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The rules of the game: Discursive norms and limits in the field of online art magazines

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The Rules of the Game:

Discursive Norms and Limits in the Field of Online Art Magazine

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Abstract

This article employs methods of discourse analysis and corpus linguistics within a Bourdieusian theoretical framework to examine the discursive norms and limits regulating the construction of reputation by online contemporary art magazines. Moving between quantitative and qualitative analysis of the websites of online contemporary art magazines, the article identifies salient patterns surrounding the use of modifiers and links these patterns to the normative principles of the artworld. Its findings suggest that positive evaluation is a norm but that the use of explicitly evaluative modifiers is prohibited, that artists are predominantly classified according to nationality and that these classifications can construct reputational value by performing agents' possession of cosmopolitan capital. These findings contribute to our understanding of the discursive means by which artworld hierarchies and systems of classification are reproduced and transformed. Thus, this study aims to contribute to our understanding of the role of discourse in the artworld's reputational economy.

Keywords

Discursive Norms and Limits, Semantic Prosody, Discourse Analysis, Corpus Linguistics, Field Theory, Reputation, Online Art Magazines

Wordcount

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1. Introduction

If the contemporary artworld is characterised by exaggerated hierarchies, it is largely because the appreciation of conceptual and contemporary art (e.g. Duchamp or Hirst) is based more on subjective interpretations of artworks as ideas or statements than on objective criteria, such as those characterising the evaluation of classical art (e.g. Caravaggio) (Danto 1983). Gould's (2000) work on status hierarchies provides a useful explanation of how such increasing attention to subjective criteria for evaluation can lead to inequity in fields. Beckert and Rossell (2013, 183) succinctly lay out his view, stating:

> In fields where no underlying measure of quality exists or where quality is difficult to observe, status hierarchies are mainly based on socially provided assessments of quality, which give rise to a self-reinforcing process of quality judgements. The less underlying measures of quality are observable and the more important this self-reinforcing process of quality judgement is for the establishment of status hierarchies, the more status hierarchies are exaggerated.

If the artworld is indeed characterised by exaggerated hierarchies that are produced through the evaluations of a dominant few, as is widely accepted, then the discourse of these few is a site wherein the mechanics of this production can be examined. Aiming to understand such mechanics, this paper asks how the discursive construction of reputation is regulated in the field of online contemporary art magazines. It answers by identifying the discursive norms and limits that regulate the construction of artistic reputation by online contemporary art magazines (OCAMs) and by demonstrating the existence of the relationship between these norms and limits and the artworld's principles of evaluation.

2. Artistic Reputation

This study accords with 'institutional approaches' to analysing artistic reputation (Danto 1964; Dickie 1969; Becker 1976; Bourdieu 1996; Baumann 2007), understanding it as primarily the product of social relations rather than of artworks, where the institution of the artworld that produces the value of art (van Maanen 2009, 17-18). Institutional approaches have attended to the role of the art market in reputational accumulation (e.g. Crane 2009, Beckert and Rossell 2013, Vermeir and Heiremans 2015) and how processes such as globalisation (Harris 2013), professionalisation (Deresiewicz 2015), and commercialisation (Stallabrass 2006) have transformed the context in which it is accumulated. The role of discourse in constructing social hierarchies in cultural fields has been also examined (e.g. Rodden 2006; Hannson 2015), not least by the most prominent theorist on reputation, Pierre Bourdieu, who stated that "the discourse on the work is not a simple side-effect, designed to encourage its apprehension and appreciation, but a moment which is part of the production of the work, of its meaning and value" (Bourdieu 1996, 170).

3. Reputation and Discourse

3.1. Reputation

To date, the most substantial account of reputation is provided by the field theory's concept of symbolic capital. We must, therefore, begin by briefly outlining the relevant aspects of field theory for this analysis. A *field* is "a setting in which agents and their social positions are located" (Bourdieu 1986, 15). They are sites where agents compete for economic capital and field-specific forms of *cultural capital* and are structured according to the hierarchical positions of their composing agents; positions which are based on these agents' relative possession of capital. Cultural capital is any resource that can produce symbolic profit within a particular field, so that artistic capital,

such as a show at MoMA, is specific to the artistic field, as is academic capital, such as a journal citation, to the academic field, although the capital of one field can also be valued in other fields. When possession of cultural capital is identified by other agents in a field, it is misrecognised as essential to and indicative of that agent's reputation in the field. In this way, these resources become symbolic: they amalgamate to constitute an agent's *symbolic capital*, their reputation. Following Bourdieu, all fields of cultural production are seen as structured according to an opposition between cultural and commercial production. This means that the more an agent produces for a broad audience and pursues economic capital, the closer they are positioned to the commercial pole of the field (Figure 1[1]). Likewise, the more an agent produces for a restricted audience and pursues cultural capital, the closer they are positioned to the cultural pole. This opposition corresponds to the composition of agent's specific capital and their position along the X-axis of the field, with the Y-axis representing the total amount of reputation (i.e. symbolic capital) an agent possesses (Figure 2).

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

The *habitus* is the internalised structure of knowledge and attitudes that an agent acquires through socialisation within fields. The formation of an agent's habitus is therefore analogous to their acquisition of embodied cultural capital (Grenfell 2012, 110) so that an agent's knowledge of and attitude toward a field, and toward its 'rules', are related to their position and trajectory within it. These field-specific 'rules', which

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[1] Figures 1, 2, and 3 are based on Bourdieu's figures (Bourdieu 1996) but have been simplified by the authors for illustrative purposes.

Bourdieu terms *nomos*, are fundamental laws (Bourdieu 1996, 61) constituted in *principles of vision and division* which, through *logics of distinction* (Grenfell 2012, 107), function to divide and align perceptions into categories (Bourdieu 1996, 132). This paper aims to show that the nomos of the artworld are constitutive of the discursive norms and limits of OCAM Discourse. However, although universally understood and tacitly accepted by all agents in a field (without which agents' collective 'playing together' would not be possible), nomos are unspoken and therefore problematic to concretely identify. As such, here we must rely on existing analyses of the principles of vision and division that regulate practices in the field of art. For the purposes of this study, it suffices to name three such principles: (i) artistic, social, or political motivations are opposed to commercial motivations (Bourdieu and Nice 1980, 261), (ii) diversity is valued more than uniformity (Buck-Morss et al. 1997, 25) and (iii) experimentation is valued more than convention (Grenfell and Hardy 2003, 20).

3.2. Combining Field Theory and Discourse Analysis

Although discourse analytical literature has often focused on legitimacy (Van Leeuwen 2007) and evaluation (Fairclough 2003; van Dijk 1993; Martin and White 2005) when examining the discursive reproduction of hierarchy, it has also incorporated field theory in a variety of different accommodations (see Forchtner and Schneickert 2016, 294). This study accords with such approaches, in particular, recent research that seeks to incorporate the concept of symbolic capital within a discourse-analytical approach (e.g. Hamann et al. 2019; Angermuller 2018; Maesse 2013; Meadows 2009).

