely and without using technical terms’ (1957: 32). In both the substance and writing style he advocates and in his own construal of the visitor, North anticipates much of the ‘new’ label literature of the 1980s and beyond. Indeed, in summing up ‘what has been written and said about labels during the last four or five decades’ he notes with uncanny prescience: ‘Many of the papers in which they have been discussed consist largely of the same generalizations repeated at intervals’ (1957: 40).

In summing up here, the purpose of this brief encounter with this earlier history is to anchor the research field as picked up in this chapter in its ongoing context; to demonstrate that it comes with a history – a history of inherited tensions that have been deployed to serve both internal and external relations and agendas. A powerful example of this is surely Vergo’s 1989 publication *The new museology*. Impeccably packaging the accumulating rhetoric of the 1970s and ‘80s, *The new museology* reset

evolving debates on the practice and scholarship of museums. Indeed, the very act of coining the term ‘the new museology’ bundled up all previous practices and designated them as ‘old’, as outdated and problematic, creating yet another dichotomy that would echo through the museum field. Coining ‘the new museology’ was a galvanising act that captured the mood and mix of opportunity and anxiety of the moment. But in doing so, it acted to sideline curatorial claims to a relationship with the public and the complexity of this earlier history in terms of visitor communications and relations. In Barrett’s words, in positioning the museum as having a ‘new’ relationship with the public, ‘the new museology’ also significantly positioned the museum in ‘a new relationship with its own history’ (2010: 4; see also McCarthy 2007: 117). In closing the door on its own history, it also enabled much of what was known in terms of ‘language matters’ to be ‘discovered’ as new in later research paradigms.

2.2. VERBIAGE AS REPRESENTATION

/ critical perspectives

Nonetheless, the 1970s and 1980s were landmark decades, with major cycles of transformation sweeping through the museum sector as a range of forces coalesced. Reinterpreted through emerging currents in cultural, intellectual and political spheres, museums were condemned as elitist and inaccessible (eg, Bennett 1988; Bourdieu 1980; Bourdieu & Darbel 1991; Hooper-Greenhill 1988; Merriman 1989). Against a backdrop of cultural movements advocating social change, ‘the differences between cultural democracy and democratic culture were much debated’ (Barrett 2010: 4).

Within curatorial departments and studies, the object and its display within the recontextualised, constructed (curated) space of the museum became a subject of intense and critical scrutiny: how did museum objects mean; what did they mean; how did their meaning change as their physical context changed; whose interests were being served as a result? (Karp & Lavine 1991; Lumley 1988; Vergo 1989a). Under the gaze of postmodernism and post-colonialism, the politics of the artefact’s acquisition were not just important but were central to the meanings and relations of power it constructed, as were the politics and contexts of the artefact’s production and use. The

museum's agency in the project of colonisation and the reproduction of dominant culture became the focus of eager analysis (eg, Barrie 1986; Clifford 1985; Duncan & Wallach 1980; Durrens 1988; Morton 1988; Stephen 1993). New social and feminist histories, cultural studies and critical art histories argued for the legitimate place of industrial, domestic, working-class and migrant histories in the museum (eg, Handler & Gable 1997; Hewison 1987; Horne 1984; Pickett 1990; Porter 1988; Webber 1996) and against sanitised 'nostalgic' re-imaginings of the past (Bennett 1988; Hewison 1987; Lumley 1988; Walsh 1992; West 1988).

In this swelling tide of debate around the role, responsibilities and invested institutional authority of the museum, the relationship between academy, practice and broader social, political and economic forces in terms of which were influencing which remains difficult to discern (Barrett 2010: 145). However, the resulting push for a new pluralism within museums, where multiple and previously invisible or silenced participants and voices could appear, galvanised, as noted above, in Peter Vergo's publication of *The new museology* in 1989. With contributors from academia and the industry, the volume positioned museums in a moment of unprecedented 'crisis' and 'dissatisfaction' both within and outside the museum profession. It made a powerful and urgent call for 'a radical re-examination of the role of museums in society' and for a new direction that would 'demystify' the role of museums by making explicit their agency and stance in the construction of knowledge and recognise visitors as active agents in the production of their own knowledge (1989a: 3, 17). The focus of the volume was largely on the presentation of objects and the making of exhibitions, bringing to view the fluidity of representational meaning within the constructed context and 'contrived illusion' of display (Saumarez Smith 1989: 18–19).

This primary focus in Vergo's *The new museology* on the displayed object was characteristic of this broader body of literature. The verbal texts *with* displayed objects were critiqued, but not to the same extent. Where they were critiqued, the emphasis was more on represented content (participants, actions, settings) than on relationships construed between author and audience. For example, in Bennett's chapter, which looked at how three museums 'portray' and 'sentimentalise' the lives of working

people, he compared the guidebook and other texts in terms of content inclusions (eg, ‘a tough and resilient people’), exclusions (eg, trade unions and women), and narrative structure in the creation of a romanticised, mythic past. Despite relatively little difference in the types of objects displayed in the three museums, he demonstrated ‘a world of difference’ in the *histories* told.

The relationship with the audience/visitor is of course implicit in such discussions, and runs as an important thread through Vergo’s volume. The volume raised a series of assumptions about how exhibitions speak (or do not speak) to visitors, for example, that viewing leads to understanding (Jordanova 1989: 22; Wright 1989: 124); that the quality of the works on display determines the quality of the visitor’s experience (Wright 1989: 120); that objects on display are best left to speak for themselves (Vergo 1989b: 48). But in exploring these assumptions, it was the *amount* of text that was emphasised rather than its qualities. In his essay ‘The reticent object’, for example, Vergo writes that ‘some measure of elucidation of the material which is being exhibited’ is desirable, arguing for a middle ground between what he terms ‘the aesthetic exhibition’ with minimal if any interpretive text and ‘the contextual exhibition’ in which objects exist in ‘a sometimes bewildering variety’ of interpretive verbiage and other media. The former he dismissed as ‘uncompromising and arrogant ... frustrating in its refusal to extend even the most perfunctory helping hand to the viewer’, and the latter as ‘equally unsatisfactory’ for its ‘earnest didacticism’ (Vergo 1989b: 48–54). Merriman, in his chapter on British attitudes to and uses of heritage, also focused on length as a gauge of visitor perceptions of exhibition text. In the survey he developed to investigate visitor perceptions, he asked respondents to rate their agreement with the proposition, ‘There are too many words [in museums]’ (Merriman 1989: 154). The point here is the question rather than the answer;⁷ that is, that Merriman chose length as the attribute to assess and that this was a common approach at this time (see also Durrens 1988: 152; and also the next section in this chapter).

⁷ Although, for the record, 8% of ‘frequent visitors’ agreed or strongly agreed with the proposition and 40% of non-visitors with the caveat that non-visitors, having not actually visited a museum, were responding on the basis of assumption rather than experience.

Through the following decades, the attention of this critical stream remained largely on issues of representation, shifting the object (or subject) of interest in parallel with broader social and political agendas. For example, by the early 2000s, the representation of people with disabilities within and by museums was being critically examined (eg, Dodd et al 2008; Sandell, Dodd & Garland-Thompson 2010), as were representations of religious minorities, sexual minorities such as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender communities, refugees, 'stolen' and 'forgotten' generations, and other marginalised groups (eg, Ahmed 2014; Lawrence 1993; McIntyre 2007; Tibbles 2012). Framed within the mantle of 'the post museum' and 'ethical' or 'appropriate' museology, museums increasingly embraced roles as participatory 'contact zones', and sites of 'civic engagement' and human rights advocacy and action. In his paper 'Museums and the good society', Sandell (2010) argued that all museums not only make choices that have social and political implications, whether consciously or otherwise, but have a responsibility to advance human rights. By working within 'a human rights framework', he argued, museums can and should raise the visibility and awareness of disempowered and disadvantaged groups, actively shape and inform attitudes, provide a space for public debate, and a place where more progressive social norms can be constructed and shared (also, for example, Archibald 2002; Karp et al 2006).

Martin has described the evolving shift from modernism to postmodernism and globalism as a shift from 'taming difference' to 'negotiating difference' in terms of three domains of social practice – knowledge, regulation and identity. 'Modernity attempted to tame the other. In the domain of knowledge, other views were framed as false or anachronistic. In the identity domain, other cultures were framed as primitive, exotic, doomed. In the domain of regulation, acting differently was framed as abnormality and in need of remediation' (2001b: 13). As linguistic and sociocultural borders became increasingly permeable under the impact of electronic communication systems, he argues, postmodernity 'reinterpreted' modernity to *emphasise* diversity and difference, opening up a cultural space for marginalised groups and acknowledging the impossibility of synthesis: the global realm of post-modernity 'places genuine value on difference or otherness, and is establishing sites and processes of negotiation that foreground complementarity over contradiction, negotiation over argument, reciprocity over domination' (2001b: 13).

This description captures well the essence and key contributions of this research stream, in effect, as a quest to recontextualise museums, museum collections and museum messages as sites for negotiating difference. Relative to the concerns of this thesis, its contributions include a significant and widespread shift in critical awareness of the role of museum messages in *constructing* rather than merely conveying meaning, and of the political and cultural implications of authorial choices made within the various semiotic systems at play. In doing so, it opened museum messages up to new voices, and brought methodologies of critical discourse analysis to enable deeper and more critical readings of the meanings being construed in museum texts. The orientation, however, was predominantly artefact-driven and representation-focused. Compared to objects, the role played by verbiage was less interrogated, in part a reflection of these priorities, and in part a result of the analytical power of the critical discourse frameworks being used;⁸ while they had greater power than methods brought to bear to date, as tools for analysing language they still lacked the delicacy needed to answer the full range of questions at issue, particularly around issues of audiences.

2.3. VERBIAGE AS STIMULUS

/ behavioural & cognitive perspectives

Stepping sideways, through this same period a second research stream had been evolving. Carried out mostly within the newly forming and/or expanding museum education departments and influenced by academic disciplines associated with learning, information technology and media studies, this stream focused on the relationship with the visitor as learner and/or consumer. While this stream similarly had its antecedents,⁹ it was perceived as fresh, new, outward-focused and evidence-

⁸ Critical discourse analysis involves a diversity of theoretical and methodological principles (Rowell 1966: 79). The 'explanatory power' that can be rallied in any given study will thus depend on the methodology and theoretical model being used.

⁹ Museum educators and 'visitor research' are generally traced back to the early decades of the 20th century, although with few known studies before the 1950s (Hein 1998a: 44). According to Roberts (1997: 33), the first museum educators were appointed c1914. Pioneering visitor/exhibit studies were carried out by Gilman (1916), Robinson (1928), Melton (1936) and Wittlin (1949). Also from the 1960s, demographic surveys of museum visitors (and non-visitors) have been carried out in various forms (see Hooper-Greenhill 1995: 3–6).

based. Yet at the same time, it was also highly axiologically charged, perhaps in part because, especially in its formative years as a research field, it was significantly practitioner-based, carried out by practitioners working within particular institutions rather than from the distance of the academy (Hein 1998a). The broad project was to improve the effectiveness of the museum exhibition as a communicative medium, the assumption being that by improving the stimulus, visitors would more easily and willingly be able to take in the museum's message. In collaboration with design departments (and if one existed, editorial department), a series of studies looked at various aspects of the exhibition medium, with labels quickly identified as a critical communicative link between the museum and the visitor (eg, Knez & Wright 1970). Having 'demonstrated' that visitors did in fact read exhibition text (eg, Borun & Miller 1980a; McManus 1989), a series of studies set out to look in a 'controlled' way at the various attributes that constitute 'good text'. Seminal research at this time included studies by Minda Borun (1977), Borun & Miller (1980a, 1980b), Beverley Serrell (1983), Stephen Bitgood (1989, 1991), Chandler Screven (1974, 1990, 1992) and others in the USA, and Roger Miles (1986), Paulette McManus (1987, 1989, 1990, 1991) in Britain, generating a series of recommendations on how text should look and how it should be written. For example, recommendations were made on aspects such as label placement (height, distance from viewer and/or exhibit), design (label and type size, style, colour, contrast), content (overall length, number of topics, relevance, use of diagrams and graphics) and language (sentence length, technicality, active vs passive voice, use of headings and questions). Effectively summarising this literature to date, Bitgood (1989: 4, 7)¹⁰ put forward a list of 12 'deadly sins', which he argued characterised unsuccessful (written) exhibition texts:

1. Too long and wordy
2. Too technical for the intended readers
3. Boring, with inappropriate information
4. Badly edited, with mistakes in grammar, spelling or syntax

¹⁰ Regarding this list, Bitgood notes that the first eight 'sins' were originally suggested by Beverley Serrell in 1983 and that he has added another four of his own.

5. Too small – tiny words crammed on a 3x5 card
6. Hard to read (the result of poor typography)
7. Coloured in a way that makes reading difficult or tiresome
8. Badly placed, causing neck, back, or eye strain in the viewer
9. Fails to ‘grab’ the attention of the visitor
10. Codes are open to ambiguous interpretation
11. Is lost among the visual ‘noise’ of too many other labels and objects
12. Doesn’t address visitor knowledge, interest and misconceptions.

In both substance and style, Bitgood’s list was indicative of the time – a checklist of recommendations based on empirical description and ‘commonsense’ understandings of language couched in an attitude of earnest, almost evangelical, prescriptivity (‘do this, don’t do that!’). Through this time, similar checklists and guidelines were developed by many of the larger museums in North America, Britain and Australia to guide their label writers and editors.¹¹ Some tried to match the ‘quantifiability’ of format guidelines (specific type sizes, reading distances, line lengths etc) linguistically, setting maximum word numbers and citing various ‘readability’ formulae which purported to predict ‘reading difficulty’ on the basis of word and sentence length. In evaluating exhibition texts at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Natural History, for example, Lakota & Kantar (1976) used the ‘Forecast’ and ‘Smog’ indexes to produce a score based on the proportion of polysyllabic words to overall number words, which was then related to a reading grade level. In the same study, they also recommended a ‘cloze’ test, whereby a text’s ‘level of comprehensibility’ was judged by a reader’s ability to identify every fifth word, previously deleted and replaced with a standard sized blank. An accuracy rate of 55% or greater was deemed to mean that the text was ‘highly comprehensible’ to museum visitors (1976: 113). Borun & Miller (1980b) also used a ‘cloze’ test as one of a number of methods for assessing the comprehensibility of label texts, and in a conclusion characteristic of this research stream, noted ‘that explanatory labels will be read and appreciated by adult visitors

¹¹ Some examples include the Smithsonian Institution, Ontario Science Centre, British Museum, V&A and Powerhouse Museum.

and that careful attention to the wording, reading level and length of the text can produce a label which significantly adds to the visitor's understanding of a display' (1980b: 51).

While many saw the limitations of such formulaic methods, notably their resolute failure to address *meaning* in text, the focus on word and sentence length and complexity persisted as a key focus. By the mid 1990s, a more expansive approach informed by cognitive linguistics was exploring the meanings and accessibility of museum texts and producing various models and frameworks for museum authors. Much of this work was brought together in Blais's (1995) volume, *Text in the exhibition medium*, which remains an influential reference point in the museum sector. But while the focus in this volume had shifted substantively to consider text as *discourse*, as 'a coherent, meaningful whole' (Blais 1995: 44) rather than as a string of sentences, the emphasis on sentence length and complexity continued. For example, Screven (in Blais 1995; also 1992) proposed a 'cost : value ratio', where 'cost' refers to the visitor's 'perception of the effort that reading the text is likely to have' and 'value' to 'the likelihood they will "understand" a point, perceive a connection, answer a question, take an action, and so on' (1995: 108–09). The 'first and easiest step to encourage the reading of print labels', he advised, was to reduce the 'cost'. And while he identified a range of factors implicated in doing this (eg, format, location, text structure and language), length (word, sentence, line and paragraph) and complexity ('syntactic' and 'semantic')¹² featured prominently.

In summing up, these behavioural and cognitive studies of museum text produced some applicable insights, particularly concerning the usefulness of a 'more spoken' style in writing for public audiences and the 'sociality' of the museum label. For example, McManus, in her 1989 study of visitor behaviour at the Natural History Museum in London, coined the term 'text echo' to refer to the phenomenon of visitors repeating the exact wording of a label in their conversations: 'when visitors echo text,

¹² Screven (1995: 108) here explains syntactic complexity in terms of 'sentence length, number of sentences starting with phrases in which no new information is being added ("In other words", "In summary")' and semantic complexity in terms of 'number and level of propositions, causal structures, vague, abstract language, concept density (ratio of concrete to abstract concepts)'.

they bring the writer's words to life ... the writer is introduced as a partner in their discourse'. In other words, visitors interact with written label texts in a conversation-like manner; when they read labels, 'they feel that "someone" is talking to them' (1989: 175, 180). The study also documented 'group reader' behaviour, where a particular person within a visitor group often took on the role of reading label texts aloud to others in the group, again bringing the label-writers' words directly into their conversations. Accordingly, she advised, museum writers 'should think of themselves as talking to someone when they write labels' (McManus 1991: 44), foreshadowing later work within the systemic functional approach (eg, Ferguson, MacLulich & Ravelli 1995; Ravelli 1996) and highlighting the important role played by labels not just as a source of information but as triggers for social interaction at and around a museum display.

More broadly, these studies were also significant in their focus on the message in relation to the visitor. However, their failure to address issues of meaning rather than wordings soon left them out of step with shifting interests and priorities. As summed up by Hooper-Greenhill (1995: 5), 'After much trial and error and nearly two decades of work, it was admitted that this approach was not entirely successful, and that more attention needed to be paid to the visitors and to their reasons for being in the museum in the first place'.

Nonetheless, the continuing reliance on these studies more than three decades later (eg, Harmon 2014) and ongoing research within a cognitive paradigm (eg, Kesner 2006; Miglietta, Pace & Boero 2011) suggests a very real and continuing need among those concerned with developing, producing and evaluating museum texts for methods and tools which can help guide them in doing so.

2.4. VERBIAGE AS CONSUMER RIGHT

/ Plain English perspectives

Also through this period from the 1980s, a number of institutions and studies also drew on the Plain English framework, which beyond the museum sector was achieving significant success in transforming the 'confusing' and 'inflated' 'gobbledegook' of a

range of legal and other documents written for public audiences into 'clear, everyday language' (Eagleson 1990: 1–4). With its genesis in the equal opportunity and consumer rights movements of the 1970s and '80s, Plain English (more recently often termed Plain Language) shared 'the new museology's' ideology of inclusion and access, and its aspiration to shift the onus of responsibility for understanding a text from reader to author:

Previously, major responsibility for interpretation had been placed on readers ... Poor comprehension ... has been considered to be the fault of the consumer or the employee and the solution to the problem has been [for them] to learn to read. Now the onus for ensuring comprehensibility is shifting to document writers (Brown & Solomon 1995: 4).

Plain English also had a rapidly developing 'evidence' base (Cutts 1995: 7), combined with significant political, economic and social clout. By the mid 1980s a series of committees, inquiries and reforms had been established in Britain, Canada, the United States and Australia, and the Plain English movement could demonstrate tangible 'victories' in both public and private sectors. In Australia, these included the NRMA's Plain English car insurance policy, released in 1976 as the first Plain English document produced in Australia, followed in 1977 by the Real Estate Institute of NSW's residential tenancy agreement. In 1983 the Commonwealth government implemented a Plain English and Simpler Forms Program, and in 1984 announced a policy advocating Plain English in all its documents. In 1991 the University of Sydney established a Centre for Plain Legal Language to research and promote the use of Plain English 'in all legal and administrative documents' (Australian Language & Literacy Council 1996).

Like the cognitive and behavioural approaches, Plain English focused on the qualities of the message but, initially at least, in a more holistic way (see for example Eagleson 1983), with explicit strategies for achieving a 'plainer' style in terms of layout, presentation, content and writing style. And while the basic principles of Plain English were not new – they could be found in just about any guide to 'good' writing (eg, Fieldhouse 1982; Partridge 1947; Strunk jr & White 1979) – the framework gave them

an authority that carried them into previously disinterested or resistant contexts. In this regard, the eager adoption of Plain English strategies by museum education and editorial departments, like the various museum-based behavioural and cognitive approaches, can be seen as motivated as much by internal (staff) relations as by external (visitor) ones, whereby a discourse and methodology that meshed with the evidence-based and/or social justice imperatives of the particular disciplinary field/s involved gave them a weight and authority that might effectively confront established practices. They were strategies for negotiating meaning as much as for producing it.

But at the same time, the Plain English framework was out of step with a key element of museum practice: it was an ideology and strategy for accessibility, but it was not concerned with learning and knowledge building. As noted above, Martin (2001b) describes social practices in terms of three domains: the domain of knowledge, the various ways we go about understanding our world; the domain of identity, the various ways we go about understanding ourselves; and the domain of regulation, the various ways in which we, and society, go about controlling what we do. From this perspective, Plain English can be understood as a framework developed within and for the domain of regulation, as a framework for ensuring the public as citizens and consumers could access the information they were entitled to or needed in the conduct of their everyday lives. Museums, on the other hand, while they certainly enact a regulatory role in terms of propagating particular cultural values and behaviours (see for example Stenglin 2009a), are institutions substantively anchored in the domains of knowledge and identity. So while there may have been some synergies in ‘transplanting’ Plain English into these other domains, these were not necessarily enough or always compatible.

In terms of contribution, like the behavioural and cognitive perspectives reviewed above, Plain English made its primary object of focus the message, and generated a series of ‘evidence-based’ arguments and strategies to support those involved in the development, production and evaluation of these texts. For museums, its particular contribution was in elaborating the idea of what accessibility means linguistically, and in linking museum concerns for linguistic accessibility to broader public policy, debate and practice in this regard. But again, the framework offered only a partial view of the

communicative role of the museum in that it was not a strategy concerned with learning, nor with the kinds of texts produced beyond the more pragmatic and regulatory domains of human experience. It was also a strategy that over time became increasingly simplified and decontextualised relative to its original purpose and form (see Eagleson 1983) – reduced, in numerous style and writing guides within the museum field and beyond, to ‘the three golden rules’: short words and sentences, active voice, no jargon (eg, DuBay 2004, 2007; Hackos & Stevens 1997). In other words, while Plain English helped to address certain needs, it ignored or exacerbated others. In terms of staff relations, one such consequence was to fuel a deepening divide between ‘scholarship’ and ‘dumbing down’ and those seen to represent those positions.

2.5. VERBIAGE AS EXPERIENCE & TRANSFORMATION / constructivist & sociocultural perspectives

Reflecting back over the previous decade of research at the Natural History Museum in London, Miles & Tout in 1991 concluded, ‘the initial emphasis was entirely on the subject-matter and the efficient transmission of information, and it was only later that we began to understand and respond to the meaning of a museum visit to the visitor’ (1991: 544).

Their comment, like Hooper-Greenhill’s above (1995: 5), captured the zeitgeist of the time, and by the mid 1990s this evaluation and visitor studies research stream had substantively shifted in orientation from the message to the visitor. Influenced by prevailing constructivist and socio-cultural approaches to learning, previous assumptions around the idea and value of ‘an effective verbal message’ were pushed aside. The critical questions now to address concerned the visitor and their experience within the socially constructed space of the museum: why they come; what they bring in terms of experiences, knowledge, identity, motivations; what they want; how they make meaning; how they learn; what they remember and take away; how they are changed?

In this re-orientation, the basic metric of study similarly shifted. While the meanings *in* museum messages, which had previously been the interest, still remained in many

ways elusive, what mattered now was meaning *as constructed by* the visitor. As argued by Hooper-Greenhill (1999: 10–11), this required a radical reconceptualising of visitor research from a perspective that focused on relatively superficial descriptions of visitor behaviour to one that focused on ‘the deeper meanings and interpretive processes that visitors followed’. It required a more open-ended and in-depth research agenda, for example, one that would draw on sociological and ethnographic approaches and engage in much broader theoretical conversations. It was a kind of opening of the floodgates, where museums increasingly looked to disciplines outside the field ‘to enliven’ themselves with ‘an independence of perspective’ (Kavanagh 1991a: 5). As a more process-driven and multifaceted view of meaning-making was embraced, the search for theoretical and analytical frameworks that could account for this brought a great diversity of approaches. For example, Anderson et al (2002), in their study of children’s learning in museums, draw on a number of social constructivist, socio-cultural, cognitive, aesthetic, motivational and collaborative theoretical perspectives. Hooper-Greenhill, in just two papers (1991, 1999), draws on the hermeneutics of Dilthey (1976) and Gadamer (1976), Stanley Fish’s (1980) literary-theory-based concept of interpretive communities (defined as communities which share common interpretive strategies), a ‘cultural studies’ theory of communication (see Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 16), and on a range of semiotic theorists, including Barthes (1973, 1977), Mounin (1985) and Innis (1985) among others.

Indeed the field of semiotics had attracted the interest of museums around this time; in Hooper-Greenhill’s words, museums were drawn to claims that semiotics could provide a ‘systematic account’ of meanings and messages ‘in all their forms and all their contexts ... of all those factors that enter into semiosis’ (1991: 50, citing Innis 1985: viii). But while semiotic accounts were concerned with exhibition texts as meaning potential, in other words, with the meanings construed or instantiated *in* the texts, museum scholars were concerned with the visitor’s construal of this meaning potential. There was a cross-purpose; semiotics, from the museum perspective, was focused on the wrong ‘metric’. For example, in this critique by Hooper-Greenhill (1991: 51) of a semiotic analysis of a photography exhibition by Barthes (1973: 100–02) her frustration is evident:

In terms of the meaning that is made of the museums and displays, meaning is posited rather than demonstrated ... we don't know how many other people read the exhibition as Barthes did, nor how many other ways of interpreting the exhibition there were, nor even if anyone went. Theoretically the idea is beautifully constructed. Practically it tells us very little (1991: 51-52).

Similarly Kavanagh (1991a: 5) noted that while critical reviews from allied academic disciplines were helpful, they were not enough of themselves: 'cultural analysis and deconstruction of the museum serves well the intellect, but does not necessarily offer useful means of developing more effective, relevant provision'. Museums, argued Kavanagh, wanted theories and methods that would 'both strengthen practice and empower positive, constructive change'.

In short, this was a period of searching and experimentation, and one which generated an enormous and diverse body of literature. Drawing on the work of theorists such as Dewey (1938), Vygotsky (1978), Bruner (1996), Lave & Wenger (1991) and others, the research focused on two main areas: the first on developing and evaluating an expanding range of audience-centred initiatives, including programs, spaces, exhibitions and other resources (eg, Anderson et al 2002); and the second on developing theoretical models to account for museum learning as different in kind from the learning that occurs in classrooms and other formal educational contexts. For example, Silverman (1990, 1995), Leinhardt & Knutson (2004) and Kelly (2007) analysed visitor 'texts' about their museum experience/s (interviews, comments, conversations, drawings) to develop models of how visitors learn but only incidentally if at all the verbal museum texts which formed part of those experiences.

While beyond the remit of this thesis to review this literature, it is worth looking briefly at two of the more influential models of learning developed to this end as they show the tension around the role of language as both central to visitor experience and learning yet 'beyond' or outside their accounts. Both acknowledge the central role played by language in experience and learning, yet offer little in terms of analytical tools to account for its role.

Hein, in his 'constructivist museum' model, notes that 'language and learning are inextricably linked', but specifies little beyond the importance of language that is familiar, layered and well written (1998a: 166). Falk & Dierking, in their 'contextual' model, theorise that the visitor experience and learning are 'the process/product' of interactions across the dimension of time in three overlapping contexts: the personal, the sociocultural and the physical. Learning, they argue, 'can be viewed as the never-ending integration and interaction of these three contexts over time in order to make meaning'. They acknowledge the central role played by language across all three contexts; that language provides 'the basic building blocks of people's structured knowledge ... a basic means through which they organize, interpret and predict their world' (2000: 48), yet it is not their primary concern. Their concern is with the relationship between the visitor's experience and identity, rather than with the semiotic resources that are used to inform and negotiate that experience and identity. So while they acknowledge 'unquestionably' that 'skillfully written scripts and labels matter to the museum visitor', like Hein, they do not elaborate (Falk 2009: 97–98). Indeed, their 'contextual model of learning' (figure 2.1) visualises their research priorities as much as their theory, with the 'personal context' privileged in top ('ideal') and centre (maximum salience) position (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 201), the 'sociocultural context' shown lower right but with its 'time' trajectory elevated above the personal

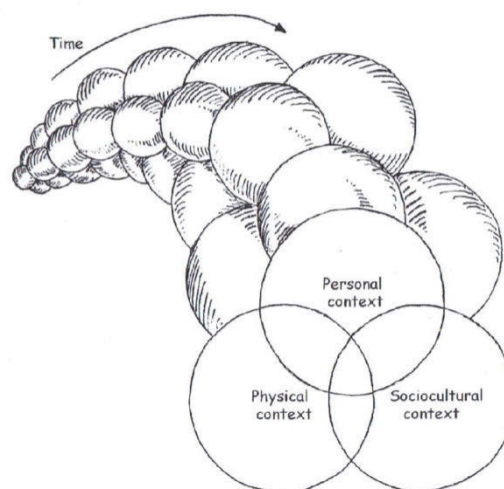


Figure 2.1. Falk & Dierking's 'contextual model of learning' (2000: 12)

context's, and the 'physical context', which includes the physical and semiotic elements of the museum visit/display, subsumed under the other two.

They have contributed to elaborating a range of issues and factors that shape learning in the 'informal' or 'free-choice' context of the museum. They have established theoretical foundations for understanding learning in museums, and have built an extensive literature that documents and evaluates a diverse range of learning programs and resources developed by and for museums. They have recognised language as a central process through which meaning is made and learning occurs. As such, they constantly implicate language, but in locating language outside their core remit, they have no theoretical framework or principles for explaining how and why language and other semiotics mean. One of the recurring principles evidenced in this literature is the centrality of the visitor: that 'visitors must be involved in the research process' (Rennie & Johnston 2004: s8). In reviewing the field, they conclude:

Much early research on learning from museums and nearly all evaluation studies focused on aspects of the physical context, such as the location, the exhibits, and the tools and artefacts intended to aid their interpretation ...

Where the research question concerned exhibit evaluation, this was not usually a serious flaw, but when visitor outcomes were the focus, the flaw could be fatal (Rennie & Johnston 2004: s11).

In other words, the idea of research that did not directly involve visitors is condemned as 'flawed'.

2.6. VERBIAGE AS MEANING POTENTIAL / social semiotic perspectives

Given such views, it is perhaps not surprising that social semiotic perspectives have been slow to gain a foothold in the museum evaluation and visitor studies field. As previewed in chapter 1 (section 1.5), social semiotics is concerned with meaning *in* discourse and other semiotic modes. In other words, the primary object of analysis is text (Ravelli 2006b: 11). Importantly, this meaning is understood as meaning *potential*;

in language, for example, meaning as instantiated in a text represents the text's potential to mean. Put another way, a text represents an affording instance of meaning (Martin & White 2005: 25). How a given reader/listener interprets that meaning potential will depend on a range of factors, including his or her own social subjectivity. Thus, the communicative process involves two meaning-makers (author and visitor) and two meaning-making events (the production of a text and its 'reading' or interpretation by a visitor). Diamantopoulou et al (2012: 13) explain the relationship thus:

There is *representation* on the one hand and *interpretation* (as re-representation) on the other ... [visitors] select and frame aspects of the exhibition; from what has been framed for them (as a prompt for them), they make their interpretations as 'inner' representations ... Meaning is *made* in both processes (emphasis in the original).

Similarly, meaning is made *again* if/when the visitor construes that interpretation as language, image, movement and so forth: these become 'texts', which in turn can be 'interpreted' or read. In social semiotics, this relationship is conceptualised in the hierarchy of instantiation (see figure 2.2 below), which models the relationship between the meaning potential of a given semiotic system, its instantiation in a given text, and its 'reading' by a given reader/listener/viewer.

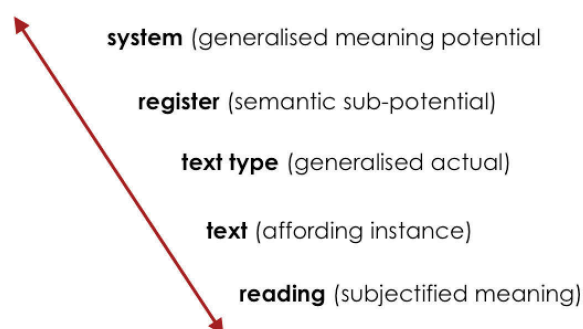


Figure 2.2. The hierarchy of instantiation (after Martin & White 2005: 25)

2.6.1. Social semiotics in & about museums

Focused linguistically

By the early 1990s, the social semiotic ‘systemic functional’ theory of language had been developing as a framework for exploring language in use in a range of social contexts, including within formal educational settings. From early roots within the University of Sydney’s Linguistics Department (see Rose & Martin 2012), the so-called ‘Sydney School’ group¹³ had been using the theory to tease out the differences between everyday language and the languages of particular disciplines in order to develop pedagogies that could enable all students to master the literacy demands they faced in the classroom (genre-based pedagogies). Around this time, too, the theory was being extended to account for meanings in other semiotic modalities (see section 1.5.1).

This combination made the theory a valuable framework relative to the questions at issue around museum meanings and messages, both in terms of representational meanings and in terms of visitor and staff relations. While systemic functional analysis (or any other kind of analysis) could not *directly* answer questions concerning how a given visitor reads or interprets a given text or texts – and did not purport to – what it could do was account for the role played by language and other semiotics in creating a context for meaning exchange with a delicacy not previously used in the museum field (MacLulich 1991: 51). The approach thus offered museum authors a means of understanding and controlling the meanings being made in museum texts in new ways.

From this time, a small number of studies of and in museums were carried out using the systemic functional approach, with a particular research hub at the Australian Museum in Sydney. Here a group within the museum’s Education Department began using SFL to develop a framework for staff authors that aimed to build the knowledge and skills needed to produce consistently accessible texts. The framework introduced a range of concepts new to museum practice and literature, and specific strategies for

¹³ The reference here is to ‘Sydney School’ linguistics, one of a number of ‘schools’ or variations within the systemic functional model; see f/n 15, ch1.

controlling the purpose, structure and meanings in text across the various dimensions and strata of language, from whole text in relationship to its cultural and situational context to individual word. Importantly, this work (Ferguson, MacLulich & Ravelli 1995; MacLulich 1991, 1993; Ravelli 1996) introduced an analytical methodology that could move beyond the 'commonsense' and often misleading understandings of language that were now well established within the museum literature and museum field, for example, that word and sentence length were critical factors in determining the accessibility (or 'understandability') of a text.

Drawing on the Australian Museum project, Ravelli (1996) argued that successful exhibition text required at least two key features: it must work as *text*, that is, it must be coherent and cohesive (after Halliday & Hasan 1976), and it must be 'broadly accessible', which she defined in terms of explaining rather than presuming information and avoiding features typical of 'highly written' (as opposed to 'more spoken') registers. In both regards, Ravelli identified a number of key problems in Australian Museum texts. In terms of 'working as text', the most common issues concerned focus and organisational development: the texts 'jump[ed] around from point to point', making them difficult for readers to follow. Texts frequently lacked advance organisers (for example, hyper- and macro-Themes), while across modalities, there were also problems in terms of focus, where the topic or focus of a text varied from that of the related exhibit. Further consequences of poor textual organisation were issues with connecting ideas or attributes to their referents; these connections were often implicit (presumed) or confused. The second main problem concerned density of meaning, in other words, the amount of meaning packed into a given segment of text. Exhibition texts often retained features typical of the more scholarly and usually written source texts on which they were based, particularly complex nominal groups built up through the process of grammatical metaphor. In gaining more purposeful control of these issues, Ravelli (and also MacLulich 1991, 1993) concluded that control of the linguistic resources of Theme development and grammatical metaphor were critical. In a later study, this time in a contemporary art museum, Ravelli (1998) found these same issues were problems. Both these resources fall within the register variable of mode. Theme concerns the progressive flagging of the

topic or focus of a text as it unfolds, from whole text level to individual clause.

Grammatical metaphor, most commonly as realised in nominalisation, involves the ‘repackaging’ of processes, qualities and causal relations as nouns, and is a key linguistic resource used in the construction of disciplinary and academic discourse (see chapters 5 & 6 for further discussion).

A further aspect and key significance of the Australian Museum project was its focus on the process of text production. Indeed, it was a concern among staff at the lack of ‘productive procedures’ for producing the kinds of ‘accessible’ texts the museum now expected that initially motivated the project (MacLulich 1992, cited in Ravelli 1996: 370). In this regard, one of the major issues the project identified was a lack of metalinguistic awareness and language to facilitate the negotiation and evaluation of texts. In Ravelli’s words:

Staff had no shared metalanguage to discuss texts. They were forced to rely on their personal intuition about language, or on vague memories of traditional school grammar, in order to evaluate different texts (Ravelli 1996: 370).

The project culminated in the publication of a book of ‘linguistically explicit’ guidelines and tools (Ferguson, MacLulich & Ravelli 1995). Soon after, however, the department was restructured and the SFL team disbanded.¹⁴

In sum, including and moving beyond the Australian Museum project, the literature that has used the systemic functional approach to look at verbal texts within a museum context falls into two main groups: studies that analyse and critique individual exhibitions (Purser 2000; White 1994), and those drawing on the theory to propose guidelines for museum authors and editors (eg, Ferguson, MacLulich & Ravelli 1995; Ravelli 1996, 2006b), with some a combination of both (eg, Coxall 1991; Ravelli 1998; Ravelli 2006a). Also, more recently, SFL has been used to assess the quality of translations of museum texts from one language to another (Jiang 2010) .

¹⁴ While several members of the team (notably Ravelli, Stenglin, Dreyfus) have continued researching and publishing within a social semiotic framework, no further SFL-informed research on the language of museum texts has come out of the museum.

Focused multimodally

Through this time, a number of studies have used systemic functional theory to investigate multimodal aspects of meaning-making in museums, and many also to develop theory. Stenglin (2004) drew on shopping centres and museums to develop a grammar of three-dimensional space. Focusing on the interpersonal metafunction, she proposed the resources of *binding*, which theorises how the organisation of 3D-space affects people's feelings of security, and *bonding*, which theorises how the organisation of 3D-space positions people to feel a sense of solidarity or 'belonging' (for further work in this area see also Martin & Stenglin 2007; Ravelli 2000, 2008; Ravelli & Stenglin 2008; Stenglin 2009b, 2009c, 2011). Ravelli (2006a) explored the linguistic conception of genre in the context of museum exhibitions, concluding that genre was a valuable tool for understanding museums as semiotic resources and for museum authors in identifying and controlling the social purpose and staging of exhibition messages. She also found that the immersive, 3D and multimodal structure of museum exhibitions required further development/adaptation of existing SFS conceptions of genre. McMurtrie (2013) used visitor movements through an art museum to theorise movement through space as a meaning-making resource in its own right. He showed how their moving bodies, the museum buildings and interiors and the objects placed within 'make meaning together', concluding that while exhibition spaces may be construed in a particular way, movement is a 'multifunctional transformative semiotic resource that enables visitors to *reorganise*, *renegotiate* and *reconstrue* it' (McMurtrie 2013: iii, emphasis in original). Pang (2001, 2004) used social semiotic analysis to combine a critical and visitor-oriented perspective on a museum exhibition.

Such studies have all made significant contributions to our understanding of how and what museums 'mean' and to the visitor's experience. But as noted by Pang (2004), as the focus has become more multimodal, the role of verbiage has typically been sidelined rather than integrated.¹⁵ In many ways, this is not surprising; in a museum,

¹⁵ Notable exceptions would be Martin & Stenglin (2007), which integrates an analysis of key text panels in their analysis of an exhibition at the Museum of New Zealand; Macken-Horarik (2004), which provides a detailed multimodal account of two works and their associated verbal texts in a student art exhibition; and Hofinger & Ventola (2004), which looks at the interaction of verbiage and image in an art museum.

every thing, every choice made, ‘means’, from material colours and finishes to the spatial volumes, fixtures and fittings, the arrangement of elements, sounds, and so forth. Every study thus needs to draw boundaries around its object of study, and the present study is no exception. Yet the relative inattention paid to verbiage seems mismatched with its semiotic weight: somewhat ironically, in that verbiage was outside the scope of the study, this was vividly captured in McMurtrie’s 2013 study, during which a number of visitors wore microcameras attached to their foreheads to record their ‘first-person point of view’ as they moved through the exhibition galleries. The footage explicitly showed the amount of time and *focused* looking visitors accord label texts. Again, while such external accounts cannot tell us how visitors interpreted these texts, they certainly demonstrate that visitors made the texts a significant part of their encounters with the artworks.

Nonetheless, the value of these studies in explicating issues central to ongoing museum practice and literature begs the question, why have these frameworks had so little impact within the broader museum community? Indeed, this question runs as an underlying theme within and motivation for this thesis. As noted above, one reason may be the sheer dominance of ‘the three [commonsense] golden rules’ (keep sentences short, use the active voice, avoid jargon words). Another may be the very strong view within the museum field that it is the visitor rather than the message that matters, and these studies are not seen to sufficiently foreground the visitor. To reprise Kavanagh’s words, semiotics ‘is not enough in itself’; it ‘serves well the intellect, but does not necessarily offer useful means of developing more effective, relevant provision’ (1991a: 5). While clearly the studies noted above do both, they perhaps have not been perceived that way; from the perspective of the ‘visitor-focused’ research stream, they have perhaps been ‘tarnished’ by seeming too message focused and/or too allied to the critical/curatorial stream.

Summing up the contribution of social semiotic perspectives made from within the museum field, while the reach and impact have been relatively small, the contribution has been significant in a number of ways. Firstly, social semiotic perspectives have brought greater descriptive and analytical power to the project of demonstrating how

verbal and other museum texts mean and what they mean. Secondly, they have progressed understandings of what ‘accessible’ means linguistically. And thirdly, they have introduced a theoretical and methodological framework with the potential to provide an integrated account of meaning-making by and within museums, from the perspectives of the producers and the interpreters.

2.6.2. Social semiotics beyond museums

While social semiotic approaches have to date remained a relatively minor focus and influence within the museum field, it is beyond the museum field where the major applications and theoretical developments have occurred. This is a large, active and rapidly expanding body of work, and while acknowledging this broader context, there are two areas which have a particular relevance to museums and have informed this thesis. The first concerns elaborating the differences between the discourses and knowledges of everyday experience and those specialised to particular disciplinary fields within the context of literacy pedagogies. The second concerns recent theoretical developments in the area of visual and visual-verbal semiosis. These are briefly overviewed here with the purpose of introducing and contextualising a number of concepts that are central to this thesis. Each is further elaborated in the chapters to follow.

Academic literacy pedagogies

One of the driving forces in systemic functional semiotics has been to develop pedagogies which make the distribution of knowledge in schools more equitable (Rose & Martin 2012: 6) – a social justice agenda that mirrors closely the mandate of contemporary museums in less formal educational contexts. Recognising literacy as critical to this endeavour, the central thrust of these pedagogies is that by making explicit the processes and resources of language used to construct the texts needed and valued in particular educational and disciplinary contexts, students from all backgrounds, even the most disadvantaged, can develop the literacy skills essential to those fields of practice. Over three decades, these so called ‘genre-pedagogies’ have consistently demonstrated this to be the case (Rose & Martin 2012). In other words, they have shown that explicit ‘knowledge about language’ (KAL) is a powerful tool for

enabling students from the earliest school years to tertiary levels to improve their literacy skills.

These pedagogies draw on earlier work on pedagogic discourse by sociologist Basil Bernstein (1975, 1977, 1990), which introduced a series of concepts that have remained foundational to them. As previewed in chapter 1 (section 1.5.2), the first concerns relations of *classification* and *framing*, which act to translate relations of power and control into discourse (Bernstein 1977: 11). Relations of power, Bernstein argued, act to create boundaries *between* fields of practice (classification); relations of control act to establish protocols and forms of discourse *within* fields of practice (framing). In the context of pedagogical relationships, classification relations determine, for example, the degree of 'boundary maintenance' between kinds of content knowledge, in other words, around what is seen as legitimate knowledge: weaker classification (power relations) is seen in a weakening or blurring of boundaries; stronger classification in a strengthening or sharpening of boundaries. Framing relations, on the other hand, determine the degree of control over skills and procedures, in other words, over ways of knowing: stronger framing is seen in stronger controls; weaker framing in weaker controls.

A second aspect of Bernstein's work also fundamental to these pedagogies is his account of types of knowledge. He makes a primary distinction between the 'commonsense' knowledge of everyday experience and life and the 'uncommonsense' knowledge of academic and institutional fields (Bernstein 1977, 1999). Systemic linguists have elaborated this distinction in terms of language, drawing on their detailed model of language to identify how these different knowledge structures are realised in language: what are the essential differences *linguistically* between the 'commonsense' discourse of everyday life and experience and the 'uncommonsense' discourses of a range of academic and institutional fields. This in itself is an extensive and ongoing area of research (for overviews of this work, see Christie & Martin 1997; Humphrey et al 2010) but with a unifying purpose of elucidating the linguistic processes and resources involved so that these can be explicitly and systematically taught to students. To date considerable work has been done in the curriculum areas

of science (eg, Halliday & Martin 1993; Hao 2015; Martin & Veel 1998; Rose 1997), English (eg, Humphrey 2013; Macken-Horarik 2012), history (eg, Coffin 1997; Matruglio 2014) and 'academic' language more generally (eg, Christie & Derewianka 2008; Coffin 2006; Coffin & Donohue 2012; Ravelli & Ellis 2004). Very little has been done on the language of art (notable exceptions being Rada 1989; Rothery 2008).

One recent extension of this work concerns the idea of 'presence' (Martin & Matruglio 2013), a metafunctional reworking of the linguistic concept of 'context dependency' (Hasan 1973, Halliday & Hasan 1976, Martin 1992, Cloran 1999). From an SFL perspective, context dependency refers to the degree to which the meanings in a text are anchored in the extra-linguistic context in which the text is located as against within the text itself; in other words, context dependency concerns the degree to which a given text depends on its present context (for example, the classroom, the dinner table) or is independent of it. Looking at this quality of context dependence across the three metafunctions in the discourse of secondary school history and biology, Martin & Matruglio (2013) identified a range of resources that work together to raise or reduce context dependency, which they collectively termed 'presence'. Discourse with strong presence (P+) is significantly anchored in its context of situation, for example, as is typical of spoken discourse and the 'commonsense' discourse of everyday experience and life. Discourse with weak presence (P-) is comparatively independent of its context of situation, for example, as is typical of the 'uncommonsense' written discourses of specialised fields of knowledge. In other words, they identify presence as a critical variable in moving between 'commonsense' and 'uncommonsense' discourse. For students, they argue, gaining control of these resources is critical: 'without control of context independent discourse, they will not be able to access the subject specific knowledge enabled by this discourse in textbooks, handouts or on the web and they will not be able to demonstrate control of this knowledge for assessment purposes' (Martin & Matruglio 2013: np). For museums, these resources are also implicated in understanding the degree to which the meanings in a text are anchored in or move beyond the immediate context of a given display or displayed artefact, and as such, if and how the texts work to build transferrable, cumulative knowledge (see chapter 6). As will be shown in chapter 5, they are also valuable in accounting for intermodal

meanings and relationships, and in particular in accounting for how a given verbal text might ‘motivate’ the visitor to look more closely or deeply at a displayed artefact or other item.

One further foundational concept from this work that is of *metalanguage*: a language for talking about language. Using and teaching language explicitly requires bringing unconscious knowledge about language to consciousness, and doing this requires a language for talking about language which is systematic, consistent, precise and can be shared (Humphrey 2013; Macken-Horarik, Love & Unsworth ; Rose & Martin 2012). The accumulating work of genre pedagogy shows the value of metalanguage as a powerful tool for developing knowledge about and control of the resources of language.

Visual & visual-verbal semiosis

As noted above (section 2.7.1) and in chapter 1 (section 1.5.1), from the early 1990s on systemic functional theory was being extended to account for meaning in semiotic modalities other than language. While the full range of semiotic modalities has relevance to museums – it is hard to imagine a modality that has not been or could not be put to use in a museum – the work on visual communication and on how visual and verbal semiotics work together to make meaning have particular bearing on this study.

In their pioneering work on visual communication, Kress & van Leeuwen, drawing on visual media including photographs, illustrations, maps, diagrams and paintings, and O’Toole, drawing principally on fine art, proposed ‘visual grammars’ that were metafunctionally organised into systems of choices (Kress & van Leeuwen 1990; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; O’Toole 1994). For example, in the ideational metafunction, Kress & van Leeuwen identify an initial ‘choice’ in terms of representational meaning between narrative images, which represent action processes, and conceptual images, which represent the qualities and attributes of participants, for example in terms of class or structure. The critical element in terms of realising this choice is the presence of vectors, defined as oblique lines within and between depicted forms (the tilt of a body, a raised arm, the gaze between two sets of eyes). ‘The hallmark of a “narrative” visual proposition is the presence of a vector; narrative structures always have one, conceptual structures never do’ (2006: 59). For example, in figure 2.3 (left), the

diagonal lines formed by the horse's underbelly create a vector which realises the process of rearing up. In contrast, the image on the right has no vectors. The figure is centred and stable; her stave points straight up; she *has* a stave, she *has* power and authority, but there is no unfolding action. It is thus a conceptual image. Importantly, as stressed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), all images embed an infinite number of attributive processes – the stave is long, the stave is thin, the background is gold, the skin is fair, and so forth. A 'narrative' image simultaneously realises multiple conceptual processes, but the addition of vectors defines it as also narrative.



Figure 2.3. Tarot cards by Bonifacio Bembo, 1440s (NGA cat 7)

As is the convention within systemic functional semiotics, this choice can be represented as a network diagram (figure 2.4 below). In such diagrams, progression from left to right shows further layers of choice within the depicted 'system/s', which specify, or 'commit', meaning potentials with increasing levels of delicacy.

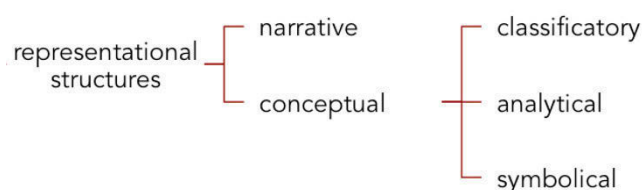


Figure 2.4. Main types of visual representational structure
(from Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 59)

For each of the three metafunctions, O'Toole and Kress & van Leeuwen identify a series of such system networks, which form the architecture of their visual grammars, an architecture derived from and shared with Halliday's conception of language. O'Toole and Kress & van Leeuwen also applied their visual grammars to three-dimensional entities as experienced visually, for example, sculpture, functional objects such as cups and toys, and architecture. Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 240) give the example of the flared tailfins on a 1950s car, their diagonal shapes forming vectors which represent the idea of dynamic motion.

These formative grammars have been elaborated by a range of scholars working within a social semiotic framework,¹⁶ with recent key contributions by Painter, Martin & Unsworth (2013). Also building on these grammars has been the related area of *intermodal semiotics*, concerned with the systematic description of how different modalities interact *together* to make meaning. In this regard, there is a considerable diversity of approaches and accounts even among those carried out within a social semiotic frame. These vary, for example, in terms of perspective (ie, whether the view is framed at the level of lexicogrammar, such as Martinec & Salway 2005, or discourse, such as Royce 2007 or Liu & O'Halloran 2009), and in terms of units of analysis (see Bateman 2014; Liu & O'Halloran 2009; Martin 2011b; Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013; Zhao 2010). At the same time, they share a number of foundational assumptions that are also central to this study. In particular, these include:

- the **metafunctional nature** of semiosis – all semiotic modes make three types of meanings: ideational, interpersonal and textual (although note the terminology differs among accounts)¹⁷
- the **specialisation of affordances** of different semiotic modes – different semiotic resources never afford the same meanings (Kress & van Leeuwen

¹⁶ Since the 1990s, this issue has also been addressed by a range of other disciplines, from graphic design to cognitive psychology, pragmatics and rhetorical structure theory. According to Bateman (2014: 45), 'none has all the answers' but the social semiotic framework arguably represents 'the most widespread general approach to multimodal description worldwide' due to its strength theoretically and analytically.

¹⁷ For example, O'Toole (1994/2011) uses representational, modal and compositional; Royce (2007) uses compositional instead of textual.

1996; Lemke 1998); there are intrinsic and ‘unavoidable’ differences. Kress calls this the ‘functional specialization principle’ (2000, 2003)

- the combination of modalities **produces more** than the sum of the individual modality – Lemke terms this ‘meaning multiplication’ (1998a), Lim (2004), the ‘Space of Integration’; in Bateman’s words, ‘what results is *something more* than either could achieve alone’ (Bateman 2014: 11, emphasis in original); and, in Martin’s words, also something *different*: ‘modes interact synergistically to create meanings that cannot be derived from either mode separately’ (Martin 2010: 18).

Kress speaks of the different ‘logics’ of modes, determined by their particular organisational structures. In language, the organising principle is based on time and sequence. Readers/listeners depend on the unfolding of language in time, ‘the revealing of elements one after the other to make sense of the whole, giving the author a specific power: it is the author’s order that dominates, at least initially’. The logic of space works differently; in the visual mode, ‘all elements are simultaneously present ... even though ... they were placed there in time and even though the viewer traverses the image-elements in time. It is the viewer’s action that orders the simultaneously present elements in relation to his or her interest’ (Kress 2004: 7), albeit guided or directed to various degrees by the qualities of the elements and choices made by the author/designer.

Thus the resources of language are most attuned to representing sequential, temporal and causal relations, to making categorical distinctions, to phasing and aspect (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013). The visual mode, on the other hand, has a particular affinity for representing spatial and proportional relativities, and, as noted above, is endlessly saturated with embedded attributive processes. Yet even in areas where verbal and visual modes are equally ‘well-suited’, for example, in expressing human emotion, they draw on their own distinct affordances and configurations of options to do so in different ways. When put together in a multimodal text, words and images may work together to both amplify and enrich a common meaning or act in

counterpoint to bring new meanings and relations to bear (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 133).

Another foundational principle concerns the idea of intersemiotic cohesion or texture. As argued by Liu and O'Halloran (2009: 367–69), it is not enough for image and verbiage to physically co-exist to form a coherent multimodal text. Specific kinds of relations, which they term intersemiotic cohesive devices, must be present to create 'intersemiotic texture', which in turn is crucial for the 'integration of words and pictures' rather than 'a mere linkage between the two modes'. Developing earlier work by, among others, Halliday & Hasan (1976, 1985), Barthes (1977), Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, 2006), Royce (2007), Martin (1992) and Martin & Rose (2003, 2007), these cohesive devices, they argue, play two key roles: firstly in 'motivating' semantic interaction and negotiation between modes, and secondly, by doing so, in enabling or 'orchestrating' semantic expansion across modes during the ongoing contextualisation of meanings in real time.

The number of scholars working in this area of intermodal relations points to its importance in understanding contemporary communications, while the diversity of approaches even within a social semiotic framework reflects the challenge of developing an integrated account of meaning-making across the rapidly changing landscape of communicative practices and technologies. Some recent approaches, for example by Macken-Horarik (2004) and Painter Martin & Unsworth (2013), have stepped back (or 'up' in terms of abstraction) from discourse-level perspectives such as Liu & O'Halloran's and lexicogrammar-level perspectives such as Martinec & Salway's to look at patterns of converging and diverging relations across the three metafunctions. In the context of image-text relations, Painter, Martin & Unsworth (2013: 156) argue that, 'in this way, rather than applying a limited taxonomy of possible image-verbiage relations to a text, we can do better justice to the way instantiation of meaning from two semiotic systems may "multiply" meaning'.

Given that the visual in conjunction with the verbal are key modalities through which most visitors experience museum collections, these are issues of central concern to museums, and to this thesis. Nonetheless, it is germane at this point to consider the

relevance of a literature primarily based on image-text relations to the exhibitions in this study and to museum displays more generally. Can this literature be interpreted more broadly as applying to ‘visual-verbal’ rather than specifically ‘image-text’ relations? This question implicates two issues. The first issue concerns dimensionality: the literature is principally concerned with images and texts composed and organised on a two-dimensional surface, for example, a page or a screen. In the museum, a label next to a painting on a wall is essentially a two-dimensional composition, but the museum experience overall is more diverse. Can ‘image-text relations’ be assumed to hold visually across three-dimensional space and include spoken texts perceived aurally? The social semiotic view argues that similar organising principles apply across two-dimensional and three-dimensional space (eg, Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006; O’Toole 1994/2011; Ravelli 2000) and particularly within the context of museums (eg, Ravelli 2006a; Martin & Stenglin 2007). Recent studies concerning interactions between presenters and their PowerPoint displays are also useful comparative examples (Hood 2011a, 2014; Nascimento 2012). The second issue concerns the nature of the artefact: can a displayed object be equated with an image, a visual semiotic? In the case of a painting or a photograph, clearly yes, as the artefact *is* an image. Similarly with items such as a ticket, a letter, a document, as these are multimodal texts, visually as well as verbally composed (a multimodal text within a multimodal text). But what about an object such as a musical instrument, a glove, a set of scales, a rock, a taxidermed bilby? Such objects are ‘things’ with a function or purpose in the cultural or natural world; their primary function is not ‘to mean’ but ‘to do’ or ‘to be’. Yet regardless of their previous function, purpose or life, when displayed within a museum they are re-construed as visual semiotics, to be looked at but (mostly) not touched. And this was the case for the two exhibitions included in this study. The visitor perceives them visually. Of course, in the contemporary museum, other modes of interaction may be allowed or actively encouraged. But while recognising the presence of these additional modes, this does not detract from the relevance of this literature to the museum as in the vast majority of museum contexts they are additional to the visual. Thus we can justifiably interpret ‘image-text relations’ as visual-

verbal relations in three-dimensional and multisensory space and usefully apply the research to the museum context.

These issues are taken up in more detail in chapter 5, where, drawing on emerging developments in this area, visual-verbal relations are further theorised to show two very different patterns in the exhibitions included in this study. In summary here, suffice it to say that this active area of research provides a groundswell of possibility for more systematically probing issues that are fundamental to the meaning-making practices of museums and their audiences, and to a range of assumptions that underpin those practices. One such assumption, for example, is the idea that the verbal texts that accompany a displayed object help the visitor to look more deeply or closely at the artefact. It is an assumption that lies at the heart of contemporary museum practice yet one that has been interrogated in only general and superficial ways. Accordingly, it is this question that has been used to frame the analysis of the exhibition texts in chapter 5.

Critical, new & multiliteracy studies

Several related streams of research are briefly acknowledged here in that they bridge sociocultural and social semiotic frameworks. These include ‘new literacy’, critical, artefactual, ecological and/or multiliteracies studies (eg, Janks 2010; Neuman & Celano 2006; Pahl & Rowsell 2012; The New London Group 2000). Like social semiotics, these studies look closely at the meanings *in* texts of various kinds, and view literacy not only as a set of skills to be acquired but as a social practice integral to all aspects of life (Pahl & Rowsell 2006). Some adopt or incorporate a social semiotic frame (eg, Gee 2015; Pahl & Rowsell 2006). However, within the museum context, such studies, like those carried out within a sociocultural frame, have largely focused on meaning-making strategies as enacted by visitors rather than as practised by museum authors (Diamantopoulou 2007; Dudley et al 2012; Kress & Selander 2012; Yasukawa et al 2013). So while this work has enhanced our understanding of visitors and the complexity of ways in which they engage with museum collections, displays, stories, it has not been concerned with contributing specific linguistic insight or strategy for teams developing language-based interpretive resources.

For example, a recent collaboration between the University of London and the universities of Stockholm, Umeå and Halmstad in Sweden has mobilised social semiotic theory in a series of studies that explicitly foreground the visitor (Kress & Selander 2012). To date the project has published a series of studies which focus on visitors' 'agency' as meaning-makers as they experience and interact with displays and digital technologies in museums. These studies 'acknowledge' the potentials and affordances of museum texts in framing the environments and conditions that shape visitor experience, and thus the role of exhibition producers as meaning-makers. However, their focus is on how meanings 'are made and remade by visitors, in constantly transformative processes' (Diamantopoulou et al 2012: 11). For example, Jewitt (2012) investigated a series of digital resources to explore how they afford new pathways for visitors to engage and participate in museum exhibitions, and how visitors 'design' their meaning-making through the selections they take up. Diamantopoulou et al (2012) looked at how visitor pairs in three museums '(re-)design' and map their exhibition experience in relation to a range of museum texts and technologies. The visitor pairs were video and audio recorded within the exhibition, given digital cameras to use as they wished, and asked at the end of the visit to draw a map representing 'their sense of the exhibition' and participate in an interview. The study asked questions about whose 'agency' is foregrounded in the use of the various interpretive resources and details how they are used by visitors to investigate their own interests. The 'various interpretive resources', however, were neither included nor analysed in the studies; 'the message' has again slipped from view.

2.7. VERBIAGE AS KNOWLEDGE / sociological perspectives

A final perspective included in this review comes from legitimation code theory (LCT), a multidimensional sociological framework for exploring knowledge and knowledge practices (Maton 2014b). To date, this framework has had only limited involvement with the museum field (eg, Carvalho 2010, who used LCT to explore the nature of legitimate knowledge within four design-related disciplines and the resulting impact on design learning within a museum setting). Beyond the museum field, however, it has

shown a relevance to the concerns of this thesis, and to museums more generally, in two main ways: firstly, in being able to elaborate the different kinds of knowledge at stake in various social practices and contexts; and secondly, for its ability to bring the principles and beliefs that organise, regulate and reproduce those practices into view. As Maton explains, in bringing together ideas from Bourdieu and Bernstein, LCT highlights that knowledge is ‘a structured and structuring structure ... [but] unless one can state what that structure comprises and how it differs from other possible structures, this view remains intentional rather than operative’ (Maton 2014a: 29, citing Boudon 1971).

Each ‘dimension’ of LCT (currently five) gives a different perspective on such organising principles, and proposes a set of concepts that enable these principles to be systematically described and their effects analysed. This thesis draws on two of these dimensions: Semantics and Specialisation. Some recent work using these dimensions is briefly introduced here to contextualise key concepts used in the chapters to come.

2.7.1. LCT Semantics

As the name suggests, the LCT dimension of Semantics views knowledge practices from the perspective of meaning: condensation of meaning (semantic density, or SD) and context dependency of meaning (semantic gravity, or SG). Semantic density concerns the degree to which meaning is condensed within a given practice, instance or object of study. Semantic gravity concerns the degree to which meaning relates to its context. The particular form these attributes take in any given instance or practice will vary, but both can vary along a continuum of strengths (Maton 2014a). Thus, as practices or ‘texts’ unfold in time, semantic gravity and semantic density can be tracked to form semantic profiles. As a growing number of studies demonstrate, profiles that take the form of waves – in other words, that show a rhythmic variation between more concrete and context dependent meanings, and more abstract and context independent meanings – are vitally important in terms of learning. In Maton’s words: ‘semantic waves are the pulses of cumulative knowledge-building’ (2013: 8).

Recent classroom-based studies have used LCT Semantics, often in collaboration with

SFL, as both an analytical and pedagogical framework. Analytically, semantic waves have been used to analyse classroom discourse and a range of student and other texts within various subject areas, making visible and explicit the means by which particular meanings are packaged in language (eg, Matruglio 2014; Szenes, Tilakaratna & Maton 2015). Pedagogically, semantic waves have been used to help students and teachers bridge the discursive gap in reading and writing between more context-dependent everyday language and the kinds of high-stakes texts valued in particular disciplinary fields (eg, Macnaught et al 2013; Martin 2013; Matruglio, Maton & Martin 2013).

Such work is beginning to push beyond classroom settings to less formal learning contexts, and into other modalities, such as image, music and dance (eg, Carvalho, Dong & Maton 2015; Lambrinos & Maton 2015; Martin (J L) 2015). These developments auger well for the semantic wave's application to the museum field, for example in providing new and complementary perspectives on learning, literacy and knowledge building within and across different programs and modalities. In chapter 6 of this thesis this potential is deployed to investigate notions of 'accessibility' and learning potential in the exhibitions in this study.

2.7.2. LCT Specialisation

The LCT dimension of Specialisation gives a perspective on the underlying beliefs and orientations that regulate and maintain knowledge practices – in other words, that determine what counts as legitimate knowledge and legitimate ways of knowing. As previewed in chapter 1, the key concepts here are epistemic relations and social relations, which integrate Bernstein's earlier conception of relations of power (classification), which act to separate and insulate practices, with relations of control (framing), which act to regulate processes and procedures within practices (Bernstein 2000). LCT understands knowledge practices and claims as always involving both knowledge and knowers, and thus relations to knowledge (epistemic relations, or ER) and relations to knowers (social relations, or SR). Again, the particular form these relations take in any given instance or practice will vary, but both can vary along a continuum of strengths (Maton 2014a). Together, the relative strengths of the two relations give rise to a series of Specialisation codes, which encapsulate the basis of

legitimation and achievement in the particular field, situation or event. Importantly, notes Maton, 'The codes are not ideal types – they conceptualise organising principles rather than gather empirical characteristics' (2014a: 33).

To date, Specialisation has been used to give a below-the-surface view of the regulating principles that drive a range of fields of practice and change within them. For example, Lamont & Maton (2010) used Specialisation to explore the (un)popularity of high school music among students, arguing that a sequence of 'code shifts' from the early school years to the senior years played a significant role. Maton has used Specialisation to examine fragmentation and continuity within a range of disciplinary fields, including cultural studies, economics, linguistics and physics, and more broadly between the humanities, the social sciences and the sciences (see Maton 2014a). He showed that here 'code clashes' were implicated, both within and between these diverse fields. Glenn (2015) used Specialisation to investigate how different participants in the climate change debate construct their views and attitudes, and identified code clashes as one reason why the debate as framed by community and 'think-tank' groups failed to progress.

Claims of clashes, conflict and tensions form a perennial thread through the museum literature, particularly in the context of the development and control of exhibition texts. O'Neill (1991: 30) described relations between the disciplinary subcultures within museums as one of 'mutual incomprehension or even hostility'; Spalding speaks of museums as 'riven with internal disputes' (1991: 165). MacDonald, in her ethnographic account of an exhibition project at London's Science Museum, details what she termed the contested nature of agency and authorship through a log of battles, disputes, anxiety and deep fear, threats and potential threats, retreats, vehement resistance and 'muscling-in' (2002). Whitehead similarly describes the process as 'closely contested' (2012: xii), and Ravelli, as noted in chapter 1, speaks of the 'bloody battles' involved in negotiating exhibition text. Team members in this study speak of a process of struggle and 'hard fights', where 'you choose your battles' (Rad1, Rc5, Rc6). Typically in these accounts, such descriptions are noted rather than interrogated. This thesis aims to add to the explanatory power of such views by

interpreting the process through the lens of LCT Specialisation to uncover the organising principles which motivated team members to make the particular choices they did.

2.8. REFLECTIONS / summary & state of play

This chapter has reviewed research into the communicative role of the museum, with a focus on the role played by verbal texts and viewed from the perspective of key research paradigms that have shaped this research field since its coalescence in the late 1970s. It has taken this approach in order to show the inherited entanglement of values and relations, both internally and externally, that has shaped and continues to shape the literature and practice of museums into the 21st century, particularly around the development and production of museum texts. While the discussion has followed a broadly chronological structure, reflecting the broader shift from modernist to postmodernist and global paradigms, combinations and traces of all these orientations remain in many 21st-century museums (Lindauer 2007: 306).

The review reveals the literature to be one that has been and remains strangely fractured, whereby the representational and communicative roles of museum texts have been segmented in terms of responsibility and research. It reveals a literature that is placing diminishing focus on language and verbal texts at the very time when their presence and prevalence within museums are dramatically increasing as museums expand the range and number of interpretive resources and programs they offer. It reveals a literature without a unifying theoretical framework or common metalanguage for conceptualising and negotiating the meanings and language at stake in museum texts. In Kress & Selander's words (2012: 8), the literature lacks a unifying 'theoretical cement', a 'coherent and plausible theory of communication'. Similarly, while the scope of visitor research has increased in depth and breadth to provide richer and more complex accounts of visitor learning and experience, and of visitors themselves, with relatively few exceptions research into museum texts has remained substantively underpinned by commonsense understandings of language and thus remains limited in its precision and explanatory power. As extensively argued by

scholars and practitioners, both text and visitor need to be accounted for in any useful model of communication (MacDonald 2002). In other words, a visitor-only approach is as inadequate as a text-only one. Far less extensively argued, but also important in such a model of communication, are approaches that account for the role played by museum authors and the values, interests and relations that shape that role.

Finally, this review has shown that while social semiotic approaches have to date had only a relatively isolated impact within the museum field, they have introduced a number of key concepts that have progressed discussions about how texts mean and demonstrated a new kind of explanatory and descriptive power. Particularly in collaboration with LCT, the literature to date points to a productive and valuable potential.

3.

METHODOLOGY

‘It is one of the great paradoxes of semiosis that although language and other semiotic systems continually draw attention to themselves, we overwhelmingly overlook the complexity of their structuration – unless specifically trained to bring it to consciousness’

(Martin 2010: 3)

The central concern of this thesis is to investigate the role played by verbal texts in the visitor’s experience and understanding in museum exhibitions. However, unlike much of the visitor-oriented research carried out in recent decades, the primary objects of study in this research are the texts themselves and the authorial process, rather than the visitor and their accounts of their experience/s. This is not to say that the visitor and their accounts are not important; merely that other elements of the communicative exchange are similarly so. As observed in chapter 1, it is one of the great paradoxes of the contemporary museums and museum practice that the more pervasive and prominent verbal texts have become, the more in research they seem to have been overlooked. While this ‘blindness’ reflects broader shifts to progressive ‘learner focused’ pedagogies, as noted above by Martin, this perhaps also reflects the nature of semiosis; that in looking for meaning we are blind to the structures that construe it. In other words, it is *in* the very nature of semiosis that it creates a need for explicit skills and tools to bring its ‘structuration’ to consciousness before we can understand, evaluate and theorise about it.

This is the primary goal of this research: to bring to consciousness the meaning potential in a range of museum texts. The key approach is through detailed and systematic description and interpretation of, firstly, the texts themselves, and secondly, the practices and orientations that underpin them. A particular focus is on issues of accessibility and knowledge building, as both are fundamental to the mandates and aspirations of contemporary museums. This research endeavour is framed through two primary questions, each with a number of sub-questions:¹

1. What meaning-making work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?

(a). What meanings do verbal texts bring to the exhibition experience; how do they add to the meanings gained from looking alone?

(b). How do verbal texts work to make specialist knowledge and discourses accessible to public audiences; what does accessibility mean linguistically?

(c). In what ways do verbal museum texts contribute to knowledge building?

2. What kinds of orientations to knowledge underlie the development of these texts, and shape the way meaning is made and negotiated during the process?

(a). What kinds of orientations to and around knowledge are evident among the team members involved in developing museum texts?

(b). How are these orientations valued; ie, what knowledge or whose knowledge is considered important and on what basis?

(c). How do these orientations shape the exhibition texts, and in turn the visitor's experience?

This chapter details the research design adopted to explore these questions.

¹Note that the first research question originally included two further sub-questions (1d: How does meaning pattern in language within and across the various interpretive platforms in use; 1e: How does meaning pattern across the various disciplinary fields involved?) but these were largely set aside during the first analytical phase (see section 3.4.1).

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1.1. A qualitative, case study approach

As a research project concerned with the deep description and analysis of text, this study takes a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach draws on a small data set to foreground depth and description over breadth (Miles & Huberman 1994: 1). In terms of discourse analysis, this is particularly valuable in enabling the close analysis of whole texts or significant segments of text, which is vital for understanding not just *what* meanings are made in a given text and context and how, but also, importantly, how those meanings develop progressively through that text and context. For meaning does not contain itself to one moment in time or location in text but it accumulates, transmutes and evolves. In other words, through a close analysis of individual texts we can explore ‘multiple aspects of meaning that are realised dynamically as a web of inter-related lexical and grammatical choices’ as the text unfolds (Hood 2004: 60).

This does not preclude the use of ‘quantitative’ methods within an overall qualitative approach. For example, counting up and comparing instances of certain features is a useful way of showing broader patterns within and between individual texts, and such methods are part of this research design. Nor does this discount the value of quantitative studies of large corpora, which bring complementary but equally valuable insights to the study of meaning and discourse – and surely would in the museum field, although to date corpus linguistics has not ventured there. Unlike qualitative methods, corpus studies generally focus on a small number of relatively discrete linguistic features across a large number of texts (often in the thousands or even millions) and aggregate variables to show distributions and relationships within and among broad categories and populations. The essential difference between the two approaches in many ways involves a trade-off between complexity and generality, but this is itself a generalisation (Hood 2004: 62; see also 59–61 for a useful comparison of the affordances, interdependencies and contributions of the two approaches). Each approach can answer questions and make claims the other cannot, and each has particular implications for practice within the field to which they relate.

In the context of the questions at issue in this study, a second important concern was to explore the process of the developing museum texts, notably the relations and values that motivate team members to make particular choices in language. Other concerns at the outset of the project were to examine the relationships between the different kinds of verbal texts that are typical of exhibitions today (spoken and written; presented in person, on screen or in print) and to explore issues around disciplinarity, both within individual project teams and across different collection/museum types (see 3.2.1 for the rationale around narrowing of the research focus).

These reasons all pointed to the value of a case study approach, where a comprehensive data set including interviews, team documents and final texts of various types from the one exhibition could be gathered and considered together, and then considered again in the context of another project. One of the key strengths of the case study approach is its ability to account for the complexity and authentic context of social phenomena (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013; Yin 2014). In recognising ‘the real life, complex dynamic’ of unfolding interactions, events and relationships in a unique instance and context, ‘case studies can penetrate situations’ and ‘catch the complexity and situatedness of behaviours’ in ways other approaches may not (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013: 289, 129). They also have the capacity to accommodate unanticipated events and uncontrolled variables (Miles & Huberman 1994; Nisbet & Watt 1984) and this became an important consideration in this project.

Originally the study included three case study exhibitions: one from the field of art, one from social history, and one from design/technology. However, due to budget cuts in one of the museums, part-way into the data collection phase the design/technology exhibition was put on indefinite hold, so the research continued with the remaining two. While this has meant that cross-collection disciplinarity has become less of a concern than was originally planned, it has allowed other issues to come more into focus.

The exhibition case study is an established paradigm within the museum literature (eg, Kelly 2007; Leinhardt & Knutson 2004; McManus 2007; Ravelli 1996, 1998, 2006a, 2008; White 1994). However, relatively few have focused on the process of exhibition development (with some exceptions, including Handler & Gable 1997; MacDonald

2002; Tatsi 2012), and fewer still on the particular thread of text development. Few also have looked in detail at the *mix* of verbal texts used in the exhibition (exceptions here include Diamantopoulou et al 2012; Handler & Gable 1997; Meijer & Scott 2009). Thus, independent of any findings, in incorporating these aspects the research design of the current project hopes to make a valuable contribution to the field.

3.1.2. Theoretical foundations

Working with the small data sets typical of the qualitative paradigm, one important strategy for ensuring relevance beyond the particular texts and sites under study is through the relationship with theory. Through theory, individual instances are linked to broader principles and ideas in an iterative process that at once informs the research design, explains the instance and develops theory.

This relationship to theory is also the basis on which the particular instance/s under study can be generalised to others: generalisability rests in the ‘match’ to underlying theory, not to a larger population or universe (Miles & Huberman 1994: 29). Yin (2014: 40) considers this analytic generalisation to be distinct from statistical generalisation, where the individual case represents an instance with the aim of expanding or generalising theory rather than a sample with the intent of generalising to a population.

As outlined in the previous chapters, this thesis draws on two theoretical frameworks: a theory of meaning-making (systemic functional semiotics) and a theory of knowledge practices (legitimation code theory). Key foundations of these frameworks are briefly reiterated here, followed by an outline of the particular dimensions of the theories that underpin the specific analytical tools used in this study. The rationale for using a mixed theoretical framework is said to lie in bringing added explanatory power (Denscombe 2008; Martin & Maton 2016; Maton & Doran 2016 in press) but it also introduces a number of issues philosophically and methodologically. These are discussed in the final segment of this section.

Systemic functional semiotics

Developed initially as a theory of language, systemic functional theory is a socially oriented model of meaning making, concerned with modelling language in authentic social contexts (Halliday 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin 1992 and others). As a theory of language it is both powerful and delicate; delicate in its ability to account for the 'micro' aspects of grammar, to show how even the smallest differences in wordings can shift meaning, and powerful in its ability to relate such 'micro' aspects of grammar to the 'macro' levels of discourse and social context (Tann 2010: 47). Like language itself, the theory is expansive, complex and continues to evolve. While this contributes to its power and relevance, it can make it a challenging theory to work with.

As outlined briefly in chapter 1, the theory in terms of language (SFL) rests on a number of foundational assumptions, including:

- **language as constitutive:** language actively constructs meaning, it does not simply convey pre-existing meaning
- **language as multifunctional:** every instance of language in context functions to construe three types of meanings: ideational meanings (propositional meanings or subject matter), interpersonal meanings (meanings which convey attitudes and construe relationships) and textual meanings (meanings which organise a text as a coherent message) / (see figure 1.2)
- **language as a system of choices:** language as a meaning-making resource is structured as a system of choices. Any instance of language (ie, a text) results from choosing particular options within the system
- **meaning as valeur:** meaning is not 'inherent' in a text (or sign); rather it arises from the relationship of difference (valeur) between signs.

Instantiation / system to instance:

This relationship of system to instance is not only central to the SFL understanding of text but is also important in demonstrating the value of the detailed study of a small number of texts to a generalised understanding of how language works in particular contexts (Hood 2004: 63). To use Halliday's oft-cited analogy of system to climate and text to weather:

Climate and weather are not two different things; they are the same thing that we call weather when we are looking at it close up and climate when we are looking at it from distance. The weather goes on around us all the time; it is the actual instances of temperature and precipitation and air movement that you can see and hear and feel. The climate is the potential that lies behind all these things; it is the weather seen from a distance by an observer standing some way off in time. So of course there is a continuum from one to the other. (Halliday 1991/2007: 276)

As Halliday describes it, in SFL the system-text relationship is typically modelled as a hierarchy. This so called ‘hierarchy of instantiation’ includes a number of intermediate stages, or patterns (see figure 3.1 below). It has also become a valuable theoretical and analytical tool in recent work in multimodal semiotics, and in this regard in particular it is drawn upon in this research (see chapter 5).

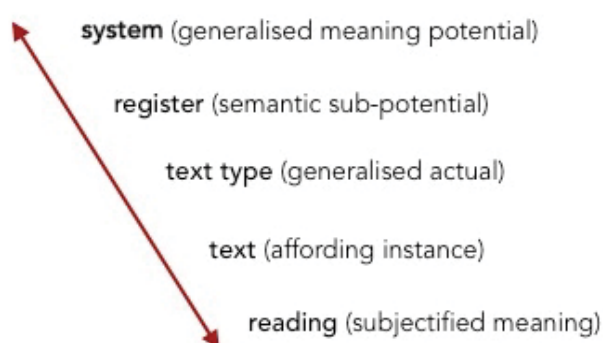


Figure 3.1. **The hierarchy of instantiation** (after Martin & White 2005: 25)






Methodologically, this relationship means that, from an SFL perspective, there is always a dual focus on any text: a focus on the selection/s made but against the background of those available in the system. In other words, the description of any text ‘attends to the particular meaning choices instantiated in the text with an awareness of the other possibilities available’ (Painter et al 2013: 9).

The function/stratum ‘toolkit’:

SFL conceptualises language as a series of hierarchies and complementarities. This ‘architecture’ forms the *resources* of language in use and the *tools* of language under

analysis. Martin (2009: 255–56) speaks of five hierarchies and four complementarities. The hierarchies, in addition to instantiation as mentioned above, include delicacy, rank, realisation and individuation; the complementarities, in addition to metafunction also mentioned above, include genesis, modality and axis (see table 3.1).

Table 3.1. The hierarchies and complementarities of language
(after Martin 2009: 255–56)

Hierarchies		Complementarities	
Description	Dimensions	Description	Elements
Delicacy a hierarchy of <u>classification</u>	general  specific	Genesis	logogenesis, ontogenesis, phylogenesis
Rank a hierarchy of <u>composition</u>	whole  part	Modality	visual, verbal, gesture etc
Realisation a hierarchy of <u>abstraction</u>	abstract  concrete	Metafunction	ideational, interpersonal, textual
Instantiation a hierarchy of <u>generality</u>	system  instance	Axis	system, structure
Individuation a hierarchy of <u>affiliation</u> and <u>allocation</u>	reservoir  repertoire		

Depending on the questions and texts at issue, the hierarchies and complementarities, individually or in various combinations, provide a framework for analysing the meaning-making potential encoded in the text/s. For the analysis of individual texts of the kind included in this study, the combination of realisation (hierarchy) and metafunction (complementarity) provides a methodology or ‘toolkit’ that enables the analysis of text from an initial exploration to increasing degrees of focus and detail but always in the context of the whole, and of language as it interacts with other semiotic modes. In Martin’s words, it’s a process of ‘hopping back and forth’ between ideational,

interpersonal and textual meanings, and of ‘bobbing up and down’ to different levels of abstraction (Martin 2009: 256). His ‘function/stratum’ matrix (see table 3.2 below) has served as a key organising framework in this study.

