

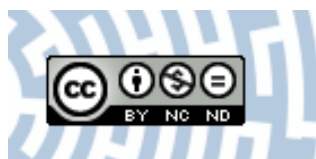


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ADAM WOJTASZEK



**DECIPHERING RADIO COMMERCIALS
- A PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE**

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



Katowice 2002

Deciphering Radio Commercials
— a Pragmatic Perspective

*Prace Naukowe
Uniwersytetu Śląskiego
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Adam Wojtaszek

*Deciphering Radio Commercials
— a Pragmatic Perspective*

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



Katowice 2002

Editor of the Series: Językoznawstwo Neofilologiczne
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Chapter 1

Analysing advertisements

There are many books and articles analysing the language of advertising within numerous theoretical frameworks and for various purposes. The majority of them sees advertising as a part of marketing processes and business interactions, which reflects the place advertising occupies in the contemporary world. None of these publications, however, can escape the fact that the medium through which ads can interact with the general public and thus perform its function is language. All people involved in the advertising industry are forced to make references to the linguistic aspect of ads from time to time, even those who are preoccupied mainly with mathematical analyses of effects of advertising, because success in this field is very much dependent on intelligent and smart use of language in an advertising copy. At the same time, I am not undermining the importance of other aspects of advertising having little or nothing to do with language — being not an expert in this field I do not possess sufficient knowledge to be in the position to do that, I am not even able to estimate to what extent the language of ads contributes to the overall success of an advertising campaign.¹ Nevertheless, it has to be accepted as an axiom that language plays a very important and vital role in any advertising enterprise.

¹ All authors analysing the language of advertising quoted in this thesis are in agreement about the fact that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine the relationship between the language used in ads and the eventual success or failure of an advertising campaign. This results from the fact that other, non-linguistic factors are at play, such as the medium through which the ad is transmitted, the timing of the campaign, the saturation of the market, relative position of the advertiser in the market, the price of the commodity, season of the year, and many, many others. Although it is possible to give several examples of advertising campaigns which fell flat precisely due to wrong or careless linguistic choices (as in the case of Colgate-Palmolive concern who were trying to sell their “Cue” toothpaste in France with its original name, not realising that this word had a vulgar meaning in French - cf. Kwarciak (1997: 226)), it is much more difficult in case of successful campaigns.

Many linguists, marketing specialists, sociologists and even ordinary consumers must have read a book or an article about advertising language at some point. There are a few publications, however, which deserve special attention and which are most often quoted by scholars preoccupied with the analysis of ads. Considering their influence on our understanding and perception of advertising and their thoroughness of approach to the subject of analysis, they deserve more than a passing notice in this thesis. That is why I am going to characterise briefly each of them, pointing to the most important issues raised by the authors and evaluating their significance for the subject of this study. It should be borne in mind, however, that the choice of the literature presented below is restricted to the books analysing the language of advertising in fairly general terms, while concentrating mainly on English and Polish, thus being the most relevant in the context of this study.

One of the first most comprehensive attempts at the analysis of advertising language is Geoffrey Leech's book *English in Advertising* (1966). It is probably also the most widely known publication among those people who study the language of advertising and although it was written over thirty-five years ago, it still provided patterns and frameworks for analysis in the 1990's (cf. Cheshire & Moser 1994). We have witnessed certain changes of fashion in the strategies and approaches to advertising over the last thirty-five years, but most of Leech's observations on the language of ads remain valid today. The language of this book is fairly straightforward and does not presuppose any linguistic knowledge on the part of the reader — all the metalanguage used in the analysis is introduced by the author in the first part, which makes it an excellent reading for those who are at the start of their academic adventure with the language of ads.

Leech's book is divided into three major parts. In the first one the author tries to outline the major differences between the English language used in advertising and the 'unmarked' English. Although it may be claimed that the latter probably does not exist,² the language of advertising can be to a certain extent defined in terms of its peculiarities and most salient elements. Leech does it also through reference to the communicatively understood advertising situation, media of transmission and types of address. In the second part we are presented with a thorough analysis of thus defined advertising language,

² One could argue that all uses of language are marked in some way by the widely understood context. Unmarkedness is by definition something not salient, which means it is more or less invisible. It is only when we come across something different, unconventional, divergent, that we notice its presence. In this context unmarkedness can be understood as an afterproduct of marked items, a carrier or a background for them. Since each language use carries with itself certain marked items, we would have to subtract all those salient elements from each example of language use to arrive at the unmarked variety of language.

which is called by Leech Standard Advertising English. His analysis is mainly syntactic in nature, with many references to the word-building processes and morphology, and a few remarks pertaining to semantic and pragmatic considerations. In the third part of his study Leech explores certain non-standard features of the language of advertising, noting at the same time that such non-standardness can be also thought about as a feature closely connected with the language of ads, as one of the ways to catch and hold prospective customers' attention.

The book as a whole offers an interesting and valuable insight into how the language of ads is actually capable of changing people's attitudes and behaviours.³ Leech demonstrates the way in which otherwise neutral words become the means of persuasion. Especially valuable is his discussion of the roles of people defined by ads and the forms of address used in them. In his analysis of the advertising syntax Leech also attempts to decipher the advertisers' intentions behind their frequent use, which in most of the cases is very plausible and convincing. When it comes to the features of his non-standard advertising language, we may observe that some of them have already become a part of today's good ad recipe.⁴

Another valuable insight into the way ads use language for persuasion is the study by Michael L. Geis *The Language of Television Advertising* (1982). Although it focuses almost entirely on the language of televised commercials, it is nevertheless very thorough in its approach and most of the observations made by Geis are relevant also for the language of advertising understood broadly, without making any specific reference to a particular medium. As in the case of Leech, the author introduces his own framework of analysis at the beginning of the book. Geis uses mostly Gricean approach in the discussion of inferences made by the audience and even tries to demonstrate on many occasions how exactly these inferences are arrived at. In his opinion, the main point of advertising is certain deception of the audience by the advertisers, for which the latter use all sorts of cunningly planned strategies. Advertising is seen here mostly as persuasion and manipulation. The theoretical background presupposes reader's familiarity with certain aspects of pragmatic theory, especially with the model of communication developed by Grice (1975).

Geis focuses mainly on indirectness in advertising. If we take for granted what is said overtly in ads, we are left with a whole set of possible implicit meanings which can be inferred from the context. The point which Geis

³ The evidence is, of course, not straightforward in the shape of cause and effect, it is rather circumstantial and secondary, being taken from real life situations and based on the way people react to words uttered in them.

⁴ For example the use of orthographic, lexical and grammatical violations to attract audience's attention.

often makes in his book is that advertisers should be held responsible not only for the overtly stated and presupposed claims, but also for the implicatures following from the contextual readings of the ads.⁵ He goes on to present various linguistic means of triggering such inferences (modal verbs, elliptical comparatives, compounding processes, rhetorical figures) and tries to show how we arrive at certain contextually dependent meanings. One of the main concerns of the book is also targeting children in ads and psychological and moral aspects of the problem.

For anyone who would like to apply the Gricean model of communication to the analysis of talk or ads, Geis's book is a good manual of how to do it. At the same time, however, it is definitely not complete when it comes to possible applications of the Gricean model, and some of the conclusions drawn by Geis seem to be a little too far-fetched, especially when it comes to the progress from one step to another in the models of inferencing he offers. Apart from that, it should be noted that the comments on the felicity conditions on comparisons, the discussion of OTC (Over The Counter) drugs in advertising and the methods of achieving indirectness, provide a very valuable insight into how advertising works in such cases.

The 1990's have seen a certain boom of both advertising and literature trying to encompass the ever-changing phenomenon. In 1992 Guy Cook published a very comprehensive study of advertising language entitled *The Discourse of Advertising*. As the title suggests, the author sees advertising as a type of discourse, although, as he himself admits, increasingly difficult to define and describe.⁶ The book is divided into three parts, dealing with the materials of ads (the substance and surroundings, music, pictures, writing, speech, the linguistic form and paralanguage), the text (connotations of words, linguistic parallelism, cohesive devices, communicative effects) and the participants of the communicative situation (senders and addressees, ways of hearing, judgements and observations upon ads, the psychological and sociological issues). The author makes frequent references to various theoretical frameworks,⁷ showing how they can be used in the explanations of how advertisements perform their role. In each case, however, the theoretical background is first very well introduced and explained and only then applied in the analysis. This makes the book by Cook accessible to the reader not familiar with the linguistic literature, although lack of

⁵ There is, however one thing which Geis is not very clear about — at one point he wants to hold the advertisers responsible for the conversational implicatures (a very strong claim, as conversational implicatures might be very different for different hearers), at another he restricts it only to the conventional ones (cf. Geis 1982:33 and 57).

⁶ Cf. Cook (1992:xiv, 1–9).

⁷ Such as Jakobson's poetic function of language, Saussurean semiology, Grice's Co-operative principle, Lakoff's Politeness Principle and many others.

certain theoretical preparation may render the reading of the book somewhat disruptive.

Another asset of the publication comes in form of the exercises which the author supplies at the end of each chapter. They allow the reader to check the understanding of the contents as well as enable him to compare his own opinions and observations with those of the author. Comprehensive lists of "further reading" items at the end of each chapter provide also a very useful reference for those who are interested in the thorough study of selected aspects described by Cook in relevant chapters. All the features mentioned above make Guy Cook's publication an excellent choice for a specialist course text-book.

The fourth book which I would like to review here is *Advertising Language* by Keiko Tanaka (1994). It is a very well constructed piece of work, dealing with advertising in popular magazines. More often than Leech or Geis, Tanaka makes references to the pictures and photographs in the ads in trying to analyse the message transmitted through the combination of linguistic and iconic meaning. She studies mainly the pragmatic level of advertising, trying to present (as Geis did) a model of inference drawing in processing of an ad. There is one thing, however, about which Tanaka cannot agree with Geis, namely the applicability of the Gricean model to the description of implicature drawing. At the beginning of her book she also criticises semiotic approaches used by Barthes (1984a) and Williamson (1983). In Tanaka's opinion the best theoretical framework available for such analysis is Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (1986), which the author subsequently applies in her analysis of English and Japanese advertisements.

The reader of Tanaka's book should be familiar with the Relevance Theory (RT), as well as with the Gricean model and the semiotic approaches to the analysis of language, otherwise the reading is very difficult and demanding at times. Once the RT is not a problem, however, one can see how powerful it can be when it comes to explaining how language actually works. Basically, it boils down to finding a feasible relevance of the message being transmitted, as almost all advertising uses covert (as opposed to ostensive) communication.⁸ Tanaka leads us through the process of extracting the inferences from advertisements, providing numerous examples of English and Japanese ads, discussing the use of puns, metaphors and certain vocabulary items encoding the position of women in the society. In this respect, Tanaka's study is a very

⁸ Ostensive communication is defined as an overt form of communication where there is, on the part of the speaker, an intention to alter the mutual cognitive environment of the speaker and the hearer, whereas covert communication is a case of communication where the intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive environment of the hearer, i.e. to make a set of assumptions more manifest to him, without making this intention mutually manifest; cf. Tanaka (1994: 36-58).

stimulating explication of the intercultural issues in world advertising, highlighting the fact that language is used for persuasion in different ways in different cultures. The comparative element of Tanaka's book not only shows how advertising performs its role in those two countries, but also how those two societies are constructed in terms of their linguistic mentality, especially when it comes to the culturally predetermined roles of women in the Japanese context.

One more book published in 1994 — *Words in Ads* by Greg Myers, is advertised by the author himself in the following way:

NEW! IMPROVED!! NOT TESTED ON ANIMALS!!!

It is only fair that a book on advertising state its sales brief up front: my aim is to lure unsuspecting students of media, popular culture, and communication into studying further how language works in society.

Myers (1994: vii)

His aims being stated clearly in the introduction, the author goes on to discuss numerous issues connected with advertising language. Myers's book comprises probably the widest area of topics in comparison to the studies reviewed so far — he is talking about the history of advertising, slogans, puns, metaphorical language, forms of address, syntax of ads, use of dialects and registers and taboo topics in advertising, to mention only the most important. It would seem that such a multitude of topics must necessarily involve superficial quality of the discussion, but in the case of Myers's book it is not so. True, there are issues which seem to be less important and less interesting for the author, but many of them were not thoroughly discussed in other works, either. In terms of the theoretical preparation of the reader the book is not very demanding — the author does his best to introduce all the relevant theoretical metalanguage in the course of his analysis. Myers is quite authoritative about the meaning of the ads he analyses, imposing his point of view and his interpretation, but in most of the cases he seems to be right, at least for the people with similar cultural background. There is one more important merit of his style of discussion. His book might be described as interactive, because it challenges the reader in many places to make his own suggestions as to the interpretation of the ads and other issues, withholding the author's answer until the conclusion of the chapter.

For the pragmatic analysis of the language of advertising especially useful would be Myers's discussion of the forms of address, taboos in the ads connected with AIDS and safe sex, analysis of puns, connotative meanings exploited in advertising and the motivation behind the use of various dialects and registers. Especially the two latter issues are very important, as they very often provide explanation for the mechanisms of implicature extracting

triggered by such marked use of language. In his outline of the history of advertising Myers also introduces an interesting hypothesis concerning the changes of standard approaches to advertising strategies over the last century. In his view, contemporary advertising tends more and more to fight for mere attention of the audience, represented by a jaded consumer surrounded by advertising everywhere he goes. This is supported by the observation that in an increasing number of ads we can find elements which would be described by Leech thirty years ago as non-standard, creative. All this adds up to the fact that it becomes more and more difficult to define the language of advertising as a genre.⁹

One of the latest books on advertising comes from a Polish author. It is Jerzy Bralczyk's *Język na sprzedaż* (1996). Similarly to the previous study, it is very comprehensive in terms of the issues covered and does not require academic preparation of the reader. Bralczyk presents ads as a game played by the advertiser with the audience, a game whose rules are controlled and not made explicit to the recipient by the sender of the message. Thanks to a linguistic study of advertisements, however, also the audience can become enlightened and from passive targets they can turn into active participants of the game. After such introduction Bralczyk goes on to discuss all possible strategies used in the persuasive language of advertising. It should not be surprising that we find here the same mechanisms and tactics which were described earlier by all the authors mentioned so far — persuasion in advertising works in a very similar way in many cultures, even as different as English and Japanese. There are, of course, such language-specific devices as the use of the case system, which could not be very much exploited in the English language for obvious reasons, but they constitute not more than a margin of all available linguistic devices. Bralczyk's book speaks for applicability of all systems of analysis discussed so far to the study of Polish data or data from any other language.

In his study Bralczyk describes the language of ads in both prescriptive and descriptive way. It might be quite enlightening for anyone who would like to try his hand at copywriting, but it is equally educating for the consumers, who are presented with a tool for deciphering often unclear and deceptive messages. For the students of the language of advertising it provides a good framework and point of reference in contrastive analysis. It is striking, for example, how similar Polish and English advertising is in terms of the words, syntactic constructions, and metaphors which are used most often,¹⁰ but the

⁹ I will come back to this issue later while trying to provide my own outline of the language of advertising as a separate genre.

¹⁰ Compare, for example, the adjectives used most often in Polish ads (Bralczyk 1996: 82–3) and in English commercials (Leech 1966: 152).

author does not restrict his discussion only to these phenomena. Pragmatics is by no means neglected in Bralczyk's book — we can find there reference to presupposition, implicature and deixis together with an explication of their use in the language of ads.

All the books discussed so far constitute a certain reference point for my study, they will be often quoted and used to exemplify various phenomena which could not be found in my sample of data. They by no means exhaust the literature on the subject — some other works¹¹ will also be referred to in relevant places. My aim was to make these studies more prominent among all others, as they bear immediate relevance to the topic of this particular study. Although this research is based only on radio advertising, most of the observations made in the literature presented above are no less valid for this particular medium.

¹¹ For example the book by Vestergaard & Schroeder *The Language of Advertising* (1985) or *Reklama. Studium pragmatolingwistyczne* by Katarzyna Skowronek (1993).

Chapter 2

A short outline of the advertising history

Although it is not the main concern of this study, I consider it fair to devote a few pages to the discussion of the history of advertising, not only due to its relevance, but also because it is in itself very interesting and beneficial for the understanding of the language of ads today. First I am going to describe the development of advertising in general and then I will say a few words about the discovery of the radio as an advertising medium and its subsequent development, concluding this part of my discussion with the description of the changes which were taking place on the linguistic level of advertising.

The first traces of what we can call a form of advertising come with authors' signatures on works of art and craftsmen's inscriptions on their products. Looking at the exhibits of Medieval armour and weapon in a museum we often notice short notices in the form of 'X made me' engraved on them. Such certificates might have served as advertisements of craftsmanship and talent of the maker, attracting potential customers who had a chance to come upon such a self-advertising product.

Another form of advertising was present already in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the form of hand-written public notices, bearing the Latin opening *Si quis* ('if anybody'), which advertised offers made to those who were in particular needs, but it could also act the other way round, publicising particular needs to anybody who could satisfy them. In the early eighteenth century, together with the development of commerce, there started to appear engraved written notices at the entrances to the shops, advertising the goods sold in them. In order to include all the important items, their language had to be very often abbreviated or reduced to the names of the goods offered by the merchant. Many historians of advertising see here the beginnings of the contemporary elliptical and abbreviated language of ads.

In his book on the history of advertising, Presbrey (1929) quotes interesting examples of ads published as early as 1692. They appeared in a bulletin edited by John Houghton, entitled *The Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*. They were characterised by an interesting use of the first person singular pronoun, not present in contemporary advertising in a form of direct address, and by subjective assessment of the advertised product by the advertiser. His role was to act as a kind of middleman between the manufacturer and the buyer:

- (1) I know a peruke maker that pretends to make perukes extraordinary fashionable and will sell good pennyworths; I can direct to him.¹²

This style, however, did not survive long enough to manifest itself in the advertisements published in the first regular newspapers at the end of the eighteenth century.

With the development of press there came also the development of ads. However, since the readership of these papers was not very big and the readers belonged to a relatively narrow social class, the ads published in those early days were necessarily directed at this very small group of people. Having said this, one should not forget that this group was the most influential and powerful — they were probably the only potential buyers of the goods which were advertised. The style of those ads was very impersonal and ceremonious, as befitted the readers of the newspapers. This situation was quite stable until the middle of the nineteenth century. Several important changes introduced in the society resulted in a very big metamorphosis in advertising. One of these transformations was taking place on the level of education. More and more people were gaining access to knowledge, there was less and less illiterate people, so the readership of newspapers was growing. The year 1855 witnessed the abolition of taxation on newspapers and advertising in Britain, which opened previously unknown possibilities before the developing advertising industry. At the same time in the United States advertisers developed their own method of fight against restrictions on advertising imposed on them by the tradition and the publishers. In those times ads could only have a form of today's classified short notices in small print, and as the result of that they were not very prominent, to say the least. In this situation an American journalist Robert Bonner started a fashion of publishing the same ad repeated so many times, that it often filled the whole page.¹³ This method of circumventing the existing standards soon spread to many countries and led to the change in the style of ads in newspapers.

¹² Cf. Presbrey (1929: 56–61).

¹³ Cf. Presbrey (1929: 236–43).

All these factors put together resulted in an explosion of various advertising techniques in the second part of the nineteenth century. Advertisers were testing numerous strategies and systems on the readers to see which would bring the desired results. While looking through the papers from these times one could come across various forms of ads — from big whole-page posters to small announcements, from pictures accompanied by slogans in huge print to illustrations with very detailed descriptions. Some of them were even disguised in a form of newspaper articles with sensational headlines. All of them had one aim, however: providing the customer with a reason for buying.

By the year 1920 the style of advertising achieved a certain standard and evolved to the form that we are familiar with nowadays. A couple of decades before that time a very important change had taken place in the minds of the people. Advertised products had stopped being ordinary things, they had turned into commodities. A commodity becomes an important part of people's lives, it is an answer to their new needs, it has its specific name and origin. To get people into the habit of buying commodities instead of ordinary things, it had become important to build a brand name, so this is what most of the companies had been doing. Around the year 1920, together with a relative saturation of the market with various competing products, there emerged a need for a certain shift in advertising strategies. Advertisers faced the necessity of selling people something more than a commodity, so they decided to sell them better life. Buying better life was inseparably connected with buying the commodity, the latter was the necessary condition of the former. Instead of stressing the advantages of the product, its positive influence on the comfort and well-being of the users was brought into attention. Advertisers were also trying to sell their products by creating new needs which people did not have before, or as they would have put it, which people did not know they had. It was necessary to create a problem and offer the solution to it in the form of the advertised product. Many such problems were born in the 1920's and 1930's — 'Civilisation's Curse'¹⁴ (constipation), body odour, iron-poor blood or dry skin.

Such an approach was bringing good results until the 1960's, and is continued successfully even nowadays, but in those times the new facts about the market seemed to call for a change in the advertising strategies. The consumer was surrounded by ads everywhere and, following his experience with many advertised products, grew very sceptical about the power of the commodities to change anybody's life for better. He had seen through all the tricks the advertisers were using to sell their products and he needed something new. In this situation, the advertising people decided to entertain the jaded consumer and in this way shape his positive attitude towards

¹⁴ This was the expression used in the ad of Fleischman Yeast in 1920. Cf. Myers (1994: 24).

advertising and manufacturers. We have to admit that it was a very good idea and that it worked. Nowadays ads are a very natural part of our lives: we talk about them, make jokes about them and sometimes collect them as pieces of art, because this is what some of them have become over the years — a form of art.

The history of radio as an advertising medium started in the 1920's in the United States. For some time after radio was invented it was not considered as an appropriate medium for ads. It was considered culturally unsuitable to invade the private territory of family homes with advertising and there were few people who actually believed that it could bring good results. This situation changed after the advertising agency Hill's, Lord & Thomas carried out a marketing experiment withholding the advertising of Lucky Strike cigarettes from any media other than radio for the period of two months.¹⁵ This brought about an astonishing increase of sales — they went up by 47%, which in turn opened the eyes of the advertisers for the new possibilities which radio carried with itself. In spite of that, however, until today radio is classified only as a secondary medium, supporting the primary advertising channels of television and press. It has a very important role, though, as it has access to potential buyers in situations where they are inaccessible for other media: in a car, in the kitchen, in the bathroom and during other everyday routines. The hearer's attention is then divided between what he is preoccupied with at a particular moment and what is being broadcast. The positive aspect of this situation is that he is less selective and observant about what he lets into his brain. This opens possibilities for certain manipulations resulting in greater effectiveness of the ads. Indeed, it was discovered at a certain point that when the transmission of the message is sped up by approximately 30%, its persuasive force and recall is enhanced. Producers of radio ads have been making use of this discovery ever since. Some other new devices included the prominence resulting from bigger relative loudness of the ads, employing various sound effects and taking advantage of all the possibilities offered by the spoken form, including intonation, pitch and voice quality. All these factors contributed to the fact that radio is seen today as a very important medium for the advertising persuasion.