To analyse reputational discourse then, Bourdieu's substantial work on language seems crucial (1990; 1991; 1993). Critiquing linguistic disciplines (Grenfell 2011, 198)

and examining the link between linguistic variation and social origin[2] (e.g. Grenfell 1993; Vann 1995; Albright and Lukes 2008), this work however overlooks representation (i.e. what is said) by positing discourse as an effect of social structures rather than as a dialectically related but autonomous condition of them (Hasan 1998, 47-50). This position had led to the criticism that field theory reduces the "semiological to the sociological", preventing a proper consideration of discourse in the constitution of fields (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, 105). Simply put, field theory refutes that "discourse has its own generative force which cannot be reduced to the struggle over 'profits of distinction'" (ibid).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) point to two "views of struggle that remain unresolved in Bourdieu's work: classificatory struggle and struggles for profit" (104). For the authors, these struggles are "enacted in the course of communicative interaction" which discursively constitutes and reproduces the structuring of positions and relations between fields. They further state that this "entails a focus upon communicative interaction which Bourdieu consistently resists" (ibid.). This study, in small measure, addresses these two shortcomings by examining the reproduction of classificatory schemes and by accounting for the role of this reproduction in a reputational economy.

3.3. Nomos and Discursive Norms and Limits

The central proposition of this paper is that a field's discursive norms and limits are dialectically related to its nomos. Fairclough (2001) describes this dialectical relationship between an agent's subject position and knowledge base and their adoption of particular language practices as follows:

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[2] Such as the link between social class and use of 'legitimate' French or 'vulgar' dialects.

[I]n the construction of the subject, the acquisition of normative 'ways of talking' associated with a given subject position must simultaneously be the acquisition of the associated 'ways of seeing' (ideological norms); that is, since any set of discursive norms entails a certain knowledge base, and since any knowledge base includes an ideological component, in acquiring the discursive norms one simultaneously acquires the associated ideological norms (42).

As it is plain to see how the acquisition of knowledge in particular fields and the subject positions this knowledge makes available is in many ways analogous to the formation of the habitus, then the discursive norms of a field can be understood as embodied within the habitus of agents in the form of "background knowledge [that] subsumes ideological representations" so that these representations "come to be seen as common sense" (Fairclough 2013, 30). Simply put, the discursive norms of the artworld can be understood as the systematic ways of communicating which agents come to embody in their habitus and come to appropriate through their acquisition of subject positions.

Discursive limits thus impose "that certain statements cannot be said directly without risking negative sanctions" (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 47). Foucault (1971) saw such limits as emanating from Discourses, realised as *principles of exclusion* (i.e. *prohibition*, *division and rejection*, and the *will to truth*) whereas Bourdieu saw them as emanating from social structures (Bourdieu and Thompson 1991, 170), realised as *censorship* so that "if one wishes to produce discourse successfully in a particular field, one must observe the forms and formalities of that field" (ibid., 20). From a CDA perspective, which this study accords with, these limits are the product of a dialectical relationship between discourse and fields: "social structures determine properties of discourse and […] discourse, in turn, determines social structures" (Fairclough 2013, 30).

It is important to state that we understand the extent of adherence to these norms and limits as sometimes being the product of conscious decision-making and as sometimes being the product of embodied knowledge. As such, we are not concerned with identifying intent for such identification cannot contribute to achieving the study's aim. We must account for these norms and limits and how they regulate the construction of reputation rather than the extent to which they are intuitively or strategically adhered to.

4. OCAMs

4.1. Gatekeepers and Spokespeople in the Artworld

Within the artworld's reputational economy, OCAMs are but one among many gatekeepers, with art dealers (Thompson 2010, 45), auction houses (ibid., 103), art fairs (Lee and Lee 2016, 3), biennials (Tang 2007, 248), or museums (Harris 2013, 540), each contributing to the production of hierarchy in the artworld through discursive and non-discursive activity. The particular role of OCAMs is the artworld's reputational economy is a discursive one, primarily realising news, review, and promotional functions - but also knowledge production - as evidenced by e-flux's journal genre and Artsy's foregrounding of its educational raison d'étre (Miller 2011). This set of discursive roles is what distinguishes art magazines from other gatekeepers in the reputational economy.

OCAMs who occupy dominant positions in the field of OCAMs also occupy dominant positions in the artworld (Allen 2011, 7), and perform important roles regarding its reproduction and the regulation of its reputational economy. Firstly, OCAMs are constituted as gatekeepers who can control access to recognition in the artworld (for more

on gatekeepers, see Grenfell and Hardy 2003). Secondly, premised on their pedagogic authority (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 13) and their speaker positions (Keller 2011, 52), OCAMs perform the role of spokespeople (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 24). A spokesperson is an agent authorised to speak on behalf of a group, an agent whose "speech concentrates within it the accumulated symbolic capital of the group which has delegated him and of which he is the authorised representative" (ibid., 109-110). This delegation is often implicit rather than institutionalised and, for Bourdieu, is not founded in an agent's discursive practice but on their position in the field (ibid., 170). That said, though Bourdieu was not seen to do so, the structuring role of discourse should also be accounted for. One significant development is that contemporary art magazines' roles as gatekeepers and spokespeople have been enhanced by new information communication technologies (ICTs) (e.g. websites, search engines, email, smartphones, etc.). These technologies facilitate the mystification of social hierarchy and social distance (Fairclough 2003, 75-76), thereby disguising the hierarchical relationship and spatial and temporal distance between OCAMs and their readers. In comparison to the limitations endured by print publications, these developments provide OCAMs hitherto unparalleled capacities to influence how the artworld is represented, who is important within it, and what it should value. Through these roles and enhanced by these technologies, OCAMs function to reproduce or transform the artworld's reputational hierarchy and nomos; thereby constituting ideal subjects for the analysis of the discursive norms and limits that regulate the construction of reputation in the artworld.

4.2. Negotiating Cultural and Commercial Discourse

From renaissance artists to pop artists to the 'Young British Artists', the field of art has long been a site where cultural and commercial practices have been combined and

negotiated. Artworld theorist Andrea Phillips points to this negotiation when stating that "the production of a spectacular narrative of financial value in the arts [coexists with a] different narrative in which trade is a word that is subsumed under a widely agreed ethos of art's value being priceless" (Phillips, 2015). This description illustrates how commercial imperatives and cultural prerogatives are negotiated in artworld discourse. In order to understand the regulation of OCAM Discourse, it is therefore important to understand that, as commercial agents in the artworld, they must negotiate these discourses. Because OCAMs financially profit from their positions by selling recognition in the form of advertising, and because the denigration of commercial pursuits and instrumental practices are nomos of the artistic field (Bourdieu 1996, 142), OCAMs must appear to be primarily concerned with the development and appreciation of art and secondarily concerned, if at all, with producing profit. As such, for the artworld to continue delegating authority to OCAMs to 'speak' on their behalf, their 'speech' must conform to this nomos. As this article will show, this conformity is realised through their adherence to the discursive norms and limits of OCAM Discourse, understood as primarily based on the nomos of the artworld. Adhering to these norms and limits allows OCAMs to successfully negotiate a combination of functionally distinct discursive practices. Namely, cultural practices, such as art criticism, journalism, and political commentary, and commercial practices, such as advertising, promotion, and art market reporting. This interdiscursivity can be considered within the broader context of an increasing "marketisation of discursive practices", which has been shown to result in the naturalisation of commercially-oriented discourse in fields typically oriented to cultural production, such as the field of education (Fairclough 1993).