Table 3.2. The ‘function/stratum’ matrix or ‘toolkit’ (after Martin 2009: 257)

Metafunction Stratum	Ideational	Interpersonal	Textual
genre (Martin & Rose 2008)	orbital / serial structure	prosodic structure	periodic structure
register (Martin 1992)	field: activity sequences, participant taxonomies	tenor: power, solidarity	mode: action, reflection, monologue, dialogue
discourse semantics (Martin & Rose 2003/2007)	ideation, external conjunction	appraisal, negotiation	
lexicogrammar verbiage: Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 image: Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006	transitivity, nominal group classification, description, enumeration	mood, modality, polarity, comment, vocation, nominal group, attitude, person	Theme & information, tense & deixis, ellipsis & substitution
graphology/phonology Halliday & Greaves 2007	tone sequence	formatting, emoticons, colour, tone, voice quality, phonaesthesia	punctuation, layout, tonality, tonicity

In this study, the analysis has ‘hopped’ back and forth across the three metafunctions, but with a focus on the ideational strand, and has ‘bobbed’ up and down between genre and lexicogrammar, with a focus at the level of discourse semantics.

Coupling and commitment:

As language unfolds in context, the hierarchies and complementarities are simultaneously deployed. The process is dynamic and multidimensional, and to capture this interactive co-patterning of resources and meanings, two further concepts from systemic functional theory are used. The first, termed ‘coupling’, refers to the way meanings from different systems/strata/metafunctions combine in the process of instantiation (Martin 2011b: 252). As choices within different systems are ‘woven

together', they create *synergies* which can converge to amplify meaning or diverge to create various tensions, dissonances or ambiguities. For example, the coupling of 'provenance' (ideational meaning) with the negative value 'I hate' (interpersonal meaning) gives 'provenance' a negative charge that carries through the message. The second concept, 'commitment', concerns the *degree of specificity* of meaning potential in any given instance; in terms of the choices available (ie, system network/s), how many options are taken up (Martin 2010: 20). For example, 'a corrugated iron and timber structure' commits more meaning than does 'a structure'; 'a bright red lac pigment' commits more meaning than does 'a red pigment'.

Again in emerging research (including in particular de Souza 2013; Hood 2008; Martin 2006; Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013) these concepts are bringing fresh insights not only to our understanding of the way individual verbal texts make meaning but equally to our understanding of how meanings arise intertextually and multimodally. In this study, they have been used to help bring into view the nature and relative contributions in terms of meaning brought to the experience of a displayed artefact by verbiage and artefact itself.

Intermodality:

The discussion above has focused on systemic functional theory as a theory of language, but as also noted above, since the mid 1990s it has proved similarly productive as a framework for exploring semiosis within and across a growing range of modalities. While this remains a fluid field of research and practice with many theoretical and methodological challenges, it continues to bring valuable analytical tools and theoretical concepts to the task of developing an integrated account of semiosis. Bateman (2014: 45) argues that the framework represents 'the most widespread general approach to multimodal description worldwide' due to its strength theoretically and analytically. In the context of this project, and museums more generally, the theory's potential to enable a holistic account of the meaning potentials realised through the mix of modalities in use at both macro and micro levels is an enormous strength, and a key rationale for its place in this research design.

Legitimation code theory

The second theoretical framework used in this research is legitimation code theory (LCT), a theory of knowledge and knowledge practices. Like systemic functional theory, it is an expansive, multidimensional and evolving theory, with a rich and powerful conceptual and analytical ‘toolkit’. Its complementary focus on knowledge practices, in particular on the underlying principles that organise, shape and regulate these practices, brings added explanatory resources to the task of interpreting both the interview and exhibition texts in this study.

As previewed in chapter 1, the analysis draws on two dimensions of LCT: Specialisation and Semantics. To briefly recap:

LCT Specialisation:

The LCT dimension of Specialisation offers a framework that theorises the organising principles which structure, legitimise and maintain knowledge practices. Building on Bernstein’s work, these principles concern, firstly, relations of power, which act to insulate fields of practice by creating boundaries around them (classification relations), and secondly, relations of control, which act to regulate protocols and procedures within fields of practice (framing relations). These relations in turn act to regulate relations oriented towards objects of knowledge (epistemic relations, or ER) and relations towards the social actors involved in knowledge practices (social relations, or SR; see figure 1.3).

In other words, ER and SR can be described in terms of their relative strength of power (classification) and control (framing) relations. Strong classification and framing of ER means strong insulation and control of knowledge. In educational contexts for example, strong ER is evidenced in pedagogies that emphasise subject knowledge as distinct and everyday knowledge. Subject knowledge is seen to lie outside the student’s everyday experience, but can be taught through explicitly paced, framed and sequenced processes (in Bernstein’s terms, instructive or visible pedagogy; see Bernstein 1997: 116–45). Strong classification and framing of SR, in contrast, emphasise the dispositions, preferences and characteristics of social actors involved as the basis of achievement. In educational contexts, for example, strong SR

emphasises the internal competencies of students. Teachers see their role more as facilitators, whose responsibility is to providing a context that encourages learner engagement so they can make their own decisions about how to learn and create their own individualised knowledge (Chen 2010: 222). The pedagogy is less visible and more constructivist.

The relative strength of classification and framing of ER and SR gives rise to four principal 'specialisation codes' (see chapter 4, figure 4.1). Specialisation provides a means of answering questions such as 'what is the basis of achievement here?', 'what counts as valued and legitimate?'. In this study, the Specialisation plane has been used as a framework to account for and reveal the underlying orientations that have motivated the two project teams to make particular choices in language (chapter 4). It is also used to show how, in turn, these choices shape the visitor's communicative and pedagogical experience within the completed exhibitions (chapter 6).

LCT Semantics:

LCT Semantics concerns the semantic properties of knowledge practices. It theorises two key properties as semantic gravity and semantic density. Semantic gravity (SG) refers to the degree to which meaning is dependent on its context. When semantic gravity is stronger (SG+), meaning is more strongly anchored in a particular context (ie, it is more concrete); when semantic gravity is weaker (SG-), meaning is less dependent on context (ie, more abstract). Semantic density (SD), on the other hand, refers to the degree to which meaning is condensed, for example, within a particular term, expression, symbol or even gesture. When semantic density is stronger (SD+) more meaning is packed up in a given symbol or symbols; where semantic density is weaker (SD-), meaning is less compressed (Maton 2011b: 66).

Over the course of a given linguistic event, the relative strength of semantic gravity and semantic density can vary, in unison or independently. Thus, by ascribing a relative strength or value to the presence of semantic gravity and semantic density at a given moment in time or position within a text, the theory provides for a means of profiling the semantic values of a text. For example, if the values remain constant, a text will unfold as a flat line or series of flat lines; if the values move up and down – in other

words, if the text varies in its degree of gravity and/or density of meaning – it will unfold as a series of waves (see figure 1.4). Critically, the theory argues, this patterning of movement along these semantic (SG/SD) dimensions is crucial to knowledge-building and learning (Maton 2011b: 66). Learning is enhanced when a text unfolds in waves, when there is a progressive or rhythmic packing and unpacking of meaning. This, for example, might take the form of introducing a more abstract or technical concept, explaining that in more everyday language and/or giving specific examples, then using that concept as part of a new sequence of meaning. Conversely, texts that maintain a constant semantic profile (flatlines) are less effective at encouraging learning. These may occur as ‘baselines’, where meaning is heavily anchored in a particular context and has relatively little density (SG+/ SD-). As a result, the text may be easy to understand but doesn’t help develop the knowledge and linguistic resources to enable the reader to engage with higher-level texts. Or they may occur as ‘highlines’, with high level of abstraction and compression of meaning (SG-/SD+) that may be impenetrable to readers who do not already have a significant level of competence in that field.

In recent years, LCT Semantics has proved a powerful analytical and pedagogical tool in exploring disciplinarity and literacy. In the context of this research, LCT Semantics is used in chapter 6 to explore issues around the accessibility and knowledge-building potential of museum texts.

3.1.3. From theory to data / an external language of description

Bernstein (2000: 209) describes the relationship between theory and data as a ‘discursive gap’; a gap, on the one hand, between an ‘internal language of description’ that articulates theoretical concepts and relations, and an ‘external language of description’ through which theoretical concepts engage with the specific objects of study in a given context.

Maton & Chen (2016: 27) refer to this discursive gap between theory and data in qualitative research as a ‘moment of crisis’ for many researchers:

Too frequently they find their chosen theory lends itself neither to enactment in substantive research nor to engagement with empirical findings. They sense a gap between their theory and data but lack the means of translating between them.

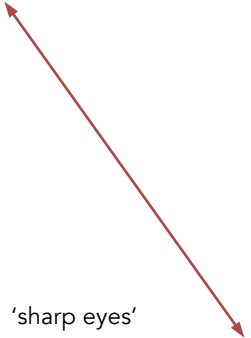
This is especially the case with a theory such as LCT, which is at once young and rapidly evolving, and disparate in terms of the contexts in which it is being deployed. It is a theory that speaks to a diverse range of social fields and practices, and so concepts are often realised differently across this mix. In terms of LCT Specialisation, for example, while the concepts of epistemic relations (ER) and social relations (SR) always refer to relations to knowledge and knowers respectively, the relations can take very different empirical forms: how we ‘see’ ER and/or SR being enacted in jazz music, ballet, classroom discourse – and museum exhibitions – is very different. In terms of LCT Semantics, for example, the empirical forms taken by semantic gravity (SG) and semantic density (SD) in a ballet performance or an image are likewise enormously different. Elaborating these different empirical forms has been a particular focus of LCT research in recent years (Maton & Doran 2016 in press; Maton, Doran & Gill 2015). SFL on the other hand, as a relatively mature theory of meaning, has to date developed a highly elaborated external language for the description and analysis of linguistic meaning. While this does not mean that the theory is not still evolving, for the purposes of this study, the description and analysis of the exhibition texts will draw on the tools of SFL. It will then interpret the texts in two layers: firstly in relation to SFL theory, and secondly in relation to LCT Semantics (see chapter 6).

For the analysis of the interviews, the present study draws on the methodology used by Chen (2010) to develop a ‘translation device’ that related the theoretical concepts of epistemic relations and social relations to the data in her study of online learning environments. As Maton & Chen (2016: 33) note, the idea of a translation device is not about imposing ‘pre-existing categories from a theory’s internal language’ onto data. It relies on a process of immersion in the data, with an iterative shuffle back and forth between theory and data through which the specific, empirical and context-dependent meanings in data are incrementally brought closer to the generalised, abstract and context-independent meanings of theory.

Chen developed her external language of description through four main stages. The first stage involved an immersion in theory – like this researcher, Chen did not have previous knowledge of the theory, but rather came to LCT to address questions left unanswered by other theories. The second stage involved an immersion in her data, in which she deliberately put aside theory to understand the data ‘on its own terms’, resisting the urge to ‘smother’ the data by imposing concepts before the data has had a chance to speak’ (Maton & Chen 2016: 38). Following Bernstein’s advice, ‘the first step’ in developing an external language of description ‘is to ignore the theory and model’ (Bernstein 2000: 137–38). She thus coded the raw data using simple empirical descriptions, establishing a series of basic categories to organise the data.

The third stage involved reworking these ‘empirical’ or ‘descriptive’ categories by organising them relative to research questions and theoretical frameworks, bringing together ‘thick descriptions’ in a way that articulates more closely with theory. From this vantage point, the fourth and final stage involved specifically probing each theme/category to determine what form particular theoretical concepts take in this particular data set; in other words, establishing an external language of description. Relative to specialisation codes, the specific questions asked were (1) what form do epistemic relations and social relations take *here*, and (2) what form do stronger and weaker social and epistemic relations take here? As described by Maton and also Hood (2013), the process is one of sharpening the focus, from ‘soft eyes’ to ‘sharp’ eyes.

Table 3.3. **Developing an external language of description: four analytical stages** (after Chen 2010: 84–85)

Analytical gaze	Analytical phase
 <p>‘soft eyes’</p>	1. Immersion in theory
	2. Descriptive (or empirical) coding – describing, letting the data ‘breathe’
	3. Organisational coding – organising and categorising data relative to research questions and theoretical frameworks
	4. Analytical coding – applying/operationalising theoretical frameworks by developing an external language of description
‘sharp eyes’	

3.1.4. Mixed framework / theoretical & methodological challenges

While a mixed theory approach offers the possibility of greater explanatory power and theoretical innovation, there are also pitfalls. The most obvious perhaps is complexity, and this is certainly an issue in terms of the pairing of SFL and LCT. Both theories are enormous in their embrace and complex in their conceptual underpinning. In the case of SFL, some critics have argued that the complexity and technicality of the theory limit its value and usefulness beyond the highly specialised field of linguistics (O'Regan 2006: 2) and a similar argument could be put for LCT. However, a recent flourishing of dual-theory projects suggests otherwise, to the extent that Maton & Doran (2016 in press) speak of 'a generation of scholars who are theoretically "bilingual"'.

For mixed theory research to be successful, Greene (2008: 8–10) describes four domains that should be considered:

- **philosophical foundations** – assumptions about ontology, the nature of the world, and epistemology, how we understand and research the world, the warrants we use etc
- **inquiry logics** – eg, purposes and research questions, design, methodologies of research, sampling, data collection, analysis, reporting etc
- **guidelines for practice** – how to mix methods in empirical research and in the study of phenomena
- **sociopolitical commitment** – what and whose interests, purposes and political stances are being served.

By these criteria, the two theories could be described as compatibly complementary. Drawing on the work of a range of theorists, including Hasan (2005), Christie & Martin (2007) and Martin (2011a), Maton & Doran describe the foundations and politics of both theories as '*realist, relational and risk-taking*' (2016 in press, emphasis in original) – realist in moving beyond empirical features to explore underlying organising principles; relational in their stratified conceptual architecture that uses typologies and topologies to highlight the multilayered nature of social reality; and risk-taking in their close engagement with real-world problem situations, particularly in terms of social

justice through access to knowledge and literacy. Collaborations to date, they suggest, have enabled each theory 'to reflect on its own object of study in fresh ways, to think sociologically about linguistics and linguistically about sociology. One trap, however, is the potential for the object of study of each theory to be reduced to that of the other: knowledge practices to linguistic practices or vice versa'. Another concerns the 'unclear blending of theory', where concepts and terminology are conflated or intermixed: one can never be in both theories at the same time. For this reason, this study makes clear the theoretical perspective being taken during each part of the analysis, and where an analysis made within one theory is re-interpreted back through the other.

3.2. RESEARCH SITES

3.2.1. Selection criteria & process

As noted above, one of the central concerns of this thesis is to investigate the impact of disciplinary relations and fields on the development of exhibition texts, both within individual institutions and exhibition teams and across the various types of museum. In this regard, the process echoes the 'textographic' approach termed by Swales (1998a,b) as a highly contextualised approach to the study of texts, a kind of ethnography based on discourse-related activities of disciplines and institutions.

This required, firstly, selecting an exhibition project from a museum large enough to have multidisciplinary project teams. Secondly, it required including at least two research sites. While a single 'case study' would have been more than adequate in terms of providing sufficient data for a project of this scale, a multiple case study approach was used so such interdisciplinary insights could be gained, to strengthen the research design (Yin 2014), and so as not to limit the relevance of the research to only one type of museum. On a more pragmatic level, institutions were also considered in terms of their location within or physical proximity to Sydney in order to contain the time and cost involved in data collection. Key selection criteria for inclusion in the project are summarised in table 3.1.

Table 3.4. Checklist of selection criteria

Selection criteria	Reason
type of museum (ie, collection area/s)	a mix required to enable cross-collection interdisciplinary insights to be gained
size of museum / use of multi-disciplinary exhibition teams	to enable intra-team interdisciplinary insights to be gained
programming of a temporary exhibition within the 2012 calendar year	timely data collection and progress of the research
programming of a temporary exhibition of a scale that would include a mix of interpretive texts	to enable comparison of meanings across platforms and modes
ability/willingness of the museum to supply the proposed data set, including 'behind the scenes' elements such as working drafts of exhibition text, project documents, interviews with team members and visitors	to give access to participants' perspectives of the process and tracking of changes and negotiations through the text development process
proximity to the Sydney area	cost and ease of data collection
sites where the researcher did not have a recent pre-existing working relationship with team members	to minimise the impact of the researcher's views and practices on interviewees

Based on the above criteria, a list of museums and galleries within the Sydney region and eastern states of Australia was compiled and information on the project was emailed to the assistant director/head curator responsible for exhibition projects. While interest in the research and taking part in it were high, the project was problematic for museums in two ways. Firstly, in terms of timing: at the time, several of the most likely candidates were undergoing major physical and/or organisational redevelopment, significantly reducing the number of exhibitions being developed and staged in the year ahead.² The second difficulty concerned the willingness and/or logistical impact of 'opening up' the text development process for analysis. This was a difficult criterion for institutions to accommodate, in part because of time constraints and workloads of the staff involved, confidentiality issues around shows in development, and the organic nature of the process, where much of the negotiation often occurs in unstructured, unprogrammed meetings and impromptu conversations.

² At this time, the Powerhouse Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Art were undergoing major building renovations, the Historic Houses Trust of NSW was part way through a major staffing restructure, the Art Gallery of NSW is in a state of transition with a change of director imminent.

Nonetheless, three museums agreed to take part: the Powerhouse Museum, with a design/technology exhibition on Apple computers, the National Gallery of Australia with an exhibition of Italian Renaissance art from the collection of Academia Carrara in Bergamo, and the Historic Houses Trust of NSW, with an exhibition on the history of Sydney Stadium. All were accepted, even though not all met the original selection criteria. The *Renaissance* exhibition was already completed and open to the public, so it was no longer possible to track its development in real time. However, various drafts of key texts were still available, as were key members of the project team. The desired data set could thus be gathered, even though somewhat ‘forensically’ rather than as the project unfolded as originally proposed. Meanwhile, the Sydney Stadium exhibition, titled *The Wild Ones*, was revealed to have a ‘non-curator’ in the curatorial role. At first, this seemed problematic in terms of its potential to muddy intentions around exploring disciplinary roles. But it ultimately proved an advantage, triggering a range of different perspectives on the curatorial role that contributed significantly to the analysis. Also on *The Wild Ones* project, part way into the data collection process, a number of the proposed interpretive resources were dropped, most notably an exhibition microsite on the Trust’s website. This significantly reduced the mix of modalities and text types included in the study, but, while disappointing, was not considered sufficient to compromise the overall value of the exhibition to the research. Of the three, the Apple exhibition was the only one to meet all the original selection criteria, but soon into its development the exhibition was put on indefinite hold, leaving no choice other than to drop it from the study.

The research thus continued with two case study exhibitions, neither neatly meeting all the selection criteria but each nonetheless providing a rich corpus of data. As often seems the case in research, particularly in qualitative research, things do not always go to plan (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013: 117) but equally, the unexpected and undesired can lead as often to new directions and insights as to problems and dead ends (Miles & Huberman 1994: 1). According to Maxwell (2013: 5–6), the key to a successful project is adopting a research design that is iterative and recursive, where the design both shapes and can be shaped by the interplay of elements as the research unfolds. This was the case in this research.

3.2.2. Introducing site 1 / The Wild Ones at MoS

The first exhibition included in this study is *The Wild Ones: Sydney Stadium 1908-1970*. Held at the Museum of Sydney from September 2012 to March 2013, the exhibition told the story of Sydney Stadium, originally built in 1908 as a temporary venue for boxing but lasting to become the city's major entertainment venue until it was demolished in 1976 to make way for the Eastern Suburbs railway line. Over its six-month run, the exhibition attracted a total of 36,870 visitors (Historic Houses Trust of NSW 2013: 14).

The Museum of Sydney is a modern museum building built over and around the archaeological remains of the first Government House in central Sydney, begun by Governor Arthur Phillip in the first months after the colony of New South Wales was established in 1788 and used as the governor's residence until 1845. The museum, one of a group of museums and historic sites administered by the Historic Houses Trust of NSW (since renamed Sydney Living Museums), contains a series of permanent and temporary exhibitions which aim to 'interpret the history of this symbolic site' and tell 'ongoing stories of Sydney' (museum brochure). There is a general admission charge to enter the museum (\$10 for adults, \$5 for children and concessions), but no additional charge was made for *The Wild Ones* exhibition.

The exhibition was located in one of two temporary exhibition spaces on the top level of the museum. Contained within a single room, long and thin (27x5.5m) with a floor area of just under 150 square metres, the exhibition included over 300 objects arranged within seven thematic areas. The organising structure was both chronological and thematic, with the history of the stadium presented through a series of stages that paired with different entertainment forms (boxing, the big shows, rock 'n' roll, wrestling, roller derby, Shintaro). Visitors could enter and/or exit the exhibition through either of the two doorways, although only one presented the introductory panels, marking it as the main entry and the beginning of a preferred circulation path. Once inside the gallery, however, the exhibition was fully visible; from any point, the visitor could scan the room to gain an orienting overview of the show (see figure 3.1). Each thematic area was defined spatially, although numbered text panels did the major work of signalling the thematic organisation and structuring the exhibition's storyline.



Figure 3.2. The Wild Ones exhibition floorplan

The Wild Ones team

At the Trust, the (then) usual process for developing an exhibition is that once the project has been approved and scheduled, a project manager is appointed to bring together a project team, and to bring in other departments and people as and when required. For this exhibition, as would be the case for other exhibitions of this scale, the core team comprised a project manager and assistant, curator, loans registrar, editor, 3D (exhibition) designer and 2D (graphic) designer. Typically, the core team also would include an educator, but for this exhibition the Education department was not involved as the subject matter was not considered to have sufficient curriculum relevance to warrant the investment of resources.

Within this exhibition team, a smaller group responsible for shaping the storyline and interpretive content/texts generally comprises the curator, project manager and editor, and this was the case for this exhibition. For this exhibition, the texts were very much developed through a collaborative process: while the curator was the principal author and content specialist, the project manager and editor played significant and ongoing roles in structuring and culling content and in shaping the language and expression used. A number of other team and staff members, particularly the designer, graphic designer and head of interpretation, were also closely involved.

Ten members of the interpretive group were interviewed for this project (see chapter 4, table 4.1 for a listing and description of their roles).

The Wild Ones texts

The primary verbal text produced for this exhibition was the exhibition labels. Drafted and refined over many months (the writing process began formally around nine months before scheduled opening, and the texts were being worked on for several months before that), the label texts were developed together with the design, as much determining the object selection and arrangement as reflecting them. The exhibition also included a 20-minute film based on oral history interviews with a number of former stadium performers, promoters and audience members recorded as part of the project. A dedicated micro-site on the Trust's website was also planned but this was shelved due to resourcing issues. A small number of other texts were produced, for

example an article in the members' magazine, but these were more promotional than interpretive in intent. A modest schedule of public programs was presented, including several curator floor talks. Highlight tours of the museum led by public programs staff or volunteers included a brief introduction to the exhibition but did not take visitors through it. Table 3.5 lists the texts collected for this study.

Table 3.5. The Wild Ones texts collected

text	format	author/s	distribution
Exhibition labels (themes, subthemes, object texts)	print; wall and plinth text/graphic panels	Curator with project manager and editor	Intrinsic to exhibition; available to all (English reading) visitors
Film (series of oral history interviews with former stadium performers, promoters and audience members)	video; large screen	Curator with external producer	shown within exhibition
Curator floor talk	spoken; prepared but spontaneously delivered, c1hour duration	curator	presented at several advertised times, and at other times by arrangement
Highlight tour	spoken; prepared but spontaneously delivered, c1hour duration but only c2 minutes on this exhibition		
Insites (members magazine) article	print; c1000 word article, illustrated in members magazine	curator	mailed out to members; available at Trust reception area

3.2.3. Introducing site 2 / Renaissance at the NGA

The Renaissance: 15th and 16th century Italian paintings from the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo opened at the National Gallery of Australia as its summer 'blockbuster' in December 2011 and remained on display until April 2012. Heavily promoted as the first exhibition in Australia devoted entirely to Renaissance art, the exhibition attracted a record attendance of almost 213,000 visitors – the gallery's second highest attendance figure in over a decade (National Gallery of Australia

2012a: 13). Admission charges were \$25 for adults, \$16 for concessions and \$6 for children.

The exhibition presented 70 Italian Renaissance works from the collection of the Academia Carrara,³ a private academy established in the northern Italian city of Bergamo through the bequest of a wealthy collector and patron, Count Giacomina Carrara, in the late 18th century. Covering a total area of 1026 square metres, the exhibition spread over six main rooms, with a smaller introductory area and a separate 'Family Activity Room'. The exhibition followed a roughly chronological storyline, beginning with the transition from the preceding Gothic period and continuing through to the Late Renaissance. The structure was marked out room-by-room, with two 'thematic' rooms – one themed by subject matter ('The Madonna & Child') and the other by place ('The Renaissance in Northern Italy') – punctuating the otherwise chronological flow. As the floorplan (figure 3.1) indicates, there were clear and separate entry and exit points, and a well-defined and unidirectional pathway through the exhibition. Visitors were, however, able to re-enter the exhibition through the exit and move backwards and forwards through the rooms as they desired or as the crowds permitted.

The Renaissance team

The development and staging of the Renaissance exhibition involved people from all gallery departments, with at least 20 people involved in the development of language-based interpretive resources. Among those was a 'core' team with responsibility for driving content and interpretation, comprising the director, three staff curators and the assistant director (curatorial & educational services), who, among his other roles, acted as project manager for the various interpretive resources. An external university-based art historian, described variously as the 'consulting curator', 'external curator', 'principal advisor' and 'external expert' also played a central role. Other team members, for example, designers, educators and editors, were progressively brought onto the project as required, in most cases from three to 12 months before the scheduled opening.

³ The exhibition also included one work from the NGA's own collection.

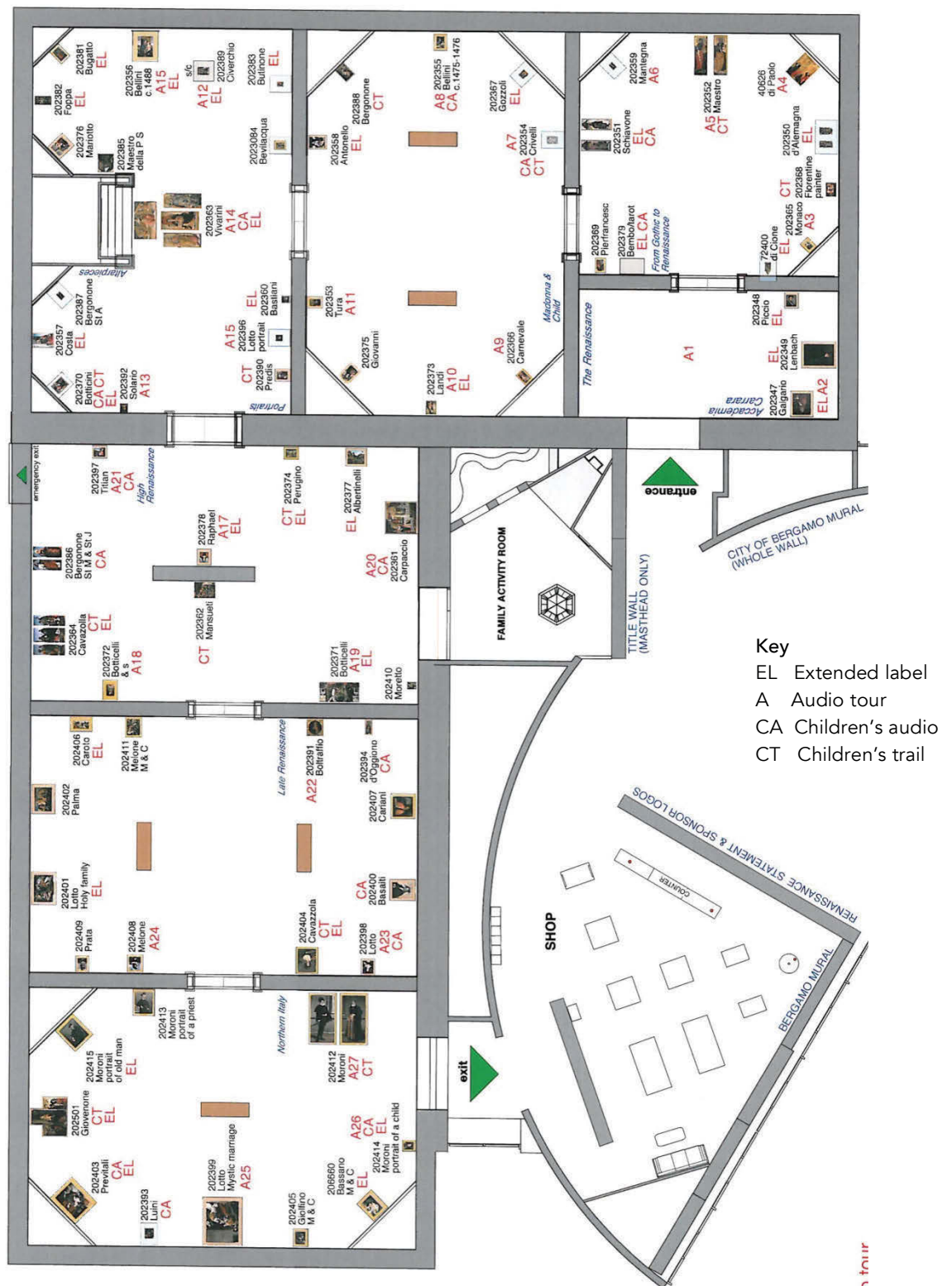


Figure 3.3. Renaissance exhibition floorplan

Sixteen members of this interpretive group were interviewed for this project (see chapter 4, table 4.3 for a listing and description of their roles).

The Renaissance texts

As a high profile, high budget international temporary exhibition, the *Renaissance* exhibition included an extensive suite of interpretive resources. From the visitor's perspective, the primary resource would have been the in-exhibition text, comprising thematic wall texts, basic taxonomic (or 'tombstone') labels which identify the individual works and extended labels, which include an additional interpretive text, all collectively referred to as 'exhibition labels'. The labels carry the basic storyline of the exhibition and make it available to all (English reading) visitors. For this exhibition, the thematic wall texts were reproduced in a small (A5) booklet, which was given to all visitors on entry to the exhibition. From the gallery's perspective, however, the exhibition catalogue was the primary exhibition text: other than the exhibition itself, the catalogue was the major focus and outcome of the project, consuming the bulk of resources and driving the content of all other materials. These other resources included audio tours for adults and children, a 'Children's discovery trail' booklet, a range of guided tours, a website, and an extensive schedule of school and public programs and events.

As outlined in chapter 1, the primary focus of this research is the exhibition labels, as these form the foundational verbally construed interpretation of the exhibition. In addition, a number of other texts were gathered and included in the data set to enable a comparison across modes and platforms. These are listed in table 3.6.

3.2.4. Issues & implications

As is already evident from this brief introduction, the two case studies could not be more different. In terms of disciplinary field and subject matter, this was purposefully contrived. But in other respects this happened more by chance than design: one an international blockbuster, separately ticketed and heavily promoted, the other included in general museum admission and open for visitors to wander into and out of at will;

one concerned with an entire era in cultural history, the other with a local story of an individual building; one with a substantial budget for interpretive resources, the other developed largely on a shoestring with very few.

Table 3.6. Renaissance texts collected

text	format	author/s	distribution
Exhibition labels (room themes, room subthemes, object texts)	print; text on exhibition walls	staff curators	Intrinsic to exhibition; available to all (English reading) visitors
Exhibition brochure (reproducing room theme label texts)	print; A5 size, b/w booklet, 12 pages self-cover	Staff curators	Handed out to visitors on entry to exhibition
Audio tour – adult	spoken; pre-recorded audio of selected works, approx 1 min per segment	educators	Available to purchase on entry to the exhibition; also available from the website free of charge
Audio – children	spoken; pre-recorded audio of selected works, approx 1 min per segment	educators	Available to purchase on entry to the exhibition; also available from the website free of charge
Children’s Discovery Trail , ‘What am I holding?’	print; full-colour 28-page booklet, illustrated, 140x150mm	educators	Handed out to children entering the exhibition; no additional charge
Guided exhibition tour	spoken; prepared but spontaneously delivered, c1–1½ hours duration	volunteer	Available twice daily and at other times by demand
Catalogue	print; full-colour 244-page book, illustrated	Director, consulting & staff curators, and a group of commissioned curators and art historians	Available to purchase at the gallery before or after visiting the exhibition, also available for purchase online. Individual entries also reproduced on the website and available free of charge
Website	Screen-based multimedia format with spoken & written verbiage	Web manager, with content mostly reproduced from other sources	Accessible free of charge during the exhibition and maintained beyond as an ongoing resource

With two exhibitions in the research project, making comparisons can be tricky if not meaningless; like comparing apples to oranges, or perhaps in this case, apples to ocean liners. Yet at the same time, the complementarities have proved valuable in bringing into view details and nuances that were salient but not necessarily obvious on their own – even with the focus provided by theory, one notices this here because it is not there, or, as when choosing colour charts, two ‘whites’ each next to black look the same; next to each other, their differences in hue and tone can be striking.

So while comparisons, both explicit and implicit, are evident throughout this thesis, the point of including two case studies is not to compare them per se. Rather, they work in parallel but together to tell two complementary stories, and in doing so to bring each other into focus. The point also is to explore the questions posed in this thesis in more than one context to see whether, and if so, what patterns might begin to emerge.

Finally, the two-case-study design hopes to demonstrate the relevance and value of the theoretical and analytical frameworks used in this thesis to different kinds of museums and museum projects.

One point of commonality is that as institutions, both were established in the late 1980s, within a similar moment of cultural policy and social-political climate, and have since evolved through shared times.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1. Process

Three main types of data were collected for inclusion in this study: firstly interview data, audio recorded with exhibition team members; secondly, a small number of project/institutional documents to complement team interviews with more formalised institutional perspectives; and thirdly, a selection of exhibition texts. Field notes and observations were also made, but as supplementary rather than primary data.

3.3.2. Interviews

For each case study, interviews were recorded with key staff involved in the development of the interpretive texts. The interviews were semi-structured in form. A set of open-ended questions was prepared to guide the interviewees to the particular issues of interest. During a pilot phase, the questions were tested for clarity with a small number of museum professionals (5) not part of the case study museums. Participants for this pilot testing were selected using a ‘snowball’ (or chains of connection) method (see Miles & Huberman 1994: 26). Following this pilot, the questions were culled and several wordings refined.

The case study interviews were carried out individually, except where several people shared a similar role, in which case they were interviewed together. The schedule of questions (see appendix 2) broadly focused the discussion around four main areas: the process of developing the texts; the interviewee’s own role and the role of other team members; the role of the texts in the exhibition; and the visitor. The interviewees were encouraged to speak freely and at length, with additional questions and prompts given to allow them to further elaborate directions they set in their talk. Drawing on Carvahlo’s (2010) research into the specialisation of discourses and practices within four design-based disciplines (engineering, architecture, digital media and fashion) and its impact on informal learning about design at the Powerhouse Museum, several questions were included specifically to probe the interviewee’s perceptions of the specialisation code of their own disciplinary field and those of their colleagues.⁴

As noted above in this chapter (see 3.2.1) the original intention was to record the staff interviews as the exhibition project developed in order to capture their ‘insitu’ accounts of the process, with the detail and intensity that often fades with time. Interviews with *The Wild Ones* team were recorded in this way, over a six-month period leading up to the exhibition’s opening. The *Renaissance* exhibition, however, had already opened

⁴ Carvahlo used the questions: ‘Tell me three words to define your field’, and, ‘In your opinion, how important are the following for being good at engineering design/architecture design/digital media design/fashion design: (a) skills, techniques and specialist knowledge; (b) natural born talent; (c) taste, judgment or a developed “feel” for it’. See Carvahlo 2010: 187–93.

when the gallery agreed to take part in the study. But by the team members' accounts, the process was still fresh, raw and ongoing, and the majority of staff interviews were recorded within a few weeks of the exhibition's opening. Nonetheless, this somewhat 'forensic' approach introduced a variable unaccounted for in the original research design.

3.3.3. Documents

Relevant contextual documents were gathered to complement the accounts given by team members of the text development process. Including project briefs and guidelines, writing policies and guides, annual reports and strategic plans, these documents provide a more official and/or formalised institutional perspective, as well as one that is independent of the research project in that they were not created as a result of the research (Yin 2003: 86).

3.3.4. Exhibition texts

The exhibition texts represent the primary object of study in this research project, and the aim was to collect as complete, or as representative, a sample of the exhibition texts as was possible within the scope of this project. For *The Wild Ones* exhibition, this included the full set of exhibition labels, exhibition film and audio-recording of a curator floor talk (see section 3.2.2). For the *Renaissance* exhibition, this included the full set of exhibition labels, catalogue, audio tours (children's and adults' versions), children's discovery trail and a guided tour (see section 3.2.3). In association with the exhibition, the gallery presented an extensive program of public and education programs, but it was beyond the scope of this study to sample these.

3.3.5. Data summary & limitations

In summary, a rich corpus of data was collected, giving multiple perspectives on the process of developing the exhibition texts and the texts themselves. In terms of validity, this provides a degree of data triangulation, which addresses potential problems of construct validity 'because multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon' (Yin 2003: 99).

As noted above (sections 3.1.1 & 3.2.1), a number of unplanned for factors meant that the intended data set could not be collected. Firstly, the decision to reduce the range of texts produced for *The Wild Ones* meant less possibility for comparisons across text type and platform. Similarly, the lack of an educator on the exhibition team meant an absence of that disciplinary perspective on the process and in the exhibition texts. Finally, the variation in the timing of the recording of the staff interviews (*The Wild Ones* as the project progressed, *Renaissance* after the exhibition had opened) introduced an unaccounted for variable. While overall these changes could be accommodated within the research design, they meant that certain anticipated parallels between the two case studies were lost, and the focus of analysis and findings had to shift.

Nonetheless, in terms of analysis, where the analytical depth possible with discourse analysis is immense, the volume of data collected meant that choices had to be made concerning which segments of the data would be analysed and to what extent; in a project of this scale, not all the data could be analysed in depth. Because of their role as the foundational interpretive verbal text, the choice was made to focus primarily on the label texts, with small segments of selected other texts used for comparison. In other words, the potential of this data set is significantly greater than has been put to use here. While in many respects its potential remains unrealised, it offers considerable scope for future study and publication. Table 3.7 provides a summary of the data collected.

Table 3.7. Summary of data set collected

Stadium @ MoS	Renaissance @ NGA
Exhibition texts: Labels Curator floor talk Film	Exhibition texts: Labels –room themes & objects Exhibition brochure Audio tour – adult & child Kids trail Guided tour Catalogue
Staff interviews: 10 (transcript of audio recording)	Staff interviews: 16 (transcript of audio recordings)
Documents: Exhibition brief Editorial notes/directions Author style guide Annual report Strategic Plan	Documents: Catalogue author briefing notes Annual report Strategic Plan

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

Each of the two primary data sets – exhibition labels and interview transcripts – was analysed in three main phases, with each phase bringing a progressively more detailed focus to the analysis. The process, in real time, was iterative rather than neatly linear, with recursions back and forth as threads appeared, were pursued to a point, and then perhaps picked up again and further picked apart, or left aside for possible future study.

As previewed above in this chapter (see section 3.1.2), the analysis drew on a number of theoretical constructs as analytical tools. In the description that follows here, these are identified and ‘located’ in the analytical process but are not further elaborated in terms of the rationale for selecting them or the specific way in which they were used. This further explanation can be found in the relevant discussion chapter, where it can be more meaningfully contextualised.

3.4.1. Exhibition texts

Exploration

As a project with relatively broad research questions and a large volume of data, the analysis was as much a process of refining the questions as answering them. During an initial analysis phase, an exploratory or overview analysis was made of the full label text of each exhibition, guided by the ‘function/stratum’ matrix. The process, as described by Martin (2009), was one of ‘hopping back and forth’ across the metafunctions and ‘bobbing up and down’ between strata on the realisation plane, principally between genre, discourse semantics and lexicogrammar but with a top-down rather than bottom-up orientation. In the process of ‘bringing into view’ a generalised account of the labels as a holistic text, certain characteristics relevant to the broad research questions came into focus, aided by a comparison with the labels from the other case study and by analysis of the interviews and team documents, and in turn refining the research questions or the perspective to take on addressing them. In this ‘exploratory’ phase, specific segments of other texts were analysed, again guided by the function/stratum matrix, at selected points of convergence (for example,

a room/section introduction delivered in a tour, as wall text; an individual object commentary delivered in a tour, as label text, via audio tour).

As a result of this phase, the decision was made to focus the analysis of the exhibition texts around two key issues: firstly, the interaction and contribution of verbal and visual meanings in the display of an individual artefact (see chapter 5); and secondly, the patterning of everyday and specialised discourse with the aim of elucidating issues around accessibility (in what ways do the texts make specialised disciplinary knowledge accessible to public audiences?) and knowledge building (in what ways do the texts help public audiences build specialised knowledge of the field of the display?; see chapter 6). At this point, the texts were clausal so that tallies of particular features could be made and a view gained of broader patterns within and between the two exhibitions (see appendixes 5 & 6).

A micro view / intersemiotic relations

Taking up this first thread, a second phase narrowed the focus of analysis to explore the primary research question ‘What meaning-making work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?’ from the perspective of visual-verbal relations. In other words, the idea of ‘meaning-making work’ was posed in terms of what meaning does the verbiage bring to the experience of the exhibition, and more particularly of the displayed object; what does the verbiage *add* in terms of meaning? In focusing on the interaction that occurs between the individual displayed artefact and accompanying verbal text/s, this analytical phase can be seen as taking a ‘micro’ (or ‘bottom-up’) perspective in that it focused on the most detailed level of the exhibition experience: the interaction around a specific object.

The analysis in this phase again concentrated on the label texts, with segments of other texts introduced at selected points of convergence. As the analysis progressed, it separated into three further threads or phases, each drawing on a number of theoretical concepts from systemic functional linguistics and multimodal semiotics as analytical tools. The first sub-phase set out to bring some kind of operational clarity to the interaction that occurs at a displayed object between artefact, verbiage and visitor by modelling the complexity of interactions and relations involved. Here, the concept of *instantiation* (see

section 3.1.2) proved a valuable analytical tool. A second sub-phase drew on recent work in image-text relations (particularly Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013) and ‘presence’, a metafunctional reworking of the linguistic notion of context dependency (Martin & Matruglio 2013) to look at how the verbal texts can be shown to interact with the visual (see chapter 5, section 5.3.1). Do the label texts ‘work’ to explicitly ‘motivate’ interaction, do they work more implicitly, or do they function as an independent, parallel text? Are they bringing new meanings to the experience of ‘just looking’? Finally, in instances where the verbiage could now be shown to be ‘adding meaning’, a further analytical sweep sought to define and categorise the kinds of meanings involved with a granularity and consistency that would elucidate both the particular instance and larger patterns that accumulate through the exhibition as a whole.

A macro view / access & knowledge building

The third analysis phase focused again on the first primary research question (‘What meaning-making work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?’) but this time in terms of the interplay of everyday ‘commonsense’ discourse and knowledge and the ‘uncommonsense’ discourses and knowledge typical of disciplinary fields. Here the idea of ‘meaning-making work’ was explored from the related but complementary perspectives of access (what ‘work’ do the verbal texts do to help *unpack* disciplinary discourse into everyday discourse and knowledge?) and knowledge-building (what ‘work’ do they do to *build* new knowledge, and/or *pack up* or *repack* everyday knowledge and discourse into specialised discourse and knowledge?). In contrast to the previous analytical phase, this phase can be understood as taking a more ‘macro’ view of the exhibition experience in that the concern is with broader patterns of meanings across the exhibitions as a whole rather than around the individual displayed artefact, and in relation to the wider social role of museums as inclusive ‘knowledge’ institutions.

Accordingly, again referencing the function/stratum matrix, this phase began with an analysis of the genre, a useful ‘way in’ for analysing language as integral to its social context (Coffin 2006: 8). This involved a shifting up and down through the strata as genre are realised through discourse semantic patterns, which in turn are realised through lexicogrammar. It then explored in more detail the particular configurations of

meanings seen to impact on qualities of accessibility, notably grammatical metaphor, abstraction and density of meaning, technicality and conjunctive relations. In a final sweep of analysis, these linguistic features were re-interpreted back through the lens of LCT Semantics and Specialisation to consider the learning potential and pedagogic approach afforded by these verbal texts. Table 3.8 summarises the main phases used in analysing the exhibition texts and the analytical tools used at each phase.

Table 3.8. Exhibition texts: summary of analytical phases and tools used to explore the first research question

Analytical phase	Research question addressed	Conceptual/analytical tools used	Thesis chapter
	1. What meaning-making work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?		
Exploratory	All sub-questions, including: 1d. How does meaning pattern in language within and across the various interpretive platforms in use? 1e. How does meaning pattern across the various disciplinary fields involved?	Function/stratum matrix (Martin 2009)	n/a. This analysis used to underpin further phases; Note, at this point sub-questions 1d&e were put aside to focus on the other three
'Micro' view (focus on intersemiotic relations)	1.3. How do verbal texts add to the experience of looking at displayed artefacts, ie, how do they add to the meanings gained from looking alone?	Modelling 'close looking': Instantiation (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin & White 2005; Martin 2006)	Chapter 5
		Visual-verbal relations: Coupling, commitment, vergence (Painter et al 2013) Presence (Martin & Matruglio 2013)	
'Macro' view (focus on the interplay of everyday and specialised discourse and knowledge)	1b. What can linguistic analysis contribute to an understanding of the notion of 'accessibility' in relation to museum texts; what does 'accessibility' mean linguistically? 1c. In what ways do museum texts contribute to knowledge building?	Function/stratum matrix (Martin 2009) Genre (Martin & Rose 2008) LCT Semantics (semantic gravity, semantic density, semantic waves) LCT Specialisation (epistemic relations, social relations) (Maton 2014)	Chapter 6

3.4.2. Interviews

As noted above in this chapter (section 3.1.3), the interview transcripts were analysed in three phases, following the approach taken by Chen (2010):

- descriptive (or empirical) coding – describing, letting the data ‘breathe’
- organisational coding – organising and categorising relative to research questions and theoretical frameworks
- analytical coding – operationalising theoretical frameworks by developing an external language of description and applying this to code the data

Phase 1 / descriptive coding

The first ‘descriptive’ or empirical phase involved a series of close, ‘soft eyes’ readings to identify the various threads that emerged in the talk of interviewed team members. The purpose of this phase was to ‘let the data breathe’. In both case study exhibitions, this identified five main ‘threads’: team roles, the process of writing, media, visitors, exhibition experience. These are summarised in appendix 3.

Phase 2 / organisational coding

In a second series of readings, these threads were organised into a thematic rubric comprising a series of three themes developed from the research questions, complemented by a further two themes informed by the theoretical framework of LCT (see table 3.9 below). The theoretically informed themes were selected to focus on concepts of framing (ie, relations of control) and classification (ie, relations of power, as evidenced by ‘keeping things apart’), after Bernstein (1977), and integral to defining epistemic relations and social relations and thus specialisation codes (Maton 2014a).

This series of readings also included the linguistic analysis of text segments using the discourse systems of appraisal and nuclear relations: appraisal to bring into focus how these various threads and themes were being positioned and evaluated by team members, and nuclear relations to bring further focus to roles and positioning of participants in relation to process types.

The purpose of this phase is to begin the process of bringing the data closer to theory.

Table 3.9. Thematic rubric used for 'organisational' coding of interview transcripts

Research Q themes → Specialisation themes ↓	Author	Message	Visitor
Boundaries			
Controls			

Phase 3 / analytical coding

As noted above in section 3.1.3, the purpose of this final phase was to reveal the underlying structuring principles relative to the research themes. This required creating a 'translation device' that could operationalise the theoretical concepts of epistemic relations and social relations relative to this data set. As noted by Maton (2014a), these relations are realised differently in different contexts and practices. Thus, through a process of cross-matching each research theme with the theoretical themes of boundaries and controls, in other words, of moving back and forth between theory and data, a series of examples and ultimately indicators for each of the relations were developed. At each point of intersection, questions were posed asking 'in terms of what?' and 'on what basis?' In this way, the indicators for identifying social relations and epistemic relations were derived from the data rather than being imposed on the data (Chen 2010: 79).

Table 3.10 shows the 'translation device' or external language of description developed from and for the team interviews. Reading from left to right, it 'translates' theory into data; reading from right to left, it translates data into theory (Chen 2010: 81; see also table 7.1 for an elaboration of the present table that includes related exhibition texts).

After coding the interview transcripts for evidence of epistemic relations and social relations, their relative frequency and strength were aggregated to assign specialisation codes to each of the interviewed team members: knowledge code (ER+, SR-), knower code (ER-, SR+), elite code (ER+, SR+) or relativist code (ER-, SR-).

Table 3.10. 'Translation device' for determining specialisation codes
(after Chen in Maton 2014a: 138)

Epistemic relations (ER)			
Concept manifested as emphasis on:		Indicators	Example from empirical data
content knowledge	ER+	content knowledge is emphasised in determining what is legitimate historical/art historical knowledge; content knowledge is separate from other disciplines and from everyday life	'it's a different field the Renaissance ... fields in art history are very different (Rcc3) 'One curator cannot be placed in a different department and survive. They have specialties ' (Rca6)
	ER-	content knowledge is downplayed as less important in determining what is legitimate historical/art historical knowledge	'[it's] not getting caught up in the facts or the timelines so much but keeping the more interesting aspects of the story (We4)
presentation of content knowledge	ER+	procedures for conveying content knowledge are explicit to visitors and emphasised in the exhibition experience	'the artist's name .. the other information ... there's conventions ... very clear' (Rsc4) 'there are extended labels for certain works .. we, the curators, say it's about a third of them' (Rsc4)
	ER-	procedures for conveying content knowledge are implicit to visitors and downplayed in the exhibition experience	'I see it as layers and layers .. that people can take ... a sort of light touch' (Rd2)
Social relations (SR)			
Concept manifested as emphasis on:		Indicators	Example from empirical data
personal knowledge & experience	SR+	personal experience and opinions are viewed as legitimate historical/art historical knowledge	'What they treasure is really important to us' (We4) 'We want to make personal connections ... for visitors to feel it's their story' (Wc3)
	SR-	personal experience and opinions are downplayed and distinguished from legitimate historical/art historical knowledge	You want them to have some concept of what the Renaissance was all about ... some knowledge of the early modern period' (Rcc3)
personal dimension of the exhibition experience	SR+	Individual visitor's preferences are explicitly emphasised as determining the exhibition experience	'What we're really hearing from visitors is that they want to know who lived in these places, what happened to them' (Whi8)
	SR-	Individual visitor's preferences are downplayed as not significant in the exhibition experience	'People say, "I want an explanation on each work" ... [but] we don't do it' (Rsc4)

3.5. ETHICS & PRIVACY

This research was conducted in accordance with the guidelines of the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee. The research design presented a ‘low to negligible’ level of risk to participants, defined as ‘discomfort to inconvenience’ in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (National Health & Medical Research Council 2007: 16), with the key area of potential risk concerning issues of privacy. The data gathering phase made few demands on the participating institutions, the principal impact involving staff time, with team members taking an average of approximately 1–1.5 hours each out of their work schedules to be interviewed.

All interviewed team members and visitors were briefed on the purpose of the research project and signed a written consent form (the staff consent was signed collectively by a member of the museum’s senior management team; external team member consents were individually signed). All transcripts were de-identified, with names replaced by a randomly generated initial. However, with the institutions and exhibition projects clearly identified, there was, and remains, a possibility comments could be linked back to individual team members. The consent process alerted participants to this possibility. There is also some precedent in the museum literature of individual exhibitions being analysed and critiqued in detail, including the publishing of staff and volunteer comments (Handler & Gable 1997; MacDonald 2002) and segments of exhibition text (eg, Kelly 2007, Roberts 1997, Ravelli 2006a, MacDonald 2002). Awareness of such precedents also acted to minimise any perceived risk to participants in this study. In addition, to minimise any possible risk, interview texts are only included as small fragments in the chapter text, or in terms of themes in the appendices. Substantive segments, for example as samples of coding process, have not been included in the appendices.

3.6. VALIDITY, RELIABILITY & VALUE

Among qualitative researchers, the constructs of validity and reliability are interpreted, gauged and valued in many ways (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013: 179, for example, identifies some 20 different types or dimensions). Yet there is a general acceptance that

in some form they are important benchmarks in establishing the quality of empirical social research (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013, Yin 2014, Stake 1995, Miles & Huberman 1994). Validity, in broad terms, is a measure of the degree to which a particular instrument or account accurately represents, describes, explains or theorises what it purports to (Winter 2000: 1); reliability, in broad terms, is a measure of the repeatability of the research (sometimes subsumed within definitions of validity, for example Maxwell 1992). Within qualitative paradigms, the notion of validity is often aligned with qualities of honesty and fairness, authenticity, trustworthiness and truthfulness; and depth and scope of data with fairness.

In the context of case study designs, researchers typically focus on four key types of validity/reliability (Yin 2003; Lincoln & Guba 1985). The first of these, internal validity, concerns the ability to demonstrate that the explanation/s offered can actually be sustained by the data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013: 183). Lincoln & Guba (1985) term this ‘credibility’. Maxwell (2013) uses the term ‘descriptive validity’, foregrounding qualities of ‘factual accuracy’, with a separate category of ‘interpretive validity’ to capture the notion of fidelity, or the ability of the research ‘to catch’ the meanings and intentions of situations and events.

External validity, on the other hand, is concerned with establishing the domain to which the study’s findings can be generalised. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2013) align this with ‘ecological validity’, the ability to take the specific characteristics of sites into account and to allow them to occur naturally, rather than attempting to control or eliminate them; the intention is ‘to give accurate portrayals of social situations in their own terms, in their natural or conventional settings’ but equally ‘it concerns the extent to which characteristics of one situation or behaviour observed in one setting can be transferred or generalised to another’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013: 195).

Construct validity concerns the extent to which a particular instrument measures what it purports to measure; in other words ‘the extent to which it conforms to the theoretical context in which it is located’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013: 188).

Finally, reliability is concerned with demonstrating that the operations of a study, for example data collection procedures, can be repeated, with the same results. In case

study contexts, where the study cannot be repeated, Yin (2003: 37) argues that the ‘test’ of reliability rests on the ability of a later investigator, if ‘they followed the same procedures as described and conducted the same study all over again, they would arrive at the same findings. The critical point is doing the same case study again, not replicating the results of one case study by doing another study’. In other words, the quality and transparency of documentation are critical factors in ensuring reliability.

Yin also notes the importance of triangulation, that is, using converging lines of inquiry to give multiple perspectives on the research phenomenon. He notes four key types of triangulation, all of which are used to some degree in the present study:

- of data sources (data triangulation)
- among different evaluators (investigator triangulation)
- of perspectives to the same data set (theory triangulation)
- of methods (methodological triangulation).

Specific measures used in this research design are as summarised in table 3.11.

Table 3.11. Summary of strategies used to maximise research quality and value

Potential issue	Strategy used	Construct addressed
Usefulness and credibility	Use of authentic texts	Internal validity
	Two case studies / multiple sources of evidence	Construct validity & reliability
	Data triangulation (mixed data sets)	Internal validity
	Choice of theories and theory triangulation (SFS & LCT)	Internal, external (ecological) & construct validity
	Knowledge of the field (researcher with)	Internal validity
Researcher bias or influence	Excluding institutions where researcher had recently worked	Internal validity
	Researcher journal to encourage reflexivity	Internal validity
Quality & replicability of analysis	Maintain clear chains of evidence	Reliability
	For LCT Specialisation, develop translation device / external language of description	Reliability
	Researcher triangulation (eg, through peer / cohort presentations & reviews)	Reliability
	Thick description	Reliability, internal validity

4.

GAME OF CODES

the context of (text) production

This chapter looks into the process of developing exhibition texts as it is represented in the talk of team members. The aim is to bring into view the organising principles that underpin the process and in turn shape the kinds of meanings that are produced and reproduced in museum texts. As outlined in chapters 1 & 2, in recent decades museums have experienced a profound shift in a range of areas fundamental to the way they communicate with audiences. In particular, as both the number of texts being produced and the number of people involved in their production have increased, the development of these texts has become an increasingly significant part of the work of many museum professionals. Yet the relations among and between the various professions and disciplines involved in terms of what they see as legitimate knowledge and legitimate ways of conveying this knowledge to audiences remain relatively unexplored in research, with the few accounts of the text development process that exist in the literature remaining at a relatively shallow level of empirical description. As observed by Handler & Gable (1997: 9), ‘most research on museums has proceeded by ignoring much of what happens in them’. This chapter aims to show that bringing these underlying relations and beliefs into view is a valuable step in enabling their role in the making, remaking and negotiating of meaning to be better understood and more purposefully deployed.

The analysis and discussion in this chapter are based primarily on interviews recorded with team members of the two case study exhibitions, and reference to segments from key institutional and policy documents. The chapter draws on a number of ‘conceptual tools’ from the LCT dimension of Specialisation (Maton 2014a) to bring into view the underlying knowledge practices and the bases of achievement which shape and regulate these practices (see section 3.1.2). It also draws on the SFL ‘toolkit’ to provide a more fine-grained account of the linguistic evidence used to support particular coding decisions and claims. For example, the system of appraisal (see appendix 4) is referenced to show how strongly invested and defended certain practices may be; the system of transitivity, to show how participants assign agency in their talk.

The chapter is divided into four main parts. The first gives a brief recap of the key theoretical concepts used in the analysis. It then looks at each of the two case study exhibitions in turn, beginning with an analysis of the host institution’s mission statement and organisational diagram. Although only a single graphic and a few words of text, these form a useful starting point as they have been purposefully constructed to encapsulate the key values and attributes the institution seeks to project into the public arena. The discussion of the text development process which follows echoes the three key ‘paradigm shifts’ in museum communication practices outlined in chapter 1: shifts in terms of author (who can speak), audience (who can listen) and message (what can be said and how). These also represent the three core ‘protagonists’ in the communication process.¹ Each section closes with a discussion that synthesises findings in terms of epistemic relations and social relations as markers of an underlying specialisation code. The final section summarises how these codes act to shape the text development process and, through the texts produced, the visitor experience.

¹ In describing author, audience and message as the three core ‘protagonists’ of the communication process, I also acknowledge that they are always embedded in context, which is central to the meanings they will construe.

4.1. SPECIALISATION CODES / key concepts

As outlined in earlier chapters, Specialisation offers a framework that theorises the organising principles that underlie knowledge practices and claims. It begins with the central premise that knowledge practices and claims are always about or oriented toward *something*, and are made by *someone*. They thus involve two principal types of relations, which can be distinguished analytically:

- **relations to objects** – termed epistemic relations, or ER
- **relations to subjects** – termed social relations, or SR

For any given practice or claim, each relation may be more (+) or less (–) emphasised. Taken together, the relative strengths of the ER and SR give rise to four principal configurations, termed ‘specialisation codes’. These codes provide a framework for understanding what counts as legitimate knowledge and who counts as a legitimate knower within a given field of practice. Importantly, the theory does not suggest that these configurations are fixed or immutable (Dong, Maton & Carvalho 2104), although they are often deeply embedded. In other words, codes are relative to a given practice, not necessarily intrinsic to a given person across different domains.

The four codes can be summarised as follows, and are typically represented as a topology as shown in figure 4.1:

- **knowledge codes** (ER+, SR–) occur where possession of specialised knowledge, skills or procedures is emphasised as the basis of achievement, and the dispositions of actors are downplayed
- **knower codes** (ER–, SR+) occur where specialised knowledge and skills are less significant and instead the dispositions of actors are emphasised as measures of achievement
- **elite codes** (ER+, SR+) occur where legitimacy is based on both possessing specialised knowledge and being the right kind of knower
- **relativist codes** (ER–, SR–) occur where neither specialist knowledge nor knower attributes determine legitimacy.

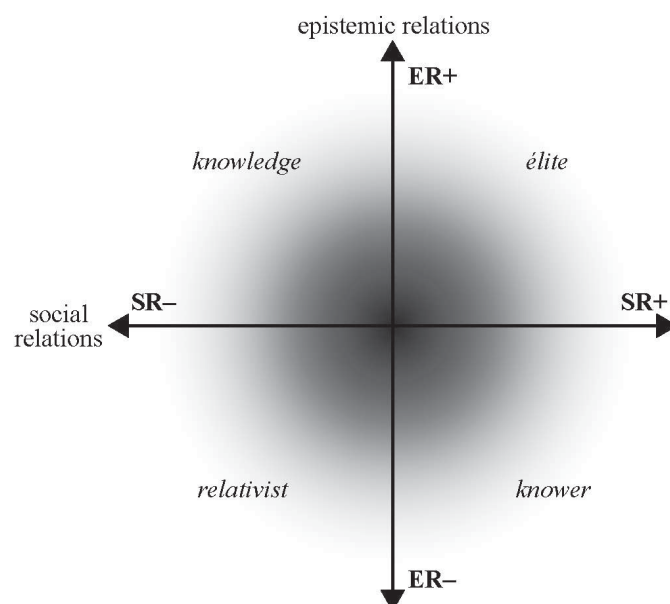


Figure 4.1. **Four principal specialisation codes** (Maton 2014a: 30)

As an example, from within an educational setting, a knowledge code orientation would be the ‘KAL’ (Knowledge about Language) based literacy programs that emphasise the explicit teaching of content knowledge and thus epistemic relations, and downplay individual learner dispositions and preferences and thus social relations (see, for example, Weekes 2014: 346). An example of a knower code orientation, this time from outside an educational setting, would be a person who bases their view of climate change on lived experience (‘what I’ve seen’), personal attributes and identity (‘who I am’) or trusted sources (‘who I trust’) rather than on scientific concepts, thus emphasising social relations and downplaying epistemic relations (Glenn 2015: 103).

In this chapter, the analysis sets out firstly to determine what form, or empirical realisations, these relations take within the two exhibition teams. It then draws on the resulting specialisation codes to explore how the orientations of team members shape the kinds of texts being developed and how these texts flow through to shape the visitor experience. In doing so, the analysis aims to provide a deeper perspective on the values, processes and choices that drive the text development process.

4.2. THE WILD ONES @ M o S

The analysis of team interviews showed that this exhibition team consistently emphasised social relations (SR+) and downplayed epistemic relations (ER–), thus reflecting a knower code orientation. After a brief orienting ‘vignette’ of the organisation and team process, this section unpacks key thematic threads to emerge through the interviews around the team’s conceptions of author, audience and message. These empirical themes (see section 3.4.2) are then interpreted through the lens of LCT to draw out the forms taken by the underlying epistemic relations and social relations, and thus to determine the legitimisation codes in play. The concluding section summary and discussion reflects back on how these codes acted to shape team relations and processes, and ultimately flowed on to shape the texts and visitor experience.

4.2.1. Background

Organisation / ‘a really nice partnership’

The first of the two case study exhibitions, *The Wild Ones*, was held at the Museum of Sydney, one of 12 museums in the Historic Houses Trust of NSW (now Sydney Living Museums) group. In the Annual Report contemporary with the exhibition, the Trust describes its mission as:

to care for significant historic places, buildings, collections and landscapes with integrity, and enable people to enjoy and learn about them (2013: 7).

In this statement, the choice of wording is predominantly concrete and congruent: participants are people, places and things; processes are expressed as verbs (‘care’, ‘enjoy’, ‘learn’).² The statement, as a result, maps relatively directly to the lived, material world. The force of the claim, particularly relative to the genre of mission/vision statements, is modest: the Trust describes its assets (properties and collections) as ‘significant’, a choice that also connotes a sense of worthiness rather

² For example, as opposed to being expressed metaphorically as nominals (eg, ‘enjoyment’). Compare also with the NGA’s mission, see 4.3.1).

than, for example, excellence. The value of ‘integrity’ (positive judgment) evaluates the Trust’s work in human terms rather than appreciating it as a ‘thing’. The intended audience/beneficiary is broadly inclusive (‘people’ not further specified or restricted). In this way, the Trust represents itself as part of the visitors’ everyday world and emphasises a personal relationship with them.

In this same Annual Report (2013: 51), the Trust represents its organisational structure as a series of ‘groups’ and ‘teams’ (see figure 4.2). Graphically, there are no boundaries between the various teams that make up the four main ‘groups’; they all sit together within their ‘group’ box. There is no specific mention of disciplinary roles, such as curator, educator, designer; these are unnamed and invisible in this graphic.

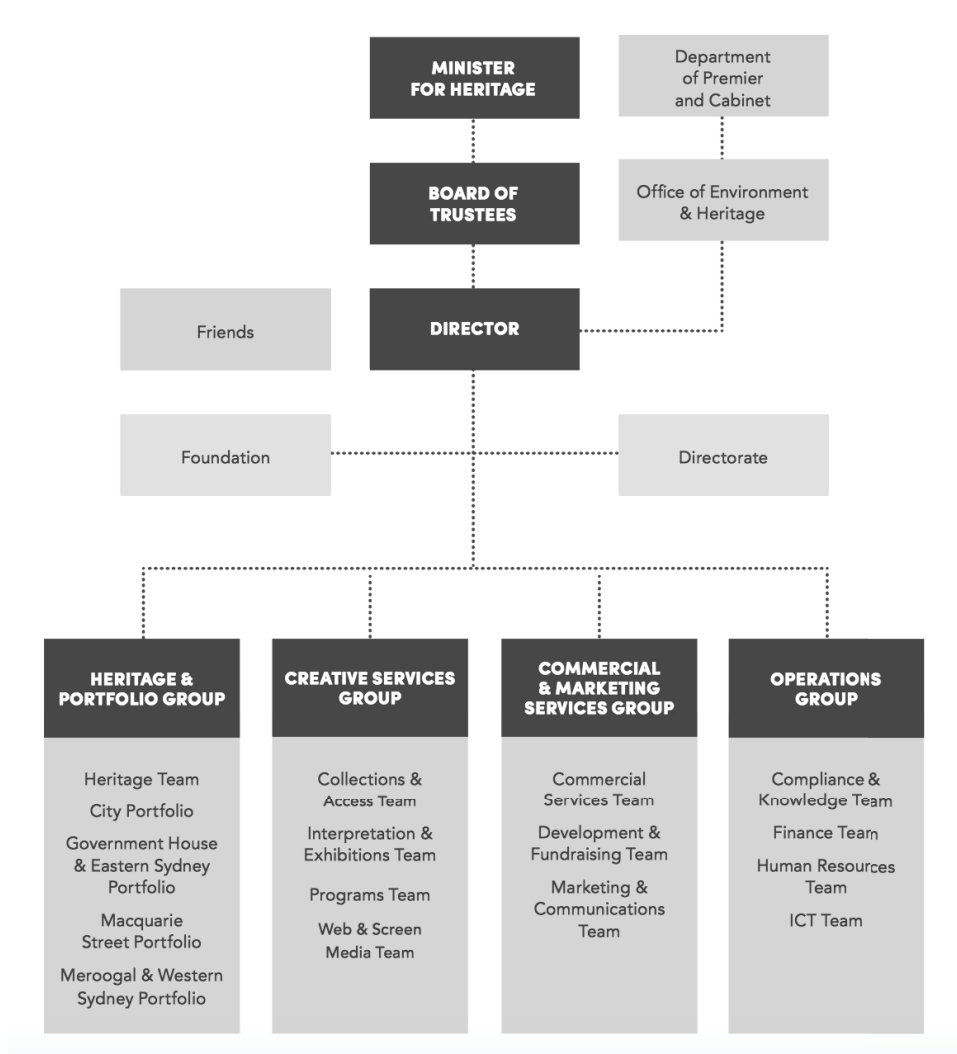


Figure 4.2. ‘Organisational chart’ of the Historic Houses Trust of NSW, now Sydney Living Museums (from the Annual Report 2012–13: 51)

A similar blurring of boundaries was evident in staff accounts of the organisation. For example, in this description by a senior staff member, expertise is represented as a 'partnership' formed by curator and visitor services staff 'working together':

... looking at the way the Trust is organised, we've placed our properties into four portfolios, we've pulled them together into those four portfolios and each of those portfolios has a curator and a visitor services coordinator who have become the local experts on their places, their history and the people who come to those places. So you have a really nice partnership between the visitor-focused staff and the content and curatorial focused staff who are working together to ... make sure that what we're providing for the public is matching their interest (Whi8).

In the years leading up to *The Wild Ones* exhibition, the Trust underwent a series of reviews, restructures and reorientations. A central aim of this process was to shift the focus of the Trust's activities in terms of its public interface towards a more 'people' rather than 'material' (ie, buildings and artefacts) orientation: 'what we're really hearing from visitors is that they want to know who lived in these places, what happened to them' (Whi8). This reorientation was still in the process of being implemented during the course of this exhibition project.

Exhibition process / 'no-one's too territorial'

Once an exhibition project has been approved and scheduled, the usual process at the Trust begins with appointing a project manager to bring together a project team and program the involvement of other departments and people as and when required. For exhibitions the scale of *The Wild Ones*, the core team generally involves the curator, project manager and assistant, loans registrar, editor, 3D (exhibition) designer and 2D (graphic) designer and, if the exhibition has strong curriculum links, an educator. The core team responsible for shaping the storyline and interpretive texts generally comprises the curator, project manager and editor, and this was the case for this exhibition. *The Wild Ones* team also included one external member, a filmmaker, who worked with the curator in developing and producing an oral history program that featured in the exhibition. Ten members of the project team were interviewed for this research.

Table 4.1. The Wild Ones team members interviewed

Role	Code
Project manager 1	Wpm1
Project manager 2	Wpm2
Curator	Wc3
Editor	We4
Exhibition designer	Wed5
Graphic designer	Wgd6
Public Programs	Wpp7
Head of Interpretation	Whi8
Filmmaker	Wf9
Volunteer (Public Programs)	Wv10

While *The Wild Ones* largely followed this established process, there were two aspects that set it apart, both of which functioned to blur the boundaries between specialised roles. The first was the introduction of a new curatorial process, where the curator was physically moved through different ‘teams’ as the project progressed so he was in close physical proximity to the people he was working with at that time: during content development the curator ‘sits’ in Interpretation, and then, as described by *The Wild Ones* curator:

within six months out [from the exhibition’s opening] we’ll move up to Special Projects and Exhibitions cause that way I’m sitting with the designers and all those people sitting around with their feedback. Yes, so I’m moving from the Interpretation Department – the idea now is that the content and all that stuff comes out of the Interpretation Department, so while working in the Interpretation Department, and I’m a bit of a guinea pig for this new structure, new setup. (Wc3)

Secondly, the exhibition curator was not a ‘real curator’, to use the words of several team members including the curator himself, in that he did not have formal (university) qualifications in the field of the exhibition (history) or in museum/curatorial studies, and this replayed as a theme through the interviews. Also a strong theme running through the interviews was the notion of balance, for example, between leadership and collaboration, consistency and variation, scholarship and accessibility, direction and choice in the visitor experience and so forth: ‘I understand the need for consistency ...

but to treat every subject to fit this template is so hard', 'I know with things it's like tie-down moment, but things change you know'. This suggests an attitude that is more relative than definitive, where team members see many aspects of their work more in terms of 'continuum' than category.

Across the team, there was a tendency to downplay attributes of disciplinary specialisation, both organisationally and individually. To the 'fresh' eyes of one of the team members recently arrived from another cultural institution, this was particularly noticeable:

... it feels very collaborative here and I think everyone buys into everyone's role a fair bit, which at the moment I think works OK because everyone's pretty friendly and no-one's too territorial. (Wed5)

When speaking of themselves, team members typically downplayed their own expertise, for example, by attributing their achievements to luck rather than to skill or knowledge:

[I] just was fortunate to be in the right place at the right time (Wpm1)

I mean I'm not a writer by any stretch of the imagination (Wc3)

I did Communications at uni ... got in quite early when it was at Newcastle – I was lucky to get in, not like now when everybody wants to do it (Wc3)

But while disciplinary skills were downplayed, more personal and generic skills or qualities were emphasised, such as communicating, problem-solving, being passionate, innovative, imaginative:

[a good curator has] the ability to communicate, the ability to stretch ideas and listen to other people's ideas, and some flexibility (Wpm2)

[a good educator is] energetic. Ideal ones have imagination, again they get excited about an exhibition and have a passion for communication; they actually believe in the show (Wpm2)

Discussion / 'it feels very collaborative here'

In summary, this orienting view of the organisation and exhibition process shows a marked sense of a culture that downplays boundaries and hierarchies based on specialised knowledge and roles, both externally in terms of visitors and internally in terms of staff relations. Externally, the Trust sought to present itself as part of the visitor's everyday world, in an equal and personal relationship with them. The wording of its mission statement is a clear expression of this, with the use of concrete, congruent, everyday language to reference itself and its assets ('places, buildings, collections and landscapes') locating the Trust as an entity in the visitor's everyday world, while processes such as 'care' and 'enable' literally represent the Trust as social actor in the visitor's personal world. The Trust is more friend or mentor than institution/authority.³ It has purposefully responded to visitors' interests and preferences in shaping its content and programs. All these features can be interpreted as emphasising social relations (SR+) in that they foreground the visitors' experiences, opinions and preferences as legitimate, and soften the boundary between institution and visitor and knowers.

Internally, there was a similar blurring of boundaries and hierarchies around specialised roles and related knowledge, which again suggests stronger social relations (SR+) and also weaker epistemic relations (ER-). The choice to appoint an 'outsider' into the curatorial role and the strategy of physically moving the curator into workspaces of the various departments he interacted with are explicit and purposeful examples of this. While the various team members all had significant experience and skill within their particular field, this was downplayed in their talk (ER-). The fact that team members chose to focus instead on more generic qualities and skills suggests that the basis of legitimacy was seen to reside more in the individual's personal attributes, dispositions and experiences than in specific disciplinary training and skill,

³ This 'personalising' of the Trust's institutional identity was made explicit in its new branding strategy, which created the brand identity of 'a sociable host'. Launched shortly after this exhibition project was completed, the strategy states: 'We believe in being a sociable host that welcomes people into our homes, making them feel comfortable and relaxed. We believe in two-way conversations, be it in person or online, and encourage people to tell us what they're interested in. We believe in creating opportunities for people to socialise, connect and share across generations and lives'.

indicating strong social relations (SR+). This relative strength of social relations and weakness of epistemic relations suggests an institutional orientation anchored in a knower code, while the general cohesion of views and lack of tension among team members suggests that this code was shared across the team.

While in most regards the team downplayed boundaries between themselves and others, there were two notable exceptions. In both cases these acted to reinforce the team members' weaker epistemic and stronger social relations by explicitly differentiating themselves from those they perceived as having a knowledge code (ER+, SR-). The first concerned 'old' staff, who were represented as being more concerned with a factual 'buildings and materials' approach (ER+). The second coalesced around the idea of 'academia', where 'academia' was used to exemplify the idea of knowledge 'in the academic, ivory tower sense' (Whi8) and language 'that's just not accessible', that's 'impenetrable' (Wpm1) – that is, of knowledge and language that are disconnected from the everyday world and people. Both 'old' staff and 'academia' were thus associated with stronger epistemic relations (ER+) and weaker social relations (SR-). Thus, by distancing themselves from these groups, team members asserted their relative weakness of ER and their relative strength of SR.

The following sections reveal repeated evidence of this knower-code orientation within the project team, and how it shaped beliefs and choices around the development of interpretive resources for this exhibition project.

4.2.2. Author as meaning-maker / who can speak?

This section investigates how the team constructed the role of the author: who did they represent as having the authority to tell the story of the exhibition, and on what basis?

On this team, the authority to speak as author was represented as shared and flexible.

While there was a general appreciation of the curatorial voice as a basis for expert knowledge, it was not regarded as fixed or as exclusive. As noted in the previous section, this was demonstrated in two main ways: firstly in terms of process, where 'control' of the core exhibition text was distributed across a number of disciplines/team members; and secondly in the selection of an individual who was not 'a real curator'

as the project curator. In other words, his legitimacy in that role was based on personal experience and dispositions rather than formally sanctioned qualifications and knowledge.

For this exhibition, the core ‘curatorial’ text was the exhibition wall and label texts – there was no catalogue or associated publication. While the curator was considered the primary author and content specialist, the text was a ‘team text’, substantively shaped and controlled by a core team comprising the curator, project manager and editor. The text was developed over many months through a collaborative process, with the project manager and editor playing significant and ongoing roles in structuring and culling content and in shaping the language and expression used (educators were not involved in this exhibition as the subject matter was not considered to have sufficient curriculum relevance to warrant the investment of their resources).

In this account of the process by the project manager, the sense of team control and ownership of the text is clearly evident in the linguistic choices made in describing the process. For example, the repeated use of the pronoun ‘we’ emphasises ‘the team’ as the dominant participant in the process, while transitivity choices frequently assign the team with the role of acting on, or for, the curator – eg, ‘we [actor] encourage him [goal]’; setting guidelines [goal] for him’ [recipient]:

If N [the curator] has a great story but we don’t have anything for that then we encourage him to find something so that we can have something that illustrates the story so we can go into it in greater detail. And then I guess through that refining what’s a key theme, what’s going to be a subtheme through his assessment of the material and doing my own reading to get a sense around that as well so I can have an informed contribution; it’s not just relying on him solely. And then setting guidelines for him with the editor, talking about what sort of stories we want to tell and who we’re telling them to, so we get a sense of what language we want to use, what word counts etc before he starts writing. That’s a conversation we all have as a group. (Wpm1 – my emphasis)

A second aspect of the authorial voice concerns the *basis* on which this voice was recognised. At the Trust, the ‘authorial voice’ was generally aligned with the role of

curator, but this was not fixed. The Trust allowed non-curatorial staff to propose and curate exhibitions and other projects. At the same time, however, the use of the expression 'a real curator' by various members of *The Wild Ones* exhibition team, including the curator himself, signifies this as a marked or atypical situation.

The curator had worked at the Trust in a number of roles, including once before in the role of exhibition curator. On both occasions, he put forward an exhibition proposal on the basis of his personal connection with that story, 'and got the go ahead ... [because] they thought I was capable of doing it' (Wc3). Equally, these personal relations and dispositions were an important part of his research process and methodology:

So you'll get on the internet till you're blue in the face but you'll never find this stuff because it's not there – it's only talking to people ...so drawing out stuff that people aren't going to see any other time ... when you're dealing with individuals who don't have experience loaning things and they're personal items, it's all personal then (Wc3)

Both his knowledge and his methodologies were strongly grounded in his personal experience and identity. The legitimacy of his voice was thus underpinned by his personal connections and stories, and also by his ability to tell the story well: 'he just gets great stories out of people. He's really good with people and he really gets them to open up' (We4); 'He's got a feel for the story that's going to work with the public' (Whi8). Indeed, not only were these qualities highly valued by team members, they were often positively framed as counter to expected curatorial qualities. This is seen, in the following example, in the use of 'but', 'actually' and negatives:⁴

he's not overly wordy, he's not showing off, he's got a very clear idea of who his audience is, he writes very well ... his language isn't simple at all, it's actually got warmth. (Whi8 – my emphasis)

[he] doesn't come from that specialised skills background but I think he curates really lovely shows that are really approachable and engaging (Wpm1)

⁴ See Martin & White (2005: 118): from a dialogistic perspective, the negative always introduces the alternative position; it is never the 'simple logical opposition of the positive'; conjunctions such as 'but' and 'although' construe a sense of something as counter to what is expected.

... he's got a lovely way of storytelling ... he's not a curator. (We4)

Such comments implicate an 'expected' curator as someone who comes from a specialised skills background (ER+), who writes badly, unclearly and without warmth (SR-), who does not know (and thus care about) their audience (SR-), and as a result creates unapproachable and unengaging exhibitions (SR-).

Discussion / 'a lovely way of storytelling'

To summarise, a number of trends are evident around the role of author, firstly in terms of how the role is constructed and regulated by the institution and in turn the team, and secondly in terms of the individual who filled that role on this particular project. Both serve to emphasise social relations (SR+) and downplay epistemic relations (ER-), thus reflecting a knower code.

In terms of the institution, the authorial role was conflated with the role of curator, but at the same time was seen as flexible and shared. The role was flexible in that it was based in deep knowledge of the subject involved but was not 'locked in' to a prescribed institutional role or category; in other words, rather than an approach that says, 'You can tell this story if you are a curator', the approach was, 'If you can tell this story, we will make you a curator'. In this role, and indeed more generally, emphasis and value were placed on generic qualities and skills anchored in the dispositions and experiences of the individual (eg, being a good storyteller, a good problem solver) rather than specific to a given disciplinary field. As noted above, institutionally and individually, these features all indicate stronger social relations (SR+) and a weakening of epistemic relations (ER-), where 'expert' knowledge is downplayed and/or seen as something continuous with, rather than discrete from, everyday knowledge.

The sharing of control of the author's role and voice, particularly in terms of the creation of key exhibition texts, also reflects weaker epistemic relations (ER-). For this project, controls were distributed across the team, with other voices allowed to significantly shape the texts. The curatorial voice was regarded as the foundational voice but it was not privileged ipso facto above other voices. In other words, institutional and team structures and practices allowed a collaborative and horizontal rather than hierarchical approach that placed significant value on attributes and

experiences that are intrinsic to the individual rather than the result of specific training of the individual or qualifications (SR+). At the same time, his tendency to represent himself as other than 'a real curator', and the similar tendency among other team members, hints at this being at odds with accepted practice, both within the organisation and the wider museum culture; it suggests that his legitimate claim to that role was uncertain and uncharacteristic.