Studying the development of the contemporary style of advertising language, it is possible to describe distinct stages in this evolution, connected closely with the historical background and the status of advertising in a given period. The style of the advertising language prior to the year 1850 has already been described as quite formal and ceremonious, and indeed it was adhered to until the beginning of the twentieth century in some more conservative papers. However, many advertisers experimenting with language in the second

¹⁵ Cf. Kwarciak (1997:176).

part of the nineteenth century noticed that a less formal and pompous language is a far better medium for ads. The overall tendency was to shorten the messages and present them in fairly comprehensible way for the widest possible audience. The power of such linguistic devices as repetitions, rhymes, parallelisms and the use of technical and scientific language to support the claims were appreciated and widely used.

The shift of tendencies in advertising after the First World War contributed to certain changes in the advertising discourse. It is manifested by wider use of narratives and conversations imitating everyday talk, resorting to metaphorical meanings and associative language and using the power of connotative rather than basic meanings. The new persuasive devices used in ads included such constructions as elliptic comparatives, modal verbs and newly invented compounds. In the new media available for advertising the language had to be appropriately modified — first in the case of radio, it had to make up for the lack of visual images, but it could also use the illustrative power of sounds, and later in the case of television it had to find its proper place in the interaction with picture and sound.

In the second part of the twentieth century the style of advertising language was gradually becoming more and more innovative and sophisticated. Advertising agencies fell in love with various attention-catching devices: puns, witty metaphors, parodies, ironies, juxtapositions of various text-types and on the non-linguistic level — the use of sounds and images. There was a shift from the overt to the covert form of message transmission: the implicatures and associations provoked by an ad were equally, or maybe even more important than the message explicitly conveyed. The language of ads became also very idiosyncratic, depending on the audience it was addressed to, which could be best exemplified by the language of ads directed at teenagers or children. One more characteristic feature of contemporary advertising language is its tendency of breaking all possible rules and conventions in grammar, orthography and word-formation whenever it may result in greater salience of the message or contribute to its better recall.

In spite of its richness and variability, the language of advertising still adheres to certain tested and established linguistic methods of persuasion which were bringing good results whenever they were used. It is possible to give examples of the most important ones: if-clauses, comparatives, evaluative adjectives, rhymes and the imperative mood. It may be claimed that it is not possible anymore to determine the direct link between a certain device and its subsequent influence on the customers, given the affluence of strategies employed by advertisers nowadays. The use of such long-established devices might be only habitual, not motivated by their effectiveness. It is impossible to verify such claims, however, and in my opinion their presence is motivated not only by routine.

Chapter 3

The subject and methods of the study

3.1. Defining advertising as a genre

In this Chapter I shall be bringing together various linguistic approaches to advertising in an attempt to define it as a genre. Before this can be done, however, it is necessary to specify what is meant by the concept of a genre. In the Oxford English Dictionary we find the following definition:

(1) *genre* — 1. kind; sort; style. 2. a particular style of works of art; esp. a type of literary work characterised by a particular form, style or purpose.¹⁶

For our purposes, the first entry might seem too broad and the second one — too narrow. Nevertheless, definitely the second one is more appropriate, bearing in mind the fact that many people see advertising as a form of art nowadays, no matter how distant from the prototypical function of commercials — to sell a product — this may seem to be. There are even festivals of advertising,¹⁷ organised in order to find the most attractive and interesting solutions within this type of creative enterprise. As the definition specifies, the term 'genre' can correspond to various types of art, but it is usually used with reference to literary works. This is most fortunate, because although it would undoubtedly be very interesting to discuss, for instance, graphic excellence of advertising, the main concern of this thesis is the linguistic characteristics of ads. Following the definition of a genre, there will be some talk about the form of advertising first; then I am

¹⁶ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1989).

¹⁷ For example the annual festival of advertising organised in Kraków.

going to attend to the stylistic features and widely understood purpose of advertising.

When it comes to the broad notion of form, it is possible to enumerate several types that we are familiar with from our everyday experience: radio and television advertising, ads in press and on billboards, direct mail and advertising in the form of promotions in shops and during big public events. Each of these environments involves certain limitations imposed on advertising — for example, ads on billboards have to be very concise in their linguistic content, ads broadcast on radio or TV are restricted by time, and in press advertising it is impossible to use the potential of the spoken form with its variability of voice quality, pitch and intonation. As an effect, each of these forms will tend to display different linguistic strategies aimed at successful persuasion. On television we are likely to find the linguistic message being reinforced by the accompanying images and superimposed text, reduction in time and space of the disclaimers (which makes them virtually impossible to read), and frequent targeting of ads at children. On the radio we can be surprised by ingenious sound effects, attacked by the speed of message delivery or lured by the naturalness of minidramas used in ads. The billboards and press advertising are usually the display of the copywriters' wit and talent in juggling with words and phrases to construct amusing puns, catchy slogans and uncommon metaphors. In this way, instead of being restrained by the limits of each form, the advertisers successfully exploit the advantages offered by each of them. This is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to speak about the formal properties of advertising understood as text-type features. Each environment adds new dimensions to an advertising copy, which makes all of them incomparable between one another. They are simply too manifold and variable, and not only between various media for that matter, but also within one single medium, as will be shown later in the case of radio advertising.

There were some attempts, however, to see some common features of ads at a high level of abstraction from all the variables. One of them is offered by Leech (1966) in his discussion of different media used in advertising. It does not seek to define ads but rather to enumerate its component parts. An abstract and ideal scheme is based on press advertising copy and it contains the following elements:

- (2) • **Headline**
- [*Illustration(s)*]
- *Body copy*: The main part of the advertising message, often divided into various sections under subheads.
- *Signature line*: A mention of the brand-name, often accompanied by a price-tag, slogan, trade-mark, or picture of the brand pack.

- *Standing details*: Cut-out coupons, and strictly utilitarian information in small print, usually appearing unchanged on a series of different advertisements — the address of the firm; how to obtain further information; legal footnotes; etc.

Leech (1966: 59)

Such an arrangement of particular subcomponents would constitute an unmarked, typical press copy. It could be claimed, however, that the composition of ads in other media follows the same pattern, with a few slight modifications resulting from the peculiarities of a particular medium. Thus in radio or television advertising we will rarely come across a headline, and the illustration is in the form of sound effects or a short film, and on billboards the body copy is likely to be restricted to a slogan. In my opinion such categorising is quite useful and I shall be making frequent reference to it in the subsequent parts of this thesis, using the names and terms introduced by Leech in the description of the data.

The term 'style' belongs to the category of 'fuzzy concepts' and has been used by many scholars to mean quite different things. Rather than trying to argue for a specific, universal and the only legitimate meaning of the word, I am going to continue the above-mentioned tradition and specify my own interpretation of 'style' employed for the purpose of defining advertising as a genre. Style of advertising depends very much on the social situation it creates and is probably best conceived as a specific register. When talking about register, we have to specify certain social dimensions determining its position against other registers. These dimensions involve the characteristics of the sender and the recipient of the message, the social distance between them, difference in their social status in terms of power and the purpose of the communicative act. Leaving the purpose of the act for later discussion, we can mention a few binary oppositions describing the former variables. The dimension of the social distance can be measured on a scale of formal-colloquial and personal-impersonal variety of language. The closer the relationship between the participants, the more colloquial and personal the language they use. We could characterise formal language as a variety used for 'serious business', reflecting social distance, encoding mutual respect, abounding with conventional formulae, avoiding neologisms and variability. Colloquial style, on the other hand, very often uses innovative structures, idiosyncrasies, is used for loose talk and encodes high degree of familiarity between the participants. The personal type of communication is reflected by the presence of many forms of personal reference and address — first and second person pronouns, names, imperatives, tag questions and exclamations. If someone wants to be impersonal, he will avoid any kind of address, there will be prevalence of third person forms, passive structures and declarative sentences. The dimension of relative social power can also be characterised along these lines, but another

binary opposition is quite useful, too. This is the distinction between casual and ceremonial style. Casual style will be used between participants of equal status, whereas in the case of the dominance of one of them there will be a tendency to use a very ceremonial variety. Of course, the language of condescension can become very casual, informal and personal in many cases, but the language of respect will always remain extremely ceremonial, containing forms which are not used even in very formal and impersonal contexts. The subject matter of the discourse brings one more opposition worth mentioning — between simple and complex extremes. Complex language is characterised by complicated grammatical structures, long sentences, scientific vocabulary and avoidance of ambiguities, simple language is just the opposite. When it comes to the characteristics of the participants, all the above-mentioned distinctions are valid and somehow implied or encoded in particular language variety use.

The question to be answered now is how all these categories can add up to a satisfactory classification of the language of advertising in terms of its style. Following the observations of Leech (1966), it can be described as colloquial, casual, personal and simple. Each of these choices is somehow motivated by the overall purpose of advertising, but it is also possible to give examples of cases when just the opposite bias is opted for. For the time being, however, let us concentrate on feasible explanations of the characteristics of advertising language listed above.

The tendency to stick to colloquial rather than formal language finds its justification in the fact that the aim of advertising is to reach the biggest possible audience, regardless of the standards of education and the register the hearers themselves use. It also allows the advertisers to assume the position of close relationship with the audience, overcoming the barriers of mistrust and distance. Formal language is also often used when the speaker's concern is high precision of expression. We can easily imagine situations when just the opposite is on the advertisers' minds. Being imprecise, avoiding unequivocal claims and using indeterminate language often helps them to evade responsibility for what they say in ads — colloquial language lends itself to manifold interpretations, for which the advertisers cannot be held responsible. On the other hand, formal language might be used in some more marked cases, such as advertising to foreigners for whom the colloquial register might prove incomprehensible or in attempts to evoke associations with a company's image where such formality creates an air of prestige.

Casual rather than ceremonial language will be used whenever the advertisers target a very specific audience, whose everyday register is usually very casual in nature. Most of the ads directed to teenagers or youth in general are full of the latest linguistic innovations introduced into their loose talk, which are frequently quite vague for the older members of public and are often

described by them as pretentious, arrogant and haughty. This is often so because the 'hyper-casual' register is frequently used among young people as a means of group identification and an expression of rebellious attitude towards the world of the stiff and bigoted grown-ups. In imitating the language of teenagers, the advertisers are trying to sneak into the world of youths, disguised as the supporters of their protest. This is likely to result in shaping positive attitudes towards the company and their products among the young people. Otherwise, the advertisers prefer not to make their language too casual and are quite neutral with respect to this dimension of talk. Ceremonial language is used very rarely, for example when a company is trying to make their announcement sound very official for some reason, giving it an air of exceptionality and uniqueness.

On the scale of personal-impersonal language, the situation of the advertising discourse is somewhat complicated, and the main factor deciding about the use of either style has to do with the roles of participants in the advertising situation. When it comes to the reference to the audience, the language of ads is undoubtedly placed closer to the personal end. It is especially true in direct address¹⁸ ads, where the use of second person singular pronouns, exclamations, questions and imperatives is aimed at the reduction of distance between the advertisers and their audience and creating the atmosphere of familiarity or even intimacy between them. It is quite appropriate, as the products advertised in this way often provide the solution to our everyday needs and problems, so in order to sell them successfully the advertisers have to claim familiarity with the everyday life of their customers. There are several products, however, which tend to be advertised in the indirect form, avoiding the reference to the audience. These are the commodities which are connected with the areas of life which still remain within the domain of taboo topics.¹⁹ The advertiser is trying to promote such products without overtly implying that the addressee might

¹⁸ The concepts of direct and indirect address in advertising are taken from Leech (1966) and are used to mean advertising in which there is direct reference to the audience in the form of second person pronouns (or other forms of direct address common in a given language) by the advertiser, and advertising in which the products are being talked about by 'secondary' participants in the form of minidramas or monologues, testimonies, etc., lacking direct forms of address to the audience, respectively. The question of personal style in indirect address ads is quite irrelevant, as in this type of advertising we deal with register borrowing and secondary participants who address only one another, and not the audience of the ad, which is placed in the position of an overhearing participant.

¹⁹ Over the last ten or even fifteen years, however, we may observe a certain change in the language of advertising, especially in the context of advertisements connected with safe sex, AIDS and condoms. One can find many advertising copies which do not avoid direct address at all, taking up the form of a piece of advice by a good friend. This style is most often met in magazines directed to very specific readership and considerably less often in radio or television advertising, where it could be found offensive by the majority of large and unselected public.

need to use them. The inference that such ads are directed at all potential viewers, listeners or readers should be arrived at by the audience and remain their own responsibility. Apart from those quite easily recognisable situations, the language of advertising tends to be quite personal when referring to the audience.

The situation is different when we consider the role of the advertiser. Here we can notice a high degree of impersonality in product advertising, manifested by avoidance of reference to the producer of the advertised commodity. We never come across the first person singular pronoun referring to the advertiser and the first person plural pronoun is used almost always in 'prestige' advertising, where the company or organisation is in the focus of attention, rather than any particular product, and where the stress is on building trust among the customers. The most frequent style of reference to the producer of the advertised commodity, if present at all, is the third person plural pronoun or the company's name. Otherwise the advertisers hide themselves behind agentless passive constructions and common nouns, which is partly justified by the inclination to keep the audience's attention on the product. All this is connected with a complicated situation of an ad seen as a communicative event, which I shall return to later.

The last binary opposition suggested earlier against which the language of advertising can be measured is the simple-complex distinction. It is partly connected with the accessibility of the message for the broadest possible-audience (reflected by the use of colloquial rather than formal language), but also with the subject matter of communication and its structure. It is clear that simple language will be understood by everybody and that even when there is a need to present some important technical information, it can be done in fairly simple and accessible way, and that is why we will find the language of advertising to be rather simple. However, in some cases the advertisers may choose to stick to quite complicated scientific discourse in an attempt to impress the audience and create the atmosphere of competence and professionalism. Although majority of the recipients will only have a very vague idea of what is being talked about and the message will not be entirely comprehensible, still the effect of confidence in the advertiser's knowledge and expertise is being achieved, even if the terminology used is in fact only pseudo-scientific and equally incomprehensible for specialists.

When it comes to the structural complexity, it can be observed that advertisers tend to stick to simple sentence patterns and that short sentences are found far more often than long ones. It is very frequent that non-finite or elliptical constructions are used as if they were full sentences — in this respect the language of advertising is very abbreviated. But the level of a sentence is not the only indicator of complexity — there are also phrases, words and prosodic features. On the phrasal level there is much variation: whereas the

verb phrases are fairly simple, the nominal groups are very often expanded to impressive sizes, including rich adjectival and nominal pre- and postmodification. It is very often the result of the need to include a lot of descriptive information about the product. When we look at words the situation is similar: the verbs tend to be very short, most often consisting of just one syllable, and the nouns and adjectives quite complicated, frequently in the form of numerous neologisms and brilliant compounds.²⁰ As we go down to the level of prosody, we discover a variety of exaggerated and unusual intonation contours and stress patterns, all serving the purpose of effective persuasion. Thus, as it has been demonstrated, the complexity of the advertising language has many dimensions and is dependent on the scope of the term itself.

Let us now look at the advertising language in the framework of a communicative event, which can be characterised by a set of variables including the following:

- (3)
- speaker (S) — taking for granted the primary character of speech, we can also include here the writer in the case of written text
 - author (A) — not always identical with the speaker, which is quite evident in most cases of advertising
 - addressee (AD) — the recipient of the message specified by the speaker in form of a direct address
 - hearer (H) — the recipient of the message specified or unspecified by the speaker
 - relevant object (O) — the entity being referred to in the communicative event, the subject of the conversation
 - medium (M) — speech or writing
 - purpose (P) — the reason behind the occurrence of a particular communicative event

There are possibly also other variables which could be used in such a description, but the above should be sufficient for the purpose of this discussion.²¹ I have already mentioned the complicated situation of the advertisers and their audience in a communicative event. It will be more explicit when the model presented above is used in the description. The identity of the sender of an advertising message is far from being clear, and whether we describe him as (S) or (A), it may still be impossible to do so unequivocally. It could be the producer of the commodity understood as an abstract organisation or actual people representing it in dealings with an advertising agency, it could be the agency conceived as an organisation or real people involved in the production of an ad, and finally it could be the actors, announcers, celebrities and real people appearing in the ad. The author (A) of the message is partly the pro-

²⁰ Cf. Rush (1998).

²¹ The framework which I use is a modified version of the scheme used by Leech (1966).

ducer and partly the advertising agency, it is virtually impossible to distinguish between the two and establish which part of the message comes from whom. The speaker (S) will be almost always distinct from the author (A), and in the case of the scripted ads to be read by the actors or announcers there is always a question of interpretation of the text by particular performers. The written script is only a kind of reference and guidance, and the actual performance of the text bestows it with additional colouring. In this way the actor becomes partly the author of the message, further complicating the already complex situation. In real life, however, the situation seems to be simpler than that. The audience of an ad usually identifies the performer of the message as both the author (A) and the speaker (S) in case of direct address ads, while interpreting the status of actors in indirect advertising as speakers (S) of the message composed by the producer, who is the author (A). Only very rarely do we take the message at its face value, attributing the words being spoken to the very person who utters them. In the case of the hearer / addressee distinction, we are both the hearers and the addressees in direct advertising, while within the indirect strategy we are treated as an overhearing, but essential public. The situation is a bit strange, since the recognition of a message as an advertisement involves our interpretation of it as directed at us, no matter if we are being addressed in a direct way or not. The secondary participants can be viewed in such a case as addressees of particular utterances constituting the ad, and the potential customers as addressees of the message as a whole. Indeed, very often we will find switching between direct and indirect style within one advertisement:

- (4) (1) // Julio, w tak pięknych okolicznościach przyrody, i nie tylko, czy mogę panią pocałować?
 (2) Mmm, zimno...
 (1) Jest gorąco!
 (2) Opryszczka to problem nie tylko chłodnych miesięcy. Szybkie zmiany temperatury ciała i promienie ultrafioletowe mogą sprawić, że opryszczka stanie się problemem twoich i moich wakacji.
 (1) Julio, przed nami nie ma problemów.
 (3) ZOVIRAX, krem przeciw opryszczce. Wcześniej zastosowany może uchronić cię przed opryszczką.
 (1) Julio, czy teraz mogę?
 (2) Mmmm
 (3) ZOVIRAX, dostępny w aptekach. Przed użyciem przeczytaj ulotkę.

[P072]²²

The voice-over marked as (3) addresses the audience of the ad, whereas the secondary participants talk to one another, and there are constant switches

²² This is the reference number of the ad as marked in the appendix.

between one mode of address to the other. The interesting thing is that on hearing such commercials we are never in doubt as to who is being addressed at particular moments.

The complicated structure of the participant component of the communicative model for advertising has obvious influence on the style of language used in ads which I have been trying to characterise so far, but it is also a result of its persuasive aim, manifesting itself in a very wide range of techniques and strategies used in order to satisfy it. In general terms, the purpose of any kind of communication is to induce a change in the cognitive environment of the addressee. The change required in the case of advertising can be described as creating the need to purchase the advertised product or service, forming a positive attitude towards the producer or an organisation, and bringing about appropriate behaviour on the part of the addressee. Bearing this purpose in mind we can set out to define advertising in its functional perspective.

I have already mentioned Bralczyk's (1996) approach to advertising, in which we view it as a game between the advertiser and the prospective customers. All the complexities pertaining to the identities of both the sender and the recipient of the message are a part of this game, as well as the wide range of strategies available to the advertiser in order to succeed. In this game there are no obvious winners or losers; it is easier to specify what the ultimate aim of the advertiser should be (success in selling the biggest possible quantity of products and doing it at the lowest possible cost), whereas the goal of the audience is much less obvious. Maybe it can be characterised as the choice of the best and cheapest product from among the whole range offered by competing companies, or maybe as receiving the best possible objective information about the market, or even as deciphering the deceptive and dishonest tricks used by the advertiser. No matter how we characterise the outcome of the game, such a conception of advertising is quite attractive as a popular presentation of the phenomenon in question. It also reflects the attitude towards advertising of a considerable number of people — many of them see it as a form of everyday entertainment available at no cost.

In a more 'serious' approach, having identified the general purpose of advertising, it is worthwhile to reflect on its consequences, the techniques and ways of achieving it and its linguistic outcomes. Although the aim is fairly straightforward, the ways of accomplishing it are manifold. It is possible to produce a list of adjectives describing an ideal advertising copy. Among them we would certainly find the following: attractive, suggestive, comprehensible, easy to recall (especially the product names), concise, original and plausible. How these desirable qualities are to be secured is a matter of so many independent and interdependent factors, that it is impossible to specify them in any prescriptive form. If they could be listed, and all the interdependencies

between them shown, we would obtain a nice recipe for an ideal ad. But in such a situation the combinations of all possible strategies would be fairly predictable and there would not be much room for creative use of language. Advertising would become boring and would lose its persuasive power. This explains the fact why even violations of the above-mentioned qualities often bring good results. Everyone of us can quote examples of ads which were not attractive at all, quite unclear about their subject matter, devilishly difficult to remember, long or totally ludicrous, and yet effective in achieving their ultimate goal. Their originality lay in the departure from apparently indispensable qualities. Persuasion must be varied and unpredictable in order to fulfil its purpose. For some it can mean getting entangled in a vicious circle of innovation, sometimes taking form of presenting slight changes in the product or its completely irrelevant features as great and important improvements (change in the shape of packaging or stressing the fact that you can write on your yoghurt), but for some others it can be a constant challenge to create new, more and more effective methods of persuasion.

Theories of advertising abound with formulae describing the hierarchy of effects of advertising. They are often abbreviated in the form of short acronyms: SLB (Stay — Look — Buy), AIDA (Attention — Interest — Desire — Action) or DIPADA (Definition — Identification — Proof — Acceptance — Desire — Action) and present the necessary steps in the processing of an advertisement by the audience. One step leads to another and all of them are essential, that is why the first ones are extremely important for the process of interaction with an ad to take place at all. No matter how we define the desired steps, however, it goes without saying that an advertisement has to be first of all noticed, especially in the contemporary world flooded by millions of ads every day. Apart from graphic images, also the language is responsible for catching the audience's attention. It can do it in many ways, but it has to contain an element of surprise. It may be shocking or entertaining, it may make use of extraordinary associations or exploit the power of grammar in the form of imperatives or comparatives; whatever is done, creativity is the word, and that is why the people producing ads are often called 'creatives'.