4.3. The Field of OCAMs in the Field of Cultural Production

To appreciate the norms and limits regulating reputational construction in OCAM Discourse, the study aims to correlate salient patterns in their discourse with the principles cited in section 3.1. To grasp the role of these principles, we must first understand the position of the field of contemporary art magazines in relation to the field of cultural production. Illustrated in Figure 3, the artworld is located in the field of cultural production, which is itself located within the field of social space (i.e. society as a whole). The field of art magazines can be understood as a sub-field of the artworld but we must also acknowledge that it is a sub-field of journalism, which is also located in the field of cultural production. Straddling these fields,

The field of OCAMs acts in the artworld through the practices and genres of the journalistic field – both sub-fields located in the field of cultural production - and is therefore also oriented to accumulating capital in and subject to the nomos of the field of journalism (for field theoretical accounts of the journalistic field, see Couldry 2003; Benson 2006; Vos, Craft, and Ashley 2012). However, because the editors, writers, and, most importantly, readers of OCAMs are agents in the artworld, it is primarily the nomos of this field that comes to bear upon the principles of classification adhered to by these magazines.

[INSERT FIGURE 3]

4.4. The Field of OCAMs

To account for the discourse of dominant agents across the field of OCAMs (i.e. OCAM Discourse), this study examined the discourse of ARTnews, Artsy, Artforum, and e-flux. Accepting Artforum as the most dominant magazine in the field (Vasquez and

Azimi 2013), the comparative dominance of the other magazines is evidenced by their readership (see Table 1). These magazines can therefore be seen as competing for the power to represent the artworld, with their different positions vis-à-vis the cultural/commercial opposition meaning that this competition comes to bear on the relative value that cultural and commercial capital are afforded in the artworld. In a sense, the discourse of these magazines is, therefore, a feature of the competition between poles of production in the artworld.

[INSERT TABLE 1]

It is not necessary to fully unpack the differences in these OCAMs' possession of capital and genre mixes, and thereby the different bases of their discursive power. For the purposes of examining field-wide norms and limits, it suffices to demonstrate their divergent positions vis-à-vis poles of cultural and commercial production by briefly outlining their histories and some generic differences. ARTnews is the oldest art magazine in circulation. It contains reviews, advertisements and, tellingly, a Top 200 Collectors page, which reports on the art collectors which ARTnews' annually selects as the most important in the field. This focus on commercial agents and economic capital is indicative of its relative orientation to the commercial pole. Existing solely in an online format, Artsy is the newest entry to the field of OCAMs examined here. Founded in 2009 by Princeton computer science graduate Carter Cleveland, Artsy describes itself as a "platform for collecting and discovering art" (see www.artsy.net/about) and contains pages such as "Artworks" and "Magazine". What sets it most clearly apart from the other agents discussed here is its online auction page through which collectors can follow auctions live as well as bid on and buy artworks. This very deliberate focus on commercial

agents and the commercial functionality of the website are indicative of its relative orientation to the commercial pole of the field. Established in 1962, Artforum is widely regarded as the most prestigious art magazine and was instrumental in the development of the genre. It exists in print and online formats and subscription is required. It contains genres such as art reviews, editorials, and advertisements. As the exemplar of the art magazine, Artforum can be seen as setting the standards by which other magazines are measured, and therefore, as occupying a position in the centre of the field. Founded by artist Anton Vidolke in 1998, and only existing in an online format, e-flux contains genres such as art reviews, book reviews, announcements, and, an academically-styled journal page. The journal page, containing contributions from authors such as Bruno Latour, Boris Groys, Antonio Negri, and Slavoj Žižek, is indicative of e-flux's orientation to the cultural pole of the field, that which produces for a restricted audience.

This brief account sketches the positions of dominant OCAMs in terms of their orientation to cultural and commercial poles of production (see Figure 4). The selection of these agents thereby allows the study to take a synchronic slice of the dominant discourse in the field of OCAMs. Texts disseminated by ARTnews and e-flux were then selected for closer analysis as these agents are seen as suitably representative of divergent positions vis-à-vis cultural and commercial poles of production.

[INSERT FIGURE 4]

5. Methodology

This study is concerned with the use of *modifiers,* understood as an optional item that modifies a noun or phrase. Here, a modifier is essentially an 'adjectival item', one which functions to attach meaning to a noun or phrase. It is analogous to an *attribute*, Fairclough's preferred term. As with attributes, modifiers "may be an **adjective** (e.g. good) or a **noun phrase** (e.g. a good book) - or [realised] as **verbs** (the book is good) - or as **evaluative adverbs** (the book was well written) - or **exclamations** (the book is wonderful)" (Fairclough 2003, 172).

To examine the use of modifiers, the study moves between two corpora compiled from OCAM websites. The first corpus, hereon referred to as *Website Corpus*, was compiled from the websites of ARTnews, Artsy, Artforum, and e-flux, using the corpus linguistic software *SketchEngine*. This corpus was compiled on 05/03/2017 and contains approximately 4 million words. In order to determine the statistical significance of results, this corpus was compared with *EnTenTen13*, a 20 billion-word corpus of online discourse, compiled from a wide variety of different websites. The Website Corpus allowed the study "identify patterns" in the use of modifiers that are "generalisable" across the magazines' discourse (Hyland and Paltridge 2011, 139). To identify whether these patterns were quantitatively salient at the micro level of text and to qualitatively analyse the extent to which these patterns actually realised a promotional function within texts, a second corpus was compiled, comprised of three ARTnews Reviews, three e-flux Announcements, and both magazines' About pages. This second corpus, hereon referred to as *Article Corpus*, contains approximately four thousand words. Text selection involved first selecting the first article to appear on ARTnews' homepage on 26/11/2017, then an article on e-flux's website that represented the same event, and finally the two

first articles to appear on each website (on the date of compilation), along with both magazines' About pages (see Table 2).

[INSERT TABLE 2]

To examine the Website Corpus, keywords lists were compiled which attended to *Mutual Information* scores (MI). Following Kilgarrif (2012), the study employed the *Simplemaths* formula when compiling the results of the analysis. Simply put, this involves adding 1 to the frequency (per million words) of keyword results in both the focus and reference corpora (e.g. changing 0 to 1 or 56 to 57). This approach allows the analysis to better identify the lexical character of the corpora by mediating the misleading results produced when identifying the statistical significance of low-frequency words in the focus corpus. This is because, if a word such as 'Gouache' appeared only twice in the focus corpus but zero times in the reference corpus, it would achieve a high MI score, placing it high on the keyword list in terms of statistical significance. However, by adding 1 to both results, we normalise the discrepancy caused by the relatively disproportionate value of 0 (achieving a ratio of 3/1 rather than 2/0) and thereby facilitate the higher ranking of words that can be said, statistically speaking, to better characterise the focus corpus in comparison to the reference corpus.

As the Article Corpus was not used to identify statistical significance, the Simplemaths formula was not considered necessary to identify salient modifiers and was therefore not applied to the results of the quantitative analysis of modifiers in this corpus. The qualitative analysis of this corpus attended to the semantic prosody of modifiers. First used by Louw (Baker and Tognini-Bonelli, 1993), the definition of semantic prosody is

contentious. For Partington (2004), semantic prosody is the property of a word constituted by its reoccurring context, whereas for Sinclair (2004), it is the property of longer sequences of co-occurring items that have a word at their core (Hunston 2007, 250). In line with Partington's approach, Stubbs's (1996) oft-cited proposition that the word "cause" has a negative prosody because it consistently co-occurs within larger units of meaning that have a negative connotation (e.g. "likely to *cause* a lot of confusion") is challenged by Hunston (2007), who provides examples from academic discourse (e.g. "how will we be certain that they are *caused* by dark matter particles?") to demonstrate the "importance of immediate co-text to the interpretation of a given word" (254) and that "a word which is used in a certain way in most contexts is not necessarily used in that way in all contexts" (ibid., 252). As such, although recognising that the positive, neutral, or negative prosody that a lexical item acquires through consistent use within a series of contexts can carry over to the use of the item within other contexts, this study sees the prosody of items as based, firstly, on the prosody implied by the immediate co-text, and secondly, on the specificities of the context of its interpretation, that is, on the nomos of the field in which they appear. In regard to the second basis, this is because, from a Bourdieusian perspective, if an attribute can be said to possess a particular value within a particular discourse, as Fairclough (2003, 58) states, this value should also be seen as produced in relation to the nomos of the field in which the discourse is mobilised and interpreted. This would seem to be especially so in the artworld because it is characterised by a specialised discourse. The field's nomos can therefore be seen as constitutive of the implicit value systems of the agents who produce and interpret this discourse, and, therefore, as constituent of it.