4.2.3. Audience as meaning-maker / who can listen?

This section investigates how members of the exhibition team represented their target audience: who did the team imagine they were addressing in and through this exhibition? What roles were visitors positioned to take up in the exhibition?

In this regard, the team showed a general tendency to divide the audience into groups based on three main, although often overlapping, criteria. The first was knowledge (those who come with existing knowledge of the stadium and its history and those who do not); the second personal experience (those who have visited the stadium and those who haven't); and the third, age (older and younger). In other words, one of the three distinctions was based on subject knowledge (thus emphasising ER), the others were based on personal experience (thus foregrounding SR), as evidenced in the following comment:

I imagine two sets [of visitors]. I imagine my parents, because on first chat about it they were – they'd all been, they'd all seen, they'd rattled off this list of people they saw at the stadium, so straight away that would be the immediate audience ... And the second audience I would hope would be Gen Y and those in their 20s that want to come, and go to festivals and have an interest in the music scene, have an interest in the entertainment scene ... (Wpm2)

This division into such clearly defined binaries was atypical in the talk of team members, who generally spoke in more relative than categorical terms. They also showed a tendency to minimise the gap between the museum as 'expert' and visitor as novice/learner. Most conspicuously, this was seen in the tendency of team members to

speak of themselves as learners – ‘I think we’re still learning ... we’re experimenting more’ (Whi8) – and also, as noted previously (see 4.2.1), in their tendency to downplay their expertise, attributing their success to luck rather skill. This closing of the gap between museum as expert and visitor as novice/learner is also seen in the idea that the museum is telling the *visitors’* story – ‘here’s their past up on the wall’ (Wc3) – and in the emphasis on telling the story in ‘clear, everyday language’ (We4), in language that’s ‘not overly wordy ... not showing off’ (Whi8). While, as team members note, there is much research and scholarship that underpins the Trust’s approach to interpretation, this is backgrounded relative to the idea of telling ‘their stories’. For example, in the following comment, it appears as peripheral, circumstantial, to the main idea of storytelling:

our interpretation projects are becoming much more about storytelling about people’s lives and what happened to people in the past within this framework of a heritage site with a really well researched and presented property, landscape, buildings, everything else that makes up the package (Whi8; circumstance in *italics underlined*).

In a similar vein, team members spoke of visitors in a consistently positive and often affective way: ‘They have this great love and passion about that subject’ (Wc3); ‘what they treasure is really important to us’ (We4). This positions visitors as like-minded people who share the interests and feelings of team members and in turn the Trust.

Visitor as actor & senser

In speaking about the relationship between visitors and museum texts, team members strongly foregrounded the visitor’s agency and choice. They spoke of the role of exhibition text as ‘affording’ rather ‘directing’ the visitor – as giving, encouraging, trying, or just ‘being’:

it’s giving them excitement about their memories, about a time in their life ...
(Wc3)

trying to tell people stuff that they might not have known (Wc3)

it's *just there* for people to dip into ... I mean it *tells* the narrative so that it's main thing but then *it's there almost* as a reference tool for whatever piques your interests (Wc3, my emphasis in all)

The visitors on the other hand were construed as actors and sensors – they were positioned to enjoy, connect, remember, dip into, come back. They controlled the interaction, not the museum. Social relations were foregrounded in the team's descriptions of good exhibition text as enabling a social/personal connection, and 'bad exhibition text' as closing down social relations:

[bad exhibition text is] too small, too long winded and *too esoteric*, or the language being *really inaccessible*, which I think is *really selfish* text (Wpm2, my emphasis)

The negative evaluations made are not directed at the significance or value of the content knowledge itself (ER–) but at how it relates to a putative other (SR+).

Discussion / 'what they treasure is really important to us'

To summarise, this exhibition team placed significant emphasis on visitors' own experiences, interests and memories. They 'imagined' visitors in broad categories that were based more often on the visitors' personal experience than specific subject knowledge, and minimised rather than asserted a sense of hierarchy in their relationship with visitors. They repeatedly described the key goal of the exhibition and their key responsibility as its producers as being to find and make connections to the visitor's experience. These features all indicate strong social relations (SR+) by emphasising a relationship based on shared experience with the visitor. Again, a manifest tendency to blur any kind of boundary between historical knowledge and everyday experience shows a concern to integrate and interconnect rather than insulate and separate, indicating a marked weakening of epistemic relations (ER–).

The team also emphasised the visitor's agency in terms of pacing, sequencing and finding the meanings they wanted in the message offered. This relatively weak control of pacing and sequencing indicates a relative weakness in epistemic relations (ER–). In addition, the focus on personal interpretation, where the visitor is seen to 'shape the

message' rather than the message to 'shape the visitor', also marks stronger social relations (SR+; see Chen 2010: 100)

4.2.4. Message as meaning potential / what can be said?

This section examines how members of the exhibition team represented or imagined the message they aimed to convey in the exhibition: *what* did they want to say and *how*? Consistently, the team conceptualised the message as 'story', and ideally, as a story *shared* between the represented participants and the visiting audience.

Knowledge as story

For this exhibition, the essential purpose of in-exhibition text was described as 'telling the story'. For visitors unfamiliar with the stadium, it was about evoking a sense of the time, the place and the characters in the story; for those familiar with it, it was about the 'nostalgic enjoyment they'll get from sharing those experiences, living them again, writing them down for us, talking to the people who they visited the show with' (Wf9). For this exhibition, the qualities highly valued in the message included 'engaging', 'interesting', 'memorable', 'quirky' – qualities that are subjective and that emphasise the *relationship* between the historical knowledge in the message and the visitor rather than the significance of the knowledge itself.

This importance of 'story' was expressed consistently across the team. More particularly, the best texts were seen to be 'about the great story that's behind it [the object]' (Wpm1), rather than about the look or the physicality of the object itself.

According to the various team members, 'good in-exhibition text':

... is about telling stories around a topic and sharing knowledge ... who lived in these places and what happened to them ... [for this exhibition] it's about people's memories, that's the joy of it and that's what draws people to a show like that is the anecdotes and the personal stories and the sharing of those memories (Whi8)

[for me it's about] creating a story, and I think the important thing is to hook you into .. a narrative and take you on a journey, so that you get to the end of the show and you go, ah, I remember what this person was about, I remember what

this artist was about, or this particular time, and in remembering ... that work had an impact on me because I can actually connect it all. (Wpm2)

[is] not getting caught up in the facts or the timelines so much but in keeping the more interesting aspects of the story ... [it's] about the great story that's behind it [the object]. (We4)

While such comments acknowledge the displayed object, they foreground the social, emotional and personal relations with visitors. Again, this was also reflected in the answers given by team members to the question, 'What do you most hope visitors will take away from the experience of visiting the exhibition?':

if we can get someone to remember a story and tell it to someone else ... it's giving them excitement about their memories (We4)

... I hope that they have an emotional response to the exhibition ... I want that to be how visitors walk away, that they think wasn't that a great place and a great time and weren't there great characters around (Wpm1)

The answers emphasise feelings and relationships rather than knowledge. The primary aim, as described by the team, was not that visitors understand this history or take away new knowledge, but that they remember, connect or feel.

Layered but flat

An important goal for the team was to 'layer' the exhibition message as a way of enabling visitors to easily find the level of depth or detail that they wanted. All the team members spoke about the importance of this structure, and of the detailed negotiations and effort that went into developing a graphic style that would clearly signal this hierarchy. Similarly, much discussion and effort went into determining the content and focus of text at each level: what information should go in section themes, what belonged in subthemes, what belonged in object labels, and how digital media such as the film and iPads would be used to complement the label texts. The length of text at each level was also tightly controlled within the team to maintain a consistent and orderly presentation, again with the stated aim of enabling visitors to find what they wanted with ease so they could construct their own story of the exhibition.

However, while this staging, layering and structuring were highly prioritised by the team, the overall content and storyline conveyed in this exhibition were relatively flat in terms of semantic range, that is, in their ability to generalise beyond the immediate context (see chapter 6 for further discussion of this). The in-exhibition texts (wall texts, labels and film) were the major (verbal) text produced to convey the research and scholarship that went into this project. No other publications, such as catalogue/book, papers or multimedia were produced to present the story in greater depth, complexity or criticality, or to endure beyond the exhibition's closing. While a number of public programs gave participants in the story a chance to talk in detail about their role and share their perspectives on this history (eg, a former wrestling champion), other expert or critical perspectives were not engaged. Several team members noted this limited output as a disappointment, an undesired and undesirable consequence of budget cuts and shifting priorities. Nonetheless, the fact that such resources were targeted as 'expendable' and that other and/or more in-depth or critical options were not sought out within these constraints suggest that further layering of the message was not a priority.

Discussion / 'sharing the memories'

Three major attributes emerged in the discussions around 'the message' of the exhibition. The first concerned the focus on knowledge as story, the second the focus on the context of the displayed object rather than the object itself, and the third, the relatively flat, horizontal nature of the exhibition message.

The idea of 'story' was seen as extremely important and features persistently in the talk of all team members. As noted earlier in this chapter, this focus on representing historical knowledge as 'story' acts to blur the boundary between the discipline of history and everyday knowledge and experience, and thus demonstrates a weakening of epistemic relations (ER-). While this to a degree reflects the nature of social history as a field of scholarship, team members further emphasised the effect through their dismissal of knowledge for its own sake ('getting caught up in the facts or the timelines', being 'too esoteric'). The focus on 'story' serves to forge a personal connection with the visiting audience, representing a strengthening of social relations

(SR+); stories, note Martin & Rose (2008: 49), are a foundational genre in all cultures, 'intimately woven into the minutiae of everyday life, whenever we come together'. Stories, they argue, have a power to draw the attention and 'grip the imagination' of both children and adults that is potent and universal. The team's emphasis on connecting the museum's stories to the visitor's own stories and lives (on sharing, remembering, reliving) further demonstrates a marked strength in social relations (SR+).

In the team discussions, it also became clear that the displayed object, while central to the museum's practice and the exhibition medium, was not of itself seen as representing a significant source of knowledge. The objects were important, but what mattered more were the stories *behind* the object. The stories *in* the object were rarely referenced by team members in the discussions. This suggests either an assumption that visitors will bring the skills and knowledge needed to access these 'stories' so there is no need to make reference to them, or that these 'stories' are not as important to communicate. The analysis in the following chapters supports the latter view, which again can be interpreted as a weakening of epistemic relations (ER-).

The third notable attribute of the message was its relative flatness in terms of semantic range. While the team prioritised the layering and structuring of texts within the exhibition to enable visitors to select and access the information and stories with ease, and similarly prioritised the authentic voices of participants in the history being told, they did not speak of the need to integrate other more critical or disciplinary perspectives or to connect the history of Sydney Stadium into broader historical narratives and themes. Nor did they speak about artefacts as historical sources, or of a need to model historical processes such as 'reading' historical objects as sources. In other words, team members expressed little that suggested an interest in extending the exhibition message beyond the 'commonsense' domain of everyday life to the 'uncommonsense' arena of disciplinary knowledge. This can be interpreted as a relative weakness in epistemic relations (ER-). Far more important was to convey the authenticity of this story, to make it *real* for the exhibition's audience (SR+). This again evidences the dominant knower code.

4.2.5. The Wild Ones / section summary & discussion

This section has investigated the process of developing the exhibition texts for *The Wild Ones* exhibition, primarily through the interviews recorded with team members who were directly involved with the development and production of the verbal exhibition texts. In focusing progressively on key aspects of the text development process, it has shown the different forms, or realisations, of epistemic and social relations take relative to different aspects of the process. These are summarised in table 4.2 below. These relations were then used to determine the specialisation code of the team members and team.

Table 4.2. Summary of features of The Wild Ones team and exhibition

Aspect	Feature	Relation evidenced
institution	• boundaries between everyday knowledge and historical knowledge blurred	ER–
	• boundaries between disciplinary fields downplayed	ER–
	• boundaries between visitor and museum blurred and personalised	SR+
	• focus on people (teams)	SR+
	• horizontal structure, collaborative processes and structures; continuity	ER–, SR+
exhibition process	• roles are not fixed according to predetermined roles, categories, skills	ER–
	• achievement based on intrinsic, personal and generic skills, qualities, dispositions	SR+
	• collaborative, ‘team’ ownership of texts	ER–
	• actively separates from perceived ER+, SR– (academia and ‘old ways’)	ER–, SR+
author	• curatorial voice foundational but not overtly privileged	ER–
	• ability to ‘tell a story’ and relate to people highly valued	SR+
	• formal disciplinary content knowledge not viewed as essential	ER–
	• notion of a ‘real curator’ suggests this an uncharacteristic situation (ie, a ‘real’ curator would be ER+)	ER–
visitor	• audiences predominantly segmented on the basis of experience or age	SR+

	• emphasis on visitor's own experiences, interests, memories	SR+
	• boundaries between visitors and 'expert' author/s downplayed	ER–, SR+
	• general positive attitude (esp affect) towards visitors (ie, visitor preferences, experiences, opinions are highly valued)	SR+
	• visitors positioned to control the pace, sequencing and selection of information	SR+
message	• focus on 'the story' – historical knowledge as everyday knowledge	ER–
	• knowledge valued for being relevant, rather than for its significance per se; for 'connecting' rather than simply informing	SR+, ER–
	• relatively flat in terms of semantic range – while the exhibition text is multilayered, no other options available to give greater depth, detail	ER–

Throughout the interviews, team members repeatedly emphasised the interests, dispositions and experiences of knowers, both staff and visitors. Achievement here was underpinned by qualities and skills that are generic across roles and disciplines rather than specialised to them. In terms of LCT, this can be interpreted as a strengthening of social relations (SR+) and weakening of epistemic relations (ER–). Within the team (and the Trust more generally), points of tension, or at least, points of difference, occurred not between members of the team but, internal to the Trust, between 'old' and new staff and practices, and externally, between the Trust and 'academia', invoked as a representation of difficult, dry, technical content and language. In both cases this suggests a weakening of epistemic relations (ER–) and strengthening of social relations (SR+) by explicitly dissociating themselves from practices they perceive as exhibiting a knowledge code (ER+, SR–). The relationship construed with visitors, on the other hand, was consistently positive, where visitor experience, opinions and preferences were repeatedly emphasised and valued (SR+).

While curatorial knowledge and the curatorial voice were viewed as foundational, they were not privileged over others; the exhibition texts were 'team' texts. As evidenced by the lack of clear hierarchies and boundaries around roles, power and control were shared and flexible depending on individual contexts and needs in terms of both staff

and the target visitor. In other words, the team downplayed boundaries around different kinds of knowledge (ER-), and controls around presenting knowledge (ER-). In terms of codes, the marked strength of social relations and relative weakness of epistemic relations were shown to indicate a knower code across the team, although the boundaries drawn between 'old' staff and 'real' curators suggest that this has not always been the case and hint at a pre-existing culture and wider expectation of a different (curatorial) coding orientation.

As well as shaping organisational structures, processes and team relations, these underlying relations or organising principles flowed on to shape the exhibition experience and interpretive texts. As shown in chapter 6, the exhibition texts produced gave visitors relative autonomy in negotiating the exhibition content although they were available largely in one form with one layer of depth. Multiple voices were present, interspersed with and often foregrounded in relation to the curatorial voice. The focus of knowledge was strongly directed at 'the stories behind' the displayed object, rather than on the object itself. In other words, social relations both pertaining to the subject matter on display and between the museum and the visitor were represented as highly valued in this exhibition.

This chapter now turns to look at the second case study, where a more complex and largely complementary pattern of relations is identified.

4.3. RENAISSANCE @ THE NGA

This section follows a similar trajectory to the previous one in first presenting a brief orienting view of the organisation and team process, and then a discussion of key themes to emerge from the interviews around conceptions of author, audience and message. These thematic threads are then interpreted through the lens of LCT Specialisation as evidence of epistemic relations and social relations, and in turn the specialisation code of the various team members.

4.3.1. Background

Organisation / 'the bias would be towards curatorial'

The second exhibition included in this study was held at the National Gallery of Australia. As defined in the gallery's enabling legislation, the NGA's core mandate is to develop, maintain and exhibit a national collection of works of art (NGA 1975/2003: part II, section 6). The gallery's vision, as stated in its Annual Report current with the *Renaissance* exhibition is:

the cultural enrichment of all Australians through access to their national art gallery, the quality of the national collection, the exceptional displays, exhibitions and programs, and the professionalism of our staff (2012a: 21).

The Strategic Plan from the time of the exhibition included a different version of the vision:

An inspiration for the people of Australia (2012b: 3).

In both forms, the wordings are broadly inclusive (within national boundaries) yet heavy with abstractions ('enrichment', 'access', 'professionalism', 'inspiration'). As a result, the statement reads as generic and impersonal. Qualities of 'professionalism', 'national' and 'exceptional' act to position the gallery as beyond the realm of the ordinary and everyday, and indeed create an accumulating prosody of positive appreciation that elevates it well above. Even in the shorter version, through the term 'inspiration', the gallery presents itself as something above and beyond the ordinary.

At the time of this exhibition, the activities and staff of the gallery were structured into four main divisions. As represented in strategic documents and in the team interviews, this structure featured clear boundaries around specialised roles and was strongly hierarchical, with the curatorial department and curatorial knowledge privileged over others. In the diagram below, for example, also from the Annual Report current with the exhibition, each role/section appears in its own box. And, while the Curatorial Department appears physically below several other departments (second column from left), it is linked directly to the director via the central dotted line, suggesting a prioritised or privileged access or status.

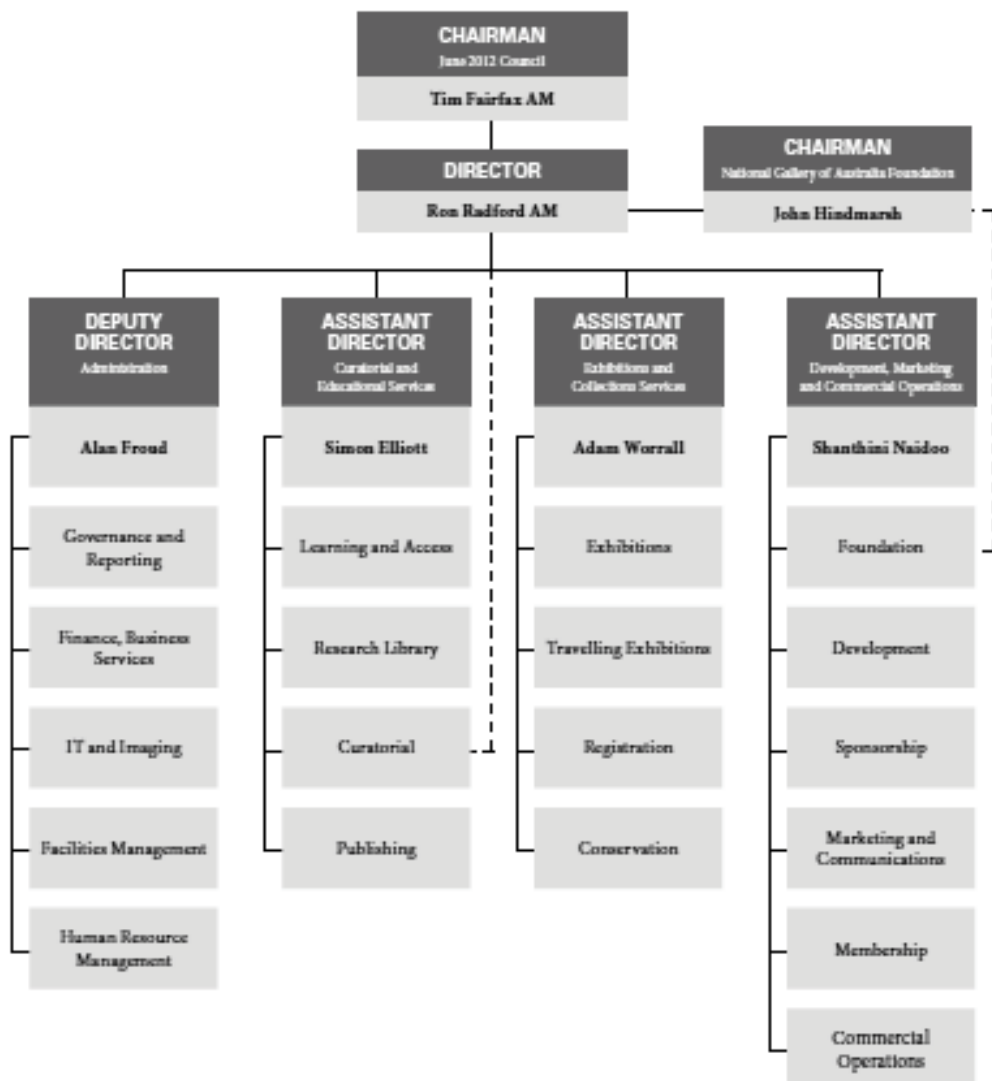


Figure 4.3. 'Management structure' of the NGA (from the NGA Annual Report 2011–12: 108)

This 'privileging' also featured strongly in the interviews, with the Curatorial department described as the intellectual and 'scholarly' heart of the institution:

the publishing mission of this institution is to publish the scholarship of our curatorial staff. The books that we produce are written by us in most cases or have a high content by us and only occasionally would we buy in someone else's work ... I can't see why [other staff/departments] couldn't or wouldn't [publish] but it wouldn't be offered just for the sake of being democratic or having another voice ... we do do it but it would be where there was a real benefit to doing it, and by and large the bias would be towards curatorial and that scholarship. (Rad1)

In this comment, 'curatorial scholarship' is presented as separate from and privileged above other kinds of knowledge.

Exhibition process / 'he calls a meeting'

A key priority for the gallery in meeting its 'national role' is to present 'internationally important blockbuster exhibitions of the world's finest art' (NGA 2012b: 4), and such international blockbusters, for example *Renaissance*, have become an annual feature of the gallery's programming. These are high budget, high stakes, resource-intense projects, highly promoted and programmed. As a result, the gallery has a well-established structure and processes for developing and staging these international exhibitions in terms of who does what, when and how. Some aspects (of necessity) are highly formalised, documented and explicit (for example, concerning the movement and condition of, and responsibility and liability for, artworks). But at the same time, certain aspects of the process were more implicit, particularly around the development of the interpretive aspects of the exhibition and related resources. As a general rule, and for this exhibition, the gallery did not use written briefs or guidelines to document and guide the development and production of the exhibition storyline, catalogue, labels and other interpretive resources.

The development and staging of the *Renaissance* exhibition involved people from all gallery departments, with at least 20 people involved in the development of language-based interpretive resources. Among them was a 'core' team with responsibility for driving content and interpretation, comprising the director and three staff curators.

An external university-based art historian, described variously as ‘external curator’, ‘principal advisor’, ‘external expert’ and ‘consulting curator’, also played a central role, as did the assistant director (Curatorial & Educational Services), who, among his other roles, acted as project manager for the various interpretive resources. Other team members were progressively brought onto the project as required, for example educators, designers, editor, web producer, in most cases from three to 12 months before the scheduled opening. Sixteen members of this interpretive group were interviewed for this project. Note that due to the size and complexity of this team, the discussion in this chapter has been restricted to focus only on those team members who most directly impacted on the development of the exhibition texts.

Table 4.3. Renaissance team members interviewed

Role	Code
Assistant director, Curatorial & Education Services	Rad1
Director	Rd2
Consulting curator	Rcc3
Senior curator	Rsc4
Curator	Rc5
Curatorial assistant	Rca6
Project editor	Rpe7
Staff editor	Rse8
Senior exhibition designer	Rsed9
Exhibition designer	Red10
Graphic designer	Rgd11
Head of Learning & Access	Rhla12
Program coordinator (adults audioguide)	Rpca13
Program coordinator (kids audioguide)	Rpck14
Volunteer guide	Rvg15
Web manager	Rwm16

For at least 12 months out of the scheduled exhibition opening, the focus in terms of text-based interpretive resources was on the catalogue, in this instance a substantial 244-page, full-colour book. A range of other interpretive texts were also produced by the gallery for this exhibition. These were principally authored and/or delivered by the

staff educators. They included two pre-recorded audio guides, one for adult and one for child visitors, and a 'Discovery' children's trail, a small booklet given to children as they entered the exhibition, and under the direction of the Learning & Access Department, volunteers also lead regular guided tours through the exhibition. An extensive program of public and educational programs was also developed and presented in conjunction with the *Renaissance* exhibition, but these were beyond the scope of this project to consider.

Discussion / 'exceptional', 'inspirational'

This orienting view of the organisation and exhibition process suggests an institutional culture that emphasises boundaries and hierarchies based on specialised knowledge and roles, both externally in terms of visitor relations and internally in terms of staff relations. Externally, the gallery sought to present itself as a centre of expert authority and excellence, placing itself above the everyday and ordinary. This sense of institutional knowledge and experience as distinct from other kinds of knowledge and experience emphasises epistemic relations (ER+), as does the sense of elevation; while the gallery is a place 'for all Australians', it is a place to be looked up to. The dominating presence of abstractions in the gallery's vision statements whereby experience is construed as abstract entities ('enrichment', 'inspiration', 'access') rather than processes (enrich, inspire, access as verbs), distances the sense of human agency and involvement and thus downplays social relations (SR-). Yet at the same time, the emphasis on ideas of inspiration, enrichment and transformation and thus on the interaction of knowledge with individual experience and dispositions puts the gallery in a relationship with the public that acknowledges their existing experiences and dispositions as knowers; it's not enough for visitors to just 'know' the art, the gallery's aim is to transform them. This, in contrast, emphasises social relations (SR+). The shorter, alternative version of the vision statement ('An inspiration for the people of Australia') may well be an attempt make these social relations more pronounced. Outwardly then, from this orienting view, there is a broad emphasis on both epistemic relations (ER+) and social relations (SR+), suggesting an elite institutional orientation.

Internally, as viewed from the perspective of the text development process, the boundaries around specialised roles were clearly delineated and fixed in relation to position within the organisation. So too were hierarchies, with the curatorial role explicitly privileged ('the bias would be towards curatorial') on the basis of its claim to expert content/collection knowledge and separate from other kinds of knowledge, indicating strong epistemic relations (ER+). Yet at the same time, the tendency to categorise people as different kinds of knowers (for example, as 'key players' and others; 'Australians' and others), suggests significant emphasis on social relations (SR+). Again, this strength of epistemic and social relations can be interpreted as an elite code (ER+, SR+). As will become evident in the following discussion, it also foreshadows the presence of a mix of codes at work within the gallery, some more powerful than others.

4.3.2. Author as meaning-maker / who can speak?

This section investigates how the *Renaissance* team constructed the role of author: how did they represent themselves as authors; who did they represent as having the authority to tell the story of the exhibition, and on what basis?

Privileged authors and privileged texts

On this team, there was a clear distinction between the role of the curators as the primary authors and source of expert content knowledge, and the role of others as 'recontextualisers' of this curatorial knowledge. As explained by the senior curator:

So what happens in these exhibitions is that there are various kinds of written texts. There are the words on the wall [which we, the curators, do]... the Education Department writes the audio tour and they do the children's tour and the children's audio tour, so it's a very clear demarcation. However all their content comes from the curators and the catalogue. (Rsc4)

As described in the above quote, there is a hierarchy in authorial role and a hierarchy of texts. The catalogue was understood to be the foundational (verbal) exhibition text, both as a working document through the exhibition's development and as a finished product: 'the energy goes into the catalogue ... and the others fall out of that ... it's the

basis on which other material flows' (Rad1). After the catalogue, next in line were the in-exhibition texts (the thematic wall texts and object labels, referred to collectively as 'label texts'). Also authored by the curatorial team, these were written very late in the process, only weeks before the exhibition's opening.

As well as being privileged in terms of workflow and importance, the curatorial texts were insulated from the input of others. Other than senior management, non-curatorial staff had no input or involvement in the development of the catalogue⁵ and draft versions were kept under tight control:

curators are hanging on to any early draft as something that is more secretive than plans to invade another country because they don't want anything that isn't 100% correct going out. And it's not a bad thing if you, you want to make sure everything's checked before it's getting circulated because once it starts circulating it does have these many, many lives ... Basically they won't release it until it's published, till they can't change it any more ... And what we're looking for is the thread, the idea, the story ... to do what we have to do. So it's a battle for, it's actually about control over that text. And it's partly, I understand it's control, not because they don't want to share or they're not collaborative but a fear that their reputations are on those names and dates and spellings and information. I think they fail to see is that what they have to sell is the story, the idea, and then other people can get on with doing their interpretations (Rhla12).

The exhibition labels were also developed by the curatorial team without the input of others. The labels did not go through a formal or independent process of editing or review. Perhaps the short development time represents a strategy to insulate them from the input of others; by leaving them to the last minute, there simply was not the time for others to be involved.

⁵ The *Renaissance* catalogue contains essays by a number of external curators and art historians but they were not involved beyond their individual contribution. The director and staff curators maintained responsibility and control of the catalogue. A staff conservator also contributed an essay, but his role was more akin to the external authors in that he had no particular involvement or responsibility beyond his specific essay.

In a related vein, the curatorial voice of the in-exhibition texts was not specifically attributed, unlike, for example, the educators' voice; their written texts (for example, the children's discovery trail) were by-lined 'produced by NGA Education'. In other words, the curatorial voice functioned as the naturalised or unmarked voice of the gallery, and other voices as marked. A further expression of the 'markedness' of the non-curatorial voice can be seen in the practice of housing the area of the exhibition developed by the Education team in a separate room ('the family activity room'), in this case with a self-closing door, effectively shutting it off from the surrounding exhibition except when the door was actively opened.⁶

Both singular & segmented

While the curatorial voice thus represented the natural, or unmarked, voice of the gallery, at the same time the curatorial voice was segmented and divided. Although the team identified a number of attributes that were important and common across curatorial roles – for example, 'having a good eye', confidence, flair, 'a willingness to take risks' (Rc5) – repeatedly in their talk, the *Renaissance* curators differentiated themselves from other curators and curatorial departments. Speaking of their own group (comprising senior curator, curator and curatorial assistant), they described a strong culture of collaboration and an ethos of mentoring. The group was hierarchical but there was a pronounced sense of camaraderie and cohesion ('I am an assistant. I am down here in terms of things but we have ... very much a team environment. I don't feel my opinion is relegated to the bottom' – Rca6). Yet this group separated themselves from other NGA curators in terms of both knowledge and process. For example, small differences in the type, ordering and formatting of information on the basic ('tombstone') label were highly valued and actively maintained:

No matter what the size of the work, we use C-sized labels ... Each work has the information label with the usual artist birth and death dates and place, where they worked if that's different ... Australian Art has much more information on their

⁶ Similarly, the reluctance to include 'children's labels', generally produced by the educators, in the main exhibition galleries is a strategy to maintain the curatorial voice as the naturalised voice of the exhibition and gallery, and keep others out or 'contained'. For *Renaissance*, a children's guide was produced as a booklet, so it remained ephemeral rather than intrinsic to the exhibition.

labels than we do, everywhere the artists worked for example. We never do that.
We don't care ... [and] Asian art of course is different again. (Rsc4)

In the words of one of the *Renaissance* curators, 'One curator cannot be placed in a different [NGA] department and survive. They have specialities' (Rca6). In other words, they represent the curatorial role as united in terms of social relations (SR+), but segmented into specialised subgroups on the basis of epistemic relations (a series of different ER+s), with this segmentation highly valued and actively maintained.

This sense of specialisation also extended beyond the gallery, as evidenced in comments that typically differentiated the knowledge, decisions and practices of NGA curators from those of other individuals and institutions, both within Australia and internationally. During the *Renaissance* project, a major focus of this attitude of 'intra-curatorial specialisation' was expressed in relations with the external catalogue authors ('these are *not* the sorts of entries we would have written about the works of art in this show' – Rc5, emphasis in original), and particularly with the consulting curator/principal advisor, a professor in art history at an interstate university. With both a scholarly and personal connection with the lending institution, she played a pivotal role in instigating the exhibition and worked closely with the director and senior curator in selecting the works, formulating the overall exhibition concept and commissioning a number of the external catalogue authors. However, her concept was not always aligned with the gallery's and her involvement became more compartmentalised and distanced as the process progressed. She was a major contributor to the catalogue, but had little to do with the development of other interpretive resources and no direct input into the labels.

Thus, while the external curator was a significant member of the core curatorial team, the staff curators, along with the director and assistant director, repeatedly distanced themselves from her, and she from them. For example, from inside the gallery:

And I respect K and it is a dialogue and there is not necessarily a right and wrong answer. But we had a position and K did at times struggle with that, with what she thought we were getting rid of was so important to the art history world. (Rad1)

I think the problem with this exhibition was that different people had different ideas of what the story is that we are telling ... (Rca6)

The people who teach it [art history] are these bastions of knowledge, but that doesn't make them a good curator. You have to have the flair (Rca6)

The consulting curator similarly drew repeated contrasts between herself /academia and the gallery. For example:

So unlike in a scholarly situation ...

... whereas normally in the academic world ...

... I found it odd ...

These examples highlight a divide between the *kind* of knowledge and knowledge practices at stake: again, a different kind of ER+. A particular focus of this tension galvanised around the issue of provenance, the record of ownership of the individual artworks. To the consulting curator, this was of central importance to understanding and appreciating the works of art; to the gallery team, it was unwanted and unnecessary on the basis that it didn't have relevance for the intended audience:

And I *hate*, and provenance is very big in Europe and particularly big in England ... is *terribly* interesting to a lot of scholars; it's of *no* interest at all to Australians who often don't know these families ... we're not *remotely* interested in that and we had a lot of crossing out in the texts of provenance ... I was quite *ruthless* getting rid of that ... (Rd2, emphasis in original)

This comment strongly foregrounds the idea of relevant knowledge over significance per se, drawing on a suite of interpersonal resources to emphasise that position (these include, for example, affect: 'hate', 'interest'; negation: 'no', 'don't', 'not'; and especially gradation: 'hate', 'very', 'particularly', 'terribly', 'remotely', 'lot', 'ruthless'). This focus on relevance emphasises social relations: SR+ in terms of the gallery team; SR- in terms of how they represent the non-gallery authors. In short, there is a clash on two fronts with the external authors: they are seen as lacking in social relations (SR-) and having the wrong kind of epistemic relations (ER+).

A second focus of tension in the text development process concerned the director's last-minute intervention in the exhibition wall texts, making changes to the wording only days before they went into production and thus challenging the authors' control of what were strongly 'owned' as curatorial texts. While these texts 'went through a process' within the curatorial team (Rca6) with a number of checks and balances (for example, the texts were swapped around so that the curator who wrote the catalogue entry for a given artwork did not also write the extended label text, they reviewed each other's drafts and also sought the opinion of people outside the curatorial department), the process occurred within and was controlled by the staff curatorial team. 'It's a process we always do ... We spend *a lot* of time and energy preparing for this and we *know* what we're doing. This is *not* just a job that you could put anyone in. There's training and time goes into this and *a lot* of knowledge' (Rca6, emphasis in original). As a result of this strong sense of ownership underpinned by group expertise, changes instigated by others were seen as an affront to the group's curatorial integrity and authority. A recurring use of 'battle' metaphors ('struggle', 'battle', 'thrash out', 'batter' etc) in the context of these events and in talking about the text development process more generally points to the active and emotionally charged work invested in defending the boundaries and authorities at stake as much as in the act of writing itself.

Non-curatorial authors

As noted above, a number of texts were produced by educators working within the Learning & Access Department. In speaking of their role as authors, the educators described their work as complementary but subsidiary to curatorial. As put by the department head, 'in my area, we're trying to do all of the other subsidiary things that feed off that core material' (Rhla12). As put by the senior curator, the demarcation is 'very clear': 'we look through everything for accuracy and misunderstandings, the main thing we correct. We don't of course interfere with their interpretation although we could' (Rsc4).

Unlike the curatorial authors, the educators worked across curatorial divisions rather than within them; their roles were defined by audience segment (such as public, adult, family, school etc) rather than by collection category. Also unlike the curatorial authors,

these authors downplayed divisions and specialisations within their department, and in their talk emphasised qualities that were more generic across roles rather than specialised to them, for example, being ‘personable’, intuitive (Rpca13), having a range of art experiences (Rhla12) and the ability to ‘bring a subject to life’ (Rhla12). However, they were irked by the fact that within the gallery, their expertise was not always seen as specialised:

[so there’s a view that] anyone who has children knows how to create or can comment on educational product ... they don’t respect me as a professional who’s been trained ... why do they think that; that they know how to write educational content just because they have children themselves? (Rpck14)

In other words, knowledge about collections (curatorial knowledge) has greater status in terms of legitimacy than knowledge about visitors and learning (pedagogical knowledge), which is seen as commonsense or everyday knowledge.⁷

Overall, the comments made by the educator authors were more focused on relations with visitors than on art historical or collection knowledge. And, while the educators on the *Renaissance* project team were all trained in art history and some also had a curatorial background, they described themselves as the communicators and audience specialists, as ‘the people people’ (Rpca13), as a bridge between the collection and the public. Speaking about their aims as authors:

it’s about language that people [visitors] can relate to and maybe when they cross the threshold of the gallery, they think these people aren’t different to me, they’re not snobs, they’re not pushing me away, they’re actually inviting me in (Rpck14).

Here the repetition of negatives invokes and intensifies the possibility of the alternative position (ie, that there are people within the gallery whom visitors *would* see as different from themselves, who *are* snobs and who *are* pushing visitors away).

⁷ A similar hierarchy can be said to exist between curatorial knowledge and editorial knowledge, in that label texts were not considered to need professional editing.

Discussion / 'it's a very clear demarcation'

In summary, there were two main authorial roles on this exhibition team, with a clear demarcation between them. The primary authors were the staff curators. Their voice functioned as the dominant and naturalised voice of the exhibition and the gallery. This curatorial voice was fixed by role and position within the curatorial department and underpinned by specific collection knowledge. This suggests strong epistemic relations (ER+), with the team placing great importance, effort and emphasis on insulating this knowledge and expertise from everyday knowledge and from other forms of curatorial or art historical knowledge (also ER+). For example, in terms of the catalogue, the marginalisation of the consulting curator, and the use of an external editor chosen directly by the team rather than a staff editor allocated by a publications committee or department can be read as explicit strategies to maintain curatorial control of the catalogue text.⁸ In terms of the exhibition label texts, these were written entirely by the staff curators, who used their own process of self-editing to similarly insulate the text from the influence of others. At the same time, there was an idea that specialised knowledge alone was not enough to make a good curator – you need to have flair, an eye, a feel – which indicates an emphasis on social relations (SR+), as does the strong culture of apprenticeship within the staff curatorial team, where both knowledge and disposition are tacitly developed through experience and immersion with collection objects and other curators.⁹ This combination of ER+ and SR+ suggests an elite code, where legitimacy is based in both specialised knowledge and developed disposition.

The intensity of feeling around incursions into the curatorial texts, notably by the consulting curator and the director, and repeated use of battle metaphors, highlights the intensity of boundary (power) and control relations around the curatorial voice.

These tensions also point to a clash in coding orientation with these other team members. The consulting curator's emphasis on art historical knowledge, notably

⁸ And indeed, the downgrading of the in-house editorial department several years previously, with the assistant director's assumption of the publishing manager's role, can also be interpreted as a strategy to maintain curatorial control of gallery texts.

⁹ As well as a degree in fine arts, art history or similar, this includes a qualification in curatorial or museum studies. These programs regularly include a placement or internship element, which act to integrate tacit knowledge and practices with the formal qualification.

provenance, as central to understanding and appreciating the works on display independent of context suggests a relative weakening of social relations (SR-) in comparison with the staff curators, and thus a more knowledge-oriented code; the clash with director, on the other hand, who altered the wall texts to remove detail he felt unnecessary and too fastidious for the visiting public, suggests he had relatively stronger social relations (SR+), and thus a more knower-oriented code.

The educators evidenced a coding orientation that similarly emphasised social relations (SR+) while downplaying epistemic relations. This indicates they shared a knower code. Internally, while the educators distinguished themselves from curatorial (for example, through the use of negatives), there was little evidence of intra-departmental demarcation. Externally, these authors were more inclined to align with visitors, or at least downplay differences between themselves and visitors (SR+) and to value integrating art knowledge and experience with the visitor's knowledge and experience (SR+). However, the educators' lack of involvement in the development of curatorial texts meant that their different orientation did not demand negotiation or address.

4.3.3. Audience as meaning-maker / who can listen?

This section looks at how members of the exhibition team represented their target audience: who did the team imagine they were addressing in and through this exhibition? What roles were visitors positioned to take up in the exhibition?

At the most general level, team members showed a tendency to divide the audience into two segments, although the basis of segmentation varied across the team. The staff curators tended to reference *knowledge* of the subject (visitors with/without pre-existing knowledge), emphasising epistemic relations (ER+), as did the external team members, including the consulting curator, editor, volunteer. The staff educators tended to reference *experience* of the subject (visitors with/without experience), emphasising social relations (SR+). Beyond this, within the curatorial team, there was a tendency to make further dichotomous, categorical distinctions based on both visitor experience and disposition: for example between Australian audiences and overseas

audiences; Canberra audiences and other Australian audiences; mainstream and scholarly audiences; audiences who read labels and those who don't. Staff curators also evidenced a certain ambivalence towards the 'general' visitor. Some were evaluated positively – those who were 'intelligent', 'curious', able 'to look' with understanding and appreciation at the works: 'the viewer with a sense of curiosity, with a wish to know' (Rsc4). Conversely, those less interested or able to look, or less confident and secure in their knowledge of art were judged negatively:

Now you can't tell me that if you spend less than a minute looking at a work of art that you have any idea of what it's about or what you're looking at. (Rsc4)

... this is why people with audio tours, who I think are even less secure about their knowledge than other people, less familiar perhaps about going to galleries, don't look at anything that doesn't have a number on it. You look. (Rsc4)

There was also a tendency to position visitors as distinct from themselves, at times placing them in direct opposition:

I don't like text, I hardly ever read it ... But people love it ... (Rsc4)

This sense of segmentation, separation and ambivalence, however, was localised to the staff curatorial team. Among the non-curators, visitors were described with a consistent prosody of positive evaluation and a tendency to downplay differences or boundaries between visitors and themselves.

Visitor as viewer vs actor

In speaking of the relationship between visitors and exhibition text, the team presented a largely unified view of the primary purpose of in-exhibition text in an art exhibition as being to draw the visitor to look at the displayed work. But team members differed in how they expressed the degree of control they/the text should have over that process. The curators maintained a high degree of control over the works to be interpreted verbally and how. This was seen, in the first instance, in their choice to provide an extended commentary on only some of the works on display ('we, the curators, say it's about a third of them', Rsc4): in other words, the curators controlled the selection of

works to be interpreted, rather than providing an extended text with each work and allowing the individual visitor to choose which of the texts they wished to consult:

[when I take people around I say] don't try and see everything. You can't possibly ... And this is what I try to avoid, divert people from reading. That's why we don't have an extended label with each work. People say, 'I want an explanation on each work', that's why we don't do it. (Rsc4)

This sense of control was also evident in the descriptions of the role and purpose of exhibition texts:

My view of any text is purely to make the viewer look at the work ...

... So the point of it is purely to lead the viewer into the work, tell them something they don't know, a point of interest, or something they do know to make them think again.

... we're directing the viewer standing in front of the work to look deeply at the work... making them look past that first initial glance ...

Relative to other team members, their verb choices were more forceful ('direct', 'lead', 'make' etc) and largely unmodalised – and were more often categorical than graded. The verb choices positioned the curator (via their label text) in a causative role, instigating or compelling the visitor to act in a certain way, for example:

... any text [initiator] is purely to make [process: causative] the viewer [actor] look [process: behavioural] at the work [circumstance]

Outside the staff curatorial team, the strength of control over the communicative process and the visitor was more graded. These team members referred to the gallery and/or themselves as 'giving', 'hoping', 'wanting', downplaying their own agency and control in the visitor's experience of the exhibition, and emphasising the visitor's (my emphasis):

The main thing is that you're wanting people to look ... you're encouraging the visitor to look and then you're adding to that

It's about giving them as much as you can in a short period of time

I see it as layers and layers of text that people can take – and the spoken text – so then all these things people can have at once, or none at all ...So it's the layering and I think we give all that layering quite deliberately but not I hope in a heavy handed or didactic way. I hope there's a sort of light touch.

In the following description, one educator uses negation to explicitly distance himself and his team from what was a presumed alternative view within the gallery:

They [the labels] need to give people the tools to get something out of the looking. People don't need, you're not going to give them a history lesson. You're *not* going to teach them about the Renaissance. It's *not* Vasari's Artists Lives. It's related to that particular painting so it needs to have that particular relevance to that work of art. To me too often they are just some facts rather than some tools to help in looking at the work. (Rhla12, my emphasis)

Discussion / 'if you spend less than a minute'

In summary, the visitor was imagined differently by different groups within the team. Staff curators were more inclined to segment the audience into various categories and to selectively differentiate the audience from themselves. They showed a tendency to emphasise their own 'expert' knowledge as different from the everyday knowledge of the 'general visitor', thus emphasising epistemic relations (ER+). But equally this separation could be based for qualities that were more intrinsic to the visitor – curiosity and security, for example. In other words, 'how visitors know' was as important as 'what they know', and thus indicating strong social relations (SR+). This combination of ER+ and SR+ again provides evidence of an elite staff curatorial code.

The educators, on the other hand, downplayed these distinctions. They tended to soften boundaries between artistic knowledge/experience and the visitor's personal knowledge/experience (ER–). Instead, they placed greater emphasis and value on the visitor's personal and individual attributes and relations, and on building connections with them (SR+). This suggests a view of the visitor that is shaped by a knower code orientation.

A third approach was evidenced by the external team members, including the consulting curator, the editor and the volunteer. Their comments focused more on knowledge per se rather than the characteristics of the visitor (ER+, SR-), with the view that if you have the right information, regardless of who you are as a visitor, you will be able to understand and appreciate the work of art. This suggests a view of the visitor that is shaped by a knowledge code orientation.

4.3.4. Message as meaning potential / what can be said?

This section explores how members of the *Renaissance* team represented the message they aimed to convey in and through the exhibition and related texts: what did they want to say and how? Across the team, there was a common view that the essential purpose of the texts was to support viewers in looking at the work. Beyond this, however, were complementary and at times conflicting views.

Deep looking

According to team members, the essential purpose of the verbal exhibition texts was to help visitors 'look more deeply' at the displayed work. (Rsc4). But while this sentiment was broadly expressed by all interviewed team members, there were differences in emphasis in the kind of knowledge they attached to supporting that primary role.

For gallery staff, the idea of 'looking' was the absolute priority. In the words of one of the curators:

Every sentence has to direct you back to the painting ... [a good label] makes the person reading the label look at the work, look at the work again, look at it a first time, go back to the label, look at the work, look at the work, think about it, spend some time in front of it (Rsc4)

In the words of the director:

You see the idea of reading a label – looking, reading, looking – means that they're looking. But when they're reading, looking, reading, looking, not only are they having more insight, they're staying longer with the object. That's got to be a good thing, don't you think? Staying longer with the object (Rd2)

And in the words of an educator:

[The labels] need to give people the tools to get something out of the looking. People don't need, you're not going to give them a history lesson. You're not going to teach them about the Renaissance ... To me too often they are just some facts rather than some tools to help in looking at the work. (Rhla12)

While this focus on 'looking' was also important to the non-staff members of the team, in their interviews they foregrounded information, or content knowledge, as underpinning that aim. For example, to the consulting curator, a good label in an art exhibition 'engages you with the most important and significant quality about the work of art', giving you 'all the information ... easily and succinctly' (Rcc3). Similarly, the volunteer guide, not formally trained in the field of art, also foregrounded 'information':

You're not speaking to people who know a lot about art, but you've got to satisfy that audience as well. So it's quite a balancing act to give them enough information and then give them information that's new to them or that makes them think in a slightly different way or is put in a different way to how they've previously acquired it ... So the labels – enough information I think is important (Rvg15)

This division was also reflected in comments concerning what team members hoped visitors would take away from the experience of visiting the exhibition. Staff again foregrounded the act of looking, and outsiders ideas. For example, staff curators wanted visitors 'to come away with a visual memory of three or four paintings they can never forget' (Rsc4), to have 'felt that they had seen something compelling – compelling and beautiful' (Rc5).

For the outsiders, the emphasis was more on information, on 'knowledge'. According to the consulting curator:

You might want them to have some concept of what the Renaissance was all about in different ways, what the northern Renaissance was about, how beautiful it was, how extraordinarily important ... I hope that they would come away with some

knowledge of the early modern period, the Renaissance period, if you'd like to call it. (Rcc3)

And to the volunteer:

I think the absolutely crucial importance of the Renaissance in the development of Western art - I think that would be my basic one. (Rvg15)

Yet at the same time, among the staff curators there was also a clearly defined view of what is legitimate in terms of the knowledge and the practices around 'the looking'. A particular focus of this was the taxonomic 'tombstone' information that constitutes a basic gallery label and appears at the top of extended labels (ie, is given maximum salience, see Kress & van Leeuwen 1996). The detail and length with which one curator chose to speak about both content and form of this text during the interview further reflects the importance placed on this text and curatorial control of it:

... So you can see for us, we've got a space, then a title in bold, the artist's name's in bold, the other information's plain, the title of the work is in bold. And the date is next to it plain. For most of our works, not all of them, but most of our works in International Art have another language for the title ... The next line of course is the medium, which in this case is usually tempera and gold on panel or oil on canvas, there's conventions. Then there's another space and then the credit line ... So there are three blocks of information – very clear, quite big. The text style, font used is Arial and all that information is checked at least 17 times ... (Rsc4)

The educators, on the other hand, focused more on a sense of personal connectedness and value. Again, in answer to the question, 'What do you most hope visitors will take away from the experience of visiting the exhibition', the educators spoke of emotional connection, personal relevance, respect, empathy, confidence:

For me ... it's more about looking at pictures and being confident at looking at pictures ... there's new knowledge but also new confidence about looking at works of art. (Rpck14)

I suppose a respect for the period ... to be able to cast them back ... So for me I would say the development and respect for what was happening then. (Rpca13)

Again such responses act to value new knowledge in relation to the visitor's existing experience rather than independent of it.

Layered & hierarchical

An important goal for the team was to provide a range of interpretive resources that visitors could take up. These were carefully developed to provide a mix, or 'layering' of interpretation in terms of depth, durability, perspective and 'accessibility': the label texts were short and could be seen only in and for the duration of the exhibition, but these were elaborated upon in the catalogue entries, which endured in print beyond the exhibition and also remain available online, with the *Renaissance* micro-website maintained as an ongoing resource.¹⁰ Within the exhibition, audio and various guided tours also elaborated on the label texts, and were further elaborated through an extensive schedule of public programs, which ranged from academically oriented lectures and symposia to artmaking and afternoon aperitifs and antipasto.

Taken in total, these elements comprised a message that was multidimensional and relatively extended in terms of semantic range (again see chapter 6 for further discussion), but also strongly hierarchical, segmented and controlled in terms of access. As noted above, the curatorial in-exhibition text was provided as the foundational verbal interpretation of the exhibition, with other texts available but requiring further action or 'commitment' from the visitor in order to purchase an audio tour, to be there at a specific time for a guided tour or other program, to open a door and enter a separate room, to visit and click through several levels of the website. In other words, while it was a priority to develop and provide a range of interpretive resources to 'give all that layering', the resources were not made equally available to visitors.

Discussion / 'some tools to help in looking'

In summary, several recurring threads emerged in the discussions around 'the message' of the *Renaissance* exhibition. The first concerned the displayed object itself as the primary message of the exhibition, and the focus on 'deep looking'. Other key

¹⁰ See <http://nga.gov.au/Exhibition/RENAISSANCE/>

threads concerned the kind of content team members felt the related (verbal) message should provide to support such looking, and a recurring focus on the hierarchical and segmented nature of the message, with the curatorial message insulated and privileged in terms of status and availability. These aspects combined to form three distinct approaches towards the exhibition text as message, in terms of what it should say and how it should speak to visitors.

The first approach, evidenced principally within the staff curatorial group, was very much focused on the idea of deep looking, on directing the visitor 'back to the painting', with the ultimate aim being for the visitor to experience the works as 'unforgettable', 'compelling', 'beautiful'. This emphasis on creating a personal if not transformative resonance with the visitor indicates stronger social relations (SR+). At the same time, however, the curators repeatedly stressed the importance of specific collection knowledge in underpinning that experience – knowledge about the media, the maker, the date, the collection etc – indicating stronger epistemic relations (ER+). The importance placed on presenting this information in a prominent and highly codified way (ie, as 'tombstone' captions) points to the value placed on differentiating this knowledge from other forms of subject and everyday knowledge, and again indicates strong epistemic relations (ER+), as does the work invested by curators in maintaining these structures and formats (ER+). Through the curatorial message, as expressed in the exhibition labels and wall texts, the curators also sought to exert a high level of control over the way visitors experienced the exhibition, in terms of pacing, sequencing and access to looking at the works (ER+) and access to supporting information and interpretation (ER+). This strength of both social relations and epistemic relations again points to the presence of an elite specialisation code within this group.

While the staff educators shared the curatorial focus on the importance of 'deep looking' as a personal, subjective and ideally transformative process, similarly indicating strong social relations (SR+), here this was underpinned more by personal relevance and meaning rather than artistic significance or merit per se (SR+). Also, they did not seek to regulate the visitor's experience in the same way (ER-) and did not

place the same value on specific collection knowledge unrelated to the visitor's experience and life (ER-). Rather than emphasising specific collection knowledge as important in this process, they focused on integrating the experience of art into the visitor's everyday world as something relevant to and connected with a wide range of experiences (SR+). The message they sought to convey downplayed artistic knowledge as separate from everyday knowledge (ER-). Their notion of the ideal message indicates strong social relations and weaker epistemic relations, and thus a knower code orientation.

A third approach to the message emphasised the importance of information. This approach was most evident among team members who were not part of the gallery staff. These team members valued understanding over appreciating, or saw understanding as underpinning appreciation. They recognised that the knowledge needed to make sense of these works lay outside everyday experience and life (ER+), and thus they saw the key role of gallery texts as providing that information to visitors. Regardless of who you were as a visitor, regardless of the experiences and knowledge you brought to the exhibition, all visitors could understand the works if they had access to 'important information'. This downplaying of the individual knower in favour of emphasis on specialised knowledge indicates weaker social relations (SR-) and stronger epistemic relations (ER+), and thus a knowledge code orientation.

4.3.5. Renaissance / section summary & discussion

This section has explored the process of developing key exhibition texts for the *Renaissance* exhibition, primarily through interviews recorded with team members who were directly involved with the development and production of these texts. In focusing progressively on key aspects of the text development process, it has shown the different forms, or realisations, epistemic and social relations take relative to different aspects of the process. These are summarised in table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Summary of features of the Renaissance team and exhibition

Aspect	Feature	Relation evidenced
institution	• boundaries between the gallery and the visitor foregrounded	SR–
	• boundaries between everyday knowledge and collection/art historical knowledge foregrounded	ER+
	• emphasis on personal transformation, inspiration	SR+
	• boundaries between disciplinary roles and knowledge emphasised	ER+
	• focus on entities (departments, sections)	SR–
	• hierarchical structure (curatorial knowledge privileged), clear and impermeable categories and boundaries	ER+
	• presence of a mix of codes, hierarchically arranged	
exhibition process	• specialisation of roles; roles are fixed according to predetermined categories	ER+
	• strong curatorial control of the process overall and exhibition text ; strong ownership and insulation	ER+, SR+
	• lack of explicit documented processes around development of interpretive resources	SR+
	• among the curators and senior management, strong boundaries separating gallery from outsiders perceived as SR–	SR+
author	• curatorial voice foundational, privileged, unmarked	ER+, SR+
	• legitimacy of author based on artefact-based (ie, collection) ‘expert’ content knowledge	ER+
	• focus on intrinsic, personal & generic skills, qualities, dispositions (curiosity, flair, ‘an eye’)	SR+
	• other voices present but downplayed; seen as recontextualisers	varies
	• explicit processes to exclude/minimise impact of others on the curatorial voice	ER+, SR+
	• maintains control of pacing, sequencing and visitor access to information	ER+
visitor	• audience segmented on the basis of subject knowledge	ER+
	• audience segmented on the basis of experience, dispositions	SR+
	• emphasis on visitor’s own experiences, interests, memories	SR+
	• boundaries between visitors and ‘expert’ author/s downplayed	ER–, SR+
	• tendency to conceptualise/categorise visitors in terms of knowledge	ER+
	• tendency to conceptualise/categorise visitors in terms of personal experience	SR+
message	• focus on ‘the looking’ (on the surface qualities and form of the displayed artefact) as ‘appreciation’	SR+
	• this ‘looking’ underpinned by emphasis art historical knowledge	ER+

	• 'looking' underpinned by personal connection	SR+
	• among non-staff, primary focus on information, content knowledge	ER+
	• knowledge valued for its significance	ER+
	• knowledge valued for being relevant, for 'connecting' with or transforming visitors	SR+
	• the message is hierarchical in terms of semantic range – offered in different levels of depth & detail through an extensive suite of resources and programs	ER+, SR+

On the *Renaissance* team, the relative strengths of epistemic and social relations combined to form three distinctive configurations, or specialisation codes. The first, evidenced by the staff curatorial team, held a dominant position within the team and the gallery more generally, shaping the text development process and the final content and form of the primary exhibition texts. Here boundaries and hierarchies based both on specialised knowledge and on the dispositions and attributes of particular individuals and groups were emphasised, indicating a relative strength in both epistemic relations and social relations (ER+, SR+), and thus an elite specialisation code. As authors, the staff curators were insulated from and elevated above others, both internal and external to the gallery. The legitimacy of their voice was based on their specific collection knowledge that was actively kept separate from other kinds of knowledge (ER+) and on more generic qualities anchored in their personal dispositions and/or built up through immersion in the curatorial world (SR+): an eye, a passion, a flair. In imagining their audience, they tended to segment visitors into various categories, and to selectively distance themselves from them, again on the basis of expertise (ER+) and personal dispositions (SR+). In terms of the message they felt the exhibition texts should convey, they saw this primarily as directing the visitor to look at the displayed work (SR+). They emphasised the role of the verbiage in regulating the visitor's behaviour, directing visitors to look at certain works but not others, and again asserting their authority as experts (ER+). In short, they sought to keep artistic knowledge and experience separate and elevated above everyday experience and life.

A second pattern, evidenced by the staff education team, sought to integrate artistic knowledge and experience with the visitor's everyday knowledge and life. Across the three dimensions of the communicative process, the educators downplayed

differences between themselves and the visitors, and instead emphasised the shared and personal dimensions of experiencing and learning about art (ER–, SR+), indicating a knower code orientation. In representing themselves as authors, they saw their role as distinct from and secondary to the curatorial role, but downplayed distinctions between themselves and visitors. In terms of the message they felt the exhibition texts should convey, they, like the staff curators, saw the primary purpose as drawing the visitor to the work as a source of personal engagement or even transformation (SR+). But unlike the staff curators, they sought to ‘scaffold’ rather than direct the visitor in this interaction, downplaying their authority as experts in favour of the visitor’s interests and personal meaning-making (SR+). Also unlike the staff curators (and like *The Wild Ones* team members) they emphasised the idea of ‘story’ and qualities such as ‘relevance’, positioning artistic knowledge within the everyday world and emphasising the relationship between content knowledge and individual visitor rather than its significance as knowledge per se (ER–, SR+).

A third pattern was evidenced among non-staff members of the exhibition team. These team members emphasised the importance of content knowledge in enabling visitors to make sense of the works on display, and recognised that this knowledge lay outside everyday experience and life (ER+). They saw the key role of gallery texts as providing that information to visitors, and that all visitors, regardless of the experiences and knowledge they brought with them, could understand the works if they had access to the right information. This downplaying of the individual knower in favour of emphasis on specialised knowledge indicates weaker social relations (SR–) and stronger epistemic relations (ER+), and thus a knowledge code orientation.

4.4. CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

This chapter has explored how team members represent the process of developing interpretive texts in two exhibition projects with the aim of gaining insight into the practices, orientations and relations that are central to the way meanings were negotiated and produced in key exhibition texts. The chapter thus lays the groundwork for the chapters to follow, which turn to look at the texts that resulted from the process explored here and their role in mediating the visitor experience. In this way, the chapter

aims to form a bridge between the process of meaning-making as enacted by the project team, and as experienced by the visitor.

Through the lens of LCT Specialisation, the analysis of team interviews and selected document segments revealed a marked contrast between the two exhibition projects. On the first project team, a similar pattern of relations was shared across the team, creating a unified knower code disposition that acted to downplay boundaries and hierarchies, both internally among team members, and externally between staff and the visiting public. Team members consistently softened or minimised boundaries between their own specialised knowledge and each other's, and with the everyday experience and knowledge of visitors. In other words, they downplayed epistemic relations (ER-). This resulted in a highly collaborative and flexible approach, where knowledge was valued in terms of how it connected with the visitor's personal world (SR+), rather than for its significance per se (ER-). Similarly, the team downplayed divisions between themselves as expert knowers and the public, equalising and personalising the relationship (ER-SR+), indeed, to the point of representing the institutional identity of the museum/Trust as a 'knowledgeable friend'. They saw the visitor, rather than the museum or themselves, as central in determining what knowledge should be conveyed and how.

As a communicative event, the exhibition 'imagined' by this team was a sharing of memories, experiences and knowledge. While each party brought different perspectives and stories, no one perspective was privileged or valued above the other. The museum and the team members sought to adopt the role of partner or facilitator rather than expert. The key focus of the exhibition was 'the story', and the primary aim was for visitors to 'connect' with the story. The team valued a text that was inclusive of a range of voices and a diversity of visitors but put little emphasis on extending this into more specialised discourses of historical and social inquiry. Thus, while the team prioritised giving visitors autonomy in choosing the type and level of information they could take up, as can be seen in the following chapters, the text ultimately produced by the team was relatively flat in terms of semantic range. Presented as 'story', the exhibition text was anchored within the everyday world. In short, the experience as

imagined and delivered by the knower code team emphasised social relations and downplayed epistemic relations.

The second project team in contrast, the *Renaissance* team, was hierarchical and segmented, with roles relatively fixed based on disciplinary category. There was a clear dominance by one group, the staff curators, who held privileged status within the gallery and on the *Renaissance* team. This authority was based on their claim to expert collection knowledge (ER+) as well as more personal qualities and attributes built up through immersion in the curatorial world (SR+), indicating an elite code. Development of the curatorial texts, notably the catalogue and exhibition labels, was strongly insulated from the other groups – and codes – present on the team: for example, the knower code orientation of the educators and the knowledge code orientation of the external curator and catalogue authors.

As a communicative event, the *Renaissance* exhibition was ‘imagined’ differently by these different members of the team. While all gave primary importance to the displayed work as the key focus of the exhibition, and saw the role of related verbal text as helping visitors to *look* at the work, they differed in how they sought to achieve this. The ‘elite’ curatorial view framed the texts in a way that asserted curatorial authority as experts, directing where visitors would have access to interpretive captions, disconnecting content knowledge from everyday experience and knowledge, and downplaying visitor wants or needs (‘People say, “I want an explanation on each work”, that’s why we don’t do it’ – Rsc4). In contrast, the ‘knower’ orientation typical of the educators, as in *The Wild Ones* team above, saw the texts as acting to support or facilitate the visitors in their personal meaning-making. While they placed value on specialised knowledge, it was in a supporting role. The third ‘knowledge’ orientation, held by non-staff members of the team, saw this knowledge as essential to personal meaning-making. They recognised a need for knowledge that was outside everyday knowledge and external to the imagined visitor, and saw the role of the verbal texts as providing that knowledge. In short, the experience as imagined by this team was hierarchical and segmented, with the elite curatorial code driving a core or ‘naturalised’ (unmarked) experience that emphasised control of the visitor experience and visitor

access to knowledge. This coding orientation emphasised insulating this knowledge from everyday knowledge, while also having a desire for visitors to be personally moved or transformed by the works. It also sought to insulate rather than integrate the core exhibition experience from the perspectives of other team members, which were 'marked' off or contained in various ways.

Within the team, these differences were managed by a series of relations and processes that acted to insulate the primary curatorial texts from the influence of others. The lack of non-curatorial involvement in the label texts is one example of this. Where such controls failed to prevent boundaries from being breached, an example here being the director's last-minute changes to the wall texts, the resulting conflict can be understood as a code clash (Maton 2014a; Weekes 2014).

The following chapters continue the analysis by turning to focus on the texts generated by these two very different teams. In what ways have their different orientations and practices been realised in the texts produced? How have the teams and team processes shaped the meaning potential of the texts, both in terms of their communicative potential and their pedagogic potential?

5.

LOOKING CLOSELY

AT 'CLOSE LOOKING'

the interaction of artefact, verbiage & visitor

One of the foundational principles of contemporary museum practice is that the verbal texts that accompany a displayed artefact or artwork are there to help visitors 'look more closely' at the artefact or artwork, that the texts add 'something more' to the looking. This interaction of displayed object, verbal text and viewer is indeed the critical moment in the museum experience – in *Masterchef* parlance, 'it all comes down to this!' Returning to the museum field, the significance of this interaction is evidenced by the vast literature on labels, label writing (including digital formats) and interpretation that has developed in the years since museums embraced interpretive rather than taxonomic ('tombstone') labels that just identified and/or classified the displayed items.

It is this interaction that forms the focus of this chapter; this dynamic interplay of looking and reading, listening, talking, experiencing and meaning-making that occurs around a displayed object. In some ways, this is an odd place to start an analysis of exhibition text, in effect, jumping midway into a larger narrative, into a text that, in most museum contexts, has already begun elsewhere (and indeed has in terms of the two

case study exhibitions in this thesis). But at the same time, the approach is entirely congruent with the essential nature of museum texts, which, despite the intentions of their creators, are often not experienced in a linear, sequential way. In the words of label ‘guru’ Beverley Serrell (1996: 24), object texts are the ‘frontline form of interpretive labels because many visitors wander around in exhibits, without attending to the linear or hierarchical organization of information’. Within the context of this thesis, the rationale for beginning an exploration of the exhibition texts at the individual object-text level is to foreground a series of questions that remain largely unanswered or unanswerable and assumptions that remain widely held but only superficially examined. As demonstrated in chapter 2, the extensive literature proffers volumes of advice, rules and guidelines on what object texts should say and how, but it says remarkably little about how verbiage and object act together to make meaning. There is a widespread assumption that the texts ‘help visitors engage more deeply with the objects’ (Buck 2010: 46), help them ‘not only to know more, but also to see more’ (Schaffner 2006: 164). Yet because the semantic relationships construed between a displayed object and related verbiage remain largely unexamined, how can we know whether, and in what way, this actually occurs? How can we account theoretically for the interactions that potentially occur, and how can we describe systematically the interactions realised in particular texts and contexts?

This chapter draws on recent theoretical developments in systemic functional linguistics and multimodal semiotics to explore the core question, ‘What role do verbal texts play in helping visitors look ‘more deeply’ or ‘closely’ at a displayed artefact?’ In doing so, it takes a ‘micro’ or ‘bottom-up’ perspective on the first primary research question addressed in this thesis: ‘What meaning-making work is done by verbal texts in museum exhibitions?’. The chapter begins by looking more closely at the question itself, unpacking at least some of the assumptions and elements implicated within it. Then, as a first step in explicating more fully the process of ‘looking’ and ‘close looking’, it draws on the systemic functional conception of instantiation to model the

interactions that potentially occur at or around a displayed artefact. It then turns to recent work in the field of multimodality, particularly concerning image-text relations and the concepts of intersemiotic texture, coupling and commitment. These are used to explore two aspects of visual-verbal relations that bear particularly on the questions posed in this chapter. The first aspect concerns the *kinds of connections* being made across modes (how might the verbal texts act to 'motivate' intersemiotic interaction?). The second concerns the *kinds of meanings* involved (what kinds of meanings do verbal texts bring to the interaction?). The chapter aims to demonstrate that by systematically identifying and describing these connections and meanings, we can tease apart the complexity of meanings inherent in an individual interaction between artefact, verbiage and visitor, and bring together patterns that build across larger groups of interactions. In this way, this chapter demonstrates a stronger and more powerful foundation on which claims about the meaning-making work that may or may not be occurring can be made.

The focus of this chapter is on the 'label' texts (ie, the written texts within the exhibition on walls, plinths and showcases) as for most museums these remain the primary realisation of the museums' linguistically construed interpretation, intended for and used by the greatest number of visitors. And certainly, this was the case for the two exhibitions in this study. Space constraints preclude the inclusion of comparative analyses of other texts at this point, but this is noted as a valuable project for further research.

5.1. WHAT KIND OF 'SOMETHING MORE'?

The idea that a verbal text adds 'something more' to the experience of a displayed object is embedded in museum practice. So a first question we might usefully ask is, 'What is this something more?'. In many ways, this is determined by the particular conditions of each individual display context – its purpose and aims, subject matter, audience, physical context and so forth. Turning to the literature there is a broad

consensus that the basic purpose of an object text (ie, 'label') is 'to interpret individual objects (Serrell 1983: 2). Labels 'carry the burden of making us feel, hear, smell – yes, and even see – what we are looking at ... to awaken us fully to what is in our presence' (Postman in Serrell 1996: vii). Labels should encourage people 'to look more closely at objects', encourage them to notice something 'they probably would not have noticed' otherwise (McManus 2000: 109). Their role is to enable the visitor 'to experience the object more fully charged' (Schaffner 2006: 158), 'to help visitors engage more deeply with the objects' (Buck 2010: 46), to 'contextualise the object in some way – so that visitors know why it is on display' (Ferguson, MacLulich & Ravelli 1995: 10).

Within the museum context, where the act of displaying is framed as a communicative and thus semiotic event, the 'something more' implicit in the above comments is clearly 'meaning' – in other words, the verbal texts add more *meaning* to the looking.¹ Within the context of the museum's cultural/educational 'mandate', there is also an assumption that the experience offered to visitors will have some cumulative or transferrable value. It follows then that the meanings instantiated in the verbal texts might be expected to add meaning both to the reading of the artefact/work they directly reference (ie, meanings specific to the given instance) *and* to the reading of other artefacts/works or instances (ie, meanings that are transportable to other contexts).

Probing more closely, there appears to be a certain sensitivity to field evident across the literature and this is also evident in the two case study exhibitions in this thesis. While in broad terms there is a collective agreement that the 'something more' should speak of the significance or context of the displayed artefact, in science and technology displays, for example, there is often an emphasis on explaining *how* an object or phenomenon works (eg, MacDonald 2002; Ripley 1969). In history displays, the focus

¹ Particularly in the context of art, there is also a significant element of 'aesthetic' appreciation. While it is often argued that this can be independent of 'meaning', for example by Dewey in his oft-cited analogy: 'Flowers can be enjoyed without knowing about the interactions of soil, air, moisture and seeds ... but they cannot be understood without taking just these interactions into account' (Dewey 1934: 12), in the museum context appreciation and understanding are clearly intertwined and thus meaning is foregrounded. Refer to the literature (see chapter 1) and to *Renaissance* team interviews (chapter 4) in this thesis.

more often concerns the historical circumstances around the object's production and use (*who* it was used or made by and why) and on the object's value as a primary source (eg, Lord 2007; Porter 1988). In the field of art, the dominant focus is often on visual analysis, on *what* the formal qualities of the work itself mean in terms of the artist's 'message' and the act of looking (Norman 1970; Ravelli 1998; Schaffner 2006). The extent to which this pattern of disciplinary specialisation as evinced in the literature is realised in actual museum displays is less clear and warrants further study. However, in terms of this investigation the pattern certainly holds true, both aspirationally, as demonstrated in the previous chapter and summarised here in table 5.1 below, and in the texts themselves, as shown later in this chapter.

Table 5.1. Projected role of artefact-focused verbal text

Renaissance team (art)	Wild Ones team (social history)
<p>A 'good' object label ...</p> <p>'makes the person reading the label look at the work, look at the work again, look at it a first time, go back to the label, look at the work, look at the work, think about it spend some time in front of it, and it's got to be short'</p> <p>... every sentence has to direct you back to the painting' (Rsc4)</p>	<p>A 'good' object label ...</p> <p>... is about telling stories around a topic and sharing knowledge ... [particularly about] who lived in these places and what happened to them</p> <p>[for this exhibition it's about] people's lived experiences ... the anecdotes and the personal stories and the sharing of those memories ... (Whi8)</p>
<p>'They need to give people the tools to get something out of the looking ... To me too often they are just some facts rather than some tools to help in looking at the work. (Rhla12)</p>	<p>[is] short, engaging and welcoming ... also when you get something that is quite memorable ... 'quirky fact' or 'interesting anecdote, or 'strange personality ... So ideally each piece of text that's written would have one piece of information that would pop out (Wpm1)</p>
<p>the idea of reading a label – looking, reading, looking – means that they're looking. But when they're reading, looking, reading, looking, not only are they having more insight, they're <u>staying</u> longer with the object. (Rd2)</p>	<p>Not too long. A hook straight away and something <u>juicy</u>, something interesting that's about the person or about the time or about the work ... the important thing is to hook you into .. a narrative and take you on a journey (Wpm2)</p>
<p>Something that grabs you by the jugular as soon as you start reading and engages you with the most important and significant quality about the work of art. (Rcc3)</p>	<p>[is] concise ... tells people stuff they might not have known, they might not have expected ... just those sort of stories (Wc3)</p>
<p>'makes them look more than they would normally look (Rpca13)</p>	<p>it's well written ... Not too many words ... but still tells the story and tells it well. (Wgd6)</p>

In these comments, the art team clearly foregrounds ‘looking at the works’ as the primary purpose of a label text; the history team foregrounds ‘the story’ and the human actors and relationships in that story. A further quality implicit in the idea of ‘something more’ is that the verbiage acts to construe a relationship between the visible and the non-visible; that it makes an explicit connection between visible features of the artefact and the ‘something more’. Label text ‘should be visually and concretely related to the exhibit’ (Serrell 1983: 8) and then give ‘context to enhance visitor understanding of an object’ (Russo 2010: 3). Schaffner (2006: 164) describes ‘the ideal’ label in the context of an art museum as ‘part of a three-way switch: from looking at the art, to reading the label, which points back to the art. In this ideal exchange, labels broker a larger understanding of the bigger picture of the exhibition itself’. In other words, there is a widely held view that both elements (something visible + something new) need to be present *and* related for a label text to be doing its job. Description alone is not sufficient – a label text should do more than just instantiate in words what is visible in the artefact or artwork. Similarly inadequate is simply the ‘something more’ – information which does not explicitly reference the displayed object.

In short then, we can say that the ‘something’ a verbal text is expected to bring to the experience of a displayed object is meaning which connects what is ‘visible’ to what is not, and which connects the specific object being referenced to other and/or broader contexts. Furthermore, it appears that the particular nature of these meanings may vary depending on the field or fields in which the display is framed. Representing that graphically, the relationship can be shown as follows:

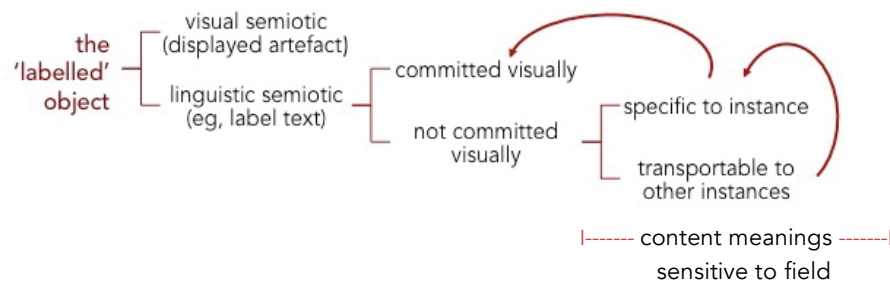


Figure 5.1. Object-verbiage (intersemiotic) relations

Implicit in this interaction is the expectation that the verbal text should act to add to a *reading* of the artefact gained from 'just looking', from 'shallow' or 'surface' looking. From a Bernsteinian perspective, this could be described as a 'commonsense' reading of the artefact, made without access to specialised knowledge of the field from which the display is presented (Bernstein 1996, 1999).

Accordingly, two kinds of relations are implicated in this process:

- **intersemiotic relations** (as summarised above): between instantiations of multiple semiotic systems – in the case of a 'labelled object', between the object (which, regardless of its original context of production and/or use, is recontextualised in the museum context as a visual semiotic) and the various verbal texts (linguistic semiotic)
- **'inter-reading' relations**: between various 'readings' or interpretations of the displayed object (eg, the *visitor's* 'looking only' reading/interpretation of the object; the *museum's* verbal text/s (made with the benefit of specialised knowledge of the field); the visitor's 'enhanced' (re)reading/s of the object, made with the benefit of the museum text).

It follows then that to fully understand the process, we need to take account of both sets of relations, as well as systematically describe with some delicacy the various types of meanings involved. And herein lies the rub: the study of intersemiotic relations is a rapidly evolving field of inquiry but with many gaps and theoretical challenges; the study of 'inter-reading' relations is, at this point in time, entirely hypothetical.

5.2. MODELLING 'CLOSE LOOKING'

One way of bringing this process more clearly into view is to model the different elements and relations involved. However, a key methodological issue in the modelling that has been done to date is that it has largely been carried out within the visitor studies and exhibit evaluation paradigms (for example Falk & Dierking 2000; Hooper-Greenhill 1991; Leinhardt & Knutson 2004; McManus 1991). As noted in chapter 2 (see section 2.6), such approaches have focused primarily on the visitor and

downplayed the role of ‘the message’, relying heavily on the visitor’s visible behaviour and external (ie, spoken or written) descriptions to infer meaning-making activity – an approach limited in both its delicacy and validity. For example, in their research, Falk and Dierking rely substantively on the spoken testimony of museum visitors, recorded prior to a visit, during a visit, or afterwards, at times as long as two years later (eg, Falk 2009) to explore issues of visitor experience, learning and, more recently, motivation and identity. The visitor accounts are largely taken at face value (ie, what the visitor says they did, thought, felt, perceived is conflated with what they *actually* did, thought, perceived etc rather than interpreted as a representation that may or may not align with the actuality of those happenings). Similarly, Paulette McManus, among the researchers to push the visitor study/exhibit evaluation approach the furthest in terms of exploring issues of language and meaning-making, also relies heavily on the behaviours and testimony of visitors (for example McManus 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 2000). In her 2000 study, she addressed directly the question ‘does text encourage people to look more closely at objects?’ (2000: 109). In this study, part of a formative evaluation for the redevelopment of the British galleries at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, a total of 76 visitors were ‘invited to attend’ to a display of furniture which included ‘small object labels’ for as long as ‘they found interesting and then come and answer a few questions about it’. The questions asked were:

- What was the display about – how would you describe it to a friend?
- Did you look at the objects first or the labels first?
- Was there anything you read that made you notice something you probably would not have noticed otherwise?
- Were the little labels and the text panels helpful?

McManus notes that 61% of the group said they found the object labels ‘helpful’ and 71% claimed they ‘noticed something they probably would not have noticed if they had not read about it’. Clearly, the validity of accepting their claims as indicative of their actual perceptual and cognitive behaviour is open to question. However, what is especially revealing in the published account is that, while it includes the exact wordings of the questions and prompts made to visitors, it does not include the texts

of the 'little labels' that were in fact the main object of study – a choice emblematic of the 'message blindness' that has become increasingly common within the visitor studies paradigm (see also chapter 2).

The point here is not to question the value of visitor accounts and testimony in understanding the visitor's experience of the museum. Rather it is to highlight a need for analytical strategies that move beyond largely face-value interpretation and that take account of the visitor *and* the message as both are key elements of the meaning-making interactions that construe the visitor experience. And like the visitor, the 'message' itself is complex.

5.2.1. A social semiotic view

It is this complexity of meanings and relations within and across semiotic modalities that has been the focus of a range of scholars working within the systemic functional linguistics and multimodal semiotics frameworks since the mid 1990s.² As noted in chapter 2, building on the pioneering work of Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) and O'Toole (1994) that extended the systemic functional theory of language to create 'grammars' of visual design and displayed art, a first generation of researchers (notably Jewitt, Lemke, Martin, Matthiessen, Royce, Bateman, Cléirigh, Ventola, O'Halloran, Martinec, Salway, Painter, Stenglin, Ravelli), now joined by a second (see for example Bednarek & Martin 2010) have sought to develop an integrated account of meaning-making across the rapidly changing landscape of communicative practices and technologies. This is similarly a rapidly shifting theoretical space, the 'edge of knowledge' in Martin's words (2010: 1), where ideas and terminologies converge and diverge, take shape and are reshaped as they address new theoretical and methodological issues. In recent years a growing corpus of work that is simultaneously drawing on and developing the SFL dimension of instantiation has proved particularly

² Since the 1990s, this issue has also been addressed by a range of other disciplinary approaches, from graphic design to cognitive psychology, pragmatics and rhetorical structure theory. According to Bateman (2014: 45, 51), 'none has all the answers' but due to its strength theoretically and analytically, the social semiotic framework arguably represents 'the most widespread general approach to multimodal description worldwide'.

promising in conceptualising the processes and relations of multimodal semiosis (eg, de Souza 2013; Hood 2008, 2011a; Martin 2006, 2010; Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013; Zhao 2010). This perspective is likewise drawn upon and developed here in the analysis and discussion that follow.