The advertisers are using one more very powerful weapon which language brings with itself — it is the power of indeterminacy. There are few areas of life and creative writing so heavily dependent on the implied rather than stated meanings, on the overall context rather than the message itself, the emotive rather than the rational aspect of communication. In Tanaka's (1994) analysis of advertising language the theoretical framework for decoding the implicit meanings from the message is presented. Tanaka departs from the assumption that there are two types of communication — overt, which she calls *ostensive*, and indirect, described as *covert*. In the covert type of

communication the language is used not so much for description of the world, but rather for representation of thoughts. It is connected more with interpretation than with description. In this mode of speech use the participants must rely on the context and shared mutual knowledge in order to draw proper inferences and that is why covert communication welcomes multiple interpretations in different contexts. This type of language use is not uncommon — we stick to it in our everyday conversations. It is often this indeterminacy of language that makes our communication so attractive, that is why Tanaka uses the term *loose talk* to refer to it. The attractiveness of *loose talk* for advertisers should not be surprising in the context of what has been said so far — many of its features coincide with the characteristics of advertising language style described above. Some other aspects, however, can be added to that. Firstly, *loose talk* assumes familiarity with the audience which in fact does not exist, and secondly, it creates the impression of shared context of communication which welcomes addressee's inferences. However, since the advertiser does not in fact share very much of a common ground with the recipient of the message, the conversational implicatures which are drawn by the hearer remain his sole responsibility. The advertiser finds himself in a comfortable position, since the conversational implicatures cannot be attributed to him in any direct way. The very use of the *loose talk* format brings about the first salient implicature (but it is only an implicature and can be cancelled as such), that the advertiser shares common ground with us, his audience. Having made this first impression (false as it may be), the author of the message succeeds in setting free our inferencing mechanisms. The fact that the audience yields to this sort of manipulation in most of the cases is connected with their half-conscious reception of ads. We are quite rarely very attentive to the language of advertising and we do not have the habit of scrutinising it for possible traps and ambushes. Advertisers build a whole other world with their productions, a world which lives a life of its own, which we rarely come to question. We accept its existence as something very natural, although the ways of that world are far from common. It is inhabited by ever happy people and strange creatures from children's dreams, it is full of magic and although small everyday problems often are inflated to grotesque sizes, they can be very easily solved with the help of an advertised product. The people who live there are always good-looking, sexy, healthy and young, and they never die, but this does not seem to surprise anyone of us. On the one hand we do not treat this world very seriously, but on the other hand many of us have to admit that we would like to model ourselves and our lives on the advertising standard.

In this part of the chapter I was trying to describe advertising as a genre, considering its form, style and purpose, together with the influence of that purpose on the persuasive strategies most often used by the copywriters and

on the features of an ideal ad. It was argued that Leech's (1966) model of the formal structure of an advertising copy can be utilised in the description of any form of advertising, despite the obvious differences between ads published in various media. Some of the stylistic properties of the advertising language were also presented within a framework of register description. It should be borne in mind, however, that they are not absolute for many reasons. First of all, as it has been noted, persuasive use of language must be varied and cannot stick rigidly to patterns. Secondly, departure from rules and conventions is one of the best ways to attract the attention of the audience. And thirdly, due to the specific character of advertising, it often employs the technique of register borrowing. That is why it is much better to conceive the style of advertising language outlined above as a prototype only, something which is measurable statistically, in terms of probabilities, on the basis of existing data. It can be arrived at only as a result of analysis of thousands of already existing ads and our common intuitions about them and as such can be treated as an illustration of which solutions were applied most often in a belief to bring best possible results. It is impossible to design an exhaustive and precise formula for a good advertising copy for the reasons which were made explicit in the discussion so far.

When it comes to the purpose of advertising, it has been characterised within the framework of a widely understood purpose of communication, and examples of strategic choices made by advertisers in order to achieve that aim were presented. It has been suggested that in the contemporary world flooded with advertising, the bias is towards attracting prospective customers' attention and overcoming the audience's scepticism, hence the use of various attention-catching devices and covert, indirect mode of communication. In the next chapters it will be shown how these and other persuasive strategies are employed in the language of radio advertising.

The method of defining advertising as a genre presented above is certainly not the only possibility. There could also exist ways of describing it as a literary kind or as a discourse type. The latter solution was applied by Cook (1992). As I have already mentioned in the first chapter, Cook's book constitutes a very extensive and broad elaboration on the topic, that is why in his definition he includes elements staying clearly outside the scope of linguistics. For him, discourse consists of text and context, the latter including such variables as the physical material carrying the text, paralanguage, situation, co-texts, intertext, participants and function.²³ Cook argues that in order to present a fairly complete picture of how advertising works, we are inevitably forced to include all these elements, as it is often impossible to fully

²³ For detailed discussion see Cook (1992:1-4).

appreciate the power of persuasion in advertising without paying attention to such factors as the graphic form of the text, music, facial expression of the actors appearing in a spot or the participants' perception of the social or psychological dimension of a situation presented in an ad. While pragmatics obviously attempts to encompass all the contextual variables affecting the way language is used and perceived, some of the issues discussed by Cook (1992) would be quite difficult to accommodate within the scope of the theoretical constructs used for analysis in this study. Consequently, in this respect the present work is inevitably narrower than Cook's analysis.

Another difficulty connected with defining advertising as a discourse type is lack of fairly precise and unambiguous taxonomy thereof. As Cook accurately points out, "there is nothing mutually exclusive (...) in the terms 'story', 'gossip', 'joke' and 'cartoon', and a discourse could be all four at once" (Cook 1992:4). Additionally, there can be many factors serving as criteria for categorization, and, as a result, we would end up with hundreds of overlapping and merging discourse types. Advertising language makes the situation even more complicated, as it often borrows the stylistic characteristics of other types of discourse in an attempt to appear more attractive and convincing. The mimetic nature of advertising language could even be added to its description as one of its most prominent features, as rarely can we find a type of discourse which relies more on becoming similar or disguising as other kinds.²⁴ We are not surprised at all by commercials in the form of poems, short personal confessions, informal chats between friends, jokes or scientific argumentation. I am going to discuss this issue in some more detail in the chapter on Speech Acts.

There are many different ways of defining such concepts as advertising language. Usually, however, such definitions belong to one of two major traditions present nowadays in linguistics. One of them stems from semantic componential analysis and attempts to see phenomena in terms of simple, general features which they necessarily must possess in order to be what they are. The other one originates in Prototype Theory (Rosch 1977), which says that we recognize or categorize phenomena by reference to mental representations of "typical instances".²⁵ The way in which I was trying to characterize advertising as a genre comprises the elements of both approaches. On the one hand, I have discussed several components of advertising language under the headings of form, style and purpose, on the other hand, however, I have stressed several times that all these features are present in the language of advertising only statistically, not in absolute terms, as prototypical features of an advertising copy. This seems to be the most satisfactory approach,

²⁴ I owe this observation to Professor Jerzy Bralczyk.

²⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the two traditions see Cook (1992:6-9).

as it combines the positive elements of the two traditions. The reference to componential analysis makes the description of advertising language perceptually attractive, providing us with clear points of reference, while evoking prototypes allows us to deal with less typical instances of commercials. There is, however, still a third option, not referred to so far. Instead of focusing on advertising itself, we could turn our attention to its environment and ask ourselves how we recognize ads as ads and not something else. The answer could be quite surprising, because it seems that we rely quite heavily on the context in which commercials appear. We recognize certain messages as advertisements because they appear in clearly marked slots in the TV or radio programmes, in easily recognizable positions in newspapers and magazines and on billboards. In those situations we simply know that a message in a given position is an ad, irrespective of whether it displays the prototypical features of advertising or not. This fact may serve as an explanation of why advertising can safely borrow the features of other discourse types without running the risk of being mistaken for something it only pretends to be. A commercial not recognized as such would not serve its function very well, which could very often entail sending advertiser's money down the drain. Consequently, the multitude of forms which we come across when confronted with contemporary advertising is unquestionably linked to the fact that commercials with unfailing regularity appear in the contextual frames which the society and commerce imposed on them in the course of their development.

3.2. The framework of the study

Because of the diversity of the data it is quite difficult to devise a uniform and clear-cut framework of analysis. On many occasions the exact classification of a given utterance as an example of a certain strategy in use is a matter of subjective judgement. This reflects the fact that language is a system of functions and interdependencies escaping any attempt of rigid classification in terms of a single feature at a time. On the contrary, its functions and levels of meaning are constantly intermingled, inseparably connected and dependent on one another. That is why rather than trying to find obvious and homogenous examples of various persuasive strategies in the data I was forced to extract them on the basis of their relative prominence in relation to other strategies present. Simultaneously, I was trying to maintain

a high level of consistency in the analysis of all the advertisements, allowing for the possibly high degree of comparability.

The size of the corpus of data is very significant here. I have recorded, transcribed and analysed one hundred Polish and the same number of English commercials. In connection with what has been said above, there were two possible options for the mode of analysis. Following the first one would involve selecting around ten advertisements in each language and providing a very detailed and thorough analysis of all discernible strategies used in the samples. This would be more than satisfactory as far as the descriptive accuracy is concerned and presumably very close to the explanatory adequacy of the study. Choosing this option, I would probably avoid overlooking any important issues and such a detailed description would satisfy even the most meticulous minds. However, if we take into consideration the comparative purpose of this study, we have to admit that the results of the research on such a small sample of data would have to be far from conclusive and the influence of speculative factors could prove intolerably high. The second option would be the opposite of the first. Hundreds of commercials in both languages would be analysed in search for patterns typical for each of them, producing convincing and highly accurate results, based on undoubtedly representative samples of data. A scientist carrying out such a research would be entitled to call its outcomes a legitimate description of reality. But again, such an approach has also its shortcomings. Many important details, having certain influence on the more significant elements, could be left unnoticed or neglected, and a number of very interesting, unconventional but infrequently used strategies would have to be excluded from the description as having little statistical significance. In an attempt to reconcile both approaches I have decided to accept the necessity of lessening the above-mentioned advantages, reducing at the same time the disadvantages following from accepting any of the extreme solutions. Analysing one hundred commercials within each linguistic environment seems to offer a good chance of at least satisfactorily detailed description, preserving simultaneously its comparative adequacy and fairly representative character. It is also my opinion that approaches trying to find compromise between solutions lying on the extreme ends of any scale are closest to the reality perceptible by all human beings, which can be supported even by the findings of modern physics known as Heisenberg's uncertainty relation.²⁶

²⁶ Werner Heisenberg was one of the pioneers who developed quantum mechanics in its first full form. His famous uncertainty relation states that, following the empirical evidence for wave-particle duality, it is impossible, in principle, to measure both the position of a particle and its momentum with absolute precision. Indeed, if one could measure *exactly* where an electron was, one would have no idea at all where in the universe the electron would pop up next. And the uncertainty is not restricted solely to our *knowledge* of the electron, it is there

3.2.1. *The data*

One of the issues which should be addressed first is the choice of the material for analysis. I have decided to opt for radio advertising, as it seems to be a very convenient mode when it comes to a linguistic description. On the one hand, it does not contain the multitude of variables incompatible with any linguistic account, so characteristic of the television advertising (gestures, images, visual effects), but on the other hand it is much richer in terms of language content than the ads in papers, magazines and on billboards, mainly due to its spoken form, which is primary to the written text. Billboard and press commercials very often have to be restricted in form to short phrases or slogans, whereas in the radio ads such reductions are not necessary, although certain limits imposed by the price of broadcast time exist and have some influence on the structure of the commercials. The ads collected for the study were chosen at random without any form of pre-selection pertaining to their form, style or commodities advertised in them. The aim of such approach was to avoid any kind of bias and to collect a fairly authentic and possibly representative sample of data. It can be maintained, therefore, that within the limits of a statistical error corresponding to the size of the analysed material, the observations presented in the subsequent chapters adequately describe the pragmatic mechanisms functioning in the Polish and English advertising language.

As I have mentioned above, the sample of data analysed in the present study comprises two hundred commercials altogether. The Polish ads come from the tapes compiled for the purpose of the Annual Festival of Advertising organised in Kraków in 1995, and include various advertisements broadcast by numerous Polish commercial radio stations throughout that year. The English data was being collected over a longer period of time, from 1995 until 1997, by a number of people (mostly British residents) in various parts of England. The commercials were broadcast by the following radio stations: Northants FM, Key 103, Metro FM, Virgin, Century Radio, Classic FM, 1170 AM and TFM. Apart from Virgin, all the other stations are of short range and local coverage, similarly to the Polish broadcasters. This fact should result in a matching profile of the ads selected for analysis, both in terms of the products advertised most often, as well as the type of audience targeting encountered in both countries.

all the time, built into the very nature of electrons, waves and other particles. Similarly in other sciences, if one attempts to be too accurate about one thing, other important issues become less and less clear.

The commercials were all carefully transcribed, following the framework introduced by Grundy (1995),²⁷ which has been modified accordingly to the specific nature of the data under analysis. The full transcription, together with the description of the symbols and conventions used, is available in the Appendix of this thesis. The major differences between Grundy's approach and the style of transcription used here consists in the line numbering and in the presence of a separate column, where all the relevant information about the extralinguistic or prosodic factors had to be included, alongside the transcript of the commercials. Some other differences include the use of capital letters for the names of the advertised products or company names, rather than for the more prominent parts of overlapping sequences. The transcripts were checked several times with the help of a number of assistants, in order to clear the author's uncertainties about their correctness. Especially the English data required the assistance of several English native speakers, who were very helpful in my struggle with some culturally conditioned terms and meanings, whose reference had proven quite mysterious and inconspicuous for me on several occasions. In effect almost all the uncertainties have been eliminated from the transcripts and the ads were ready for analysis.

Whenever a commercial or part thereof is quoted in the thesis, its number is given beneath in square brackets for easy reference in the Appendix. This should be very helpful for the reader who may require to see the quotations in their larger context, especially if he is interested in the way the text interacts with music and sound effects, whose description is very rarely included in the quoted fragments, and can be found only in the Appendix. If there is more than one voice over, all of them are numbered, and the parts of a commercial which are sung rather than said, are italicised. The bold type is used to mark the items which are immediately relevant in the context of the ongoing discussion and had to be highlighted in a certain way. The exhaustive description of all the transcribing conventions are to be found in the Appendix of this book.

3.2.2. *The analysis*

The data is analysed in the framework of pragmatic theory, divided into various subcomponents thereof. I was trying to take advantage of the explanatory power of many theoretical pragmatic constructs, applying them

²⁷ See Chapter 10 of Grundy's *Doing Pragmatics* for the description of his transcribing conventions.

to the investigation of the language of commercials. I did not want to restrict myself only to one or two theoretical solutions, as in most of the cases a bigger number of them complement one another in the account of the persuasive use of language in advertisements. That is why almost all the most important theorems of pragmatics have been included in this thesis.²⁸ Since the perlocutionary effect of ads has to be in all the cases included in the calculations of the people who create them, the persuasive use of language presents itself as the most important trait of the present analysis. The strategies of language use determine the way we receive and evaluate the commercials, that is why pragmatics, which is the science investigating language in use, seems to be the best choice when it comes to the approach to be selected for analysis. The language itself consists of elements which are accounted for by other subcomponents of grammar — in many cases linguists performing pragmatic analyses have to use terms borrowed from semantics, syntax, morphology and phonology, but the focus is always on the way they are combined together in order to perform one of the functions of language. Similarly in the present study, a frequent use will be made of terms and notions mostly used within other areas of linguistics, but their common denominator is going to be their persuasive use in the commercials.

The study is divided into several parts, each corresponding to one of the more significant subcomponents of pragmatic theory. In the fourth chapter I have included the discussion of the persuasive use of deictic items in the commercials. Chapter Five contains the analysis of the presuppositional phenomena encountered in the sample of data. The longest, sixth chapter, discusses various aspects of the implicit meanings exploited in the ads in form of the implicatures arising from them. I have used two major theoretical accounts of implicature processing available nowadays — the Gricean Paradigm (Grice 1975) and the Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986). In the seventh chapter the Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962, Morgan 1978, Searle 1965, 1969, 1975) is used in an attempt to see the advertising situation as a speech act and to investigate the speech acts used in the indirect advertisements. The final chapter serves the function of bringing together the observations made earlier.

Such organisation of the analysis has important consequences for the form of its presentation. The point of departure is a given theoretical construct, whose presence in the data is investigated and exemplified. Rather than using

²⁸ The omission of more detailed discussion of the ads analysed in the present work with reference to such important works as Brown & Levinson's *Politeness* (1987) or Leech's *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983) with his Maxims of Politeness was dictated by spatial limitations imposed on this publication. Both these works unquestionably offer a number of valuable explanations of the persuasive nature of advertising language, and the analysis of commercials within the two frameworks deserves a separate study.

individual ads as the basis for analysis, I employ them mainly as examples of the strategies and constructions which are being discussed at a given point. Very often quantitative results are quoted in form of numbers of occurrence of a given strategy in the sample under analysis. More accurately, these numbers quite often reflect the relative prominence of a given strategy in the ad, rather than their sole occurrence, as in a number of cases the mere presence of a given element seems to have little or no persuasive value, if seen on the background of the whole ad. This is where the main fault of the study lies, as the judgements about the importance and prominence of various components of the commercials may not be shared by everyone. The classifications and subdivisions based on such judgements may be accused of subjectivity and put to doubt. That is why a few words of justification are required.

I would like to stress that I was not taking into account the doubtful or unclear cases of occurrence of various strategies. One of the most important factors in the classification was always the salience of such elements, and on many occasions I was seeking confirmation for my observations among my colleagues and friends before finally including them in the results. This allowed me to make sure that many other people react to the ads in a similar way to the way I do, which should not be surprising after all, if we take into consideration the fact that the commercials are meant to evoke similar reactions in large groups of people, as their ultimate success depends to a large extent on that. Secondly, the intuitions of the researcher are quite often taken as the final confirmation for the findings in contemporary linguistics. It should be enough to mention the works of Noam Chomsky, who very often bases his arguments on the examples which he himself invented and on his intuitions about them. Apart from that, the Relevance Theory provides a very illuminating account of our understanding of utterances. It claims that the relevance of any utterance is given as a constant, and we decipher it in accordance with the principle of the least processing effort required for that. If this is true, the meaning which suggests itself as the most accessible will be recovered by all the recipients of a message. It may vary in variable contexts, of course, but in the case of advertising we can quite safely assume that the similar contextual situation is shared by most of the hearers. That is where I take my confidence that the features perceived as the most salient by myself in the commercials, will be seen in the same way by the majority of other people. This is undoubtedly true in the case of the Polish commercials, but may be doubted in the case of the English data. That is why before analysing the English commercials I was consulting a number of native speakers of English, most of them British residents, in an attempt to confirm my intuitions about their explicit and implied meaning. I have to admit that in a number of cases I was forced to modify my initial assumptions, which

reflects the importance of the cultural peculiarities which have to be taken into account in the processing of information targeted at the members of a foreign culture. Finally, it has to be noted that within pragmatics the phenomena under discussion rarely lend themselves to a rigid and clear-cut classification based on easily discernible and obvious criteria, as is often the case in phonology, morphology and syntax. That is why pragmatists have to substantiate their arguments with subjective judgements and intuitions quite often. The fact that they were confirmed by real life data on many occasions speaks for the applicability of those pragmatic theories which have survived their verification by the real language use in the description of the persuasive use of language in commercials.

All the factors discussed above should lessen the validity of the accusations which might be put forward against the methods of categorising of the strategies present in the ads. Besides, a similar method is used in the well-known and acclaimed books on advertising which I have discussed in the first chapter. The authors of those publications very often use the most salient, in their opinion, cases of occurrence of a given construct or strategy which they discuss to illustrate the problem. Those works are also arranged into chapters discussing particular types of constructions or strategies, exemplified by the data collected for each study. Instead of departing from a single ad, for the sake of clarity and order they use the commercials as the illustrative material for the phenomena which they discuss. The same method is applied here, otherwise, if the commercials were analysed one by one, no comparison would be possible, or at best severely restricted and random. The overall picture would be very blurred and fragmentary and it would be very difficult to formulate any generalisations. The only advantage of such style of analysis is its capability of rendering the full picture of all the interactions and interdependencies existing within a single ad, combined into a collection of meanings, explicit and implied, which are responsible for our reception of the commercial. Within such a framework, we are able to see the persuasive function of each strategy and the way in which they all add up to produce the final effect. That is why I have decided to include the analysis of a couple of commercials conducted in this peculiar way as a supplement to the categorised investigation of the language of ads, to be found in the final chapter. The remaining part of the thesis is an orderly account of the neatly subdivided pragmatic categories, exemplified by the data.

The study is qualitative rather than quantitative in a large part. No serious statistical tools are used in the analysis, which is determined by several factors. Firstly, there are too many variables which interact with each other to produce the ultimate meaning of any ad, and their correlations and interdependencies are simply impossible to determine in the form of exact numbers. Even if we were to single out two or three of them to perform a test of correlation,

we would do so at the cost of ignoring other important factors which influence them in a vital way. Whereas the description of a variable which has been singled out can be accomplished, its exact relationship and interaction with others is virtually impossible to determine in numbers. Secondly, as I have noted before, the figures presented in the discussion very often reflect the relative prominence of certain elements, rather than their occurrence. In this situation it would be difficult to estimate which type of occurrence should be taken into account in statistical calculations, if we were looking for correlations. And finally, in the publications on the pragmatic use of language in advertising,²⁹ statistical analysis is usually restricted to the percentages reflecting the number of ads in which a given strategy is present. The situation is different in the books concerned with the marketing aspect of advertising and its economic function,³⁰ but since this thesis is concentrated on the analysis of language, its form and methods are going to be similar to those practised by the linguists writing about the language of advertising.

²⁹ See Leech (1966), Geis (1982), Cook (1992), Myers (1994), Tanaka (1994), Bralczyk (1996).

³⁰ For example Kwarciak (1997), White (1993).

Chapter 4

The use of deixis in radio advertising

4.1. Introduction

Before the data can be analysed in terms of the persuasive use of deictic expressions, a short introduction is required to highlight the most important issues connected with this grammatical device. Deixis is a way of encoding the contextual features of an utterance into its grammatical shape. It relates the language to the point of its origin, to the point of origin of a particular utterance, anchoring it in its specific time and place. Deixis does it by pointing to the contextual aspects of an utterance, with the help of indexicals, or deictic expressions, which received their name from the Greek word meaning 'point to', 'indicate'. Without the reference to deixis, grammar would not be able to account for the way in which we interpret such sentences as 'May we come in?'. In order to determine the reference of the word 'we', for example, we have to know the exact context in which this sentence was uttered; but the interpretation of 'we' is only one of the multiple problems that such a short expression carries with itself.³¹ Deictic expressions identify their referents by pointing to them and as such are usually the only indicators of reference in a particular utterance. In any language they constitute a closed class of items, which is motivated by the usefulness of such a small number of indeterminate words whose reference can be determined in face-to-face interaction. The use of such lexical items is much easier than reference to all people, things and concepts by their names.

Deictic expressions are similar in their use to anaphora, but there is an important difference between these two processes. Anaphoric words are used

³¹ See the discussion of this example in Fillmore (1997:5–26).

to refer to an entity already present in the discourse, while indexicals pick out the referent in relation to the point of origin of the utterance. Thus, the third person pronouns would be usually anaphoric, and first and second person pronouns — deictic. The situation is not so simple, however, as it is not impossible to find examples of utterances in which the word *you* is used non-deictically, and the words *he*, *she* or *it* as deictic expressions. I shall come back to this issue later, when discussing the problems involved in the analysis of deixis. One of these problems is the fact that the borderline between deixis and anaphora is also not very clear and depends partly on our interpretation of the terms 'context' and 'present in discourse'.