6. Constructing Reputation through Modifiers

Using examples from the Article Corpus, this section considers the explicit and implicit means by which modifiers can be evaluative.

6.1. Explicit Evaluation

The example below is of the explicitly evaluative modifier "leading", taken from e-flux's About page. "Leading" is applied, through the semantic relations of the list, to all institutions listed including those belonging to the "and others" sub-category, being a hierarchical construction in itself – thereby constructing a classificatory scheme, representing these institutions as occupying dominant positions in the artworld. Such schemes function to communicate the reputational hierarchy of the field; reproducing or transforming it.

<u>Who uses e-flux?</u>
Nearly all the leading art museums, biennials, cultural centers, magazines, publishers, art fairs, and independent curators worldwide, including:

Museums such as:
The Museum of Modern Art, New York; The Guggenheim, New York; Whitney Museum, New York; Museum Ludwig, Cologne; Tate Modern, Great Britain; Moderna Museet, Sweden; Castello di Rivoli Museo d'Arte Contemporanea, Italy; Generali Foundation, Austria; and others.

Biennials such as:
Sao Paulo Biennial; Istanbul Biennial; Whitney Biennial; Venice Biennial; Berlin Biennial; Athens Biennial; Lyon Biennial; Dakar Biennial; Valencia Biennial; Manifesta; Moscow Biennial; and others.

Art fairs such as:
Art Basel, Frieze Art Fair, Art Hong Kong, Artissima and others.

Magazines, including:
Artforum, Parkett, Frieze, Flash Art, Bookforum, Cabinet, Afterall, Aprior, Text zur Kunst and others.

Art book publishers and distributors such as:
Phaidon, Great Britain; D.A.P., USA; JRP|Ringier, Zurich; Revolver, Frankfurt; and others.

Extract 1: Article Corpus: e-flux 4.

6.2. Implicit Evaluation

The example below, also taken from the Article Corpus, shows how descriptive modifiers acquire an evaluative function through their co-text and context. Here, the modifiers "strange" and "a little frightening" achieve a positive semantic prosody, and thereby an evaluative function, through their accompanying modifiers "moving" and "one of the best". If the exhibition is one of the best, then its strangeness is likely a positive characteristic. Similarly, the negative connotation of "frightening" is tempered by the modifier "moving". But the positive connotations of "strange" and "a little frightening" are also produced by the context. That is, where "strange" and "a little frightening" might typically have a negative connotation in the field of medicine, they can have a positive connotation in the artworld. "Strange" can be understood as positive because the artworld values innovation and aberration, as noted in the second and third principles of division. "Frightening", somewhat less obviously, can be taken to mean that the exhibition evokes emotions such as apprehension, anxiety, and excitement but is not actually frightening in the unqualified sense of the word, as perhaps an instance of violent crime might be. This more positive reading of frightening is also indicated by the hedging phrase "a little", which modifies its severity. In this way, modifiers can make subtle appeals to an implicit value system, representing artists, or in this case an exhibition, in a way that appears descriptive but is potentially evaluative.

"It is *moving*, *strange*, and a little *frightening*, and it is *one of the best* shows being presented in the Giardini this year."

Extract 2. Article Corpus: ARTnews 1.

Illustrated in Figure 5, the modifiers in the Article Corpus have, predominantly, a positive prosody. The positive prosody of the modifiers in the ARTnews Reviews, and to a lesser extent the e-flux Announcements - because, as paid press releases, they have an undeniable, even if somewhat obfuscated, commercial function - suggests that these could be understood as hortatory reports, texts with "a covert prescriptive intent" which "are promotional rather than analytical" (Fairclough 2003, 95-96) and in which "factual statements are to a significant degree implicit evaluations" (ibid., 112). Promotion is, by definition, biased and instrumental, and necessarily so, but biased representation and instrumentality conflict with the anti-commercial nomos of the field of cultural production, particularly the principles upheld at the cultural pole by practices such as art, art criticism, and journalism. The titling of these genres, which can be seen as lexicalisations, suggests that ARTnews and e-flux are aware of the need to adhere to the discursive norms constituted by the nomos of the artworld and that they disguise the promotional functions of these genres as cultural in order to maintain legitimacy while securing economic profits. However, the size of the Article Corpus renders identifications of the typical prosody of these genres tentative. What is clear is that all texts in the Article Corpus, although titled with journalistic functions, perform a promotional function through an almost exclusively positive representation of their subjects; suggesting that positive representation may be a prevalent norm in OCAM Discourse.

[INSERT FIGURE 5]

7. The Discursive Limits of Explicit Evaluation

To first get an idea of a normal use of explicitly evaluative modifiers, we can look at the most salient modifiers associated with the nouns "Artist", "Author", "Actor", "Musician" and "Writer" within the enTenTen13 corpus, which can be seen as representative of texts outside the artworld. A keyword list of the most salient modifiers was compiled. These modifiers were then sorted into topoi that best described the qualities these modifiers referred to (see Table 3). The salient categories identified are *National*, *Age*, *Evaluative*, *Gender* and *Type*. As shown in Figure 6 below, for all these agents, explicitly evaluative modifiers are very salient, second only to modifiers of type.

[INSERT TABLE 3]

[INSERT FIGURE 6]

Comparing the modifiers of "Artist" in the enTenTen13 corpus and Website Corpus, we can see that explicitly evaluative modifiers are much less salient (Figure 7). This suggests that there may be discursive limits at work in these magazines whereby the use of explicitly evaluative modifiers is regulated. The other significant difference between the reference corpus and the Website Corpus is the magazines' prevalent use of national modifiers, as discussed in the following section.

[INSERT FIGURE 7]

In the eight texts of the Article Corpus, all the modifiers used to represent artists, artworks, exhibitions, and institutions were compiled into a keyword list and then sorted

into the following salient categories: *Descriptive*, *Emotive*, *Evaluative* and *Comparative*. The Descriptive category contains modifiers such as "huge", "surreal", and "wild", the Emotional category modifiers such as "worried", "anxious" and "fearful", and the Evaluative category items such as "wonderful", "extraordinary" and "powerful". The two Comparative modifiers are "oldest" and "more raw". Looking at Figure 8, we see that only five out of the seventy-four modifiers used were applied to artists - the other notable pattern in Figure 8 being that the modifiers applied to artists are all Descriptive. This is not simply because the texts refer more to artworks than artists for verbs in these articles are applied to artists as often as they are to artworks (see Figure 9). This suggests that modifiers may seldom be applied to artists in these magazines, and, supporting the initial finding, that when they are, they are rarely explicitly evaluative. This, again, points to a discursive limit regulating their use.