Instantiation

As previewed in earlier chapters, one of the foundational principles of the systemic functional model of semiosis is that language and other meaning-making resources are structured as systems of choices. The concept of ‘system’ can thus be understood as a representation of the underlying meaning potential of that semiotic resource, the sum of all possible choices (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 26). A *text* then is the result of choices made in a given instance of the semiotic system or systems in use. This relationship of system to instance, termed instantiation, is theorised as a hierarchy and modelled as a cline, where each choice made represents a progressive narrowing of meaning potential or generality. Between ‘system’ and ‘text’ are a series of intermediate ‘patterns’, or recurring configurations, of progressively more specialised meaning potentials (if moving down the cline) or less (if moving up; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 26). Significantly, the instantiated text itself is still a potential that affords readings of different kinds depending on the social subjectivity of the individual reader (Martin & White 2005: 25).

In reference to the hierarchy of instantiation, the visitor’s experience of a displayed artefact as semiotic event can be understood as a series of instantiations (meaning potentials), where each semiotic element exists as an ‘instantiated text’ to be activated in various patterns of interrelatedness by the visitor. For example, a painting (which we can call ‘object text’ or OT) and accompanying label text (which we can call ‘museum text’ or MT) could be represented as follows (figure 5.2), where each text is an affording instance of a different semiotic system.

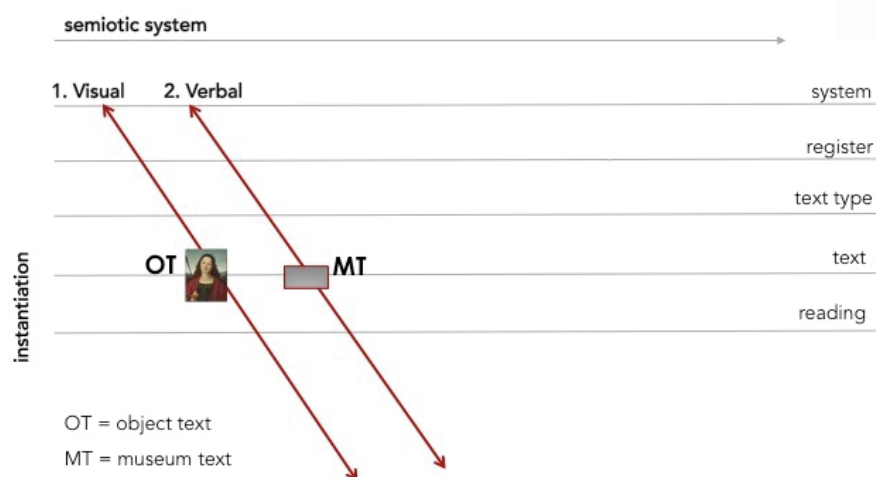
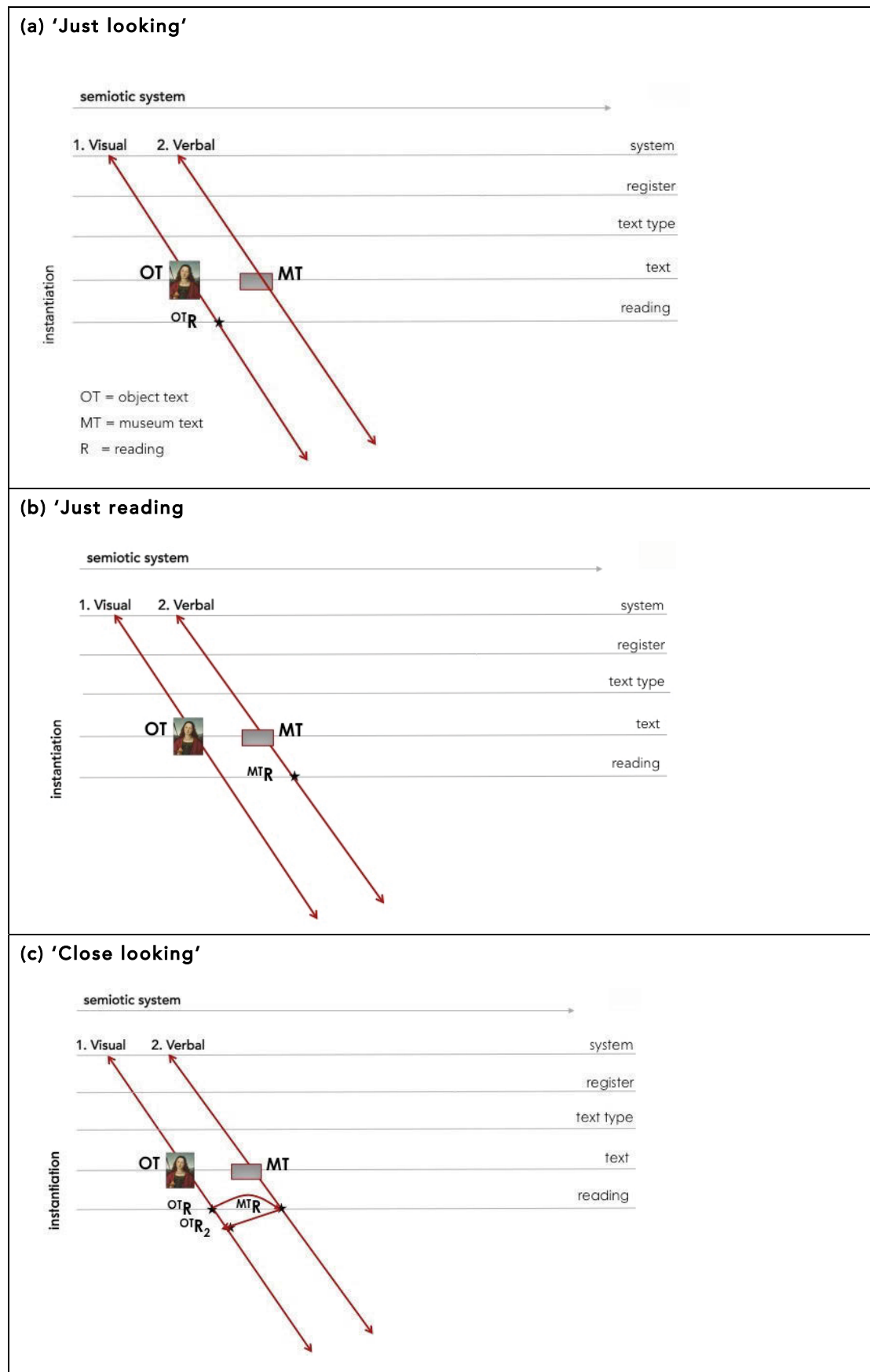


Figure 5.2. The cline of instantiation (after Martin & White 2005: 25)

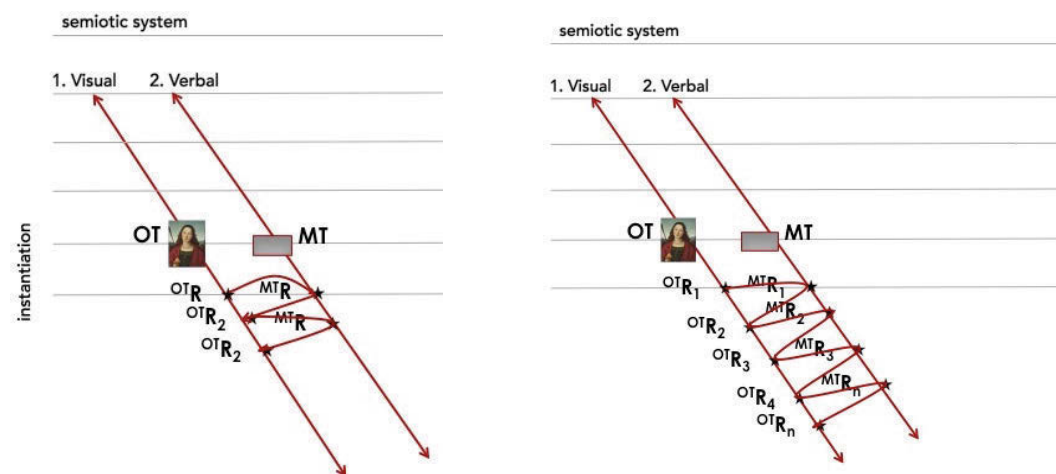
Considering how a visitor might interact with these texts, there are a number of different possibilities. For example, a visitor may just look at the work and ignore the museum text, generating a monomodal 'reading' of the work. Or, conversely, the visitor may look only at the label and generate a monomodal reading of that. A visitor may look at the label first, generating a reading of that ($^{MT}R_1$) and then look at the work, generating a reading of that ($^{OT}R_1$), which is informed by the museum text. A visitor may look at the work, generating a reading of that ($^{OT}R_1$), then look at the label (or part thereof) and generate a reading of that ($^{MT}R_1$), and then look again at the painting, generating a second reading of the work ($^{OT}R_2$). All these possibilities can be modelled using the hierarchy of instantiation (see figure 5.3).

These cycles of interaction can continue indefinitely, as the visitor looks back and forth between the painting and the text, at each point generating a new reading of each. But this is itself a simplification, as a range of other texts and semiotic systems are often involved. For example, there may be multiple museum texts on offer – a label text, an audioguide or app, a guide leading a tour – and any or all of these may be looped into the visitor's interaction with the work and generate a reading of itself and new reading of the work. There may also be 'non-museum' texts, for example, a guidebook the visitor has brought with them, or the conversation of a companion. And there may be other semiotic systems involved which we may want to take into account, for example the physical architecture of the gallery space (Ravelli & Stenglin 2008; Stenglin 2004)

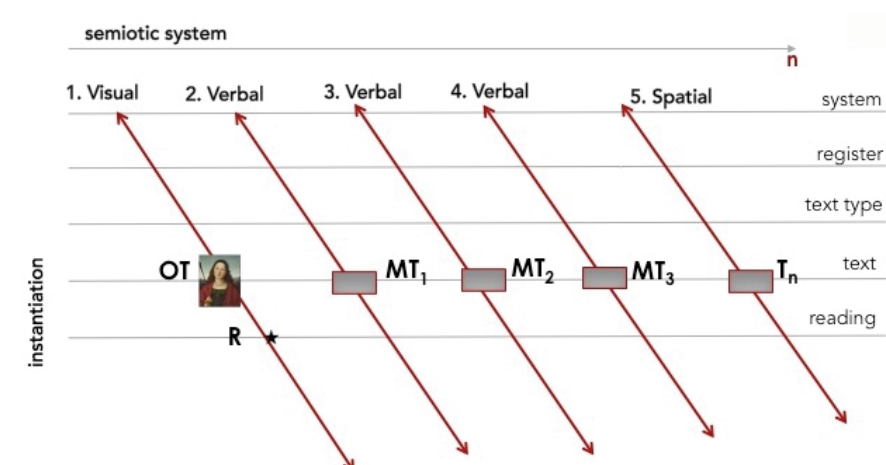
Figure 5.3. Modelling of possible visitor interactions at a displayed object



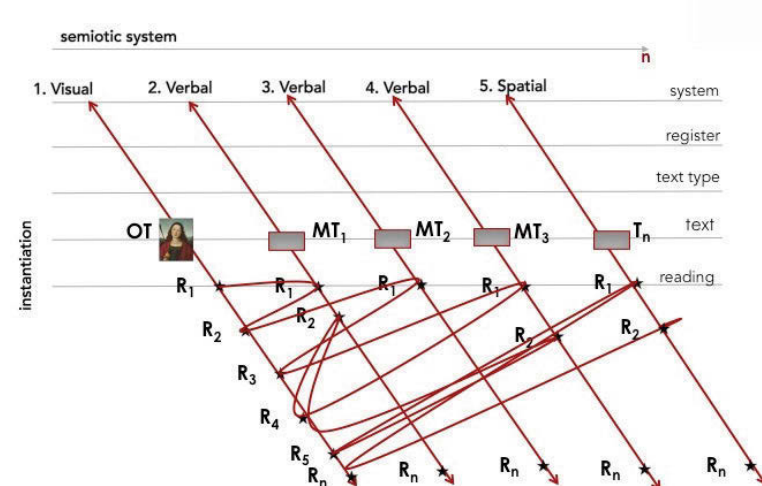
(d) 'Closer lookings'



(e) An infinite number of semiotic modes



(e) An infinite potential of readings



or the visitor's own moving body (McMurtrie 2013). So the model needs to allow for an infinite number of potential semiotic systems, and infinite number of instantiated 'texts', and an infinite number of readings in order to account for any given visitor's experience. Representing this graphically is a challenge, but one attempt appears in figure 5.3e.

Each reading can itself be understood as a kind of 'internalised text', a construal or interpretation of meaning, forming a series of related interpretations generated through an iterative process.³ In terms of actual (ie, instantiated) texts, Martin (2006), followed by Hood (2008) and de Souza (2013), have theorised a similar patterning of relations, where one text acts as a source for another, as one of 'distantiation and reinstantiation', a 'shunting up and down' along the instantiation hierarchy. Moving up the hierarchy (distantiating), the meaning potential instantiated in the source text reverts to a higher level of generality and is thus 'opened up'; moving back down, its potential is again constrained to reinstate a related but novel text (Martin 2006: 286). Martin models this process as one of degree, whereby the higher the level of distantiation, the greater the potential available for a 'reworking' of the source text. For example, when one text quotes another, the meaning potentials of the two texts largely correspond, and thus involve relatively direct instance-to-instance relations (see the straight arrow in figure 5.4) When one text paraphrases another (middle arrow below), the meaning potential corresponds but not completely, requiring a move up the instantiation cline. With a retelling (top arrow), there is less correspondence still. Moving further up the cline, in Martin's words, 'it becomes harder and harder to detect inter-instance relations; one text may simply be felt to have inspired another ... or pushing further, simply to belong to the same genre' (2006: 287).

³ Kress (2010: 37) refers to this as an 'inner' sign, or 'inner-sign complex'.

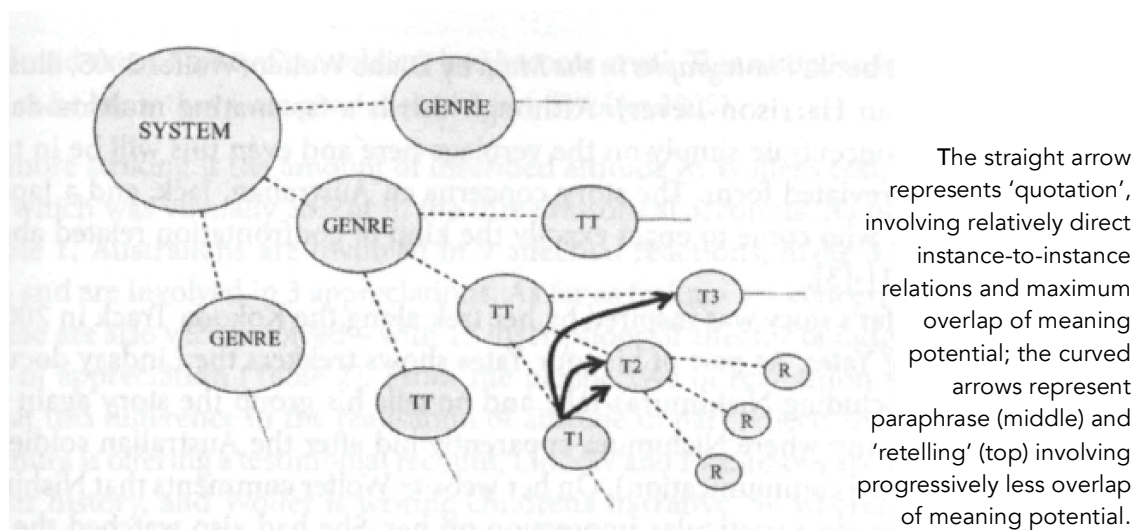


Figure 5.4. The process of 'reinstantiation' as modelled by Martin (2006: 287) showing various levels of 'distantiation' in generating related texts

There are of course two significant differences in context between these earlier studies and the present one. Firstly, Martin, Hood and de Souza are all dealing with instantiated texts (Martin with a series of related war stories, Hood with an academic text and a series of summaries, and de Souza with a series of translations of a source text), while here we have 'readings' and 're-readings' rather than reinstantiated texts. Secondly, Martin, Hood and Souza reference only intertextual relations; their related texts are all verbal while here we are also shifting across semiotic modes. But, if we accept that each modality instantiates through a similar hierarchy (Caple 2010; Martin 2010) and we entertain the idea of a 'reading' as a phenomenon that shares at least some of the semiotic architecture theorised for other semiotics, then the modelling arguably holds. On that basis, we can see that all the possible scenarios (or relations) between displayed artefact, texts and visitor can be conceptualised in terms of the instantiation hierarchy (again, see figure 5.3).⁴ Relative to models such as Falk and Dierking's, the hierarchy gives appropriate salience to the message and the various roles it potentially plays in the visitor experience. It contextualises possible readings relative to an overall account of semiosis, allowing for a more systematic probing of

⁴ Although not necessarily at this stage in a way that can be adequately visualised. Issues around developing more powerful and meaningful visualisations are one reason put forward for the relative underdevelopment of the instantiation hierarchy (Martin 2010: 19), also (Caldwell & Zappavigna 2011; Zappavigna 2011).

how verbal and other semiotics work together to make meaning. It also brings into view the complexity of relations and texts involved, so we can locate more clearly the object of study in any given research endeavour and judge with greater precision the veracity of claims made. We can see, for example, that a visitor's account of viewing an artefact and/or reading a label is *not* their reading but a separate, reinstantiated text; we can see that while we may be interested in the visitor's reading/s, this is not something currently available for capture and analysis. At the same time, the teasing out of the cycles of interaction that occur between the various instantiated texts and semiotic systems, each with the potential to generate multiple readings in each system, each (possibly) informed by the other, invites further thinking around how this process and the notion of 'a reading' can be accounted for within a systemic functional model; as observed by Martin (2010: 19), 'reading' is a relatively recent (2005) inclusion on the instantiation hierarchy, which is itself a 'relatively underdeveloped' and 'severely undertheorized' dimension of systemic functional theory.

5.2.2. Section summary

This section has drawn on the systemic functional concept of instantiation to 'model' the process of interaction that occurs between artefact, verbiage and viewer at a displayed artefact in order to bring more explicitly into view the various intersemiotic and 'inter-reading' relations involved. This hierarchy enables us to conceptualise the process as a potentially infinite series of readings and re-readings informed by meaning potentials instantiated as 'texts' in a potentially infinite number of semiotic modes. The modelling brings into focus the distinction between 'readings' and 'instantiated texts', both in terms of those made by the museum and by the visitor. This distinction is argued as critical in enabling a more precise interpretation of research carried out within the visitor studies paradigm, where the two are often conflated. It is also an important first step in clarifying the 'object/s of study' in this research, a theoretical reference point against which claims can be anchored.

The next section 'zooms in' to model in more detail two aspects of the relations between verbiage (object labels) and displayed artefact. Drawing on the data in the present study and recent work in visual-verbal relations, it firstly argues that the

coupling of ideational and textual meanings in various patterns in the verbal texts creates 'verbal vectors' that 'motivate' intersemiotic interaction and are gradable in strength. Secondly, it builds on recent conceptions of intersemiotic relations as a way of mapping the kinds of meanings being brought by verbal texts to the multimodal interaction.

5.3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As shown above, the instantiation hierarchy contributes to a comprehensive modelling of 'looking' and 'close looking'. However, there remains a need to operationalise the model in terms of an analytical framework that enables a detailed and systematic description of how the various modalities in play operate together in context to create meaning. We need to explore in more detail the connections between artefact and verbiage as well as the kinds of meanings involved. In this section, these issues are taken up in turn.

5.3.1. Finding the right vantage point / broadening the frame of reference

As outlined above (section 5.2.1), since the early 1990s analysts working within a social semiotic framework have focused on developing an integrated account of meaning-making across modalities. Such accounts share a general conception of semiosis as metafunctionally organised through a series of systems of choices; that is, they propose a shared architectural framework of semiosis structured by principles of hierarchies and complementarities into metafunctions and systems. Importantly, the systems themselves are different for each modality, with their own distinct range and configuration of options and affordances (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 133). Thus there are complementarities both *within* and *between* modalities. But because each semiotic system has its own affordances, the complementarity *between* modes is 'not always tidy' (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 136).

So while ongoing theoretical and empirical work continues to build or elaborate 'accounts' of a growing range of semiotic systems, theorising *intermodal* relationships and how modalities work together to co-construct meaning has been more problematic.

In terms of visual-verbal relations, many accounts have drawn on the principle of extending taxonomies of relations based on language across modalities, with such approaches falling into two main groups: those using relations anchored at the level of lexicogrammar (eg, Kong 2006; Martinec 2013; Martinec & Salway 2005; Unsworth 2007; Unsworth & Chan 2009), and those anchored at the level of discourse semantics (eg, Jones 2006; Liu & O'Halloran 2009; Nascimento 2012; O'Halloran 2005, 2008; Royce 2007). These approaches have laid valuable groundwork in terms of developing principled and comprehensive accounts of visual-verbal relations. However, the principle of extending various text-forming resources from *within* systems of language to explain intermodal relations remains theoretically problematic and restrictive in that it doesn't allow the theoretical space to model the full embrace of synchronicities, complementarities and relative weightings of the different meaning potentials across the metafunctions as they interact to make meaning. In effect, by treating the visual mode as another clause and thus interpreting image-text combinations as they would clause complexes, they reduce multimodal texts to monomodal ones (Martin 2015).

Accordingly, this study takes as a starting point more recent approaches which argue that intermodal relations are different in kind from intramodal relations and have stepped 'back' (or 'higher up' in terms of abstraction) to the common architecture of semiosis in an attempt to better capture this difference (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 134; also de Souza 2013; Hood 2011b; Tian 2010). Rather than applying 'a limited taxonomy of possible image-verbiage relations' (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 156), the approach taken in these studies has been 'to map out' meanings instantiated in the various systems in each contributing modality across the three metafunctions and then compare their relative contribution to overall meaning (ibid). In other words, rather than proposing a closed set of resources or 'devices' and then using those to account for intermodal semiosis, they 'map' patterns of commitment and coupling through the metafunctions to reveal the relations and resources used in a given text and their implications in meaning. In this way, such approaches could be regarded as a less restrictive and more responsive re-interpretation of Liu & O'Halloran's important notion of intersemiotic texture, in which 'specific kinds of

relationships' act to 'motivate' semantic interaction across modalities, and in doing so enable or 'orchestrate' semantic expansion (2009: 367–69).

From this vantage point, Painter, Martin & Unsworth (2013)⁵ work with two basic intermodal relations: converging relations, where there is a commonality or co-commitment of meaning across modalities, and diverging relations, where meanings differ. These relations play out across the metafunctions to create patterns they term concurrence (ideational), resonance (interpersonal) and synchronicity (textual). For example, from their analysis of the picture book *Not now Bernard* (by David McKee), a strong pattern of intermodal ideational concurrence is built up during the first part of the book as each character depicted visually is also identified in the accompanying verbiage: there is a converging or co-patterning of ideational meaning. In contrast, in the second half of the book there is a divergent coupling, where the verbal identity 'Bernard' now co-patterns with an image of a monster. In this story, this shift in ideational concurrence plays a key role in creating humour and in invoking negative judgment on Bernard's parents (who are so inattentive they fail to notice the change). The example also shows how a dual reading of the coupling, as both diverging *and* converging, enables a further metaphorical reading of the monster as a transformed version of Bernard (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 145). From this same text, an example of intermodal resonance would be the lack of eye contact between the depicted characters and reader and the use of a third person narrator in the verbiage; ie, there is a co-patterning, or convergence, of visual and verbal focalisation, and thus interpersonal resonance (2013: 145; see also Tian 2010 for an exploration of resonance in picture books in terms of converging and diverging interpersonal meanings). An example of intermodal synchronicity is where the verbal News⁶ are picked up in the main focus group of the image, creating a synchronicity in prominence between the visual and verbal phasing of the story (2013: 146).

⁵ In this regard, Painter, Martin & Unsworth are like many others who also recognised these two basic relations between visual and verbal modalities, eg Lim 2004, Jones 2006, Unsworth 2007, Unsworth & Chan 2009.

⁶ 'New' references the periodic structure of text, where the peak of prominence at the front of a clause/sentence is called Theme and the peak at the end, which carries information about the Theme, is called New. See appendix 1 for more explanation.

In the context of the questions at issue in this chapter, meanings in the verbiage can converge with those instantiated visually in the displayed artefact or artwork or they can diverge. Where they converge, that is, where there is a co-patterning of meaning, we can argue that the verbiage is working to connect the two modalities. Conversely, where they diverge, that is, where meanings in the text are not also instantiated visually in the displayed artefact or artwork, we can justifiably claim that the verbiage is bringing new meanings to the encounter. In short, from this starting point, we can meaningfully begin to interrogate the role of verbiage in the display of a museum artefact.

Another valuable concept in the context of this chapter, also recently reworked from a broader, metafunctional perspective, is presence. As noted in chapter 2 (see section 2.7.2), ‘presence’ develops the linguistic concept of ‘context dependency’ (Hasan 1973; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Martin 1992; Cloran 1999). Motivated by recent collaborations with Legitimation Code Theory and its concept of ‘semantic gravity’, Martin & Matruglio (2013) proposed ‘presence’ as a package of linguistic resources which act together to anchor or release meaning from its immediate context, with more recent work also exploring presence in terms of image (Gill & Martin 2015). Interpreted metafunctionally, presence comprises the variables of iconicity, negotiability and implicitness. In language, iconicity, the key variable in terms of ideational meaning, denotes the extent to which meaning is realised congruently as opposed to metaphorically. This plays out in a number of ways, including the degree to which events unfold in a text in the sequence in which they occur in the material world (field time) or the extent to which they are reconfigured, notably through grammatical metaphor, into discourse that self-organises along its own particular criteria (text time). Negotiability, the key variable of interpersonal meaning, references the extent to which a proposition is arguable and the nature of attitude involved. For example, a first or second person reference in the ‘nub’ (subject) of a proposition strengthens presence by directly implicating a given reader/listener and thus anchoring modal responsibility in that context/moment. Similarly, affect, as the direct expression of feeling, is argued to have greater presence than appreciation or judgment, which can be interpreted as an institutionalised expression of feelings (Martin & White 2005). Implicitness, the key variable textually reflects the extent to which meaning is ‘recoverable’ from the text

itself or from the immediate context, for example through exophoric reference, ellipsis, substitution (Martin & Matruglio 2013: np). Thus, relative to the questions at stake in this chapter, presence specifies the linguistic resources that act to anchor or free the verbal texts from the immediate context of the display. If we focus our view of this context on the displayed work itself, then presence can provide a further perspective on the nature of the relationship between verbiage and artefact. In effect, it reprises Barthes’ notion of ‘anchorage’ (Barthes 1977; see also Martin & Salway 2005; Bateman 2014) but with a more developed set of analytical tools for exploring that relationship.

In summary, we move forward with a toolkit as summarised in table 5.2.

Table 5.2. ‘Startup toolkit’ for exploring intermodal relations in museum displays

Element	Conceptual tools
Common architecture	• metafunctional organisation of systems
	• hierarchy of instantiation
Common principles / relations	• commitment
	• coupling
	• vergence
	• presence

5.4. CONVERGING RELATIONS

/ connecting modalities

As noted above, meanings instantiated in each modality can be seen to co-pattern (converge) or differ (diverge) within each of the three metafunctions. They also enact a certain degree of presence, also metafunctionally. These relations are summarised in table 5.3.

Table 5.3. **Metafunctional organisation of vergence and presence**

(after Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013; Martin & Matruglio 2013)

Metafunction	Vergence		Presence
	Converging	Diverging	
Ideational	+ concurrence	– concurrence	iconicity
Interpersonal	+ resonance	– resonance	negotiability
Textual	+ synchronicity	– synchronicity	implicitness

Focusing firstly on relations of convergence, two highly complementary patterns quickly come into view in the two exhibitions in this study. This, as will be shown, points to a marked difference in the nature of the meaning-making work being done by the verbal texts in the two exhibitions.


5.4.1. Ideational concurrence

Looking first at the (extended) object label texts in terms of ideational meaning, in the *Renaissance* exhibition there are multiple points where the labels instantiated meanings which were also instantiated visually in the related displayed work. In other words, the exhibition was rich with instances of ideational concurrence across the visual and verbal modes, creating multiple points of convergence between the label text and the displayed artwork. For example, in the label text below (table 5.4), there are 17 instances of concurrence (in bold), where ideational meanings instantiated in the verbiage (participants, processes, circumstances) are also instantiated in the work.

Looking more closely at these points of concurrence, it is evident that what is said in the verbiage relates to the displayed work or object in three different ways. The first is through a relationship of meronymy, where the text references an aspect or part of the displayed object (eg, ‘the silvery-grey background’). The second is through a relation of correspondence, where the text references the displayed object as a whole (eg, ‘this

painting’).⁷ The third is through a relation of hyponymy, where the text references a larger class or category to which the displayed item belongs (eg ‘portraiture’).

Table 5.4. Concurrency in a Renaissance label text
(*Portrait of an old man seated* by Giovan Battista Moroni, c1570, cat 70)

Displayed work	Label text (divided by ranking clauses; concurrency in bold)	Concurrency	
		tally	type
	The distinctive silvery-grey background of Moroni’s late period establishes a sombre mood.	1	m
	Such a restricted palette was a relatively new development in portraiture .	2	m h
	Here it serves to emphasise the man’s features .	2	m m
	Some of Moroni’s best-known portraits are of old men , usually three-quarter length, seated in a relaxed pose with head turned towards the viewer.	7	h, h m m, m, m, m
	The elderly subject of this painting sits in a wooden chair — a familiar prop [[used by the artist throughout his career]].	5	m, c, m, m, h
	total	17	
	average concurrency per clause	1.9	
Key: m = meronymic, h = hyponymic, c = correspondence			

Additional examples of these relations are summarised in table 5.5: correspondence, when the text makes a specific reference to the displayed artefact as a whole (this also includes titles of works, as a title ‘labels’ the work as a whole); meronymy, where the text explicitly references some part or feature of the displayed object, for example an element of subject matter or physical structure; and hyponymy, where the text references a larger class of things of which the displayed object is a member or example.

⁷ I use the term ‘correspondence’ here rather than ‘synonymy’ in this intermodal context after Liu & O’Halloran (2009) to reflect the different affordances of different modalities, ie while there is a correspondence of meaning, the meanings in one modality are never entirely the same as those in another.

Table 5.5. Summary of types of ideational concurrence from the case study exhibitions

Concurrence type	Examples from data
correspondence (similarity)	This panel The playing cards This gold locket <i>Madonna of Humility</i> (title) (ie, text references displayed object as a whole)
Meronymy (whole–part, ie composing relations)	The madonna’s blue cloak The lilies in the background The gold ground The frame (ie, text references some part or feature of the displayed object, eg, subject matter or physical structure)
Hyponymy (class–member, ie classifying relations)	Panels like this Portraits Depictions of saints lives This example is typical of ... (ie, the text references a larger class of things of which the displayed object is a member or example)

As reflected in the Moroni example (table 5.4), in the *Renaissance* labels there was a mix of these three types of concurrence, with each type doing a different kind of linguistic work. Relations of hyponymy act to explicitly connect the displayed item to broader classes of phenomena, committing meanings that move beyond the present context and thus explicitly scaffold transferrable, cumulative knowledge. Relations of correspondence reference the displayed item as a whole, so while they may modify or moderate a visual reading of the item by virtue of the different affordances language brings, they do not explicitly prompt the reader/viewer to consider any particular element or attribute of the item. Relations of meronymy, on the other hand, do exactly this. They burrow down to a finer level of detail to concern the elements or parts that comprise particular objects. At the very least they give salience to the feature they reference, by selecting that feature out of an infinite number of possible features that could have been referenced. But, as shown below (table 5.6), they can also act to explicitly link the referenced feature to non-visible meanings and thus interpret that feature in some way. In the *Renaissance* object labels, the marked dominance of relations of meronymy (near 90% of instances of concurrence) point to the work of these texts in interpreting specific aspects of the displayed object rather than the item

as a whole. In sum, for the *Renaissance* exhibition we can say that the high overall level of ideational concurrence between label text and displayed object (an average rate per clause of 1.4) shows that the labels were strongly connected to works they referenced. The relative proportion of the different concurrence types demonstrates that while they were working to some extent to interpret the works as entities in their own right (via correspondence) and as examples of larger histories, practices and ideas (via hyponymy), in large part their main work was focused on interpreting elements specific to the individual displayed artwork (via meronymy).

Table 5.6. Summary of ideational concurrence in extended object label texts

Exhibition	Concurrence type	Instances	Percentage of total concurrence	Rate / clause (no instances: no clauses)
Renaissance (total ranking clauses: 245)	Correspondence	22	6.5%	.1
	Meronymy	304	89.7%	1.25
	Hyponymy	13	3.8%	.05
	Total:	339	100%	1.1
Wild Ones (total ranking clauses: 202)	Correspondence	23	24%	.11
	Meronymy	57	59.3%	.28
	Hyponymy	16	16.7%	.07
	Total:	96	100%	.46


In *The Wild Ones* exhibition, on the other hand, the object texts contained relatively few instances of ideational concurrence, where participants, processes and circumstances in the object label text were also instantiated visually in the displayed artefact (a total of 96 instances in 202 clauses, or average rate of about 4 in 10 clauses, but noting that large number of these were a single reference to the main person shown in an image). As a result, there were relatively few direct points of convergence. In the label text shown in table 5.7, there is only one such moment of concurrence, and this pattern was typical of the exhibition. In other words, the label texts made relatively few direct references to the displayed objects. The label text, in effect, functioned more as a parallel discourse; object and verbiage co-existed in space and time but the text was not working to explicitly link them, either in terms of connecting the individual object to

broader ideas, histories or contexts, or of interpreting its particular details or aspects.

Instead, this work was being left to the reader/viewer to initiate and follow through.

Table 5.7. Concurrency in a Wild Ones label text

('Boom boom baby' single by Crash Craddock, 1959)

Displayed work	Label text (divided by ranking clauses; concurrency in bold)	Concurrency	
		tally	type
	Crash Craddock was an American rocker in the Elvis mould	0	
	who had not found success in his homeland.	0	
	His single 'Boom boom baby' was picked up by Australian radio stations	1	c
	and became a huge hit here.	0	
	This came as a surprise both to Crash and to the more well-known US stars	0	
	who supported him in his Sydney concerts.	0	
	total	1	
	average concurrency per clause	0.16	
Key: m = meronymic, h = hyponymic, c = correspondence			

5.4.2. Interpersonal resonance

Shifting to look at these texts from the perspective of interpersonal meaning, there was also a certain convergence of meanings across the two modes. Most noticeable is the co-patterning of tenor: the *Renaissance* text is more 'formal' and less 'personal'; the word choices are more rarified (for example, 'establishes' rather than 'sets'); there is a generous use of nominalisation which removes the sense of agency (development, pose); and the artist himself is present as an attribute rather than as a person (*Moroni's* late period, *Moroni's* portraits, *his* career) or as a generic category rather than individual ('the artist'). There is thus a synergy between the tenor of the label text and the formality of the display, with the portrait set within an extravagant gold frame, remote in time and place from the viewer's everyday world. The reference to 'old men'

creates a singular more personal moment within an otherwise restrained and remote text, where ‘things’ are appreciated rather than feelings directly expressed. This juxtaposition mirrors the painting itself, with the old man’s face and his direct gaze creating a personal and powerful contrast within the otherwise cool, remote and muted ground.

Table 5.8. Interpersonal resonance (Attitude) in a Renaissance and Wild Ones label text




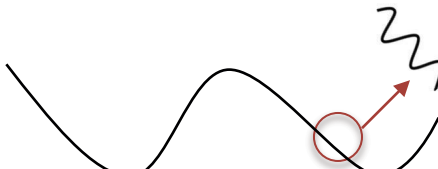
Renaissance <i>(Portrait of an old man seated by Giovan Battista Moroni, c1570)</i>	Wild Ones <i>(‘Boom boom baby’ single by Crash Craddock, 1959)</i>
<p>The distinctive [+value] silvery-grey background of Moroni’s late period establishes a sombre mood. Such a restricted palette was a relatively new [+value] development in portraiture. Here it serves to emphasise the man’s features. Some of Moroni’s best-known [+force, +value] portraits are of old men, usually three-quarter length, seated in a relaxed pose with head turned towards the viewer. The elderly subject of this painting sits in a wooden chair – a familiar prop used by the artist throughout his career.</p>	<p>Crash Craddock was an American rocker in the Elvis mould who had not found success [+social esteem: capacity] in his homeland. His single ‘Boom boom baby’ was picked up by Australian radio stations and became a huge hit [+force, +value] here. This came as a surprise [+happiness] both to Crash and to the more well-known [+social esteem: capacity] US stars who supported him in his Sydney concerts.</p>
<p>Key: Affect • Appreciation • Judgment • <u>Graduation</u> (see appendix 4 for diagram of the Appraisal system network)</p>	

The Crash Craddock text, on the other hand, is personal and informal in tenor. It deliberately adopts a more spoken style, with vernacular word choices (‘rocker’, ‘picked up’, ‘huge’) creating a synergy with the popular culture context from which the displayed object came and thus with the object itself. Unlike Moroni, ‘Crash’ himself is present and directly evaluated in the text through inscribed judgment and affect.

But while in both cases the interpersonal resonance creates a synergy between verbiage and displayed object, it seems less focused, less localised than the synergies formed by moments of ideational concurrence as noted above. This can perhaps be explained by the way in which SFL understands the different structural configurations of meaning in the three metafunctions. In language, SFL argues, ideational meaning has a particulate structure, where meaning is configured in relatively discrete serial or orbital patterns. Interpersonal meaning has a prosodic structure: it spreads out to

colour the surrounding text, and while it can at times be more explicit and localised (for example, as inscribed attitude), it often builds implicitly as ‘a continuous motif or colouring’ through a stretch of discourse. Textual meaning unfolds through periodic or wave-like patterns, which organise meaning into waves of information into peaks and troughs of prominence (Martin & White 2005: 18–19; Pike 1982).

Table 5.9. **Meaning structure across the metafunctions** (after Martin & White 2005: 18)

Type of meaning	Type of structure	
Ideational	Particulate:	
	orbital (experiential)	
	serial (logical)	
Interpersonal	Prosodic:	
Textual	Periodic:	

Returning to the relationship between label text and displayed object, we can now argue that the particulate structure of ideational meaning causes it to project from particular points within the text. In contrast, interpersonal meaning, because of its prosodic structure, is more diffuse, radiating out beyond the confines of specific wordings to colour the surrounding co-text. In other words, we can say that while ideational concurrence creates points or moments of synergy between verbiage and image, interpersonal resonance creates a flow or ‘mood’ of synergy between the two modalities but is less likely to project from a particular location within the text.

In the segments of text below (figure 5.5), for example, the concurrence of ideational meaning in the phrase 'blushes of vermillion on the cheeks' creates a synergy that is anchored in (and references) a particular point. In the second text, the negative judgment of 'being too flash' builds through the text ('derided' – 'too flash' – 'not likely to impress') and creates a converging resonance with the image but does not easily spring from or attach to a particular point or moment in the same way. There is a difference in focus in the intermodal connection: the first (particulate) is relatively sharp; the second (prosodic) is more blurred or fuzzy.

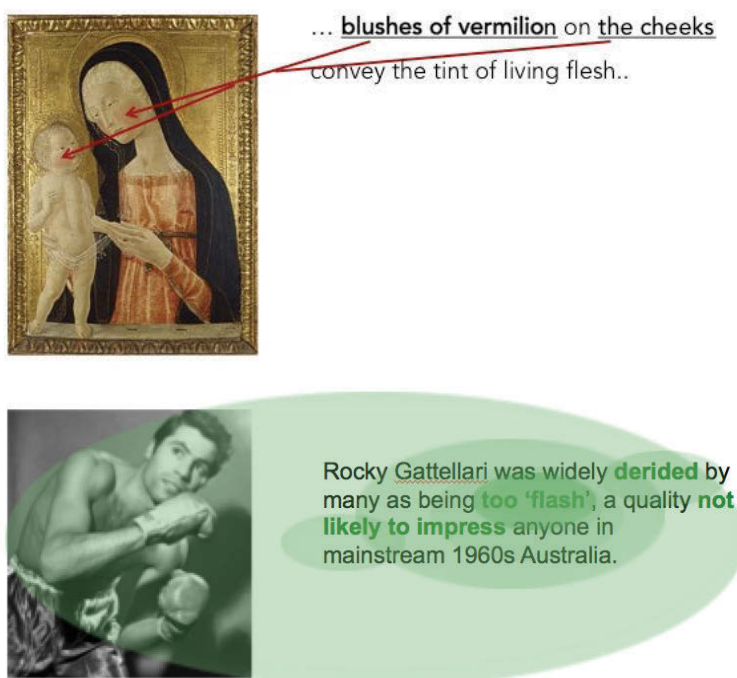


Figure 5.5. Modelling intermodal concurrence (top) versus resonance (below)

5.4.3. Textual synchronicity

One of the key resources of the textual metafunction is periodicity. In language, waves of periodicity at different levels in a text organise the flow of information, giving prominence to certain meanings, predicting forwards to prepare the reader/listener for meanings to come, and consolidating back to reinforce and synthesise meanings already instantiated. Martin & Rose (2007: 187–89) describe periodicity in terms of a hierarchy, built up through the interaction of 'little waves' at the clause level, 'bigger

waves' at the paragraph level or phase level, and 'tidal waves' working to organise larger segments and whole texts:

The term 'wave' is used to capture the sense in which moments of framing represent a peak of textual prominence, followed by a trough of lesser prominence. So discourse creates expectations by flagging forward and consolidates them by summarizing back. These expectations are presented as crests of information, and the meanings fulfilling these expectations can be seen as relative diminuendos, from the point of view of information flow (189).

In terms of the exhibition texts under analysis in this thesis, the bigger waves are considered in the next chapter; relative to the 'bottom up' perspective of this chapter it is the little waves that are of particular interest here. At the clause level, a peak of prominence occurs at the beginning of each clause. Referred to as Theme, this peak identifies the point of departure of the message to come; it signals what the message will be about. For example, 'the white lilies symbolise purity and the Annunciation' is a message about the white lilies: 'the white lilies' is the Theme, with the remainder of the clause, the information to come, referred to as New.

Based on this SFL conception of Theme, meanings located in Theme position thus carry a particular kind of affording prominence. So, for example, if a relation of ideational concurrence in the verbal text is located in Theme position, it has a certain predictive prominence in that it takes on the role of framing the message to come in relation to something also seen in the related object. In effect, it anchors the point of departure of the message *in* the object (Ferguson et al 1995).



The white lilies [theme]
symbolise purity and the Annunciation.

Figure 5.6. Coupling of intermodal ideational concurrence and (verbal) Theme
(*Madonna of Humility* by Benozzo Gozzoli, 1449–50, cat 8)

Represented diagrammatically (figure 5.7), the particulate structure of ideational meaning (red dot) coupled with Theme position in periodic structure (crest of wave) creates a focused point of departure and intermodal connection (red arrow). The Theme can also include interpersonal meaning (grey dot). However, because of the prosodic structure of interpersonal meaning, in contrast, we can theorise that this creates a more diffused intermodal connection (grey ovals).

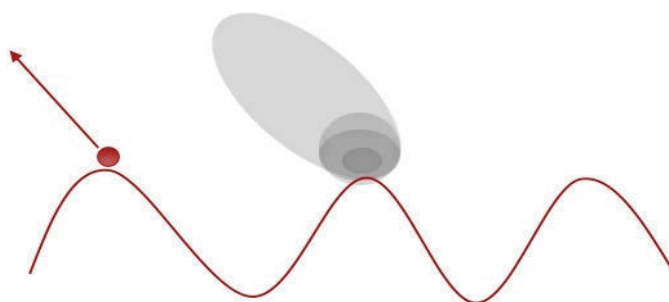


Figure 5.7. **Diagrammatic representation of periodic structure and intermodal concurrence** (left crest) **vs resonance** (centre crest)

Shifting to consider these texts from the perspective of presence, it also becomes clear that the resources of presence act to strengthen moments of convergence. In other words, while vergence creates *synergies* between the two modes, which may be more or less focused depending on the patterning of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning, presence acts to explicitly 'motivate', to reprise Lui & O'Halloran's term (2009: 368), interaction and negotiation between the different modalities. Particularly when the more sharply focused relation of ideational concurrence couples with presence in the verbal text, the relationship strengthens to form, in effect, a kind of 'verbal vector' that pushes the viewer's gaze from text to displayed artefact.

For example, looking at the sentence below (figure 5.8), ideational concurrence is coupled with presence, created textually through exophoric reference ('the') and ideationally through the congruent and specific wording 'white lilies'. This combination acts to direct the viewer's gaze to the lilies in the painting in order to retrieve the referenced meanings.

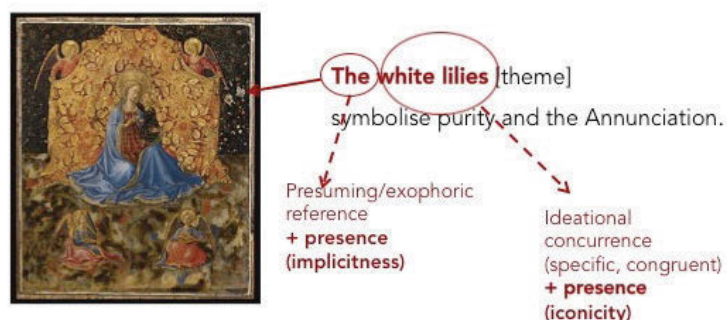


Figure 5.8. **Concurrence & presence in Theme position**
(*Madonna of Humility* by Benozzo Gozzoli, 1449–50, cat 8)

In the label texts in this study, these ‘verbal vectors’ were found to be present in a number of recurring configurations, which, depending on their patterning of couplings, can be thought of as gradable in strength. For example, as noted above, the coupling of Theme and presence with a concurrence relation of correspondence, meronymy or hyponymy anchors the verbal text’s ‘point of departure’ in the displayed object as a whole or a specific visible feature of it. This ‘coupling’ creates an additional salience or weight (Martin 2010) and thus a strong ‘verbal vector’. It arguably acts as a metaphorical realisation of an imperative:

The white lilies symbolise purity and the Annunciation.

reads as

[Look at] The white lilies [which] symbolise purity and the Annunciation.

Furthermore, when such a ‘Thematic vector’ is directly linked to meanings that are not visible (to the non-specialist viewer) in the displayed object, this can be justly claimed to ‘add something more’ to the looking. For example:

Table 5.10. ‘Adding to the looking’

Visible	Not visible
This panel	was probably the central image of a triptych with a Nativity on one side and Crucifixion on the other.
The white lilies	symbolise purity and the Annunciation.
This gold locket containing a lock of Les Darcy’s hair	was carried by his fiancée, Winnie O’Sullivan, until her death in 1974

A second pattern occurred when a coupling of correspondence, meronymy or hyponymy and presence was realised in Non-Theme position. This also creates a 'verbal vector' to the displayed object as a whole or a specific visible feature of it. But here it does not have the same semantic prominence or congruent ordering of the experiential as occurs in the Thematic vector. As a result, the 'push' to look *feels* weaker. For example, compare the following pairs; the push feels stronger, more direct in the second version:

The Old Testament story of Adam and Eve's two sons and their tragic fraternal rivalry is depicted **in several episodes on this panel**. (vector in Non-Theme position)

and

Several episodes on this panel depict the Old Testament story of Adam and Eve's two sons and their tragic fraternal rivalry. (vector in Theme position) [cat 62]

John the Baptist and Saint Peter **stand on the left**, with Laurence, Benedict, Catherine and Nicholas (vector in Non-Theme position)

and

The figures standing on the left are John the Baptist and Saint Peter, with Laurence, Benedict, Catherine and Nicholas. (vector in Theme position)

A third scenario occurred when 'verbal vectors' existed but were semiotically 'empty'. This occurred when a vector was ambiguous or did not explicitly link to meanings that were not visually readable. For example, a coupling of concurrence and presence in the Theme may be paired with a second coupling of concurrence and presence in the non-Theme position, with no further elaboration:

Under a magnificent deep red and gold gown with voluminous ruched sleeves, her gathered white chemise (Th) is **edged in red picot**. (Non-Th)

A detailed landscape (Th) extends **into the distance**. (Non-Th)

Or a vector may link to new information, but the significance or meaning is not explicitly stated; instead it assumes existing, often specialised, knowledge of the field:

The grouping of Madonna, Child and angels constitutes a perfect Mystical Triangle.

The effect is to create verbal vectors, which prompt or ‘motivate’ the viewer to look at a particular feature or features of the artefact and set up an expectation of something new to follow. But this is not delivered; the viewer is left thinking, ‘So what?’. In other words, the vector gives a focus or salience to the feature it points to, but beyond this is semiotically ‘empty’. It is ‘a shell’, to reprise Schmid’s description of ‘shell nouns’, a class of general or ‘low-content’ abstract nouns (eg, ‘thing’, ‘reason’, ‘way’) which function as ‘conceptual shells’ or ‘containers’ for meanings expressed elsewhere in the discourse (Schmid 2000: 6).

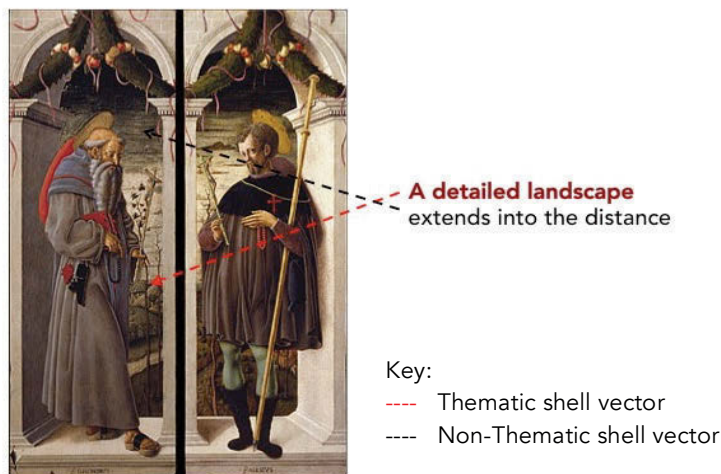


Figure 5.9. **Example of shell vector**
 (Saint Jerome & Saint Alexis by Giorgio Schiavone, c1458–60, cat 13)

5.4.4. Vector gradability

As proposed above, the coupling of concurrence and presence with periodic structure creates ‘verbal vectors’ from text to displayed artefact, with vectors emanating from Theme position having a greater prominence or weighting. These can be further strengthened in a number of ways, for example though the use of a marked Theme, and through the coupling of resources from other modalities.

For example, when a coupling of concurrence and presence is realised in the unmarked topical Theme position, with a marked Theme that further specifies some detail (for example, location) of the artefact, this can be said to ‘commit’ more meaning to the Theme and thus the vector, creating a vector that has a stronger semantic density or weight: a ‘vector plus’. For example:

On the ledge beneath his feet [marked Th], St Jerome's name [unmarked Th] is written in Latin, which was the language of the time [from 'Discovery trail']

In his right hand [marked Th], St Peter [unmarked Th] holds a set of golden keys, which are the keys to the gates of heaven. [from 'Discovery trail']

This pattern has the potential to be further reinforced through other modes. For example, when a verbal text is being delivered in person by a guide, a verbal vector may be accompanied by pointing (gesture), eye contact, increased stress or volume etc, giving further emphasis to the vector; in a written text, added emphasis could be achieved typographically (eg, by bolding all cohesive references) or through other design elements.

Table 5.11 summarises the four main types of verbal vectors identified in the *Renaissance* and *Wild Ones* exhibition texts.


Table 5.11. Summary of verbal vector types

Vector type	Description	Example
Thematic vector	Ideational concurrence + presence is realised in Theme position	The landscape represents the Syrian desert where Jerome spent time as a hermit.
Non-Thematic vector	Ideational concurrence + presence is realised in New position	The Old Testament story ... is depicted in several episodes on this panel.
Shell vector	Ideational concurrence + presence in Theme position is paired with further Ideational concurrence + presence in Rheme position, with no new information added	The landscape extends into the distance.
Vector plus	Additional meaning is committed into the vector, for example through further ideational concurrence +/- or presence in marked Theme position, and/or through the coupling of resources from other modalities (eg, pointing, increased volume and stress). The effect is to strengthen the vector	At the left Cain is poised to club Abel to death.

It follows then that in a given instance of verbiage and displayed artefact, a greater *strength* of vectors and/or higher *number* of vectors can be claimed to afford a greater interdependency of verbiage and object. And, when these vectors are explicitly linked to meanings that are not accessible (for the non-specialist) by looking alone, the verbal texts can justly claim to be 'adding' more meaning to the looking.

Conversely, when such vectors are not present or are very few, it can be argued that the verbiage is doing less to motivate intersemiotic interaction; the verbiage may be interesting and meaningful, but rather than explicitly ‘motivating’ the viewer to look at the displayed object, it functions as a parallel discourse. For example, the following label text from *The Wild Ones* exhibition (table 5.12) makes no direct reference to the displayed object it accompanies. While the text brings a series of meanings that are not instantiated visually in the object (a trophy presented to Eddie Tirado), the verbiage does not explicitly ‘motivate’ the viewer to look to the object.

Table 5.12. **Vector density: example from *The Wild Ones***
(Trophy presented to Eddie Tirado, c1965)

Displayed work	Label text (divided by ranking clauses; concurrence in bold)	Concurrence		Vector
		tally	type	
	Eddie Tirado emigrated to Australia from New York in 1960			
	after marrying an Australian woman, Judy Reid.			
	He worked for several decades as a bartender at the Chevron Hotel in Kings Cross			
	where many visiting celebrities spent their evenings while on tour.			
	total	0	–	0
	average per clause	0	0	0
Key: m = meronymic, h = hyponymic, c = correspondence				

This was very much the pattern in *The Wild Ones* exhibition as a whole. There were few vectors overall, and of those present, most targeted the object as a whole. Thus while the label texts brought new meanings to the context of display, they did not explicitly work to motivate the reader/viewer to look at the displayed objects (through a relation of correspondence) or particular parts of them (through a relation of meronymy), nor did they work to explicitly build transferrable knowledge (through a relation of hyponymy).

In contrast, the *Renaissance* object labels were relatively dense with vectors, providing multiple ‘directives’ to visitors to look at particular elements of the displayed. The mix of concurrence types and vector types worked to direct viewers to ‘focus in’ on specific details and, although to a lesser degree, to relate the individual displayed work to

larger categories of phenomena and more generalised knowledge claims. However, the direction to look was not always paired with new or meaningful information; due to further concurrence, technicality or ambiguity, 'looking closely' was not always rewarded. The following label text (table 5.13) exemplifies this pattern: the short text contains 11 vectors, most pointing to specific details of the work. However, of these, five could be classified as shell vectors in that they act to link two visible features of the work without explicitly adding new information, or they point to a feature of the work but the significance relies on existing specialised knowledge.

Table 5.13. **Vector density: example from Renaissance**
(Saint Jerome & Saint Alexis by Giorgio Schiavone, c1458–60, cat 13)

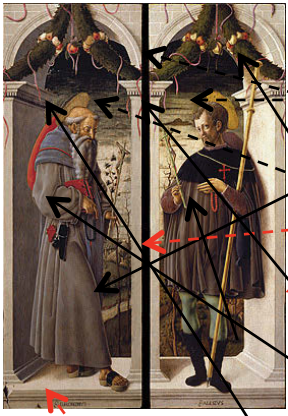
Displayed work	Label text (divided by ranking clauses; concurrence in bold)	Concurrence		Vector
		type	tally	
	The [+P] saints, << ... >> look as if they might step out for a walk .	m	1	non-Th
	<< who occupy most of the space within Classical arches , >>	m, m	2	non-Th* non-Th*
	A detailed landscape extends into the distance.	m*, m*	2	Th*, non-Th *
	The [+P] influence of the great painter Andrea Mantegna is evident:	c	1	Th
	both artists trained under Francesco Squarcione in Padua.		–	
	Schiavone imitates Mantegna's innovative postures and emphasis on architectural elements such as the [+P] triumphal arch, barrel vault and carved mouldings	m, m, m, m	4	non-Th
	The illusionist touch of a large fly [alighting on the [+P] step below Saint Jerome] reminds us	m*	1	Th*
	that everything is transitory.		–	
	total		11	
	average per clause		1.4	
Key: m = meronymic; h = hyponymic; c = correspondence P = presence * = shell — Thematic vector — Non-Thematic vector ----- shell vector				

Table 5.14 shows the distribution of vectors in the extended object label texts across the two exhibitions. It shows that the pattern seen in the examples above are indicative of the exhibitions as a whole. For *The Wild Ones* exhibition, there was a relatively low frequency of vectors – a total of 24 in 202 clauses, or about one in every 10 clauses. The *Renaissance* exhibition, on the other hand, showed a relatively high frequency of vectors, with an average rate closer to one per clause (.84). But equally, there was a relatively high frequency of shell vectors (26%), that is, approximately one in four ‘prompts to look’ can be thought of as empty of new meaning. In other words, while the label texts were regularly ‘pushing’ visitors to look at the displayed works, on one in four occasions visitors were ‘unrewarded’.

Table 5.14. Summary of vector type and frequency in extended label texts

Exhibition	Vector type	Instances	Percentage of vector total	Rate per clause (no instances: no clauses)
Renaissance (total ranking clauses: 269)	Thematic	70	30.8%	.26
	Non-Thematic	98	43.2%	.36
	Shell	59	26%	.22
	Total:	227	100%	.84
Wild Ones (total ranking clauses: 202)	Thematic	18	75%	.09
	Non-Thematic	6	25%	.03
	Shell	–	0%	.0
	Total:	24	100%	.12

5.4.5. Section summary

In summary, the analysis in this section has explored converging relations between object label text and displayed object from a number of perspectives in order to show the nature of the meaning-making ‘work’ being done. The analysis has shown that relations of convergence work to create synergies of meaning between text and object, and has reasoned that the different structural configurations of the metafunctions – particulate, prosodic, wave – create differences in the degree of sharpness or focus in the relation construed. The particulate structure of ideational meaning creates

synergies that are more easily 'located' at particular moments in the text and displayed object, and thus a synergy that is sharper in focus; the prosodic structure of interpersonal meaning creates synergies that do not localise in the same way, and thus form synergies that are more diffuse. The wave structure of textual meaning creates cycles of prominence which, when coupled with ideational and interpersonal synergies, help to give them a 'push' in strength. In terms of ideational meaning, the analysis has identified three key types of relation (meronymy, correspondence and hyponymy), which work to interpret the displayed object in different ways. Relations of correspondence work to interpret the object as a whole. Relations of meronymy work to explicitly scaffold detailed reading of objects by focusing attention on or interpreting particular elements or details. Relations of hyponymy relations link an individual object to a larger class or idea, explicitly scaffolding transferable, cumulative knowledge.

But while these relations of convergence create different kinds of synergies between a verbal text and the accompanying displayed artefact, they do not take on the work of specifically 'motivating' intermodal interaction. The analysis argues that presence is a critical element in transforming such synergies into 'verbal vectors', which act to direct the reader/viewer's attention to the artefact or a particular element of it. From the data obtained from the two exhibitions discussed in this study, a series of recurring vector types were identified, with periodic structure playing a key role in grading their relative strength. In short, the analysis finds that (con)vergence acts to *create synergies* of meaning between text and object, that presence acts to *convert such synergies into verbal vectors*, and that Thematic structure acts with presence to *grade the strength* of these vectors. These vector types are summarised in table 5.14 (above) and represented diagrammatically in figure 5.10.

Finally, the analysis in this section has shown that that when such vectors are linked with meanings that are not also instantiated visually in the displayed artefact, then the verbal text can justifiably claim to be 'adding something more' to the looking. It is to consider these diverging meanings that this analysis now turns.

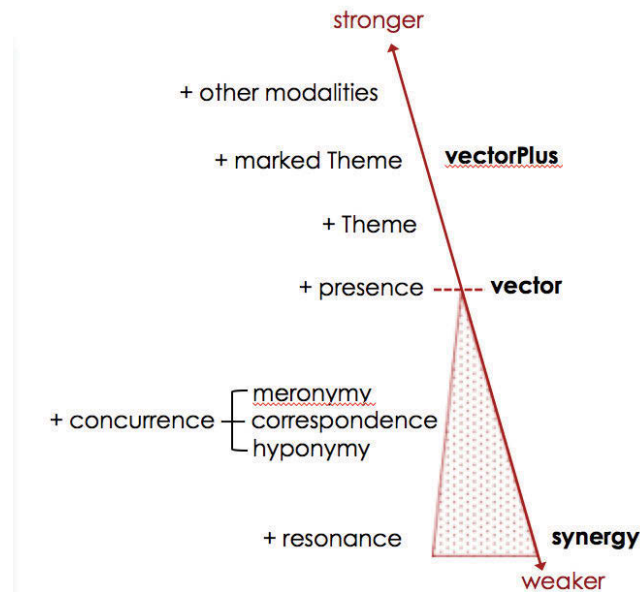


Figure 5.10. Diagrammatic representation of converging relations

5.5. DIVERGING RELATIONS

/ enabling semantic expansion

The discussion so far has focused on the convergence of meaning between artefact and verbiage, showing that the coupling of concurrence, presence and verbal Thematic structure acts to connect text and artefact by establishing vectors which explicitly 'motivate' the viewer to look at the displayed artefact or artwork and attend to particular features of it. It has shown how these vectors can be thought of as gradable in strength, and how they can explicitly link to meanings that are additional to those which can be gained by a 'just looking', or commonsense, reading of the artefact. It has touched on the kinds of meanings involved, but has not yet looked at these 'additional' meanings in a systematic way. How can we bring these more clearly into view and describe them with greater delicacy? How can we argue for how they relate to what can be seen and make claims about their role?

Again, taking a metafunctional approach, these diverging meanings can be considered from three perspectives. From the perspective of field, as construed in ideational meaning, this analysis asks three questions. What fields are being construed in these

diverging meanings (as evidenced though participant and activity sequences)? In what way do the diverging meanings relate to the displayed item (and, simultaneously, the converging verbiage), for example are they identifying, attributing, locating (in time and place/space), explaining, adding to what can be seen? And thirdly, what is their degree of generality, that is, do these meanings reference only the present item and situation or are they transportable to others? From the perspective of tenor, as construed in interpersonal meaning, the analysis probes how attitudes and values are encoded, using the resources of Appraisal, and the nature and negotiability of the communicative interaction through the resources of Person (ie, first, second or third), Mood (ie, are they giving or requesting information or action) and Engagement (whose voices are present). Finally, from the perspective of mode, as realised through textual meaning, the analysis looks at these diverging meanings in terms of Periodicity, to see how they are positioned in the flow of meaning as the communicative event unfolds through time.

Each of these is discussed in turn. As with the converging meanings, there was a marked contrast between the two exhibitions, pointing to the different kind of meaning-making potential the label texts brought to the visitor experience.

5.5.1. Ideation / mapping field

Drawing on a variety of disciplinary fields and the work of a range of SFL theorists, Hao (2015: 43) emphasises two aspects of discourse as especially productive in identifying, describing and differentiating fields. These are the patterning of entities and of activity sequences, even though, as she observes, the description and terminology are not always distinctive and clear. This is particularly the case in terms of entities, where a range of classifications have been proposed, and within these, the boundaries are often fluid. Halliday & Matthiessen, for example, present their classification (1999: 61) with the caution that the categories:

are not at all sharply defined. Their boundaries are indeterminate, and we will expect to find things of mixed, overlapping and intermediated kinds at every step along the cline (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 193).

Table 5.15. Categorising entities: some approaches

Theorist/s & strata of description	Entity type				Example
Halliday & Matthiessen (1999) > lexico-grammar	Macro (metaphoric)				weather forecast
	Simple	conscious (human)			girl
		non-conscious	material	animal	frog
				object	table
				substance	air
				abstraction (material)	colour
			semiotic	institution	school
				object (semiotic)	story
				abstraction (semiotic)	truth
Fang (2012) > lexico-grammar	congruent	conscious	human		boy
			animal		fish
		non-conscious	simple	concrete ...	chair
				abstract ...	air
			complex	expansion ...	chair that was broken
				projection ...	the idea that
	metaphorical	material			action
		mental			thought
		verbal			discussion
		relational	...		relation
Martin & Rose (2007) > discourse semantics	concrete	everyday			apple
		specialised			lathe
	abstract	technical			metafunction
		institutional			application
		semiotic			extract
		generic			colour
	metaphoric	process			marriage
		quality			integrity
Hao (2015) > discourse semantics (based on student biology texts)	source	people			Thorsen (1999)
		publication			the study the literature
	thing	instrumental			pipette
		observational			mandible
	activity	enacted	manner		dissection
			investigation		study
		observational			response
	semiotic	idea			knowledge
		locution			suggestion that ...
		fact	evidence
	place				habitat
	time				week
Key: ... indicates further levels of delicacy specified					

Hao notes a particular 'confusion' in previous studies in the relationships between 'technicality', 'abstraction' and grammatical metaphor (2015: 6, 47). She, along with others (eg, Dreyfus & Jones 2011) have also noted issues around the classification of time and place entities in terms of accommodating their various levels of abstraction, which they found were often glossed over in other descriptions. For this reason Hao includes 'time' and 'place' entities as separate categories in her classification (based on student biology texts).

Table 5.15 summarises several current approaches to classifying entities.

Acknowledging this variation and the concerns raised around the use of particular categories, for the purposes of this study a discourse semantic approach that builds on the Martin & Rose (2007) framework was adopted for its general applicability, but with extensions that reflect insights from other studies. Time and place, for example, following Hao (2015) and referencing Dreyfus & Jones (2011), are included as separate categories, in part to accommodate this variation in abstraction and in part because of their frequency in the data and thus their ability to distort a broader category. In their grammar of visual design, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 114–16) make the distinction between represented and interactive participants, in other words, between participants/entities represented in a given image/artefact/text (ie, subject matter) and those involved in its production and/or use (maker, artist, author, client, collectors, users, viewers). Particularly in object-focused texts such as labels, these two sets of participants are often intermixed,⁸ so teasing them apart is valuable in untangling the fields at play and identifying their relative contribution or prominence. Given the concerns of museum practice, the human/non-human distinction is also highly significant, so this distinction was foregrounded relative to the Martin & Rose model. Table 5.16 summarises the entity types that were identified in the *Renaissance* and *Wild Ones* label texts.

⁸ Indeed, there can be multiples of these sets, as each 'text' has its own set of represented and interactive participants.

Table 5.16. Categorising entities: Renaissance and Wild Ones label texts

Entity type		Example from data
Represented	subject matter / feature	the blue robe, a detailed landscape, the Great White Fleet
	object	the panel, the locket
Interactive	maker	Raphael
	user / owner	Eddie Tirado
	viewer	worshippers, you
Other (ie, independent of the displayed artefact)	conscious (human)	Les Darcy, St Jerome
	concrete	book, playing cards, art school, the church
	place	Milan, Northern Italy
	time	the 19th century
	abstract	literature, career, story, version, style
	metaphorical	entombment, popularity, composition

The first group of entity types, ‘represented’, as discussed in section 5.3.1 above, relate directly to what can be seen, that is, they constitute converging relations. Filtering out such instances for the present discussion, we are left with a view of the fields being represented in the ‘additional’ meanings being brought to the interaction by the verbal texts. This view is summarised in table 5.17 below, and again, the two exhibitions show a markedly different pattern. Firstly, there is a substantial difference in the overall proportion of ‘diverging’ entities. In the *Renaissance* texts, just under 60% of the total number of entity references relate to entities that are not instantiated visually. In *The Wild Ones*, it’s over 80%. In other words, the *Renaissance* texts are spending relatively less time referencing what *can’t* be seen and thus less on bringing new information to the encounter. Of that new information, only a small proportion relates to the displayed work’s context of production, use or viewing (only 7.4% of ‘diverging’ references concern interactive participants). The vast majority (92.6% of ‘diverging’ references) concern entities that are not directly related to those that can be seen. Of these, the largest group comprises metaphorical entities (24.3%), followed by concrete (23.5%) and human entities (20.9%). This relative frequency of metaphorical

references suggests a text typical of a specialised rather than everyday field of experience (note too that this is significantly more pronounced in the thematic label texts; see chapter 6 for a discussion of this).

Table 5.17. Summary of entity types in object label texts


	Entity type		Renaissance			Wild Ones		
			Instances	% total instances	% diverging instances (N=426)	Instances	% total instances	% diverging instances (N= 384)
converging	Represented	Subject / feature	258	36.1	–	56	11.8	–
		Object	30	4.2	–	33	6.9	–
		Subtotal	288	40.5%	–	89	18.7%	–
diverging	Interactive	Maker	25	3.6	5.8	11	2.3	2.9
		User / owner	4	.5	.9	43	9.2	11.3
		Viewer	3	.4	.7	–	–	–
		Subtotal	32	4.5%	7.4%	54	11.5%	14.2
	Other	Conscious	89	12.5	20.9	96	20.4	25
		Concrete	100	14	23.5	83	17.6	21.7
		Place	30	4.2	7	45	9.6	11.7
		Time	28	3.9	6.6	38	8	9.8
		Abstract	44	6.2	10.3	26	5.4	6.7
		Gram Met	103	14.4	24.3	30	6.3	7.8
		Lex Met				12	2.5	3.1
		Subtotal	394	55%	92.6%	330	69.8%	85.8
	Total		714	100	100	473	100	100

The following label text (table 5.18) is a typical example. The label makes multiple references to entities depicted in the painting (9), a mix of human, concrete and metaphorical. As proposed in section 5.3.1 above, the combination of ideational concurrence, presence and Thematic structure creates a series of vectors that motivate the viewer to look at specific features of the work, while the diverging meanings bring new meaning to the interaction. These also comprise a mix of entity

types, but they are mostly metaphorical (6). The human participants (2: the artist, his patrons) reference the context of production and use. The text is contained to the fields of art history and Catholicism; no other fields are referenced.

Looking at the activity sequences, there is a marked dominance of relational processes. This indicates that the text is primarily acting to construe relationships between entities, for example, relations that identify, attribute, classify or compose, rather than to construe them as participants in some unfolding sequence of actions in the material world.

Table 5.18. **Example of field as construed in diverging relations**
(*Holy family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria* by Lorenzo Lotto, 1533, cat 48)

	Clause	Text
	1	The infant Christ with Virgin and saints in an informal, often landscape setting, is known as a Holy Conversation or <i>sacra conversazione</i> .
	2.1	Lotto made at least six versions of the composition,
	2.2	demonstrating its popularity with his patrons.
	3	The symbolism is rich.
	4	The fig tree will provide wood for the Cross.
	5.1	Sleep is a metaphor for Christ's death,
	5.2	his fate reinforced by the Virgin's averted gaze.
	6.1	The parapet, <...,>> foreshadows Christ's entombment.
Entity chains: converging entities / relations	Entity chains: diverging entities / relations	
[Field of Catholicism]: infant Christ [h] — Virgin [h] — saints [h] — –the fig tree [concr] — Sleep [met] — [Field of art]: informal often landscape setting [met] — the composition [met] — parapet [concr] — sarcophagus [concr]	[Field of Catholicism]: Holy Conversation/ <i>sacra conversazione</i> [met] — symbolism [met] — rich [ab] — wood [concr] — Cross [concr] — metaphor [ab] — Christ's death [met] — fate [ab] Virgin's averted gaze [met] — Christ's entombment [met]. [Field of art]: Lotto [h: i/a] — six versions [ab] —popularity [met] — patrons [h : i/a] — symbolism [met] — rich [ab] — metaphor [ab]	
Activity sequence: converging relations	Activity sequence: diverging relations	
	is [rel: ii] — made [ma] — demonstrating [ma] –is [rel] — will provide [ma] — is reinforced [rel:circ] – – shaped [rel:circ] – – foreshadows [rel:ii]	

Looking further at the relationship between the diverging meanings and what can be seen (ie, the displayed artefact and converging verbal meanings), the data revealed five main roles. These are:

- **identifying:** who/what is represented (Id)
- **attributing:** qualities to what is represented (Att)
- **locating:** what is represented in time and or place (Loc: T / P)
- **explaining:** how or why something is represented (Ex)
- **adding:** meanings about entities that are not represented (Add)

Each of these could be construed as applying only to the specific instance, or as being generalisable to other contexts. For example, 'The red flower is a carnation' identifies the type of flower in a particular painting; 'The red flower is a carnation, representing the emotion of love' explicitly adds meaning that the viewer can apply in other contexts. This quality of generality is especially salient given the assumptions and aspirations of many museums that a visitor's experiences and learnings will have some cumulative or transferrable value, and this is considered further in the following chapter.

For example, applying these criteria to the above text (table 5.18) shows that in this label the text is bringing meanings that function to identify who and what is represented (clause 1), attribute qualities (clauses 3 & 6.2), explain the meanings of what is represented (2.4, 4, 5.1, 5.2 & 6), and tell us something about the artist (2.1). It includes a mix of meanings that are specific to this particular work, and those which are transportable to other contexts.


In serving this mix of roles, however, this label text is not typical of the object labels in this exhibition. In the exhibition overall, the primary roles are to identify, attribute, locate and add; there are relatively few which serve to explain. Also, as explored further in the next chapter, there are frequent instances where, due to the particular configurations of wordings, the relation was ambiguous and, as a result, could be read in different ways.

Table 5.19. **Example of the relationships construed between label text and displayed work** (*Holy family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria* by Lorenzo Lotto, 1533, cat 48)

Clause	Text	Relation	Generality
1	The infant Christ with Virgin and saints in an informal, often landscape setting, is known as a Holy Conversation or <i>sacra conversazione</i> .	Id Id Id Id	– – – Y
2.1	Lotto made at least six versions of the composition,	Add	Y
2.2	demonstrating its popularity with his patrons.	Ex	Y
3	The symbolism is rich.	Att	–
4	The fig tree will provide wood for the Cross.	Ex	Y
5.1	Sleep is a metaphor for Christ's death,	Ex	Y
5.2	his fate reinforced by the Virgin's averted gaze.	Ex	–
6.1	The parapet, <...,>> foreshadows Christ's entombment.	Ex	Y
6.2	<<shaped like a sarcophagus,>>	Att	–

The Wild Ones object label texts are quite different. There is a greater proportion of diverging entities, that is, those not instantiated visually in the displayed object (over 80% of total entity references). Of interactive participants, there is a greater emphasis on the context of use of the displayed objects, rather than their production. Overall, there is a far greater proportion of human and concrete participants (39.2% and 21.7% respectively, and together almost two-thirds of all entities referenced in the object label texts). For example looking again at the 'Crash Craddock' label text (table 5.20), the majority of entities are human (5), referencing the field of popular culture and everyday life. Together, the participant and activity chains construe a sequence of events unfolding in the material world in the past. These relate to the displayed item principally by adding and attributing meanings about the item and interactive participants. This is typical of the object label texts as a whole in this exhibition, which for the most part served to add, identify and locate in time and place.

Table 5.20. Example of field as construed in diverging relations
(‘Boom boom baby’ single by Crash Craddock, 1959)

Displayed item	Clause	Label text	Relation	Generality
	1.1	Crash Craddock was an American rocker in the Elvis mould	Id Att	Y
	1.2	who had not found success in his homeland.	Att	Y
	2.1	His single ‘Boom boom baby’ was picked up by Australian radio stations	Add	–
	2.1	and became a huge hit here.	Add	–
	3.1	This came as a surprise both to Crash and to the more well-known US stars	Add	–
	3.2	who supported him in his Sydney concerts.	Add	Y
Entity chain: converging entities / relations		Entity chain: diverging entities / relations		
[Field of popular culture]: His single ‘Boom boom baby’ [concr]		[Field of popular culture]: Crash Craddock [consc] – American rocker [consc] – Elvis mould [abs] – success –[met] – homeland [pl] – radio stations [concr] – hit [abs] – surprise [met] – Crash [consc] – US stars [consc] – him [consc] – Sydney concerts [pl] [total: 12]		
Activity sequence: converging relations		Activity sequence: diverging relations		
–		was [rel:ii] – had not found [ma] – was picked up [ma] – became [rel:ii] – came [rel:ii] – supported [ma]		

Tallying the ideational meanings brought to the experience of the displayed work in the object label texts (ie, the diverging meanings), in the *Renaissance* exhibition these showed a dominance of two fields: the field of art and the field of religion, specifically Catholicism. Of a total of over 300 field references,⁹ over half (57%) were located in the field

⁹ A ‘field reference’ was taken as the particular field/s referenced in each ranking clause, so for example ‘In 1967 Beverley Jefferson entered a competition in The Sun Herald’ was coded as ‘everyday life: general’; ‘Lotto made at least six versions of the composition’ was coded as ‘art’. Clauses with referencing more than one field were dual coded, eg ‘Like his more famous brother, Les, Frank ‘Frosty’ Darcy also boxed’ (coded everyday life: popular culture and personal)

of art, and over a third (34.5%) located in the field of Catholicism. The remainder included passing references to the fields of history (4.5%) and the everyday world (4%).¹⁰ In other words, the label texts were concerned with the displayed items as works of art and with the subject matter being represented, with little contextualising within the field of history more generally and very few references to everyday life. In short, the labels brought a layer of interpretation that constructed a view of art as separate from daily life, both historically and in relation to the everyday world of exhibition visitors. In *The Wild Ones* exhibition, the object label texts were strongly located in the field of popular culture and everyday. Of a total of 245 field references, 55.5% and 38.5%) respectively referenced those fields. Compared with *Renaissance*, the focus on the two primary fields was even more pronounced, with only the occasional reference to other fields, such as art. Thus, in this exhibition the labels can be said to construct a view of history (the past) that makes everyday life and popular culture central, but marginalises specialised fields of practice.

Table 5.21. Summary of field references in extended object labels

Field	The Wild Ones		Renaissance	
	field references	% of total	field references	% of total
Art	5	2	180	57
History	10	4	15	4.5
Everyday life: Catholicism	–	–	110	34.5
Everyday life: entertainment / popular culture	136	55.5	–	–
Everyday life: general / personal	94	38.5	13	4
Everyday life: visitor's	–	–	–	–
Other	–	–	–	–
Total	245	100	318	100

5.5.2. A quick look at tenor

The scope and focus of this thesis preclude a detailed discussion of the interpersonal meanings being brought to the experience of the displayed work by the label and other

¹⁰ A similar pattern was evident in the labels overall (ie, including theme and subtheme texts), although with the balance shifting slightly to further foreground art and downplay Catholicism

texts. However, a few comments here aim to give some acknowledgment of the way these texts act to shape the communicative interaction.

For example, tenor can be considered through choices made by the author in the discourse semantic systems of Negotiation and Appraisal as realised through grammatical mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative), Person (first, second or third) and Engagement (whose voices are present in the text). These show the *Renaissance* label texts to be delivering a predominantly singular and self-contained monologue. Only the author's voice is present. The visitor is positioned to receive information from a removed, third person narrator/author (all sentences are declarative; all but one are in the third person). The participants, both represented and interactive (including the viewer/exhibition visitor), are being spoken *about* rather than *to*. The space for negotiation or challenge is minimal. At the same time, the resources of Appraisal, predominantly Appreciation, both inscribed and invoked, build an accumulating prosody of evaluation around *things*, both concrete and abstract (see for example table 5.8 in this chapter). This was especially evident in the higher-level room theme and subtheme texts. The singular voice combined with this mix of inscribed and invoked Appreciation adds to the sense of a remote and singular authority.

The Wild Ones label texts, on the other hand, foreground a range of voices, both directly in the form of quotes and indirectly as attributed commentary or opinion (eg, 'According to legend ...'; 'to everyone's surprise'; 'for Sydneysiders hungry for boxing'). These include voices from a range of sources, but predominantly from participants represented in the texts. Many of these participants address the viewer in the first and second person ('You name it, the stadium was just something else'), explicitly positioning the exhibition visitor in the discourse, as at times does the curatorial text ('We've chosen what we believe are the five greatest fights held at the stadium after World War II. Do you agree with our choices? Did you see a better fight ... We'd love to hear your opinion'). The resources of Appraisal are predominantly used to evaluate people, particularly through the use of inscribed Judgment, Graduation and at times Affect, construing a more direct current of evaluation and emotional connection with

visitors. In short, as discourse the label text is dialogic and interpersonally direct. It positions the exhibition visitor as equal in status and explicitly included in the communicative event.