The linguists usually identify five types of deictic expressions: person (pronouns), place (words such as *here*, *there*, *left*, *right*, *behind*, *in front*, *up*, *down*, *come*, *go*), time (*next year*, *today*, *now*, *later*, *then*, *tomorrow*, and also the tense system), social (pronouns used to mark social relationship, honorific expressions) and discourse (lexical items pointing to the place in the discourse, such as *hence*, *above*, *so far*). The first three types are the primary deictic expressions, the latter two consist mostly of borrowings from the primary group in situations when the structure of a society created a necessity to be reflected in the language (social deixis) and when the language developed a written form of expression (discourse deixis). In this context we might speak about various functions which deictic expressions might perform. First of all, they pick out a referent and relate him to the common ground or context in a particular situation, and this is the primary function of deixis. But as the evidence from many languages shows, person deixis has been successfully employed to reflect the social relationship between the participants of a communicative event, and not only so. In its honorific use, it serves very often to show respect, even if there is no difference in the social status of the participants. The extent to which such honorific use reflects the true existing relationships rather than creating the atmosphere of mutual respect can be even thought of as a measure of culture typology. In this context it is worth quoting one quite interesting observation made by Levinson (1983:90) in connection with how the deixis is used to reflect social relationships. Levinson points out that the use of polite forms entails reference rather than address. We use deixis gesturally, in a form of address, when we talk to our equals, but in the case of our superiors we do not dare address them and that is why we do it in an indirect way, by referring to them. This observation is confirmed by the evidence from German (the use of *Sie* in polite expressions) or Polish, in which the polite forms *pan/pani* are accompanied by grammatical forms in the third person singular, which is prototypically used for the purpose of reference to other, not present in the discourse,

people.³² Apart from reflecting the existing, internal social structure, deixis can be also used as an absolute marker of external relationship. In this context it could be claimed that the expression *gorol* used in the Silesian dialect, apart from carrying an air of disdain, points to a person from the outside of a certain specifically defined social group.

Let us now turn for a while towards the problems which are involved in the descriptions of deixis. I am going to highlight some of them, making no attempt to suggest any solution, as this is not the main concern of this thesis, although certain observations may exhibit some significance in relation to the analysis of the data in this chapter. I have already pointed to the question of various interpretations and functions of words which are usually used as deictic expressions — I have in mind particularly the second and third person pronouns. In the following examples, *he* seems to be used as an indexical, whereas *you* does not allow deictic interpretation:

- (1) I don't want it, he can eat it!
- (2) You never know what to do when this happens.

In example (1) the speaker points to some third person present in the event while talking to someone. We could try to reconstruct the context of this utterance; I suggest the following interpretation: a family of four are sitting at the table and one of the children expresses his unwillingness to eat the meal by stating the possibility that his brother might do it. Such utterances would typically be addressed to the parents, that is why the use of *he* is justified here. In the second example the word *you* has a general meaning of 'anybody', which is quite frequently associated with it. The problems connected with the use of pronouns are further complicated by the fact that in some sentences they are potentially ambiguous and only the immediate context can provide the clues as to disambiguating them. In the sentence:

- (3) You can't afford loosing your credit card.

the pronoun *you* can indeed be understood in two different ways.

Besides, when it comes to the third person singular pronouns, we more and more often come across the forms *s/he* or *him* or *her*, whose usage is motivated by the need to escape the sex encoding which is inherent in the unmarked pronominal forms. Fillmore calls such constructions 'monstrosities',³³ which reflects the problems involved in their grammatical description. Partly because

³² This issue can be also viewed from the perspective of the politeness phenomena and Face Threatening Acts (Brown & Levinson 1987).

³³ See his preface to Fillmore (1997).

of that, and also due to the grammatical clumsiness of such forms, I think that I can be forgiven for sticking to the old-fashioned tradition of using the masculine form for generic reference throughout this thesis. I hope that this will not bring out accusations of my not being politically correct.

It is hard to think of examples of the first person pronouns used non-deictically. The use of the singular form is probably restricted to the deictic meaning only, but in a sentence like:

(4) Our laziness is the drive of progress and development.

the word *our* is similar in use to the general reading of *you*. We do not need any context to specify its referent, which in this case is 'all people'. The first person plural pronouns possess one more problematic property, which is the ability to express inclusive or exclusive meaning. In some languages these two functions are realised by separate words, but in both English and Polish the situation is quite complicated. In order to determine which meaning is implied, we need to refer to the context, although in some cases the exclusive or inclusive reading is obvious without such reference. In order to illustrate an ambiguous situation we could reflect on the following sentence:

(5) Shall we start?

We can easily imagine the situation in which the exclusive reading would hold: for example in the case of students asking their teacher whether they are to start doing an exercise. In the inclusive meaning this question can be treated as a suggestion of a course of action.

Not only personal pronouns can be used non-deictically, also other lexical items normally associated with their deictic interpretation can be potentially employed in a different way. Let us consider the following examples of prototypical place and time indexicals:

(6) I just spoke to *this* awful postman...

(7) My grandfather was born *before* 1920.

In (6) the word *this* seems to be used in an emphatic rather than deictic function, and in (7) we do not have to know the context of the utterance to be able to determine the temporal dimension referred to. Some other problems pertain to the scope of the deictic items being used. Fortunately, in most of the cases they can be determined by the context. In the sentences:

(8) You have to press the button now.

(9) There aren't many honest people now.

the item *now* refers to two rather different concepts of temporariness, but the appropriate reading is provided by the sentence meaning.

Quite a different problem is connected with the possibility of a shift of the deictic centre associated with an utterance. In an unmarked situation the utterance is anchored at the time and place of its being uttered in reference to the speaker, but in some cases the centre can be shifted to the hearer's perspective. In (10) this shift can be motivated by considerations connected with politeness and in (11) by the necessary clarity of communication:

(10) I am coming to Warsaw next month.

(11) ...when you reach Trafalgar Square turn left and go straight ahead until you approach the Big Ben, turn left once again...

We would probably use (10) in a telephone conversation with someone who lives in Warsaw while describing our plans for the nearest future and (11) when giving directions to a tourist in London.

The last problematic issue connected with deixis which I would like to mention here is the potential inherent in almost all lexical items to be used deictically. Some scholars point to the fact that almost all language uses are potentially deictic in the sense that what people say always points to the common context shared by participants, which clearly is different in each communicative event. If I use the sentence

(12) Ten film był mocny.

I give my interlocutor some indication for the interpretation of the word *mocny*. From all the possible contextual interpretations the hearer has to find the most relevant in a given situation. It would be even difficult to find examples of sentences which could be interpreted in exactly the same way irrespective of the variable contexts in which they appear.

Given the complicated nature of deixis, it can be used in many different ways within a persuasive discourse. The possibilities offered by the social and honorific use of indexicals can be exploited in attempts to assume close relationship with the audience or to flatter them by the usage of polite forms, implying the higher status of the recipients of advertising messages. Time indexicals may serve the purpose of creating the atmosphere of urgency and place deixis can bring the product closer to the audience. Indeterminacy connected with the use of indexicals may give rise to multiple implicatures drawn by the audience. Examples of such persuasive usage of deixis will be given below.

4.2. Persuasive use of deixis in advertising

The use of indexicals for persuasion is particularly connected with the notion of reference and address, and although deixis is the most frequently applied mechanism, there are also other, non-deictic forms of reference. I have already mentioned anaphoric pronouns, but we could add to this also the names of products and companies used in ads, or using particular names or words in various forms of address. All these phenomena are closely inter-related and that is why I shall include them in the part of this thesis devoted to deixis, as in each case we deal with some form of pointing at the author or the recipient of the message.

The most interesting issues connected with the persuasive use of indexicals are connected with the ways in which advertisements encode their author and address their audience. Some other problems discussed in this section pertain to the use of time and place deixis in the advertising discourse. It will be shown which mechanisms of reference are used to point at the advertiser (or to avoid pointing at him) and how the mode of addressing the prospective customer is subordinated to the persuasive aim of advertising. The differences observed between the Polish and English data will be attributed to the expressive possibilities of the two linguistic systems and also to some cultural differences between the conventions of language use in Poland and Great Britain. Let us first focus on the self-presentation of the author of an ad.

4.2.1. Self-reference or lack of self-reference: which is better?

Let us define first what is understood as self-reference. The unmarked form involves the usage of the first person singular or plural pronouns, or in inflectional languages also appropriate agreement markers on other parts of speech. In this way individuals (singular form) and institutions and organisations (plural form) pick out the referent identical with the speaker of the utterance. Of course, they may prefer to use proper names or even some common nouns which, in certain circumstances, can unambiguously identify the speaker, but even in such situations the first person marking is usually bound to follow sooner or later. If it does not, we have no way of knowing for certain if we have to do with self-reference or simply with ordinary reference to a third party. Often the context helps us to clarify our doubts, and if we come across the following while listening to the radio:

(13) Honda have raised the prices of cars.

(14) Beaconsfield Honda invite everyone to the new model presentation.

we will probably understand (13) as a piece of news (no self-reference) and (14) as a case of advertising (involving self-reference), although no overt marker of the first person plural is present.³⁴ These examples show that in cases of self-reference without the use of overt markers, its status as such is always to a certain extent doubtful.

When we take a closer look at the language of advertising, we will notice that very often the advertisers avoid self-reference. There are several types of avoidance strategies used by advertisers in the analysed sample of data. They include lack of any form of self-reference, self-reference mediated by secondary participants, reference in the third person in direct advertising, elliptical constructions in form of unattached noun phrases and prepositional phrases, passive or related constructions and ambiguous cases involving the use of proper names. To avoid ambiguity, I shall use the term 'self-presentation' whenever the advertiser is mentioned in an ad, but without any clear indicators of self-reference.

The advertiser is not mentioned at all in 37 Polish and 12 English ads, so as we can see, Polish advertisers avoid self-reference a lot more often than their English fellows. Such a choice is probably motivated by the intention to foreground the product and not to disperse the audience's attention. It could be also claimed that in many cases the producer is easily identifiable, so as a consequence there is no need of mentioning his name and wasting precious broadcast time. Such ads would typically exhibit the following form:

(15) (1) Najpierw proszę usiąść!

(2) Dziękuję... [short pause] Kupuję!

(3) HAZE — krzesła i fotele biurowe, które kupuje się bez zbędnych słów.

[P020]

(1) To illustrate the incredible 3D action of new STREET-FIGHTER EX, I'm here at the Tattooed Arms, Glasgow, so here it goes...

(2) Kilts!

(3) Skirts more like, you're all raving transvestites!

[sounds of a quarrel, fights]

(1) New 3D STREET-FIGHTER EX, on PLAYSTATION, now.

[E087]

³⁴ In fact, the sentence could be classified as either first or third person plural, and it is even possible to imagine a context in which it could be second person (an imperative).

The question remains why there should be such a significant difference between the Polish and the English data. One of the suggestions might be that there is a stronger constraint on self-praise in the Polish culture. Since advertising is a form of self-praise when the author of the message is identified in the ad,³⁵ we would expect to find less examples of it in the Polish data. The hypothesis that there is a relatively high constraint on self-praise in Polish is supported by the typology and distribution of Polish compliment responses, which tend to employ the strategy of downgrading more often than it is found in English.³⁶ It seems also that being modest is still seen as a virtue in the Polish cultural context, whereas advertising has some connotations of boasting behaviour, which is treated negatively or at least with suspicion. High level of self-respect, the so-called 'assertive' behaviour and stressing one's virtues and advantages should not be too explicit within the Polish cultural environment. And even though the situation is slowly evolving towards the patterns of behaviour most frequently acceptable in the West, the prevalence of the opposite tendencies is still evident in the employment of deictic expressions for the purposes of self-reference in the language of Polish advertising. There seem to be no purely lexical or syntactic restrictions on the Polish language to account for the discrepancy between the English and the Polish data. The proportions are quite different, however, when we look at the other forms of self-presentation, or rather avoidance thereof.

As I have already mentioned, using the proper names and forms of reference in the third person, can be counted as such. We come across this strategy in 52 Polish and in 74 English commercials. This time the number of English advertisements is bigger, but this is consistent with the discrepancy discussed above. A bigger number of ads in one category makes up for the deficiency in another. An interesting fact is that within such a form of presentation singular number is used in Polish, while plural in English:

(16) JM KOMANDOR wykończy Twoje mieszkanie

[P02511]

Now, at SAFE-STYLE UK when you buy the downstairs windows and doors for your home, they'll give you the upstairs free! And with SAFE-STYLE UK interest-free credit is available. Ask for written quotations.

[E03903-05]

This can be accounted for by the syntactic constraints on the use of collective nouns in Polish, as well as by certain pragmatic and semantic implications of

³⁵ We know that the ultimate 'author' is the producer or the supplier of a service, even when the ad uses secondary participants.

³⁶ Cf. Herbert (1989) and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989).

the use of plural in English. There are two forms available in the English language, whenever we speak about an institution or organisation made up of people. Using the singular form foregrounds the institution as an abstract body, brings forward its structure and official image. When we use the plural form, however, we focus on the people who act as a group on behalf of that institution. The choice of the latter form in the English ads suggests that such an image of a company is more reliable for the audience, who prefer to put their trust in real people rather than abstract organisations. There are no cases of singular third person anaphoric pronouns referring to the advertisers in the English data. The reverse situation in Polish is due to the operation of syntactic constraints on agreement phenomena. In Polish it is impossible, with rare exceptions,³⁷ to use plural anaphoric pronouns connected with singular antecedents. In order to refer to a group of people making up an institution, we have to use different grammatical constructions, not containing singular antecedents. Actually, one of the advertisements in the Polish data illustrates such possibility:

- (17) (2) Słyszemy, że preferuje pan [biiip] produkowane przez browar Szczecin.
 (3) Oni robią najlepsze [biiip].

[P09808-09]

Here, the pronoun *oni* refers back to the noun phrase *browar Szczecin*, which occurs in a separate sentence, so the restriction is no longer operative in its full force. Another factor responsible for the non-occurrence of such forms of reference might be the negative cognitive association with the pronoun *oni* in the minds of the Polish people, as it was very often used in reference to agents of usually unpleasant practices and as a means of group identification which divided the society into 'us' and 'them'.³⁸

So far I have been talking about the use of the proper names and anaphoric reference as one uniform strategy. There is a need, however, to subdivide the category under discussion into two smaller groups. Within this sort of quasi-self-reference we can observe two tendencies. Following one of them involves finite or non-finite clauses predicating something about the producer or retailer, using for the purpose of reference either proper names or third person pronouns (usually anaphoric rather than deictic³⁹), or both, whereas the other one is characterised by the occurrence of the names or telephones

³⁷ The exceptions to the above rule are exemplified by the noun 'państwo' in the sentence 'Państwo już przyjechali'. Cf. Fisiak (1978:60).

³⁸ See the discussion in Bralczyk (1996:136).

³⁹ However, it might be claimed that these pronouns are deictic in the sense that they point to the producer/retailer as to someone else than the speaker of the utterance, in this way excluding the possibility of interpretation of such utterances as instances of self-reference.

or addresses of producers and retailers (this is at least the most relevant interpretation of their occurring there), in the absence of any predicators. Let me illustrate the tendencies with appropriate examples from the data, the former strategy marked as (18) and the latter as (19)

(18) Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. został uznany przez jury *Gazety Bankowej* za najbezpieczniejszy bank Polski.

Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. — niewzruszona cisza skarbcza.

[P003]

With TELECENTRAL's new deal every call you make on a TELECENTRAL line at any time of day is cheaper than BT's standard tariff. That's a fact.

To get connected, call TELECENTRAL free, on 0-800 663662.

Switch yourself over to TELECENTRAL, TELECENTRAL, the specialists.

[E008]

(19) BMW — radość z jazdy

BMW Maruszewski — Lubieszyn 1B, telefon 11-85-46

[P022]

MARTIN's Furniture, MARTIN's Furniture

Totteridge Road, seven great frozen furniture bargains

That's MARTIN's Store in Totteridge Road

[E072]

The strategy exemplified by (18) is used in 21 Polish ads and in as many as 59 English advertisements, while we find the other one (19) in 31 Polish ads (quite a significant number) and only in 15 from among the one hundred of English ads. The conclusion is that the Polish advertising language is a lot more abbreviated than English in this respect. The Polish audience is more often left to make inferences about the relevance of a particular name occurring in a given place. It would be wrong to conclude, however, that this is because the Polish are any better at such inferencing. Usually this is the English culture which is classified as the one in which there is more left to do for pragmatics in everyday communication for the purposes of establishing contemporary relationship, which entails a bit more of inference drawing than in cultures (such as Polish) in which relationships are to a greater extent predetermined.⁴⁰ However, this classification of the two cultures in question seems to have no influence on the distribution of the strategies discussed here. Instead, we could attribute it to the same factor as in the case of ads in which there is no mention of the advertiser's name at all. The advertisers in Poland seem to apply the style of advertising most often used on billboards also to the radio

⁴⁰ This issue was addressed in Wojtaszek (1996) and is related to the culture typology introduced by Hofstede (1980).

broadcast ads. On billboards we will find an illustration of a product or an image which should be understood as relevant, together with the name, address or telephone number of the advertiser, without additional comments and longish sentences, which is somehow conditioned by the advertising medium. When analysing radio ads similar to the one from (19), one gets an impression of enforced brevity, as if the ads were transferred from billboards. It seems also that the style of advertising in Poland is more biased towards the style of short public notices, where economy of expression dominates over all other considerations, whereas the English style has moved towards the language of everyday communication, where verbless constructions are less frequent. No matter what we say, however, both strategies described above are definitely aimed at avoidance of self-reference.

A very similar strategy involves the employment of secondary participants to refer to the advertiser. The basic difference between primary and secondary type of ads is connected with the direct and indirect form of address, so it could be claimed that when it comes to the question of self-reference, this distinction is not significant. Whether the advertiser is presented by someone who addresses the audience directly or by some fictitious characters talking to one another should not matter. Or maybe it does? In the former situation the advertising situation is made explicit and although we know that advertisers are bound to be using various tricks and strategies in order to make the message look very attractive, we very often tend to treat such ads as a piece of news or useful information. In the latter setting we are placed in the position of an overhearing audience in the miraculous world of advertising, which I was trying to describe in the chapter devoted to advertising style. The characters whom we meet there are quite unrealistic (although the advertisers are trying to make them look as real as possible), and we tend to treat them and what they say as if they were a part of a fairy-tale. Some of us might claim that we do not treat fairy-tales very seriously. On the rational level it is probably true, but when it comes to emotions, they tend to leave a strong and long-lasting impression. And this is where the power of indirect advertising copies lies — in their effects on our emotions. We might not be convinced by the arguments which the secondary participants are using, but we will be often impressed by the way they do it and this may shape our positive attitude towards the advertised product. The fact that we usually listen to radio ads half attentively, almost subconsciously, only supports such an outcome. Therefore, the difference between these two strategies seems to lie in the attempted mode of persuasion — the former will be more directed at our rational thinking and the latter at our emotions. Which is more effective depends on the way in which the audience processes the reality.

The presentation of the advertiser with the help of secondary participants was used in 18 Polish and 9 English ads, which also reflects the relative frequency of use of this technique.⁴¹ Here are two examples of such self-presentation:

- (20) (1) Ehh, uhh...
 (2) O, ładna ta kanapa!
 (1) Ładna, ale ciężka!
 (2) Trzeba było kupić w HEBAN-POL-u, miałby pan transport za darmo!
 (1) No to pan potrzyma, a ja se adres zapiszę.
 (2) Dobrze. [with effort] Salony meblowe HEBAN-POL w Gdyni przy ulicy Jana z Kolna 12, a w Gdańsku przy Marynarki Polskiej 82, od poniedziałku do piątku do godziny 20:00
 (1) ... do godziny 20:00. ... ciężka, co?
- [P055]
- (1) My Dear, while you're away, I'll make sure the new conservatory's ready for your return. Fret you not, my little wimple! CAMELOT CONSERVATORIES are taking care of all the design, planning, the construction and decoration, leaving me to reign in peace. Why, the castle will be so much more comfortable with our high quality, individually designed hard-wood CAMELOT conservatory. I've even thrown out that awful round table your mother gave us as a wedding present. By the way, wasn't it kind of Lancelot to accompany you on your trip?
 (2) CAMELOT CONSERVATORIES, call 0-800-592-897.

[E074]

Clearly, in the English advertisement there is a switch to a direct copy at the end, but it serves the purpose of reinforcing the name of the producer and presenting the telephone number. Otherwise the presentation of the company is carried out by a secondary participant whom we recognise as King Arthur. The examples presented above exhaust the main strategies used by the advertisers to avoid self-reference.

The time has come to contrast the Polish and the English data in the context of clear cases of self-reference. Again, the hypothesis about the relatively high constraint on self-praise in the Polish culture finds its confirmation in the results of the study: the first person plural pronoun or any other agreement markers thereof are used in only 3 advertisements out of 100. One of them is a commercial of a bank, and the use of the self-reference is quite weak. It occurs at the very end of the ad, in the slogan

- (21) Przyszłość należy do nas.

[P01406]

⁴¹ The discussion of indirect and direct advertising and the use of secondary participants will follow later.

The rest of the ad is composed in the form of pieces of information intertwined with proverbial utterances, in which the bank is referred to in the third person. The other two ads involving self-reference promote the services of an advertising agency in the following fashion:

(22) Dla **nas** jest ważny profesjonalizm, śpiewamy lepiej, niż ci z La Scalli...

[P06501]

...Musimy tworzyć dobre reklamy, bo przecież reklam sami słuchamy...

[P06507]

The entire remainder of the Polish ads analysed in this thesis contains no explicit self-reference, apart from two other copies in which one of the secondary participants performs a part of the producer's representative entitled to use the first person pronoun:

(23) (1) Alo, czy to numer 52-46-14?

(2) Dzień dobry panu. MiM PACYNKO.

(1) Głodny z tej strony.

(2) Świetnie, **mamy** dla pana świeże, pyszne, gorące dania, również kuchni...

[P05101-04]

The English data exhibit quite a different tendency. While the number of ads in which the advertisers use the first person plural pronouns in direct copies does not constitute a majority, in comparison with the Polish data the difference is enormous. We find the cases of self-reference in 29 ads, which suggests quite high tolerance of self-praise in the British culture. According to Leech (1966) the use of such forms is characteristic of 'prestige advertising',⁴² where the main concern is not so much the promotion of any product, but the presentation of a company and building its positive image in the society. When we look at the ads in the English data, however, most of them are rather clear cases of commodity advertising, only a few can be treated as genuine prestige ads. Let us consider the following example:

(24) (3) You wanted more? We'll give you more. This weekend buy any two high-security thermally insulated windows from NAC's Cromwell Suite, and we'll give you a third fully fitted for just twenty five pounds!