[INSERT FIGURE 8]

[INSERT FIGURE 9]

From a Bourdieusian perspective, this limit can be seen as based on historically-constituted oppositions between art and practices such as advertising. This is the opposition between culture and commerce, between disinterest and self-interest. In other words, for media discourse in the artworld, even if the function of the text is promotional, OCAMs cannot completely reveal promotion as a goal, as the use of explicitly evaluative modifiers might signal. To adhere to the discursive norms of the field, the goal of OCAM texts should appear to be, primarily at least, the development and appreciation of art -

OCAM texts must be predominantly presented as culturally-motivated products rather than commercially-motivated ones.

8. The Discursive Norms surrounding National Modifiers

Returning to the five Descriptive modifiers applied to artists in the Article Corpus (Figure 8), we

Observe again the predominance of national modifiers (four out of five; see Figure 10); indicating that their use constitutes a discursive norm. This then raises the question as to whether they are performing a purely descriptive function or not. The symbolic value that cultural difference enjoys in the artworld is commonly understood by its agents and has been noted in the literature on artistic reputation. Jonathan Harris (2013, 25) observes the contemporary artworld as tied to the virtues of multiculturalism and globalisation, and, paraphrasing Jean Fisher, notes how artists' cultural difference has become more "readily marketable". Similarly, Elizabeth Currid (2007) observes how "place affirms the legitimacy and value of a cultural good and the artist who created it […] [how it] brands the cultural good" (389). Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, the interpretation we are therefore proposing is that National modifiers can construct artists' reputations by performing their cosmopolitanism. This requires that we understand these modifiers as "props" of sorts, signalling the possession of capital to an audience (Goffman 1990, 143-144), and as "performative utterances" (Austin 1962, 6-7), in the sense that they work to produce hierarchies in the field. This paper is not concerned with the intent behind these performances, rather the observation that cosmopolitanism is a form of cultural capital in the artworld and that National modifiers can communicate this value.

[INSERT FIGURE 10]

To demonstrate how this communication functions at the level of text, we consider two examples of *performances of cosmopolitan capital* taken from an e-flux announcement in the Article Corpus. The first statement performs the artist's embodied cosmopolitan capital by representing her place of birth, her dual nationality, and her cosmopolitan upbringing. The second extract, more directly, performs her embodied cosmopolitan capital by representing its effect on her habitus and art practice. These examples further illustrate how seemingly neutral narrative description can be implicitly evaluative, and that such implicit evaluation can only be understood by attending to the value system of a specific field and not to linguistic data alone.

"Born in Tunis in 1978, the Russian-Tunisian artist grew up in Tunis, Kiev and Dubai […]."

Extract 3. Article Corpus: E-flux 2.

"The way that Nadia Kaabi-Linke thinks and works is constantly being influenced by her perspective as a cosmopolitan."

Extract 4. Article Corpus: E-flux 2.

9. Results

The results of this study suggest that there are discursive norms and limits at work in the field of OCAMs. Firstly, the high rate of positive semantic prosody among modifiers in the Article Corpus suggests that a predominantly positive representation of artists, artworks, exhibitions, and institutions is characteristic of e-flux Announcements

and ARTnews Reviews. Secondly, it appears that, when these magazines discuss artists, modifiers are seldom used and when they are it appears that explicitly evaluative modifiers are, to a large extent, prohibited. This discursive limit can be seen to regulate the construction of artistic reputation by OCAMs in accordance with the nomos of the artworld. Thirdly, the findings suggest that there is a discursive norm according to which artists are predominantly classified in terms of nationality. The modifiers used in these classifications, although perhaps appearing to play a purely descriptive role, have been shown capable of constructing artists' reputations by performing their possession of cosmopolitan capital. This classificatory norm reproduces the value of cosmopolitan capital in the artworld, thereby naturalising nationality as an objective and fundamental criterion for the evaluation of artists.

10. Discussion

The predominantly positive prosody of e-flux Announcements and ARTnews' Reviews suggests that promotion is a function of OCAM Discourse at both, the commercial and the cultural pole of the field. That magazines at both poles were also seen to represent promotional genres as having purely cultural functions illustrates how they negotiate cultural and commercial discourses to disguise their relationship to the commercial field, primarily the art market, in which the reputational value constructed by these texts can be transubstantiated into money.

The discursive limit identified as surrounding the application of modifiers to artists and the use of explicitly evaluative modifiers, in general, can be understood as dialectically related to the anti-commercial nomos of the artworld. Considered in light of the increasing marketisation of cultural practices and institutions, this nomos-based limit

might be seen as protecting artistic discourse from colonisation by the more obvious elements of commercial discourse. This limit, as a type of 'interdiscursive shield', evidences the opposition between the artworld and the commercial field - an opposition which must be maintained to preserve the cultural basis of artistic value but which must also be negotiated to secure commercial profits in the artworld. The discursive norm identified as surrounding OCAMs' use of National modifiers is seen as reproducing the value of cosmopolitan capital in the artworld, thereby functioning to reify and instrumentalise cultural difference. In principle, the instrumentalisation of cultural difference to construct artists' reputations could be seen to transgress the nomos of the artworld. However, this norm, shown to be adopted across the field of OCAMs, is most likely doxic. That is, these classifications have likely been naturalised to the point that they are unreflectively reproduced.

By empirically identifying the discursive norms and limits that structure the construction of artistic reputation and how these norms and limits are related to nomos, this study goes some way toward demystifying the discursive maintenance of exaggerated hierarchies in the artworld. From a theoretical perspective, the analysis of these discursive norms and limits also demonstrates that discourse is a means whereby the value of particular species of capital and the opposition between cultural and commercial production are reproduced and transformed in the artworld. The study thereby contributes to both, discourse analysis and field theory literature by evidencing the structuring role that discourse plays in the reproduction of fields, supporting the premise put forward by Chouliaraki and Fairclough that discourse is dialectically related to fields rather than simply being a product of them. This article thereby contributes to the development of theoretical frameworks and methodologies capable of empirically analysing the

discursive construction of artistic reputation. Such an endeavour could be bolstered by future studies which compile a larger corpus for qualitative analysis, analyse a broader group of subjects, or expand observation to other sub-fields of the artworld. This endeavour would also be greatly enhanced by a diachronic analysis of the emergence of linguistic devices for constructing artistic reputation and by an analysis of the dispositives with which such devices could be associated.

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Tables

Magazine	Readership

Artforum	60,000
ARTnews	180,000
e-flux	90,000
Artsy	550,000

Table 1. Online Contemporary Art Magazine Readership. Sources: https://www.artforum.com/, http://www.artnews.com/, http://www.e-flux.com/, https://contently.com/2016/09/09/artsy-art-content/, accessed 12/02/2017.