5.5.3. A quicker look at mode

The scope and focus of this thesis similarly precludes a detailed discussion of the textual meanings construed in these texts. The main point of interest, as noted above in this chapter, concerns the positioning of converging and diverging relations meanings relative to the periodic structure of the verbal text. When converging meanings occur in Theme or Given position (ie, at the front of a sentence or clause) and diverging meanings in New position (following the Theme), then there is a more direct mapping of experience in terms of anchoring the point of departure in what can be seen and then ‘adding to the looking’ with new meanings than happens when the reverse occurs. On this basis, this thesis has proposed that periodic structure plays a role in grading the strength of intersemiotic relations, such that the coupling of converging relations and presence in Theme/Given position creates a stronger ‘push’ towards the object, and the coupling of diverging relations with New creates a more congruent opportunity for taking up the new meanings. While this congruence with the experiential may thus afford a more ‘natural’ or comfortable reading, this is clearly not the only factor to be considered. Even short label texts uniformly structured in this way would be repetitive, formulaic and disjointed – in other words, they would be at odds with many of the attributes seen as important in good text.

5.5.4. Section summary

This section has explored relations of divergence between the displayed object and its associated label text. It has shown how these relations work to add meanings that cannot be retrieved from a commonsense or ‘just looking’ reading of the object. Thus, while the converging relations act to integrate modes and direct viewers in their looking, diverging relations act to bring new meaning potentials that ‘add more’ to the looking. Again the analysis has taken a metafunctional perspective, but with a focus on ideational meaning. Again, it has revealed a complementary pattern between the two

exhibitions, pointing to the different kind of meaning-making work the label texts afford.

The first notable finding was the relative proportion of diverging relations. *The Wild Ones* labels included significantly more, showing that they were doing more to bring new meanings to the interaction, and relatively less in terms of explicitly facilitating intermodal interaction. The *Renaissance* labels, on the other hand, had a relatively higher proportion of converging relations; they were doing more to explicitly scaffold intermodal interaction, and as a result, less on bringing new meanings to the interaction.

The second notable finding concerned differences in field, not only in terms of the fields construed but their relative 'containment'. Through an analysis of participant taxonomies and activity sequences, the diverging meanings in *The Wild Ones* label texts were shown to contain a dominance of human and concrete entities, particularly interactive participants (ie, owners, users etc), and material processes. In other words, they focused on bringing meanings about the context of use of the displayed artefacts; about the people who once owned, used, witnessed or experienced the artefacts in the material world. In doing so, they integrated the fields of history, popular culture and everyday life. A closer look at the relationship between what could be seen by the exhibition visitor and the new (diverging) meanings in the label texts showed that these new meanings mostly acted to locate the artefacts and related stories in time and place, and to add meanings that were related but not *directly* related to what could be seen (ie, meanings about related people and events but not about the object per se).

The diverging meanings in the *Renaissance* label texts acted to construe two distinctive fields. The first, the field of Catholicism, was construed through a relatively equal mix of human, concrete, abstract and metaphorical entities, and a mix of material and relational processes. It mostly acted to identify the biblical figures and recount or explain the events depicted in the paintings. The second, the field of art, was construed through a much higher proportion of relational processes and abstract or metaphorical entities. Even when describing the context of production and use, the language was highly metaphorical – for example, 'He was heir to the paternal

workshop’ (cat 22) rather than ‘He inherited his father’s workshop’; ‘The panel was probably intended for private devotion’ (cat 19) rather than ‘We think the panel was made to be used by people in their own homes’). While the label texts gave some focus to the interactive participants and context of production and use of the displayed works, their primary role was bringing meanings that identified, described and attributed qualities to the displayed works.

Interpersonally, the two label texts also functioned very differently. While both were predominantly declarative, in other words, enacting the role of giving information, *The Wild Ones* texts were more dialogic and more direct. They acted to position the reader/viewer as relatively equal in status to the author/museum, and explicitly included in the communicative event. The *Renaissance* texts were more monologic and interpersonally distant. They spoke with a singular but less direct authority (ie, built-up through invoked attitude and abstraction) that acted to assert the author/gallery’s authority and distance the reader/viewer.

However, one dimension where the two exhibition texts were closely aligned was the polarity of their evaluation. Both showed a marked dominance of positive evaluation; both were essentially celebratory rather than critical in their perspective.

5.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY & KEY FINDINGS

This chapter has examined what is the essential moment of the museum experience (the meaning-making interaction that occurs around a displayed object) through the lens of what is one of the foundational principles of contemporary museum practice (that the verbal texts add ‘something more’ to the looking).

The chapter began by drawing on the SFL hierarchy of Instantiation to model this complex process of interaction between artefact, verbiage and visitor. The modelling revealed the process as a potentially infinite series of readings and re-readings informed by meaning potentials instantiated as ‘texts’ in a potentially infinite number of semiotic modes. It also made clear the distinction between ‘readings’ and

'instantiated texts', a distinction shown to be critical in enabling the precise interpretation of research carried out within the visitor studies paradigm.

The chapter then looked to emerging research in intermodality to propose a 'toolkit' of principles that could be used to probe the dynamic relationship between visual and verbal modes that occurs at and around a displayed artefact. Central to this are two core relations: converging relations, where similar meanings are committed in each modality, and diverging relations, where meanings committed in one modality are *not* committed in the other. The analysis showed how converging relations act to connect modalities by linking, integrating and amplifying meaning. In particular, it showed how the coupling of (ideational) concurrence, presence and verbal Thematic structure acts to create vectors which explicitly 'motivate' or push the viewer to look at the displayed artefact and/or attend to particular features of it. The analysis identified three key types of vectors, termed Thematic vectors, non-Thematic vectors and Shell vectors, and showed how these vectors can be thought of as gradable in strength. Diverging relations, on the other hand, were shown to expand meaning by bringing new meanings to the interaction. Finally, it has demonstrated how, when converging meanings are explicitly linked to diverging meanings (ie, meanings that are additional to those which can be gained by a 'just looking', or commonsense, reading of the artefact), the verbal text can justly claim to be 'adding to the looking'.

In applying this methodology to the two exhibitions in this study, a very different picture emerged in terms of the meaning potential brought to the interaction by the object label texts. *The Wild Ones* (object) label texts overall were characterised by their relative independence of the displayed artefacts, with few direct moments of convergence across the modalities. In terms of ideational meaning, there were relatively few instances of ideational concurrence, and even fewer coupled with presence to create vectors. As a result, there were few moments in the text that explicitly pushed visitors to look at the displayed artefact. Of instances where ideational concurrence occurred, most were in a relation of 'correspondence', where they referenced the whole item (eg, 'the locket') rather than a particular feature of it, or a larger class to which the item belonged. In this way, the texts acted neither to scaffold

‘close looking’ by motivating viewers to attend to particular details of the item, nor build transportable knowledge by explicitly linking the displayed item to a larger class or concept. In terms of diverging relations, the analysis showed how the texts brought meanings that acted principally to identify and locate (in time and place) the people and events associated with the displayed items. In doing so, the texts merged the fields of history, popular culture and everyday life, while, through a range of interpersonal choices, framed a familiar and dialogic relationship with the viewer/visitor. In short, the label texts were shown to tell a ‘parallel story’, where the displayed objects were ideationally incidental but interpersonally resonant. Drawing on the analysis from the previous chapter, this is entirely consistent with the team’s knower code orientation, where the lack of boundaries between everyday and historical knowledge evidences weaker epistemic relations (ER–), and the emphasis on interpersonal relationships reflects stronger social relations (SR+). As will be shown in the next chapter, the focus on connecting the visitor to the story rather than providing explicit links that connect the object to story and visitor evidences a less visible pedagogy, also consistent with a knower code orientation.

In contrast, the *Renaissance* object label texts were characterised by their high level of integration across modalities. Multiple couplings of ideational concurrence and presence created numerous vectors that explicitly pushed viewers to look at the displayed work, and mostly, through a relation of meronymy, to a particular element or feature of the work. In this way, the label texts can justly be said to be scaffolding ‘close looking’. Further analysis, however, showed this was not necessarily ‘deep looking’. This was due to two main factors. The first relates to the kind of new meanings linked to the vector. Often these were meanings that identified or attributed qualities to what could be seen, rather than explaining how or why something was seen. Or, as shown in the next chapter, the relation may have been ambiguous; it was not always clear whether the new information was explaining, exemplifying or adding. The second relates to the common pattern of pairing two converging relations, that is, of pairing ‘something that can be seen’ with ‘something that can be seen’ to form a ‘shell’ vector, that is, a vector that doesn’t lead to new meaning. The analysis further suggested that such shell vectors set up an expectation that some new meaning would

be given but fail to fulfil that expectation. In this way, they may be one reason why visitors often describe the texts in art museums as strangely empty, difficult and unfulfilling. Shell vectors were only present in the *Renaissance* data set, and thus may be a particular feature of the discourse of art. Further research in this regard would thus be fruitful.

The analysis also showed that while the *Renaissance* label texts integrated modalities, they did not integrate fields. While the diverging meanings, that is, the new meanings being brought to the interaction by the label texts, referenced both the fields of art and Catholicism, these two fields were construed linguistically in very different ways. The field of art, for example, was predominantly one of relationships between abstractions and material form. The field of Catholicism was more one of doings and happenings in the material (and spiritual) world. In this regard, again crossing theories to interpret this linguistic evidence through the lens of LCT Specialisation, the texts can be said to foreground epistemic relations (ER+) by maintaining clear boundaries around the field of art, thus keeping 'art' separate from everyday experience and knowledge. Features such as field-specific meanings, shell vectors and ambiguity – that is, meanings more easily accessed by those 'in the field' or 'in the know' – can be interpreted as foregrounding social relations in a way that includes certain kinds of knowers but distances others (SR+). In this way, the texts can be interpreted as both reflecting and enacting the elite specialisation code of the curatorial authors.

Thus, summing up, on the one hand, the object labels in the *Renaissance* exhibition acted to integrate modalities but not fields; they 'worked' to motivate visitors to look closely at the works, but not necessarily deeply, and they constructed art as 'a world apart'. On the other, the label texts in *The Wild Ones* acted to integrate fields but not modalities; they 'worked' to make 'our story your story' but not to encourage visitors to look at the displayed items closely, or even at all. In this way, both texts achieve the broad aims as expressed by their authors – one team to 'share' the story behind the object; the other to direct visitors to look at the displayed work – but with perhaps unintended consequences. The next chapter develops these findings in the context of broader questions around accessibility and learning as they relate to museums.

6.

PLYING THE IN-BETWEEN

enabling access & learning

As overviewed in chapter 1, contemporary museums increasingly claim the role of ‘knowledge institution’, where their essential purpose is the sharing of knowledge with public audiences through a range of experiences, programs and resources.¹ Making knowledge accessible is fundamental to what they do, and often to their claim for public and other funding. At the same time, museums position themselves as ‘places of learning’ (Hein 1998b). Within museums, these twin roles of learning and access are often conflated, seen as much the same thing or one as simply the precursor to the other: if something is ‘made accessible’, the job of enabling learning has been done. Yet research increasingly reveals that while access and learning are closely intertwined, progression from one to the other is far from inevitable and cannot be presumed.

As such, this chapter investigates the role of verbal texts in terms of this relationship, addressing two strands of the first research question:

¹ For many museums, the role of ‘knowledge institution’ also includes *creating* knowledge in terms of collection-based and other research, and the sharing of that knowledge within relevant disciplinary fields. This dimension is acknowledged here, but is outside the scope of this thesis.

1(b). How do verbal texts work to make specialist knowledge and discourses accessible to public audiences; what does accessibility mean linguistically?

1(c). In what ways do verbal museum texts contribute to knowledge building?

The previous chapter took a micro, or ‘bottom-up’ view of the exhibition experience, focusing on interactions that occur between the visitor, an individual displayed artefact and related verbal texts. It demonstrated that verbiage can play a specific role in motivating visitors ‘to look’ at a displayed artefact, or particular features of it, and showed two highly complementary approaches in the exhibitions under analysis in this thesis. This chapter, in contrast, steps back to consider the exhibition experience and the meaning-making ‘work’ of verbal texts from the top down, in the context of broader socio-cultural imperatives, aspirations and claims concerning public access to specialised knowledge and the educational role of museums.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. It begins with a brief discussion of how the terms ‘learning’ and ‘accessibility’ have been used within and beyond museums in order to contextualise the analytical approach taken. It then considers the exhibition texts in terms of their ‘accessibility’, initially from the perspective of genre, a valuable ‘departure point’ for analysing configurations of meaning within their social context (Martin 1993: 142). It then shifts to look in more detail at these configurations from the perspectives of the register variables of field, tenor and mode; field as realised in language in ideational meaning, tenor in interpersonal meaning, and mode in textual meaning. The chapter then turns to consider the ways meanings are structured in the texts and the potential this offers readers to build new knowledge, in other words, the potential of the texts to support learning. Finally, it briefly revisits legitimation code theory (LCT), interpreting the linguistic analyses with reference to the LCT dimensions of Semantics and Specialisation to consider the relationship between accessibility and learning, and between the texts and the ideologies and disciplinary bases that shaped their production.

As in the previous chapter, the focus will be on the in-exhibition ‘label’ texts as these provided the primary verbal interpretive framework in the two exhibitions, but with

some reference to other texts. The focus is also on ideational meaning, but with the recognition that choices in one metafunction inevitably implicate the textual and interpersonal.

6.1. DEFINING LEARNING ; DEFINING ACCESS

‘Learning’ has been extensively defined and redefined in the museum and broader education literatures from a range of theoretical perspectives. Within the museum context, current definitions and approaches are largely framed within constructivist and/or critical paradigms, influenced particularly by theorists such as Dewey (1938), Vygotsky (1978), Freire (1973) and Giroux (1992). As noted in chapter 2, Falk & Dierking define museum learning as the process and product of a ‘never-ending integration and interaction’ of the personal, sociocultural and physical contexts through time in order to make meaning (2000: 48). Hooper-Greenhill states that ‘learning includes facts, but also experiences and the emotions’, and in museums ‘can encompass skills development; increase knowledge and awareness; offer experiences that can illuminate personal relevance and that ground abstract concepts; and enable social learning’ (1999: 21, xi). Leinhardt & Knutson define museum learning as ‘a form of conversational elaboration among participants ... an elaboration of what was already known and understood – as an extension in detail and refinement of what visitors already appreciated (2004: xiii, 7). In short, learning as a process is active, it involves new knowledge or insight, and leads to growth or change (Hein 1998a: 3). Maton emphasises that ‘powerful’ learning involves cumulative knowledge building, that is, it builds on previous understandings and transfers to future contexts (Maton 2013: 8). This quality of ‘transportability’ of knowledge is also highly valued among museum staff; in the words of one interviewee in this study, an important quality of label text is when visitors ‘can take that knowledge ... and make the connection’ to other places and times (Rca6).

‘Accessibility’ has also been extensively defined and described. Outside the field of education, the notion of ‘accessible language’ has largely been framed by the Plain English/Language movement as language that is ‘clear and straightforward ... using

only as many words as are necessary’ and ‘avoids obscurity, inflated vocabulary and convoluted sentence construction’ (Eagleson 1990: 4). It is ‘robust and direct – the opposite of gaudy, pretentious language’ (Garner 2001: xiv). In business, consumer, legal, health, organisational and other contexts, guidelines for ‘accessible language’ have become ubiquitous, with the following example from a government website typical (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) 2015):

You should:

- avoid jargon
- keep text to a minimum to convey your meaning
- lead with key message
- use headings and subheadings in logical order to break up information
- use short sentences and dot points for easy reading.

Such guidelines have also become ubiquitous within the museum field – here, with a particular emphasis on ‘short’, no doubt responding to the constant concern for space within the exhibition medium. In the words of several participants in this study, accessible text has ‘got to be short. It’s got to be in good English, plain English, not too long a sentence’ (Rsc4); ‘not too long. A hook straight away’ (Wpm1).

From within the field of education, particularly educational linguistics, the notion of ‘accessible language’ has been framed differently. Here, after Bernstein (1977, 1999), the distinction is made between ‘commonsense’ or everyday language and ‘uncommonsense’ or disciplinary language.² Unlike the ‘popular’ notions of linguistic accessibility above, this perspective draws on a theory of language as meaning. From this perspective, language and meaning are understood as inexorably linked, but linked in two very different ways. In the first, meanings are more directly, or transparently, construed in language: the meaning of process is construed in verbal groups, qualities in qualifiers (adjectives and adverbs), and things in nominal groups (for example, ‘The humanities developed because people studied ancient texts’). It represents the most

² This distinction has also been described in terms of horizontal (everyday) and vertical (academic) discourse (see, for example, Bernstein 2000, Maton & Doran 2016 in press).

direct or ‘congruent’ mode of expression, and is grammatically typical of the language used in everyday, ‘commonsense’ contexts. In the second, processes, qualities and conjunctions are ‘repackaged’ into other grammatical forms (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin 2013); ‘repackaging’ the above example in this way would become, ‘The study of ancient texts was the basis of the humanities’.

This semiotic phenomenon, termed grammatical metaphor, is recognised as one of the key features of disciplinary, or ‘uncommonsense’, discourses (Christie & Derewianka 2008; Halliday 1985, 1998; Halliday & Martin 1993; Martin 2013; Ravelli & Ellis 2004), where it functions as a powerful resource for increasing the density and abstraction of meaning in text. Grammatical metaphor greatly expands the meaning potential of language by enabling the construal of more finely nuanced shades of experiential, logical and interpersonal meanings. But there are consequences. Through grammatical metaphor, the ‘natural reality’ of congruent language is repackaged to form two layers of meaning. Thus, while congruent language only has to be read on one level to get its meaning across, metaphorical language has to be read on two (Martin 1993: 151).

As perspectives on the notion of ‘accessibility’, the two approaches implicate very different strategies for authors. As the DFAT guidelines above demonstrate, ‘Plain language’ approaches focus on *shortening* (words and sentences) and *removing* (technicality) to improve accessibility. Educational linguistics, on the other hand, focuses on the idea of *packing* and *unpacking*. ‘Unpacking’ the layers of meaning in highly metaphorical texts into more congruent form makes them more readily understandable, or accessible, to novices or outsiders to the field. ‘Packing up’ congruent language into more metaphorical texts enables students to construe the uncommonsense knowledge that is required and valued in those subjects (Martin 2013). In this way, the notion of ‘packing/unpacking’ thus brings into view the semiotic work involved in ‘making meaning’: how much work is required to make sense of a given text, and who is doing that work; for a visitor unfamiliar with a given field of knowledge, a heavily ‘packed up’ text leaves the work of unpacking to the visitor.

The notion also brings to view the discursive gap – the in-between zone – that needs to be bridged between these two domains, as represented in figure 6.1.

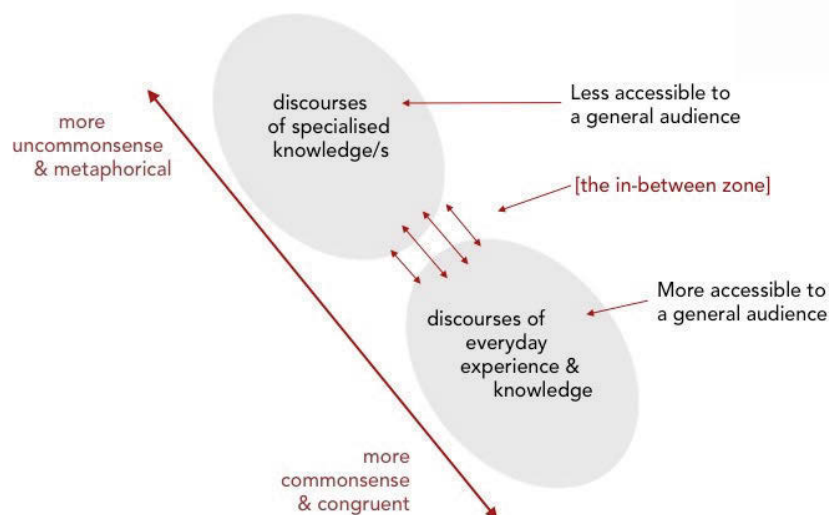


Figure 6.1. A linguistic view of 'accessibility'

A further insight from educational linguistics has been the disciplinary-specific nature of 'uncommonsense' discourse. While the discourses of different fields share a broad ensemble of characteristics that distinguish them from 'commonsense' discourses of everyday life, notably the relatively heavy use of grammatical metaphor, they are also distinctive. The discourses of science, for example, rely heavily on technicality – concepts and terms specialised to the particular branch of science and related through complex compositional and classificatory taxonomies. These discourses use grammatical metaphor to reconfigure actions and events as objects and facts, and logical relations as events (Halliday & Martin 1993: 52). In the discourse of history, on the other hand, 'technicality' is less obvious in that the field makes less use of specific (field-defining) lexical items. However, it is equally, if not more grammatically metaphoric (Martin 2013: 30), utilising the resources of grammatical metaphor to enable a highly nuanced expression of causality, sequencing, locating and evaluating in ways that are not characteristic of congruent language. Martin & Matruglio (2013) give the following illustration (figure 6.2), based on a sentence from a student ancient history text, to demonstrate this transition from more congruent expression to more

metaphorical, with the critical break occurring between lines 2 and 3. It shows the repackaging of action (erupted, destroyed) as ‘thing’ (eruption, destruction). Cause is realised congruently as conjunction (so, because), and (non-congruently) as circumstance (because of), process (led to) and participant (the cause). Importantly, it also shows that while there has been significant transformation in terms of meaning, the number and length of words and sentence have only marginally altered.

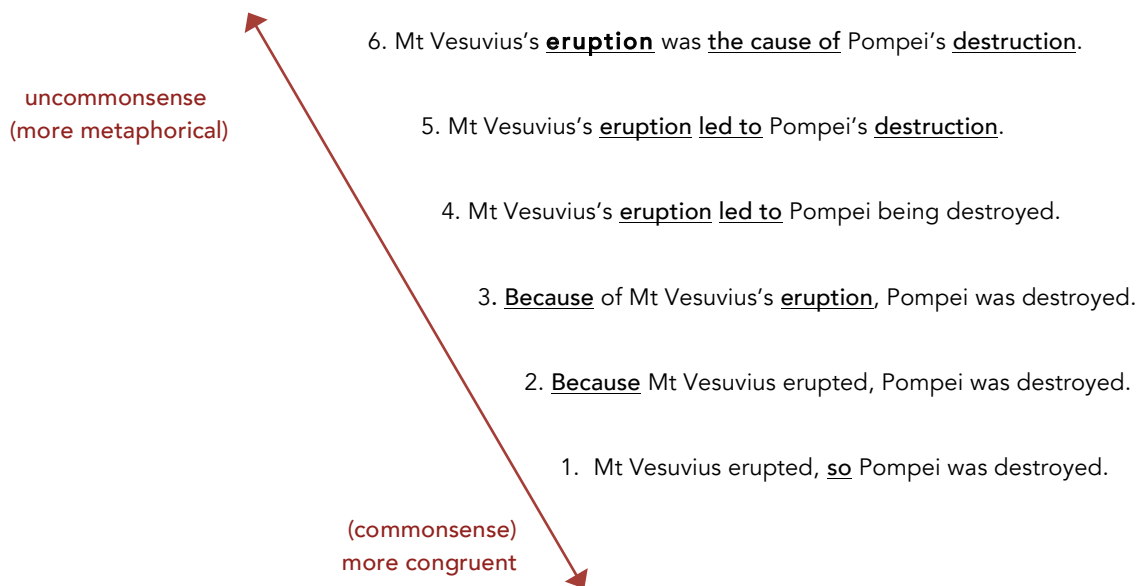


Figure 6.2. Transitioning from commonsense to uncommonsense
in an ancient history text (after Martin & Matruglio 2013)

Reflecting on the effect of grammatical metaphor, Halliday & Martin (1993: 15) note:

Isolated instances of this would by themselves have little significance, but when it happens on a massive scale the effect is to reconstrue the nature of experience as a whole. Where the everyday ‘mother tongue’ of commonsense knowledge construes reality as a balanced tension between things and processes, the elaborated register of scientific knowledge reconstrues it as an edifice of things. It holds reality still, to be kept under observation ... and in doing so interprets it not as changing with time ... but as persisting ... through time, which is the mode of being a noun.

While speaking about the language of science, the point applies equally (albeit differently) to other kinds of uncommonsense discourse; as Halliday & Martin conclude, 'This is a very powerful kind of grammar' (ibid).

However, while grammatical metaphor is a critical aspect of the shift from commonsense to uncommonsense discourse, it is not the only resource at work. Halliday & Martin (1993: 4, 75) speak of 'a kind of syndrome' of interrelated features which tend to go together, and by which we recognise that something is written in the language of a particular discipline. Technical terms are typically the most obvious of these features, but they also include features such as the way evaluative meanings are encoded. For example, in disciplinary discourse there is a greater tendency to evaluate things rather than people and their behaviours (Hood 2005, 2010).

One approach to exploring the complexity of these and other features of texts has been through the concept of genre. Over several decades, SFL-based literacy research and pedagogy has also shown the effectiveness of genre as a departure point for understanding the nature of texts in their context of use in a way that addresses the practical concerns of those involved in their production and use. Genre has been 'a useful way in' in that it raises awareness of text structure as integral to social purpose and context (Coffin 2006: 20).

6.2. P E R S P E C T I V E S O N A C C E S S

6.2.1. Genre / a useful 'way in'

SFL defines 'genre' as a recurrent configuration of meanings that enact the social practices of a given culture (Martin & Rose 2008: 6).³ Genres form over time within particular contexts as patterns of textual, ideational and interpersonal meanings stabilise and therefore become predictable. They become 'habits which make everyday life manageable' (Martin & Rose 2007: 8); semiotic schematics that signal the

³ Note that within SFL, there is variation in the theoretical description of genre (see for example Hasan 1995). This thesis follows the stratified model of context as described by Martin and the 'Sydney School' (see Martin 2001a).

structure and social purpose of a text. In this way, they prime the participants for what is to come and how they are expected to react or interact – they signal what the participant's status and role in the communicative interaction are likely to be, and for what ultimate purpose.

This conception echoes that of Russian linguist and theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, who argued the following in terms of speech but with the principle applying similarly to written texts and other semiotic modalities:

We learn to cast our speech in generic forms and, when hearing others' speech, we guess its genre from the very first words; we predict a certain length ... and a certain compositional structure; we foresee the end; that is, from the very beginning we have a sense of the speech whole (Bakhtin 1994: 83).

In other words, genres are purposeful and predictable, unfolding in time through a series of stages; 'genres are how things get done' using language (Martin 1985: 248). Recounts, for example, chronicle events from the past; stories engage and entertain; explanations explain how or why; arguments argue a position or positions; response genres assess the value of phenomena and events. While any text is likely to have multiple purposes, its genre reflects its primary goal (Rose 2012: 342). Figure 6.2 summarises the main types of genres in educational and disciplinary contexts. As noted by Christie, these elemental genres 'are very powerful, for they represent canonical ways of constructing meaning and achieving significant goals, personal, familial, communal and social in any culture' (2013: np).

Eggins (2004: 54) emphasises the role of clarity of the instantiation of a genre in interpreting text. An important stage in the interpretive process is identifying the ways in which a particular text is similar to or different from other texts circulating in culture: 'this apparently simple act of recognizing the genre of [a] text has important implications ... if a text can't easily be attributed to a genre, then it is in some ways a problematic text'. This is because it confuses our expectations, making it more 'semantic work' for the receiver to interpret and thus the message less easy to access.

Also important in terms of ‘accessibility’ are type of genre and the particular linguistic choices made in realising that genre. When enacted within commonsense domains of experience, genres are typically realised in more congruent language, with a more congruent unfolding of time and causation, and a focus on individual, specific and concrete participants. When enacted within the ‘uncommonsense’ domains of educational and disciplinary fields, genres, particularly in written form, are typically

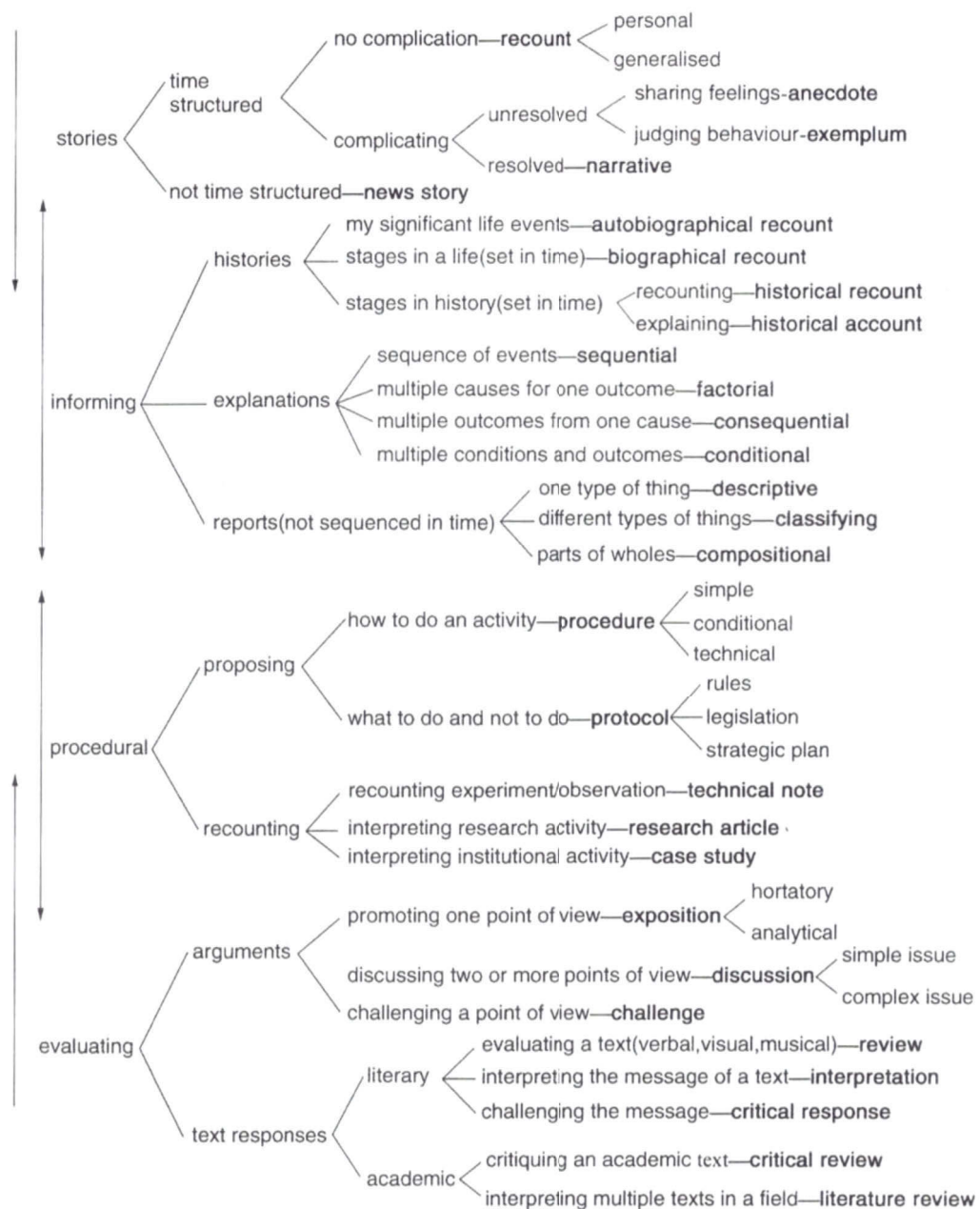


Figure 6.3. A taxonomy of common educational genres (Rose 2012: 341)

realised in more metaphorical language, with a greater likelihood of abstract and generic participants, internal causation and so forth. In other words, a given genre, for example, an explanation, can be realised in more or less commonsense form.

Some genres may themselves be typically realised in more or less commonsense form (Martin & Rose 2008). For example, in terms of 'telling the past' story genres are likely to be expressed in commonsense language because they unfold as a series of activity sequences that generally correspond to sequences of activities in the material world; they are essentially congruent with material reality. Story genres construct and evaluate real or imagined events to engage and entertain in order to build and maintain social relationships. Martin & Rose (2008) identify a series of story types, each structured by a series of stages and serving a particular purpose. These include personal recounts (recording a sequence of events without significant disruption), anecdotes (sharing a reaction to a remarkable event), exemplum (sharing a moral judgment), observations (sharing a personal response) and narratives (resolving a complication or disruption to return to order).

Stories, in written mode, form a bridge into the family of history genres, which function to record, explain, evaluate and debate the past (Martin & Rose 2008). Biographical recounts, for example, are closely related to personal recounts but move beyond a discrete series of events to a series of episodes that make up a person's life history. As this occurs, serial time gives way to episodic time, as experience is packaged into phases. Historical recounts shift the focus from concerning a given individual to the groups and agencies involved in the events being chronicled. Their primary purpose is to record history, and as a result they foreground time as an organising structure. Historical accounts take on the role of explaining history, and thus foreground cause over time. Finally are the argument genres, which act to persuade the reader of a particular interpretation or evaluation: expositions (which argue for a single position), challenges (which seek to demolish an established position), and discussions (which canvass multiple perspectives). Moving from 'story' to 'historical account' or 'argument' typically involves a series of 'linguistic hurdles' that takes a text progressively away from the commonsense (Martin & Rose 2008: 138). Conversely, moving the other way

typically brings 'history' progressively closer to the commonsense world of everyday experience.

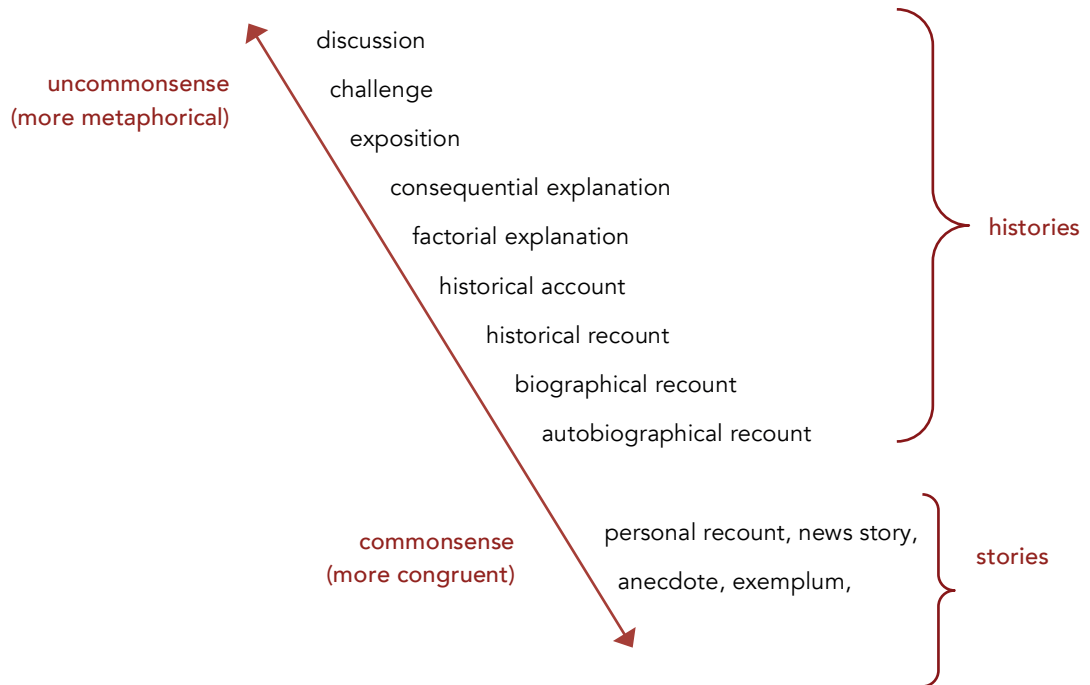


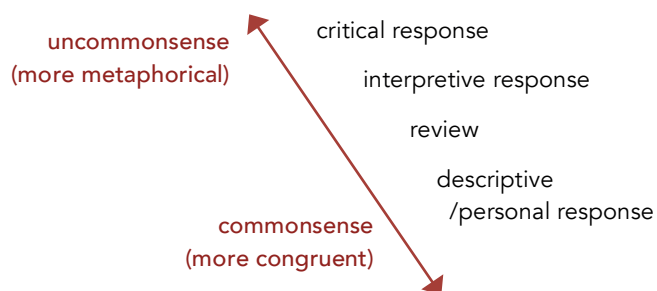
Figure 6.4. Transitioning from commonsense to uncommonsense in 'telling the past' (after Martin & Rose 2008)

Other genre groups, as characteristically instantiated, can similarly be positioned along a more-to-less commonsense cline. In her work on the school visual arts syllabus, Rothery (2008) identified three genre groups important in that subject: factual genres, persuasive genres and response genres. Factual genres enact the social purpose of giving information: procedures and procedural recounts give information about how to do something (for example, make stained glass); reports give information about things and events (descriptive reports about particular things; taxonomic reports about general categories of things). Persuasive genres, as noted above, argue for a particular point of view (exposition) or explore an issue from various points of view (discussion). Response genres enact the social purpose of evaluating things and events, for example an artwork. They include descriptive responses, which describe and make a personal response to the target thing/event; reviews, which assess its appeal and value; interpretations, which interpret its message; and critical responses, which analyse the thing/event for its meaning and cultural values (Rothery 2008: 12). Figure 6.5 represents these genres

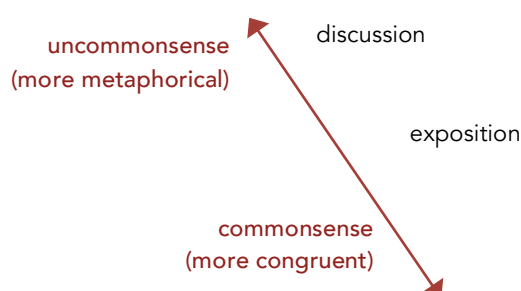
notionally pegged along the cline showing a progression away from the commonsense characteristic within each group, and the groups themselves arguably forming such a progression. For example, a personal response by nature is readily expressed in congruent, commonsense language ('The bright colours in this painting make me feel happy'); an interpretive response demands a response that transcends the personal and individual, requiring 'uncommonsense' choices in language ('Bright colours convey a sense of happiness'). A procedure ('First take a piece of cardboard ...') is more readily expressed in congruent language than a discussion or critical response.

Figure 6.5. Transitioning from commonsense to uncommonsense in genres important in (school) visual arts (after Rothery 2008: 12)

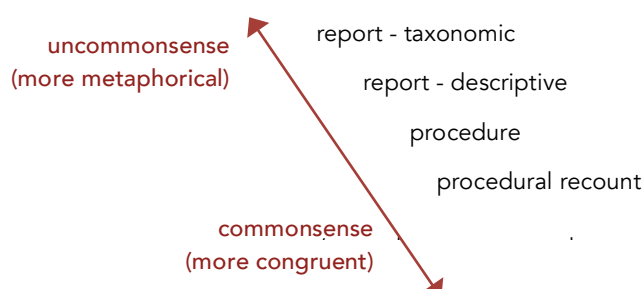
(a) response genres



(a) persuasive genres



(a) factual genres



Beyond this work by Rothery, the discourse genres of the visual arts remain relatively undescribed linguistically. Accordingly, this thesis references Rothery's work, while bringing to attention the need for further description of art-related genres.

Ravelli is one of few to apply a linguistic understanding of genre to museum texts. In her paper (2006a), she used genre as a framework for identifying the distinctive social purpose of museum texts, and demonstrated its value as a tool for supporting museum authors. This is because genre enables a more delicate and 'functional' framework than a range of approaches commonly used by museums, such as 'storyline' (eg, Dean 1996), 'the big idea' (Serrell 1996) and 'narrative design' (Pang 2001, 2004). These approaches, while providing a generalised notion of topic, do not explicitly relate the topic to clear social functions, such as explaining, arguing, discussing. Genre, in contrast, by focusing on meaning as realised through structure and purpose, ensures they remain inseparable. In other words, it emphasises a 'functional understanding' of meaning rather than one based only on content or form (2006a: 302). It provides 'a nexus point' for understanding the nature of museum exhibitions as semiotic resources by connecting downwards to aspects of register variation, discourse semantics and lexicogrammar and upwards to ideological stance (Ravelli 2006a: 311; see also White 1994). In her review of texts from two museum exhibitions, Ravelli touched on issues of accessibility, demonstrating, firstly, the complex mix of genres in play, and secondly, that generic structure was not always clear in terms of already-described generic patterns – for example, she noted a lack of explicit logico-semantic indicators between arguments. Ravelli concludes that this may suggest museum texts are different in kind to previously described genres. However, it also offers insight into the ways texts may be creating ambiguity and thus hindering rather than assisting visitor understanding.

Thus, relative to the exhibitions in this study, we can ask, if genres are about enacting predictable routines that facilitate understanding, how recognisable and predictable are the genres present in *The Wild Ones* and *Renaissance* exhibition texts? If genres can be expressed on a continuum from more commonsense to more uncommonsense, where do the genres as expressed in these exhibitions lie? If genres act to encode the social purpose of a text, how do the purposes being enacted in the exhibition texts

align with those intended by the authors and exhibition teams? Following a brief description of the overall compositional structure of the exhibition texts to show how other modalities (such as position, format, image etc) are deployed to reinforce the generic structure, the next sections look at the two case study exhibitions from the perspective of these questions.

6.2.2. Genre analysis of The Wild Ones label texts

Background / compositional structure

The Wild Ones exhibition labels followed a basic 4-level structure, which is represented diagrammatically in figure 6.6 and summarised in table 6.1. The progression was relatively regular; each section adhered to the pattern, therefore maximising its predictability. The structure was well signalled but not prescriptive. For example, each section theme text was numbered, signalling an intended sequence or pathway, but spatially the pathway was open in that the exhibition was located within the one room, with two possible entry points and no structural elements that privileged any particular route once inside. In other words, while the thematic structure was arranged spatially, the label texts did the major ‘work’ of signalling this thematic organisation and structuring the exhibition’s storyline.

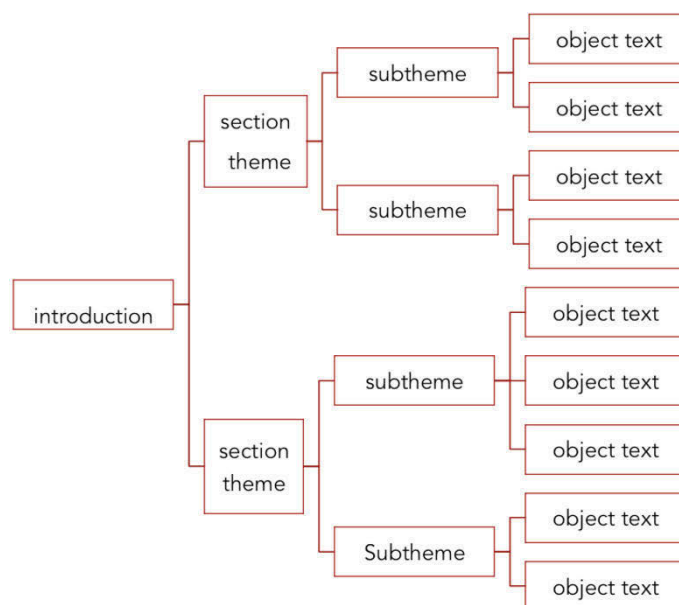


Figure 6.6. Typical compositional hierarchy of exhibition text

Table 6.1. Compositional structure of the Wild Ones label texts

Exhibition introduction	Section theme	Subtheme	(Extended captions)
(external) The Wild Ones (internal) The Old Tin Shed	1. The World's Greatest Stadium	Here Come the Yanks	12 of 41
		'Huge Deal' McIntosh	
		The Fight of the Century	
		Snowy Baker	
		The Maitland Wonder	
	2. Boxing's Golden Age	The Five Greatest Fights?	14 of 76
		Everyone's Equal in the Ring	
	3. The Big Shows	Lee Gordon	7 of 77
		Mr Emotion	
		Sydney Swings	
		Out on the Town	
	4. Rock 'n' Roll	Col Joye & Johnny O'Keefe	13 of 88
		Beatlemania	
		The Fans	
	5. Wrestling	Chief Little Wolf	3 of 46
		Gorgeous George	
		Lenny the Lionheart	
	6. Skaters & Samurais	–	1 of 32
	7. End of an Era	–	3 of 5

Physically, each label type was distinctively and consistently formatted and positioned, using resources from other semiotic modes to reinforce its place in the overall hierarchy. Panel size and font sizes reduced incrementally with each step down the hierarchy. Placement within the displays followed a top-to-bottom, left-to-right ordering to foreground higher-order texts in line with common expectations among English-speaking audiences (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 179–93), although this presumes a visitor entering through the primary entrance and moving clockwise through the gallery.

A range of design elements were used to physically evoke the time and place of the story being told – in effect, strengthening context dependency (presence) by literally positioning visitors in that specific time and place. The outward facing wall was clad in corrugated iron, pasted up with reproductions of publicity posters of highlight acts staged at Sydney Stadium over its 68-year history (figure 6.7 middle). Above the main entrance into the exhibition space a neon sign blazed 'Tonite at the Stadium', and to the left a graphic panel presented the first of two main introductory texts. A second

introductory text was placed inside the gallery, directly in front of the visitor as they walked in. The section themes were wall mounted, centred at roughly eye level (figure 6.7 bottom). A numbered 'flag' above each section theme explicitly signalled the intended storyline pathway through the exhibition, while evoking the signs used at the stadium and other performance venues. Subthematic texts were placed horizontally on graphic/showcase plinths as image-text pairings. The regularity of this pattern was broken only in the last two thematic areas, which transitioned from theme to object/graphic text with no intermediate subthemes.

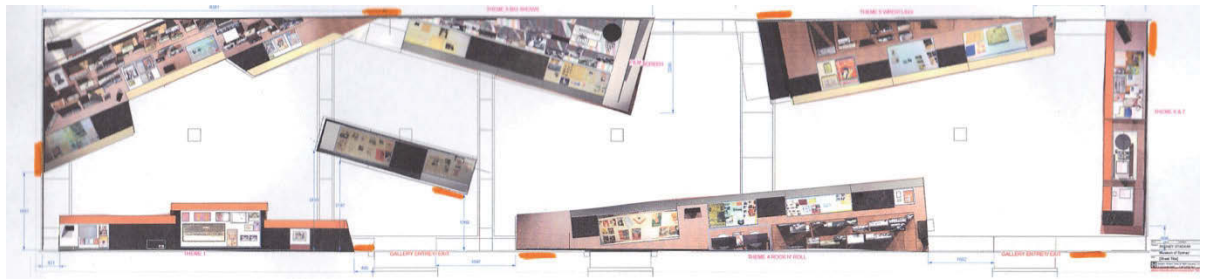
Insights from genre analysis

Genre analysis of the exhibition texts (see appendix 8) revealed three notable findings. These point to a high level of accessibility for a general audience. They also give insights into the specific strategies used by the exhibition team in achieving that level of accessibility.

Type of genre:

The first finding was that the label texts realised a mix of genres that were typical of the field of history but in terms of the 'genre cline' (figure 6.4) were clustered towards the more commonsense end. The texts primarily acted to chronicle events from the past as historical or biographical recounts, unfolding as a series of activity sequences organised principally by external (field) time. In other words, events and actions from the past are more congruently construed in language than typically occurs in the more argument-focused genres further up the cline.

For example, the main (internal) exhibition introduction (table 6.2) takes the prototypical form of a historical recount (Martin & Rose 2008: 105). As noted above, the social function of historical recounts is to construct public records of past events and evaluate their significance. The genre unfolds in three stages: a Forward, which sets a context for the events to come, followed by a Record of Events in chronological order followed by a Coda, which 'resets' events in time and evaluates their significance



↑↓
main entry
(and pictured below)

↑↓
entry /exit



section theme
panel

numbered flag

subtheme
label

object/graphic
label



Figure 6.7. The Wild Ones exhibition floor plan and views

(Martin & Rose 2008).⁴ In this example, the three stages follow in order, the boundaries neatly corresponding with the paragraph structure. Other key features of the genre are all present. References to time occur as marked Themes at the beginning of sentences and as circumstances of time (bold underlined), scaffolding the unfolding events chronologically, along with circumstances of cause and contingency to foreground the purpose of and conditions under which key events occurred. Verbal groups, all in past tense, realise a mix of material processes (constructed, went on, staged, sat) and relational processes (stood, was, held). The participants are human and concrete entities. Between clauses, conjunctions and dependency relations link ideas temporally, while the resources of appraisal are used to evaluate the impact and significance of people and events (the city's *pre-eminent* ... venue, *thousands of furious* boxing bouts, *spellbinding* concerts, local *legends*, international *stars*, *special* place, *memorable* nights). All clauses are declarative, enacting the social role of giving information.

Table 6.2. Generic structure: The Wild Ones internal introduction

Generic structure	Text
Forward	THE 'OLD TIN SHED' Built in 1908, the Sydney Stadium, which stood on the corner of New South Head Road and Neild Avenue at Rushcutters Bay, was the city's pre-eminent boxing, wrestling and concert venue until its demolition in 1970.
Record of Events	[1] Originally constructed to host just one fight, the World Heavyweight Boxing Championship, the Old Tin Shed went on to present thousands of furious boxing bouts and wild wrestling matches. [2] From the mid 1950s the venue staged spellbinding concerts by international stars such as Frank Sinatra and The Beatles, and local legends Johnny O'Keefe and Col Joye.
Coda	Although only a corrugated iron and timber structure, the stadium held a special place in the hearts of generations of Sydneysiders who sat ringside or in the bleachers during many memorable nights.

⁴ Note that some descriptions of historical recount include this third Coda stage (eg, Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012; Martin 1994/2012), and others do not (Martin & Rose 2008). For the purposes of this study, it is noted that in both exhibitions, some instantiations of the historical recount genre include this third stage and some do not

'Clineshifting':

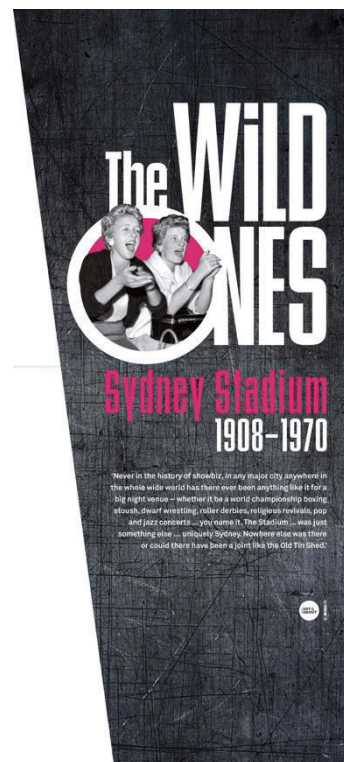
The second notable finding was a tendency to shift what might be the expected realisation of a genre within a historical context further down the uncommonsense-to-commonsense cline. This was evidenced in two ways. The first involved embedding genres typical of more everyday registers within a recognisable historical genre. For example, the theme text for the 'Rock 'n' roll' section (table 6.3) unfolds as a historical recount, with the expected Forward stage leading to a Record of Events. But here, flagged by the projecting clause 'Legend has it', the expected record shifts to take the form of an anecdote (from the family of story genres). The social purpose of an anecdote is to invite the listener/reader to share an emotional response in order to both entertain and ultimately create a social bond (Martin & Rose 2008). It typically unfolds through the stages (Orientation)^Remarkable Event^Reaction^(Coda). In this example, the Orientation ('Legend has it') provides an explicit cue to the forthcoming genre switch. The ensuing combination of field shift (from history to everyday life), mode shift (from more written to more spoken, notably as realised by the long-winded sentence) and tenor shift (from more unequal and distant and to more equal and close) construed by the anecdote acts both to foreground the interpersonal (sharing and entertaining over informing) and elide the separation between 'history' and 'everyday life'. The story positions the reader to either approve of Gordon and his opportunism and form a bond with him or disapprove and dislike him. At the completion of the anecdote, a return to explicit foregrounding of time in the marked Theme ('In 1957') acts to signal both a phase shift and the shift back to recount genre.

The second strategy involved field shifting, such that a given genre was realised in a manner more typical of another field – in this case, everyday life. A prominent example of this is seen in the lead introductory text, positioned at the main entrance to the exhibition (figures 6.7 & 6.8). Straight up, the heavy use of evaluative language flags the text as persuasive in purpose: as an argument. The use of negatives acts to simultaneously evoke and reject an alternative position (Martin & White 2005: 118). Graduation acts to turn up the force or focus of the proposition being put (Hood 2010). This construes the proposition being made – that as a 'big night venue', Sydney

Table 6.3. Generic structure: Wild Ones section theme text

Stage	Phase	Text
Forward		ROCK'n'ROLL The stadium's timbers really shook with the arrival of rock'n'roll in the late 1950s when teenage pandemonium took hold in Sydney.
Record of Events with embedded anecdote (as phase 1)	Phase 1: Orientation Remarkable Event	Legend has it that promoter Lee Gordon had been at his box office in George Street and seen a long queue of teenagers waiting to buy tickets to the film <i>The blackboard jungle</i> , the soundtrack of which featured the song 'Rock around the clock' by American act Bill Haley and His Comets. Intrigued, Gordon bought a ticket and immediately sensed a financial opportunity.
	Reaction	[implicit: reader positioned to approve/align or disapprove/not align with Gordon]
	Phase 2:	In 1957 Gordon brought Bill Haley and His Comets to the Sydney Stadium. This tour was followed by a string of concerts featuring rock'n'roll greats Little Richard, Buddy Holly and Jerry Lee Lewis. Australian performers like Johnny O'Keefe, Col Joye and Lonnie Lee all began playing the stadium as support acts before fans demanded they appear as headliners in their own right.
	Phase 3:	When The Beatles took to the stadium stage in 1964 they unleashed the second wave of rock'n'roll on hysterical Sydney teenagers.
Coda		–

Stadium was unique – as a position being defended or argued rather than a statement of information being offered. Here, however, the argument genre, typically realised within the field of history in discourse that would position it towards the top of the genre cline (figure 6.4), is presented as a direct quote typical of the informal, spoken registers of everyday life: the language is dialogic ('you name it'), repetitive, exaggerated.



'Never in the history of showbiz, in any major city anywhere in the whole wide world has there ever been anything like it for a big night venue – whether it be a world championship boxing stoush, dwarf wrestling, roller derbies, religious revivals, pop and jazz concerts ... you name it. The Stadium ... was just something else ... uniquely Sydney. Nowhere else was there or could there have been a joint like the Old Tin Shed.'

John Byrrell, *Bandstand and all that*, Kangaroo Press, 1995

Figure 6.8. **The Wild Ones (external) introduction text**

Table 6.4. **Generic structure: The Wild Ones external introduction**

Stage	Text
Background	–
Position	'Never in the history of showbiz, in any major city anywhere in the whole wide world has there ever been anything like it for a big night venue
Arguments (previewed only)	– whether it be a world championship boxing stoush, dwarf wrestling, roller derbies, religious revivals, pop and jazz concerts ... you name it.
Reinforcement of Position	The Stadium ... was just something else ... uniquely Sydney.
Reinforcement of Position	Nowhere else was there or could there have been a joint like the Old Tin Shed.'
Genre type: exposition Social purpose: persuasive – argue a position	

Argument genres characteristically unfold in four stages: Background, which provides context for the argument; Statement of Position (also called Thesis), which presents the position being argued; Arguments, a series of reasons why the Position should be adopted; and Reinforcement of Position, which re-affirms the Position being argued in light of the arguments presented (Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012: 190). In this introductory text panel, the quote jumps straight to presenting a position, as noted above, with a leading negative ('never') immediately acknowledging and rejecting any alternative position. The quote then previews the supporting arguments rather than presents them (perhaps creating an expectation that the exhibition to come will provide the supporting reasons). It then restates the Position, and restates it again for added force. The effect is to frame the social purpose of the exhibition overall as persuasive, but in a manner that evokes the field of everyday life rather than history. The accompanying close-up image of two screaming fans reinforces this effect.

Clarity of genre:

The third notable finding was the relatively clear and systematic way in which the genres were realised throughout the exhibition, with the compositional structure and a range of semiotic modes (eg, colour, image, typography, physical size and positioning) deployed to reinforce the genre type. For example, each thematic section had a section theme text, consistently formatted, numbered and positioned. All took the form of historical recounts, with the expected linguistic features present and stages reinforced typographically, for example through bolding of the opening Orientation stage.

Subthemes were similarly systematic and regular, their smaller size and form shifting to vertical to horizontal plane marking their shift down the compositional hierarchy. At this level, a second genre came into play, the biographical recount, closely related to the historical recount but focused on the life of a significant individual. An accompanying image reinforced the distinction: the biographies were paired with a tightly cropped portrait image of the subject, the historical recounts with a scene depicting the event (see figure 6.9).

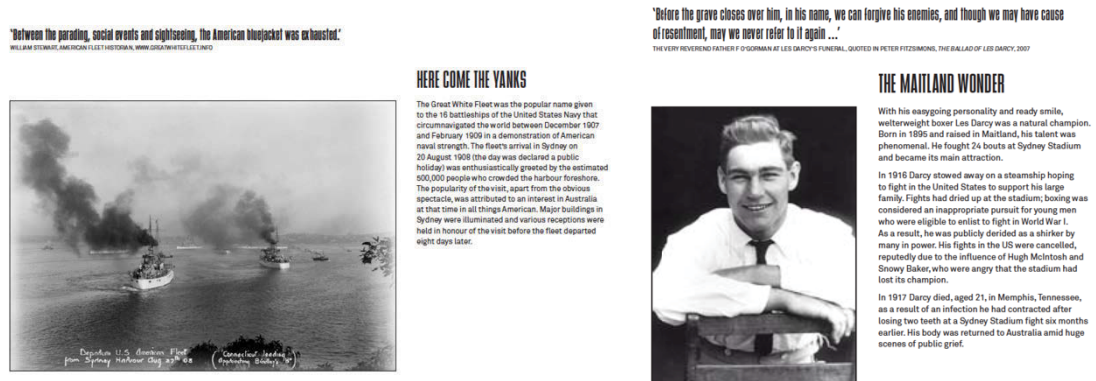


Figure 6.9. Wild Ones subtheme examples (left as historical recount, right as biographical recount)

However, there were exceptions to this regularity. The first was the inconsistent inclusion of a Coda stage, particularly noticeable at the section theme and subtheme levels. While this is not an obligatory stage, it means that the texts were doing less explicit work in evaluating and integrating the preceding ideas, and synthesising them into a concluding, or 'takeaway', idea.

The second exception occurred in the object level texts. Here, while the *format* was standardised and thus predictable, this was less the case in terms of generic structure. The extended captions presented a smorgasbord of genre fragments (see table 6.5), some more expected in a museum context (recount and explanation) than others (anecdote); sometimes following the expected staging but at other times not. This intermixing of genres and expectations introduced a certain dynamism and surprise. At the same time, the dominance of biographical recounts, foregrounding a personal dimension of the history being presented, and the inclusion of anecdote, typically a spoken genre with the purpose of inviting the receiver to share an emotional response (Martin 1997/2012: 195), acted to strengthen the sense of a personal, social relationship with the visitor and to further ground the exhibition experience in the commonsense world of everyday experience.

Table 6.5. Examples of generic structure of Wild Ones (extended) object label texts

(a) recount (biographical)

Stage /phase	Text
Record of Events	<p>In 1907 Jack Johnson visited Australia for the first time to fight two exhibition matches against Australian boxers Bill Lang and Peter Felix.</p> <p>Before Johnson returned to the United States a farewell dinner was held in his honour by the Coloured Progressive Association of New South Wales at Leigh House in Surry Hills.</p>

(b) anecdote

Orientation Remarkable Event	According to legend, one of Louis Armstrong's band members crushed a cockroach with his shoe in the stadium dressing room. The headless cockroach began to move, to screams of 'it's still alive!' Armstrong, who was cleaning his trumpet at the time, nonchalantly looked at the cockroach and said, 'you call that livin'?' [implicit: humour shared with author]
Reaction	

(c) explanation

Event Consequence	Newspapers printed blank scorecards for spectators to fill in during the fight, so they could compare their results with those of the referee.
----------------------	--

In summary, the genre analysis shows that *The Wild Ones* exhibition used a range of genres expected in the field of history but that clustered towards the more congruent and commonsense end of Martin & Rose's cline of genre types (2008), as well as genres of everyday life. As such, the exhibition texts can be seen to maximise their potential accessibility for a broad audience. The relatively regular and systematic realisation of the genres throughout the exhibition in terms of linguistic features and physical presentation also contributes to the overall accessibility of the exhibition text in that the genres are more likely to be recognised and predicted by visitors. One exception to this was the inconsistent instantiation of an Evaluation stage in the recount genres. This can be interpreted as evidence that the texts are not taking up this opportunity to explicitly consolidate and synthesise key ideas.

The analysis also highlights the potential for a different kind of experience for visitors entering the exhibition by the 'ancillary' entry and/or for visitors who choose to 'dip in' to the exhibition text at the level of object labels. The overall purpose of the exhibition

as a persuasive ‘text’ is most explicitly conveyed in the opening introductory text, which appears only at the primary entry. Without awareness of this exposition, the dominance of recount genres throughout the exhibition construes a very different social purpose: of telling an accepted history rather than arguing for a possibly contested interpretation or position. In other words, there is a greater potential for ‘argument’ to be interpreted as ‘truth’. This has particular salience given the trust the public accords museums (Hamilton & Ashton 2003; see also chapter 1, section 1.2.1)

6.2.3. Genre analysis of the Renaissance label texts

Background / compositional structure

The *Renaissance* label texts similarly made use of a four-level compositional structure. This time, however, the themes were divided by the physical structure of the rooms. But not all rooms had a ‘room theme’ text, and only two rooms contained subthemes. Physically, the different levels in the hierarchy were indicated by a difference in type size. Once inside the main exhibition rooms, no supporting graphics were used. The walls were painted in rich colours typical of the Renaissance period, creating some degree of presence, but not to the extent as in *The Wild Ones*. In short, the pathway through the exhibition was relatively prescribed but the structural organisation of texts was irregular, with minimal use of other modalities to reinforce and signal it.

Table 6.6. Compositional hierarchy of the Renaissance label texts

Exhibition introduction	Room theme	Subtheme	Object labels (extended)
The Renaissance	Room 1a: –	The Accademia Carrara, Bergamo	3 (of 3)
	Room 1: From Gothic to Renaissance	–	4 (of 12)
	Room 2: Madonna and Child	–	4 (of 9)
	Room 3: –	–	7 (of 15)
		Altarpieces	
		Portraits	
	Room 4: The High Renaissance	–	5 (of 12)
	Room 5: Late Renaissance	–	4 (of 12)
	Room 6: Northern Italy	–	5 (of 11)

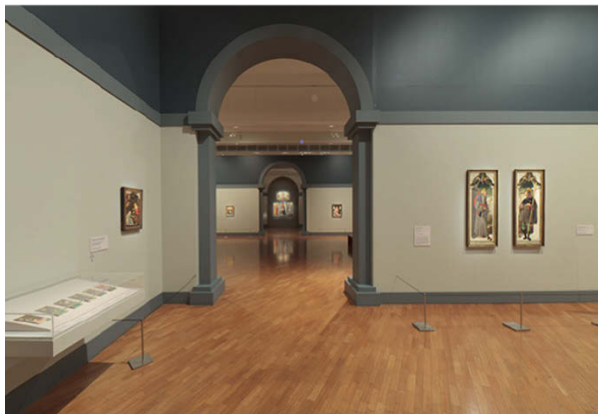


Figure 6.10. Renaissance exhibition floor plan and views

As noted previously, the compositional structure of the exhibition texts helps orient visitors to the generic structure and thus the overall purpose of the exhibition as a communicative event. However, in this exhibition, the compositional structure was inconsistent and at times ambiguous. This was particularly the case at the thematic levels, where the lack of a room theme text in Room 3 created significant ambiguity as to the organising principles that underpinned the flow of the exhibition. There was a tension between the structure as suggested by the room layout and text format (see table 6.7a) and that suggested by the actual content (table 6.7b). The room structure and text format suggested a structure organised by a mix of chronology, subject matter and place, but left unexplained the lack of theme in Room 3.⁵ It also ‘limited’ the ‘Gothic to Renaissance’ timeframe to the first room. The content itself, however, suggested a structure organised primarily by chronology (table 6.8), with Rooms 1–3 all concerned with the same era. Yet there was no physical or thematic-level expression of this shared timeframe. The choice to present the ‘Madonna & Child’ text as theme level text explicitly interrupted and confused the overarching chronology.

Physically, the distinction between theme and subtheme texts was downplayed: font, format, colour were all the same. The only difference was a modest reduction in point size.

Table 6.7. Thematic organisation of the Renaissance exhibition

(a) based on room structure and text format

	(ante room)	Room 1	Room 2	Room 3	Room 4	Room 5	Room 6
Primary (room)		GOTHIC TO RENAISSANCE (time)	MADONNA & CHILD (subject matter)	– [?]	HIGH RENAISSANCE (time)	LATE RENAISSANCE (time)	NORTHERN ITALY (place)
Secondary (subtheme) level	The Accademia Carrara (place)			Altar-pieces (function) Portraits (subject matter)			
CAPITALS denote formatting as ‘room theme text’							

⁵ The heading hierarchy in the brochure handed out on entry also suggests this structure.

(b) based on content

	(ante room)	Rooms 1–3			Room 4	Room 5	Room 6
Primary level		GOTHIC TO RENAISSANCE (time)			HIGH RENAISSANCE (time)	LATE RENAISSANCE (time)	NORTHERN ITALY (place)
Secondary level	The Accademia Carrara (place)	–	MADONNA & CHILD (subject matter)	Altar- pieces (function) Portraits (subject matter)	–	–	–
CAPITALS denote formatting as ‘room theme text’ () brackets denote organising principle as flagged in the text title							

Insights from genre analysis

Genre analysis of the *Renaissance* exhibition label texts revealed a number of features which together suggest the texts posed a significant hurdle for a general audience in terms of accessing the meaning potential the texts bring to the exhibition experience. The findings also give insights into the specific strategies used by the exhibition team in creating these hurdles and that could, in the future, be used to avoid them.

Type of genre and clarity of genre:

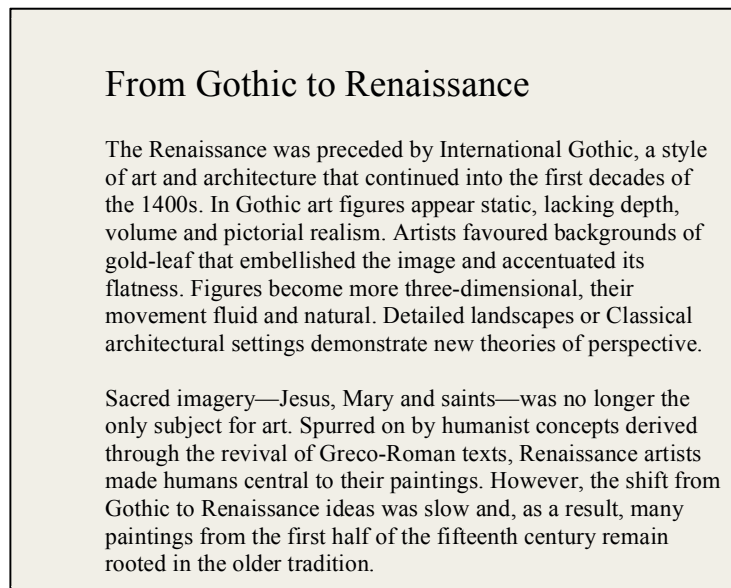
The analysis revealed a mix of genres present in the *Renaissance* exhibition texts. These included historical recount and explanation genres, as well as taxonomic reports and interpretive response genres (see appendix 8 for examples of the analysis). In other words, the exhibition included genre types typically realised within disciplinary contexts towards the more uncommonsense end of the genre cline (figures 6.4 and 6.5), and instantiated here in language also characteristic of the uncommonsense discourse of disciplinary fields. On this basis, we might expect them to be less accessible to a broad audience. But also of particular significance in this exhibition in terms of accessibility was the difficulty in identifying the genres in use.

As noted by Eggins (2004: 54), a text that is difficult to attribute to a genre is a problematic text, and many of the texts in the *Renaissance* exhibition fell into this category. The analysis revealed several reasons why this occurred. The first was the lack of expected markers to signal phase shifts, which in turn made the obligatory

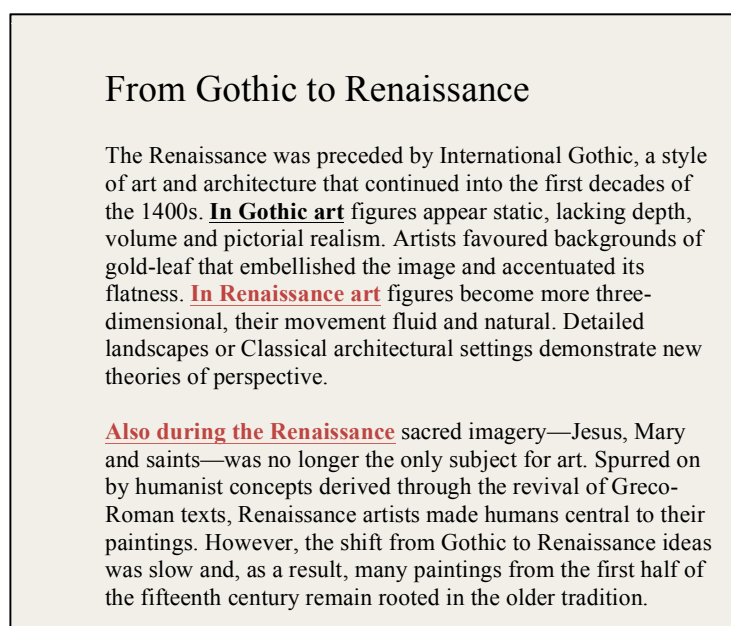
staging structure and thus the genre hard to pinpoint. In the ‘Gothic to Renaissance’ room theme text (figure 6.11a), the marked Theme ‘In Gothic art’ (underlined) signals the start of the first phase in the ‘Record’ stage. But there is no corresponding marked Theme to signal the shift in focus to Renaissance art, or to frame the focus of the second paragraph. As a result, the shift in phase and focus is easily missed. This becomes particularly evident when the expected markers are ‘restored’ (figure 6.11b, underlined in red).

Figure 6.11. Example Renaissance room theme text

(a) In original form



(b) With expected marked Themes ‘restored’



A second reason was the frequent mixing of genre types within the one text, but unlike in *The Wild Ones* exhibition, with minimal or inconsistent if any flagging. For example, with the exception of the final room, the room theme texts made use of strong field-time structuring to foreground the recount role, particularly in the opening (Forward) stage. However, the expected Record of Events stage was typically replaced by a taxonomic report, detailing various features of works from that time. This was sometimes signalled by a shift in tense, with recount segments set in the past and the taxonomic description set in the present, as also seen in Figure 6.11 above & table 6.9 below. Yet this same tense shift was also used to signal a shift in field time from Gothic (set in the past) to Renaissance (set in the present; also in table 6.9). Again, however, this shift was not consistently applied. Thus, while the intent may well have been to foreground the Renaissance era, the inconsistency and doubling-up of purpose creates the potential for ambiguity.

The use of evaluative language also appears at odds with expected genre types. Rothery classifies the taxonomic report as a factual genre (2008: 12). Others (eg, Martin & Rose 2008; Humphrey et al 2012) highlight 'factual' language (eg, 'factual', 'quantity' and 'classifying' adjectives) as characteristic of taxonomic descriptions and reports. Yet in the *Renaissance* texts, as webs of interconnecting taxonomies are being constructed – for example between periods in art history, places, materials, compositional elements, schools and so forth – they are being interlaced with evaluative meanings. This includes a prominent use of inscribed appreciation (*spectacular* altarpieces, *the greatest* period in the history or art, *perfected* perspective), as well as various undercurrents of invoked appreciation and judgment that value various participants and qualities (eg, collectors, artists, the new, realism, the Renaissance) and de-value others (the church, the old). In the text in table 6.8 for example, Gothic attracts a prosody of negative appreciation (static – lacking – flatness – rooted – older – tradition) and Renaissance positive (more three-dimensional – fluid – natural – spurred on). The processes used in identifying and describing are also often imbued with evaluative meaning (eg, the figure '*maximises* the pyramid effect', the strokes '*animate* the scene'). As suggested by Rada (1989) in her analysis of a range of art texts, such undercurrents of evaluation, where 'words slide between evaluative

non-evaluative interpretations’ play a significant role in contributing to the ‘cryptic’ nature of the language of art (1989: 45, 111). While further analysis of the evaluative meanings in these texts is well worthy of further research, it is beyond the scope of this chapter. The point here is to suggest this as a feature that runs counter to expectation in such ‘factual’ genres and thus may cloud their recognisability.

Table 6.8. Generic structure: Renaissance section theme text (hybrid recount/taxonomic report)

Stage / phase	Text
Forward	FROM GOTHIC TO RENAISSANCE The Renaissance was preceded by International Gothic, a style of art and architecture that continued into the first decades of the 1400s.
Description (taxonomic) 1. Gothic art 2. Renaissance art (but ambiguous due to omission of marked Theme) 3. Renaissance art: sacred/human (again ambiguous due to omission of marked Theme)	[1] In Gothic art figures appear static, lacking depth, volume and pictorial realism. Artists favoured backgrounds of gold-leaf that embellished the image and accentuated its flatness. [2] Figures become more three-dimensional, their movement fluid and natural. Detailed landscapes or Classical architectural settings demonstrate new theories of perspective. [3] Sacred imagery—Jesus, Mary and saints—was no longer the only subject for art. Spurred on by humanist concepts derived through the revival of Greco-Roman texts, Renaissance artists made humans central to their paintings.
Coda (return to higher level of abstraction)	However, the shift from Gothic to Renaissance ideas was slow and, as a result, many paintings from the first half of the fifteenth century remain rooted in the older tradition.

This example also points to a third feature highlighted by the genre analysis as contributing to the difficulty in identifying genre type. This was the implicit and frequently ambiguous nature of logical relations. This meant the text could be read a number of ways, making it difficult to confidently identify the genre and thus the purpose of the message as describing or explaining. For instance, from the above example, the following sentence can be read in two ways:

In Gothic art figures appear static, lacking depth, volume and pictorial realism.

[interpretation 1]

In Gothic art figures appear static, [and they also] lack depth, volume and pictorial realism.

(ie, a relation of extension (+), co-ordination)

[interpretation 2]

In Gothic art figures appear static [because they are] lacking depth, volume and pictorial realism.

(ie, a relation of enhancement (x), causation)

In the following excerpt, taken from the 'High Renaissance' room theme, the relationship between the two ideas can be read in three ways:

There was a greater emphasis on realism, an expanded range of expressions, gestures and poses.

[interpretation 1]

There was a greater emphasis on realism, [for example] an expanded range of expressions, gestures and poses.

(ie, a relation of elaboration (=), exemplification)

[interpretation 2]:

There was a greater emphasis on realism, [and] an expanded range of expressions, gestures and poses.

(ie, a relation of extension (+), co-ordination)

[interpretation 3]

There was a greater emphasis on realism, [which caused/allowed] an expanded range of expressions, gestures and poses.

(ie, a relation of enhancement (x), causation)

This chapter considers logico-semantic relations in more detail in section 6.2.3. A final point to note here is that a similar range of genres and characteristics occurred in the object-level texts.

In summary, the genre analysis showed that the *Renaissance* label texts used a mix of common genre types, including recount, review, interpretation and explanations through four main interpretive layers of text. In other words, there was a significant use of genre types typical of the more 'uncommonsense' end of the genre continuum (Martin & Rose 2008). Notable features of the texts at all levels were the shifting of genre types often with minimal or inconsistent flagging and the implicit and often ambiguous nature of logico-semantic relations, which meant that it was often harder to recognise the genre type and ultimately the social purpose of the texts. There were also inconsistencies in terms of compositional structure and physical format which meant that the intended purpose of the texts was less predictable and clear. Overall, there

was a dominance of description, often ‘wrapped’ or interlaced within features of historical recount. The effect of this may be that while the texts set up an expectation that they would be about things happening, they were more often about static and ongoing relationships, qualities and things. In other words, compared to *The Wild Ones* label texts, the Renaissance text were less recognisable, less predictable and less ‘commonsense’.

Section summary / genre

This section has investigated the generic structure of the label texts in the two case study exhibitions as a starting point for considering their accessibility. Following Martin & Rose (2008, 2012), it has argued that genre types as typically realised within disciplinary fields can be ranked along a continuum from more to less ‘commonsense’, with those closer to the commonsense end typically more accessible to a broader range of people. Following Eggins (2004), it argues that genres which can be readily recognised (that is, their obligatory stages are clear and present) facilitate understanding by making the social purpose of the text and the expected role of the visitor clear. By these criteria, the label texts in *The Wild Ones* were shown to be relatively accessible in that they used primarily recount and story genres, and used them in a consistent and predictable way. In contrast, the label texts in the *Renaissance* exhibition made use of a wider range of genres, but these were shown to be less regular, less predictable and less recognisable. As a result, their social purpose was more complex and less clear; they can thus be interpreted as being less accessible in that they placed a considerable interpretive load on visitors outside the field of art.

However, as noted above in this chapter, while elemental genres can be thought of as existing along a continuum from more to less ‘commonsense’, any given instance of a genre results from interaction of genre and the particular register choices made in instantiating it. In educational and disciplinary contexts, genres and their specific configurations of meanings in field, tenor and mode often vary together in terms of their ‘commonsense-ness’, but they can vary independently. In field terms, a scientific or historical argument can be couched in commonsense discourse (as seen by the lead quote on *The Wild Ones* introductory text panel); an anecdote about everyday

experience could be told (although most likely with difficulty) using highly ‘academic’ language. As such this section now shifts to look in more detail at the configurations of language in the texts under study, principally from the perspective of the register variable of field but with reference to tenor and mode. However, even with this degree of focus, the view is consciously selective due to constraints of space.

6.2.4. Register / field implicating tenor & mode

As noted above, field in discourse as realised in ideational meaning is concerned with how experience is construed in discourse (Martin & Rose 2007: 297). It concerns the social action that is taking place: activities and how they are linked into sequences; and people, places, things and qualities, and the taxonomic relations that adhere between them. This second perspective on accessibility focuses on two dimensions of ideational meaning: experiential meaning in terms of entities and activity sequences (who or what the texts are about; what is going on) and logical meanings in terms of conjunctive relations (how ideas are connected). A particular focus is the role of grammatical metaphor. Noting that grammatical metaphor functions in relation to each metafunction, here the concern is its role in the construal of abstract entities.

Construing experience / entities & activities

The previous chapter (section 5.5.1) considered experiential meaning in the context of exploring the kinds of meanings the verbal texts were bringing to the visitor’s experience of a displayed item (diverging relations). It showed that in these diverging relations, there was a substantially higher proportion of abstract and metaphorical entities in the *Renaissance* label texts than in *The Wild Ones* labels, with grammatical metaphor a significant resource used in achieving this level of abstraction. Many of these entities were specialised to the field of art. Many were linked through relational processes into interrelated field-specific taxonomies. This is also seen in the examples in table 6.19.

Table 6.9. Comparison of abstract (including metaphorical) entities in the two exhibitions

Text level	The Wild Ones	Renaissance
thematic	<p><u>Legend</u> (A) has it that promoter <u>Lee Gordon</u> had been at his <u>box office</u> in <u>George Street</u> and seen a long <u>queue</u> of <u>teenagers</u> waiting to buy <u>tickets</u> to the <u>film</u> <i>The blackboard jungle</i>, the <u>soundtrack</u> of which featured the <u>song</u> 'Rock around the clock' by American <u>act</u> <u>Bill Haley and His Comets</u>. Intrigued, <u>Gordon</u> bought a <u>ticket</u> and immediately sensed a financial <u>opportunity</u>. (A)</p> <p>Entity chains: [metaphorical] – [abstract] <i>Legend</i> – opportunity [concrete] box office – queue – tickets – film – soundtrack – song – act – ticket – [human] Lee Gordon – teenagers – Bill Haley and His Comets – Gordon [place] George Street Activity sequences: has – had been – seen – waiting to buy – featured – Intrigued – bought – sensed</p>	<p>The experiments (GM) and innovations (GM) of early the <i>Renaissance</i> (A) achieved their pinnacle, (Le) especially in <i>Florence</i>, <i>Venice</i> and <i>Rome</i>. <i>Artists</i> prized <i>harmony</i> (A) and proportion (GM) as ideal values (GM). The <i>art</i> (A) of <i>perspective</i> (A) was perfected and the human <i>figure</i> scrutinised closely. There was a greater emphasis (GM) on realism (GM), an expanded <i>range</i> (A) of expressions (GM), gestures (GM) and poses (GM).</p> <p>Entity chains: [metaphorical] experiments – innovations – proportion – values – emphasis – realism – expressions – gestures – poses [abstract] Renaissance – pinnacle (Le) – harmony – art – perspective – range [concrete] figure [human] Artists [place] Florence – Venice – Rome Activity sequences: achieved – prized – was perfected – scrutinised – was</p>
object	<p>Like his more famous <u>brother</u>, <u>Les</u>, <u>Frank 'Frosty' Darcy</u> also boxed. He made a promising <u>start</u> (GM) in the boxing <u>circuit</u>, winning all three <u>bouts</u> he fought at <u>Sydney Stadium</u>. With this success (GM) he looked to follow in his older brother's footsteps (Le) but, tragically, <u>Frank</u> died from <u>influenza</u> in 1919. He was just 19 years old.</p> <p>Entity chains: [metaphorical] start – success – [abstract] footsteps (Le) [concrete] boxing circuit – bouts – Sydney Stadium – influenza [human] brother – Les, Frank 'Frosty' Darcy – he – he – Frank – He [time] 1919 – years Activity sequences: Boxed – made – winning – fought – looked to follow – died – was</p>	<p>Botticelli's rendition (GM) of kidnap (GM), injustice (GM) and murder (GM) is set against the harmonious proportions (GM) of imagined Classical <i>architecture</i>. The <i>story</i> (A) of <i>Virginia</i>, according to Livy's account (GM) in his <i>History of Rome</i>, is the <i>tragedy</i> (A) of a young girl whose death (GM) saves the <i>Roman Republic</i> (A).</p> <p>Entity chains: [metaphorical] rendition – kidnap – injustice – murder – proportions – death – account [abstract] story – tragedy – Roman Republic [concrete] architecture [human] Virginia — girl Activity sequences: is set (GM) – is – saves</p>
<p>Key: <u>Underline</u> = entities <i>Italic</i> = abstract: non-metaphorical (A) bold = abstract: metaphorical (GM = grammatical metaphor / Le = lexical metaphor)</p>		

However, further analysis shows that the exhibition texts differ not just in the amount of grammatical metaphor used, but also in the way it was used. As also evidenced in the examples in table 6.10, *The Wild Ones* labels made relatively light use of experiential grammatical metaphor in the construal of entities, that is, relatively few instances of the repackaging of processes, qualities, conjunctions, circumstances, clauses as ‘Things’). However, they made significant use of grammatical metaphor to repackage processes, things and circumstances as qualities (American act Bill Halley; see also table 6.11 for further examples). Here the effect is to compact meaning rather than to abstract meaning in that the text remains one largely about concrete and human rather than abstract entities (a track, a night, people).