[E00210-12]

This is clearly not a case of 'prestige advertising'. So either the language of ads has changed so much that some of Leech's observations are no longer

⁴² Cf. Leech (1966:64-5).

valid, or the advertisers are trying to kill two birds with one stone, promoting their products and creating positive self-image at the same time. Possibly such strategy is also persuasively justified on the grounds that such self-presentation minimalises the distance between the advertiser and the audience, making the act of communication very straightforward. There is no need to employ any middlemen to get the message through to the public, and if a company chooses to do so, the inference on the part of the audience can be that the company in question is reliable enough to do it without causing suspicion. The situation seems to be quite different in Poland, where the people used to be deceived by such good-sounding self-presentation so many times in the past fifty years, that the trick does not work on them any more. This may be one of the explanations, besides the hypotheses about the status of self-praise, accounting for the fact that the Polish advertisers resort to this strategy so rarely and tend to rely a lot more on the opinions of third parties. Such testimonies seem to be more convincing, as they are perceived as more objective and impartial than the statements made by the producers. We are inclined to trust more someone who has tried out a certain product or was surprised by a high standard of service than the advertiser, who may have only his own profit on his mind. This is true, albeit to a lesser degree, also about the English advertisements, since the majority of them avoids self-reference, even if they do so less frequently than the Polish ads.

If we add up all the numbers quoted so far with reference to the Polish and English data, it will turn out that the result is more than 100 in both of the cases. This follows from the fact that some of the ads contain two or even more different forms of self-presentation of the advertiser. He is identified by name in 84 English and in 54 Polish ads, which is consistent with the figures for the ads in which there is no advertiser identification at all. It is interesting, however, why the advertiser should change modes of self-presentation within one ad. It sounds quite natural when the advertising copy switches between indirect and direct form of address and two or more different characters speak. This usually creates the possibility of repeating the advertiser's name several times, which enhances later recall, but at the same time it creates the impression that we are getting the information from two or more separate sources. This undoubtedly can be used to increase the credibility of the message. But the shift in the mode of self-presentation without the change of the speaker seems strange. This can be exemplified by the above-mentioned ad of the PBK Bank [P014] and by the following English advertisement:

(25) We operate a very caring farm and grow there birds traditionally without any antibiotics. A choice of 60 products of the most natural poultry around. From

a whole bird to a small portion. Pop in to the farm shop and say "Howdo?" They're just through Chesham on the vale road past the Total garage, and two miles on the right. See **our** ad in the Bucks Examiner. CHESHAM VALE farm. You'll taste the difference, so see for yourself.

[E053]

Either the farm and the shop are to be presented as separate institutions and the speaker in this ad is to be identified as a farmer rather than the shop owner, or the word *they* is the result of a mispronunciation, which is not so unthinkable, given that the actors usually perform prescribed texts in radio ads and, being only human, can make small mistakes. This conclusion is quite plausible since this is the only one clear example of such a shift without the change of the speaker. Otherwise, any alteration of the form of self-presentation involves simultaneous substitution of a speaker.

If we look at the ads from the perspective of their structure we will notice that the shifts in forms of self-presentation occur in most of the cases between different subcomponents of the ad. We are likely to find one form in the body copy and another in the signature or standing details. The body copy is the part of an ad in which the reference to the advertiser is made most often: in 68 of the English ads and in 40 of the Polish ads. Signature and standing details are not always present, so we come across some form of self-presentation in 39 signatures of Polish and in 35 signatures of English ads, and in 26 standing details parts of an ad in the Polish data, compared to 49 in the English ads. The discrepancy found in the area of standing details is due to the fact that it is simply more frequent in the radio ads recorded in Britain. When it comes to the headline, it is very rarely present at all, but when it does appear, we are likely to find some form of self-presentation there — 2 times in the Polish ads and 6 times in the English data. Sometimes it is difficult to determine the borderlines between the particular parts of the ad, as they happen to be discontinuous or not arranged in the order suggested by Leech (1966). Besides, more often than not their classification is determined by their content rather than placement, or they are so abbreviated that it is difficult to decide whether we should classify the contents as a body copy or a signature. That is why the figures presented above should be treated only as an approximation and an illustration of tendencies, whose status is not entirely secure.

Finally, to complete the picture, a few words about the usage of the first person singular should be added. As I have already suggested, it is not used for the purpose of self-reference by the advertiser in direct copies, but we often come across it in indirect ads, used by secondary participants. In two of the Polish copies it is even used by the advertised product as a means of self-presentation:

(26) (2) *Ja jestem turbo sprint, jestem ja, super robot, co wycisk da.*

[P09403]

while in the English data we find one of the radio announcers advertising his own programme,⁴³ which might be seen as the case of self-promotion, but more probably should be treated as an ad of the radio station.

The answer to the question asked in the title of this sub-chapter, based on the findings presented above, is not unequivocal. On the one hand, it has been shown that advertisers avoid explicit self-reference in both Polish and English ads, but on the other hand they include some form of self-presentation in majority of them. Thus, the identification of the producer or retailer seems to be quite important. Indeed, in many cases withholding this information could result in inappropriate customer behaviour. Underinformed buyers might simply purchase the advertised commodity from a competing company, a result definitely unwelcome by the advertiser. Therefore, self-presentation is an important issue in advertising, but self-reference is not the most popular strategy. This is especially true of the Polish advertising language, where we find very few instances of explicit self-reference. The difference between Polish and English is attributable to the cultural factors described earlier.

4.2.2. *"Listen, we are talking to you!" The forms of address in advertising*

Since the identification of the addressee in the communicative situation connected with advertising is impossible, the use of deictic items becomes a necessity. This was not so essential in the case of the advertisers, who, given their unique and explicit identity, could choose among several forms of self-presentation. Referring back to the issue of style of advertising language, one dimension is particularly useful for contrasting the mode of self-reference and reference to the audience. It has been noted in Chapter 3 that when it comes to self-reference, the style of discourse is very impersonal, which finds its confirmation in the analysed data. In contrast, the language used to address the prospective customers should be very personal in nature. This requirement, however, meets a seemingly insoluble difficulty. The advertiser never knows anything definite about his audience, and this constitutes one of

⁴³ This is [E035].

the persistent dilemmas of advertising situation. On the one hand it would be ideal to address everybody individually, but on the other hand one of the main aims of advertising is to reach the widest possible audience. A very interesting attempt to overcome this apparently irresolvable incompatibility of the two tendencies was presented in Myers (1994). He describes a company who specialise in bus shelter advertising, attempting to show media buyers how effective they can be. They ran a series of ads in 'Campaign'⁴⁴ showing bus stops in socially distinctive areas with posters addressing a particular person who might represent the social class identified by the surroundings. The posters read:

(27) Pardon me, Madam. That's right, madam with the pearls, the Asprey bag and the beautiful, deep winter holiday tan.

Excuse me darlin'. Yes you in the shocking pink shellsuit with the 'Big Shopper' bag getting out of the 4WD Suzuki.

Oi Mush! The bloke with the paint spattered overalls and the fag behind your ear coming out of the bookies.

Myers (1994:77)

The first one was located on Knightsbridge street, the second one outside a new mall and the third one in front of an off licence, thus picking out referents most likely to be found there. Of course, a person fitting the above descriptions might never actually pass by them, but the point that the advertising agency was making was that they are capable of addressing everyone in person ('the dream of advertisers and the nightmare of the media audience', as Myers puts it). This would be an ideal situation, but in reality such solutions are not yet possible. Therefore, the advertisers have to make constant choices about the best possible way to address their audience. Let us see how this dilemma is being resolved in the data analysed in this thesis.

There is a number of grammatical devices which can be used for the purpose of direct address. The most obvious one is the application of the second person pronoun, but even here we encounter certain difficulties. First of all, the pronoun *you* can be used non-deictically in English and as such cannot be treated as a form of address. Secondly, there is the question of number involved in the choice of pronouns. In English it is impossible to distinguish between the singular and plural forms on the formal level. In very few of the ads in the English data the context allows us to determine the singular rather than the plural referent, as in:

⁴⁴ This is the advertising industry weekly newspaper.

- (28) All who love kitchens, love TORLANA kitchens. TORLANA provide only the highest quality European kitchens and appliances that are as individual as you. You deserve the best, you deserve a TORLANA kitchen.

[E05701-02;06]

Almost all other advertisements allow both singular and plural reading. Nevertheless, we perceive the form *you* as singular, not plural, so the formal difficulty is being made up for by some other factors. This is possible because in understanding language we attend not only to its formal properties, but also to its pragmatic, contextual meaning. It follows from our everyday experience and knowledge of the world that the form of address encountered in ads is meant to be singular. It is consistent with the persuasive aim of advertising to address everyone individually. In Polish, there are two separate forms used in singular and in plural, so there is no doubt about their status in the language. Apart from pronominal forms, there are also other markers of the second person reference. In Polish they are easily identifiable as agreement markers on verbs, and in English, although formally not present, they are perceived as elliptical subjects of imperative constructions. That is why even in the absence of pronouns we can still talk of some form of address, whenever other markers of the grammatical second person are present. Apart from pronominal forms of address also names, titles and some polite formulae can be used to address the interlocutor, but since the advertiser does not know the identity of particular hearers and since it is impossible to address everyone by name in the same act of communication aimed at millions, we do not find proper names in ads. Sometimes we come across some polite forms of address other than pronouns, but these are very rare, as we shall see.

The first observation which seems to be very striking is that we find no form of address whatsoever in 50% of the Polish ads. In 50 advertisements we find no second person pronouns, no polite forms of address and no grammatical markers of the second person anywhere in the text. This seems very strange, as we would expect ads, targeted at some kind of audience, to include reference to it somewhere. It could be even claimed that non-inclusion of such reference is rude, as no acknowledgement of the audience's presence is made. There must be some explanation of this finding, otherwise the above observations would render such adverts as potentially ineffective and wrongly constructed.

Maybe the strategy of register borrowing is responsible for it. As I have suggested earlier, Polish advertisements seem to be more biased towards the style of public notices than English ads, which have more in common with everyday communication. Since the style of public notices is often impersonal (which is motivated by the fact that the addressee is unknown), whenever

advertising borrows the style of public notices, it will also take over some of its features.

One of other possible solutions to the problem is provided by the appreciation of the relevance of ads. If we take into account the audience's knowledge of the world and their understanding of advertising in particular, we might take it for granted that it is obvious for them that the purpose of advertising is to promote sales of products and services to the biggest possible number of customers, and since advertising is directed at prospective customers and buyers, it is only right to assume that the audience of ads is treated as the prospective buyers, and because every act of communication requires at least two participants, the final conclusion is that the audience is being treated as the second participant and as such is being addressed in ads, even if no overt markers of address are present. We do not, of course, perform such a complicated reasoning procedure every time we hear an ad without a direct form of address — such conclusions are subconscious and automatic.

The question arises, however, why this tendency is not reflected in the English data, where some reference to the audience is present in 91 advertisements. Given the relevance of ads, formal address seems to be unnecessary in many of them, if the audience is capable of concluding that the ads are directed at them anyway. The explanation may lie partly in the tendency for English ads suggested above to copy the style of everyday communication, in which addressing your interlocutor is necessary, but there seems to be another possibility. In many cases the pronoun *your*, while referring to the addressee of the message, performs also the function of a determiner, or maybe the other way round: it acts as a determiner in noun phrases without losing its referential properties. The Polish language does not make such a frequent use of determiners as English,⁴⁵ which may be one of the reasons why the second person possessive pronoun (which usually can act as a determiner) is not used so often in the Polish data. Besides, the English ads very often urge their addressees to take some action (much more often than the Polish ads) using imperatives. As the understood subject of an imperative sentence is *you*, we classify ads containing them as making reference to the audience. No matter what is said, however, the overall conclusion is that in their use of direct address the English ads opt for a much greater involvement of their audience than the Polish commercials. They try to be more direct by placing themselves in the immediate context of the addressees' lives, entering their private worlds and solving their down-to-earth problems. When we take a look at the forms

⁴⁵ This is connected with the obligatory lexical marking of noun phrases as definite or indefinite in English, contrasted with other, often non-lexical marking strategies of definiteness in Polish. For detailed discussion see Fisiak (1978: 70–3).

of direct address in the English copies we will find equal distribution of pronouns and imperative constructions. While pronominal forms of address are present in 75 ads, we encounter imperatives in 74, with the tendency for both forms to occur in a single copy. The typical example of such distribution would be the following ad:

(29) ORANGE TALK AHEAD is for people who want to plan ahead. Attend, and you can now get a whole year on orange for just 149 pounds 99 r.r.p., including a MOTOROLA MR 30 phone, connection, and 15 minutes of standard monthly talk-time for a year. That's a saving of at least 115 pounds. If you want to save money by planning ahead, get TALK AHEAD at TANDY. For your nearest store, call 0-500 300-666

[E07901-05]

There are a few ads in which the reference is very weak, traceable to a single pronoun or imperative construction, but nevertheless it is present.

The Polish language, in quantitative terms, allows for more variability in the forms of address. The pronoun can be overtly present, but in some cases it will be only marked on verbs in a clause. Apart from pronominal forms, there are also some polite referential words such as *pan/pani*, or *państwo*. In most of the cases the second person singular pronouns together with appropriate agreement markers are used, or the agreement markers without overt pronominal forms (24 and 21 cases, respectively). The form of address used in the Polish language of advertising is not consistent with the form of address used in everyday communication between people who do not know one another, it is characteristic of the speech of close acquaintances, which reflects a certain degree of intimacy. If a Polish native speaker were addressed in such a way in a shop or in a street, he would probably feel offended in most of the cases by the presupposition of closeness and intimacy (or disrespect) inherent in the use of the second person singular pronoun as a form of address. Nobody seems to be offended, however, by the same form of address in advertising. This stems from the fact that everyone got used to it, following a long tradition of addressing people in this way in public notices and other forms of direct reference. Besides, the choice of *ty*, due to its unmarked use in everyday language, makes an illusion of intimacy, implies deep understanding of addressee's problems, and enhances credibility of the message. In many cases advertising mentions such problems and worries of our everyday routine which would never be discussed among strangers, and the choice of the more intimate form is only natural in such situations. The language of advertising is characterised also by high economy of expression, which provides another reason for the choice of direct address in the form of the second person singular. Other forms of address are more complicated grammatically and involve longer structural formations, and that is why advertisers

prefer to avoid them. For example, the pronoun *ty* does not encode the sex of the addressee, which makes it a perfect choice whenever the ad targets both males and females. Probably because of this grammatical simplicity this form became the standard in public notices, too. We find it very often in hospitals, in our GPs' waiting-rooms, in offices and in the streets. Many of the advertising slogans would probably sound very artificial and clumsy if the advertiser wanted to use the more polite (but also more complicated) constructions. Let us compare (30) and its 'polite' versions, (31):

(30) DERMOSAN --- zaprzyjaźnij się ze słońcem.

[P04203]

(31) a. DERMOSAN --- zaprzyjaźnijcie się Państwo ze słońcem

b. DERMOSAN --- proszę się zaprzyjaźnić ze słońcem

Not only do the examples from (31) sound awkward, but the version (31b) makes also an impression of an official and unpleasant request. There are, however, a few ads which prefer the more polite forms of address — I have found 2 examples using the form *państwo* and 1 addressing ladies with the word *panie*, in the form of a vocative at the beginning of the ad ('Proszę Państwa!', 'Drogie Panie!') and as a part of formalised greeting formula:

(32) CPN składa państwu życzenia spokojnych i radosnych świąt

[P09705]

It is significant that in the remainder of the ad quoted above (in the body copy) we have a different form of address. Apart from these polite formulae in the Polish data we can also come across the inclusive use of *my*, the form *ludzie* (usually used as an attention catching vocative in less formal gatherings) and the second person plural *wy*.

The form of address predominantly used in Polish ads is an example of marked language use, licensed by the peculiar character of advertising on the background of other types of speech events. It becomes evident when we inspect the forms used by secondary participants when addressing one another. We will notice that it mirrors perfectly the Polish native speaker's intuitions about the norms governing the addressing behaviour in the society: family members and close acquaintances use the form *ty* and strangers prefer to stick to the more polite *pan/pani*. All the standard requirements of interpersonal communication are strictly adhered to by the secondary participants. It has to be so, otherwise we would lose the important link between our own world and the reality presented in advertising. One of the Polish ads provides an excellent illustration of the two systems of address, overlapping in one advertising copy:

- (33) 01 (1) Dzień dobry.
 02 (2) Dzień dobry.
 03 (1) Proszę pana, //czy ja dostanę u pana...
 04 (2) //Nie, nie, niech pan nie kupuje u mnie*
 05 (1) Terakotę*?
 06 (2) Nie kupuj!
 07 (1) Ale //glazu*...
 08 (2) //Nie ku*puj! Glazury i terakoty, zanim nie
 09 odwiedziś sklepu A.T. PORT.
 10 (1) A gdzie to?
 11 (2) W Gdańsku, Nowy Port, ulica Marynarki
 12 Polskiej 59.
 13 (1) A to nie tu?
 14 (2) Nie, nie, tam jest o wiele sympatyczniej.

[P009]

As long as the indirect character of the copy is evident, the characters follow the unmarked patterns of mutual address, but in line 06 the situation rapidly changes and suddenly the shop assistant is found using the intimate second person singular form to address his customer. It could be partly explained by his irritation with the behaviour of the shopper (NB normal by any standards), but a more plausible explanation would suggest that there has been a sudden shift from the indirect to direct form of addressing the audience of the ad. The fictitious shop-owner no longer addresses his fictitious customer, but he is talking to us, his primary audience. Such an interpretation allows to uphold the usual, unmarked rules of communication between the secondary participants in the imaginary world of advertising, which has been designed to imitate the real world of real people.

There are a few instances of dubious character of a reference form. It is not clear whether the person being addressed is the secondary participant or the real world addressee. This usually happens in advertisements which apply the problem-solution paradigm. One of the characters usually finds himself in a difficult situation and the advertised product turns out to be the perfect solution. We have a tendency to place ourselves in the position of the worried individual whenever we listen to a commercial constructed along these lines. The following ads present this strategy:

- (34) (1) Uff, jak gorąco, puff, jak gorąco, już ledwo sapię, już ledwo zi//pię*
 (2) //Kup kom*pletny system klimatyzacyjny, rozdzielnie, klimatyzator dzienny, pompę ciepła, rekuperator, water-chillers...

[P04701-03]

- (1) Is it hot in here, or is it just me?
 (2) Oh, yeah, it's very hot.

- (1) I think we should join him for a drink!
- (2) Oh, that's a great idea!
- (1) Let's do it!
- (3) When you're hot, nothing satisfies like the cool, refreshing taste of DIET COKE.
DIET COKE ... just for the taste of it.

[E03202-08]

This phenomenon is partly connected with the shift of the deictic centre. In our minds we move the contextual centre of the ad into our own world, which allows us to place ourselves in the position of the secondary participants. Some other account of this phenomenon will be given in the chapter about indirect language and inferences.

The location of the audience address shows also some differences between the Polish and the English commercials. In the Polish ads it is placed usually either in the body copy (76% of cases) or in the signature (34%).⁴⁶ Only once it is positioned in a headline and 5 times in the standing details, where it always occurs as an imperative to read an attached leaflet in the commercials of OTC drugs ('Przed użyciem przeczytaj ulotkę'). Otherwise, the standing details do not make reference to the addressee of an ad. The situation is completely different in English, where 66 commercials use the standing details part to direct an appeal to the audience. It is usually in a form of an imperative, advising certain action connected with the subject matter of the ad (*call, telephone, ring, visit, pop in, ask for*, etc.) In this way the English ads are trying to involve their audience and encourage their active response to the commercial in a very definite context, connected with the details specifying the company's or shop's location, their telephone number and other pieces of utilitarian information placed there. In contrast, the telephone numbers and addresses stand alone in the Polish ads, as if suggesting that their presence clearly enough specifies what should be done with them and how the audience can use them. The appeals for action are usually general and abstract in slogans, usually found in the signature part of an ad, and a bit more specific in the body copy, which is more often used to involve the addressee by means of situation presentation than by imperatives. In the English commercials we find a similar tendency: the address in body copy (69 cases) is more often in a form of pronouns than imperatives.

I have suggested earlier that one of the problems connected with the use of *you* in the English data is its potential general, non-deictic reference. It turned out, however, that examples of such use were found only in 4 English ads, usually in conjunction with other, deictic examples of *you*. Therefore, it may be

⁴⁶ This is the percentage of ads in which the form of address is present; the ones in which it is not, are not taken into consideration.

concluded that the English language of advertising is significantly more oriented at personal, specific and individual communication than the ordinary register, in which the use of non-deictic *you* to convey general and universal messages is more frequent.

Generally, the English advertising language exhibits more frequent use of personal deictic items, both for self-reference and for the purpose of addressing the audience. This suggests that in Polish some different persuasive strategies must be employed to achieve the same aim. However, the final conclusions pertaining to their nature have to be postponed until later, when our perspective will be broadened to include other pragmatic phenomena.

4.2.3. *Here and there, now and then — the use of time and place indexicals*

The discussion so far was concentrated primarily on one type of deixis, but other classes of indexicals also find their persuasive application in the advertising language. This last section will focus on time and place deixis, as the two other types (discourse and social) are very rarely applied in the language of commercials. The discourse deixis, originating from time and place indexicals, is most relevant for longer written texts, while the social deixis, stemming from the person indexicals, can be treated as a specific use of the person deixis and is usually discussed in connection with it, as it has been also done in this thesis.

The set of time indexicals is relatively small, and the words which are actually used in ads constitute an even smaller group. The most frequently used items make reference to the present moment — *now, today, just, teraz, już*. They are used to render a variety of meanings, which will be discussed below. In press advertising we very often meet also the formula *before/after*, but in radio ads this does not have to be stated with the help of these words, since the advertiser can operate in real time and achieve the same effect by appropriate temporal arrangement of the message. Nevertheless, the scheme is very similar. Usually the past is presented as bad, gloomy and full of worries, while the present moment brings the solution to all the problems in the form of the advertised product, which is a promise for a better future. This brings forward the question of indexicality of the tense system, which, to a certain degree, can be thought of as deixis. It always points to a given time relative to the moment of utterance, but it does not do so in a homogenous way. It is possible to quote the uses of present tense to refer to the future, or the future

tense referring to the past, or the past tense with a future reference.⁴⁷ In this context it is maybe better and more comfortable to specify the use of particular time, and not tense, in advertising. Prototypically, time is used as indicated above, but there are also some other possibilities. The past can be viewed, for instance, as a proof for advertiser's claims:

(35) Bank Zachodni S.A. to sprawdzony partner.

Ponad cztery miliony ludzi związało swój los z Bankiem Zachodnim.

A zaufanie nie jest przecież modą.