Text	Title	Post Date	Hyperlink
ARTnews 1	There She Blows: Geoffrey Farmer Builds a Geyser in the Canadian Pavilion	05/09/17	http://www.artnews.com/2017/05/09/there-she-blows-geoffrey-farmer-builds-a-geyser-in-the-canadian-pavilion/
ARTnews 2	Fright Show: Peabody Essex Museum Examines the Art of Horror and Sci-Fi Film Posters	11/17/17	http://www.artnews.com/2017/11/17/fright-show-peabody-essex-museum-examines-art-horror-sci-fi/
ARTnews 3	Stranger in a Strange Land: A Rashid Johnson Show Resonates in Rural England	09/08/17	http://www.artnews.com/2017/09/08/stranger-in-a-strange-land-a-rashid-johnson-show-resonates-in-rural-england/
ARTnews 4	About	-	http://www.artnews.com/about/
e-flux 1	National Gallery of Canada. Geoffrey Farmer's A way out of the mirror, a success at the Venice Biennale 2017	26/11/17	https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/155136/geoffrey-farmer-s-a-way-out-of-the-mirror-an-enormous-success-at-the-venice-biennale-2017/
e-flux 2	Nadia Kaabi-Linke Sealed Time	26/11/17	https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/164941/nadia-kaabi-linkesealed-time/
e-flux 3	Museum der Moderne Salzburg. Space&Photography	25/11/17	https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/150975/space-photography/
e-flux 4	About	-	https://www.e-flux.com/about

Table 2. Article Corpus

	"Artist"	"Actor"	"Author"	"Musician"	"Musician"
Evaluative	Talented, Famous, Professional, Renowned, Featured, Favorite	Talented, Famous, Professional, Well-known, Aspiring, Favourite, Best, Lead, Veteran	Lead, Famous, Award-winning, Renowned, Aspiring, Favorite, Favourite, [Best-] Selling, Original, Acclaimed, best-selling, Well-known, Unknown	Talented, Famous, Professional, Accomplished, Aspiring, Gifted, Amateur, Renowned, Fine, Legendary	Talented, Famous, Professional, Prolific, Aspiring, Gifted, Experienced
Type	Makeup, Martial, Recording, Visual, Tattoo, Contemporary, Graphic, Scam, Solo, Con, Music, Graffito, Guest, Independent, Writer	Non-state, Voice, Character, Musician, Writer, Stage, Film, Singer, Society	Study Indie Fiction Article Cookbook Book Quote Speaker	Jazz, Artist, Chamber, Session, Classical, Studio, Actor, Folk, Rock, Writer, Dancer, Singer, Poet	Freelance, Fiction, Staff, Song, Article, Artist, Copy, Travel, Science, Essay, Ghost, Content, Letter, Script, Resume, Blog
Age	Young	Young, Child	-	Young	-
Gender	Female	Male	-	-	Woman

National	Local, International	Hollywood, Bollywood, British	-	-	-
Other	-	Namby-pamby	Hongxiutianxiang, Post	Fellow	Fellow

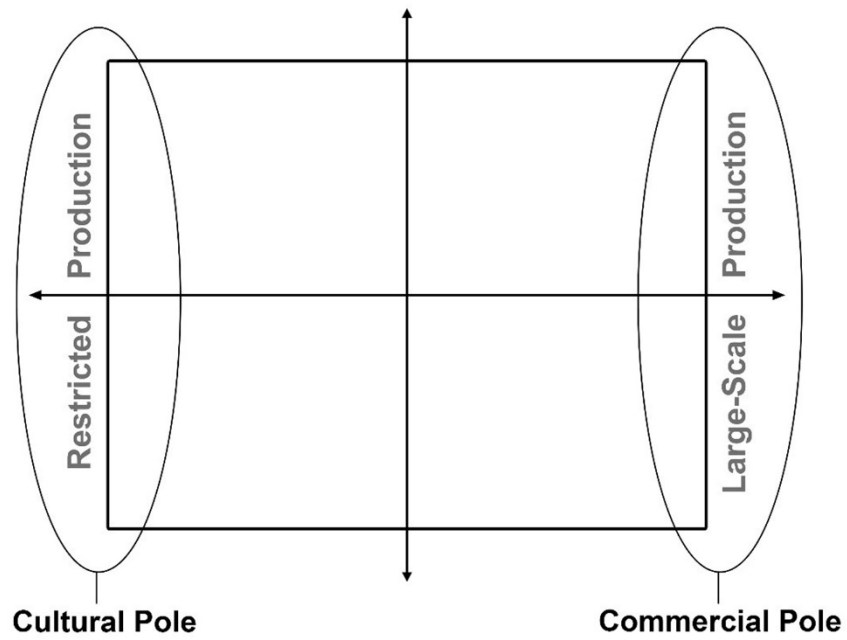Table 3. EnTenTen13 Modifier Keywords by Topoi
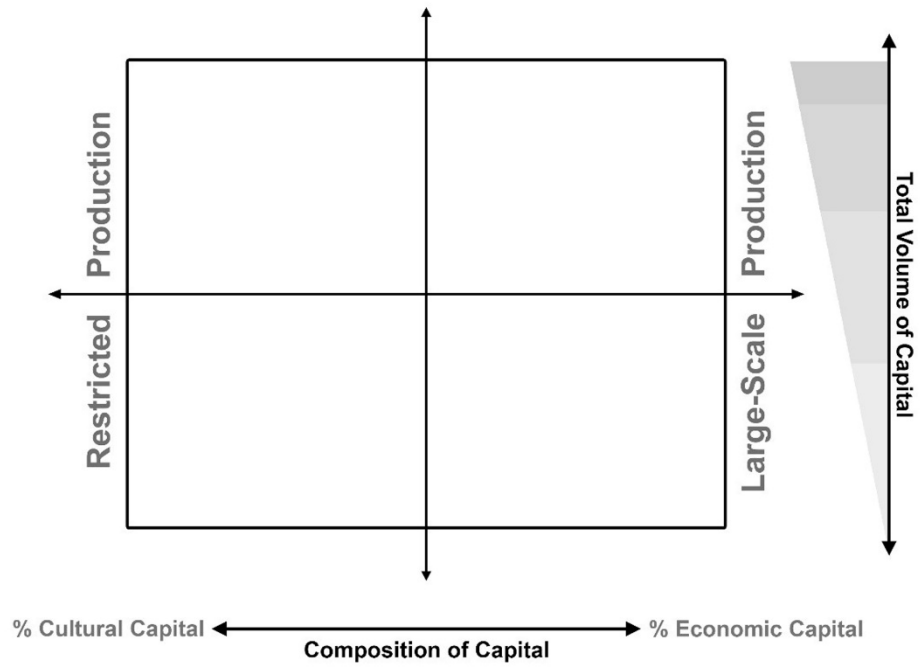
Figures

Figure 1. Cultural and commercial poles of production
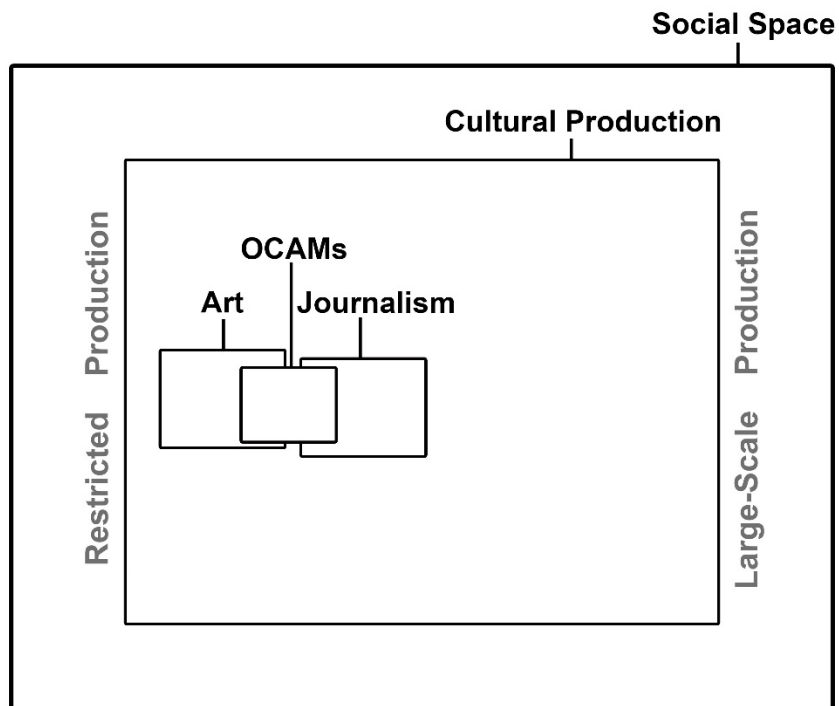
Figure 2. Total volume and composition of capital