Table 6.10. Examples of ‘Shift-to-quality’ in *The Wild Ones* label texts

Text example	Unpacked congruent
a banked, circular track	a track that circles up a bank (process and circumstance as quality)
memorable nights	nights that were remembered (process as quality)
the estimated 500,000 people	the people estimated to number 500,000 (process to quality)
a rustic, timber and galvanised iron open-air structure	a rustic structure of timber and galvanised iron in the open air (thing to quality; circumstance to quality)
training sessions	sessions for training (process to quality)
the hard-hitting Bennett	Bennett who could hit hard (process+quality to quality)
a few happening places	a few places where things happened (process to quality)
the more experienced American boxer Fritz Holland	Fritz Holland from America who has experienced boxing (process + circumstance to quality)

At the same time, the positioning of these often metaphorical descriptions before the entity being referenced is introduced into the text acts to create the sense that the participants are already ‘familiar’ before they are identified: we feel we know them *before* we meet them. The reader/viewer is never left, even momentarily, wondering who or what someone/thing is. For example, here, before ‘Les Darcy’ is named, we already know him as a happy, easygoing and successful boxer:

With his easygoing personality and ready smile, welterweight boxer Les Darcy was a natural champion.

This repeated ‘front-loading’ has implications across the metafunctions, building a significant interpersonal prosody of familiarity. In other words, it plays a significant role in creating a tenor that closes the social distance and equalises the status between author, reader and participants in the text. Reverberating back into field, it brings the field of history into the reader’s/viewer’s personal world.

The *Renaissance* exhibition label texts, on the other hand, used grammatical metaphor in a different way. As shown above, in these label texts grammatical metaphor often acted to create abstractions. The cumulative impact of this is to shift the focus of the text from being about the material world of people, places, things and actions to being about abstract relations. As noted, this is a critical resource in allowing more generalisable claims to be made, and in turn, in enabling meanings to transcend the immediate situation and be transportable to other contexts.⁶ But it also has significant interpersonal implications, not just in terms of accessibility but also in terms of *experience*. With regards accessibility, as has been noted here and in the literature (eg, Martin 1993; Ravelli 2003), such ‘shift-to-Thing’ constructions place a greater semantic load on the reader/viewer as meaning-maker as they need to be read on two levels. With regards experience, in creating abstract entities, they shift the nature of the experience construed in language away from the lived, material world. In the context of museums, where, as highlighted in chapters 1 & 2, one of the major paradigm shifts over recent decades has been the shift from a more ‘object focused’ to more ‘experience focused’ orientation, from ‘showing objects’ to ‘delivering experiences and telling stories’ (Hein 2000: 5), the significance of this is immense. In the contemporary museum, where ‘museums increasingly hold themselves

⁶ The *Renaissance* label texts also made frequent use of grammatical metaphor to reconfigure circumstance as process, that is, to create circumstantial relational processes (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 242). For example, ‘Their carefully drawn wings echo those of Michael below’ [unpacked: ‘Their carefully drawn wings are like those of Michael below (be + like)]; ‘Voluminous drapery fills the painting’ [unpacked: ‘Voluminous drapery is all around the painting’ (be + extent in place)]. As in these examples, these were often also imbued with evaluative meanings (typically +Appreciation), creating a prosody of invoked appreciation that also created a distance from the material, congruent world. This, however, is noted here rather than pursued, but is highlighted in chapter 7 as a valuable direction for future research.

accountable for delivering experiences ... and [for] the degree to which that experience “feels real” (Hein 2000: 7), the use of highly metaphorical language is at odds with that intent. To use the words of Lukin et al (2004: 60, 69), ‘for many people, this kind of talk feels curiously empty, as if the “real events” are not being described’. But as the analysis shows here, it is not just the amount of grammatical metaphor used, but the particular type.

Table 6.11. Examples of ‘Shift-to-Thing’ in the Renaissance label texts

Text example	Unpacked congruent
a period of <i>inquiry</i> into the natural world	a period when people inquired into the natural world (process to thing)
The architectural <i>heritage</i> of Bergamo	the architecture of Bergamo that was inherited from earlier times (process to thing)
the <i>establishment</i> of an art academy and museum	An art academy and museum were established (process to thing)
Northern Italy was under Austrian <i>occupation</i>	the Austrians occupied Northern Italy (process to thing)
that embellished the image and accentuated its <i>flatness</i>	that embellished the image and made it look flat (quality to thing)
<i>depictions</i> of saints’ lives were part of religious <i>education</i> .	the lives of saints were depicted as part of the way people were educated about religion (process to thing)
<i>the emphasis</i> on architectural elements	architectural elements were emphasised (process to thing)

Logical relations

The second key dimension of ideational meaning is logical meaning, how events and ideas are linked into sequences as discourse (Martin & Rose 2007: 115). In her 1996 study of museum texts, Ravelli notes that for a text to be accessible, ‘the relationship among ideas must be clear enough so that there is a logical connection or “flow of meaning”’(1996: 371). In that study, and another a decade later (2006a), Ravelli noted issues with these connections. Similarly, the genre analysis earlier in this chapter also flagged logical relations as an issue of particular interest, with ambiguities in one exhibition contributing to a difficulty in recognising genre and thus the purpose of the texts. For this reason, they are considered in more detail here.

Systemic functional linguists identify four key types of logical (or conjunctive) relations in verbal discourse: adding, comparing, sequencing in time and showing cause (Martin & Rose 2007). These can be realised explicitly by particular wordings, or left implicit. These wordings, in turn, can be congruent or metaphorical. When realised congruently, logical relations are expressed in conjunctions (eg, and, or, but, because) and continuatives (eg, even, also, still) in combination with dependency relations within clause complexes (equal or paratactic; unequal or hypotactic). For example, in the following excerpts, the ideas (clauses) are related explicitly using conjunctions of addition, time, comparison and cause (marked in bold) in interaction with parataxis and hypotaxis:

Adding

Alcohol was banned in the stadium **but** many spectators smuggled in beer bottles ... (paratactic)

Comparing

Unfortunately, not many teenagers owned cars, **unlike** in the United States ...

Sequencing

Les Darcy built up his extraordinary strength **while** working as an apprentice blacksmith in Maitland (hypotactic).

Showing cause

He had to be released from his apprenticeship **in order** to become a full-time boxer (hypotactic).

... other residents objected to Louis Armstrong and his wife staying there (presumably **because** they were African- American)

In the next example, the conjunctive relations are implicit.

In Gothic art figures appear static, lacking depth, volume and pictorial realism.

Here, as noted above in this chapter, the relation is ambiguous: it could be read as a relation of addition (the figures appear static and they lack depth, and they lack volume and they lack pictorial realism) or as a relation of cause (the figures appear static because they lack depth ...).

Logical relations can also be realised metaphorically. Logical metaphor acts to reconfigure logical relations between clauses to relations within a clause. In other words, it compresses a sequence of two activities into a single activity. As Martin & Rose note, this is ‘a crucial resource’ for reasoning in specialised fields as it allows logical relations to be described, graded, classified and evaluated with much greater delicacy (2007: 149). In logical metaphor, conjunctions can be reconstrued as processes, things, qualities and circumstances. For example:

so	→	lead to (process)
	→	reason, consequence (thing)
thus	→	conclusion (thing)
	→	conclusively (quality)
before	→	previously (quality)
(examples from Martin & Rose 2007)		

These different resources for connecting ideas in discourse similarly exist along a cline from more to less congruent or commonsense (figure 6.12). Conjunctions linking activity sequences that unfold in field time represent the most direct realisation in language of logical relations (eg, ‘She needed a coffee so she went to the café’).

Dependency relations take a step up the cline in that the logical relation can be implied in the relationship rather than explicitly expressed (eg, ‘Needing a coffee, she went to the café’). Logical metaphor, in reconstituting logical relations as other elements, shifts a text further again up the cline into the realm of the uncommonsense (‘The journey to the café satisfied her need for a coffee’).

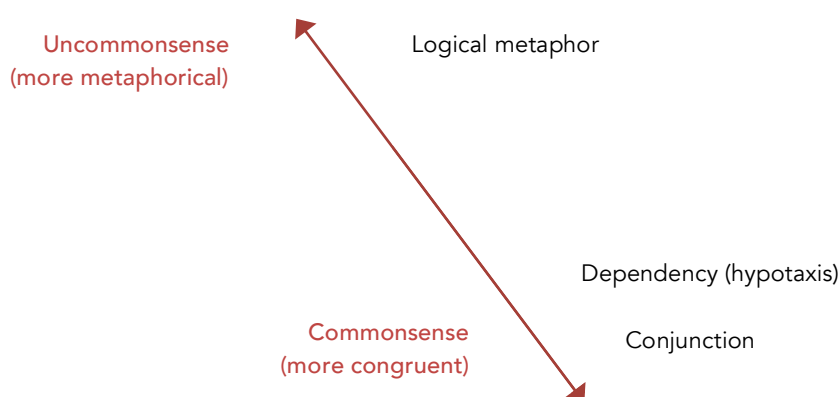


Figure 6.12. **Conjunctive resources of language** (after Martin & Rose 2007)

Table 6.12. **Conjunction types** (after Martin & Rose 2007: 141, 153)

Conjunction type		Abbreviation	Examples
addition	additive	add	and, as well, in addition, further
	alternative	alt	or, either, alternatively
comparison	similar	simil	like, as if
	different	diff	rather, whereas, in contrast, on the other hand, conversely
time	successive	succ	first, second, next, after, before
	simultaneous	simul	at the same time, while, when
consequence	means	means	by, thus
	consequence	consq	thus, because, so
	condition	cond	even if, even though, where
	purpose	purp	so that, in order to

In *The Wild Ones* label texts, logical relations are realised through a grammatically intricate interaction of lexicalised conjunction and dependency relations. This acts to produce relatively lengthy clause complexes. As well as evoking a more spoken-like mode, the effect of these expanded clause complexes is to gather together groups of ideas and separate them from others; there is a closer logico-semantic bond between clauses in a clause complex than between a series of clause simplexes (Eggins 2004: 264). For example, in the label text below, the use of clause-complexing acts to ‘chunk’ the story into segments, which help realise the phases of this mini-biographical recount. It also contributes modally, composing a more spoken, conversational style of language. While there are instances of logical metaphor, the reliance on the resources of lexicalised conjunction and dependency was typical of *The Wild Ones* label text as a whole.

Table 6.13. **Conjunctive resources used in the Jack Johnson label text**

Clause	Text	Conjunctive relation	Stage / phase (bio recount)
1	Jack Johnson was one of the greatest ever heavyweight boxers.		orientation
2.1	He learned to box as a teenager		Record of events 1 (teenager)
2.2	while fighting, blindfolded, against multiple combatants in contests [[held for the amusement of wealthy white spectators]].	tm: simul	
3.1	After defeating Tommy Burns at Sydney Stadium,	tm: succ	(link) Record of events 2 (being in America)
3.2	Johnson returned to the United States	tm: succ	
3.3	where he bested James Jeffries, the ‘Great White Hope’,	tm: simul	
3.4	who had come out of retirement in 1910 specifically for the bout.	con: purp	

The *Renaissance* label texts, on the other hand, are characterised by their relative dominance of clause simplexes. Ideas follow one after the other, self-contained and equally weighted rather than corralled into groups. As a result, the logical relations between ideas are often implicit, and, as noted above in this chapter, could be read in different ways. For example, in the label text below (table 6.14a), the text presents as a series of features about this image. It is not clear whether successive points are adding new features, or are elaborating the one before: is ‘the topography of a rural setting’ an example of ‘the naturalism of Lombardy painting’ or another feature? (clauses 2–3). Are the Madonna’s drapery and skin also features of Northern art (clauses 4–5)? Here, the lack of explicit logical relations combined with Theme shifts and inconsistent terminology make the relations difficult to unpack. Tables 6.14b&c show how reworking the text to make the conjunctions explicit makes a significant difference to the clarity and accessibility, as does minor reworking of the terminology and Thematic structure.

Table 6.14. Conjunctive resources used in the Madonna Lactans label text (cat 29)

(a) Original

Clause	Text	Conjunctive relation	Phase (descriptive report)
1	Images of the Virgin [[breastfeeding the Christ Child]] were popular during the Renaissance.		classification
2	Those created in Lombardy have a high level of informality and naturalism.	add / comp: simil: rework?	Description: Feature 1
3	(and / for example?) Bergognone combines the intimacy of a mother [[breastfeeding her child]] with the topography of a rural setting.	add / comp:sim:re work?	Feature 2 or example of feature 1?
4	Details in the background and midground demonstrate the influence of Northern art.	add	Feature 3
5.1	The drapery of the Madonna’s robe and her enamel-like skin are also reminiscent of Flemish and French painting,	add	Feature 4 ?
5.2	as is the strangely-shaped Child.	add	

(b) Reworked to include explicit conjunctions

Clause	Text	Conjunctive relation	Phase (descriptive report)
1	Images of the Virgin [[breastfeeding the Christ Child]] were popular during the Renaissance.		classification
2	Those created in Lombardy have a high level of informality and naturalism.	add	Description: Feature 1
3	For example, Bergognone combines the intimacy of a mother [[breastfeeding her child]] with the topography of a rural setting.	comp: simil:rework	example of feature 1
4	Details in the background and midground also demonstrate the influence of Northern art.	add	Feature 2
5.1	The drapery of the Madonna's robe and her enamel-like skin are also reminiscent of Flemish and French painting,	add	Feature 3
5.2	as is the strangely-shaped Child.	add	

(c) Reworked to include explicit conjunctions and minor changes to Theme and terminology

clause	text	Conjunctive relation	Phase (descriptive report)
1	Images of the Virgin [[breastfeeding the Christ Child]] were popular during the Renaissance.		classification
2	Those created in the northern region of Lombardy have a high level of informality and naturalism.	add	Description: Feature 1
3	For example, here Bergognone's painting combines the intimacy of a mother [[breastfeeding her child]] with a naturalistic rural setting.	comp: simil	(informality & naturalism) example of feature 1
4.1	Details in the background and midground also demonstrate the influence of Northern art, particularly Flemish and French painting,	add	Feature 2 (influence of northern art)
4.2	as do the drapery of the Madonna's robe, her enamel-like skin and the strangely-shaped Child.	add	

In contrast, on the occasions where the resources of dependency and lexicalised conjunction were used, the relations were clear. Interestingly, as shown in the following example, this occurred more often in segments of text about the religious subject matter rather than the painting itself – in other words, in segments that shifted field to construe commonsense knowledge rather than field of art knowledge.

Table 6.15. **Conjunctive resources used in the Saint John the Evangelist label text** (cat 30)

Clause	Text	Conjunctive relation	
		explicit	implied
33.1	A rather languid looking Saint John stands against a complex background,		
33.2	[with] his figure highlighted by Classical architecture and the sky beyond.		add
34.1	As one of Christ's original twelve apostles, John was the author of his epistles and the Book of Revelations,	con: cau	
34.2	and [so] is often shown with a quill.	add	con: cau
35.1	In his right hand is a chalice,		add
35.2	since he is [[said to have survived drinking a cup of poisoned wine]].	con: cau	
36.1	This is a fragment from an altarpiece,		add
36.2	[and is] executed in a monumental solemn manner with an unusually fresh and bright palette.		add

'Tombstone' texts

A recurring thread through this analysis has been the extent to which meanings are implicit or explicit in the texts, that is, a concern for what is *not* said as well as for what is said. In the context of museum exhibitions, a discussion of implicit meaning would not be complete without a look at the 'tombstone label', one of the most characteristic forms of written text in the exhibition context, particularly in art museums.

In the *Renaissance* exhibition, each caption began with a 'tombstone' text. As a format that is relatively standard among art museums and the field of art more generally, it would be easily recognised and predicted by those familiar with the field. However, it is also heavily codified. As the example below (figure 6.13) demonstrates, key meanings are realised through format and punctuation rather than language.



Figure 6.13. **Sample Renaissance 'tombstone' object text**

‘Unpacked’, the text reads:

[The artist is] Marco BASAITI [who is goes by the name Basaiti]
[and who was born in] Venice or Friuli c.[about] 1470 – ? [and probably
died in] Venice [some time] after 1530

[The title of this work in English is] Portrait of a gentleman [and it was
painted in] 1521

[The title of this work in Italian is] [Ritratto di gentiluomo]

[It is painted in] oil [paint] on [a] wood[en] panel

[It was donated through the] Bequest of Giovanni Morelli [in] 1891
[to the] Accademia Carrara, [in] Bergamo

As such, the texts assume an audience familiar with the conventions of art labels, or an audience able/prepared to invest the semiotic work of ‘figuring out’ the implied meanings and relations.

The Wild Ones exhibition also made use of elements of the tombstone format in its basic object captions (see figure 6.14). While these labels gave explicit and clear descriptions of the item/image being referenced, key roles such as maker and source were construed in the format (type size and weight), position on the label, and punctuation, as seen in the example below:



Figure 6.14. Sample Wild Ones ‘tombstone’ object text

‘Unpacked’, this text reads:

[This image shows] Roller Derby skaters arriving at Sydney Airport
[The photograph was taken by] Ern McQuillan, [on] 25 August 1955
[and is now in the collection of the] Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW:
Australian Photographic Agency – 00667

Section summary

In summary, this section has considered accessibility from the angle of field, but with implications for tenor and mode. It has focused on the notion of grammatical metaphor, regarded as a key resource in the shift from commonsense to

uncommonsense discourse. Focusing in particular on ideational metaphor, the analysis here has shown that the label texts from the two exhibitions use the resources of grammatical metaphor in markedly different ways, which in turn have different consequences in terms of accessibility. *The Wild Ones* label texts make extensive use of ideational metaphor of the ‘shift-to-quality’ type, committing meaning into elaborating predominantly human and concrete entities – in other words, building density but not necessarily abstraction, and thus representing a smaller shift away from the congruent and ‘the real’. It also showed how the systematic coupling of ideational and textual meaning in the form of detailed appellations preceding the identification of human participants served to make these participants ‘feel’ familiar; as readers, we feel as if we know them *before* we meet them. The *Renaissance* label texts, in contrast, make extensive use of metaphor of the ‘shift-to-thing’ type to create abstract entities that often interrelate through complex field-specific taxonomies. Human participants were not emphasised through detailed elaborations; that is, they were less dimensioned relative to those in *The Wild Ones* exhibition, or to other kinds of entities in the *Renaissance* exhibition, notably concrete things (eg, artworks) and abstractions. In this way, the label texts simultaneously increase density of meaning and abstraction, and represent a greater shift away from the congruent and the commonsense.

But meaningful discourse is not just a matter of entities and ideas but of how they are linked together. Accordingly, logical relations were also considered. *The Wild Ones* label texts were shown to make extensive use of explicit conjunction and dependency relations. While this mix connected ideas in ways that were both more and less explicit, the connections were rarely ambiguous. And, while it often produced sentences that were complex and lengthy, this acted to gather together related ideas and then segment them from others. Modally, it contributed to a more ‘spoken’ style, and interpersonally to a more familiar tenor. The dominance of relations of time and cause evidence the work the texts are doing in terms of recounting and explaining.

In contrast, one of the more noticeable features of *The Renaissance* label texts was the dominance of simple clauses and limited use of explicit conjunction. Ideas followed

one after the other with relative independence. The links between ideas were ‘packaged up’ inside ideas through logical metaphor, or were omitted and thus assumed. Combined with other linguistic choices, for example Theme and inconsistent terminology, the logical relations between ideas were often ambiguous. The texts required more ‘work’ on the part of the visitor, and/or specialised knowledge of the field or art. Analysis of the type of logical relations evident showed a dominance of relations of addition and comparison, showing that the texts were working more to add meanings and compare concepts and phenomena rather than to explain them.

This analysis has also offered insights into the assumptions made by authors about their beliefs about ‘accessible writing’. In terms of beliefs about ‘accessible writing’, the analysis provides clear evidence that counters the commonly held belief that short sentences are an important feature of accessible writing. It has shown how longer sentences can facilitate accessibility firstly by corralling related ideas together and distinguishing them from others, and secondly by enabling the logical relationships between ideas to be more directly and explicitly expressed through lexicalised conjunctions and/or dependency relations. In contrast, it has shown how short, clause-simplex sentences act to create strings of ideas that are equally weighted and independent. Logical relationships between them are thus left assumed and often ambiguous. In other words, they are more difficult, or require more work on the part of the reader, to access.

6.3. P E R S P E C T I V E S O N L E A R N I N G

If the idea of linguistic accessibility can be usefully considered in terms of presenting or ‘unpacking’ meaning in or into more congruent and commonsense forms, how then can we think about the learning potential afforded by museum texts?

One productive way of approaching this question has been through the framework of LCT Semantics (eg, Maton 2014c; Maton, Hood & Shay 2016). As noted above (chapters 1 and 2), LCT Semantics uses the ‘conceptual tools’ of semantic gravity (SG), the degree of context dependency of meaning in a given text (or other semiotics), and semantic density (SD), the degree of condensation of meaning. As any given text (or other

semiotic/practice) unfolds in time, the relative strengths of SG and/or SD can be profiled. As Maton has noted (2014b), profiles that take the form of waves – that is, that show rhythmic variations in SG and/or SD through time – represent ‘pulses of cumulative knowledge-building’ (2013: 8). In other words, texts that shift between more context dependent and/or ‘unpacked’ moments and more abstract and/or ‘packed up’ moments – that is, that traverse the discursive gap between the commonsense and the uncommon – are texts that explicitly scaffold learning by linking the more concrete, specific and context-dependent meanings of the present context to broader and more generalisable claims and principles. Conversely, profiles that flatline do not explicitly scaffold learning cumulatively because in flatlining ‘low’, they remain context-bound and thus unable to make connections to broader, transportable ideas (ie, they leave ‘the work’ of synthesising and generalising to the reader/listener). Conversely, by flatlining ‘high’, they remain in a world of abstract relations and leave to the reader/listener ‘the work’ of connecting such claims to the real physical and lived world.

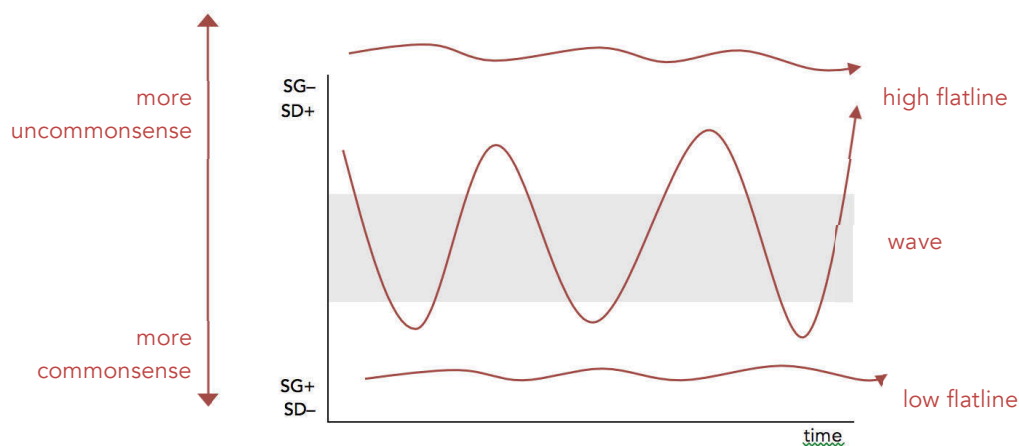


Figure 6.15. Semantic profiles as waves and flatlines

In verbal discourse, SG and SD often pattern together inversely (ie, as SG+ SD– or as SG– SD+), but, as Maton emphasises, they can vary independently (Maton 2014a). A clear example of this is seen in *The Wild Ones* label texts, where the dominance of ‘shift-to-quality’ metaphor builds density of meaning but not abstraction (see section 6.4.2). This keeps the text ‘real’ but limits its ability to make generalised claims. In terms of semantic profiles, *The Wild Ones* label texts remained relatively contained within the high SG and low SD zone, flatlining or waving up and down within a relatively restricted range. For

example, in the segment of the ‘Skaters & Samurais’ subtheme text below (table 6.16), semantic gravity flatlines close to the baseline (SG+), anchored in a specific place and moment in time. Semantic density profiles at a slightly higher level, with the build-up of qualifiers, including through grammatical metaphor, concentrating meaning into the various entities. On occasions, the SG weakened as more general and generalisable claims were made, as seen in the final sentence of the ‘opera glasses’ label text also shown below, but this was relatively infrequent.

Table 6.16. Semantic profiles from The Wild Ones label texts

(a) from ‘Skaters & Samurais’ subtheme text

clause	text	SG+ SD-	SG- SD+
1.1	In 1955 Lee Gordon transformed the stadium		
1.2	by building a banked, circular track around the ring		
2.1	to host Australia’s first Roller Derby bout.		
2.2	Combining rollerskating and elements of professional wrestling,		
3.1	contestants hurtled around the track		
3.2	helping their scoring player (E) to lap members of the other team.		
	Semantic gravity (SG) ____ Semantic density (SD) - - -		

(b) from the ‘opera glasses’ label text

clause	text	SG+ SD-	SG- SD+
1.1	Elizabeth Melville bought these opera glasses		
1.2	To get a better view of Johnnie Ray from her seat in the stadium bleachers.		
2	In these pre ‘big screen’ days many people brought along opera glasses to concerts		
	Semantic gravity (SG) ____ Semantic density (SD) - - -		

The *Renaissance* texts more often profiled as waves, tracking back and forth across ‘the in-between’. In this way, they acted to link the more specific and context-dependent meanings of the present moment to meanings that transcend the particular moment and thus explicitly scaffold cumulative knowledge building. They also followed the more usual pattern of SG and SD profiling together but inversely (ie, when SG is high, SD is low). However, as revealed by the analyses above in this chapter (see table 6.13), the links were not always clear – either because they relied on assumed knowledge, often specialised to the field of art, or because they relied on logical relations that were assumed or ambiguous. In other words, we might say that many of the waves were broken. For example, looking again at the ‘Madonna Lactans’ label text seen earlier in this chapter (table 6.13), there are breaks in most of the waves. The text begins relatively high up the wave with a claim that is relatively generalised and abstract (‘images’, a generalised term; ‘Renaissance’). In the second sentence there is a narrowing of meaning to a particular region (now just about Lombardy) but the nominalisations ‘informality’ and ‘naturalism’ are abstract, with a lot of technical meaning also packed up in those terms. The third sentence brings the viewer to the present moment – this artist, this work, features they can see in the work (a mother, feeding a child, a rural setting), so it acts to ground the generalised claims, but the link is not clear because it is not explicitly stated that the artist Bergognone belongs to the class of artists who come from Lombardy.

Table 6.17. Semantic profile of the Madonna Lactans label text (cat 29)

clause	text	SG+ SD-	SG- SD+
1	Images of the Virgin [[breastfeeding the Christ Child]] were popular during the Renaissance.		
2	Those created in Lombardy have a high level of informality and naturalism.		
3	Bergognone combines the intimacy of a mother [[breastfeeding her child]] with the topography of a rural setting.		
4	Details in the background and midground demonstrate the influence of Northern art.		
5.1	The drapery of the Madonna’s robe and her enamel-like skin are also reminiscent of Flemish and French painting,		
5.2	as is the strangely-shaped Child.		

The fourth sentence begins to move up the wave again, still referencing the particular work but more generally ('details in the background' but not stating which particular ones). It then shoots up with 'the influence of northern art', an expression, for those in the know, with a great deal of meanings and relations packed within. But again the wave is broken because the chain of reference between 'northern' and 'Lombardy' is ambiguous (do they belong to the same class?). The final sentence repeats this pattern, starting low down the wave, grounded in the here-and-now and then shooting up with the wave broken – this time due to the further terms 'Flemish and French' that are not explicitly linked to the category of 'northern' art. In other words, it is only that first wave that is meaningful without specialist knowledge, and so there is little the viewer can either take away to use in other contexts or to 'read' this work itself. And as shown above in this chapter (table 6.13), the breaks would have been relatively easy to fix.

At this point, a comparison with two other texts about this same work is useful. The first is the commentary given by a volunteer guide, a prepared but spontaneously spoken text. The second is the written entry in the 'Discovery trail' produced for children. Both comparisons reflect a relationship characteristic of those texts as a whole.

The commentary, delivered by the volunteer as part of a free guided tour of the exhibition, covers much of the same content as the exhibition label. As would be expected of a spoken text, the sentences are long and grammatically intricate, the language more congruent, more context dependent and less dense. Yet it still 'waves up' to make more abstract and generalisable claims. Here, however, unlike in the label text, the waves are clear and strong because the chains of reference are explicit ('northern art' = northern European art, which includes Flemish and other) as are the logico-semantic relations linking the concrete here-and-now to the abstract. This text, as shown through the lens of LCT Semantics, is doing *more work* in terms of building cumulative knowledge.


Table 6.18. Supplementary text 1: commentary by volunteer guide

clause	text	SG+ SD-	SG- SD+
1.1	A quick look at this Bergognone,		
1.2	heavily influenced by Flemish and other northern European painters.		
2.1	The paleness of the skin and the length of her face apparently are Flemish characteristics,		
2.2	and the hair out – apparently is a Flemish character too.		
3	It symbolises purity [[to have the hair out like that]].		
4	But look at the <u>devotion</u> on her face to the baby.		
5.1	Look at the baby's cheeks full of milk		
5.2	and the way it's <u>pulling</u> with its lips		
5.3	as it suckles,		
5.4	the way the mother holds herself, very natural.		
6.1	The baby, the babies do look unnatural most of the time,		
6.2	and I've got my own little theory about that.		
7.1	I'll go into it		
7.2	if we have time		
7.3	but we may not.		
8.1 <<8.2>>	That shape of the baby, << I've read, >> is Flemish-inspired as well,		
8.3	that bulging stomach and big fat thighs – you see in so many of the babies.		

A similar claim can be made about the children's discovery trail (table 6.19). The text waves rhythmically between the concrete here-and-now of the displayed work and the realm of abstract and generalised relations. This text, also like the volunteer's commentary, begins down the wave, moving *from* the here-and-now to the general, unlike the label text which starts high on a crest and moves in the opposite direction – perhaps a trapping of disciplinary essay writing (start with a topic sentence or hyperTheme and then illustrate with examples). As well, like the volunteer's commentary but not the label text, it interprets the symbolic meanings in the artwork (the necklace, the golden halo, the rose). Of the three texts, the children's text, as demonstrated here, affords the greatest potential in terms of meaning and knowledge building. This is a finding of particular significance in art museums, where adult visitors are often drawn to labels and other texts written for children but it is often assumed by museum staff that this is simply because

they are more 'lightweight and fun'. Rather, as this text demonstrates, perhaps it is because they say far more.⁷

Table 6.19. Supplementary text 2: Children's 'Discovery Trail'

<div style="display: flex; align-items: flex-start;">  <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> <p>4. Ambrogio BERGOGNONE <i>Our Lady nursing c 1485</i></p> <p>Mary is feeding the baby Jesus. She is holding him tenderly on her lap. Can you see what the baby is wearing around his neck? It is a coral necklace, which was worn as a protection against illness.</p> <p>With her hair loose on her shoulders Mary looks at her baby with a caring expression, like any mother. However, the golden halo around her head shows her importance as the mother of Jesus.</p> <p>She is sitting beside a wall in a garden with a screen behind her. What type of flowers are growing there? Did you know that the rose is a symbol of Mary?</p> <p>It is an everyday scene with ducks on a pond, chickens pecking, and a dog. Do you think it is the city or the country?</p> </div> </div>		
clause	text	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: space-between;"> SG+ SD-</div> <div style="flex-grow: 1; border-bottom: 1px solid black; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; right: 0; top: -5px;"> SG- SD+ </div> </div>
1	Mary is feeding the baby Jesus.	
2	She is holding him tenderly on her lap	
3	Can you see what the baby is wearing around his neck?	
4.1	It is a coral necklace,	
4.2	which was worn as a protection against illness.	
5	With her hair loose on her shoulders, Mary looks at her baby with a caring expression, like any mother.	
6	However the golden halo around her head shows her importance as the mother of Jesus.	
6	She is sitting beside a wall in a garden with a scene behind her.	
7	What kind of flowers are growing there ?	
8	Do you know that the rose is the symbol of Mary?	
9	It is an everyday scene with ducks on a pond, chickens pecking and a dog.	
10	Do you think it is the city or the country?	

⁷ For example, 'I thought the labels were really pompous – too hard ... I gave up and read the children's labels because they spoke to us' (comment from a visitor to the Queensland Art Gallery, 2012; recorded in Blunden 2012, unpublished data set).

One final point to make relative to this discovery trail text concerns its potential in terms of explicitly scaffolding visual literacy skills. While this is a written text, it has many parallels with the 'Detailed Reading Cycle' (see Rose & Martin 2012), an inclusive and explicit methodology used to scaffold reading and writing skills. Based on the cycles of parent-child interactions common within literate, advantaged families, the model identifies five phases which Rose argues are critical in successful learning activities: prepare, focus, identify, affirm and elaborate (figure 6.16). The three central phases are widely considered the nucleus of a learning exchange: the teacher *focuses* the students' attention on the particular feature or element of the text, the student *identifies* that element, and the teacher *affirms* their response. However, Rose argues that the other two are similarly essential: without preparing the learner by providing information needed to do the task 'only the most involved, top students benefit from the elaboration' (2012: 9–11). The elaboration stage is critical in that it forms the 'bridge' that takes students from what they already know to 'the new knowledge that is the goal of the lesson' (2012: In practice, this sequence of phases can be modelled as a cycle, in which the elaboration of one cycle becomes the basis of preparing for the next.

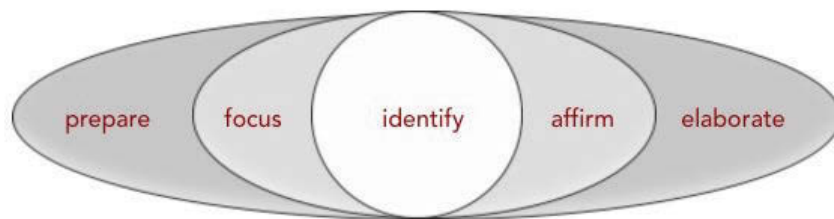


Figure 6.16. Phases in the 'detailed reading exchange' (Rose & Martin 2012: 140)

Rose and others have used this methodology extensively as part of the R2L (Reading to Learn) program with students of all ages and backgrounds. In the following excerpt from the children's story *Fantastic Mr Fox* (table 6.20), used by Rose & Martin as an example to demonstrate the process, young students use highlighter pens to mark groups of words as they are read out by the teacher and or students and discussed. For a full account, see Rose & Martin (2012: 148–161). The purpose here is to show the parallels with the Children's Discovery Trail, and thus put forward the idea that the trail text is enacting a parallel pedagogy that is explicitly scaffolding visual literacy. In the 'reading cycle', as Rose & Martin note, the focus phase acts to direct the students'

attention to the particular feature of the text. In the ‘looking cycle’, the focus phase does the same work. The identify phase occurs when the visitor locates that feature in the artwork (or, in terms of the trail, the image opposite the text and in the artwork), and their successful location is affirmed by the naming of the element in the text. In the ‘reading cycle’, the elaborations serve to extend the students’ knowledge with contextual cues as they read (2012: 158). In the ‘looking’ cycle, as shown in table 6.20, the elaborations do this same work, linking specific features seen in the artwork to more context independent and generalisable claims. Viewed from the perspective of LCT, the focus and elaboration phases align with the trough and peak cycles of semantic waves, linking the context-dependent here-and-now of features in a given artwork (focus) to less context-dependent elaborations that build cumulative knowledge. When the focus phase includes a verbal vector, as proposed in chapter 5 this ‘pushes’ the viewer to look at the displayed work, and thus could be interpreted as evidencing a more explicit pedagogy. Further research in this area may have important implications for museums and, more generally, the area of multiliteracies.

Table 6.20. **A Detailed Reading Cycle; a Detailed ‘Looking’ Cycle?** (after Rose & Martin 2012: 157)

Phase	Role	Learning exchange – Fantastic Mr Fox	Role	Learning exchange – Renaissance Discovery Trail
Prepare	Teacher	Then it says how far he crept out of the hole	Text	Mary is feeding the baby Jesus. She is holding him tenderly on her lap.
Focus	Teacher	[student name] Can you see how far he crept?	Text	Can you see what the baby is wearing around his neck?
Identify	Student	A little farther	Visitor	[visitor looks & locates]
Affirm	Teacher	Brilliant	Text	It is a coral necklace,
Direct	Teacher / Student	Everybody highlight ‘a little further’ / Students highlight		–
Elaborate	Teacher	–	Text	which was worn as a protection against illness.
			Text	With her hair loose on her shoulders Mary looks at her baby with a caring expression, like any mother. However, the golden halo around her head shows her importance as the mother of Jesus.
Prepare	Teacher	Then there are three little dots, and he kept going	Text	She is sitting beside a wall in a garden with a screen behind her.
Focus	Teacher	[student name] Can you see	Text	What type of flowers are growing

		after those dots, how he kept going?		there?
Identify	Student	'And further still'	Visitor	[visitor looks & locates]
Affirm	Teacher	Fantastic	Text	Did you know that the rose [ie, naming the rose affirms visitor has located correct flower]
Direct	Teacher / Student	Everybody highlight 'further still' / Students highlight		
Elaborate	Teacher	Further still means he crept even more. The three little dots mean that time passed, and then he crept further out. So he's creeping out really slowly	Text	is a symbol of Mary? ...

There is a great deal more to be explored in terms of the meaning potential and learning potential afforded by these exhibition texts, and this is a key area for further publications from this data set and for further research. Yet even this relatively brief discussion and analysis offers valuable insights into the different ways these two exhibitions use language to traverse the discursive gap between the commonsense and the uncommon, between specialised knowledge and public understanding. *The Wild Ones* label texts are more anchored in the commonsense, making meanings about particular people, places, things and events at particular moments in time. Their semantic range is relatively flat. They make fewer journeys across the 'in-between' to explicitly build transportable and thus cumulative knowledge. However, when they make that journey, they make use of a range of linguistic strategies that ensure the journey, for the non-specialist visitor, is well sign-posted, comfortable, secure: the texts get them to the other side safely! The *Renaissance* label texts, on the other hand, track back and forth across the in-between more often and they go further. Their semantic range is greater. However, due to a range of linguistic choices made in these texts, the journey is not always well flagged, the destination not always clear. For visitors without specialised knowledge of the field of art, it is a more treacherous journey. In other words, the *Renaissance* label texts offer greater potential to build cumulative knowledge about art, but, to reprise the words of Martin & Rose, they place a range of linguistic hurdles in the way that would make this difficult for many visitors to access (2008: 138). Paradoxically, texts that were more restricted in terms of physical access, for example, a guided tour (offered only at particular times) or the

children's trail (only given out to children) were more accessible linguistically and afforded a greater meaning and learning potential.

6.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY & KEY FINDINGS

This chapter set out to investigate a series of questions around the role played by verbal texts in enabling diverse public audiences to access and learn about the ideas, experiences and knowledge presented in museum exhibitions. It has drawn on a range of theoretical concepts from systemic linguistics and legitimation code theory to give a series of perspectives on the texts under study relative to these questions. In doing so, it also set out to probe more generally the relationship between accessibility and learning that remains of paramount concern to many museums.

Looking first at questions of access, the chapter has argued that while the idea of 'linguistic accessibility' is central to the aspirations and work of museums, commonly held notions of accessible language are limited in their explanatory power and are at times misleading. One example of this, particularly in the context of museum exhibitions, has been a focus on length, both sentence length and word length, with 'keep them short' widely emphasised as a key attribute of 'good' and accessible writing. Instead, this analysis has drawn on linguistic concepts of commonsense and uncommonsense discourse, where texts which are more 'commonsense' are likely to be more broadly accessible than those which are more 'uncommonsense' in that they more directly or congruently construe experience in language.

Beginning with genre as a 'macro' perspective that links text structure to social purpose and context, the chapter used type of genre and clarity of genre as a starting point in assessing and predicting the accessibility of museum texts. It then looked in more detail at the register variable of field through configurations of ideational meaning, particularly as construed through grammatical metaphor.

From these perspectives, the analyses produced principled evidence to show *The Wild Ones* label texts to be broadly accessible. These texts primarily comprised genres that clustered towards the more commonsense domains of experience, such as recount and

story genres, and used them in a consistent and predictable way, enlisting resources from a range of modalities to maximise their clarity and recognisability. When they shifted genres, typically with the effect of further ‘grounding’ them in the commonsense domain of everyday life, the shifts were explicitly flagged. Meanings referenced in the texts could be recovered from the immediate context or from everyday cultural knowledge, and the texts made use of more ‘commonsense’ choices in language. In contrast, analyses of the label texts in the *Renaissance* exhibition identified a range of ‘linguistic hurdles’ that would likely make these texts difficult to access for many visitors unfamiliar with the discipline of art or the conventions of art museums. These texts made use of a wider range of genres, but in ways that were less regular, less recognisable, less predictable and less commonsense. They referenced meanings specialised to the field of art that could not always be recovered from the immediate context, and made significant use of grammatical metaphor to pack up and abstract meaning. The links between ideas were often omitted and ambiguous, and so the texts could be read in different ways. The cumulative effect of such choices would likely place a considerable interpretive load on visitors in terms of accessing the intended meaning potential.

More broadly, the analyses produced three findings of particular note. The first concerns the critical role of conjunctive relations, that is, that *connecting* ideas is as important as making them. In the label texts of one exhibition, these relations were relatively clear due to the use of a range of conjunctive resources, including lexicalised conjunction, taxis and, to a lesser degree, logical metaphor. In the other, these relations were often omitted and/or assumed, creating ambiguities that impacted within and up through the strata, from lexicogrammar to genre. At the level of lexicogrammar, this meant that relations within and between clauses could be read in different ways (is a new point being made, is a point already made being elaborated or exemplified, or is a point already made being explained?). At the level of genre, the accumulation of such instances meant that the genre, or purpose of the text and the role of the participants, was hard to pinpoint: are the texts describing, recounting, explaining, interpreting, reviewing? Drawing on comments made by the interviewed team members and popular understandings of ‘good accessible writing’, the results suggest that such choices may be a direct consequence of the drive to ‘keep things short’. From this position, choices such as breaking sentences into simplexes

and omitting ‘non-content’ words such as conjunctions and other grammatical lexis could easily appear advantageous. But as these texts demonstrate, they create a range of problems and detract from the accessibility of the text. They may also be a consequence of the coding orientation of the authors: in other words, of a drive ‘to keep things apart’. As revealed in the analyses in chapter 4, the curatorial authors showed a marked tendency to emphasise boundaries between curatorial knowledge and everyday knowledge (ER+), and between certain like-minded knowers and others (SR+). The implicitness of key meanings in the label texts would thus be consistent with that tendency, if not an active means of maintaining such a separation. Notwithstanding modality issues, the fact that these features were not seen in texts produced by authors displaying other codes (for example, the commentary of the volunteer guide and the children’s trail produced by the educators) lends further support to this interpretation.

The second broad finding concerns the use of grammatical metaphor as a resource for selectively compacting meaning without also building abstraction. While, from the theoretical perspectives of both SFL and LCT, density and abstraction⁸ are recognised as independently variable, the focus to date in research has often been on how they act together, particularly through grammatical metaphor, to distinguish everyday from academic registers. Yet here, as shown in *The Wild Ones* label texts, the regular use of ‘shift-to-quality’ type of metaphor acted to pack-up meaning into nominal groups to elaborate predominantly human and concrete entities rather than to create abstract entities. Coupled with elaborating descriptions that precede the naming of the entity, the effect construes a sense of familiarity – that participants are already ‘familiar’ before they are introduced. In other words, there are powerful interpersonal consequences of this coupling of ideational and textual meanings. The strategy thus contributes to the accessibility of the texts in two ways. Firstly, it represents a smaller shift away from the commonsense than occurs through the repeated use of ‘shift-to-thing’ metaphor, as typical of disciplinary discourse. It keeps the texts ‘real’. Secondly, it acts to position

⁸ Density, in terms of SFL, as lexical density and/or, in more recent theorisations ‘mass’ (see Martin, Maton & Quiroz 2016 in press) and in terms of LCT semantic density (SD); abstraction, in terms of SFL in terms of entity type and context dependency, or, more recently, as presence (see Martin & Matruglio 2013)

readers as if ‘among friends’ – welcome, included, comfortable. In many cases too, it gives it Thematic prominence, and construes this sense of familiarity as a Given in the discourse. Such a ‘front-loading’ of familiarity serves to equalise the status between author/s and reader/viewer and blur the boundary between ‘history’ and the visitor’s own everyday life. Interpreted back through the lens of LCT, it also serves to enact the knower code orientation of the exhibition team and their drive to ‘keep things together’ (chapter 4). Blurring the boundary between historical knowledge and everyday life represents a weakening of epistemic relations (ER–); positioning the visitor as a valued and included knower represents a strengthening of social relations (SR+).

Returning to the SFL concept of genre, a third finding concerns the inconsistent inclusion of the final stage in the various label texts of both exhibitions. Whether obligatory or optional, these stages play an important role in consolidating and synthesising meaning. In Martin & Rose’s words (2007: 189): ‘discourse creates expectations by flagging forward and consolidates them summarizing back ... discourse, in other words, has a beat; and without this rhythm, it would be very hard to understand’. The final genre stages also serve a key role in evaluating the events and interpretations presented. By omitting the final stages, the texts are not explicitly taking on this work of consolidating, synthesising and evaluating meanings into clear take-away messages. Rather, they are leaving that work for the visitor to do. In genres where such ‘evaluation/re-orientation’ stages are not obligatory, phases are optional (for example, in historical recounts), and their absence means that an opportunity is foregone to scaffold that for the visitor.

The chapter then turned to consider how we might consider the learning potential afforded by (verbal) exhibition texts. Again, it drew on the notions of commonsense and uncommonsense discourse, and the significant literature on genre-based literacy pedagogies (see chapter 2) to argue that texts which track back and forth across the discursive gap between the commonsense and the uncommon are texts which explicitly scaffold cumulative knowledge building. A critical element in this regard is abstraction, needed to transcend the specific, present context and make generalisable and thus transportable claims. Interpreted through the lens of LCT Semantics, which has used the heuristic of semantic waves to represent shifts in semantic gravity (SG)

and/or semantic density (SD), the two exhibition label texts were shown to scaffold knowledge building in markedly different ways. The semantic waves in *The Wild Ones* label texts were relatively shallow; they tended to flatline in the high SG (more context dependent) range. The *Renaissance* label texts, in contrast, were shown to wave more frequently and more deeply; their semantic range was greater. In other words, they made more links between the concrete present and the context independent and generalisable. In this way, they *afforded* greater learning potential. However, due to a range of linguistic choices made by the authors, the links were often ambiguous – the waves broken – making it difficult for readers, especially those without pre-existing knowledge of art, to access that potential. A brief look at two comparative texts showed how these texts maintained a similar semantic range – even a text intended for young children – traversed by clear, unbroken waves. These profiles were also linked to the coding orientations of their respective authors, suggesting how the particular linguistic choices made enact those orientations to and around knowledge.

More broadly, the analysis has shown the value of the semantic wave as a ‘conceptual tool’ that connects and clarifies the relationship between notions of accessibility and learning potential. The downward profile can be seen to represent moments of ‘unpacking’, where uncommonsense discourse and knowledge are unpacked and ‘grounded’ with the more particular and everyday; the up profile can be seen to represent moments of packing or repacking. In other words, a down profile represents the process of becoming more accessible, an up profile the process of scaffolding cumulative knowledge-building. In this way, the semantic wave brings to view the interplay between the critical qualities of semantic gravity and semantic density that can occur, and that should occur, in texts that seek to build knowledge (Maton 2014a). Within the context of a learning institution, it reminds us that ‘good’, meaningful texts can be, and should be, a dynamic interaction between the more everyday and accessible, and the more ‘scholarly’, not as simply one or the other.

7.

CONCLUSIONS

‘order in the mush of general goings-on’

Writing in 1957 about the work of philosopher and mathematician Alfred North Whitehead, linguist J R Firth noted the significance of Whitehead’s insight concerning seeing ‘order in the mush of general goings-on’. Whitehead (and Firth) were speaking about the relationship of system to structure; that to understand linguistic behaviour we must be able to abstract the network of structures and systems ‘from the mush of general goings-on which, at first sight, may appear to be a chaos of flux’ (Firth 1957: 92). But the comment could not be more apt here. This is a project about trying to find order – to see order – in the complex and ever-changing mush of meanings that constitute the contemporary museum experience – the mush of modalities and technologies, of disciplines and relations, of aspirations and expectations.

The central purpose of this research endeavour has been to provide a systematic, sensitive and principled account of the meanings being made in museum exhibitions. At first pass, the aim was to address the specific research questions asked of the two exhibitions under analysis in this thesis. More broadly the aim is to improve the ‘toolkit’ we can bring to the task of developing and evaluating museum texts so we can better understand the implications in meaning of choices made in language and other semiotic modes. And in turn, to better answer questions and interrogate claims

concerning the communicative role of museums, particularly in the context of their mandates to provide inclusive and equitable access to the wealth of cultural capital they control. As noted by Hao in her recent dissertation:

Knowledge shapes society. There is an increasing recognition that the distribution of knowledge in a society is associated with the distribution of power. The building of knowledge is therefore a research interest that attracts scholars from various theoretical backgrounds. In pursuit of democracy and social justice, scholars challenge the unbalanced distribution of knowledge in education systems around the world and appeal for its redistribution (Hao 2015: 1).

While museum exhibitions are essentially multimodal, the focus of this thesis has been on language and its role in interpreting collections, research and knowledge for public audiences. The approach taken consciously acknowledges this multimodality, but attends principally to language for three key reasons. The first is the increasing presence of language in the experience of exhibitions and the work of museum professionals: there is more (verbal) text being produced by staff and experienced by visitors. The second is the power of language as a communicative resource: verbal text remains a key platform through which the knowledge and ideologies of the institution, the disciplinary fields and individual staff/authors are construed for public and other audiences. And the third is an increasing ‘language blindness’. Particularly over the past two decades, during the very time that the amount of interpretive verbiage has increased dramatically, the focus of interest among practitioners and scholars has shifted away from the verbal message to the visitor (see chapter 2). Thus, while communication studies remain thriving areas of research, the concern has been around questions such as how visitors engage with and ‘make sense’ of museum messages rather than with the message itself. While the scope of visitor research has increased in depth and breadth to provide richer and more complex accounts of visitor learning and experience, and of visitors themselves, with relatively few exceptions research into museum texts has remained substantively underpinned by commonsense understandings of language and thus remains limited in its precision

and explanatory power. Verbal texts remain poorly scrutinised, undertheorised and often contested, as does the role played by museum authors and the values, interests and relations that shape that role.

In addressing these issues, this thesis has drawn on two theoretical frameworks, a theory of meaning, systemic functional semiotics, and a theory of knowledge, legitimation code theory. Both have demonstrated track records of providing deep and useful descriptions of language and other semiotics in social context, and of their underlying organising principles.

This concluding chapter sets out the key findings and contributions of this thesis, theoretically and to practice. It also discusses limitations of the study and directions for further research.

7.1. RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis makes a number of significant contributions, theoretically and to practice.

These include:

- providing an integrated and principled account of exhibition text and its impact on the visitor experience that is inclusive of both the developmental process and the range of modalities possible in an exhibition context
- elaborating the intermodal relations between text, displayed artefact and visitor. This includes developing an analytical methodology that can reveal the kinds of meanings verbal texts bring to the process of looking at displayed artefacts, and proposing the idea of ‘verbal vectors’, which act to explicitly motivate intersemiotic interaction
- demonstrating the value of concepts and metalanguage from academic literacy pedagogies in usefully elaborating the notion of linguistic accessibility
- demonstrating the value of concepts and metalanguage from academic literacy pedagogies in considering the pedagogic potential afforded by museum texts
- contributing to the description of the discourse of art, to date only rarely described from a systemic functional perspective.

These contributions, each elaborated below, result from the analysis of two case study exhibitions, the first a social history exhibition about Sydney Stadium, a now-demolished entertainment venue, the second an exhibition about Renaissance art. Relative to most of the parameters considered in this thesis, the two have been shown to be highly complementary. While this was not a deliberate part of the research design, that is, they were not chosen *because* they were complementary, it has proved to be immensely valuable in throwing into view their salient and distinctive features.

7.1.1. Integrated accounts

The overarching aim of this thesis was to provide an integrated account of the case study exhibitions, both in terms of process and modalities. In terms of process, the aim was to bring to view the practices and orientations of the institutions and project teams that informed the text development process (chapter 4), and show how these shaped the texts produced and in turn shaped the visitor experience. In other words, to show the motivations for and impact of particular choices made in language. In terms of modalities, while the primary focus of this thesis is on language, one chapter has taken an overtly multimodal approach (chapter 5) in order to look critically at the idea that verbal texts ‘add to the looking’, a foundational assumption in contemporary museum practice. While this in no way claims to offer a comprehensive multimodal account of the exhibition experience, in utilising analytical/theoretical frameworks that have significant track records across a range of modalities,¹ it demonstrates the potential to do so.

This section summarises the findings of this integrated account of the two case study exhibitions, bringing together threads elsewhere dispersed through the different chapters. This account similarly integrates all research questions, demonstrating how the beliefs and values of the author/institution are realised in linguistic and other choices.

¹ As noted in chapter 2, systemic functional semiotics (SFS) has been working in multimodality since the early 1990s and embraces a diverse range of semiotic modes; legitimization code theory (LCT) has a more recent engagement which has been to theorise and analyse image, music, dance and a growing range of semiotics. See <http://www.legitimationcodetheory.com/index.php>

Case study 1 / The Wild Ones

The first case study in this project, *The Wild Ones*, was a social history exhibition held at the Museum of Sydney, one of 12 museums in the Historic Houses Trust of NSW (now Sydney Living Museums) group. Using the LCT dimension of Specialisation, interviews with team members were analysed to draw out the assumptions and principles which underpinned their conceptions of key elements of the communication process (author, audience and message). Specialisation theorises these ‘organising’ principles in terms of two key relations: relations between knowledge practices and their objects of study, termed epistemic relations (ER), and relations between knowledge practices and their actors, authors or subjects, termed social relations (SR). Together, the relative strengths of these relations provide a framework for ‘making visible’ (Maton 2014) what counts as legitimate knowledge and who counts as a legitimate knower within social practices (chapter 4). The analysis revealed a similar pattern of relations was shared across the team, indicating a unified orientation, in this case a knower code (SR+, ER–) that downplayed boundaries and hierarchies both internally among team members and externally between staff and the visiting public. For example, team members consistently downplayed boundaries around different kinds of knowledge, including their own specialised knowledge and that of other team members, and between historical knowledge and everyday experience and knowledge (ER–). They also downplayed controls around presenting content knowledge (ER–). Instead, they consistently emphasised more generic qualities and dispositions (‘being a good listener’) and personal experience, opinions and preferences (SR+). In other words, all team members and visitors were valued as legitimate knowers. This both enabled and resulted in a highly collaborative approach, where authorial authority was shared, and knowledge was valued in terms of how it connected with the visitor’s personal world (SR+) rather than for its significance per se (ER–). They saw the visitor, rather than the museum or themselves, as central in determining what knowledge should be conveyed and how.

As represented in their interview responses, the exhibition, and more specifically exhibition text, ‘imagined’ by this team was a sharing of memories, experiences and knowledge. The team members positioned themselves as partner or facilitator rather

than expert. The saw the key focus of the exhibition as ‘the story’, and its primary aim to ‘connect’ visitors with the story. The team valued a text that gave visitors autonomy in choosing the type and level of information they could take up and was inclusive of a range of voices and a diversity of visitors.

The exhibition text *delivered* by the team was largely consistent with this intent, and with the principles of continuity and horizontality which framed them. Shifting theoretical framework to SFS, the analysis of key exhibition texts showed how these underlying orientations were realised in specific linguistic/semiotic choices. For example, in looking at the interaction between label text and displayed object (chapter 5), the analysis showed how the label texts unfolded with relative independence of the displayed objects they referenced. There were relatively few instances of ideational concurrence, where content meanings in the text were also instantiated visually in the displayed artefact. Where such concurrence occurred, those meanings in the text displayed a relatively low level of presence (context dependency) to create vectors (see section 7.1.2 below). As a result, there were few moments in the text that explicitly pushed visitors to look at the displayed artefact. Of instances where ideational concurrence occurred, most referenced the whole artefact (eg, ‘the locket’) rather than a particular feature of it (eg, the well-worn surface), or a larger class to which the item belonged (eg, lockets like this). In this way, the texts (and by proxy the authors) acted neither to scaffold ‘close looking’ by ‘directing’ viewers to attend to particular details of the item, nor to build transportable knowledge by explicitly linking the displayed item to a larger class or concept. Rather, the texts left these connections implicit. In this way, the object label texts can be said to evidence and enact weaker epistemic relations by *not* taking more explicit and direct control of the communicative interaction.

However, while the label texts made relatively few direct links to the displayed artefacts, in Kress & van Leeuwen’s terms, to the *represented* participants, they made extensive reference to *interactive* participants, that is, to participants involved in using, owning or making the displayed artefacts (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). In this way, the texts successfully realised the team’s aspiration of telling ‘the story *behind* the object’. Ideationally, the texts acted to merge the fields of history, popular culture and everyday

life. Interpersonally, they acted to position the visitor as equal in status and power to the author/museum. In short, the texts construed the displayed artefact as ideationally incidental but interpersonally resonant, used to create a kind of resonance of authenticity that would enhance the visitors' sense of connection to the story rather than as a source of historical knowledge per se. As both imagined and delivered by this knower code team, the exhibition experience downplayed epistemic relations and emphasised social relations.

Further linguistic analysis of these exhibition texts (chapter 6), this time from the perspective of accessibility, again evidenced the team's knower code orientation, in this regard, in three main ways. The first was the dominance of genre types more typical of the 'commonsense' domains of everyday life: narratives, recounts, anecdotes. The second was the use of more congruent and commonsense language in realising these genre types, that is, language that more directly maps to the lived, material world. Again, these choices demonstrate the tendency to downplay the boundaries between everyday life and historical knowledge, with the effect of creating texts that could be expected to be broadly accessible to a wide group of people. Thirdly, and of particular interest, was the strategy of using grammatical metaphor in a way that 'front-loaded familiarity' by providing rich descriptions of participants before they were introduced as entities into the text. Instead of the extensive use of 'shift-to-thing' metaphor typical of more academic registers, here metaphor of the 'shift-to-quality' type enabled quite elaborate and dense descriptions without substantively increasing the level of abstraction. In doing so, this feature can be interpreted as a linguistic strategy that specifically foregrounds social relations by familiarising participants with the histories being recounted, and blurring the boundary between the discipline of history and the visitor's everyday world (see also section 7.1.3 below).

Responding to the significant role museums claim as 'sites of learning' (eg, Hein 1998b), a final perspective taken on this exhibition was in terms of learning potential (also chapter 6). Drawing again on the notions of 'commonsense' and 'uncommonsense' discourse, and on recent SFS/LCT collaborations in the area of academic literacies (eg, see Maton, Hood & Shay 2016), the potential for learning as

instantiated in the label texts was considered in terms of semantic profiles. Such profiles were used to track the patterning of more concrete, specific and context-dependent wordings and meanings typical of commonsense discourse and of more abstract, generalised and context-independent wordings and meanings typical of 'uncommonsense' discourse in that they are needed in making claims that generalise beyond the specific moment. Interpreting the linguistic analysis of the texts through the theoretical frame of LCT Semantics, *The Wild Ones* label texts were shown predominantly to flatline in the high semantic gravity (ie, context-dependent) range. Thus, while the team prioritised giving visitors autonomy in choosing the type and level of information they could take up, the text ultimately produced by the team was relatively flat in terms of semantic range. In other words, connections beyond the present context were left implicit, that is, for the visitor to make, rather than explicitly scaffolded in the texts. In this regard, together with features noted above, such as the merging of fields of experience and knowledge, the lack of 'verbal vectors', and overall emphasis on the personal dimensions of the story being told, as pedagogy the texts could be said to be enacting a constructivist pedagogy (see, Bernstein 1977; Chen 2010; Hein 1995). Further discussion on this point follows in section 7.1.3 below.

Case study 2 / Renaissance

The second case study, an exhibition of Italian Renaissance art, was held as a summer 'blockbuster' at the National Gallery of Australia in Canberra. Here the analysis of interviews with staff playing a key role in the development of interpretive texts revealed a mix of specialisation codes, but with a clear dominance by one group. This group, the staff curators, emphasised both epistemic relations and social relations, placing marked boundaries around particular kinds of knowledge and particular kinds of knowers. For example, in terms of epistemic relations, they saw their own curatorial knowledge as different from that of other curatorial departments within the gallery, from other institutions and from everyday knowledge. They actively maintained their own processes and 'conventions', for example, the formatting and arrangement of label texts. They saw it as their role, as experts, to determine and sequence visitor access to collection knowledge, for example, deciding which works would have extended label text ('We decide it's about a third'). In terms of social relations, they

emphasised a strong culture of mentorship within their group, and the importance of qualities and attributes that are more intrinsic to an individual and generic across disciplinary categories; for curators, ‘a sense of flair’, ‘an eye’; for visitors, ‘an ability to look’, ‘confidence’, ‘curiosity’. Development of the curatorial texts, notably the catalogue and exhibition labels, was strongly controlled by the curators and insulated from the influence of other groups – and codes – present on the team: the knower code orientation of the educators and director, and the knowledge code orientation of the external curator and catalogue authors.

As a communicative event, the *Renaissance* exhibition was ‘imagined’ differently by these different members of the team. While they all saw the key focus of the exhibition as the artworks and the primary role of related verbal texts as helping visitors to *look* at the works, team members differed in how they thought this should be achieved. The ‘elite’ (ER+, SR+) curatorial view emphasised explicit curatorial control of content and messages. These team members saw ‘the ability to look’ as underpinned by both specialised collection knowledge they considered distinct from everyday knowledge, and an appreciation of the visual qualities of the work that relied both on specialised knowledge and personal disposition. In contrast, the ‘knower’ orientation typical of the educators (ER–, SR+), as in *The Wild Ones* team above, saw the texts as acting to support or facilitate the visitors in their personal meaning-making. While the educators placed value on specialised knowledge, it was downplayed relative to personal meaning-making, with an emphasis on qualities such as *relevance* rather than significance per se. The third ‘knowledge’ orientation (ER+, SR–), held by non-staff members of the team, saw knowledge as important to personal meaning-making. They recognised a need for knowledge that was outside everyday knowledge and external to the imagined visitor, and saw the role of the verbal texts as providing that knowledge.

The exhibition texts *delivered* by this team also largely realised these intentions, and the segmented, hierarchical principles that framed them. Shifting theoretical framework to SFS, the analysis of key exhibition texts showed how these underlying orientations were realised in specific linguistic/semiotic choices. The curatorial texts (notably the exhibition labels) were given privileged position as the naturalised,

unmarked voice of the exhibition. Other voices were ‘marked’ off or contained in various ways. The educator texts were available only at certain times (eg, as guided tours or other programs), in certain places (the ‘family activity room’), at additional cost (the audio guides), or to certain people (the children’s discovery trail). Within the physical space of the gallery, the label texts (and a small brochure reproducing several of those texts) were the only verbal texts available to all exhibition visitors. The label texts themselves were essentially monoglossic – third person, declarative, without other (attributed) voices. They privileged heavily codified, discipline-specific information (the ‘tombstone’ texts), which was provided with all displayed works, or positioned first when works also had an extended caption. In this way, the texts disconnected content knowledge from everyday experience and knowledge and asserted curatorial authority as experts by directing where visitors would have access to interpretive captions.

Looking more closely at the relationship between label text and displayed object (chapter 5), the analysis showed a high level of integration across modalities. In the label texts, multiple couplings of ideational concurrence and a high level of presence created numerous vectors that explicitly pushed viewers to look at the displayed work. Most, through a relation of meronymy, pushed viewers to a particular element or feature of the work, again reflecting a more explicit control of the interaction. However, the analysis also showed that the meanings paired with these vectors were not always likely to be accessible or ‘meaningful’ to the general visitor.

Further analysis (chapter 6; see also sections 7.1.2 & 7.1.3 below) looked more closely at the label texts from this perspective of access. Here the analysis showed how the texts construed knowledge about art in ‘uncommonsense’ ways. For example, they used genre types typical of disciplinary discourse (eg, taxonomic reports and interpretive responses) and typically realised in more metaphorical and uncommonsense language. They referenced meanings specialised to the field of art that could not always be recovered from the immediate context, and made significant use of grammatical metaphor to pack-up and abstract meaning. Critically, the analysis showed that the logical relations linking ideas (explaining, adding, sequencing) were often ambiguous. At clause level, this meant that the text could be read in different

ways, with ambiguity accumulating so that, at the level of genre, the genre type and thus social purpose of the text were unclear: were the texts describing, recounting, explaining, interpreting, reviewing? The cumulative effect of such choices would likely place a considerable interpretive load on visitors in terms of accessing the intended meaning potentials.

At the same time, the analysis showed how knowledge about the Catholic faith was construed in more commonsense ways, through genre types and the particular configurations of meaning in field, tenor and mode used to realise those genres. For example, text segments concerning the religious subject matter or context of the works were more likely to take the form of a recount, with actions unfolding in field time, with human and concrete participants, and with explicit logical connections. In other words, even within the one text, the field of art was distinguished *linguistically* as well as experientially from other domains of experience.

Finally, the label texts were considered in terms of learning potential (chapter 6). Tracking their semantic profiles (Maton 2014a) showed that they made frequent links between the concrete and context-dependent wordings and meanings and more abstract and context-independent wordings and meanings. Compared to *The Wild Ones* labels, they waved more frequently and more deeply; their semantic range was greater. In this way, they afforded the possibility of greater learning potential. However, due to a range of linguistic choices made by the authors, the links were often ambiguous, the waves broken. Thus, while the texts afforded certain potentials for learning, various 'linguistic hurdles' would have made them difficult for visitors without pre-existing knowledge of art to access.

A brief comparative analysis with a text produced by the educators (from the Children's Discovery Trail) and a volunteer guide showed how these texts maintained a similar semantic range, connecting the commonsense and the uncommonsense but with clear strong waves that would have made them more broadly accessible.

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Summing up this account of the two exhibitions, their complementarity brings into focus the different contributions the verbal texts brought to the visitor experience. In *The Wild Ones*, the texts acted to integrate fields but not modalities; they ‘worked’ to make history personal and relevant but not to encourage visitors to look at the displayed items closely, or even at all. In contrast, the texts in the *Renaissance* exhibition acted to integrate modalities but not fields; they ‘worked’ to motivate visitors to look closely at the works, but not necessarily deeply, and they constructed art as ‘a world apart’. The extent to which these differences are specific to these exhibitions or are characteristic of the fields is thus raised rather than answered, pointing to the value of further research in this regard. Yet even from this account, the value of a cross-disciplinary analysis is evident. For example, from this analysis of text from an art museum, social history museums might learn how to create stronger links between object and story – for example, by making greater use of verbal vectors to scaffold ‘close looking’. From this analysis of text from a social history exhibition, art museums might learn how to create stronger links between artwork and visitor – for example, by using grammatical metaphor to build a sense of familiarity rather than to create abstraction.

As described in chapter 3, an external language of description was developed as a means of linking theoretical concepts to data within the context of analysing team interviews for their specialisation codes. Now having considered the interviews in the context of the texts produced by the team, an expanded ‘external language’ is presented here (table 7.1), integrating data from team accounts and processes and the texts themselves. This provides a framework for future studies.

Table 7.1. **External language for specialisation codes in museums** (after Chen in Maton 2014a: 138)

Epistemic relations (ER)				
Concept manifested as emphasis on:		Indicators	Example from empirical data	
			In team talk and processes	In exhibition texts
content knowledge	ER+	content knowledge is emphasised in determining what is legitimate historical/ art historical knowledge; content knowledge is separate from other disciplines and from	‘it’s a different field the Renaissance ... fields in art history are very different (Rcc3) ‘One curator cannot be placed in a different department and survive. They have specialties ’	technicality, eg: ‘ <u>Mannerist</u> influences can be seen in the Virgin’s elongated face and hands’

		everyday life	(Rca6)	
	ER–	content knowledge is downplayed as less important in determining what is legitimate historical/art historical knowledge; content knowledge is integrated with other disciplines and everyday life	'[it's] not getting caught up in the facts or the timelines so much but keeping the more interesting aspects of the story' (We4)	use of more vernacular, eg : 'until <u>a one-two combo</u> from Bennett <u>knocked</u> him <u>out cold</u> .
presentation of content knowledge	ER+	procedures for conveying content knowledge are explicit to visitors and emphasised in the exhibition experience	'the artist's name .. the other information ... there's conventions ... very clear' (Rsc4) 'there are extended labels for certain works .. we, the curators, say it's about a third of them' (Rsc4)	vectors, eg: ' <u>Here the blue drapery of the Madonna's cloak</u> dominates the image'
	ER–	procedures for conveying content knowledge are implicit to visitors and downplayed in the exhibition experience	'I see it as layers and layers .. that people can take ... a sort of light touch' (Rd2)	lack of interpretive text lack of vectors, eg, text does not reference displayed item
Social relations (SR)				
Concept manifested as emphasis on:		Indicators	Example from empirical data	
			In team accounts	In exhibition texts
personal knowledge & experience	SR+	personal experience and opinions are viewed as legitimate historical/art historical knowledge	'What they treasure is really important to us' (We4) 'We want to make personal connections ... for visitors to feel it's their story' (Wc3)	1st & 2nd person pronouns, dialogic: 'Did <u>you</u> see a better fight than any of those <u>we</u> have nominated? <u>We'd</u> love to hear <u>your</u> opinion.' 'front-loaded' appellations, eg: ' <u>stadium creator</u> Hugh D McIntosh ...'
	SR–	personal experience and opinions are downplayed and distinguished from legitimate historical/art historical knowledge	You want them to have some concept of what the Renaissance was all about ... some knowledge of the early modern period' (Rcc3)	monoglossia, third person: 'The frame is original'
personal dimension of the exhibition experience	SR+	Individual visitor's preferences are explicitly emphasised as determining the exhibition experience	'What we're really hearing from visitors is that they want to know who lived in these places, what happened to them' (Whi8)	extended caption provided for every work
	SR–	Individual visitor's preferences are downplayed as not significant in the exhibition experience	'People say, "I want an explanation on each work" ... [but] we don't do it' (Rsc4)	extended caption not for every work

7.1.2. Intermodal relations / analytical model & toolkit

One of the key contributions of this thesis has been to tease out how verbal texts work across modalities to contribute to the meaning-making interaction that occurs around a displayed object. This addresses research question 1a, ‘how do verbal texts add to the meanings gained from looking alone?’, a question that has particular significance as it reflects the widely held assumption within contemporary museum practice that verbal texts help visitors look ‘more closely’ or ‘more deeply’ at the artefacts they reference. The analysis took as a starting point recent work in visual-verbal intermodality, notably Painter, Martin & Unsworth (2013), which draws particularly on the systemic functional concepts of instantiation, commitment and coupling to ‘capture’ the complexity of the meaning systems in play in such bimodal, or indeed multimodal, contexts (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2014: 133–34).

The contribution this thesis makes in terms of intermodal relations has three aspects. The first is in using instantiation to model the cycles of interaction that potentially occur around a displayed object. Such modelling needed to account for a potentially infinite number of interactions, with a potentially infinite number of semiotic modes to produce a potentially infinite number of instantiated texts, and a potentially infinite number of readings and re-readings. In this regard, the hierarchy of instantiation, which models the relationship of system to instance, was shown to be a useful framework (see figure 5.4) in two respects. Firstly, it helps make clear the distinction between ‘a text’ and ‘a reading’, which have often been conflated in museum research and practice. Secondly, from a linguistic point of view, the modelling focuses attention on the ‘reading’ end of the instantiation hierarchy, an addition recently made and still relatively undertheorised (Martin 2010: 19). In doing so, it invites further thinking around this critical aspect of the process of semiosis and how it can be accounted for within a systemic functional framework.

The second aspect concerns developing this modelling to propose a ‘toolkit’ of concepts and metalanguage that can be used to analyse the intermodal relations around a displayed object (table 7.2 below). In addressing the research question at hand, the ‘toolkit’ was used to analyse visual-verbal relations, but it has the potential to

work across a wider range of semiotic modes in that it draws on concepts theorised as common to the architecture and processes of semiosis.²

Table 7.2. 'Toolkit' for exploring intermodal relations in museum displays

Element	Conceptual tools
Common architecture	• metafunctional organisation of systems
	• hierarchy of instantiation
Common principles / relations	• commitment
	• coupling
	• vergence
	• presence

Following Painter, Martin & Unsworth (2013), the analysis process (chapter 5) began by looking at relations of vergence: converging relations, where similar meanings were instantiated in each modality, and thus acting to connect modalities by linking, integrating and amplifying meaning; and diverging relations, where meanings were instantiated in one modality but *not* in the other, thus acting to expand meaning by bringing new meanings to the interaction. Working from text to image (as warranted by the research question), further phases of analysis looked for patterns across the metafunctions to probe more deeply the *kinds* of intermodal connections being made and the *kinds* of additional meanings being brought.

As a result of this process, a third contribution in terms of intermodal relations concerns proposing the idea of 'verbal vectors'. Looking in more detail at converging relations, the analysis showed how the coupling of intersemiotic (ideational) concurrence with a high level of presence and with particular positioning in the periodic structure in the verbal text acted to create 'verbal vectors' which explicitly 'motivated'

² For example, research to date has theorised the hierarchy of instantiation and the metafunctional organisation of systems as elements common to the architecture of many, if not all, semiotic modes (eg, Kress & van Leeuwen 2006; Martin 2011a). As a result, the principles of commitment and coupling would also apply. Presence, a more recent theoretical development (eg, Martin & Matruglio 2013) has been considered in terms of language and image (eg, Gill & Martin 2015) but further research is needed to show its empirical realisations in different modalities. For example, what form/s might 'presence' take as sound, architecture, gesture?

or pushed the viewer to look at the displayed artefact and/or attend to particular features of it. The analysis identified three main types of vectors: Thematic vectors, emanating from Theme position; non-Thematic vectors, emanating from elsewhere in the sentence or clause; and Shell vectors, where two vectors are linked to each other or a further relation of concurrence. It was proposed that when a Thematic or non-Thematic vector is linked to a relation of intersemiotic divergence (ie, meanings that are additional to those which can be gained by 'just looking') the text can justly claim to be 'adding to the looking' (ie, they are directing you to look and then telling you something new). Shell vectors, in contrast, do not 'bring something new'. Rather, they 'direct' the viewer to look at the artefact and then link that with meanings *also* present in the visual mode. In this way, they are instead substantively 'empty' of new meaning. This, it is argued, creates an unfulfilled expectation, an 'empty' promise. In other words, in 'directing' you to look, the vector sets up an expectation that something new will follow but fails to deliver. The analysis also demonstrated how the strength of the vectors could be graded, with Theme position, a high level of presence and the addition of meanings from other modalities (eg, pointing, pauses or extra volume in spoken language) adding to the vector's strength, or 'push'.

The type of taxonomic relation construed within the vectors was also found to be significant. Relations of correspondence, where the text references the displayed object as a whole (eg, 'this locket'), direct the reader/viewer to look at the displayed item but not to any particular element or attribute. As such, they prompt the viewer to look, but not to 'look closely'. Relations of meronymy, on the other hand, where the text references a specific aspect or part of the displayed object (eg, 'the silvery-grey background'), *do* prompt close looking by explicitly doing just this. Relations of hyponymy, where the text references a larger class or category to which the displayed item belongs (eg, 'portraiture', 'panels like this'), act to explicitly connect the displayed item to broader classes of phenomena. They bring meanings that generalise beyond the present context and thus explicitly scaffold transferrable, cumulative knowledge.

As the patterning of vectors in the object label texts through the exhibitions was revealed, the two exhibitions were shown to be framing very different kinds of visitor

interaction and experience. In *The Wild Ones* there were very few vectors, and of those present, most evidenced a relation of correspondence. In other words, the label texts were doing very little work to explicitly scaffold ‘looking’ or ‘close looking’. The *Renaissance* object label texts, in contrast, contained a much higher number of vectors, most in a relation of meronymy. In this way, these texts were working to explicitly scaffold ‘close looking’ but not necessarily ‘deep looking’ in that the significance of or reason for that feature was often left unsaid.

7.1.3. Linguistic accessibility

A second notable contribution of this thesis is to elaborate the idea of linguistic accessibility (research question 1b). Providing inclusive access to museum collections, resources and programs is central to the social role of contemporary museums, and language represents a key channel through which this may, or may not, be achieved. Using ‘accessible language’ is thus a focus and priority for many museums, yet for many it remains an elusive goal. Rather than utilising the frameworks commonly used by museums, which tend to focus on features such as word and sentence length and complexity, this thesis looked beyond the museum field to recent developments in the area of academic literacies, particularly those informed by systemic functional and legitimation code theories. In contrast, these approaches focus on the different ways experience is construed in language. On the one hand, experience can be more directly, or transparently, mapped onto language; it is congruent with the material, lived world. On the other hand, various linguistic resources are used to reconfigure language in ways that distance it from the lived material world. This is particularly evident in terms of abstraction and sequencing as achieved through the process of grammatical metaphor (chapter 6).

From this perspective, more congruent ‘commonsense’ language can be understood to be more accessible to a broad audience. In contrast, more metaphorical ‘uncommonsense’ language would typically be less accessible but is important in terms of building cumulative knowledge. This approach thus brought into view the critical role played by abstraction – in terms of accessibility as well as in terms of ‘feeling real’, also highly valued in the museum context. How the use of commonsense/uncommonsense language

affected the accessibility of the two case study exhibitions was discussed above in section 7.1.1. Here the discussion will continue by highlighting three findings of particular note.

The first, as evidenced in *The Wild Ones* label texts, is the persistent use of grammatical metaphor as a resource for selectively compacting meaning without also building abstraction. From the theoretical perspectives of both SFL and LCT, density and abstraction³ are recognised as independently variable. However, the focus to date has often been on how they act together, particularly through grammatical metaphor, to build abstraction as this is a critical resource for students to master if they are to access and produce the kinds of generalised knowledge claims important in academic registers. In *The Wild Ones* label texts, the regular use of the ‘shift-to-quality’ type of metaphor acted to pack-up meaning into complex qualifying groups to elaborate predominantly human and concrete entities rather than to create abstracted entities. In this way, it shows how meaning can be packed up to produce text that is shorter and ‘pacier’ than fully congruent language, but still remains relatively close to the commonsense, material world. Coupled with the textual resource positioning elaborating descriptions before the naming of the entity being described, the wording construes a sense of familiarity – that participants are already ‘familiar’ before they are introduced. In other words, there are powerful interpersonal consequences of this coupling of ideational and textual meanings. The strategy thus contributes to the accessibility of the texts in two ways. Firstly, it represents a smaller shift away from the commonsense than occurs through the repeated use of ‘shift-to-thing’ metaphor, as is typical of disciplinary discourse. It keeps the texts ‘real’. Secondly, it acts to position readers as if ‘among friends’ – welcome, included, comfortable. In terms of LCT, it can be interpreted as demonstrating an empirical realisation of stronger social relations (ie, relations to knowers) and weaker epistemic relations (ie, relations to knowledge; see chapter 4) by blurring the boundary between historical knowledge and everyday experience (ER–) and positioning the visitor as a valued and included knower (SR+).