[P01403-05]

The future might be depicted as gloomy and unattractive, unless we make use of the advertised product:

(36) Zawsze może się zdarzyć, że twoje auto zniknie lub stanie się krótsze o parę centymetrów — dlatego już teraz pomyśl o ubezpieczeniu Auto-Casco.

[P08701-02]

The most important use of the future in the language of advertising, however, is making promises. And when it comes to the present, it is undoubtedly the most important time. The past and the future have an auxiliary role, but the time for action is always 'now', and this *now* enjoys a quasi-eternal status: every time we listen to an ad, the situation is most relevant to the 'here and now' of the audience, no matter when the ad was produced. Such an effect is achieved thanks to the indeterminacy of the word.

There are two basic reasons for using the deictic item *now/teraz*. In its more symbolic use, it is used to contrast the past, which was worse because there was no solution to a particular problem or something important was missing from the immediate environment of the secondary participants, with the present situation, when the problem is solved thanks to the product or the world is better and more comfortable, also due to the product's presence. Let us consider the following examples:

(37) (2) my dwaj weseli mali piraci

teraz jesteśmy naprawdę bogaci

do szczęścia nam nie trzeba więcej nic

oprócz paluszków rybnych SUPER FISH

[P03802-05]

⁴⁷ Here are the examples: present for future: 'I'm going to Berlin tomorrow', future for past: 'No matter what I do he won't stop giggling', past for future: 'If I had a car, I could go there tomorrow'. These examples do not exhaust all the possible mismatches of tense and time.

- (1) If you thought you couldn't afford to double-glaze your house, you're wrong, because with SAFE-STYLE UK's amazing double-glazing double-saving deal you can.
- (2) **Now**, at SAFE-STYLE UK when you buy the downstairs windows and doors for your home, they'll give you the upstairs free!

[E03901-04]

We can sense here the familiar *before/after* strategy applied once again, this time with the symbolic use of time deixis. In their more gestural use⁴⁸ (if we can talk about gestures on the radio), the words *now/teraz* urge the audience to take some specific action expressed with an imperative. Imperatives may occur with or without the indexical, but its presence makes them even more persuasive and gives them an air of a unique opportunity which can be missed, if the action does not follow immediately:

- (38) Don't miss out on EVANS HOWESHAW's massive used car sale. On **now**, for a limited period, at London Road, High Wycombe.

[E04905-06]

The only example from Polish can be found in (36). Such use of *now* is most frequent in the standing details part of a copy, where it puts the addressee in the immediate context of all the relevant information and urges him to use it appropriately. The fact that there is almost no address of the audience in the standing details of Polish copies explains the fact that this type of use for the word *teraz* is found in only one ad. In comparison, the English advertisers use it in this way more often — 18 times. But not only *now* can be used to stimulate action, we come across some other indexicals with present reference:

- (39) Only CONROYS can offer clearance prices with no deposit, interest free credit and up to three whole years to pay. Ask for written details — but it's **this weekend** only!

[E028]

Other items include *tonight* and *still* (with its conventional implicature that it was not to be expected and may finish soon). Similar items used in Polish include *już* and *właśnie* and appear in contexts similar to those illustrated by (37).

The last type of time indexicals used in ads includes forms which point to certain temporal variables identifiable in the addressee's immediate context. Since their reference changes as the time passes they should be treated as

⁴⁸ For the distinction between gestural and symbolic use of deixis see Grundy (1995: 19–21).

examples of deixis. Their function is usually to help the addressee to locate the advertised product in time, which is especially useful in the case of periodicals and recurring events:

(40) Tygodnik „PRZYJACIÓŁKA” od **poniedziałku** w kioskach

[P01111]

If you love jazz, you'll love NOW'S THE TIME, the 1170 AM jazz programme,
Sunday evening from 6 to 9

[E07301-02]

Such items, however, are used quite rarely, as they are conditioned by the narrow range of products which can be advertised in that way.

In quantitative comparison of the time indexicals the Polish advertisements show a behaviour consistent with the tendencies presented elsewhere in this chapter: time deixis is employed in 12 ads only, compared to 29 cases in the English commercials. Again, the more immediate and direct character of English commercials finds its confirmation in the data. A similar finding might be expected in the realm of place deixis.

The situation here is a bit more problematic for several reasons. Firstly, most of the ads are very specific about the location of shops, companies and event spots — exact address or a telephone number is given, often together with additional information about the best ways of contact. Such a definite description cannot be treated as deixis, as their referent is identifiable independently of the context. While the audience may choose an appropriate moment to contact the advertiser, visit a shop or make use of a service, the remaining details stay constant and that is why their description must be very definite. Secondly, some words prototypically used as place indexicals can have other functions: the demonstratives *this* and *that* can be used in time adverbials and Polish *ten* very often performs a function similar to the English definite article. Besides, in many cases the use of words such as *here*, *there*, *tu* and *tam* is anaphoric rather than deictic in nature. These factors show that the use of place deixis must be different from the use of time indexicals.

One of the functions of place indexicals is to foreground the focus of an utterance, to make it even more prominent than it normally is. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (41) (2) Gdzie to wszystko, gdzie to jeszcze jest?
(1) **Tam**, gdzie Gdańsk ma w nazwie Wrzeszcz,
(2) Wrzeszcz!

[P05005-06]

- (1) To illustrate the incredible 3D action of new STREET-FIGHTER EX I'm **here** at the Tattooed Arms, Glasgow, so **here** it goes...

[E08701-02]

Here's an important message for used-car buyers. EVANS HOWESHAU's massive used-car sale is now on.

[E04901-02]

The third fragment foregrounds the whole message with a sort of headline, and might be treated as a hybrid of a time and place indexical.

Another important function of indeterminate spatial reference is to stress universality and broadness of the offer made by the advertiser. In some situations it is persuasively very attractive to claim that a service is available world-wide or that a given product may be used in every environment. We find this type of persuasion in the following examples:

- (42) Planning a holiday this year? Then tune into 1170's holiday programme GET-AWAY and get away to **wherever takes you fancy**, whether it's **around the world** or **at home**, our experts have been **there** and will be here every week with advice to help you plan that perfect holiday.

[E07501-04]

- (1) Tak solidnie,
 (2) terminowo,
 (1) pędzi, aby być o czasie.
 (2) Doręczyciel dotrze **wszędzie**,
 (1) to ogólnopolski zasięg.

[P05801-02]

It is interesting to note that such general terms as *wszędzie*, *wherever*, *round the world*, *world-wide*, can change their referential properties dependent on the shift of the deictic centre. In the Polish example, the indexical is used to mean any place where the addressee is, whereas the first two expressions in the English commercial point to the place where the addressee is not present. Some other kind of general reference, to be determined by the addressee, is found in the English ads in the form of phrases such as 'in a cinema near you', 'at your local newsagent', 'at your local (BRANDNAME) shop', etc. Although the advertiser does not make definite reference here, it is always supplied by the audience.

Yet another use of place indexicals is directly connected with the statement of availability of a product or a service on the market. The words *here*, *tutaj* or *u nas* are used in this context:

- (43) What skin did once, it can do again, and when it starts to forget Clinique's new MOISTURE-ON-CALL is **here**.

[E02503-04]

A u nas już jest. Nie wszędzie, ale na pewno w Sopocie, sklep D.G. AUDIO...
[P04605]

The phrase *u nas* is not used to refer to the shop, as the sentence which follows makes clear. Because of their meaning, they can be treated as yet another sub-type of general referents.

Apart from these applications, place deixis is not persuasively used in advertising language. Of course, items such as *come, go, bring, take*, and their Polish counterparts, might be also included in the discussion, but they seem to have very little significance in the advertising language as elements used for persuasion. In the ads of events we would not be surprised to find the word *come* rather than *go*, as the audience usually finds itself outside the place, and the advertiser, while inviting us, is perceived to be 'inside', but this has to do more with perception rather than persuasion. Thus, we are not surprised to find out that place indexicals were used only in 9 Polish and in 12 English ads, and that the rationale behind those applications was quite different from the objectives connected with time deixis.

4.3. Conclusions

In this chapter the persuasive use of deixis has been presented, focused mainly on the use of person deixis. Personal indexicals have been examined in the context of advertiser's self-reference and the forms of addressing the audience in commercials. The hypothesised impersonality of style connected with self-reference was confirmed by the data, as both Polish and English ads were using various strategies to avoid direct self-presentation. Main procedures aimed at it have been presented and accounted for. It is worth noting that the Polish advertising language is far more indirect in this context, which has been attributed to certain cultural differences between the two linguistic systems under discussion.

There were also some differences in the style of addressing the audience in both languages: in the case of the English ads the style was very personal and abundant with references to the audience, whereas the Polish commercials were making reference to the listeners only in 50% of the total amount of ads. In spite of that, however, in both cases the style could be characterised as far more personal than the methods of self-presentation, which is quite evident

when we take into consideration the marked use of second person singular forms in Polish advertising language and the number of direct address copies in the English data.

A few differences have been also noted in the structural composition of the ads, manifested mainly by relative prominence of the standing details in the English copies and by the abbreviated character of the Polish ads, which may be explained by different sources of register borrowing in both languages. Certain bias towards more personal communication style in English and the style of public notices in Polish may also be held responsible for it.

Time and place indexicals were not used so often, but their presence also had many important persuasive reasons. Time deixis was used mainly as a means of contrasting the past with the present and future and as an additional incentive for the audience to take some action. In this second use it was creating an atmosphere of a unique and short-lived opportunity and was much more frequent in the English data. The place deixis was employed to foreground the focus of the message, to state the availability of the product and to stress the range of a service. No significant differences between the Polish and English commercials have been found in this area, contrary to the initial expectations.

In both languages the use of deixis for persuasion demonstrated the advertisers' ingenuity and skill in employing these indeterminate lexical items to make the message as universal and attractive as possible. The evidence from Polish and English proves also the potential of the method of analysis of the advertising language in the framework of selected pragmatic phenomena to provide explanations for the choices made by the advertisers.

At this point one might say that the mechanisms described above are not entirely of pragmatic nature and that many of the items described in this chapter could be accounted for by reference to other subcomponents of grammar. Especially the discussion of person deixis could evoke many associations with morphology, syntax and semantics, as the pronominal forms used as person indexicals are subject to constraints and rules having little or nothing to do with pragmatics. Indeed, many of the differences in the use of personal pronouns in English and in Polish may be attributed to general morphological and syntactical properties of the category of person in the two languages. It is simply encoded in different ways and, consequently, used differently, thus rendering divergent statistical results of the calculations presented above. From the semantic point of view, we could treat personal pronouns (or indeed the deictic expressions) as exponents of more fundamental notions present in them in a metaphorical way. They encode

such metaphorical connotations as "*we*" means "*good*", "*they*" means "*bad*", etc., which cannot be accommodated within classical pragmatic theory.⁴⁹ The only pragmatic explanation could attribute positive value to proximal deictic terms and negative value to distal items.⁵⁰ There are many advertisements, however, which exhibit either ignorance of or even opposition to the above-mentioned tendency, usually due to some stronger, overriding pragmatic considerations.

Irrespective of the accurateness of the above observations, however, the fact that other feasible accounts of the use of the forms presented in this chapter were not included therein, does not have to be viewed as a major disadvantage. As it has been stressed at the beginning of this thesis, its scope is limited mainly to instruments of pragmatic analysis, and the present chapter presents no deviation from the generally accepted tendency.

⁴⁹ I owe this observation to Prof. Michał Post. Such metaphorical readings are derived from Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

⁵⁰ Proximal deictic items encode immediacy of the deictic center while distal terms just the opposite.

Chapter 5

Presupposed meaning as a means of persuasion

5.1. Theoretical issues

Presupposition is defined as the part of meaning of an utterance which is constant in all possible worlds, independent on the contextual factors, and which survives negation (Grundy 1995, Levinson 1983). It is prior to the utterance itself, in the sense that it must be true, or believed to be true, in order for the utterance to make sense at all. From the perspective of the speaker, it consists of all the contextual knowledge (apart from the general knowledge of the world) possessed by the speaker and the addressee before the utterance is spoken, and as such does not have to be stated. Presupposition can then become the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions about the implicit meaning. Entailment is the logical elaboration in form of deduction of what is stated, constant on all occasions, which is characterised by the contradiction obtained every time we want to disclaim it. The fact that entailment is deductive rather than inductive inference is an important one — the consequence is that it is not cancellable without causing contradiction. In any situation, however, it is only a consequence of what has been said, and as such belongs to the inferences and will be discussed later in the chapter devoted to inferential meaning. Presupposition, on the other hand, may be understood as sense and felicity conditions for uttering a given sentence, and belongs to the speaker meaning before he even opens his mouth. As a cognitive phenomenon, it consists of all the beliefs on the part of the speaker about the addressee's beliefs, knowledge of the context and the language, which are mutually explicit in a communicative situation. This brings forward one important issue:

speaker's beliefs do not have to be consistent with the objective reality (if we assume that it exists at all), so as a consequence the presuppositions will not be true in such cases, either. We shall see that this property is being exploited in the language of advertising.

Presupposition is very closely connected with economy of expression. Without assuming certain knowledge in the addressee, we would have to produce extremely long utterances on every occasion. Let us consider the following example:

(1) Ask your mother if she would like to visit me.

In terms of entailment, this utterance would be understood as a prototypical request to make an inquiry about the willingness of the person referred to as 'your mother' to become physically present for a limited time at the location of the place of residence of the person referred to as 'me'. As the explication of such a simple sentence it may sound a bit complicated, but to be more precise than that, even longer rephrasing would be needed, but this is not the main point. The important thing is that in order to utter such a sentence, the speaker (S) has to assume that there is a person (A) who can hear and understand what (S) says and is able to act upon it, that the person (M) referred to as 'your mother' exists, that (A) is going to contact (M) in the nearest future and that (A) believes that (S) will not be able to do so, that (S)'s invitation is sincere and that (M) will be able to act upon it. There are probably more presupposed assumptions on top of the ones which have been presented here, but to list all of them is not necessary, as the ones which have been mentioned should be enough to convince anybody that presupposition saves us a lot of time and effort in everyday communication.

There are many authors who were investigating the nature of presupposition. Some treated it as a semantic phenomenon very much connected with logic (Strawson 1952, Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971, Lakoff 1971), while others argued for the pragmatic status of presuppositional phenomena (Karttunen & Peters 1979, Levinson 1983, Grundy 1995), but its exact and definite status is not of essential relevance for this study.⁵¹ Some presuppositional aspects seem to be closer to pragmatics, while some are better accounted for in terms of semantic analysis. It is quite useful, however, to subdivide presupposition into pragmatic, which is in a way dependent on context in the sense that it constitutes the felicity conditions for an utterance in a specific context, and

⁵¹ Actually, there is an indirect effect of the unclear status of presupposition on the results of the study in that it is not as good an instrument of investigation as other, unequivocally pragmatic, theoretical constructs applied in the remaining chapters. Nevertheless, there are enough pragmatic properties of presuppositional phenomena to justify its inclusion in this thesis as one of the major tools for the analysis of the language of advertising.

conventional, which defines the preconditions for an utterance irrespective of the context in which it is spoken. The former, being dependent on the context, is more difficult to account for, as different contexts might influence its potential status and speak for its analysis as inferences rather than preconditions. The latter type is more linguistic in nature, since it provides grounds for the use of specific lexical items and constructions. Because of this feature, it is quite easily observable, as it is not difficult to provide a list of linguistic items and syntactic constructions giving rise to various kinds of presupposition.⁵² The items which are quoted most often include the following:

(2) Lexical presupposition triggers:

- ⇒ iteratives: words such as *another, again, second, third*, etc. They presuppose that what follows happened before, e.g. 'I failed the exam again' > 'I had failed it before'
- ⇒ change of state predicates: words such as *stop, continue, begin*, etc. They presuppose the previous state, e.g. 'He stopped smoking' > 'He was smoking'
- ⇒ implicatives: words such as *remember, forget, manage, happen*, etc. They presuppose implicatures conventionally associated with them, e.g. 'He managed to paint the house' > 'It was difficult'

Syntactic presupposition triggers:

- ⇒ temporal clauses: starting with *after, before, since, while*, etc. They presuppose their content, e.g. 'She lost her job after she insulted her boss' > 'She insulted her boss'
- ⇒ wh-questions: They presuppose their content, e.g. 'Where did you go last night' > 'You went somewhere last night'
- ⇒ cleft and pseudo cleft sentences: They presuppose their content, e.g. 'It was Paul who scared me to death last night' > 'Someone scared me to death last night'
- ⇒ third conditional type: They presuppose that something opposite to what they state happened, e.g. 'If I had bought the lottery ticket, I would have won the prize' > 'I did not buy the ticket, so I did not win the prize'
- ⇒ non-restrictive relatives: They presuppose their content, e.g. 'Bill Clinton, who had an affair with Monika Lewinsky, lost his respect in the eyes of many Americans' > 'Bill Clinton had an affair with Monika Lewinsky'
- ⇒ definite descriptions: with definite article, possessive pronouns, proper names, etc. They presuppose the existence of their referent, e.g. 'Your sister phoned' > 'You have a sister'

⁵² Cf. Karttunen (n.d.), Levinson (1983) & Grundy (1995).

⇒ factive predicates: expressions such as *the fact that*, *it's odd that*, *be aware that*, etc. They presuppose what follows them, e.g. 'It's wonderful that he won' > 'He won'

There are more presupposition triggers, but the above list includes the most salient examples and the items included above belong to the most often used in advertising language.

There are, of course, some problematic issues connected with presupposition. Sometimes they are connected with the point of reference that is adopted when we analyse presuppositions. Quite often we may come across factive verbs which precede messages which are obviously false or examples of definite descriptions of non-existing entities may be given. The presuppositions connected with such constructions will still hold, however, if we enter the imaginary world of the speaker or some other metaphorically constructed world in which our everyday reality is suspended. The rules of language are constant in all worlds and although the judgements in terms of truth values might differ, the presupposition triggers will work in much the same way in all contexts.

There were claims that if we can prove that certain presuppositions always arise from certain lexical items or syntactic construction, and if we can find a rule which relates the former with the latter, then they should not be treated as presuppositions but as conventional implicatures.⁵³ But it is always possible to show that there are untypical cases of use of such lexical items and syntactic constructions in which the usual presuppositions do not arise or can be cancelled.⁵⁴ If this is so, we are licensed to treat presupposition as a pragmatic phenomenon, while taking advantage of its semantic, lexical and syntactic regularity.

5.2. *It is presupposition which gives advertising its power — or is it?*

The title of this section presupposes at least two things. Firstly, it assumes that something gives advertising its power, and secondly, it also suggests that advertising is powerful. In my opinion, these two presuppositions describe the

⁵³ Cf. Karttunen & Peters (1979).

⁵⁴ See examples in Grundy (1995: 77–86).

actual reality and need not be discussed, so the discussion will focus on whether to give a positive answer to the above question or not.

It is difficult to carry out a very detailed analysis of presupposition used as persuasion, as almost every single utterance carries a large set of presuppositions connected with it and to discuss all of them would be simply impossible. Besides, few of such presuppositions have any persuasive significance, they are rather used as devices applied to achieve maximal economy of expression, much in the same way as it is done in everyday communication. That is why they are inconspicuous and negligible, and do not have any influence on our understanding of the messages. Therefore, the analysis has to be restricted to the very prominent uses of presuppositional phenomena, whose persuasive status cannot be doubted. In this respect, it will be less precise as in the case of deictic expressions, whose presence is easily detectable, but in spite of this several very interesting instances of persuasive use of presuppositions may be quoted.

The fact that (I cannot help using another presupposition trigger!) presupposition is often employed in persuasive discourse is well established and does not have to be disputed. The following analysis will attempt to show how it is used in the advertising discourse and which of its features make it a tempting choice as a persuasive strategy.

Negating or questioning presupposition is not an easy thing to do. It usually requires interruption, breaking the unwritten law of communication that you should agree with your interlocutor, repeating the previous utterance with some necessary amendments and often also negating some favourable opinions about oneself. If someone said to me:

(3) Being an intelligent man, you must enjoy reading Joyce, too.

I would not hurry to deny that, as it would also put into question my status as an intelligent man. Even if I were not particularly enthusiastic about Joyce's prose, I would not object to the presupposition carried by (3). This combination of presupposition and entailment, or two presuppositions, one of which is very favourable for the listener, seems to be a very tempting strategy for the advertiser, as the hearer will probably seldom try to quarrel with the message presented in the following way:

(4) TORLANA provide only the highest quality European kitchens and appliances to those as individual as you.

[E055701-02]

(1) Tak, kochasz życie, znasz jego wartość i wiesz, że tym, co w nim najważniejsze,

to spokój i pewność, że cokolwiek się stanie,
jest ktoś, kto poda pomocną dłoń.

[P03201-04]

In the first case, denying that TORLANA manufacture only the highest quality, very individual kitchens, would entail losing the status of an individual person, while in the second example opposing the subordinate clause following *wiesz, że* would be equal to stating that we do not love life and do not appreciate its value. It is remarkable, in this context, that there are very few similar examples in the data — 2 in the Polish ads and 3 in the English commercials. The radio ads collected for this analysis rarely apply this method of flattery, although its persuasive potential is very conspicuous.

Some of the prototypical presupposition triggers are used more often and there are particular persuasive aims connected with them. The syntactic triggers seem to be favoured over the lexical, and the most frequent among them is the definite description, usually used to pre-select the relevant audience or to attribute certain qualities to it:

- (5) It's good to know that there is a mobile digital network that can be tailored to meet **your** business needs.

[E0601-02]

When you're out on business your office doesn't always know where you are. But your **PERSONAL TELEPHONE NUMBER** does.

[E01701-02]

Zawsze może się zdarzyć, że **twoje** auto zniknie...

[P08701]

These utterances presuppose that the listener has some business needs, that he has an office and that he is an owner of a car, respectively. In this way the ads make sure that the people who happen to fit the description will pay attention to what is being said. In some other cases definite descriptions are used to enhance the general appeal of the ad. They make the advertised product closer and more familiar, creating an intimate link between the audience and the advertised commodity:

- (6) **CLASSICAL SPECTACULAR** — your favourite show's back at the National Bowl, Milton Keynes, on Saturday, the 13th of July.
Book now at the box office 01908 23-44-66, and guarantee your place at the **CLASSICAL SPECTACULAR** of the summer.

[E01201-02;06-07]

dzień noc pogania, obiad, śniadanie, praca, dom, praca, czas nie zawraca, dobrze, że jest...

*troski, marzenia, nic się nie zmienia, makijaż nowy, a jak to zrobić? dobrze, że jest...
Twoja najlepsza "PRZYJACIÓŁKA" ... co tydzień hierzesz ją do ręki i chwilę czasu
jej poświęcasz, a warto,
bo ona wiele wie,
Twoja najlepsza "PRZYJACIÓŁKA" ... samo życie na stronie każdej, w szczęściu,
w smutku, bliska jak żadna, przyjaciółką zawsze jest
tygodnik "PRZYJACIÓŁKA" od poniedziałku w kioskach ...
Twoja najlepsza "PRZYJACIÓŁKA"*

[P011]

It was necessary to quote the whole text of the Polish ad, as it illustrates how the presupposition, together with the other devices, creates the overall impression of familiarity.