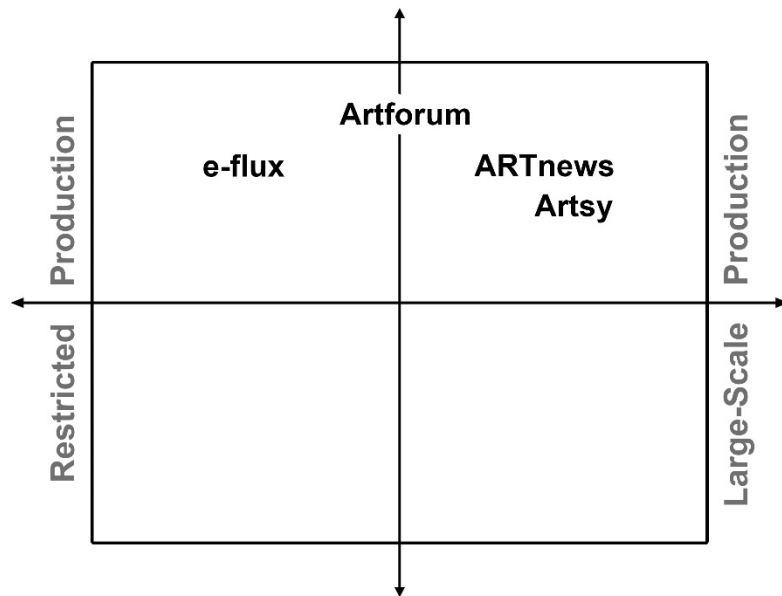Figure 3. The field of artworld in the field of cultural production