³ See previous chapter, footnote 9 p 287.

The second finding concerns the critical role of conjunctive relations. In the label texts of one exhibition, these relations were relatively clear due to the use of a range of conjunctive resources, including lexicalised conjunction, taxis and, to a lesser degree, logical metaphor. In the other, these relations were often omitted and/or assumed. The texts, as a result, could be read in different ways, creating ambiguities that impacted within and up through the strata, from lexicogrammar to genre, and placing considerable interpretive load on visitors in accessing the intended meaning potential.

A third finding concerns the regular omission of a concluding Coda or Evaluation stage across a range of genre types in the various label texts of both exhibitions. These stages fulfil an important role in consolidating, synthesising and evaluating the events and interpretations presented. By omitting these stages, the texts are not explicitly taking on this work of synthesising meanings into clear take-away messages. Rather, they are leaving that work for the visitor to do. Interestingly, this may then be a factor that contributes to the often-described phenomenon of ‘museum fatigue’, where people often report they find exhibitions exhausting. As well as the physical demands of standing, shuffling, looking for lengthy periods of time, it may well be that the repeated ‘bombardment’ with new meanings without regular, explicit summarising and synthesising moments plays a role. Further research in this area may thus prove useful in this regard.

7.1.4. Knowledge building

This thesis has also been concerned with the role played by verbal texts in terms of knowledge-building. If we accept that museums are ‘learning institutions’, then it follows that communicative interactions in museum exhibitions are also pedagogic interactions. Yet ‘learning’ in museums is often seen more in terms of the programming that accompanies an exhibition than in terms of the exhibition itself. This thesis challenges this view by considering learning in terms of the pedagogic potential in the exhibition texts (research question 1c).

Hein (1995, 1998a) is one researcher who *has* considered in some detail the learning properties of museum exhibitions. In his ‘Constructivist Museum’, he identifies a range

of features which he argues serve to enact constructivist principles. However, these give scant attention to verbal texts. In terms of content, for example, he focuses on the displayed objects, advocating ‘the familiar’ as a means of making connections to and validating the visitor’s prior experience and knowledge. In terms of process, Hein emphasises choice and the use of modalities other than text. The constructivist exhibition, he argues, should expand ‘beyond traditional verbal material’ to include ‘maximum possible modalities’ such as audio, drama and live interpretation, demonstrations, multimedia and so forth (1998a: 165–66). In terms of text, his principal recommendation is to use ‘layered text’, although with the caveat that ‘unfortunately, this approach often degenerates into simply having too much text’ (166).⁴ Hein also identifies features and qualities he associates with the traditional, or ‘Instructivist, Museum: unfamiliar, inflexible, prescribed, directive, non interactive’. In this pedagogy, the museum acts to more explicitly control and direct the learning experience, and knowledge is disconnected from the visitors’ prior experience and knowledge.

A significant contribution of this thesis is to develop such views in three ways. Firstly, it demonstrates that there *is* pedagogy in museum labels, regardless of who has developed and written them. Secondly, it provides an account of this pedagogy: it has shown the kind of knowledge being construed in museum texts (*what* can be learnt); the kind of pedagogy being enacted (*how* is learning being framed); and the underlying principles, values and beliefs (*why*). Thirdly, it reminds us that ‘text’ is not limited to one modality but is integral across the modalities. In sum, this thesis demonstrates that verbal, visual and spatial modalities are significant elements of the pedagogy enacted in museum exhibitions and provides a means of bringing that pedagogy into view.

⁴ This comment represents another example of the segmentation and ‘tarnishing’ of museum ‘text’ discussed in chapter 2. Hein builds a negative evaluation of (written) text through repeated negative appreciation (traditional – unfortunately – degenerates – too much), and also, as discussed in chapter 2, by association its curatorial authors. This view also compartmentalises written verbiage from verbiage used in other modalities.

Neither of the label texts in this study had the involvement of educators in their development and production. Yet one (*The Wild Ones*) enacted a highly constructivist, or implicit pedagogy; the other (*Renaissance*), a mix of more 'instructivist' or explicit pedagogy⁵ (in terms of process) and implicit pedagogy (in terms of knowledge). In relation to content knowledge this was evidenced in the relationship between subject (uncommonsense) knowledge and everyday (commonsense) knowledge as construed through choices in language, with *The Wild Ones* consistently downplaying boundaries and seeking to integrate historical knowledge into the visitor's personal, everyday experience and world. In doing so, it tended to construe historical knowledge as everyday knowledge. The *Renaissance* labels, on the other hand, consistently emphasised the boundaries between the field of art and the visitor's everyday world. They tended to construe art as a world apart from, and indeed elevated above, everyday life. In terms of process, the pedagogy being enacted was evidenced in the controls placed by the museum around the communicative/pedagogic interaction. As noted above, 'verbal vectors' were shown to be a key marker of this in that they act to explicitly motivate or 'direct' the viewer to look at the displayed item. In *The Wild Ones* exhibition, the low frequency of vectors in the (object) label texts indicates that the texts were doing little in terms of directing the visitor to look; the links between object and text were left implicit. The high frequency of vectors in the *Renaissance* (object) label texts, in contrast, indicates that the texts were doing substantial work in terms of directing the visitor by construing more explicit and visible links. As suggested, the vectors, particularly emanating from Theme position, act as a metaphorical form of an imperative: 'The white lilies symbolise purity' reads as '[look at] the white lilies [which] symbolise purity'. In terms of underlying principles, values and beliefs, the pedagogy being enacted was evidenced through epistemic relations and social relations, as expressed in both the talk of the authors and team members, and in the label texts themselves. In other words, the analysis shows how the beliefs and ideologies of the institution and authors flowed through to shape the specific wordings and meanings in

⁵ Note that this distinction between constructivist/implicit pedagogy versus instructivist/explicit pedagogy echoes Bernstein's conception of 'invisible' versus 'visible' pedagogies. See Bernstein (1977: 116–45).

the texts and in turn the visitor experience. *The Wild Ones* team and texts consistently downplayed epistemic relations and emphasised social relations, reflecting an underlying belief that foregrounds the visitors' prior knowledge, experience and preferences, and their agency in constructing their own meanings. The *Renaissance* label authors and texts consistently emphasised both epistemic relations and social relations. In emphasising epistemic relations, they reflect an underlying belief that foregrounds specialised knowledge that lies outside everyday experience. This view thus foregrounds their own role as experts in controlling, interpreting and presenting that knowledge relative to the visitors' experiences, preferences and needs. However, in also emphasising social relations, the label authors and texts also reflect a belief that personal disposition is also important, such that a particular combination of knowledge and disposition is valued above others. This may account for the more complex pedagogy evident in the *Renaissance* label texts: while in some regards they are explicit and instructivist, in others they are implicit; they rely on assumed knowledge and seem to speak to a certain kind of knower but not others.

A brief comparative analysis of texts by other team members hints further at the complexity of values and pedagogies being enacted in the *Renaissance* exhibition texts: a page from a children's trail (authored by an educator, ascribed a knower code, ER-, SR+) and segment from a volunteer's tour (ascribed a knowledge code, ER+, SR-). Both made regular use of verbal vectors in a way that reflected a markedly explicit, visible pedagogy. In many ways, their approach echoes the 'Detailed Reading Cycle' used within genre-based literacy pedagogies to explicitly scaffold literacy skills (Rose & Martin 2012). This method identifies five phases that are important in successful learning activities: prepare, focus, identify, affirm, elaborate. It then uses cycles of these phases, in which the elaboration phase of one cycle forms the preparation phase of the next, to systematically work through close reading of texts and build literacy skills in struggling learners. The clear parallels between these museum texts and this methodology (chapter 6) has implications within and beyond the museum context, and highlights the value of further research into the pedagogy at work in these texts in terms of a Detailed 'Looking' Cycle that explicitly scaffolds visual literacy skills.

7.1.5. The discourse of art

A further contribution of this thesis has been to contribute to the description of the discourse of art. To date, there have been few accounts that utilise a systemic functional theory of language, with notable exceptions being those by Rada (1989), Rothery (2008) and Ravelli (1998).

Rada (1989) and Ravelli (1998), motivated by a search to identify features that present particular ‘difficulties’ for students and museum visitors respectively, identified a range of features in art writing common across the specialised registers of academic discourse, such as technical lexis, grammatical metaphor and density of meaning. In addition, they speak of a number of features that seem to be distinctive to the language of art. Ravelli, in her study of label texts in a contemporary art museum, notes the prevalence of ‘particular grammatical constructions which seem to ... be important for the carriage of technicality in art discourse’. These she describes as typically taking the form of an ‘equation’, where the first part, often a (visible) aspect of the work, serves as Token in a relational clause, with an interpretive comment, which often takes the form of a nominalisation, as the Value (1998: 144–48). For example (as given by Ravelli):

The abstract shapes [Token] recreate and represent [proc: relational] Louise Bourgeois’ relationship with others, both friends and family [Value]

Ravelli also notes instances where parts of the equation ‘are missing, or the relationship between the parts is confused’, causing potential problems for visitors.

This thesis re-interprets such equations intermodally as ‘verbal vectors’,⁶ and proposes that they act in different ways to scaffold the interaction between reader/viewer and artwork. When, as Ravelli describes above, the ‘Token’ is a visible feature of the work (with a high degree of presence) and has a Value that takes the form of an interpretive

⁶ In Ravelli’s example, note the addition of Presence in the Token, in terms of implicitness (The) and iconicity (shapes).

comment, this would be a Thematic vector. When the order is reversed (ie, an interpretive comment serves as Token in Theme position and the visible feature with a high degree of presence serves as Value) this would be a non-Thematic vector. When both Token and Value are a visible feature of the work (ie, there is no accompanying interpretation), this would be a shell vector. As proposed in this thesis, all act to 'motivate' close looking by pushing the viewer/reader to look at a particular feature of the work. The first two bring the potential to 'add something new' to the looking. The Shell vector, on the other hand, is substantively empty of meaning that is additional to what can be seen; it acts as an empty promise; an expectation that is not delivered. As Ravelli comments, such constructions are potentially problematic for visitors ('Without interpretation, there seems little point in this technical detail', p 146). This thesis also suggests that, along with a high level of abstraction, they may play an important role in contributing to the sense of 'emptiness' many visitors describe in the language of art (eg, Blight 2013).

Rada and Ravelli also comment on the 'prestige' of art writing. Rada, for example, describes how the language functions in two different ways: 'in the first instance it was being used to inform, while in the second the language was there for its own sake'. As a result, she concludes, it generates 'two different kinds of prestige'. The first is 'the prestige of authority, in the sense of specialised knowledge'. The second is the prestige of the writer as art critic or curator: 'the prestige of the text is really that of the writer of the text; it is social rather than academic, reflecting the value that is placed on this profession' (1989: 111, 127; emphasis in original). Ravelli (1998: 148), similarly concludes that 'the text, while entirely secondary to the artworks, is itself prestigious. It is one manifestation of the curator's professional expertise'.

This thesis offers insights into the motivating principles behind this 'prestige'. Through the lens of LCT Specialisation, the two functions as described by Rada can be understood to reflect the importance of epistemic relations ('the sense of specialised knowledge') and social relations ('the writer'). Thus the text, like the arrangement of the exhibition, is seen by the author/curator as a creative work, an expression of their flair, their eye, their cultivated disposition as a knower. Rada's and Ravelli's examples

are consistent with the elite (ER+, SR+) specialisation code ascribed to the art curators in this study. In bringing these orientations and values into view, this thesis offers insights into understanding the particular tensions evident around interpretation in art museums, including, as evidenced in this study, with other team members and visitor expectations and needs. Such insights in turn can contribute to the developing of strategies that can respectfully and effectively negotiate these tensions and result in better outcomes, in terms of both staff and visitors. In short, this study reinforces and develops these earlier descriptions, and highlights the value of further research in this area.

7.2. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This research project set out with the ambitious goal of providing a deep yet integrated analysis of exhibition text. In order to maximise the strength of the research design (Yin 2014) and its relevance to the museum field, the decision was made to sample across modalities and disciplinary fields through a two-case study approach. A major limitation, as a result, has been the trade-off between breadth and depth. As summarised above, this research has made a number of significant contributions. However, much of the data were not analysed beyond the initial exploratory phase and are not reflected in this thesis. The potential of the data has not been fully explored.

In choosing the particular balance of breadth and depth in the present research, this thesis actively invites further research, both in terms of the present data set and of other exhibition texts. It has contributed to answering two particular research questions but has raised many more.

In terms of exhibition as communicative and pedagogic experience, it asks:

- are the meanings evident in these exhibitions common to other social history and art exhibitions? What meanings are evident in other kinds of exhibitions?
- is the omission of closing stages (such as Coda) of common genres a regular feature of museum texts?

- what is the impact of shell vectors on museum visitors? Does the frequency of shell vectors affect perceptions of semantic ‘emptiness’?
- do thematic texts also create vectors? What insights can be gained from a holistic intermodal analysis of an exhibition as it unfolds in (intended) sequence or as experienced by an individual visitor (ie, on the basis of that visitor’s actual pathway through the exhibition)?
- how might Martin’s notion of ‘presence’ be realised by other modalities within the exhibition context (eg, in elements of the graphic or 3D design, sound?)
- particularly in terms of art museums, how do meaning and learning potentials compare between exhibition and catalogue?
- how do museum texts scaffold visual literacies of public and student audiences; what kind of pedagogies are involved and how might they be used in other contexts?
- how might the involvement of educators in the development of exhibition labels affect the meaning potentials of the texts?
- what kinds of meaning and learning potentials are instantiated in texts for children; in what ways do they differ from those in texts intended for adults?

For example, in terms of the curatorial role and curatorial knowledge:

- what constitutes ‘a real curator’? In what ways is curatorial knowledge different from other kinds of knowledge? How does this differ across fields?

In terms of team processes and professional development:

- how can recent SFL/LCT-informed ‘knowledge about language’ (KAL) pedagogies be used to improve the communicative knowledge and skills of museum authors?
- can explicit ‘knowledge about knowledge practices’ be used to enhance team processes and relations?

7.3. C O D A

A number of years ago, before beginning this doctoral program, I presented a talk to a museum conference which I called ‘The unbearable heaviness of stuff written about art’.⁷ For some time previously, I had been puzzling over the difficulties visitors often have with the labels and other texts they encountered in art museums (and a daughter in high school struggling to write the kinds of essays that were required in subject art). From my ‘commonsense’ view of language, I could see the pronounced density of the language, and the ‘tricky technicality’ – tricky in that it didn’t only rely on specialised terms (rococo, chinoiserie, gouache) but also on everyday words that had specialised meanings in the context of art (formal, picturesque, modern). I could see too that while the texts were dense, full to the brim with big, ‘heavy’ words, as visitors often commented, they somehow didn’t *seem to be saying* anything. The point of the talk was to deconstruct the language to show how and why readers (and novice writers) struggled, and offer suggestions on how the texts could be more accessible, welcoming, meaningful. I thought I did an OK job, although I see now that I missed, or misconstrued, many of the critical elements involved.

Doing that talk again now, I think I would call it, ‘The *unexpected lightness* of stuff written about art’. This I would do to foreground instead, to reprise the words of Lukin et al (2004), the ‘curious emptiness’ of the language in that it is both heavy in terms of *amount* of meaning (in LCT terms, semantic density) but *light* in terms of no longer being tied down to a specific context (semantic gravity). I would be able to ‘reveal’ the critical role of grammatical metaphor in creating abstraction and distancing the experience being construed from the lived, material world, and the role played by shell vectors, as I suggest in this study, in framing an expectation that is not fulfilled; that invites viewers to look closely but is substantively empty of new meaning. I would be able to highlight the lack of explicit conjunction and its impact in creating ambiguity that resonates up through the strata from clause to genre. I would be able to show how these choices acted to ‘shape up’ the visitor interaction, and how different kinds of

⁷ Art Gallery of NSW, Teachers Focus Fest, Sydney 2006

choices, for example, as made in a social history exhibition, ‘shape up’ a very different experience.

The coda of this reminiscence (now recognised by this researcher as an exemplum),⁸ and indeed of this thesis, is that through the analysis of two case study exhibitions, this research project has shown how small choices in language accumulate to form patterns of meaning that carry considerable weight. It has brought into view some of the principles and values that motivated the exhibition teams to make particular choices in language, and show the impact of those choices in shaping the meaning potential brought by the verbal texts to the exhibition experience. It has provided insights into disciplinary ways of thinking and valuing around key aspects of the communicative, and by implication pedagogical, interactions that construe it. Building on earlier work within the museum field, particularly by McLulich, Ravelli and Stenglin, and on more recent work beyond the museum field by many in the area of academic literacies, the essential contribution of this thesis is to show that the systematic and principled description of museum messages is increasingly valuable to the museum community. As museums move forward in the 21st century, this thesis reinforces the value of considering both visitor *and* message, and accordingly of conceptual frameworks that can bring the various people, disciplines, roles, modalities and research strands involved in museums into productive and constructive dialogue.

⁸ An exemplum is from the family of story genres, where the disruption is interpreted in order to share a moral judgment. It is realised through the stages of (Orientation)^Incident^Interpretation^(Coda). Note brackets indicate optional stage (Martin & Rose 2008: 51).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Glossary of terms and analytical decisions

Overview of concepts

This appendix brings together the various concepts used in this thesis to provide an overview that defines and locates them within their theoretical frameworks.

Key references in terms of theory and related analytical decisions are summarised here in table A1.1:

Table A1.1. Summary of key references used to guide analytic process

Area of analysis	Key references
Language	Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Eggins 2004 (functional grammar) Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2007 (discourse semantics) Martin & Rose 2008 (genre) Martin & White 2005 (the language of evaluation)
Image	Kress & van Leeuwen 2006
Intermodal relations	Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013 Martin & Matruglio 2013
LCT Semantics	Maton 2014a
LCT Specialisation	Maton 2014a

Table A1.2 locates key concepts and resources used in this thesis relative to their theoretical 'architecture', ie, within the major systems or dimensions of the theory to which they belong. Note this is not a comprehensive summary of the theories, but of concepts used in this thesis:

Table A1.2. Snapshot view of concepts located within their theoretical architecture

SFL (systemic functional linguistics)			
Hierarchies			
Rank			Clause complex Clause Group/phrase Word Morpheme
Realisation			Genre Register Discourse semantics Lexicogrammar Graphology/phonology

Instantiation			System Register Text type Text Reading
Complementarities : metafunctions			
Ideational (construes experience)	Ideation (activities, participants and setting)	Taxonomic relations	Meronymy Hyponymy Correspondence
		Nuclear relations	Centre Nucleus Margin Periphery
		Activity sequences	Activity sequence Implication sequence
	Conjunction (meanings that link activities and messages in sequences)	Adding Comparing Sequencing Explaining	
Interpersonal (enacts relationships and values)	Appraisal (meanings that evaluate & position sources)	Attitude	Affect Judgment Appreciation
		Graduation	Force Focus
		Engagement	Monogloss Heterogloss
	Negotiation (discourse as exchange of meaning)	Speech function Exchange structure	
Textual (composes text as message)	Identification (tracking participants)	Reference	Presenting Presuming
	Periodicity (managing the flow of meaning)	Theme New	unmarked Theme marked Theme hyper- /macro- Theme
Intermodality (systemic functional semiotics)			
Vergence	Congruence (ideational) Resonance (interpersonal) Synchronicity (textual)	Converging relations Diverging relations	
Presence	Iconicity (ideational) Negotiability (interpersonal) Implicitness (textual)		
Coupling			
Commitment			
Bernsteinian			
Commonsense Uncommonsense			
Classification Framing			
LCT (legitimation code theory)			
Specialisation			Epistemic relations (ER) Social relations (SR) Specilisation codes
Semantics			Semantic density (SD) Semantic gravity (SG) Semantic wave

Glossary

Note:

- where a term/concept relates to a specific theoretical framework (ie, SFS or LCT), this is indicated in square brackets at the end of the entry
- where a term/concept relates to a particular system or dimension within the theory, it is glossed within the entry for that system/dimension
- underline indicates the term has an entry in this glossary.

Affect: see Appraisal; see also appendix 4. [SFS]

Appraisal: a system of the interpersonal metafunction in discourse semantics, concerned with how values, relationships, voices and stance are negotiated in discourse. It is theorised in terms of three systems:

- **Attitude** – concerned with how we evaluate feelings, comprising:
 - Affect: deals with resources for construing emotional reactions
 - Judgment: evaluates people's character and behaviour
 - Appreciation: evaluates things (including abstractions)
- **Graduation** – concerned with the scalability of evaluative meanings, in terms of force (ie, raising or lowering) and focus (ie, sharpening or softening)
- **Engagement** – concerned with how different voices are positioned within a text; its dialogic stance.

See Martin & White 2005. [SFS]

Appreciation: see Appraisal; see also appendix 4. [SFS]

Attitude: see Appraisal; see also appendix 4. [SFS]

Classification: relations of power that act to create boundaries *between* fields of practice, ie, that keep things 'apart' (Bernstein 1977). See also 'framing' (relations of control).

Bernstein theorises that these two relations act to establish, regulate and maintain fields of practice and thus their discourse (1977:11). Maton develops Bernstein's work to theorise that particular configurations of these relations can be used to reveal and categorise the basis of social practices (Maton 2014a: 31). See Specialisation. [LCT]

Clause: SFL recognises the clause as the basic ‘message’ unit, in Halliday & Matthiessen’s words, ‘the central processing unit’ that enables meaning to be mapped into an integrated grammatical structure (2004: 10). A clause is a constituent along the rank scale (figure A1.1 below).

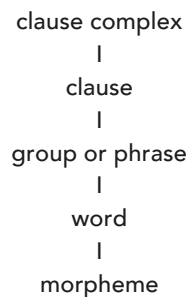


Figure A1.1. **Rank scale** (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004)

All clauses must have a verbal group – it is an obligatory constituent of the clause. Clauses can be combined to form clause complexes, or ‘downranked’ (embedded) to function as an element at a lower rank. Clauses can be categorised as follows:

- **ranking clause:** forms a separate rank on the rank scale, ie, they do not form part of a larger clause. Ranking clauses can be independent (eg, ‘I went to the café’) or dependent (eg, ‘Feeling hungry’)
- **rankshifted clause:** a clause that has been ‘downranked’ to function as an element at a lower level on the rank scale (eg, ‘I bought the cake [[displayed on the counter]] for lunch’)
- **clause simplex:** a single ranking clause forming a sentence (eg, ‘I went to the café.’)
- **clause complex:** two or more ranking clauses linked to form a sentence. These can be in a relation of:
 - parataxis (equal or co-ordinating) eg, ‘I went to the café //and then went home.’
 - hypotaxis (dependency), eg ‘Feeling hungry, // I went to the café.’
- **clause boundaries** are typically shown using the following conventions:
 - // to separate ranking clauses
 - /// to separate clause complexes.
 - [[...]] to show an embedded or downranked clause
 - <<...>> to show an inserted ranking clause. [SFS]

Coherence: one of the essential qualities of text: text has to be coherent (along with cohesive) to 'hang together' as text (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 23; Eggins 2004: 29–53).

Coherence refers to the way a text relates to its context in terms of:

- **registerial coherence:** relating to its context of situation (in terms of field, tenor and mode)
- **generic coherence:** relating to its context of culture (ie, when a text can be recognised as belonging to a particular genre, that is, we can identify a unified purpose motivating the language)

See also cohesion. [SFS]

Cohesion: one of the essential qualities of text: text has to be cohesive (along with coherent) to 'hang together' as text (Eggins 2004: 29–53). Cohesion refers to the *internal* elements that tie discourse together by 'presupposing' other elements (Halliday & Hasan 1976). These elements (called semantic ties) make items dependent on each other for their interpretation, and include:

- **reference** – concerned with introducing and tracking participants. Endophoric (internal to text) reference contributes to cohesion. See Identification.
- **lexical cohesion** – expectancy relations between words, ie, how words cluster to form sets of or strings, including taxonomic relations (of classification and composition) and expectancy relations (between nominal and verbal elements)
- **conjunctive cohesion** – the logical relations between parts of a text (elaboration, extension, enhancement).

See also coherence. [SFS]

Cohesive device: Liu & O'Halloran (2009) develop the linguistic idea of 'semantic tie' (see cohesion) to account for intermodal relations between image and verbiage. Liu & O'Halloran theorise these devices as essential to forming 'intersemiotic texture', which in turn they see as a crucial property of coherent multimodal text (2009: 367). These devices are summarised below in table A1.3. Note that the analysis in this thesis builds on Liu & O'Halloran's idea of intersemiotic texture and its role in 'motivating semantic interaction and negotiation between different modalities' (2009: 368) but rejects the idea of using a closed set of cohesive devices from (linguistic) discourse semantics to account for intermodal relations in favour of the more recent analytical framework proposed by Painter, Martin & Unsworth (2013) as outlined in chapter 5. [SFS]

Table A1.3. Summary of intersemiotic cohesive devices in multisemiotic texts
(Liu & O'Halloran 2009: 371)

Stratum Meta-function		Discourse
Ideational	Logical	Implication Sequences (O'Halloran 2005)
	Experiential	Correspondence ^a (Jones 2007) Antonymy Hyponymy Meronymy Collocation (Royce 1998; see also Intersemiotic Ideation, O'Halloran 2005) Polysemy
Textual		Reference (see Intersemiotic Identification, O'Halloran 2005) Theme-Rheme Development (see Framing and Salience, Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) Given-New Organization (see Information Value, Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) Parallel Structures

Commitment: the degree of specificity of meaning instantiated in text, ie, how many optional choices are taken up and how generally they are instantiated. (Martin 2010: 20). For example, 'a corrugated iron and timber structure' commits more meaning than does 'a structure'. [SFS]

Commonsense knowledge and/or discourse: the knowledge and/or discourse of everyday experience, as opposed to the 'uncommonsense' knowledge and/or discourse of academic and institutional fields (Bernstein 1977, 1999).

Concurrence: see intermodality. [SFS]

Congruence: the relatively direct mapping of meaning as language. In congruent language, people and things are construed linguistically as nouns, processes as verbs, qualities and qualifiers as (adjectives and adverbs), and logical/conjunctive relations as conjunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). See also grammatical metaphor. [SFS]

Conjunction: a discourse semantic system of the Ideational metafunction, concerned with the connections that link activities and messages into sequences (Martin & Rose 2007: 115). Key conjunctive relations are:

- addition – eg, and, besides, or
- comparison – eg, like, unlike, as if, on the other hand

- **time** – eg, then, after, meanwhile, before
- **consequence** – eg, so, because, since, thus, in order to

Conjunction has ‘two faces’ (Martin & Rose 2007: 116) : one side interacts with the system of Ideation to organise experience as a sequence of activities (external conjunction); the other interacts with the system of Periodicity to organise the internal flow of meaning within the text (internal conjunction). [SFS]

Context dependency: the degree to which meaning depends on its physical context. See also semantic gravity and presence. [SFS]

Coupling: the way in which meanings combine across strata, metafunctions, ranks, systems and modalities in the process of instantiation (Martin 2010: 19). For example, the coupling of ‘provenance’ (ideational meaning) with the negative value ‘I hate’ (interpersonal meaning) gives ‘provenance’ a negative charge that carries through the message. [SFS]

Distantiation: the process of moving *up* the hierarchy of instantiation, opening up meaning potential by reverting to a higher level of generality (Martin 2006, Hood 2008, de Souza 2013). [SFS]

Engagement: see Appraisal. [SFS]

Entity: a distinct ‘thing’ in text, including living things, non-living things, places, concepts, ideas, phenomena etc (Fontaine 2013: 65; Dreyfus & Jones 2011: 4) [SFS]

Epistemic relations (ER): see Specialisation. [LCT]

Experiential metaphor: see grammatical metaphor. [SFS]

Field: (1) see register [SFS]; (2) more generally, field refers to a domain of knowledge or experience, eg, field of history, of art, of everyday life.

Field time: where the sequence of activities in a text occurs in the same order as it would have happened in the real world, in contrast to text time, where activities are reordered to suit the rhetorical purpose of the text (Martin & Rose 2008). [SFS]

Framing: relations of control *within* fields of practice (Bernstein 1977). See also ‘classification’ (relations of power). Bernstein theorises that these two relations act to establish, regulate and maintain fields of practice and thus their discourse (1977:11). Maton develops Bernstein’s work to theorise that particular configurations of these relations can be used to reveal and categorise the basis of social practices (Maton 2014a: 31). See also Specialisation. [LCT]

Genre: a recurrent configuration of meanings that enact the social practices of a given culture; a staged, goal-oriented social process (Martin & Rose 2008: 6). [SFS]

Genre-based pedagogy: an approach to academic literacy based on the idea of explicitly teaching the linguistic resources used in the genres of particular subject areas or disciplines (see Rose & Martin 2012). [SFS]

Grammatical metaphor: the reconstrual, or repackaging, of one grammatical form into another, for example, the repackaging of a process (eg, develop) as a noun (development). While grammatical metaphor can take a number of forms (see Ravelli & Taverniers 2003), and has been theorised in different ways (as stratal tension, eg Halliday 1985, Martin 1992, Hao 2015; and as semantic junction, eg Halliday & Matthiessen 1999; see Devrim 2015 for an overview of the two approaches) it is widely understood as a key feature of academic discourse.

This thesis adopts the stratal tension model, where grammatical metaphor is understood to introduce tension between grammar (a text's wording) and semantics (a text's meaning) such that the text has to be read on at least two levels. The thesis focuses on ideational metaphor, which can be divided into two types (Martin 1992):

- **experiential metaphor** – involves repackaging processes and qualities into other grammatical forms, for example, a process as a thing (demolish → demolition), a thing as a quality (the roof of the stadium → the stadium roof), a process as a quality (the woman who is working → the working woman) etc.
- **logical metaphor** – involves repackaging the relations between clauses within clauses. For example, 'The stadium was pulled down // so the eastern suburbs railway could be built' where the conjunction 'so' links two clauses, could be expressed as 'The cause of the stadium's demolition was the construction of the eastern suburbs railway', where the causal conjunction 'so' has been repacked as the noun 'cause', enabling the two clauses to be packed into one. [SFS]

Experiential metaphor: one of the two main types of ideational metaphor; see grammatical metaphor. [SFS]

Hyper-Theme: see Theme. [SFS]

Ideation: a discourse semantic system of the Ideational metafunction, which acts to construe experience in language. It focuses on sequences of activities (processes), the people and things

involved (participants) and associated places and qualities (circumstances) (Martin & Rose 2007).

Ideation concerns three sets of relations between these elements:

- **nuclear relations** – the configurations of elements within a clause. These can be represented in terms of degree of nuclearity: centre (occupied by the process), nucleus (medium and range), margin (agents and beneficiaries) and periphery (circumstances):

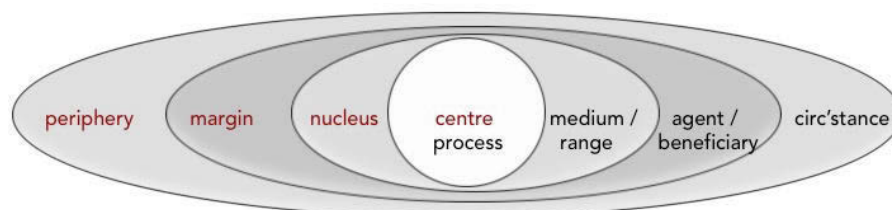


Figure A1.2. **Nuclearity in the clause** (after Martin & Rose 2007: 95)

- **taxonomic relations** – relations between lexical elements as text unfolds, including repetition, synonymy, contrast, meronymy (part-to-whole, ie compositional), hyponymy (class-to-member, classification)
- **activity sequences** – relations between activities as the text unfolds; termed 'implication sequences' when the processes are causal. [SFS]

Ideational meaning/metafunction: meanings about the propositional content or subject matter of a message. These can be further divided into two systems, or 'complementary sets of ideational patterns' (Martin & Rose 2007: 75): experiential meaning, which represents experience in terms of processes, participants and circumstances; and logical meanings, which link activities and messages into sequences. At the discourse semantic level, these meanings are construed through two systems: Ideation and Conjunction (Martin & Rose 2007). [SFS]

Ideational metaphor: see grammatical metaphor. [SFS]

Identification: a system of the textual metafunction, concerned with introducing and tracking participants in text (Martin & Rose 2007: 155). It involves two types of reference:

- **presenting reference** – which introduces a participant into the text
- **presuming reference** – where the identity of the participant is recoverable from elsewhere in the text (eg, forwards, backwards) or context

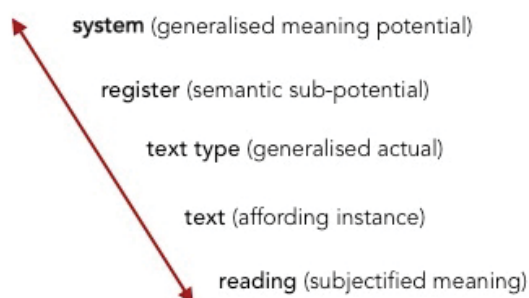
Table A1.4. **Types of reference** (after Martin & Rose 2007: 173)

	Type of reference		Where to look	Example
presenting			–	She told <u>a story</u> .
presuming	endophoric	anaphoric	backwards in text	Sally was tired. <u>She</u> went to bed early.
		cataphoric	forwards in text	
		comparative		She did not hear <u>the story</u> as many women have heard the <u>same</u> .
	exophoric		out to the situation	Put it <u>here</u> .
	homophoric		out to shared knowledge	<u>That story</u> makes us laugh every time we hear it.

Note that endophoric reference contributes to cohesion (internal to the text); exophoric and homophoric reference contribute to (situational) coherence. [SFS]

Instance: an individual text. Note that an instantiated text is itself still a potential in that it affords readings of different kinds depending on the social subjectivity of the individual reader (Martin & White 2005: 25). [SFS]

Instantiation: the relationship between the system (or potential) of language (and other semiotics) and the instance (text). This relationship is theorised as a hierarchy, or cline, of generality. Between 'system' and 'text' are a series of intermediate 'patterns', or recurring configurations (see figure A1.3). The process of instantiation involves moving *down* the cline, where each choice made represents a progressive narrowing of meaning potential or generality (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 26). Note that an instantiated text is itself still a potential in that it affords readings of different kinds depending on the social subjectivity of the individual reader (Martin & White 2005: 25). See also distantiation. [SFS]

Figure A1.3. **The hierarchy of instantiation** (after Martin & White 2005: 25)

Intermodality: concerned with the meanings that result from the interaction *between* different semiotic modes. To date, within SFS, there have been two main approaches to intermodality: one framed at the level of lexicogrammar (eg, Martinec & Salway 2005); and one framed at the level of discourse semantics (eg, Liu & O'Halloran 2009, Royce 2007). More recent approaches (eg, Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013) challenge the idea of applying a closed set of resources based on those within systems of language to explain intermodal relations. Instead, they map out the meanings instantiated in each contributing modality across the three metafunctions and compare their relative contributions.

From this perspective, meanings instantiated in the various modes in play can either converge or diverge. Painter, Martin & Unsworth use the terms **concurrence** to refer to the co-patterning of ideational meaning, **resonance** to refer to the co-patterning of interpersonal meaning, and **synchronicity** to refer to the co-patterning textual meaning. This approach has been used in this study. [SFS]

Interpersonal meaning/metafunction: meanings which convey attitudes and construe relationships, for example between the author and receiver of a message, and between author and various participants in the message. Interpersonal meaning is construed at the discourse semantic level using two systems: Appraisal and Negotiation. [SFS]

Judgment: see Appraisal; see also appendix 4. [SFS]

LCT (legitimation code theory): a theory of knowledge and knowledge practices that builds particularly on the work of Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu; a framework for making visible the organising principles that regulate and motivate knowledge practices (see Maton 2014a).

Logical metaphor: one of the two types of ideational metaphor; see grammatical metaphor. [SFS]

Macro-Theme: see Periodicity. [SFS]

Meronymy: see Ideation. [SFS]

Metafunction: the three dimensions, or types, of meaning that are co-present in every instance of text. As termed by Halliday (eg, 1978), these include ideational (meanings about the propositional content or subject matter of a message); interpersonal (meanings which convey attitudes and construe relationships, for example between the author and

receiver of a message, and between author and various participants in the message); and textual (meanings which organise a text as a message).

The metafunctions are sometimes termed differently when referencing semiotics other than language, for example, O'Toole (re the visual arts) uses the terms representational, modal and compositional (1994/2011); Lemke (re websites) uses the terms presentational, orientational, organisational (2002); Royce (image) uses the terms ideational, interpersonal and compositional (2007). [SFS]

Metalanguage: a language for talking about language (Humphrey 2013; Rose & Martin 2012). [SFS]

Mode: (1) see register [SFS]; (2) as semiotic resource, eg, language, image, gesture, music. Mode in this regard is also often called modality.

Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA): a broad term for the analysis of multimodal texts, inclusive of systemic functional/social semiotic approaches but not limited to them. MDA foregrounds the idea that forms of meaning are created through the co-deployment of various semiotic resources which collaborate to achieve an overarching purpose.

Negotiation: a discourse semantic system of the Interpersonal metafunction, concerned with the resources used to realise different interactional moves (Martin & Rose 2007: 219). It involves:

- **speech function:** the roles enacted in discourse (as realised through the grammar of mood).

Table A1.5. **Basic speech functions** (after Martin & Rose 2007: 223)

	initiating	responding
Giving information	statement	acknowledgment
Demanding information	question	answer
Offering an action (ie, giving goods & services)	offer	acceptance
Demanding an action (ie, demanding goods & services)	command	compliance

- **exchange structure:** how these choices are sequenced into moves in exchanges between interactants. [SFS]

New: see Periodicity. [SFS]

Participant: an entity which is inherent in a process; that brings about or mediates the process (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 54). [SFS]

Periodicity: a system of the textual metafunction, concerned with managing information flow. Key concepts are Theme and New:

- **Theme:** the peak of prominence at the beginning of a clause/sentence, which acts 'the starting point of a message', the element that tells you what the message is going to be about (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 64). In English, Theme is based on order within a clause/sentence. However, there is variation within SFL on the boundaries around what is considered Thematic, notably between analysis framed at clause level grammar (eg, Eggins 2004: 300; Butt et al 2000: 136) and that framed at the discourse semantics (Martin & Rose 2007: 269), where Theme is seen as a resource for 'fixing and shifting' meaning as discourse unfolds through time. This thesis adopts the discourse semantic approach, where Theme is defined as 'everything up to and including the participant that functions as the Subject of the clause' (Martin & Rose 2007: 190). Theme can be further categorised as:
 - **unmarked Theme:** the first participant/s in a sentence or clause (ie, *before* the main verb); the unmarked Theme functions to track participants in discourse (ie, 'fixes' meaning)
 - **marked Theme:** elements that occur *before* the unmarked Theme; these play a key role in shifting meaning (ie, in scaffolding discontinuity). In this way they are function to signal new phases in discourse.

For example:

St Peter [*unmarked Theme*] holds a set of golden keys.

In his right hand [*marked Theme*], **St Peter** [*unmarked Theme*] holds a set of golden keys.

From this discourse semantic viewpoint, Theme is a key resource in managing the flow of information in text (periodicity) and is conceptualised as a series of waves within waves. Theme ('little waves', as described by Martin & Rose 2007: 189) acts to organise and predict the flow of meaning at the clause/ sentence level, with hyper-Themes organising and predicting larger phases of discourse ('bigger waves'), and macro-Themes, larger phases again ('tidal waves'). See Martin & Rose (2007: 189–99).

- **New:** the peak of prominence at the end of a clause/sentence, which carries information about the Theme (Martin & Rose 2007: 189–99). [SFS]

Presence: a metafunctional reworking of the linguistic concept of ‘context dependency’ (Hasan 1973, Halliday & Hasan 1976, Martin 1992, Cloran 1999). From an SFL perspective, context dependency refers to the degree to which the meanings in a text depend on its present context (for example, the classroom, the dinner table) or are independent of it.

Martin & Matruglio (2013) identify a range of resources that work together to raise or reduce context dependency, which they collectively termed ‘presence’. Discourse with strong presence (P+) is significantly anchored in its context of situation, for example, as is typical of spoken discourse and the commonsense discourse of everyday experience and life. Discourse with weak presence (P–) is comparatively independent of its context of situation (Martin & Matruglio 2013). Examples of the resources involved for each metafunction are given here in table A1. 6:

Table A1.6. **Summary of resources producing presence in verbal text**
(after Martin & Matruglio 2013)

Metafunction	+ Presence	– Presence
Ideational (iconicity)	specific congruent unfolds in field time external conjunction	generic metaphorical unfolds in text time internal conjunction
Interpersonal (negotiability)	1st & 2nd person pronouns (eg, I, we, you) present tense more spoken modal responsibility: ↑ proportion of 1st & 2nd person pronouns as subject affect	3rd person pronouns past tense more written appreciation judgment
Textual (implicitness)	exophoric /presuming reference 1st & 2nd person pronouns (eg, I, we, you) locative adverbs (here, there) specific deixis (the) substitution, ellipsis	higher level Themes & News (ie, more self-organing)

Presenting reference: see Identification. [SFS]

Presuming reference: see Identification. [SFS]

Rank: the compositional units in language, ie, clause, group/phrase, word, morpheme.

Rank is theorised as a hierarchy, or cline, of composition, in contrast, for example, to realisation, which is theorised as a hierarchy of abstraction (Martin 2010: 11). [SFS]

Realisation: the relationship across the levels of abstraction (strata) within semiotic modes.

In SFL, this relationship is theorised as a hierarchy or cline, extending from genre, through register, discourse semantics and lexicogrammar to phonology/graphology (Martin 2010: 5). [SFS]

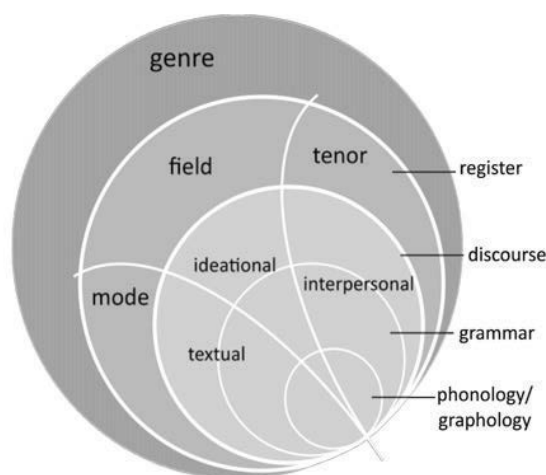


Figure A1.4. Language as multifunctional and multistratal (Rose & Martin: 2012: 311)

Reference: a resource of textual meaning, used to introduce and track participants. See Identification. [SFS]

Register: context of situation, one of two levels of context on the realisation hierarchy (the other being genre, or context of culture). In discourse, register is construed as field (ideational meaning), tenor (interpersonal meaning) and mode (textual meaning): these are often called the 'register variables':

- **field** – construes ideational meaning as sequences of participants, processes and circumstances
- **tenor** – construes interpersonal meaning, for example in terms of social distance and status (Martin & White 2005).
- **mode** – construes textual meaning; mode is typically modelled as a continuum, from 'more spoken' to 'more written' (Ravelli 2006b). [SFS]

Resonance: see intermodality. [SFS]

Semantics: (1) as in discourse semantics, see [realisation](#). [SFS]; (2) one of the key dimensions of LCT, concerned with describing knowledge and knowledge/social practices in terms of two key qualities (Maton 2014a):

- **semantic gravity** – the degree to which meaning depends on its present context; the more it depends, the greater the gravity
- **semantic density** – the degree to which meaning is condensed within a given practice, instance or object of study (eg, a text); the more condensed, the greater the density

As an instance of text unfolds, the relative strengths of these attributes can vary, and thus can be represented as different patterns or **profiles**. For example, a text may unfold as **waves**, with rhythmic movements in the strength of semantic density (how much meaning is packed into particular segments of text) and semantic gravity (the degree of context dependence of meaning), or as flatlines, where they are maintained at a relatively steady level throughout a text. While the two semantic attributes are independent, they often shift together but inversely. [LCT]

Semantic density (SD): see [semantics](#). [LCT]

Semantic gravity (SG): see [semantics](#). [LCT]

Semantic profile: see [semantics](#). [LCT]

Semantic waves: see [semantics](#). [LCT]

SFL (systemic functional linguistics): see [SFS](#).

SFS (Systemic functional semiotics), also called **social semiotics**: a framework for theorising and analysing the social meaning of language and other semiotics. The approach is underpinned by systemic functional theory, initially developed as a theory of language (Halliday 1975/2007) and since developed to account for other semiotic modes (see Bateman 2014: 45). The theory is 'systemic' in that it theorises language (an other semiotics) as systems of choices; it is functional in that it is concerned with language (an other semiotics) as a resource for making meaning. Within the SFS/SFL tradition, there are a number of different streams or schools (see Fawcett 2008; Martin 1992).

Social semiotics: see [SFS](#).

Social relations (SR): see [Specialisation](#). [LCT]

Specialisation: one of the dimensions of LCT. It provides a framework for bringing into view the principles that structure and regulate social practices in terms of what counts as legitimate knowledge and legitimate ways of knowing. This dimension is underpinned by two key relations:

- **epistemic relations (ER)** – relations oriented towards objects of knowledge
- **social relations (SR)** – relations oriented towards the social actors (knowers) involved in knowledge practices

Maton's conception of ER and SR integrates Bernstein's earlier work on relations of power (classification), which act to separate and insulate practices, and relations of control (framing), which act to regulate processes and procedures within practices (Bernstein 2000). Both ER and SR are present in all knowledge practices and claims, where they can vary along a continuum of strengths.

The relative strength or weakness of these relations in turn gives rise to four principal configurations or patterns:

- **knowledge codes (ER+, SR-)**, where possession of specialised knowledge, skills or procedures is emphasised as the basis of achievement, and the dispositions of actors are downplayed
- **knower codes (ER-, SR+)**, where specialised knowledge and skills are less significant and instead the dispositions of actors are emphasised as measures of achievement
- **elite codes (ER+, SR+)**, where legitimacy is based on both possessing specialised knowledge and being the right kind of knower
- **relativist codes (ER-, SR-)**, where neither specialist knowledge nor knower attributes determine legitimacy. [LCT]

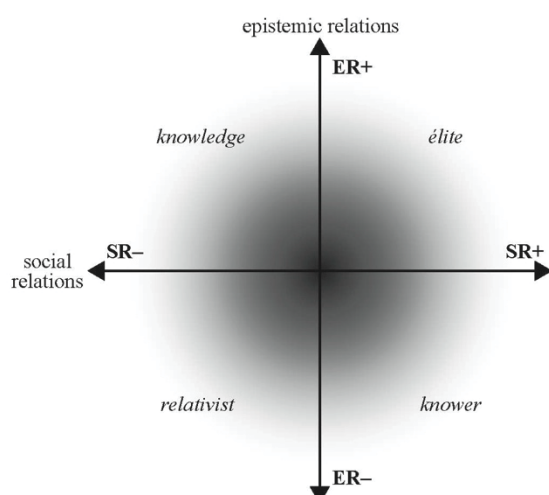


Figure A1.5: Four principal specialisation codes (Maton 2014a: 30)

Strata: the layers that organise language, ie, discourse semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology/graphology (Rose & Martin 2012). The strata are theorised as a hierarchy, or cline, of abstraction and are related through realisation – eg, discourse is realised by lexicogrammar, which is realised by phonology/graphology and visa versa (Martin 2010: 5). [SFS]

System: a theoretical entity that represents the underlying meaning potential of language (and other semiotics); the underlying reservoir of language as resource; the sum of all possible choices (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:26–27). The system overall is structured as a network of (sub) systems, representing sets of choices within each metafunction. [SFS]

Synchronicity: see intermodality. [SFS]

System network: the diagrammatic modelling of the choices available in language, for example:

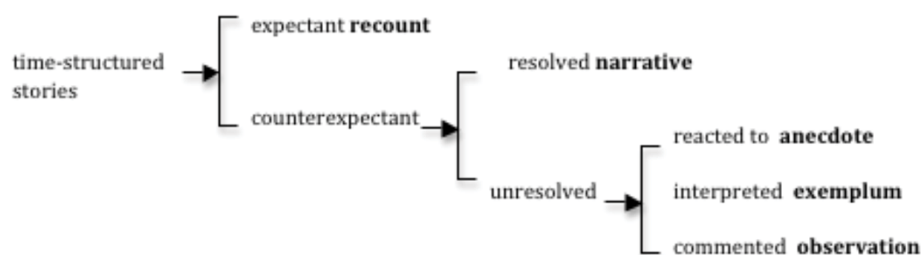


Figure A1.6: A basic network diagram, showing options for time-ordered story genres (Martin & Rose 2008: 81)

In such diagrams, progression from left to right shows further layers of choice within the depicted 'system/s', which specify, or 'commit', meaning potentials with increasing levels of delicacy. [SFS]

Systemic functional theory: see SFS.

Tenor: see register. [SFS]

Text time: where the sequence of activities in a text is ordered to suit the rhetorical purpose, in contrast to field time, where activities occur in the same order as they would in the material world (Martin & Rose 2008). [SFS]

Textual meaning/metafunction: meanings which organise a text as a message. Textual meaning at the discourse semantic level is construed through two systems: Identification and Periodicity. [SFS]

Theme: an aspect of the periodic structure of text (ie, textual meaning). See Periodicity. [SFS]

Uncommonsense knowledge and/or discourse: the knowledge and/or discourse of academic and institutional fields, as opposed to the 'commonsense' knowledge and/or discourse of everyday experience (Bernstein 1977, 1999).

Valeur: a relationship of difference; the notion that meaning is not 'inherent' in a text (or sign) but rather arises from the relationship of difference between signs. [SFS]

Vergence: see Intermodality. [SFS]

APPENDIX 2

Schedule of interview questions

Introduction

This research project is about investigating the process of developing (verbal) texts for exhibitions. I'm interested to know how the process works, about the people involved, and about the kinds of things that have helped you or that perhaps make things difficult. The aim is to better understand the text development process, and ultimately to improve strategies and processes to support writers and exhibition teams.

The questions I want to ask you relate to 3 main areas:

- your role in the process of developing the texts for this exhibition
- how you see the role of others in the process
- your profession.

The interview should take for around 45 minutes.

•

Part A / your role

1. Tell me about how you came to be a curator / designer / educator etc.
2. For this exhibition, what particular things do you do related to developing exhibition texts?
3. (a) For this exhibition, what is the process here at xx? Describe the main steps/stages.
(b) Is this typical of other exhibitions developed here at xx?
4. (a) For this exhibition, how do you go about writing/editing/designing etc your exhibition labels? Can you describe/talk me through the process?
(b) Is this typical of other exhibitions developed here at xx?
5. Are there any particular methods/strategies that you use to help you?

6. Does the format or medium affect the way you write – say a wall label v an essay for a book, something for the web or an app? Can you explain that difference? Do you write/design/edit etc differently for different formats?
7. (a) For this exhibition, when you are writing exhibition text, describe the person you are aiming the text for – the intended reader
(b) Do you aim for the same kind of person for other exhibitions?
8. Thinking in general about how well the process for developing & producing exhibition text works here at xxx, how would you describe your level of satisfaction, in terms of:
 - (a) amount of time taken
 - (b) process
 - (c) result
9. Are there any particular ways this museum helped you in this process ?
10. Are there any particular ways it has hindered you in this process?
11. Do you have any particular thoughts or views on how things might work better? [
12. (a) Speaking generally, what do you think makes a good exhibition text?
(b) What would be an example of an exhibition you thought was really good in terms of text? Why?
What did you like about it?
13. (a) Speaking generally, what do you think makes a bad exhibition text?
(b) What would be an example of an exhibition that you didn't like in terms of text? Why?
What didn't you like about it?
14. There's a lot of talk about accessibility and scholarship – in terms of language, what does accessibility mean to you? What does scholarship mean to you?
15. Speaking generally, do you do any evaluation of exhibition texts:
 - (a) in a self-generated or informal way (eg, talking/observing visitors; asking others to read drafts or final labels etc)?
 - (b) in a more formal way (eg, visitor comments book; visitor observation or surveys, focus groups, front end & summative evaluations etc)?

(c) For this exhibition, will there be any formal evaluation?

(d) Will you do any informal, self-generated evaluation?

16. For this exhibition, what are the key messages you want visitors to take away / if they remember three things, what would you want them to be?

Part B / role of others

Now I want to ask you now about the different people who are involved in the process of developing the text.

17. (a) For this exhibition, who else has an involvement with the text?

(b) Is this typical of other exhibitions developed here at xx?

For the next few questions, we'll go through them for each of those people in turn.

18. What is their role in the text development process:

(a) for this exhibition?

(b) Is this typical of other exhibitions developed here at xx?

19. How important is their input

(a) for this exhibition?

(b) Is this typical of other exhibitions developed here at xx?

20. In the text, what kinds of changes or comments does their input result in?

21. In thinking about [curators/designers/editors etc] as a profession, what three words would you use to describe them? Why is that?

22. In your opinion, how important are the following for being good at [xxx] etc:

(a) Specialist skills, techniques and knowledge?

(b) Natural born talent or flair?

(c) A developed judgment or 'feel' for it?

Part C / your profession

23. In your opinion, how important are the following for being good at [xxx] etc:

(a) Specialist skills, techniques and knowledge?

(b) Natural-born talent or flair?

(c) A developed judgment or 'feel' for it?

APPENDIX 3

Interviews / phases of analysis

1. Descriptive coding (first reading) / summary of threads

Roles	Process of writing	Media	Visitor /audience	Exhibition experience	Other
SITE 1: Wild Ones, MoS					
As self As other Project manager Curator (WW) Curator ('real') Graphic designer Exhib designer Editor Public Programs Head Interp Volunteer guide Marketing As author (of verbal texts) Here (now) Here (before) Background experience Qualities Knowledge of field Luck	In general Other exhibitions/museums Specific to this exhibition: Labels Publications Brief / Aims/aspirations Good / Bad Old / new Time Collaboration Balance At other museums	<u>Verbal:</u> This exhibition Exhibition Labels Film Floor talks Publication (lack of) Other exhibitions Content Format Language Length Good Bad <u>Non-verbal:</u> Objects Design Spatial/architecture	'Imagined' /target: This exhibition Other exhibitions Use of interp resources What they take away Remembering	This exhibition Stories Artefacts People Other exhibitions	Museum vs academia Other museums/galleries Accessibility Scholarly/scholarship

Roles	Process of writing	Media	Visitor /audience	Exhibition experience	Other
SITE 2: Renaissance, NGA					
As self As other Project manager Director (current) Director (previous) Curator (staff) Curator (external) External authors Graphic designer Exhib designer Editor Public Programs Web Volunteer guide As author (of verbal texts) Background experience Qualities Knowledge of field At the gallery	In general Other exhibitions/museums Specific to this exhibition: Catalogue Labels Audios Web Kids trail Brief Aims/aspirations Good / Bad Provenance Art v other Time Discussions (+ lack of) Tensions Content 'Externals' – fighting the brief	<u>Verbal:</u> This exhibition Exhibition Catalogue Labels Audios Guided tour Kids trail Design Other exhibitions How valued Content Format Language Length Good Bad <u>Non-verbal:</u> Objects Design Spatial architecture	'Imagined' /target: general Australian Canberra This exhibition Other exhibitions Use of interp resources What they take away	This exhibition Looking Reading Artworks Messages Other exhibitions	Museum vs academia Other museums/galleries Accessibility 'Dumbed down' Scholarship Popularity

2. Organisational coding (second reading) / sample coding

Research themes	Author	Message	Visitor
Specialisation themes:	Australian art has much more information on their labels ... we never do that	There are various kinds of written texts ...it's a very clear demarcation	I don't like text ... but people love it
+ Boundaries	Whereas normally in the academic world you can talk about things, say you're working on things	it's a way of telling stories that's different to an academic article or a catalogue essay	it's a different thing probably here the museum audience to in Paris
– Boundaries	That's a conversation we all have as a group	[it's] about telling stories around a topic and sharing knowledge	they think these people aren't different to me, they're not snobs, they're not pushing me away
	It feels very collaborative here	[it's] not getting caught up in the facts or the timelines so much but in keeping the more interesting aspects of the story	We're trying to engage all visitors in the show
+ Controls	We were really clear about how many words they had	They don't want anything that's not 100% correct going out	any text is purely to make the viewer look at the work
	We try to maintain what we want to say ... so in the past we've <i>never</i> sent them out before	No matter what the size of the work, we use C-sized labels ... work has the information label with the usual artist birth and death dates and place ...	people say they want an extended label with each work ... that's why we don't do it
– Controls	So I just tried to tighten that up	I guess I'd sit down with them ... and have a conversation about striking the balance between using the text to tell a story and using the objects	you can choose whether you just want to ... look at objects or if you wanna go really into the story
	My job is really just to give N the time and the space to do that work	the key with all of it is to provide multiple ways to access that information	the main thing is that ... you're encouraging the visitor to look and then you're adding to that

3. Analytical coding (third reading) / sample coding

	Author		Message		Visitor	
		Rel		Rel		Rel
+ Boundaries	Australian art has much more information on their labels ...	ER+	There are various kinds of written texts ... it's a very clear demarcation	ER+	I don't like text ... but people love it	SR+
	Whereas normally in the academic world you can talk about things, say you're working on things	ER+	it's a way of telling stories that's different to an academic article or a catalogue essay	ER+	it's a different thing probably here the museum audience to in Paris	SR+
- Boundaries	That's a conversation we all have as a group	ER- SR+	[it's] not getting caught up in the facts or the timelines so much ...	ER-	they think these people aren't different to me, they're not snobs, they're not pushing me away	SR+
	It feels very collaborative here	ER- SR+	... but in keeping the more interesting aspects of the story	SR+	We're trying to engage all visitors in the show	SR+
+ Controls	We were really clear about how many words they had	ER+	We [want to]... make sure the that what we're providing for the public is matching their interest	SR+	any text is purely to make the viewer look at the work	ER+ SR-
	We try to maintain what we want to say ... so in the past we've <i>never</i> sent them out before	ER+ SR+	No matter what the size of the work, we use C-sized labels ... with the usual artist birth and death dates and place ...	ER+	people say they want an extended label with each work ... that's why we don't do it	ER+ SR-
- Controls	So I just tried to tighten that up	ER-	I guess I'd sit down with them ... and have a conversation about striking the balance between using the text to tell a story and using the objects	ER- SR+	you can choose whether you just want to ... look at objects or if you wanna go really into the story	SR+
	My job is really just to give N the time and the space to do that work	ER-	the key with all of it is to provide multiple ways to access that information	ER- SR+	the main thing is that ... you're encouraging the visitor to look and then you're adding to that	SR+

APPENDIX 4

Interviews / sample Appraisal analysis

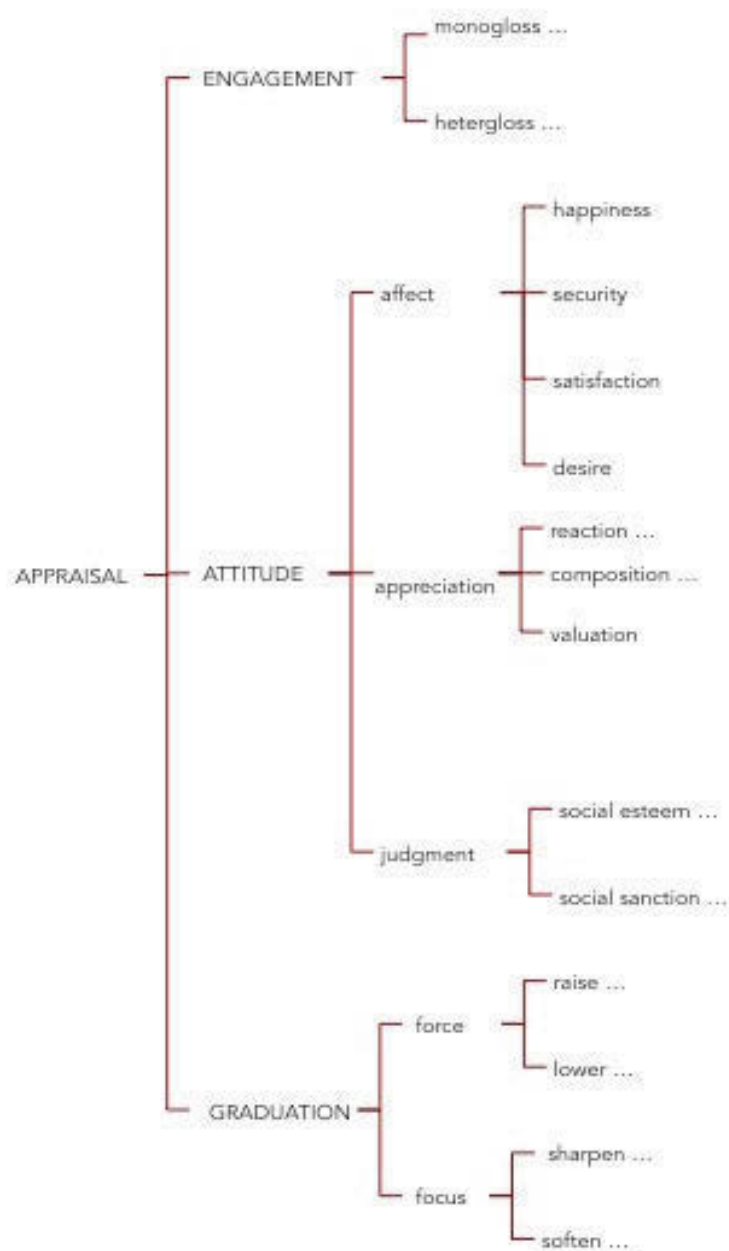


Figure A4.1. **Appraisal system network** (after Martin & White 2005)

Note that ellipsis (...) indicates further levels of delicacy present

Sample analysis

Key:



affect**appreciation****judgment****graduation**


Text (interview transcript)	Target	Specialisation theme	Relation
[he] doesn't come from that specialised skills [-val] background but I think he curates <u>really</u> [+for] lovely [+reaction:impact] shows that are <u>really</u> [+for] approachable [+reaction] and engaging [+reaction:impact]	skills / author author	+ boundary (specialised knowledge) + boundary ('real' /not 'real' curator)	ER ↓ SR ↑
And I hate [-des], and provenance is <u>very</u> [+for] big in Europe and <u>particularly big</u> [+foc; +for] in England ... is <u>terribly</u> [+for] interesting [+reaction:impact] to a lot of scholars; it's of no interest <u>at all</u> [+for] to Australians who often don't know these families ... we're <u>not remotely</u> [+for] interested [-des] in that	provenance scholars	+ boundary (Australia/ England & Europe; scholars /'us')	ER ↓ SR ↑
it's <u>just</u> [-for] there for people to dip into ... I mean it tells the narrative so that's it's main thing but then it's there <u>almost</u> [-for] as a reference tool for whatever piques your interests [+des]	information	- control	ER ↓ SR ↑
<u>too</u> [+for] small , <u>too</u> [+for] long winded and <u>too</u> [+for] esoteric , or the language being <u>really</u> [+for] inaccessible [-val], which I think is <u>really</u> [+for] selfish [-ss:prop] text [note: negative prosody gives 'esoteric' a negative value in this context; note also 'personification' of text in applying judgment to a thing rather than a person, which thus emphasises SR]	exhibition text (information)	+ boundary (good/bad text)	ER ↓ SR ↑



APPENDIX 5




The Wild Ones texts




Core text / exhibition (extended) labels



Work	Clause	Text
Introduction		
External		The WILD ONES Sydney Stadium 1908–1970
	1.1	'Never in the history of showbiz, in any major city anywhere in the whole wide world has there ever been anything like it for a big night venue
	1.2	– whether it be a world championship boxing stoush, dwarf wrestling, roller derbies, religious revivals, pop and jazz concerts ...
	1.3	you name it.
	2	The Stadium ... was just something else ... uniquely Sydney.
	3.1 3.2	Nowhere else was there <<or could there have been >> a joint like the Old Tin Shed.
		John Byrrell, Bandstand and all that, Kangaroo Press, 1995
Internal		THE 'OLD TIN SHED'
	4.1	Built in 1908,
	4.2 4.3	the Sydney Stadium, <<which stood on the corner of New South Head Road and Neild Avenue at Rushcutters Bay,>> was the city's pre-eminent boxing, wrestling and concert venue until its demolition in 1970.
	5.1	Originally constructed
	5.2	to host just one fight, the World Heavyweight Boxing Championship,
	5.3	the Old Tin Shed went on
	5.4	to present thousands of furious boxing bouts and wild wrestling matches.
	6	From the mid 1950s the venue staged spellbinding concerts by international stars such as Frank Sinatra and The Beatles, and local legends Johnny O'Keefe and Col Joye.
	7.1 7.2	Although only a corrugated iron and timber structure, the stadium held a special place in the hearts of generations of Sydneysiders who sat ringside or in the bleachers during many memorable nights.
Clause subtotal	16	

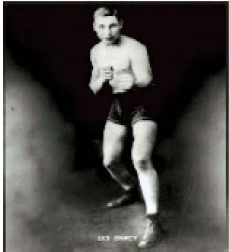



Section 1 / section theme		THE WORLD'S GREATEST STADIUM
	1.1	Originally built
	1.2	to host a solitary fight,
	1.3	Sydney Stadium became the city's pre-eminent boxing venue
	1.4	and brought Sydney to the world's attention.
	2	Successful entrepreneur Hugh D McIntosh saw the impending arrival of the American Fleet in August 1908 as a chance to make his fortune.
	3.1	Convinced
	3.2	the visiting sailors would attend in droves
	3.3	McIntosh decided to stage a fight between the reigning World Heavyweight Champion, Canadian Tommy Burns, and the Australian Heavyweight Champion, Bill Squires.
	4	The site on which he chose to build his stadium was a former Chinese market garden at Rushcutters Bay.
	5.1	To everyone's surprise only two American sailors turned up to the event
	5.2	– and they were thrown out [[for being drunk and disorderly]].
	6	However, the sellout local crowd convinced McIntosh [[to stage further fights]].
	7.1	The next big match, between Burns and Jack Johnson, was fought on Boxing Day 1908,
	7.2	with weekly bouts held at the stadium over the next four years.
	8.1	Snowy Baker took over in 1912
	8.2	and imported a succession of top American boxers
	8.3	to fight each other and the local talent
	9.1	For Sydneysiders hungry for boxing, the stadium was [[the place to be]].
1.1: subtheme 		'Between the parading, social events and sightseeing, the American bluejacket was exhausted.' WILLIAM STEWART, AMERICAN FLEET HISTORIAN, WWW.GREATWHITEFLEET.INFO
		HERE COME THE YANKS
	10	The Great White Fleet was [[the popular name given to the 16 battleships of the United States Navy [[that circumnavigated the world between December 1907 and February 1909 in a demonstration (E) of American naval strength (E)]]]].
	11.1	The fleet's arrival (E) in Sydney on 20 August 1908 << ... >> was enthusiastically greeted by the estimated 500,000 people
	11.2	<<(the day was declared a public holiday) >>
	11.3	who crowded the harbour foreshore.
	12	The popularity of the visit, apart from the obvious spectacle, was attributed to an interest in Australia at that time in all things American.
	13.1	Major buildings in Sydney were illuminated
	13.2	and various receptions were held in honour of the visit



	13.3	before the fleet departed eight days later.
		[object] 1. Souvenir postcard commemorating the American Fleet's visit to Sydney c1908 Museum of Sydney, Historic Houses Trust. Gift of Tony Winton, 1997
	14.1	A variety of ephemera, << including colourful
	14.2	postcards like this one >> were produced
	14.3	to commemorate the American Fleet's visit to Australia in August 1908.
1.2: Subhteme 		'He was the Barnum of Australia. He called himself an entrepreneur. Other people called him ... many things not half as complimentary ...' FORMER NSW PREMIER JACK LANG, I REMEMBER, 1956
		'HUGE DEAL' McINTOSH
	15.1	Handy with his fists, stadium creator Hugh D McIntosh was a streetwise businessman
	15.2	who said
	15.3	he knew from birth
	15.4	he was destined for greatness.
	16.1	Nicknamed 'Huge Deal',
	16.2	he was born in Surry Hills in 1876
	16.3	and claimed to have left home aged seven.
	17.1	He worked at various jobs around New South Wales
	17.2	before eventually finding success as a pie salesman and then caterer with a team of salesmen [[hawking his pastries at sportsgrounds and brothels]].
	18	McIntosh's first sporting venture was staging the Sydney Thousand bicycle race at the Sydney Cricket Ground in 1903.
	19.1	But his canniest investment was building the Sydney Stadium in 1908
	19.2	to stage the World Heavyweight bout between Bill Squires and Tommy Burns.
	20.1	In 1912, after four successful years, McIntosh sold most of his share in the stadium
	20.2	and bought the Tivoli theatre circuit.
	21	He later became an influential newspaper proprietor and a New South Wales Parliamentarian.
	22.1	He made and lost several fortunes
	22.2	before dying broke in London in 1942.

		[photo] LEFT: Market garden, Rushcutters Bay [site of Sydney Stadium] Photographer and date unknown. State Records NSW
	23.1	Hugh McIntosh leased the stadium site for a song at £2 (about \$250) a week,
	23.2	and built a rustic, timber and galvanised iron open-air structure
	23.3	to seat around 12,000 people.
	24.1	The timbers were rented ,
	24.2	as the stadium was only intended to be a temporary structure
	24.3	and was to be dismantled after the Tommy Burns and Bill Squires fight.
1.3: subtheme 		'A tense silence brooded over the sunlit stadium as the pugs removed their dressing gowns and stood, with shining torsos, glaring at one another. This was a "grudge fight".' FRANK CLUNE, TRY NOTHING TWICE, 1946
		THE FIGHT OF THE CENTURY
	25.1	On Boxing Day 1908 the stadium hosted its second major match,
	25.2	with World Heavyweight Champion Tommy Burns facing African-American Jack Johnson.
	26.1	Up to that point all world heavyweight contests had been fought between Caucasian fighters,
	26.2	who refused to fight non-white boxers.
	27.1	However, Burns accepted Johnson's challenge,
	27.2	no doubt persuaded
	27.3	by the £6000 fee offered by Hugh McIntosh
	27.4	(Johnson was paid £1500).
	28.1	At just over 6 foot (183 centimetres), Johnson towered over Burns, the favourite,
	28.2	who was more than 6 inches (15 centimetres) shorter.
	29.1	Johnson toyed with his opponent for 14 rounds,
	29.2	punching Burns at will,
	29.3	before police put a stop to the clearly one-sided contest.
	30.1	Many spectators were shocked at the result
	30.2	and the local press called for an end to prize-fighting,
	30.3	but Sydney Stadium was now famous
	30.4	and attracted fighters from across the globe,
	30.5	all wanting to compete in the world's greatest boxing venue.
		[photo] 3. Jack Johnson (standing, centre) at the Coloured Progressive Association, Albion Street, Surry Hills Photographer unknown, 1907 Private collection
	31.1	In 1907 Jack Johnson visited Australia for the first time
	31.2	to fight two exhibition matches against Australian



		boxers Bill Lang and Peter Felix.
	32.1	Before Johnson returned to the United States
	32.2	a farewell dinner was held in his honour by the Coloured Progressive Association of New South Wales at Leigh House in Surry Hills.
		[object] 5. The Jack Johnson and Tommy Burns fight Norman Lindsay, 1908, watercolour Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW
	33.1	Australian artist Norman Lindsay, a good friend of Hugh McIntosh's, was commissioned by The Lone Hand magazine
	33.2	to document the Burns–Johnson fight.
	34	Lindsay painted several watercolours [[showing Johnson training and Burns relaxing]].
	35.1	Painted before the match,
	35.2	this artwork shows the fight
	35.3	as the artist imagined [[it would look]].
		[photo] LEFT: 'Boxer Jack Johnson of Galveston, Texas' Photographer unknown, 1908 National Archives of Australia: NAA A1861
	36	Jack Johnson was one of the greatest ever heavyweight boxers.
	37.1	He learned to box as a teenager
	37.2	while fighting , blindfolded, against multiple combatants in contests [[held for the amusement of wealthy white spectators.]]
	38.1	After defeating Tommy Burns at Sydney Stadium,
	38.2	Johnson returned to the United States
	38.3	where he bested James Jeffries, the 'Great White Hope',
	38.4	who had come out of retirement in 1910 specifically for the bout.
1.4: subtheme 		'That irate bunch of fans hurled bottles ... loaded and unloaded. And did they keep me sidestepping.' SNOWY BAKER, QUOTED IN GREG GROWDEN, THE SNOWY BAKER STORY, 2003
		'SNOWY' BAKER
	39	A larger-than-life character with a healthy ego, stadium operator Reginald 'Snowy' Baker was born in Surry Hills in 1884.
	40.1	Considered by many to be Australia's greatest all-round sportsman,
	40.2	he excelled at swimming, boxing, diving and horseriding,
	40.3	and played rugby for Australia.
	41.1	Baker took over majority ownership of Sydney Stadium in 1912,
	41.2	adding a roof
	41.3	and rechristening it Baker's Stadium during his tenure.





	42.1	He improved the stadium's safety measures and ringside seating,
	42.2	but perhaps his greatest contribution was
	42.3	[[encouraging women <<- previously banned from the fights ->> to attend]]
	42.4	by holding afternoon teas during training sessions.
	43.1	He brought in many American boxers
	43.2	to fight at the stadium,
	43.3	including Sam Langford, Fritz Holland and the 'Oshkosh Terror', Eddie McGoorty.
	44.1	Baker eventually went on to an acting career
	44.2	before moving to Hollywood
	44.3	where he worked as a horseriding instructor to the stars <<- including Elizabeth Taylor on the film
	44.4	National Velvet ->> until his death in 1953.
		[objects] 10. Snowy Baker's Magazine Sydney Ure Smith, 5 June 1914 Peter Robinson 11. Snowy Baker's Unfailing Liniment Maker unknown, c1908 Peter Robinson
	45.1	As well as being an all-round sportsman,
	45.2	Snowy Baker was a savvy entrepreneur
	45.3	who put his name to everything from liniment to magazines.
1.5: subtheme 		'Before the grave closes over him, in his name, we can forgive his enemies, and though we may have cause of resentment, may we never refer to it again ...' THE VERY REVEREND FATHER F O'GORMAN AT LES DARCY'S FUNERAL, QUOTED IN PETER FITZSIMONS, THE BALLAD OF LES DARCY, 2007
		THE MAITLAND WONDER
	46	With his easygoing personality and ready smile, welterweight boxer Les Darcy was a natural champion.
	47.1	Born in 1895
	47.2	and raised in Maitland,
	47.3	his talent was phenomenal.
	48.1	He fought 24 bouts at Sydney Stadium
	48.2	and became its main attraction (E).
	49.1	In 1916 Darcy stowed away on a steamship
	49.2	hoping to fight in the United States
	49.3	to support his large family.
	50.1	Fights had dried up at the stadium;
	50.2	boxing was considered an inappropriate pursuit for young men [[who were eligible to enlist to fight in World War I.]]
	51	As a result, he was publicly derided as a shirker by many in power.
	52.1	His fights in the US were cancelled , reputedly due to the influence of Hugh McIntosh and Snowy Baker,
	52.2	who were angry

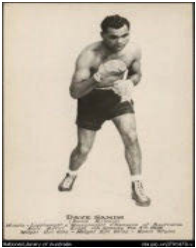




	52.3	that the stadium had lost its champion.
	53.1 53.2	In 1917 Darcy died, <<aged 21,>>in Memphis, Tennessee, as a result (L) of an infection (E) [[he had contracted after losing two teeth at a Sydney Stadium fight six months earlier.]]
	54	His body was returned to Australia amid huge scenes of public grief.
		[photo] ABOVE: Les Darcy Photographer unknown, c1914 Ray Swanwick
	55.1	Les Darcy first fought at Sydney Stadium
	55.2	when he was 19 years old,
	55.3	losing on a foul to the more experienced American boxer Fritz Holland in July 1914.
	56	Darcy won his first victory at the stadium three months later.
	57.1	He fought 50 professional bouts during his short career
	57.2	and was never knocked out.
		[photo] FAR LEFT: Les Darcy at a blacksmith's shop door Victor Studios, c1909–17 Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW: PXA 110
	58.1	Les Darcy built up his extraordinary strength
	58.2	while working as an apprentice blacksmith in Maitland.
	59.1	He had to be released from his apprenticeship
	59.2	in order to become a full-time boxer.
		[object] 2. Les Darcy mourning locket 1928 Kevin Hannan Collection, National Museum of Australia
	60	This gold locket [[containing a lock of Les Darcy's hair]] was carried by his fiancée, Winnie O'Sullivan, until her death in 1974.
		[photo] 3. Funeral procession for Les Darcy , Sydney Photographer unknown, 1917 Ray Swanwick
	61.1	After a large procession in San Francisco, Les Darcy's body was returned to Australia
	61.2	where it was exhibited in an undertaker's window on George Street near Railway Square.
	62	Darcy's funeral in Maitland was attended by thousands of mourners.
	63.1	Bearing a wreath,
	63.2	Snowy Baker tried to attend ,
	63.3	but was warned off by Darcy's supporters.





		[object] 4. Pocket watch American Waltham Watch Co, c1900 Lawrie Crockett
	64.1	According to Crockett family lore, this pocket watch was used by Les Darcy during training sessions
	64.2	and to time the rounds of his early pub fights in the Maitland area.
	65.1	Following his death, it was given to the Kelly family,
	65.2	who were neighbours of the Darcys.
	66.1	The watch was passed on to Kate Kelly's nephew, Theodore Crockett,
	66.2	who spent much of his schooldays [[knocking around with Les Darcy]].
		[object] 6. Frank Darcy, Great Interstate Welterweight Contest, postcard 1919 Peter Robinson
	67	Like his more famous brother, Les, Frank 'Frosty' Darcy also boxed .
	68.1	He made a promising start in the boxing circuit,
	68.2	winning all three bouts [[he fought at Sydney Stadium]].
	69.1	With this success he looked to follow in his older brother's footsteps
	69.2	but, tragically, Frank died from influenza in 1919.
	70	He was just 19 years old.
Clause subtotal	155	
Section 2 / section theme		2. BOXING'S GOLDEN AGE
	1.1	The late 1940s and 50s were considered Australia's golden age of boxing
	1.2	and the sport featured prominently at Sydney Stadium
	1.3	until the venue closed in 1970.
	2.1	Every fight night crowds of boxing fans would stream down the hill from Kings Cross
	2.2	to watch Australian champions such as Vic Patrick, Tommy Burns and Dave Sands [[battle it out // or take on international fighters like Freddie Dawson, Ralph Dupas and Emile Griffith]].
	3.1 3.2	Many local boxers << including Rocky Gattellari, Luigi Coluzzi and Carlo Marchini >> had a strong following among the Italian–Australian community.
	4	Boxing had also become a way for Aboriginal Australians like Lionel Rose and Dave Sands [[to find success in an Australia [[that discriminated against them in most other areas of their lives.]]]]
	5	The atmosphere in the stadium on fight nights was heavy with sweat, shouting and cigarette smoke.
	6.1	World Champion Jimmy Carruthers once remarked
	6.2	that [[fighting in the Old Tin Shed]] was [[like being in


		a bushfire'.]]
	7.1	Alcohol was banned in the stadium
	7.2	but many spectators smuggled in beer bottles[[concealed in their newspapers.]]
	8.1	Betting was also prohibited
	8.2	but there were plenty of amateur bookmakers [[willing to take cash]] from eager punters.
2.1: subtheme		THE FIVE GREATEST FIGHTS?
	9	Sydney Stadium played host to many great bouts, especially during the late 1940s and early 50s.
	10	We've chosen [[what we believe are the five greatest fights // held at the stadium after World War II.]]
	11	Do you agree with our choices?
	12	Did you see a better fight than [[any of those we have nominated]]?
	13	We'd love to hear your opinion. Abbreviations KO – knockout TKO – technical knockout WP – won on points
		TOMMY BURNS (AUSTRALIA) VS O'NEILL BELL (USA) 3 March 1947 Referee: Joe Wallis Winner: Burns, 12th round TKO
	14	This welterweight fight is considered by many to be the greatest post World War II fight [[ever held at the stadium]].
	15.1	O'Neill Bell was unknown to Sydney boxing fans
	15.2	when he took on local favourite Tommy Burns, a popular and handsome boxer from Murwillumbah in north-eastern New South Wales.
	16	Many believed [[the match would prove an easy victory for Burns]].
	17.1	However, 12 furious rounds later <<when Burns finally
	17.2	managed to knock out Bell,>> the crowd realised
	17.3	they had seen one of the most amazing fights ever held in Sydney.
		VIC PATRICK (AUSTRALIA) VS FREDDIE DAWSON (USA) 1 September 1947 Referee: Joe Wallis Winner: Dawson, 12th round KO
	18.1	Dubbed 'the fight [[that broke Sydney's heart'.]]
	18.2	this epic lightweight contest seesawed over 12 rounds.
	19.1	Patrick knocked Dawson out of the ring in the 8th round
	19.2	but Dawson got a second wind,
	19.3	knocking the dazed Patrick unconscious in the 12th
	19.4	and winning the match.
	20.1	Legend has it
	20.2	that Patrick would have won




	20.3	had ringside commentator Reg Grundy not pushed Dawson back in the ring during the 8th round.
		ELLEY BENNETT (AUSTRALIA) VS RAY 'MUSTARD' COLEMAN (AUSTRALIA) 9 April 1951 Referee: Bill Henneberry Winner: Bennett, 15th round TKO
	21.1	In this featherweight title fight Coleman outboxed the hard-hitting Bennett for more than 14 rounds, with victory in his sights,
	21.2	until a one-two combo from Bennett knocked him out cold.
		JIMMY CARRUTHERS (AUSTRALIA) VS BOBBY SINN (AUSTRALIA) 29 March 1954 Referee: Vic Patrick Winner: Carruthers, 12th round WP
	22.1	This was Carruthers's last fight
	22.2	before defending his World Bantamweight title against Chamroen Songkitrat in Thailand,
	22.3	and it proved far from just a warm-up.
	23	Sinn, a terrific fighter from Queensland, made his opponent work hard throughout the 12 rounds Carruthers [[needed to eventually win the match]].
		JOHNNY FAMECHON (AUSTRALIA) VS MASAHIKO 'FIGHTING' HARADA (JAPAN) 28 July 1969 Referee: Willie Pep Winner: Famechon, 15th round WP
	24.1	Lasting the maximum 15 rounds,
	24.2	this featherweight fight between two evenly matched boxers enthralled spectators.
	25.1	Referee Willie Pep initially scored a draw
	25.2	before recalling the boxers to the ring
	25.3	to announce
	25.4	that Famechon had won by a point.
	26.1	The crowd booed the decision,
	26.2	believing Harada [[had deserved to win.]]
		[object] 7. Ticket to Jack Hassen (Australia) vs Archie Kemp (Australia), 19 September 1949 Stadiums Ltd Paul Roumanos
	27.1	Kemp was knocked unconscious during this fight
	27.2	and died the following day.
	28.1	Hassen continued to box
	28.2	but it was said
	28.3	his heart wasn't in it after Kemp's death
	28.4	and he retired in 1951.
		[object] 14. Scorecard for Empire Light-Heavyweight Championship , 12 February 1968 [C] The Sun, c1968 Paul Roumanos




	29.1	Newspapers printed blank scorecards for spectators [[to fill in during the fight]],
	29.2	so they could compare their results with those of the referee.
		[object] 15. Handwritten ledger for Tommy Burns (Australia) vs George Barnes (Australia) , 30 November 1953 1953 Ron Murphy
	30	Tommy Burns recorded his expenses and income for his fight against fellow Australian George Barnes.
		[object] 21. Poster promoting Italo Scortichini (Italy) vs George Barnes (Australia) at White City , 14 April 1955 1955 Paul Roumanos
	31.1 31.2	White City Stadium << located next door to the Sydney Stadium site,>> often hosted rival boxing and wrestling matches.
		[photo] 23. Tommy Burns Photographer unknown, c1947 Paul Roumanos
	32	Many boxers named themselves after a former champion.
	33.1	This was usually done
	33.2	to prevent their mothers or employers
	33.3	finding out
	33.4	they were fighting .
	34.1	Australian boxer Geoffrey Murphy took on the same name as World Heavyweight Champion Tommy Burns from Canada,
	34.2	who, incidentally, was born Noah Brusso.
2.2: subtheme		EVERYONE'S EQUAL IN THE RING
	35	For Aboriginal Australian boxers, success in the ring came at a time [[when acceptance in mainstream Australia proved difficult, if not impossible]].
	36.1	In the 1950s and 60s Dave Sands (pictured left), Lionel Rose, Elley Bennett and Jack Hassen, among others, were all popular fighters
	36.2	who made names for themselves in the ring at Sydney Stadium.
	37.1	Rose won the World Bantamweight Championship in 1968 in Japan,
	37.2	the year after a historic referendum was overwhelmingly passed [[which included the removal of wording from the Constitution // that discriminated against Indigenous Australians]].
	38	That year, due to his success in the ring and his immense popularity, Rose became the first Indigenous Australian [[to be named Australian of the Year]], an event [[that would have been unimaginable even a decade earlier.]]