Factive predicates seem to be quite popular, too, most often taking the form of the expressions *know that* and *wiedzieć, że*.⁵⁵ The advertisers are taking advantage of the fact that negating the presuppositions carried by such expressions would be very awkward, since we are simultaneously being told that we know something and what it is that we know. After the advertiser has told us what we know, the effect is that we know it, although a few seconds before we may not have known. There is a very small step then to be made from knowing to actually believing it. We would not normally say that we know something if we did not believe it, so in order to uphold the rational constitution of our mind we attribute the truth value to the message. Besides, the information is usually stated in such a matter-of-fact fashion, that it seems to the audience that denying it would entail a risk of appearing narrow-minded, prejudiced and opinionated. The examples (4) and (5) include this type of construction, and similar strategy of persuasion is used in 5 Polish and 4 English commercials.

When it comes to questions, there are two types of presuppositions connected with them. The *wh*-questions, mentioned earlier as one type of presupposition triggers, are used to presuppose their content, but general questions can also have presuppositions connected with them. In ads, where there is no possibility for the audience to answer them in a real, communicative way, they have to be treated as rhetorical and the answer is usually presupposed by the advertiser:

(7) Planning a holiday this year? Then tune into 1170's holiday programme GET-AWAY and get away to wherever takes you fancy

[E07501-02]

⁵⁵ Strictly speaking, *know* belongs to the group of so-called semifactive verbs, which are characterised by non-factive syntax.

- (2) Hot in the office? Why pay around 90 pounds a week to rent a mobile air-conditioner, when we'll rent you one from under 5 pounds a week?
That's right, from under 5 pounds a week.
Still think air-conditioning is a luxury? Huh, hm...

[E10002-05]

There are no examples of this sort in the Polish direct copies. In the above examples the function of the questions is to pre-select the audience and direct the commercials to those who would answer 'yes', so it is very similar to the use of definite descriptions. There is, however, one more strategy to pre-select the relevant addressees, which is used most often, at least in the English commercials. This is the conditional construction introduced by *if*, which is, by the way, one of the oldest strategies used in advertising language.⁵⁶ In Polish we come across similar constructions starting with *jeśli*, *gdy*, *kiedy* and *jak*. They do not carry real presuppositions, as the conditions expressed by them do not have to be met. Implicitly, however, they suggest that if you want to be treated as legitimate audience of such an ad, you have to accept the conditions first.

The wh-questions are not used very often in direct copies, but even if they are, their primary function as a request for information is replaced by a secondary one, connected with the presuppositions they carry, which can be foregrounded in that way. In the following examples this purpose becomes quite evident:

- (8) PIZZA HUT wspaniały smak - czy już wiesz, co byś zjadł?

[P01711-12]

Kto tak pięknie gra? Kto tak pięknie gra? To ja, to ja.
Wielosezonowy olej silnikowy LOTOS SEMISYNTHETIC

[P09301-02]

The suggestions carried by the presuppositions seem to be more important than genuine answers to these questions, especially in the first example. Although the advertiser suggests the answers, the audience's actions seem to depend more on the acceptance of the presuppositions. This time a similar application of wh-questions was not found in the English data. There was, however, one very interesting example of presupposition carried by a wh-question functioning as an attention-catching device:

- (9) What has a chicken got to do with new windows, doors or a conservatory?
Well, BEST BUY manufacture in their own factory and fit the UPVC windows, doors and conservatories themselves. When you call BEST BUY, you're talking to a local company who'll give you excellent service.

⁵⁶ See Leech (1966).

Call BEST BUY on Northampton 40-79-79.

So, what has a chicken got to do with new windows, doors or a conservatory?

Absolutely nothing!

BEST BUY, on Birch Field Road East, Northampton, or call 40-79-79. Also in Kettering.

[E018]

The question asked at the beginning somehow forces the audience to listen to the commercial, as it resembles a well-known joke pattern in which the listener expects to receive a funny answer, providing an unexpected and witty link between the two juxtaposed objects. There are several assumptions at work here: firstly, that there exists some nonsensical, but amusing link between a chicken and windows and conservatories, secondly, that the audience will recognise the question as a joke, and thirdly, that the audience will wait to hear the punchline. The advertiser, taking advantage of the audience's curiosity and their anticipation that the answer will follow, goes on to promote his company's services and only when the message proper has been communicated, he brings back the original question and gives a disappointing answer, making it clear that it was not a real joke, not the one which the audience expected, anyway. As an effect it turns out that the joke was on the listeners and that they were framed and outwitted by the advertiser, because they listened, and probably did so very attentively, to an ad which could otherwise go unnoticed or neglected. This would suggest that our attitude to the advertiser who uses such methods should not be very positive, but in fact I would claim that it is. Instead of bearing grudge, we appreciate his ingenuity and inventiveness.

The future tense is also used in the commercials with an apparent function to presuppose that the asserted action is welcome by the listener. It at least suggests that a positive attitude towards the future event is generally acceptable and natural:

(10) *JM KOMANDOR wykończy Twoje mieszkanie.*

[P02511]

You'll see sights no cinema-goer has ever seen.

[E09701]

These assumptions, however, seem to be closer to inferences, as they do not survive the negation of the original utterances — at best they can be treated as a sort of contextually conditioned pragmatic presupposition.

A few examples of lexical presupposition triggers can be also found in the data. There are a few iteratives, as in (11):

(11) phone us and haggle over the price of your **next** hire car or van

[E01607]

Całkiem spokojnie wypijesz **trzecią** kawę.

[P03702]

or change of state expressions, as in (12):

(12) **Make** life **easier** paying your council tax and choose the day you pay.

[E05803-04]

*Aby **wrócić** znów do życia weź **PARACETAMOL**.*

[P09203]

but their exact function is quite difficult to determine. I think it would be safe to suggest that they contribute to the selection of the relevant audience: those who have already hired a car, those who would like to drink more than two coffees, those who think their methods of tax payment are too complicated and those who do not feel very well. Apart from these lexically conditioned presuppositions there are not any other clear examples of persuasive use of this pragmatic phenomenon.

5.3. Conclusions

Presupposition undoubtedly has a huge persuasive potential and it would be very strange not to find any examples of its use in the advertising discourse. Nevertheless, in the commercials analysed in this thesis the strategy of persuasive use of presupposition, although present, is not found in more than 20%—25% of the total number of ads. As I have mentioned earlier, it is difficult to quote precise figures here, as in order to achieve its persuasive power presupposition must exhibit not only the features connected with economy of expression, but also such characteristics which in an explicit way influence the listeners' reading of the message. It also has to be remembered that all commercials depend on an interplay of a whole bunch of advertising strategies and that presupposition is only one of them. The assessment of the relative power and prominence of presupposition on the background of other strategies in use is a question of my subjective judgement and as such cannot

be treated as conclusive or absolute. Indeed, some other methods of analysis might highlight different aspects of persuasive use of presupposition which have not been accounted for here. Nevertheless, due to their comparative prominence, the strategies described in this chapter seem to contribute a lot to the persuasive power of the advertising message as a whole.

Their most important functions included pre-selection of the relevant audience, flattery, suggestion of certain attitudes and emanating appropriate beliefs. Various kinds of presupposition triggers were used, with an observable preference for the syntactic constructions. There were no definite differences between the Polish and the English commercials in their application of presuppositional phenomena.

Answering the question asked in the title of section 5.2, it has to be concluded that although the advertising discourse does not avoid using presupposition for persuasion, it does so to an unexpectedly little degree, given the potential persuasive power of this pragmatic phenomenon. Therefore, the main power of advertisements must be derived from somewhere else. Some suggestions of its sources have already been mentioned in earlier chapters in connection with the covert character of advertising discourse. The next chapter is going to explore the implicit meanings hidden behind the overtly stated and presupposed messages in the language of commercials.

Chapter 6

Implicit meaning in advertising

6.1. Preliminaries

It is amazing how often we use language in a way which seems to make the act of communication very complicated and yet we are not getting lost in this apparent labyrinth of contradictions. We often hear that an average native speaker of any language uses up to one thousand different words in his everyday speech. It may seem a lot at the first glance, but if we take into consideration the variety of meanings which have to be expressed, it may turn out that this one thousand words are being used in a very efficient way. It is an obvious fact that the same word or expression can be used in different situations to render quite different meanings. The question arises of how it is that we are capable of deciphering the correct interpretation on a given occasion. A very enlightening example might be the following sentence:

(1) It was interesting.

I very often take advantage of the inherent potential of this phrase to render a variety of meanings when I am in a situation when I have to tell one of my students that his essay was not very good without hurting his feelings or damaging his motivation or enthusiasm. And it is amazing how well my intentions are being understood on most of the occasions, as often a question of the kind 'What have I done wrong?' would follow. I would even go as far as suggesting that the word *interesting* without any premodification has lost its primary meaning and is used on most occasions to mean that we are not very enthusiastic about something. That is why when we want to express our

genuine interest and admiration we are forced to use marked premodification ('It was really very interesting') or to avoid the word *interesting*, if we do not want to sound ambiguous.

I think that this phenomenon can be explained by a reference to various levels of meaning in each utterance. On the surface, (1) means what it entails, that the thing referred to has in the speaker's opinion the feature of being interesting, but on a deeper level it can express a variety of other attitudes. The problem starts when it becomes unclear which particular meaning was intended by the speaker. Sometimes it may happen that the student mentioned earlier, on hearing myself saying (1), would answer 'Oh, that's great, I'm glad that you liked it!', in which case I would be forced to make it explicit that the more indirect, deeper level meaning of the phrase was intended to be communicated. Indeed, one can never be quite sure what the speaker meaning exactly is, which is illustrated by the frequency of such questions as 'What do you mean by that?' or by the school disputes in the literature classes about what the author wanted to say by what he wrote. In real communicative situations⁵⁷ the 'hearer knows best' principle could be postulated:

- (2) 'H's interpretation of S's behaviour may be said to determine what S's behaviour counts as at that point of time in the ongoing conversation: this allows of the possibility of course that S may self-correct -- i.e. the hearer-knows-best principle may be applied sequentially.'

(Edmondson 1981: 50)

Speaker meaning is not the most important element — how the hearer understands a given utterance determines what he in turn is going to say. No matter which meaning is retrieved by the hearer, there is always a possibility of self-correction.

In the case of advertising, however, it is not the case, since the audience may search for the intended meaning on many different levels, sometimes getting the one which was not intended at all by the advertiser — there is no opportunity for repair sequences here. It is interesting, in this context, that covert meaning is applied so often in advertising. It would seem that advertisers should aim at uniform understanding of all commercials and that 'getting it wrong' by the audience could mean wasting huge amounts of money spent on advertising campaigns. Advertising is a mass phenomenon and its ultimate aim is uniform behaviour of all the customers, namely that of buying the advertised product.⁵⁸ The stimulus for such behaviour would seem to require anything but obscurity. Yet all the descriptive analyses of the adver-

⁵⁷ i.e. when both participants are present and can react to each other's contributions.

⁵⁸ I disregard here, for the purpose of the argument, the other types of advertising — charities, political, events, etc.

tising language invariably show that it contains huge amounts of indeterminacies, ambiguities, indirectness and elusive hints. What is there, then, so powerful in covert communication, which makes it the number one choice for the advertisers?

There are several important aspects of advertising which speak in favour of indirect communication. The first one is connected with the issue of truth. It is a legal requirement in most of the countries that all advertising should be truthful and that lying in commercials constitutes a criminal offence. This may sound very straightforward on the surface, but the issue is far from simple. First of all, it is very hard to define what constitutes lying and where the borderlines of truth are. If a 1 kg bag of sugar in fact contains 0.98 kg — is the producer lying about the quantity of the product? Or if I do not like the taste of a juice advertised with the slogan 'The taste of paradise', does it mean that the slogan is a lie? There may be thousands of various claims made by advertisers and no legal system is ever capable of accounting for each of them. In some countries the commercial law bans the use of a few particular grammatical constructions usually employed in making claims,⁵⁹ but they are often restricted to the most obvious cases of potential dishonesty. Otherwise, the advertisers are free to stretch the borders of truth to wherever takes them fancy. The risk of being accused of lying cannot be too high, however. That is why in most of the cases the language of advertising will be characterised by avoidance strategies aimed at rendering the commercial simply impossible to verify in terms of truth and falsehood. At the same time, ads must be convincing for the audience, they have to make an impression of honesty and veracity, so the natural choice is to make the 'truth value suspending devices' very inconspicuous by means of opting for the covert and indirect mode of communication.

Another persuasive potential in covert communication is related to what would seem at first to be a disadvantage — the fact that everyone understands and processes a given ad in a slightly different way. But when we stop and think about it for a while, it turns out to be a very welcome fact. The only thing which should be kept constant in advertising is its ultimate effect, but there may be many different ways of achieving it. Some people may be attracted by the image included in a poster, others can appreciate the breathtaking visual effects in a TV commercial, still others will laugh at the joke in an ad or admire the ingenuity of the slogan. For many the deciding factor may be the memorability value of the product's name or a catchy tune used in a radio ad, whereas others will be attracted by the familiar associa-

⁵⁹ The superlative degree of adjectives and adverbs is banned in France, the same is true about Germany (unless the product can be proved to be the best) and Sweden (unless it is presented as a subjective statement by a secondary participant). Cf. Bralczyk (1996:31).

tions with home and family evoked purposefully by the advertiser. The number of recipes is virtually infinite and limited only by the creativity of the advertisers. The more there are potential ways of affecting the audience in one ad, the better, that is why many commercials will exploit multiple indirect channels of communication to stir the widest possible audience. An ideal ad should contain a bit of everything for everybody who is perceived as a prospective customer.

It is a fact of psychology that human beings are most responsive towards the stimuli directed at their most basic instincts and needs: hunger, sex, greed and safety from danger, to mention but a few. Since appeal to these instincts is often seen as anti-social,⁶⁰ and since many products have nothing or very little to do with the fulfillment of those basic needs, their application in advertising is seen as dishonest and disreputable. In the same way presentation of socially unacceptable opinions or reinforcing hostile and antagonistic attitudes is treated as an offence. Nevertheless, it does not stop the advertisers from utilisation of these 'forbidden' means of persuasion, and the social facts have only a limited influence on the mode of their employment. Using their potential strength is simply too tempting to be abandoned only for some 'highly abstract' considerations connected with honesty. Let us not forget that advertising is about big money. The advertisers must be simply careful not to be too explicit with it, because this is the way in which the society deals with such taboo areas. Indirect language is used to talk about all the things which are considered shameful or to present opinions which could be seen hostile towards others. Hiding references to sex, greed, pride or snobism in the second or third layer of meaning opens a possibility of denial in cases of any accusations. If the message referring to these areas is only a question of inferences, the advertiser is always in the position to state that the implications are not his responsibility and that it is the audience who does the interpreting. If something is not overtly stated, then it cannot be held against the advertiser. And the good thing about the references to the most basic instincts is that they do not have to be very explicit at all, very often the slightest indication of the possibility that something could be connected with sex, for instance, does the job. We are simply most receptive towards this kind of stimuli. The choice of indirect language is in this context only natural.

The last reason for choosing the covert mode of communication in advertising which I would like to suggest here is connected with the variable of social distance. It has been noted before that the language of advertising

⁶⁰ In developed social systems individuals have to control their most basic instincts and sometimes give up their basic needs in order to enjoy the profits resulting from organised way of life in a society.

tends to be very personal when it comes to the choice of address forms. Address forms, however, constitute only one of many characteristics of such style, another feature connected with a personal and informal mode of communication is its indirectness and relatively high dependence on implicit meanings. This is one of the features of the type of discourse which Tanaka (1994) calls *loose talk*. In communicating with people who are close to us we usually employ a lot of indirectness, as there is no need to be very explicit. Participants in this kind of communication often rely on the mutually presupposed context and as an effect express a substantial degree of the message in a covert way. Any departure from this mode of talk has to be well motivated, otherwise it creates an impression that not much of the context is accepted as mutually explicit, which in turn leads to an implication of increased distance between the participants. One of the aims of advertising is to create a feeling of intimacy between the advertiser and the audience. The deliberate use of covert communication can be one of the ways to achieve it. Too significant a shift towards the official and formal language might break this fragile link which so many commercials endeavour to create.

These seem to be the most important justifications for the application of covert communicative style in advertising.⁶¹ How this is achieved in the sample of advertising discourse analysed in this thesis will be the concern of the subsequent discussion. Before we can get down to the actual analysis, however, I shall review the applicability of the two major theoretical frameworks used in the pragmatic exposition of implied meaning.

⁶¹ Bralczyk (1996) suggests that we may see advertising not as communication but as a kind of a game between the advertiser and the general public. In this context the indirectness of the language used in commercials is seen simply as a strategy deliberately applied by the advertisers to win the game, not a way of rendering certain messages. To make natural communication most effective the natural tendency would be to state everything openly, without "beating around the bush", especially between participants who do not know each other and who do not share common context.

6.2. *The relevance of Relevance and Grice's maxims: The theory behind the analysis*

There are two major theories dealing with inferential meaning.⁶² The earlier one, put forward by Grice (1975, 1978), is concentrated around the Cooperative Principle (CP) and the Maxims of Conversation,⁶³ whereas the second one, suggested as a theory of human understanding and as an alternative for explanation of phenomena which the Gricean paradigm (henceforth GP) found difficult to account for, was formulated by Sperber and Wilson (1986) and is known as the Relevance Theory (henceforth RT).

I am not going to go very deep into details of each of these theories, as they are relatively widely known and their explication is not the main concern of this thesis. I am going to point out to several important aspects which can be very helpful in the pragmatic analysis of the language of advertising. Both these theoretical frameworks were used by scholars discussing advertising language — Grice's maxims were used by Geis (1982) and Cook (1992), while Tanaka (1994) preferred to apply the Relevance Theory. In the analysis of the data collected for this thesis I am not going to favour any of the two, as both of them can complement each other in the explication of the covert meaning and provide interesting insights into the processes responsible for the audience's understanding of commercials.

Whereas presupposition is mainly concerned with the information which is inherent and treated as given in the communicated message, inferences constitute this part of meaning which is arrived at by the hearer after the act of

⁶² I disregard here *Principles of Pragmatics* by Geoffrey Leech (1983) and his Maxims of Politeness, as they largely operate on the inferences drawn as the result of application of Grice's maxims. It is a very broad theoretical framework in its own right and would deserve a separate discussion. Being limited by the size of the present work I deliberately leave it out — one of the main issues connected with the selection of the analytical tools involved necessary omission of a couple of interesting pragmatic devices. I have already accounted for my choice of the theoretical frameworks in this thesis in the third chapter.

⁶³ There are four maxims postulated by Grice: quality, quantity, relevance and manner. There were suggestions by other scholars that there may be more maxims than that, for instance Lakoff (1973) argues for the existence of three other maxims connected with the Politeness Principle (avoid imposing, make your hearer feel good, give your hearer options), whereas Grundy (1995), applying the evidence based on the existence of maxim hedges, puts forward the maxim of involvement. However, they will not be employed in the analysis, as their exact theoretical status is not so clear as the status of Grice's maxims and their introduction would complicate the neatness of GP, which is the basic model used in many other analyses.

communication and represent each particular understanding of the message. The GP takes it for granted that the participants in a communicative event will adhere to the CP, which is treated as superior to all the maxims. Even if one of the maxims is flouted, the hearer assumes that the speaker abides by the CP and that the act of maxim flouting should be perceived by the hearer as a trigger for making additional inferences. If I heard the following comment:

(3) John is a real pig.

I would not take it at its face value. Knowing that (3) is obviously false, I would infer that the speaker was using a metaphor and tried to tell me something about John's behaviour and attitude, rather than to state that he has turned into an animal. Metaphors and other figures of speech such as metonymy, synecdoche and simile all constitute flouts of the maxim of quality, but if anyone uses them we do not take it as being uncooperative. Instead, we draw inferences which enable us to rescue the CP.

Since flouting conversational maxims is more salient than abiding by them, it can be postulated that in commercials we will find many maxim flouts, acting as triggers for inferences. Although following the maxims also provides implicature triggers, they are not so easily recognisable and may be missed by the addressee. In this situation it will be interesting to investigate which maxims are flouted most often in ads and what is the rationale of such flouts, which maxims are followed and why, how the language is used to flout or abide by a maxim, and if flouting a maxim is really more frequent than abiding by it.

Although it is relatively easy to point out the cases when the maxims are followed or flouted, there may be several problems connected with the Gricean approach. Firstly, we have to acknowledge the fact that every little utterance may be analysed in terms of abiding by or flouting of all four maxims. If the analysis of 200 commercials were to be so elaborate and meticulous, it would probably take a few years and several bulky volumes to complete. Besides, we would be lost in the multitude of details and the result, although very accurate, would be far from explanatory. A large proportion of the findings for a single commercial would be also quite irrelevant, if projected against the background of all the explicated inferences. To make the analysis more realistic and manageable, and to achieve a relatively clear picture of what is really going on, we have to restrict the scope of examination to the most prominent cases of flouting or following the maxims, as only the most conspicuous and outstanding instances will have some persuasive significance, given the perceptive and processing limitations of the listeners. However, even with this sort of restriction, there are going to be hundreds

of examples, which is illustrative of the abundance of strategies the advertisers are using for persuasion.

Secondly, it is quite difficult to suggest the exact implicatures following from the application of CP. Studying the GP we often come across examples of reasoning which is allegedly taking place in the minds of hearers. It is usually neatly divided into several stages and steps, presented in a form of a reasoning sequence, leading to the final complete understanding of an utterance, with all its covert meanings retrieved by the hearer.⁶⁴ Some scholars, however, question such formulation and point out that GP is not capable of explaining how the hearer goes from one step to another, or why one step should be a necessary consequence of the previous one.⁶⁵ Additionally, the divergence of possible idiosyncratic interpretations must be taken into account. In view of this fact, in trying to retrieve the implicatures we have to take into account only those which are relatively easily calculable for the audience, ascribing no persuasive powers to those which require considerable amount of processing or may be quite incidental.

Thirdly, the use of maxim hedges (Grundy 1995:41) introduces further complication to the analysis, because although they are used as a means of signalling to what extent the speaker is abiding by the maxims, they may be also treated as triggers of further implicatures, resulting from the very fact that they were used. It will be interesting, in this context, to see which hedges or intensifiers (Grundy 1995:42) are used most often and what is the persuasive justification of their employment.

Finally, the most complicated issue connected with GP has to be discussed. Grice divides the meaning of utterances into natural and non-natural (Grice 1957).⁶⁶ According to his view, conventional implicature belongs to the natural meaning of an utterance, because it has become so common, that it is almost always associated with a particular lexical item irrespective of the context in which the item appears. Some of the processes responsible for drawing inferences have become so conventionalised, that often we take an implied part of a message as overtly stated. That is why it is not certain for many scholars how we should treat such inferences — as entailments or implicatures. A similar issue is connected with the generalised conversational implicature — it is called conversational because it depends largely on

⁶⁴ Cf. Grice (1975:43–50), Levinson (1983: 100–118).