Figure 4. Orientations to poles of production in the field of online art magazines
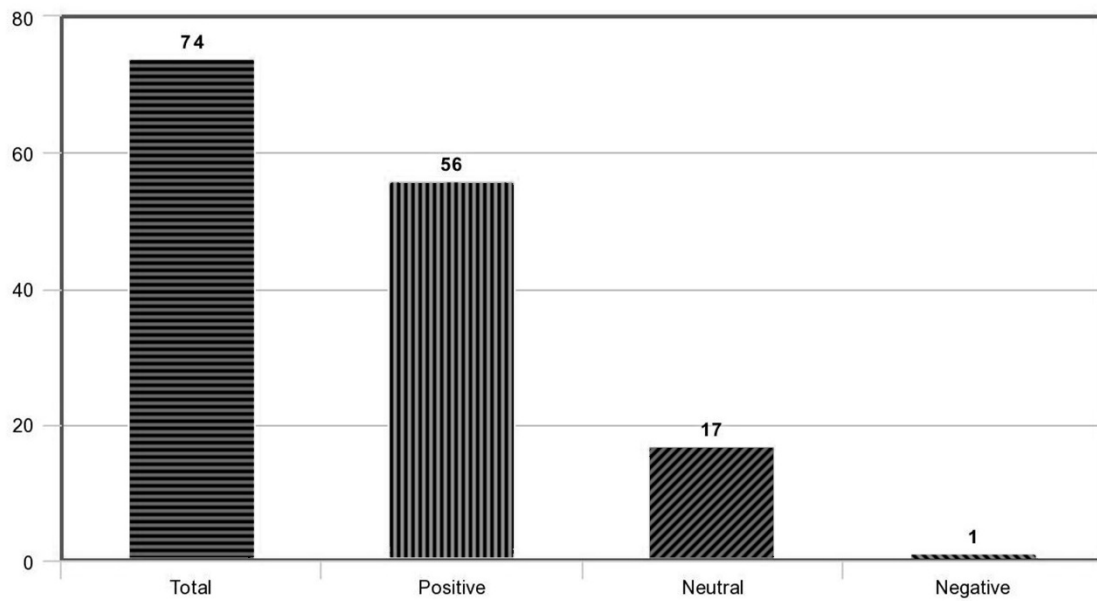
Figure 5. Article Corpus: Semantic prosody of modifiers.
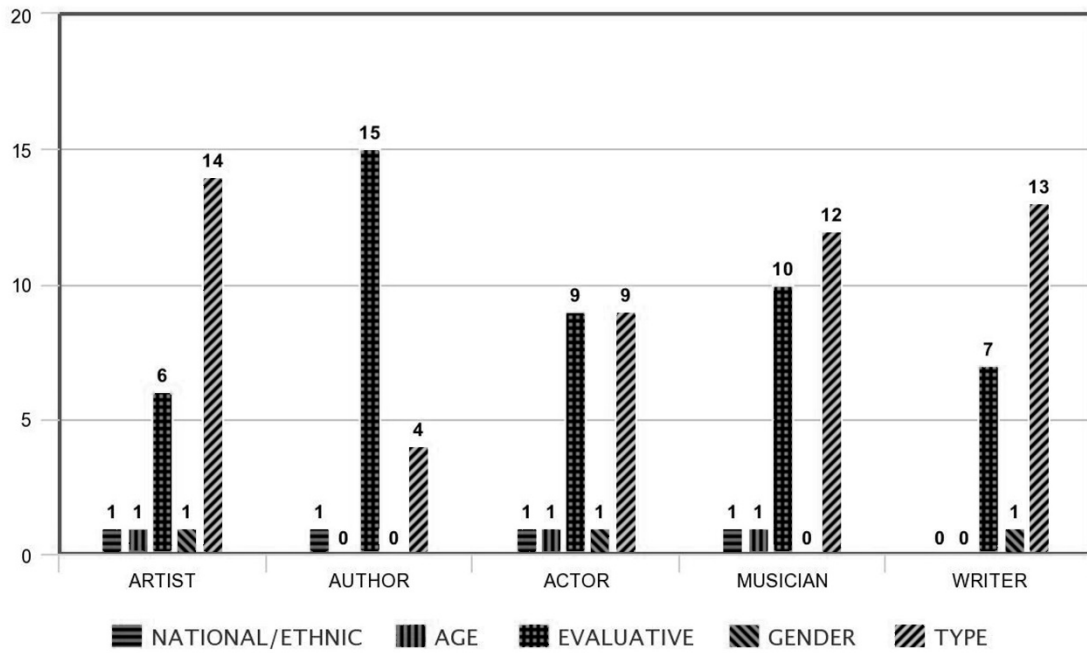
Figure 6. EnTenTen13: Modifiers
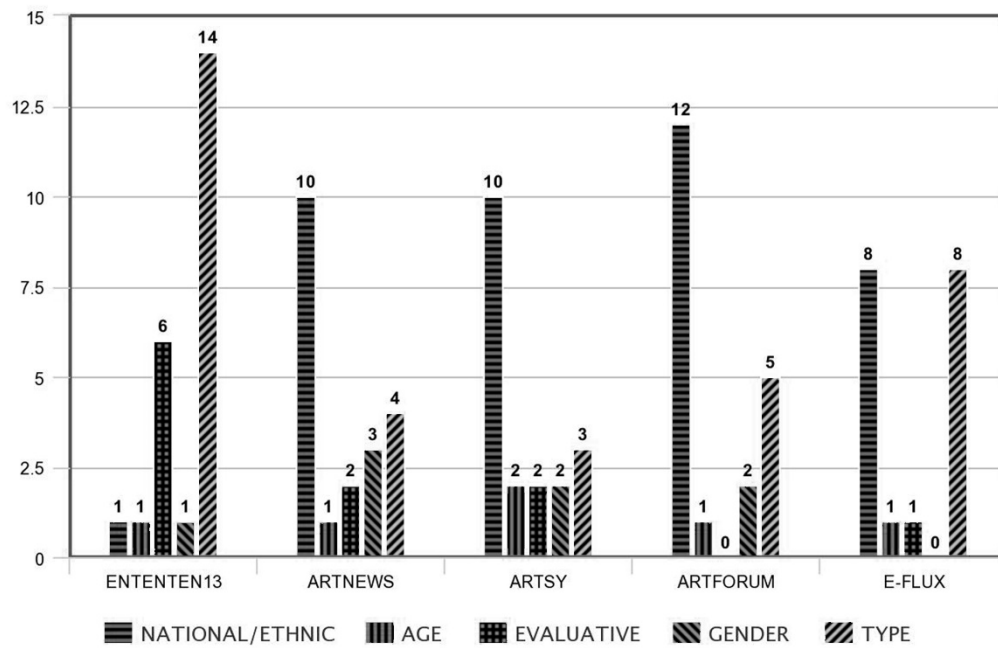
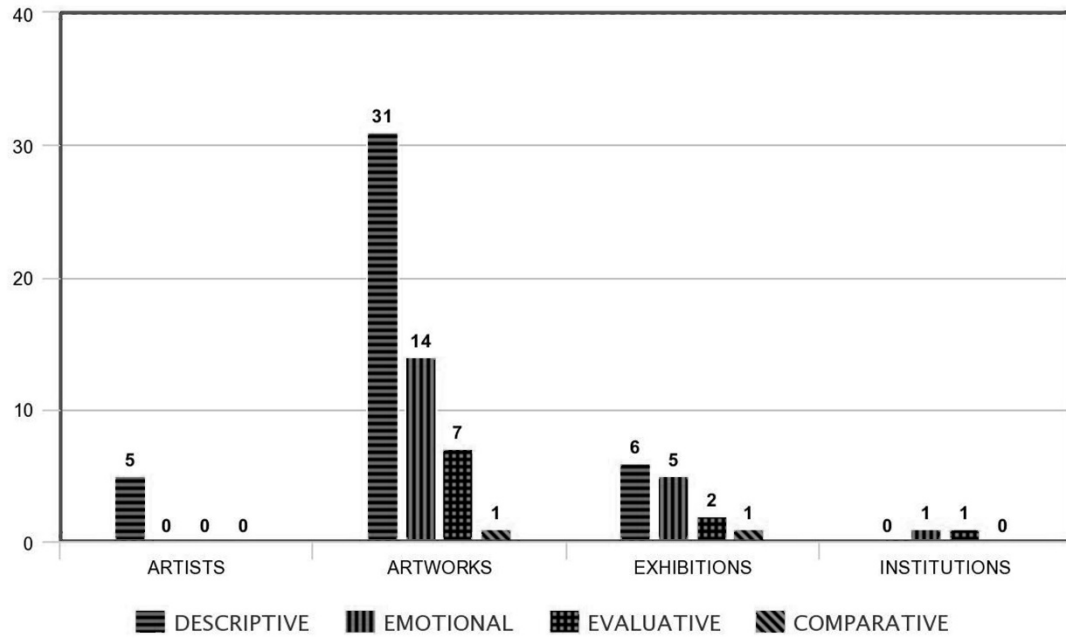Figure 7. EnTenTen13 and Website corpora: Modifiers of 'Artist'
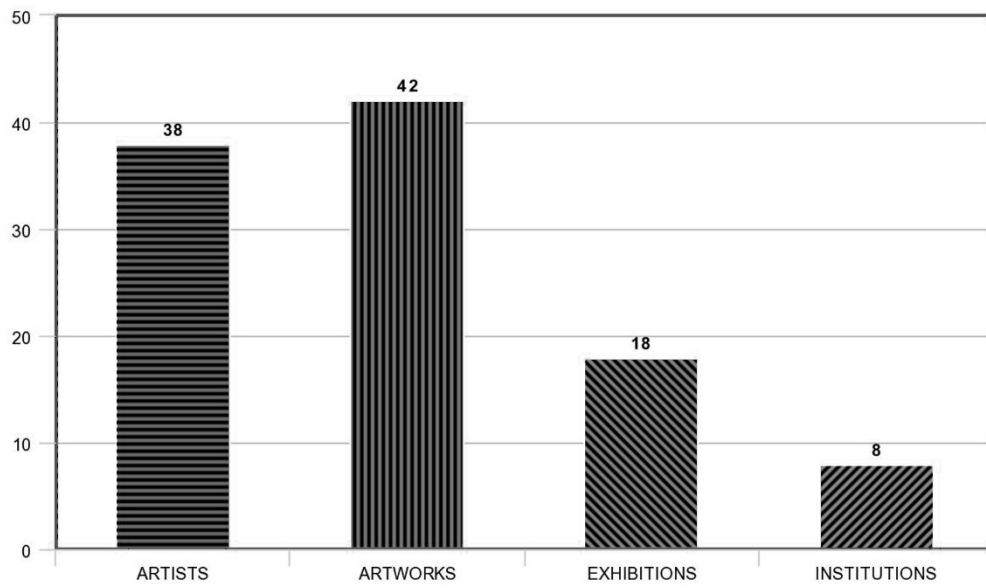
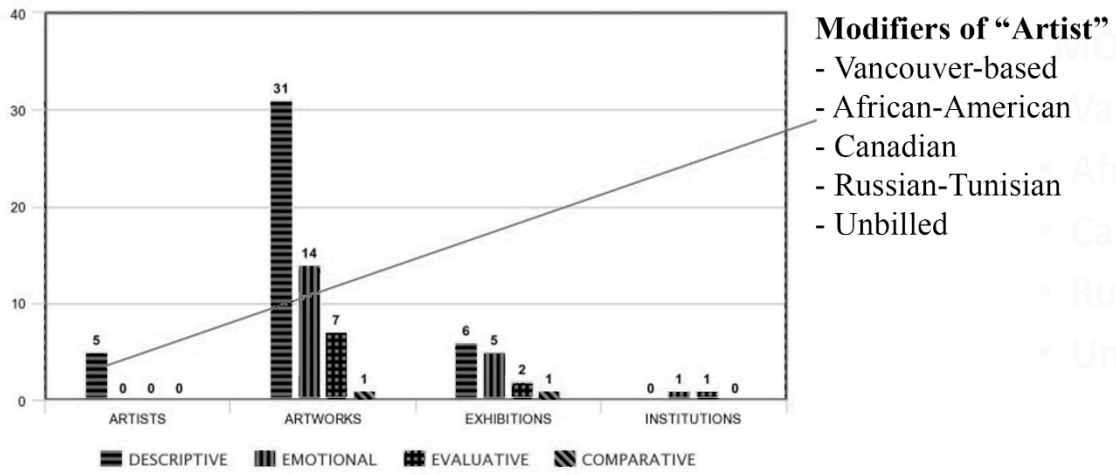Figure 8: Article Corpus: Modifiers

Figure 9. Article Corpus: Frequency of verbs

Figure 10. Article Corpus: Descriptive modifiers of 'Artist'