		<p>[photo] ABOVE: Dave Sands Photographer unknown, c1950 Arnold Thomas Boxing Collection, National Library of Australia</p>
	39	Talent didn't guarantee Aboriginal Australian fighters a comfortable existence.
	40.1 40.2	Dave Sands, <<who was undoubtedly one of the greatest boxers Australia produced, >> drove a truck between bouts
	40.3	to make ends meet.
	41.1	Tragically, at the peak of his career in 1952, he was killed
	41.2	when his truck rolled over an embankment.
	43	He was only 26 years old.
		<p>[photo] 5. Luigi Coluzzi training Aboriginal boys at the East Sydney Police Boys' Club Ken Redshaw, 3 February 1958 Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW: Australian Photographic Agency – 04747. © Australian Photographic Agency</p>
	44.1	In the 1950s and 60s victory in the ring was important for Italian–Australian boxers and members of their community,
	44.2	who worked hard
	44.3	to overcome prejudice
	44.4	and find success in a new country.
		<p>[photo] 7. Rocky Gattellari at Sydney Stadium Ern McQuillan, 1967 National Library of Australia</p>
	45.1	Rocky Gattellari was widely derided by many
	45.2	as being too 'flash',
	45.3	a quality not likely to impress anyone in mainstream 1960s Australia.
		<p>[photo] 8. Jerry Jerome Milton C Kent, c1912 Arnold Thomas Boxing Collection, National Library of Australia</p>
	46	Jerry Jerome was one of the first Aboriginal Australian boxing champions and the first Aboriginal Australian [[to fight at Sydney Stadium]].
		<p>[photo] 9. Lionel Rose Photographer unknown, 27 February 1968 © Bettmann/CORBIS. Reproduced courtesy of the Rose family</p>
	47	A jubilant Lionel Rose embraces the gloves [[that won him the World Bantamweight title fight in Japan on 27 February 1968]].


	48	Rose defeated former titleholder Masahiko 'Fighting' Harada.
	49	With this victory Rose became the first Aboriginal Australian world champion
		[object] 12. Program for Ron Richards (Australia) vs Fred Henneberry (Australia) , 17 November 1941 Consolidated Press, 1941 Paul Roumanos
	50	This fight between Ron Richards and Fred Henneberry raised £3000 (about \$214,000 today) for the Red Cross Prisoners of War and the Bundles for Britain funds during World War II.
		[object] 13. 'Tom Maguire's strong hand', envelope c1940s Peter Robinson
	51	Tom Maguire trained and managed the Sands brothers.
		[object] 14. Boxing glove wrappings c1967 Private collection
	52	These wrappings were reputedly worn by Lionel Rose the night [[he beat Rocky Gattellari.]]
		[object] 16. Scissors Date unknown Private collection
	53	These scissors were kept in a ringside pouch at the stadium.
	54.1	They were used
	54.2	when a boxer's gloves and bindings had to be cut free in a hurry.
clause subtotal	98	
Section 3 / theme		THE BIG SHOWS
	1.1	After 45 years as a sporting venue, Sydney Stadium opened its doors to a new form of entertainment
	1.2	when Lee Gordon chose the site for his 'Big Shows'.
	2	With more than 10,000 seats, the stadium was the only venue large enough [[to hold the amount of people // needed to recoup the significant cost // of importing major stars into Australia.]]
	3	The first show, in July 1954, featured jazz performers Ella Fitzgerald, Artie Shaw and Buddy Rich.
	4.1	Tours by overseas acts were so rare
	4.2	that many Sydneysiders thought
	4.3	promotions for the star-studded concert were a hoax.
	5.1	Even though the show barely broke even,
	5.2	Gordon persevered ,
	5.3	and in the ensuing eight years he booked hundreds of international and local performers [[to play at the






		stadium.]]
	6	Johnnie Ray, Frank Sinatra and Nat King Cole, among others, toured multiple times.
	7.1	Soon local promoters got in on the act,
	7.2	emulating Gordon's success.
	8.1	Bill Watson (Headliners) staged The Most Show,
	8.2	Harry M Miller (Pan Pacific) brought out Judy Garland,
	8.3	and Kenn Brodziak (Aztec Services) revived the Big Show concept after Lee Gordon's death.
	9	The Big Shows at Sydney Stadium blazed a trail for today's live music spectacles at venues [[including the Sydney Entertainment Centre and the arena at Homebush.]]
Subtheme 3.1		'Lee spoilt his Australian audiences by giving them too much, too often.' ALAN HEFFERNAN, GORDON'S BUSINESS PARTNER, QUOTED IN BOB ROGERS, ROCK'N'ROLL AUSTRALIA, 1975
		LEE GORDON
	10.1	American promoter Lee Gordon (1917–1963) arrived in Sydney in 1953
	10.2	and set about making money in retail
	10.3	to finance his first Big Show,
	10.4	to be staged at the stadium the following year.
	11.1	Over the years he made a fortune
	11.2	touring successful performers like Frank Sinatra and Johnnie Ray,
	11.3	while losing money on acts
	11.4	including Bob Hope, Abbott and Costello, and Betty Hutton.
	12.1	As the seating at the stadium radiated out from the centre,
	12.2	Gordon installed a revolving stage on top of the boxing ring
	12.3	to ensure
	12.4	everyone in the audience had a clear view of the performers' faces.
	13.1	In 1958 he set up a record company, Leedon Records,
	13.2	to promote the music of the Big Show artists.
	14.1	Gordon <<– who contrary to legend was not a brash,
	14.2	fast talker but rather quiet and considered –>> loved






		gambling and lavish overseas holidays.
	15.1	He fled Sydney in July 1963
	15.2	after trying to pass a forged pethidine prescription
	15.3	and, soon after, died broke in a London hotel room from unknown causes.
		[graphic] LEFT: Advertisement for Lee Gordon's drive-in restaurant From Pat Boone concert program, Publicity Press Pty Ltd, 1960 Private collection
	16	In 1961 Lee Gordon opened an American-style drive-in restaurant at Taverners Hill.
	17.1	Unfortunately, not many teenagers owned cars, unlike in the United States,
	17.2	so business was poor
	17.3	and the restaurant soon closed .
subtheme 3.2		MR EMOTION
	18	Johnnie Ray (1927–1990) toured Australia five times between 1954 and 1959, more than any other Big Show headline performer.
	19.1	Ray was in many ways the bridge between big band crooners and rock'n'rollers;
	19.2	although his songs were firmly rooted in a traditional style,
	19.3	his dynamic delivery was a harbinger of the rock'n'roll style of the late 1950s.
	20.1	Dubbed 'Mr Emotion',
	20.2	he would sob on stage
	20.3	and collapse during performances, seemingly overcome.
	21	Audiences lapped it up.
	22.1	Ray was generally considered a has-been
	22.2	when Lee Gordon first brought him to Sydney.
	23.1	With barely any tickets sold the weekend before the first show,
	23.2	the tour could have been a disaster.
	24.1	Ever the salesman, Gordon arranged
	24.2	for thousands of 'two-for-one' vouchers to be printed
	24.3	and then dropped from an aeroplane all over Sydney.
	25	The result was a full house on opening night.
	26.1	Ray's performance was so spectacular
	26.2	that word spread
	26.3	and the remaining shows were also sellouts.
		[object] 1. Opera glasses c1955, bakelite Elizabeth Melville
	27.1	Elizabeth Melville bought these opera glasses [C]
	27.2	to get a better view of Johnnie Ray from her seat in



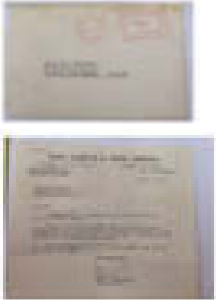

		the stadium bleachers.
	28	In these pre 'big screen' days many people brought along opera glasses to concerts.
subtheme: 3.3		SYDNEY SWINGS
	29.1	From the very first Big Show in 1954, << starring Ella Fitzgerald, Artie Shaw and Buddy Rich,>> jazz
	29.2	featured prominently at Sydney Stadium.
	30.1	Jazz drummer Gene Krupa was the next act [[to appear on the stadium stage,]]
	30.2	brought to Australia by local promoter Kenn Brodziak.
	31	Later that year Louis Armstrong played the stadium in the first of his two Big Show tours.
	32	However, jazz had a mixed reception in Sydney.
	33.1	The First Annual Australian International Jazz Festival,
	33.2	<< held in 1960,>> was a financial disaster for Lee Gordon – too many performers and too few ticket sales.
	34.1	Many international acts [[who toured Sydney]] were backed by local jazz musicians
	34.2	including George Golla, Errol Buddle and Ron Falson.
	35.1	Some of the African- American musicians were initially doubtful of the locals' musical abilities,
	35.2	and it took many concerts
	35.3	before the Australians were accepted
	35.4	and their playing standards recognised as world class.
	36	[photo group] The photographs on the wall above were displayed in the Rushcutters Bay office of Big Shows Ltd Tour Manager Max Moore.
	37	Along with Alan Heffernan and Perla Honeyman, Moore was one of the mainstays of Lee Gordon's organisation.
		All photographs Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of Robert Moore, 2012
		[photo] 16. Louis 'Satchmo' Armstrong plays for fans on arrival at Sydney Airport Ern McQuillan, 27 October 1954 Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW: Australian Photographic Agency – 43095
	38	According to legend, one of Louis Armstrong's band members crushed a cockroach with his shoe in the stadium dressing room.
	39	The headless cockroach began to move , [[to screams of 'it's still alive!]]'
	40.1	Armstrong, << who was cleaning his trumpet at the
	40.2	time, >> nonchalantly looked at the cockroach
	40.3	and said ,
	40.4	'you call that livin'?''

subtheme 3.4 		OUT ON THE TOWN
	41.1	When the stars of Lee Gordon's Big Shows first began to arrive in Sydney in 1954
	41.2	the nightlife here was very different [[to what we know today]].
	42.1	American musicians would have found a relatively unsophisticated entertainment scene
	42.2	compared with that of New York or Chicago.
	43.1	However, there were a few happening places in Kings Cross and around the city
	43.2	where they could relax after the show,
	43.3	including the Rex Hotel, the Roosevelt, Chequers,
	43.4	<< which opened in 1959 // and was run by
	43.5	brothers Keith and Denis Wong,>> and The Silver Spade at the Chevron-Hilton,
	43.6	which opened a year later.
	44	Many stars would stay at rented apartments.
	45.1	Lee Gordon leased one in Potts Point
	45.2	until the block's other residents objected to Louis Armstrong and his wife [[staying there]]
	45.3	(presumably because they were African- American)
	45.4	and Gordon was forced to give it up.
	46	Other entertainers stayed at private hotels such as the Glen Ascham in Darling Point.
		[object] 1. Trophy, 4th Annual Gordon's Gin Martini Pouring Contest , UK Bartenders' Guild: Australian Section, presented to Eddie Tirado 1965 Eddie Tirado
	47.1	Eddie Tirado emigrated to Australia from New York in 1960
	47.2	after marrying an Australian woman, Judy Reid.
	48.1	He worked for several decades as a bartender at the Chevron Hotel in Kings Cross
	48.2	where many visiting celebrities spent their evenings while on tour.
no pic available		[object] 9. ' Jack Davey's cruiser sails on' The Women's Weekly, Australian Consolidated Press, 8 November 1972 Private collection
	49.1	Jack Davey was a Sydney radio personality
	49.2	well known for his catchcry 'Hi ho everybody' and big game fishing.
	50.1	He entertained many visiting celebrities on his yacht, Sea Mist,
	50.2	which was provided by the radio station as part of his package deal.
clause subtotal	108	
Section 4 / theme		ROCK'n'ROLL
	1.1	The stadium's timbers really shook with the arrival of rock'n'roll in the late 1950s
	1.2	when teenage pandemonium took hold in Sydney.

	2.1	Legend has it
	2.2	that promoter Lee Gordon had been at his box office in George Street
	2.3	and seen a long queue of teenagers [[waiting to buy tickets to the film The blackboard jungle]],
	2.4	the soundtrack of which featured the song 'Rock around the clock' by American act Bill Haley and His Comets.
	3.1	Intrigued ,
	3.2	Gordon bought a ticket
	3.3	and immediately sensed a financial opportunity.
	4	In 1957 Gordon brought Bill Haley and His Comets to the Sydney Stadium.
	5	This tour was followed by a string of concerts [[featuring rock'n'roll greats Little Richard, Buddy Holly and Jerry Lee Lewis]].
	6.1	Australian performers like Johnny O'Keefe, Col Joye and Lonnie Lee all began playing the stadium as support acts
	6.2	before fans demanded
	6.3	they appear as headliners in their own right.
	7.1	When The Beatles took to the stadium stage in 1964
	7.2	they unleashed the second wave of rock'n'roll on hysterical Sydney teenagers.
subtheme 4.1		COL JOYE AND JOHNNY O'KEEFE
	8	Col Joye and Johnny O'Keefe had one of the longest running rivalries in Australian rock'n'roll history.
	9.1	Both started out playing at Police Boys' Clubs (now PCYC) dances
	9.2	before graduating as support acts at Sydney Stadium for visiting overseas artists in Lee Gordon's Big Shows.
	10.1	(O'Keefe also had an early career as a Johnnie Ray impersonator,
	10.2	complete with tears streaming down his face, courtesy of a hidden hand pump and tube.)
	11.1	Joye and O'Keefe both played multiple times at the stadium,
	11.2	becoming two of the most popular Australian rock'n'roll acts[[to grace its revolving stage]].
	12	Col Joye went on to maintain a long and successful musical career as a performer and, with his family, in the business side of the music industry.
	13.1	O'Keefe became a television star
	13.2	but suffered from depression as well as injuries [[sustained in a near fatal car accident in 1960]].
	14	He died from a heart attack in 1978.



		[object] Col Joye fan club souvenir women's gloves Muller Gloves, Australia, 1958–61 Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of Col Joye, 1998
	15	This pair of gloves was kept by Col Joye for his personal collection.
object		
		[object] 'I am a friend of Johnny O'Keefe' badge 1957 Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of The Hon Mr Justice Barry O'Keefe AM (Ret), 2008
	16	These badges were made for the Friends of Johnny O'Keefe fan club.
	17	This badge is part of a collection of material [[that belonged to Johnny O'Keefe]].
		[object] Johnny O'Keefe souvenir handkerchief 1958–61 Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of The Hon Mr Justice Barry O'Keefe AM (Ret), 2008
	18	These handkerchiefs were advertised in Pix magazine on 23 September 1961.
	19	They could be bought for 6 shillings each from Contact Promotions.
	20.1	The advertisement stated
	20.2	that 'Johnny O'Keefe will personally sign 50 in every 1000 handkerchiefs'.
		[photo] Chuck Berry and Johnny O'Keefe at The Big Rock'n'Roll Show Russell McPhedran for The Sydney Morning Herald, 4 February 1959 © Fairfax Syndication
	21	During Chuck Berry's performance the audience began calling for his support act, popular local boy Johnny O'Keefe.
	22.1	Hoping to get the crowd onside,
	22.2	Berry quickly brought O'Keefe back on stage
	22.3	and held his arm aloft like a victorious boxer.
		[object] 'Boom Boom Baby' Crash Craddock, CBS Coronet Records, 1959 Helene Morosoff-Martin
	23.1	Crash Craddock was an American rocker in the Elvis mould
	23.2	who had not found success in his homeland.
	24.1	His single 'Boom boom baby' was picked up by Australian radio stations
	24.2	and became a huge hit here.
	25.1	This came as a surprise both to Crash and to the more well-known US stars



	25.2	who supported him in his Sydney concerts.
		[photo] The Monkees arrive at Sydney Airport Photographer unknown, 1968 Len Holt
	26.1	The Monkees arrived at Sydney Airport with security personnel,
	26.2	including wrestler and Sydney Stadium employee Len Holt.
		[object] Reproduction Col Joye 'Horned' guitar Dan McGonigal, 2004–05 Col Joye
	27	This is a reproduction of the guitar [[made for Col Joye by his brother Keith Jacobsen in 1958]].
	28.1	A fan made this guitar as a gift for Joye
	28.2	after hearing that the original had been stolen.
		[object] Col Joye performance outfit Andy Ellis Exclusive Mens Wear, Australia, 1958–61 Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of Col Joye, 1998
	29	Joye is wearing this outfit on the cover of his albums Joyride and Solid gold hits.
	30	Andy Ellis was the tailor of choice for many Australian rock'n'rollers.
		[object] Johnny O'Keefe performance outfit Thelma O'Keefe, 1956–58 Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of Sydney Opera House Trust, 1998
	31	This outfit was made for O'Keefe by his mother, Thelma.
subtheme 3.2.		BEATLEMANIA!
	32.1	In 1963 Australian promoter Kenn Brodziak was in London
	32.2	looking for acts [[to tour Australia.]]
	33.1	After being shown a list of available bands,
	33.2	he chose The Beatles
	33.3	because he liked the name
	33.4	and had heard 'Please Please Me' on the radio in Sydney.
	34.2	He secured them for £1000 (about \$25,000 today) per week –
	34.2	accommodation not included .
	35.1	The Beatles honoured the handshake deal
	35.2	when they arrived in Sydney the following year,
	35.3	despite the fact they were now being offered up to 20 times that amount for a single performance in America.
	36.1	When The Beatles played at the stadium


	36.2	the screaming was deafening;
	36.3	anyone further than a few rows from the front couldn't hear the music.
	37.1	Fans pelted the group with jelly babies throughout the concerts
	37.2	after George Harrison joked
	37.3	that Paul McCartney had a fondness for the lollies.
		
		[object] Police notebook page with 'ghosted' Beatles signatures 1964 Ron Lemon and Lynne Lemon (nee Garner)
	38.1	Lynne Garner was 14 years old
	38.2	when The Beatles played the Sydney Stadium.
	39	Her father, Jim, a police officer, wouldn't allow her to attend.
	40.1	However, he was on duty at the stadium on one of the nights [[the band played]]
	40.2	and, as consolation (E) for not allowing Lynne to go,
	40.3	he sent his notebook [C] backstage
	40.4	with a request for The Beatles to sign their autographs.
	41.1	Lynne believes
	41.2	the autographs [M] were probably penned by The Beatles manager, Brian Epstein.
		[photo] The Who Peter Travis, January 1968 Peter Travis
	42.1	Peter Travis conned his way into The Who show
	42.2	and was given a spot at the front as a photographer.
		[object] Letters and invitation sent to Yardbirds Sun Herald competition winner Beverley Jefferson 1967 Mrs Beverley Conley (nee Jefferson)
	43.1	In 1967 Beverley Jefferson entered a competition in The Sun Herald
	43.2	to 'Meet the Yardbirds'
	43.3	and was one of the lucky winners.
		[object] Autograph book 1960 Peter Dunn
	44	Peter Dunn collected most of these autographs and pictures at a benefit concert [[held at the stadium in 1960 for Johnny O'Keefe // following his horrific car crash at Kempsey.]]
clause subtotal	84	




Section 5 / theme		WRESTLING
	1	With its mixture of athleticism, skill and a generous dose of showmanship, professional wrestling was hugely popular at Sydney Stadium.
	2	Bouts [[featuring 'heels' (baddies) and 'baby faces' (goodies)]] provided a rough-and-tumble spectacle [[that owed as much to vaudeville // as it did to sport.]]
	3.1	Wrestling debuted at the stadium in 1924
	3.2	and its popularity soon grew , particularly among Sydney's Greek and Italian communities.
	4.1	The stadium imported many of its wrestlers from overseas
	4.2	and some, such as Chief Little Wolf and Mario Milano, eventually settled in Australia.
	5	Others, like 'Gorgeous George' Wagner appeared as 'Special Attractions'.
	6.1	Between the world wars, wrestling was also staged at venues across Sydney
	6.2	including at Newtown, Glebe, Carlton, North Sydney and, especially, at Leichhardt Stadium.
	7.1	Wrestling's popularity increased dramatically during the 1960s
	7.2	when TCN 9 began screening bouts from its television studio in Willoughby on Saturdays.
	8.1	Many wrestlers became well known in Sydney
	8.2	with Killer Karl Kox, Gorilla Monsoon, André the Giant, Brute Bernard and Spiros Arion among those battling for various prize belts and trophies.
	9	Popular locals included Len Holt, Allan Pinfold and Larry O'Dea.
Subtheme 5.1		'[Chief Little Wolf was] the most enduring matman in Australia's professional wrestling history.' BARRY YORK, WRESTLING HISTORIAN, WWW.HYPERHISTORY.ORG
		CHIEF LITTLE WOLF
	10.1	Born in 1911 in Colorado, USA,
	10.2	Ventura Tenario, <<better known as 'Chief Little
	10.3	Wolf',>>was perhaps the most popular wrestler [[to ever appear at Sydney Stadium]].
	11.1	Wrestling as a Native American,
	11.2	he entered the ring [[wearing an elaborate feather headdress]]
	11.3	and kept his opponents down with his famous 'Indian Death Lock' hold.
	12	Chief Little Wolf first appeared at the stadium in 1937.
	13.1	He returned almost every subsequent year until the early 1950s
	13.2	when he emigrated to Australia,
	13.3	taking up residence in Melbourne.
	14.1	He was an almost permanent fixture at Sydney Stadium,



	14.2	wrestling both there and at Leichhardt Stadium
	14.3	until he suffered a stroke in 1958
	14.4	that forced his retirement from the ring.
	15.1	In addition to wrestling ,
	15.2	Chief Little Wolf travelled with a 'Wild West' tent show during the 1950s and 60s,
	15.3	telling stories,
	15.4	performing horseriding tricks
	15.5	and demonstrating wrestling holds to audiences across country Australia.
	16.1	In 1980 he returned to Colorado,
	16.2	where he died four years later.
Note: no extended object texts in this section		
subtheme 5.2		
		'Win if you can, lose if you must, but always cheat!' GORGEOUS GEORGE MOTTO
		GORGEOUS GEORGE
	17.1	Born in 1915,
	17.2	American 'Gorgeous George' Wagner wrestled at Sydney Stadium in 1956 and again in 1960.
	18	With his long platinum locks, he was one of the most flamboyant wrestlers [[to ever grace the mat]].
	19.1	Adopting the persona of a preening narcissist,
	19.2	he would be escorted to the ring by his valet
	19.3	(who would spray the arena and Wagner's opponent with perfumed disinfectant)
	19.4	and would insult stooges [[he had planted in the audience]].
	20.1	All this served to make the spectators hate him,
	20.2	the goal being
	20.3	that they would happily part with their money
	20.4	to see him beaten.
	21	Wagner's influence transcended wrestling.
	22.1	Muhammad Ali adopted his catchphrase,
	22.2	'I am the greatest', after an encounter with Wagner,
	22.3	and Bob Dylan called the wrestler a 'mighty spirit'.
	23	In 1963, after years of heavy drinking, Wagner died from a heart attack.
		[photo] 10. Gorgeous George at Norman Holmes's salon in George Street, Sydney Jack Hickson, 5 November 1956 Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW: Australian Photographic Agency – 02510
	24.1	Wagner started out as a brown-haired, nondescript performer
	24.2	until he met his fiancée, Elizabeth 'Betty' Hanson,
	24.3	who convinced him
	24.4	to grow his hair long,
	24.5	colour it platinum blond
	24.6	and pin it up with gold 'Georgie Pins',
	26.7	which he handed out to the crowd before his matches.
	27	Despite his name and sequinned costumes, Gorgeous

		George used rough-house tactics on the wrestling mat.
subtheme 5.3		LENNY THE LIONHEART
	28	Handsome local boy Len Holt was born in Sydney in 1932.
	29.1	He began wrestling as an amateur in 1949,
	29.2	turning professional in 1952.
	30.1	During his career he wrestled in almost 1500 contests, many of them at Sydney Stadium,
	30.2	and held the Australian Junior Heavyweight title for 12 years,
	30.3	retaining the belt undefeated on his retirement in 1972.
	31.1	Holt has held numerous Australian tag team titles with partners Baron Von-Heczey and Con Tolios,
	31.2	and partnered 'Australia's Strongest Man' Paul Graham.
	32.1	During much of his professional wrestling career Holt was employed by Stadiums Ltd
	32.2	to provide security to many of the visiting musicians [[who played the stadium]],
	32.3	including The Beatles, The Monkees, Frank Sinatra, Louis Armstrong and Vera Lynn.
	33	He also provided security for boxer Emile Griffith.
	34	It was quite common in the 1950s and 60s for wrestlers and even boxers [[to act as bodyguards to visiting celebrities]].
	35	Len also worked closely with Sydney Stadium Manager Harry Miller as his right-hand man.
		[object] 4. Len Holt's wrestling boots c1950s Len Holt
	36	These boots were hand made by a bootmaker in Bondi Junction.
	37	Many wrestlers and boxers, both local and international, would often get several pairs made.
clause subtotal	75	
Section 6 / theme		SKATERS AND SAMURAI
	1.1	The late 1950s and 60s saw Sydney Stadium [[host a variety of entertainment]]
	1.2	including Roller Derby and a fictitious ninja.
	2.1	In 1955 Lee Gordon transformed the stadium
	2.2	by building a banked, circular track around the ring
	2.3	to host Australia's first Roller Derby bout.
	3.1	Combining rollerskating and elements of professional wrestling,
	3.2	contestants hurtled around the track
	3.3	helping their scoring player to lap members of the other team.
	4	It was not a great success.

	5.1	Rebranded by promoter Bill Griffiths as the Roller Game in the early 1960s and now with televised coverage,
	5.2	it became a hit,
	5.3	with audiences packing the stadium
	5.4	to see men and women [[fight it out on the track]].
	6	Another popular show on Australian television at the time was the Japanese series The samurai.
	7.1	Thousands of Australian children would rush home from school
	7.2	to watch their hero, Shintaro,
	7.3	played by actor Koichi Ose,
	7.4	travel through feudal Japan
	7.5	battling the evil Koga Ninjas.
	8.1	The series was so popular
	8.2	that in 1965 Sydney Stadium hosted six live shows
	8.3	in which Ose and local actors flew over the stage
	8.4	while attached to ropes and pulleys.
		[object] 1.Shintaro poster 1965 Garry Renshaw
	9	This poster advertised the Shintaro performances at Festival Hall in Brisbane.
	10.1	Similar posters would have been produced
	10.2	to promote the Sydney shows.
clause subtotal	25	
Section 7 / theme		END OF AN ERA
	1.1	After 62 years of thrilling Sydneysiders with a smorgasbord of entertainment,
	1.2	the Old Tin Shed was demolished in 1970
	1.3	to make way for the Eastern Suburbs railway line.
	2.1	Construction of the long-planned railway line had begun in the late 1960s
	2.2	with one of its viaducts designed to run right through [[where the stadium stood]].
	3	The last concert [[performed at the stadium]] was by The Four Tops on 1 June 1970.
	4.1	The last boxing match was held about a week later;
	4.2	it was Australian boxing great Tony Mundine's only fight at the venue.
	5.1	On the night a who's who of past fighters,
	5.2	<< including Vic Patrick, Jimmy Carruthers and George Barnes,>> stood in the ring
	5.3	and were cheered by the crowd.
	6	Two months later bulldozers flattened the stadium.
	7	Sydney Stadium offered something for everyone.
	8.1	[[How a corrugated iron 'barn' of a building came to be so loved]] remains a mystery to some,
	8.2	but for those [[who saw their first concert there // or were enthralled by a great bout // or even cheered a


		pretend ninja]], the stadium was one of a kind.
		[object] 1. Stadiums Ltd letter Harry Miller, 28 July 1970 Len Holt
	9.1	This is the type of letter
	9.2	Harry Miller, Manager of Stadiums Ltd, wrote to various Sydney venues
	9.3	trying to find new locations for wrestling matches after the closure of Sydney Stadium.
	10	The last wrestling match at the stadium was held on 12 July 1970.
		[photo] Harry Miller Ern McQuillan, date unknown Courtesy and © Michael McQuillan's Classic Photographs
	11	Harry Miller managed Sydney Stadium from the late 1930s until its closure.
	12.1	Depressed about [[not being appointed as manager of the Hordern Pavilion, his wife leaving him and the death of his beloved pet dachshund, Sam]],
	12.2	Miller killed himself in 1971.
		[photo] The demolition of Sydney Stadium Photographer unknown, August 1970 © Fairfax Syndication
	13.1	This photograph shows the boxing ring at Sydney Stadium
	13.2	at the time the venue was being demolished
	13.3	to make way for the Eastern Suburbs railway line.
clause subtotal	25	
Total extended object label clauses	202	
Total ranking clauses	586	



APPENDIX 6



Renaissance texts



Core text / exhibition labels


Work	Clause	Text
Room 1		
Exhibition introduction		THE RENAISSANCE
	1.1	The Renaissance <<– a term meaning rebirth or
	1.2	revival –>> was an era of transformation (E) in the art and culture in Europe but first in Italy between 1400 and 1600.
	2	There was a renewed appreciation of Classical antiquity, especially ancient Greco-Roman art and architecture, literature and science.
	3	The study of ancient texts was the basis for the development of the humanities: history, poetry and philosophy.
	4	The Renaissance was also a period of inquiry into the natural world, of experiment and exploration in the arts and sciences.
	5.1	New technologies such as the printing (E) press (E) , gunpowder, watches and lenses, as well as the exploration of the New World, helped to transform society
	5.2	and led to the birth of modern Europe.
	6.1	While the Catholic Church had always been the great patron of the arts in Western Europe,
	6.2	during the Renaissance there was a tremendous expansion of private patronage by merchants and noble families, such as the Medici in Florence and the Sforza in Milan.
	7	Great centres arose , notably the courts of Mantua and Ferrara, the republics of Florence and Venice, and the Papal States [[including Rome and Perugia]].
	8	This ever-changing patchwork of city-states and regions became the unified nation of Italy only 150 years ago




Room theme		The Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	9	Bergamo is a charming medieval town on a hilltop in Northern Italy, between Milan and Lake Como.
	10.1	Now in the province of Lombardy, in Renaissance times it was ruled by the Republic of Venice,
	10.2	which explains the close cultural ties between the two centres.
	11.1	The città alta or 'upper city' of Bergamo remains largely untouched
	11.2	since the Venetians built fortified walls in late in the sixteenth century.
	12.1	The architectural heritage of Bergamo reflects the wealth of its citizens
	12.2	who traded in textiles throughout Europe.
	13	The elegant Neoclassical building of the Accademia Carrara was completed in 1810.
	14.1	Count Giacomo Carrara, founder and donor, wanted to build an art school in Bergamo
	14.2	to improve the standard of painting in the city,
	14.3	and to continue the great cultural tradition of the region.
	15	So he collected works of art as examples [[for the students to copy in the approved manner of art training at the time]].
	16.1 16.2	Because of the high quality of his paintings, <<and those added by other donors such as Count Guglielmo Lochis and Giovanni Morelli>> the Pinacoteca of the Academy is more renowned [[than the art school it originally served.]]
		[cat 1] Fra GALGARIO Bergamo 1655 – 1743 Portrait of Count Giacomo Carrara c.1737 [Ritratto del conte Giacomo Carrara] oil on canvas Bequest of Giacomo Carrara 1796 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	17	Count Giacomo Carrara (1714–1796) founded the Accademia Carrara, one of the first public galleries in the world.
	18.1	He studied literature, especially art historiography and philosophy,
	18.2	and believed passionately in the values of the Renaissance in Northern Italy—whether in Milan, Venice or Bergamo.
	19.1	He travelled extensively
	19.2	to create a collection of some 1,300 paintings.
	20.1	Carrara's bequest led to the establishment of an art academy and museum
	20.2	which aimed to stimulate a revival of Bergamo painting through the education of its young artists.



		[cat 2] Il PICCIO Montegrino, near Luino, Lombardy 1804 – near Cremona 1873 Portrait of Count Guglielmo Lochis 1835 [Ritratto del conte Guglielmo Lochis] oil on canvas Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis
	21.1	Count Lochis (1789–1859) is portrayed at 46
	21.2	when he was in charge of the much-criticised sale of many paintings from the Accademia Carrara.
	22.1	A politician and art collector, Lochis was an ally of the Hapsburg rulers,
	22.2	rewarded because Northern Italy was under Austrian occupation.
	23	He was a trustee of the academy from 1822 to 1859.
	24.1	Lochis' will directed
	24.2	that his paintings be displayed at his villa,
	24.3	but in 1866 the collection was divided :
	24.4	Accademia Carrara received 240 paintings
	24.5	while his son Carlo sold 300.
		[cat 3] Franz von LENBACH Schrobenhausen, Bavaria 1836 – Munich 1904 Portrait of Senator Giovanni Morelli 1886 [Ritratto del senatore Giovanni Morelli] oil on canvas Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	25.1	Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891) was an Italian art historian, critic and politician
	25.2	who trained as a doctor.
	26	He is celebrated both as a patriot in the struggle for the re-unification of Italy and as the inventor of Renaissance connoisseurship in the 19th century.
	27.1	His 'Morellian method' is a technique of art-historical scholarship
	27.2	which seeks to identify the 'hand' of the painter through scrutiny of characteristic details such as ears and hands.
	28.1	Morelli started collecting at the age of 26,
	28.2	and left 117 paintings and three sculptures to the Accademia Carrara.
	Clause subtotal	49
	Room 1a:	
Room theme		From Gothic to Renaissance
	1	The Renaissance was preceded by International Gothic, a style of art and architecture [[that continued into the first decades of the 1400s]].
	2.1	In Gothic art figures appear static,
	2.2	lacking depth, volume and pictorial realism.
	3.1	Artists favoured backgrounds of gold-leaf
	3.2	that embellished the image
	3.3	and accentuated its flatness.
	4	Figures become more three-dimensional, their




		movement fluid and natural.
	5	Detailed landscapes or Classical architectural settings demonstrate new theories of perspective.
	6	Sacred imagery—Jesus, Mary and saints— was no longer the only subject for art.
	7.1	Spurred on by humanist concepts [[derived through the revival of Greco-Roman texts]],
	7.2	Renaissance artists made humans central to their paintings.
	8.1	However, the shift from Gothic to Renaissance ideas was slow
	8.2	and, as a result, many paintings from the first half of the fifteenth century remain rooted in the older tradition.
		[cat 4] JACOPO di Cione Florence 1320/30 – 1398/1400 Enthroned Madonna and Child with saints 1367 [Madonna in trono col Bambino e santi] tempera and gold on wood panel Purchased 1987 National Gallery of Australia, Canberra
	9.1	The regal Madonna is seated upright on her throne as the Queen of Heaven,
	9.2	surrounded by saints.
	10	This panel was probably the central image of a triptych with a Nativity on one side and Crucifixion on the other.
	11.1	The twisted columns mark the hinges
	11.2	where shutters were attached .
	12	Perhaps the altar was commissioned for a private residence.
	13.1	The client may have specified the saints:
	13.2	John the Baptist and Saint Peter stand on the left, with Laurence, Benedict, Catherine and Nicholas.
	14	Among the group on the right we find Paul and Andrew, and Jerome in his red cardinal's robes.
		[cat 14] GIOVANNI d'Alemagna ?Ulm, Germany c. 1399 – ?Padua 1450 Saint Apollonia has her teeth pulled out [Santa Apollonia privata dei denti] Saint Apollonia blinded [Santa Apollonia accecata]] c. 1440–45 tempera on wood panel Bequest of Antonietta Noli, widow of Carlo Marenzi 1901 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	15	Depictions of saints' lives were part of religious education.
	16	Their stories of faith and suffering appealed to worshippers [[who were often illiterate]].
	17.1	Saint Apollonia of Alexandria was a Christian martyr
	17.2	who endured brutal tortures before her death by fire


		in 249 AD.
	18.1	These two panels <<—two others are known—>>
	18.2	were part of a reredos, a screen behind an altar.
	19	The artist stages the story in a setting with a prominent central marble statue and ornate architecture, a mix of Classical, Venetian and Oriental elements.
		[cat 13] Giorgio SCHIAVONE Scardona, Dalmatia (now Croatia) c. 1436 – Sebenico, Dalmatia 1504 Saint Jerome [San Gerolamo] Saint Alexis [San Alessio] c.1458–60 tempera on wood panel Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	20.1	The saints, <<who occupy most of the space within
	20.2	Classical arches,>> look as if they might step out for a walk.
	21	A detailed landscape extends into the distance.
	22.1	The influence of the great painter Andrea Mantegna is evident:
	22.2	both artists trained under Francesco Squarcione in Padua.
	23	Schiavone imitates Mantegna's innovative postures and emphasis on architectural elements such as the triumphal arch, barrel vault and carved mouldings.
	24.1	The illusionist touch of a large fly [[alighting on the step below Saint Jerome]] reminds us
	24.2	that everything is transitory.
		[cat 7] Bonifacio BEMBO ?Brescia 1420s? – ?Milan before 1482 and Antonio CICOGNARA worked Cremona 1480s – Lodi, Lombardy after 1500 Six tarot cards 1440s tempera and gold on paper laid on card Bequest of Count Francesco Baglione 1900 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	25	These painted, gilded and tooled tarocchi, or playing cards, are from a beautiful and rare pack [[made for the Sforza court in Milan]].
	26	They were probably commissioned by Francesco and his future duchess, Bianca Maria Visconti.
	27.1	Seventy-one cards remain from the original set of 78,
	27.2	most of them now held in three collections in Bergamo and New York.
	28.1	Playing cards, << used in games for
	28.2	entertainment,>> appeared in Europe in the 14th century.
	29.1	They were soon banned because of gambling (E) or time-wasting.
	30	Tarot cards were not used for divination until the 18th century.


Clause subtotal	45	
Room 2		
Room theme		Madonna and Child
	1	One of most enduring images in Western art—a constant for more than a thousand years— is that of Mary with the baby Jesus.
	2	In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cult of the Virgin saw Mary [[cast as the Queen of Heaven]], the personification of the Church, the Bride of Christ.
	3.1	She is regal, seated formally upon a throne,
	3.2	worshipped as an intermediary [[through whom humans seek salvation]].
	4	During the Renaissance such hieratic images are replaced by less formal representations.
	5	Increasingly images of the Madonna and Child become convincing portrayals of a mother and her baby.
	6	The relationship between the two is emphasised by touch or tender glance.
	7.1	They are depicted in an architectural setting, often with a landscape beyond,
	7.2	sometimes accompanied by everyday objects.
	8.1	The Madonna and Child is the subject of small-scale works, for private devotion in the home or as portable altarpieces.
	9.1	The figures are placed in the front of the picture plane, physically closer to the viewer,
	9.2	to elicit a heightened emotional response.
		[cat 19] NEROCCIO de' Landi Siena 1447 – 1500 Madonna and Child c.1470–75 [Madonna col Bambino] Tempera and gold on wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	10	The appearance of this panel is , to some extent, a product of time.
	11.1	Mary's robe, <<which was probably painted with a bright red lac pigment,>> has faded to orange-pink.
	11.2	
	12	Her blue mantle has darkened [[to seem almost black]].
	13.1	The more expensive materials, on the other hand, have hardly altered :
	13.2	the gold ground remains ,
	13.3	blushes of vermillion on the cheeks convey the tint of living flesh.
	14	The panel was probably intended for private devotion rather than for a church or public chapel.
	15	The frame is original.



		<p>[cat 22] JACOBELLO di Antonello ?Naples c. 1456 – ? after 1488 Madonna and Child 1480 [Madonna col Bambino] oil on wood pane Bequest of Giacomo Carrara 1796 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	16	Jacobello was the son of Antonello da Messina, the legendary Sicilian painter and proponent of the new medium of oil painting.
	17.1	He was heir to the paternal workshop:
	17.2	his father's will of 14 February 1479 stated
	17.3	that Jacobello would inherit any unfinished commissions for completion.
	18	Madonna and Child is Jacobello's only signed and dated work, a moving homage to the older artist.
	19.1	The inscription on a painted sheet of folded paper is :
	19.2	'... the son of a painter [[who was not human',]] that is ,
	19.3	Antonello was immortal, a divine creator.
		<p>[cat 29] Ambrogio BERGOGNONE Fossano, Piedmont c. 1453 – Milan 1523 Madonna lactans c.1485 [Our Lady nursing, Madonna del latte] oil and gold on wood panel Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	20	Images of the Virgin [[breastfeeding the Christ Child]] were popular during the Renaissance.
	21	Those created in Lombardy have a high level of informality and naturalism.
	22	Bergognone combines the intimacy of a mother [[breastfeeding her child]] with the topography of a rural setting.
	23	Details in the background and midground demonstrate the influence of Northern art.
	24.1	The drapery of the Madonna's robe and her enamel-like skin are also reminiscent of Flemish and French painting,
	24.2	as is the strangely-shaped Child.
		<p>[cat 8] BENOZZO Gozzoli Florence 1420/24 – Pistoia, Tuscany 1497 Madonna of Humility 1449–50 [Madonna dell'Umità] tempera and gold on wood panel Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	25	Madonna of Humility is a small cherrywood panel [[intended for private devotion]].
	26.1	Mary is seated humbly on the ground rather than upon a grand throne,
	26.2	yet the painting is richly ornamented with gold and



		sumptuous colours.
	27.1	A stylised hortus conclusus, the enclosed garden emblematic of the Virgin, is filled with sweet-smelling flowers
	27.2	including white lilies
	27.3	which symbolise purity and the Annunciation.
	28	Two angels play a portable organ and a lute.
	29	The grouping of Madonna, Child and angels constitutes a perfect Mystical Triangle.
Clause subtotal		43
Room 3		
		[cat 25] Vincenzo CIVERCHIO Crema, near Cremona, Lombardy (then Venice) c. 1470 – 1544 Annunciation and Saints Benedict and Scholastica [Annunciazione e I santi Benedetto e Scolastica] c.1495 tempera grassa on wood panels Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	1	Small portable altars such as this were made to accompany the owner [[while travelling]].
	2.1	On the exterior panels is the Annunciation:
	2.2	the Archangel Gabriel holds a stem of lilies, a symbol of Mary's purity,
	2.3	while the dove of the Holy Spirit descends in golden rays of light.
	3.1	When open, the altar reveals two Benedictine saints—Benedict and his sister Scholastica,
	3.2	showing the palm of her martyrdom.
	4	Benedict's book is his own composition, a guide for those entering monastic life.
	5	The missing central panel would have shown a Madonna and Child or the Crucifixion.
		[cat 35] Giovanni BELLINI? Venice 1433/36 – Venice 1516 Madonna and Child (Alzano Madonna) c. 1488 [Madonna col Bambino, detta di Alzano] oil on wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	6	The new medium of oil paint came to Renaissance Italy from Flanders and Germany in the second half of the 15th century.
	7	Bellini was one of its earliest masters.
	8	He and other Venetian artists became renowned for their brilliant hues and depth of colour.
	9	Here the blue drapery of the Madonna's cloak dominates the image.
	10.1	She looks tenderly at her baby Son,
	10.2	seated on her lap with a pear below Him.
	11.1	Bellini proudly signed his work on a cartellino, the small, painted piece of paper [[affixed to the marble ledge.]]


		<p>[cat 17] Zanetto BUGATTO Milan 1440/45 – Pavia or Milan 1475/76 Saint Jerome removing a thorn from the lion's paw [San Girolamo estrae una spina dalla zampa del leone] 1461–63 oil on wood panel Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	12.1	Bugatto worked at the Milanese court of the Sforza family,
	12.2	who sent him to Flanders
	12.3	to study the new technique of oil painting.
	13	Among the earliest oils by an Italian painter, the panel is a coloured copy after a monochrome representation of the saint by Rogier van der Weyden.
	14	Bugatto's version depicts Saint Jerome in the red robes of a cardinal.
	15.1	His attribute is a docile lion
	15.2	from whose paw he extracted a thorn;
	15.3	behind is his makeshift monk's cell with altar and cross.
	16.1	The landscape represents the Syrian desert
	16.2	where Jerome spent time as a hermit.
		<p>[cat 16] Vincenzo FOPPA Bagnolo, near Brescia, Lombardy 1427/30 – Brescia 1515/16 The three crosses [I tre crocifissi] 1450 tempera and gold on wood panel Bequest of Giacomo Carrara 1796 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	17	Christ is shown between the two crucified thieves, one penitent, one not.
	18.1	The penitent thief <<who had accepted Jesus,>>
	18.2	bows his head quietly in death.
	19.1	The other thief, in denial, writhes in pain:
	19.2	he is destined for Hell.
	20	A black-winged devil waits to torture his soul.
	21	Thus Christ stands symbolically at the axis between good and evil.
	22	Foppa renders the scene within a round arch, his re-imagining of Classical architecture.
	23	His extraordinary depiction of the Crucifixion bridges the Medieval and Renaissance periods.
		<p>[cat 24] Bartolomeo VIVARINI Murano, Venice c. 1430 – ?Bergamo c. 1500 Polyptych of the Madonna and Child, Saints Peter and Michael, the Trinity and angels (Scanzo polyptych) [Polittico con la Madonna col Bambino, i santi Pietro e Michele, la Trinità e angeli (polittico di Scanzo)] 1488 tempera and gold on four wood panels Bequest of Giacomo Carrara 1796 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>




	24	All four panels of the altarpiece exhibit Vivarini's characteristic linear style and towering figures.
	25	The figures are shown with their traditional attributes : the Madonna [[enthroned as the Queen of Heaven]], Saint Peter with his book and key, Saint Michael as the Archangel and defender of Heaven
	26	Above, the Trinity—God the Father, Christ crucified and the dove of the Holy Spirit— is flanked by a pair of floating angels.
	27	Their carefully drawn wings echo those of Michael below.
	28	He spears the devil, part human, part winged minotaur with dragon's tail.
Subtheme		Altarpieces
	29.1 29.2	Spectacular multi-panelled altarpieces, << known as polyptychs,>> were commissioned by the Church or private donors.
	30.1	Centred on a key image, usually a Madonna and Child or a Crucifixion,
	30.2	episodes from the lives of Mary or Jesus were depicted in the side panels or lower registers of the altarpiece
	31	Individual saints, or scenes from their lives, were often incorporated
	32.1	Diptychs and triptychs (works with two or three panels) also followed a set format,
	32.2	and their smaller scale allowed for their transportation or use in a private residence.
	33.1	While the panels of earlier Gothic altarpieces were decorative,
	33.2	usually crowned with pinnacles,
	33.3	during the Renaissance altarpieces became less elaborate,
	33.4	sometimes reduced to a single panel.
		[cat 30] Lorenzo COSTA Ferrara 1460? – Mantua 1535 Saint John the Evangelist c. 1480–85 [San Giovanni Evangelista] oil on canvas transferred from wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	34.1	A rather languid looking Saint John stands against a complex background,
	34.2	his figure highlighted by Classical architecture and the sky beyond.
	35.1	As one of Christ's original twelve apostles, John was the author of his epistles and the Book of Revelations,
	35.2	and is often shown with a quill.
	36.1	In his right hand is a chalice,
	36.2	since he is [[said to have survived drinking a cup of poisoned wine]].
	37.1	This is a fragment from an altarpiece,


	37.2	executed in a monumental solemn manner with an unusually fresh and bright palette.
		<p>[cat 38] Francesco BOTTICINI Florence 1446 – 1498 Tobias and the Archangel Raphael c.1480–85 [Tobiolo e san Raffaele Arcangelo] tempera on wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	38	In the Bible story, blind Tobit sent his son Tobias [[to collect a debt]].
	39	The Archangel Raphael, in disguise, accompanied the boy and his small dog.
	40.1	Although Raphael hid his identity from Tobias,
	40.2	Botticini paints him with blue wings and rows of delicate golden dots above his curls.
	41	Raphael is associated with travel, hence the slow procession, a fluid, gentle movement through the landscape.
	42	The painting was probably commissioned by the Florentine Confraternity of Saint Raphael as a standard—a wooden banner on a pole, [[carried in ceremonies.]]
Subtheme		Portraits
	43	Before the Renaissance the portrait as a discrete image was rare in Western art.
	44	During the late Middle Ages portraits were reserved exclusively for royalty or historic figures.
	45.1	Sometimes images of donors were included in altarpieces
	45.2	but theirs was a subordinate role—
	45.3	they were shown in profile and kneeling, usually smaller than the sacred figures, and often in a lower register.
	46	In the Renaissance individuals become the focus of paintings.
	47.16	As well as marking key events such as marriage, pregnancy or accession to power,
	47.2	portraits document a person's likeness for future generations.
	48	Early Renaissance portraits represent the subject in profile like the image on a Roman coin or medallion.
	49	Later a greater range develops , from head-and-shoulders and three-quarter images to large, full-length depictions.
Clause subtotal	74	
Room 4		
Room theme		The High Renaissance
	1.1 1.2	The period from the late 1490s to the 1520s, << known as the High Renaissance,>> is regarded



		as one of the greatest in the history of art.
	2	The experiments and innovations of [the] early Renaissance achieved their pinnacle, especially in Florence, Venice and Rome.
	3	Artists prized harmony and proportion as ideal values.
	4.1	The art of perspective was perfected
	4.2	and the human figure scrutinised closely.
	5	There was a greater emphasis on realism, an expanded range of expressions, gestures and poses.
	6	Novel subjects such as landscapes and complex historical scenes were achieved .
	7	The technology of painting also changed .
	8.1	Raphael and Titian revelled in the new medium of oil paint,
	8.2	using transparent glazes
	8.3	to achieve modelling and depth of colour.
	9	Botticelli, on the other hand, continued to work with his favourite medium of tempera, a mixture of pigment and egg yolk.
	10.1	Wooden panels, as supports for paintings, gradually gave way to canvas
	10.2	since it was lighter, cheaper and more malleable.
		[cat 42] RAPHAEL Urbino, the Marches 1483 – Rome 1520 Saint Sebastian [San Sebastiano] c. 1501–02 oil and gold on wood panel Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	11.1	Saint Sebastian is an early work,
	11.2	painted by Raphael before he was twenty.
	12	The artist's elegant brushwork and skill in rendering light are complemented by the figure's characteristic pose and dreamy facial expression.
	13.1	By focussing on face and features,
	13.2	Raphael emphasises the human
	13.3	but this is also an unusual depiction of the saint.
	14.1	Sebastian, a soldier from Gaul, was condemned to death
	14.2	for converting to Christianity.
	15.1	Bound and shot with arrows,
	15.2	he survived
	15.3	but was later beaten to death.
		[cat 31] Paolo CAVAZZOLA Verona 1486 – 1522 Saints James the Elder, Anthony of the Caves, Andrew the Apostle, Dominic, Laurence and Nicholas [I santi Giacomo maggiore, Antonio abbate, Andrea apostolo, Domenico di Guzman, Lorenzo martire, Nicola di



		Bari] c. 1510–12 oil on three wood panels Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	16	These male saints are venerated as founders of the Church.
	17.1	Five lived in the first centuries of Christianity,
	17.2	while Dominic created the Dominican Order in the 13th century.
	18	James and Andrew were apostles.
	19.1	Anthony was a hermit
	19.2	who founded monasticism,
	19.3	Laurence was a deacon [[martyred in Rome]],
	19.4	and Nicholas a bishop
	19.5	who became famous as Santa Claus.
	20.1	The tiny lamb , <<sitting in the curl of Nicholas' staff,>> refers to Jesus.
	20.2	
	21.2	The parrot symbolises oratory
	21.3	since the bird's call sounds similar to 'ave', the Archangel Gabriel's greeting to the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation.
		[cat 40] Sandro BOTTICELLI Florence 1444/45 – 1510 The story of Virginia the Roman c. 1500 [Storia di Virginia romana] tempera and gold on wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	22	Botticelli's rendition of kidnap, injustice and murder is set against the harmonious proportions of imagined Classical architecture.
	23	The story of Virginia, according to Livy's account in his History of Rome, is the tragedy of a young girl [[whose death saves the Roman Republic]].
	24.1	Reading from the left,
	24.2	Virginia's fate unfolds as though on a stage—from the first assault on her virtue, to her trial by her kidnapper Appius Claudius Crassus, then murder at the hands of her father.
	25	The final scene shows her posthumous vindication.
		[cat 62] Mariotto . Florence 1474 – 1515 Cain killing Abel [Caino uccide Abele]c. 1513–15 oil on wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	26	The Old Testament story of Adam and Eve's two sons and their tragic fraternal rivalry is depicted in several episodes on this panel.


	27	At the left Cain is poised to club Abel to death.
	28.1	On the right God questions Cain,
	28.2	banishing him
	28.3	and ordering the earth [[to respond to him no longer]]
	28.4	— suggested by the man [[who struggles to move the oxen]].
	29.1	In the distance is Abel's funeral,
	29.2	his body carried to a sepulchre [[to foretell Christ's entombment]].
	30.1	The top left section, <<now removed // and
	30.2 30.3	overpainted >>, originally showed the brothers [[making offerings to God]].
		[cat 41] Pietro PERUGINO and workshop Città della Pieve, near Perugia, Umbria c. 1450 – Fontignano, Umbria 1523 Nativity [Natività] c.1504 oil on wood panel Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	31	Perugino often painted this scene, a Nativity [[set in open countryside]] with figures and a prominent building.
	32	In the early 1500s he was Raphael's teacher, head of a large workshop, his paintings much in demand.
	33.1	Assistants would make preparatory drawings
	33.2	and develop new paintings with minimal variations in pose, colours, architectural elements or background.
	34	At least three almost identical versions of this model are known , each of such high quality [[that the hand of the master may be detected.]]
Clause subtotal		60
Room 5		
Room theme		Late Renaissance
	1	The artists of the late Renaissance adopted a variety of strategies and styles.
	2.1 2.2	They were influenced by<< and reacted to ,>> the naturalism and harmonious ideals of three masters: Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo.
	3.1	As Raphael's glorious Saint Sebastian demonstrates ,
	3.2	by this time many painters had embraced the medium of oil,
	3.3	using strong hues and layers of transparent paint [[to build forms]]
	4	Many artists used dramatic lighting, theatrical, often irrational perspective.
	5	The stance of figures becomes twisted and exaggerated, their necks, fingers and other physical features elongated.

	6	Compositional groups occupy such a large area of the canvas [[they almost burst out of the frames]].
	7.1	Portraits emphasise an emotional intensity
	7.2	and give a strong sense of the individual.
		[cat 60] Marco BASAITI Venice or Friuli c. 1470 – ?Venice after 1530 Portrait of a gentleman 1521 [Ritratto di gentiluomo] oil on wood panel Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	8	The half-length figure, after Titian's example, was popular in 16th-century Venice.
	9.1	Basaiti softens his sitter's features,
	9.2	using warm flesh tones and delicate shadows around the face and beard.
	10.1	By placing the man close to the edge of the canvas
	10.2	thus occupying a large part of the painting,
	10.3	he maximises the pyramid effect of his dark jacket.
	11	The artist's signature is 'carved' into the rock above the man's left shoulder.
	12	A patch of sky is fringed by tiny tufts of grass [[growing around the jagged opening.]]
		[cat 57] Paolo CAVAZZOLA Verona 1486 – 1522 Portrait of a lady [Ritratto di gentildonna] c.1515–17 oil on canvas Bequest of Giovanni Morelli 1891 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	13	A melancholy young woman leans on a balustrade.
	14	Cavazzola pays great attention to every element of her dress, typical of a Northern Italian Renaissance gentlewoman.
	15	Under a magnificent deep red and gold gown with voluminous ruched sleeves her gathered white chemise is edged in red picot.
	16	The hairstyle is also entirely contemporary.
	17.1	A capigliara is a framework with ribbons and locks of false hair,
	17.2	worn at the back of the head over the woman's own hair.
		[cat 48] Lorenzo LOTTO Venice c. 1480 – Loreto, the Marches 1556/57 Holy family with Saint Catherine of Alexandria 1533 [Sacra famiglia con santa Caterina d'Alessandria] oil on canvas Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	18	The infant Christ with Virgin and saints in an informal, often landscape setting, is known as a Holy Conversation or sacra conversazione.
	19.1	Lotto made at least six versions of the composition,


	19.2	demonstrating its popularity with his patrons.
	20	The symbolism is rich.
	21	The fig tree will provide wood for the Cross.
	22.1	Sleep is a metaphor for Christ's death,
	22.2	his fate reinforced by the Virgin's averted gaze.
	23.1	The parapet, << shaped like a sarcophagus,>>
	23.2	foreshadows Christ's entombment.
		[cat 54] Francesco CAROTO Verona c. 1480 – c. 1555 Massacre of the Innocents c. 1520–25 [Strage degli Innocenti] oil on wood panel Gift of Ludovico Petrobelli 1861 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	24	This gruesome subject, the Massacre of the Innocents comes from the Gospel of Matthew
	25.1	Three wise men from the East foretold the birth of Jesus,
	25.2	whom they called the 'King of the Jews'.
	26	They spoke of this to King Herod.
	27	In response he ordered the massacre of all children in Bethlehem under the age of two years.
	28.1	The Holy Family, << warned by an angel,>>
	28.2	escaped by fleeing to Egypt.
Clause subtotal	41	
Room 6		
Room theme		Northern Italy
	1.1	The regions of the Veneto, Lombardy and Piedmont produced remarkable artists
	1.2	who often moved to the cities of Venice, Milan and Turin for their training.
	2.1	As their skill and fame grew ,
	2.1	some travelled to specific churches or palaces
	2.3	to paint altarpieces, frescoes or portraits.
	3.1	Cities with cultivated rulers were magnets for painters—
	3.2	the Sforza family, Dukes of Milan, built palaces and chapels,
	3.3	and famously invited Leonardo da Vinci[[to create the fresco of The Last Supper.]]
	4	Leonardo's disciples adopted his technique [[of building volume through sfumato]], the smoky shadows [[that both define and blur the forms.]]
	5	Bergamo itself became a centre for artists.
	6.1	Lorenzo Lotto remained there for thirteen years, his longest time in one place,
	6.2	fulfilling many important commissions.
	7	Lotto's altarpieces, as well as those by followers such as Andrea Previtali, are still found in Bergamo's churches.
	8	The following generation of painters was dominated by the great Giovan Battista Moroni.

	9	His quiet yet eloquent style of portraiture fulfilled the requirements of the Counter Reformation for a more austere art in response to the Protestant criticisms of excess in the Catholic Church.
		[cat 70] Giovan Battista MORONI Albino, near Bergamo 1520/24 – 1578 Portrait of an old man seated c. 1570 [Ritratto di vecchio seduto] oil on canvas Bequest of Giacomo Carrara 1796 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	10	The distinctive silvery-grey background of Moroni's late period establishes a sombre mood.
	11	Such a restricted palette was a relatively new development in portraiture.
	12	Here it serves to emphasise the man's features.
	13	Some of Moroni's best-known portraits are of old men, usually three-quarter length, [[seated in a relaxed pose with head [[turned towards the viewer]]]].
	14	The elderly subject of this painting sits in a wooden chair— a familiar prop [[used by the artist throughout his career]].
		[cat 65] Gerolamo GIOVENONE Vercelli, Piedmont 1487/90 – 1555 Madonna and Child, saints and donors 1527 [Madonna col Bambino, santi e donatori] oil on three wood panels Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	15	The architectural setting of a church imparts magnificence and grandeur to the central scene.
	16	The seated Madonna and Child appear at the same level as the saints on the side panels.
	17.1	Two unidentified donors kneel in prayer on a lower register,
	17.2	indicating their earthly status.
	18.1	On the left stands an unknown female saint and the winged Archangel Michael,
	18.2	wearing his traditional armour,
	18.3	holding scales and a sword.
	19	On the right Saint Dominic wears the Dominican habit.
	20	Beside him Saint Lucy, the patron saint of blindness, displays her eyes on a platter.


		<p>[cat 66] Andrea PREVITALI Berbenno, near Bergamo 1470/80 – Bergamo 1528 Madonna and Child with Saint Paul, Saint Agnes and the Cassotti donors [Madonna col Bambino, san Paolo, sant'Agnese e i donatori Cassotti] c.1520 oil on wood panel Acquired from the House of Solza 1854 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	21	Paolo Cassotti, one of Bergamo's richest merchants, married the noblewoman Agnese Avinatri in 1517.
	22.1	The Cassotti wealth came from textile production and trade,
	22.2	and this painting is a sumptuous feast of brilliantly coloured fabrics.
	23.1	Only the saints look at the Christ Child
	23.2	as he blesses Saint Paul.
	24	Agnese's bowed head is adorned with a capigliara, an elaborately decorated hairpiece.
	25	Her spouse looks out at the viewer.
	26	The Cassotti couple pay little attention to the Madonna, the Child or their name-saints.
		<p>[cat 67] Jacopo BASSANO Bassano del Grappa, Veneto c. 1510 – 1592 Madonna and Child with the young Saint John the Baptist [Madonna col Bambino e san Giovannino] c.1542 oil on canvas Bequest of Mario Frizzoni 1966 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo</p>
	27	By the middle of the 16th century, artists fully exploited the fluidity and expressive power of oil paint.
	28	Bassano employs a rich Venetian palette.
	29	His impasto strokes animate the scene, especially the folds of the robes.
	30	Mannerist influences can be seen in the Virgin's elongated face and hands.
	31.1	Voluminous drapery fills the painting,
	31.2	leaving no room for an architectural setting or landscape background.
	32.1	This painting was the prototype for many further compositions —
	32.2	the female model reappears in the artist's oeuvre for more than fifty years.

		[cat 71] Giovan Battista MORONI Albino, near Bergamo 1520/24 – 1578 Portrait of a child of the house of Redetti c.1570 [Ritratto di bambina di casa Redetti] oil on canvas Legacy of Guglielmo Lochis 1866 Accademia Carrara, Bergamo
	33	Moroni's portraits of the citizens of Bergamo are admired for their naturalism, vitality and directness.
	34.1	The child is probably about five years old
	34.2	although her stance and attire make her look more mature.
	35.1	She is shown dressed for best,
	35.2	wearing a crystal necklace and a coral bracelet
	35.3	to ward off illness.
	36	Moroni uses a mass of horizontal brushstrokes for the gold and black fabric of her silk dress.
	37	He suggests the little girl's weariness [[in posing for her portrait]] but, at the same time, awareness of her superior position in Bergamo society.
Clause subtotal	53	
Total extend object label clauses	269	
Total ranking clauses	365	

Comparative text 1 / guided tour segment

Work	Clause	Text
Room 3		
	1.1	A quick look at this Bergonone,
	1.2	heavily influenced by Flemish and other northern European painters.
	2.1	The paleness of the skin and the length of her face apparently are Flemish characteristics,
	2.2	and the hair out – apparently is a Flemish character too.
	3	It symbolises purity [[to have the hair out like that]].
	4	But look at the <u>devotion</u> on her face to the baby.
	5.1	Look at the baby's cheeks full of milk
	5.2	and the way it's <u>pulling</u> with its lips
	5.3	as it suckles,
	5.4	the way the mother holds herself, very natural.
	6.1	The baby, the babies do look unnatural most of the time,
	6.2	and I've got my own little theory about that.
	7.1	I'll go into it
	7.2	if we have time
	7.3	but we may not.
	8.1 <<8.2> >	That shape of the baby, << I've read, >> is Flemish-inspired as well,
	8.3	that bulging stomach and big fat thighs – you see in so many of the babies.

Comparative text 2 / excerpt from 'Discovery trail: what am I holding?'

Work	Clause	Text
	1	Mary is feeding the baby Jesus.
	2	She is holding him tenderly on her lap.
	3.1	Can you see
	3.2	what the baby is wearing around his neck?
	4.1	It is a coral necklace,
	4.2	which was worn as a protection against illness.
	5	With her hair loose on her shoulders Mary looks at her baby with a caring expression, like any mother.
	6	However, the golden halo around her head shows her importance as the mother of Jesus.
	7	She is sitting beside a wall in a garden with a screen behind her.
	8	What type of flowers are growing there?
	9.1	Did you know
	9.2	that the rose is a symbol of Mary?
	10	It is an everyday scene with ducks on a pond, chickens pecking and a dog.
	11.1	Do you think
	11.2	It is the city or the country?

APPENDIX 7

Sample analysis / intermodal relations

1. Converging relations



Key:

Th = Thematic

Non-Th = Non-Thematic

C = correspondence

M = meronymy

H = hyponymy

	Text (cat 70)	Concurrence (ideational)	Location	Rel	Presence	Vector
10	The distinctive silvery-grey background of Moroni's late period establishes a sombre mood.	silvery-grey background	Th	M	(+) presuming ref (the); (+) pres tense; (-) apprec	1
11	Such a restricted palette was a relatively new development in portraiture .	restricted palette portraiture	Th Non-Th	M H	(-) presenting ref (a); (-) past tense; (-) gram met	
12	Here it serves to emphasise the man's features .	It [palette] man's features	Th Non-Th	M M	(+) loc (here); (+) pres tense; (+) presuming ref (the)	1
13	Some of Moroni's best-known portraits are of old men , usually three-quarter length , seated in a relaxed pose with head turned towards the viewer.	Portraits old men three-quarter length seated relaxed pose head turned	Th Non-Th Non-Th Non-Th Non-Th Non-Th	H M M M M M	(+) pres tense (-) gram met	1
14	The elderly subject of this painting sits in a wooden chair — a familiar prop used by the artist throughout his career.	elderly subject this painting sits wooden chair prop	Th Th Non-Th Non-Th Non-Th	M C M M H	(+) presuming ref (the); (+) specific deixis (this)	2

2. Diverging relations



Key:

Id = identifying who/what is represented

Att = attributing qualities to what is represented

Loc = locating in time (tm) or place (pl)

Exp = explaining how or why something is represented

Add = adding meanings about entities not represented

D = declarative (speech function)

Evaluating (see key appendix 4)

	Text (cat 70)	Unpacked meanings additional to the visual	Field (ideational)		Tenor (interpersonal)	
			relating	general -ising	evaluating	negotiating
10	The distinctive silvery-grey background of Moroni's late period establishes a sombre mood.	[the silvery-grey background] is distinctive; its effect is to create a sombre mood; Moroni made this painting late in his career	Att Expl Loc:tm	Yes	+app:comp (distinctive) background	D 3rd person Monogloss
11	Such a restricted palette was a relatively new development in portraiture.	[this kind of palette] was new to portraiture	Attrib	Yes	+app:val (new) palette	D 3rd person Monogloss
12	Here it serves to emphasise the man's features.	[in this painting, this kind of palette] has the effect of emphasising [the man's features]	Expl: consq	–		D 3rd person Monogloss
13	Some of Moroni's best-known portraits are of old men, usually three-quarter length, seated in a relaxed pose with head turned towards the viewer.	[portraits like this of old men, seated etc ...] are some of Moroni's best known works	Id:class	Yes	+app:react (best-known) portraits	D 3rd person Monogloss
14	The elderly subject of this painting sits in a wooden chair — a familiar prop used by the artist throughout his career.	– [the wooden chair] was often used by Moroni as a prop in his paintings	– Attrib	– Yes	–	– D 3rd person Monogloss

APPENDIX 8

Sample genre analysis

1. The Wild Ones

External introduction / exposition

Stage /phase	Text
Background	–
Position	'Never in the history of showbiz, in any major city anywhere in the whole wide world has there ever been anything like it for a big night venue
Arguments (previewed only)	– whether it be a world championship boxing stoush, dwarf wrestling, roller derbies, religious revivals, pop and jazz concerts ... you name it.
Reinforcement of Position	The Stadium ... was just something else ... uniquely Sydney.
Reinforcement of Position (restated)	Nowhere else was there or could there have been a joint like the Old Tin Shed.'

Exposition

Social purpose: persuasive – argue a position

General features:

- one sided
- range of process types: relating, action, sensing
- general, abstract, technical participants
- logical connections of cause (conjunctions, dependent clauses, verbs)
- rhetorical resources, eg evaluation

(Martin & Rose 2007; Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012)

Internal introduction / historical recount

Stage /phase	Text
Forward	<p>THE 'OLD TIN SHED'</p> <p>Built in 1908, the Sydney Stadium, which stood on the corner of New South Head Road and Neild Avenue at Rushcutters Bay, was the city's pre-eminent boxing, wrestling and concert venue until its demolition in 1970.</p>
Record of events 1. As fighting venue 2. As concert venue	<p>[1] Originally constructed to host <i>just one</i> fight, the World Heavyweight Boxing Championship, the Old Tin Shed <i>went on</i> to present <i>thousands</i> of furious boxing bouts and wild wrestling matches. [2] <i>From the mid 1950s</i> the venue staged spellbinding concerts by international stars such as Frank Sinatra and The Beatles, and local legends Johnny O'Keefe and Col Joye.</p>
Coda	<p>Although only a corrugated iron and timber structure, the stadium held a special place in the hearts of generations of Sydneysiders who sat ringside or in the bleachers during many memorable nights.</p>

Historical recount

Social purpose: document significant series of events or period in history

General features:

- focus on events
- generic and some specific participants
- action processes in past tense foregrounded (also relating processes to construe cause and effect)
- generic and some specific participants
- organised around setting in time (circumstances of location, marked Theme)
- attitude: judgment to evaluate people, appreciation to evaluate things and events (Martin & Rose 2007; Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012)

Section theme / historical recount

Stage /phase	Text
Forward	<p>BOXING'S GOLDEN AGE</p> <p>The late 1940s and 50s were considered Australia's golden age of boxing and the sport featured prominently at Sydney Stadium until the venue closed in 1970.</p>
Record of Events 1. Popularity of fight nights 2. Elaboration: description of fight nights	<p>[1] Every fight night crowds of boxing fans would stream down the hill from Kings Cross to watch Australian champions such as Vic Patrick, Tommy Burns and Dave Sands battle it out or take on international fighters like Freddie Dawson, Ralph Dupas and Emile Griffith. Many local boxers including Rocky Gattellari, Luigi Coluzzi and Carlo Marchini had a strong following among the Italian–Australian community. Boxing had also become a way for Aboriginal Australians like Lionel Rose and Dave Sands to find success in an Australia that discriminated against them in most other areas of their lives.</p> <p>[2] The atmosphere in the stadium on fight nights was heavy with sweat, shouting and cigarette smoke. World Champion Jimmy Carruthers once remarked that fighting in the Old Tin Shed was 'like being in a bushfire'. Alcohol was banned in the stadium but many spectators smuggled in beer bottles concealed in their newspapers. Betting was also prohibited but there were plenty of amateur bookmakers willing to take cash from eager punters.</p>
Coda	–

Historical recount

Social purpose: document significant series of events or period in history

General features:

- focus on events
- generic and some specific participants
- action processes in past tense foregrounded (also relating processes to construe cause and effect)
- generic and some specific participants
- organised around setting in time (circumstances of location, marked Theme)
- attitude: judgment to evaluate people, appreciation to evaluate things and events (Martin & Rose 2007; Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012)

Subthemes / historical and biographical recounts

Stage / phase	Text
Example 1: historical recount	
Forward	<p>HERE COME THE YANKS</p> <p>The Great White Fleet was the popular name given to the 16 battleships of the United States Navy that circumnavigated the world between December 1907 and February 1909 in a demonstration of American naval strength.</p>
Record of Events	<p>[1] The fleet's arrival in Sydney on 20 August 1908 (the day was declared a public holiday) was enthusiastically greeted by the estimated 500,000 people who crowded the harbour foreshore. The popularity of the visit, apart from the obvious spectacle, was attributed to an interest in Australia at that time in all things American. Major buildings in Sydney were illuminated and various receptions were held in honour of the visit before the fleet departed eight days later.</p>
Coda	–
Example 2: biographical recount	
Forward	<p>THE MAITLAND WONDER</p> <p>With his easygoing personality and ready smile, welterweight boxer Les Darcy was a natural champion. Born in 1895 and raised in Maitland, his talent was phenomenal. He fought 24 bouts at Sydney Stadium and became its main attraction.</p>
Record 1. In USA	<p>[1] In 1916 Darcy stowed away on a steamship hoping to fight in the United States to support his large family. Fights had dried up at the stadium; boxing was considered an inappropriate pursuit for young men who were eligible to enlist to fight in World War I. As a result, he was publicly derided as a shirker by many in power. His fights in the US were cancelled, reputedly due to the influence of Hugh McIntosh and Snowy Baker, who were angry that the stadium had lost its champion.</p>
2. Death	<p>[2] In 1917 Darcy died, aged 21, in Memphis, Tennessee, as a result of an infection he had contracted after losing two teeth at a Sydney Stadium fight six months earlier. His body was returned to Australia amid huge scenes of public grief.</p>
Coda	–

Historical recount (see page 400)**Biographical recount****Social purpose:** document a significant life history**General Features:**

- focus on a lifetime of experience
- phases as episodes in the person's life; serial time gives way to episodic time
- action processes in past tense foregrounded (also relating processes to construe cause & effect)
- specific and generic participants
- organised around setting in time (eg, circumstance of location, marked Themes)
- attitude: judgment and appreciation (rather than affect) to evaluate public rather than personal significance of people

2. Renaissance

Introduction (first paragraph) / report (taxonomic) or historical account

Stage /phase	Text (paragraph 1)
Analysis 1: as taxonomic report	
General statement / classification	The Renaissance, a term meaning rebirth or revival, was an era of transformation in the art and culture in Europe but first in Italy between 1400 and 1600.
Description: Feature 1: interest in antiquity	[1] There was a renewed appreciation of Classical antiquity, especially ancient Greco-Roman art and architecture, literature and science. [and] The [this] study of ancient texts was the basis for the development of the humanities: history, poetry and philosophy.
Feature 2: interest/ inquiry in the natural world	[2] The Renaissance was also a period of inquiry into the natural world, of experiment and exploration in the arts and sciences.
Feature 3: development of new technologies	[3] New technologies such as the printing press, gunpowder, watches and lenses, as well as the exploration of the New World, helped to transform society and led to the birth of modern Europe.
Analysis 2: as account / explanation	
Outcome / Identification	The Renaissance, a term meaning rebirth or revival, was an era of transformation in the art and culture in Europe but first in Italy between 1400 and 1600.
Factors: Factor 1: <u>because</u> of an interest in antiquity	[1] There was a renewed appreciation of Classical antiquity, especially ancient Greco-Roman art and architecture, literature and science. [and as a result] The [this] study of ancient texts was the basis for the development of the humanities: history, poetry and philosophy.
Factor 2: and <u>because</u> of an interest in the natural world	[2] The Renaissance was also a period of inquiry into the natural world, of experiment and exploration in the arts and sciences.
Factor 3: and <u>because</u> of the development of new technologies	[3] New technologies such as the printing press, gunpowder, watches and lenses, as well as the exploration of the New World, helped to transform society and [so] led to the birth of modern Europe

Report (taxonomic)

Social purpose: to describe a class of things

General features:

- relating processes to define, describe and classify
- simple present tense to indicate general nature of the information

- generalised and increasingly technical participants, related through class-subclass and part-whole relations
- expanded noun groups with factual, classifying and quantity adjectives (Martin & Rose 2007; Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012)

Historical Account

Social purpose: to explain the past

General features:

- unfold through/ foreground cause rather than time
- tend to be more abstract / greater use of ideational metaphor
- causal reasoning realised within clauses via causal nouns, verbs (resulted) and prepositions (eg due to)
- 3rd person
- mainly generic and nominalised participants
- singular unfolding trajectory (Martin & Rose 2007; Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012)

Room theme / report (taxonomic)

Stage / phase	Text
General statement / classification	<p>MADONNA AND CHILD</p> <p>One of most enduring images in Western art —a constant for more than a thousand years— is that of Mary with the baby Jesus.</p>
Description 1. Gothic Madonnas	<p>In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cult of the Virgin saw Mary cast as the Queen of Heaven, the personification of the Church, the Bride of Christ.</p> <p>She is regal, [and]/[because] [she is] seated formally upon a throne, (and) [she is] worshipped as an intermediary through whom humans seek salvation.</p>
2. Renaissance Madonnas	<p>During the Renaissance such hieratic images are replaced by less formal representations. Increasingly images of the Madonna and Child become convincing portrayals of a mother and her baby. The relationship between the two is emphasised by touch or tender glance.</p> <p>They are depicted in an architectural setting, often with a landscape beyond, [and] sometimes [they are] accompanied by everyday objects. [and] The Madonna and Child is the subject of small-scale works, for private devotion in the home or as portable altarpieces. [and] The figures are placed in the front of the picture plane, physically closer to the viewer, [in order] to elicit a heightened emotional response.</p>

Subtheme theme / report (taxonomic)

Stage / phase	Text
General statement / classification	<p>ALTARPIECES</p> <p>Spectacular multi-panelled altarpieces, known as polyptychs, were commissioned by the Church or private donors.</p>
Description 1. Spectacular (Gothic) altarpieces	<p>Centred on a key image, usually a Madonna and Child or a Crucifixion, episodes from the lives of Mary or Jesus were depicted in the side panels or lower registers of the altarpiece.</p> <p>Individual saints, or scenes from their lives, were often incorporated.</p> <p>Diptychs and triptychs (works with two or three panels) also followed a set format, and their smaller scale allowed for their transportation or use in a private residence</p>
2. Less spectacular (Renaissance) altarpieces	<p>While the panels of earlier Gothic altarpieces were decorative, [and were] usually crowned with pinnacles, during the Renaissance altarpieces became less elaborate, [and were] sometimes reduced to a single panel.</p>

Report (taxonomic)

Social purpose: to describe a class of things

General features:

- relating processes to define, describe and classify
- simple present tense to indicate general nature of the information
- generalised and increasingly technical participants, related through class-subclass and part-whole relations
- expanded noun groups with factual, classifying and quantity adjectives (Martin & Rose 2007; Humphrey, Droga & Feez 2012)