⁶⁵ See Tanaka's (1994:20–22) review of Sperber & Wilson's (1986) criticism of GP.

⁶⁶ In its original formulation *meaning nn* can be interpreted as perlocutionary effects of an act of communication (cf. Searle 1969), but in later works (Levinson 1983, Grundy 1995) the authors reformulate it slightly in the light of the developments of pragmatic theory and present it as some kind of speaker-meaning transmitted in particular, contextualised cases of communication, not to be calculated solely on the basis of the linguistic content of the message (similarly to the perlocutionary effects of a speech act).

the rules of talk and generally accepted linguistic behaviour, and generalised because it arises irrespective of the context, just like in the case of conventional implicature.⁶⁷ This type of implicature derives most often from the maxims of quantity and manner. Quantity-based implicatures are very often connected with operations on scales (Gazdar 1979)⁶⁸ and are less salient than implicatures following from relevance (Geis 1982: 55-6). In this situation Sperber and Wilson (1986) postulate the existence of only one maxim — the maxim of relevance. What is derived from quantity, quality and manner, in their opinion, is not an implicature but part of explicature — the elaborated logical form of an utterance. Their argument is based on the observation that the generalised conversational implicature is so easily and unambiguously derivable from the utterance that it cannot be treated as a part of covert meaning. If such standpoint is accepted, our discussion of particular maxims and their status in the language of commercials would be deprived of theoretical grounds. Including all scalar implicatures and also other types in explicature is a necessary step when one wants to achieve a parsimonious theory where all implicatures follow from relevance, but at the same time we lose a very powerful explanatory mechanism and problems arise as to how the explicatures should be elaborated. In the same way as there were some inconsistencies in Grice's reasoning, we may hold the above-mentioned difficulty against the supporters of RT.

The only safe way out of this theoretical impasse is the application of either of the theories depending on their explanatory power of a particular phenomenon. The notion of explicature, for instance, is very useful in the discussion of the abbreviated language of ads. Very often the audience is left to reconstruct the explicatures from the verbless constructions and half-sentences. It also happens that the advertisers foreground the explicatures of the commercials as the most important part thereof. In such cases the resulting explicatures follow partly from flouts of the maxim of manner or quantity, but they are so common that they are rarely perceived as flouts at all.

Apart from the notion of explicature, RT offers a couple of other very useful theorems which could be employed in the analysis of covert meaning in ads. It is a very good approach to the explanation of human understanding of utterances, postulating several levels of comprehension. There are basically

⁶⁷ The differences between generalised conversational implicature and conventional implicature are discussed in Grundy (1995) and Levinson (1983).

⁶⁸ Gazdar argues that we arrange lexical items and expressions on certain scales (e.g. might — may — could — can — should — will — must) and that the usage of one of the elements implies 'not the higher one on the scale'. Thus if we say 'John could be at home' we imply that we are not so certain about it as we would be if we used the modal 'can' or 'should'.

four such levels: understanding of what is said, understanding of explication, implied premises and implied conclusion. The hearer may fail on any of these levels and in order to retrieve the deeper meaning he has to decipher the more superficial one. This paradigm can also be used in the modelling of our potential understanding of ads. The principle of the least processing effort and accessibility (Sperber & Wilson 1986:153) helps to explain why certain implicatures can block further inferencing and why not all possible covert messages are being accessed. The notion of 'garden path utterances' (Grundy 1995:142-3) is a neat way of accounting for all cases of jokes, teasing of the audience or disguise. We will also see what kind of judgements the advertisers make about the hearer resources and his processing abilities in the choice of advertising strategies and what it reveals about the advertisers' attitude towards the audience.

Both theories outlined above, despite the problems signalled in the discussion, offer very useful insights into the nature of covert meaning and our understanding of implicatures. Without opting for one or the other I shall try to take advantage of the explanatory power and descriptive possibilities offered by each of them. In the following section it will be shown how both GP and RT can be applied in the analysis of the advertising language.

6.3. What do they mean by that?

The covert message of advertising

As I have noted previously, the language of advertising abounds with indirect messages. They are constructed in many different and interesting ways and their interplay with the explicit message of the ad is certainly something worth investigating. Since it is not feasible to provide an exhaustive analysis of all the covert messages included in commercials, in this section a quantitative account of the most prominent strategies will be provided, in an attempt to sketch some general comparative characteristics of both Polish and English advertising language. Several case studies of a number of more interesting commercials will be presented in the last chapter, in an attempt to show in what way the overall meaning of the ads is an effect of a multitude of factors and how many different meanings can be discovered when we look at particular ads very closely. For the time being, however, let us concentrate on what the analysis of the commercials focused on indirect meaning has to offer.

6.3.1. *The quantitative analysis*

6.3.1.1. *Manner*

Let us start the analysis with the observation which seems to be true about all contemporary commercials: their aim may be fulfilled only if they are noticed by the audience and if they are prominent on the background of others. It is becoming more and more difficult in the world immersed in the flood of ads. They are so omnipresent that we even stop noticing them, in fact it would be difficult to find a place in our environment without some form of advertising present there. This is one of the reasons why as soon as ads started to be a mass phenomenon in the middle of the nineteenth century, they started their quest for novelty and ingenuity. It is very unusual for an ad nowadays to come in a form of a very simple, precise and to-the-point message. All of them must fight an endless battle for attention of the audience, the 'jaded consumers' (Myers 1994) who have seen through the hard-sell strategies of the past, have grown immune to the persuasive tricks and avoid advertising whenever they can.⁶⁹ It is no surprise, therefore, that most of the commercials flout the maxim of manner in order to attract the audience. It would be extremely difficult to find an ad which would fulfill all four demands of this maxim: brevity, orderliness, lack of ambiguity and lack of obscurity. Although only the commercials in which the violation of manner had a clear persuasive purpose (mostly that of differentiating the ad from all the others) were counted, there were 66 such ads in the Polish data and 51 in the English data. Polish advertisers tend to apply the technique of diversification of the advertising message slightly more often, but this does not change the fact that it is very evident in both languages. Some examples of the most prominent applications of this strategy are given in (4), (5) and (6):

- (4) (1) Ky sie ten Waluś znowu podziol?
 (2) O, kruca fuks, patsaj ino na te stodołe!
 (1) Ki diabeł? Jedno dziółcha, drugo, ojej-jej, jej, trzecio!
 (3) aaaaaa!!!

⁶⁹ This may be illustrated by an interesting observation reported by Whalen (1984), connected with a discovery made by American sewage system workers. They have observed that the water containers in people's toilets were being emptied at specific times in the evening. It turned out that these times corresponded to the broadcast times of commercial breaks in a popular comedy series. It became then evident where the majority of people were going during the presentation of ads, and this phenomenon received even its scientific name in the literature — the 'flush factor'. Whalen described it referring to millions of dollars going down the drain.

- (1) Kruca fuks! Kwico!
 (4) A jo!
 (1) Waluś, ty mos zdrowie!
 (4) A mom! KAME jem, to i serce mom jak dzwon! Ha, ha, ha, ha...

[P03901-08]

(5) [bip, bip, bip]

(1) Podajemy prognozę pogody. W ciągu najbliższej doby do Polski zacznie napływać mroźne powietrze z północnego wschodu. Spodziewane są opady śniegu. Wiatr silny i porwisty północny, dochodzący // do 20 metrów na sekundę.

(2) // ..hh, znowu popękają mi naczynka...*

(1) Uwaga*, przed wyjściem z domu zaleca się użycie kremu DERMOSAN UV w celu ochrony skóry. Powtarzam: zaleca się użycie kremu DERMOSAN.

[P06701-06]

- (6)** (1) We've been calling police force, the army and emergency services because today we're hoping to clear up the mystery of the recent big cat sightings. We have a positive sighting at a petrol station on the outskirts of town, and a very clear sighting in a supermarket car-park ... again heading for a petrol station. There it is! [roar] It is a big cat! And it's making its way towards the ESSO station across the road. I can see stripes! Yes, yes, it's a tiger! And it's going up to the price board, [roar] oh, good heavens, the fuel prices are coming down, I don't believe it! Look at them fall! Tiger or no tiger, I'm filling my car up, right, boys?! [car engine] (2) Come on (())
- (3) The ESSO price watch is coming your way, bringing fuel prices down.

[E03301-10]

In the example (4) the commercial mimicks the famous TV serial 'Janosik', exploiting at the same time our positive feelings towards the protagonists. It presents us with a short story, as if another episode from the life of Janosik's companions, revealing the true character of the message at the end. This departure from the standard⁷⁰ undoubtedly draws the audience's attention, at least on the first few hearings. The commercials presented in (5) and (6) disguise the true intended message in the forms of a weather forecast and a news report, respectively. These are the parts of a radio broadcast which the audience usually listens to very carefully, so the application of these two styles is bound to stimulate the hearers' attention. If the commercial quoted in (5) is presented in the period of good weather, its effect may be further enhanced by an element of surprise. It has to be remembered, however, that in each of the cases the advertisers are careful not to overdo the disguise, as the ultimate success of an ad depends on its being recognised as such. That is why we can

⁷⁰ In terms of prototype, as defined earlier in Chapter 3.

talk here about the flout of the maxim of manner — the advertiser does it and the audience notices it, the CP being observed all the time.

Let us try to reconstruct the inferencing process going on in the case of the three examples presented above, using the model proposed by Grice (1975:50). We take the standpoint of the hearer, referring to the advertiser as 'he':

- (7) a He has communicated the message p in the manner M (for marked).
 b There is no reason to suppose that he is not observing the maxims, in particular the maxim of manner, or at least the Cooperative Principle.
 c He could not be doing that unless he thought that q (= 'I want you to recognise that the manner M is used instead of manner U (unmarked) and that I am doing this to make you appreciate my ingenuity and inventiveness. Nevertheless, you are required to recognise the message as an ad, the object of advertising being made sufficiently explicit in the message. I want you to extend your positive attitude towards me as the author and designer of this form of message to the advertised product).
 d He knows (and knows that I know that he knows) that I can see that the supposition that he thinks that q is required.
 e He has done nothing to stop me thinking that q .
 f He intends me to think, or is at least willing to allow me to think, that q .
 g And so, he has implicated that q .

Sperber & Wilson (1986) maintain that this form of reasoning is not a valid deductive argument. I agree with them here, because deciphering implicatures is not, strictly speaking, a matter of deduction. We may deduce presuppositions or entailments, but not implicatures, whose status is never certain and guaranteed, as in the case of deductive conclusions. I claim nevertheless that (7) represents the sort of mental impression we most commonly get when faced with ads of the type (4), (5) and (6). The elaboration of q might meet some reservations from many scholars, but it represents the inferences that I and the majority of people I interviewed about it make and agree about.

The question about the difference between inferences and impressions might be asked at this stage. Some of the contents of q might be claimed to constitute general impressions, difficult to express, not inferences. The former seem to be more connected with feelings and emotional attitudes, whereas the latter with reasoning, rational thinking and information processing. The aim of communication, as we noted before, is to change or modify the hearer's cognitive environment. The question is if we want to include the emotional aspects of the message in our understanding of the cognitive environment or

not. My answer would be that we have no choice but to treat the feelings and emotions, no matter how indeterminate and elusive they are in terms of scientific description, as a part of everyone's cognitive environment. No human being is entirely rational — in fact the majority of decisions we make is based to a lesser or greater degree on emotional stimuli. Besides, the exact borderline between the two concepts is very difficult, if not impossible, to define. In this situation I think that the distinction between what we could call impressions and the logical conclusions in the form of rational inferences is not valid here — they all belong to our cognitive environment and they will be referred to as inferences throughout the remaining part of this analysis, unless specific points have to be made with reference to one or the other, in terms of the bias their meaning implies.

The exploitation of the maxim of manner discussed so far can be termed as register or style borrowing, which was described earlier as one of the characteristic features of advertising. Its other function, which has not been mentioned explicitly so far, is serving the purpose of catching the audience's attention. Quite a number of ads collected for the purpose of this study exhibit a considerable departure from what could be described as an unmarked style of communication, with an obvious incentive to stand out on the background of the neighbouring messages. The commercial quoted in (4) performs this function brilliantly, so does the one quoted as (9) in the chapter on presupposition⁷¹ (the chicken joke), as well as a number of other ones, exemplified below:

- (8) (1) Aaaaah, oh, oh, that's nice, look at that! Oh, nice touch. Is that Pine Fresh?
[sniffing] No, it's Country Garden. Oh, yes, feel the quality of that toilet paper, it's like a baby's bottom, that is, oh, yeah, uh...
(2) Ehea, you gonna be long in there? Only other people wanna use it!
(3) Just look at the grouting!
(4) Oh, nice touch!
- [E01901-06]
- (9) (1) Ach, jak tłudno dziś o doibly towal do sklepu dziecinnego...
(2) A cy lobileś zakupy w hultowni KOKA?
(1) Jesce nie...
(2) Uuu, to bład! Hultownia KOKA jes tym, cego sukas!
- [P05301-04]
- (10) (1) Hau, hau, wiesz Reks, że 12 i 13 lutego przy ulicy Bokserskiej odbędzie się pierwsza zimowa międzynarodowa wystawa psów rasowych?
(2) Hau, hau, przy Bokserskiej? Dlaczego nie przy Jamniczej?
(1) Wrrrr, ponieważ Novea International Targi Warszawa mieszczą się przy Bokserskiej 71. Mam tam duże szanse i jestem w świetnej formie, bo pan karmi mnie PEDIGREE PAL.
- [P07301-06]

⁷¹ It is number [E018] in the appendix.

The commercial (8) leaves us in doubt for a while as to the object of advertising, which is introduced only later.⁷² In fact, it is more a piece of information than an ad, because it encourages people to vote for the public services which deserve to receive a 'Charter Mark' of approval for high standards of services. It's attention-catching power is further enhanced by the pronunciation of the secondary participants, which is styled for the working class folk register. The commercials quoted as (9) and (10), apart from pretending to be spoken by children and dogs, respectively, specify the range of products which they advertise by the very manner of speech. Disregarding the possible audience's reactions to this type of message presentation,⁷³ they definitely have the potential to attract attention.

Another way to stimulate listeners' interest is to use the format of a mini-drama. This form of product presentation is very popular in the Polish ads — 36 of the commercials are constructed in this way. In the English data I have found examples of only 14 mini-dramas. The difference is quite significant and illustrative of the general tendencies found in the two languages. I am not going to discuss them at length here, as their persuasive power is better accountable within other maxims (for instance quality and relevance) and follows more from what the secondary participants say than from the use of the format itself, whose importance is relatively high only in selected examples:

(11) (1) My Dear, while you're away, I'll make sure the new conservatory's ready for your return. Fret you not, my little wimple! CAMELOT CONSERVATORIES are taking care of all the design, planning, the construction and decoration, leaving me to reign in peace. Why, the castle will be so much more comfortable with our high quality, individually designed hard-wood CAMELOT conservatory. I've even thrown out that awful round table your mother gave us as a wedding present.

[E07401-06]

(12) (1) Kochanie, ale jestem głodny. Proszę, zrób obiad w pół godziny. No, nie rób takiej miny.
 (2) W pół godziny? Zrobię chyba jakieś cuda. Z FRIGOPOLEM to się uda. *Pieczeń, zrazy, bigos, flaki, to mrożone są przysmaki, na patelnię lub do rondla i...*

⁷² I have not included the whole transcript of the ad on purpose — firstly, it is quite long, and secondly, I wanted to keep the object of this ad implicit to illustrate the way in which it attracts the audience's attention.

⁷³ I have come across some critical remarks about (9) from teachers, that such a mode of speaking is a very bad example for children and that it makes the message quite unclear for the adults.

- (1) Kochanie, jaki fantastyczny zapach!
 (2) *pyzy, knedle, czy też kluski, chce się lizać już paluszki, wrzucasz do gorącej wody i... Kochanie, obiad gotowy!*

[P029]

In (11) the name of the company somehow imposes the choice of the form of the mini-drama and its personae: in this case King Arthur. The manner of presentation in (12) allows the advertiser to place the product in its appropriate environment and present one of its important features — the fact that the meal can be prepared in a very short time.

Another feature of the advertising language is its reliance on ambiguities.⁷⁴ Very few other genres exploit the multiplicity of meanings to such an extent. The overall purpose behind the use of ambiguous forms and constructions is also related to the attention value of the commercial, but in addition to this it definitely intensifies the attractiveness of the message. Puns are also flouts of the maxim of manner, probably the most salient ones, that is why they are so easily noticed and appreciated by the audience. Their influence on the hearers' desire to buy the advertised product is probably very small and indirect, their main function being appreciation of the advertiser's skill and shaping audience's positive attitude towards him. Let us look at some of the most interesting examples:

- (13) Girls, it's time to be sensible and talk turkey. Turkey isn't just for Christmas. In fact, hot turkey is especially wonderful in the summer. Being a sensible girl, I like to bake until golden brown all over and then jump in the pool to cool off. I got this recipe from the SUNWELL Turkey brochure. SUNWELL — go for holiday to Turkey at the price that won't make your bank manager flap. Sensible SUNWELL, local flights and prices in May starting from just 129 pounds. See a travel agent.

[E055]

- (14) Po wykładzinie NOVITY na giełdowy parkiet
 NOVITA S.A.

[P041]

- (15) *Mariola ma oczy piwne, Mariola o kocim spojrzeniu...(...)*
Mariola cię tym zaskoczy, że taka słoneczna jest w cieniu
Mariola ma piwne oczy, o kocim, o kocim spojrzeniu.
 OKOCIM "Karmi"

[P08801;05-07]

The commercial (13) is a play on the homonyms 'turkey' and 'Turkey', which give rise to further ambiguities of 'bake', 'sensible', and 'recipe'. It is

⁷⁴ Puns and ambiguities in commercials are discussed in detail in Tanaka (1992, 1994).

constructed in such a way as to enable two different understandings of the ambiguous items on each occasion. Each of the phrases and sentences must have been carefully constructed and the final effect depends partly on the casual and effortless style of speech of the voice-over. The very short (14) cleverly exploits the ambiguity of the word 'parkiet', connecting it with the company's product and simultaneously accomplishing prestige advertising by the delivery of an implied message that NOVITA is going to be one of the companies traded at the Warsaw stock exchange. It is amazing that such a short ad is capable of delivering so many meanings. The commercial in (15) encountered divergent opinions in Poland — some people liked it very much, others said it was a complete misfire. Neglecting its reception, however, an interesting attempt to use the homophony of the producer's name and the phrase 'o kocim' has to be noted, followed by another one in the signature part of the ad, exploiting the ambiguity of the word 'karmi' used as a name of a product. All the examples quoted above confirm the purposefulness of ambiguous language in advertising. The usage of such items is never a matter of chance, it is always very carefully prepared and arranged. A very clear persuasive usage of ambiguities was observed in 13 Polish and 6 English ads.

I have mentioned that few genres of communication are so much dependent on ambiguities as advertising. One of them is the discourse of jokes and humour. Since advertising is characterised by frequent register and style borrowing, we should not be surprised to find instances of humour in commercials. Its function corresponds to the function of ambiguities. Humour is always very well received by the audience. Everyone likes to be entertained, and the advertisers make a good use of this general feature of human beings, introducing jokes and funny stories to the commercials in hope of winning the audience's gratitude.

Apart from ambiguities, humour also depends on cultural factors, on our general knowledge of the world, on various contextual variables and on many other things.⁷⁵ It is difficult, in view of that fact, to classify the uses of humour as exploitation of any of the maxims individually, but the maxim of manner is probably responsible for the biggest number of instances. In the commercials collected for this study I have found a reasonable amount of humour — not too much (advertising is not a comedy, after all), and not too little. The attractiveness of humour was exploited in 10 English and 7 Polish commercials. One of the Polish ads ridicules the ban on advertising alcoholic drinks introduced in Poland several years ago⁷⁶ in the following way:

⁷⁵ For good reviews of humour in advertising see Gelb & Zinkhan (1985), Weinberger & Campbell (1991), Zhang & Zinkhan (1991), Weinberger, Spotts, Campbell & Parsons (1995) and Unger (1996).

⁷⁶ There were some hopes for the ban to be withdrawn recently, which would have brought an end to the practices of advertisers presenting beer as alcohol-free in their commercials,

- (16) (2) Panie Janie, czy może nam pan powiedzieć, jakie [biiip] pan pije?
 (3) No więc, [biiip] piję różne, ale najchętniej [biiip] szarone, znaczy KOSZERNE. Te nagrodzone [biiip] KAPITAN, no, ale najlepsze [biiip] to BOSMAN.
 (2) Słyszymy, że preferuje pan [biiip] produkowane przez browar Szczecin.
 (3) Oni robią najlepsze [biiip].
 (4) Browar Szczecin, [stamping documents] ocenzone.

[P09805-10]

The law forbids to use the word 'piwo',⁷⁷ but it cannot ban the particular brand names, so it is quite evident what is being advertised here. And even if there were no brand names, there are enough contextual clues to let us guess it correctly. The advertiser self-presents himself here as being very clever in circumventing the legal restriction, winning the audience's appreciation at the same time.⁷⁸ Some of the humour in the English ads derives from the maxim of quality and will be discussed later, but I would like to present here one more example whose appeal seems to follow predominantly from the flout of the maxim of manner. This ad was run on the VIRGIN radio in the period before Christmas 1997 and starts with the tune of 'Jingle Bells', which then continues in the background throughout the commercial. In its form it resembles a typical Christmas season ad, encouraging the audience to buy some sort of Christmas presents. Even the body copy text does not reveal its true intention at the beginning, which makes what is to follow even more unexpected:

- (17) (1) If you're wondering what to give your loved one this Christmas, the following gifts are always worth considering: chlamydia, genital warts, or even gonorrhoea. At this time of the year, these little surprises are as common as ever, and although you may know of the need to protect against HIV, these other infections can be very serious, despite sometimes showing no obvious signs. Using a condom, of course, can help prevent their spread, so whatever you do give your partner for Christmas, make sure it's properly wrapped.
 (2) For more information about HIV or other sexually transmitted infections, call the NATIONAL AIDS HELPLINE on 0-800 567-123.

[E078]

in a situation where the alcohol-free type was not available at all and everyone knew that this is only a cover for the advertising of typical beer containing alcohol. Unfortunately, the legal situation did not change, and the farce continues.

⁷⁷ Unless it is accompanied by the word 'bealkoholowe' (alcohol-free).

⁷⁸ Recently we have witnessed several other ingenuous commercials advertising vodka in Poland. One of them depended on phonetic similarity of the phrases 'Łódka Bols' and 'Wódka Bols', another one advertised the product in a disguise of the information about original packaging, still another released a limited series of mineral water sold and advertised in identical bottles and with the same brand name as the vodka, while producers of 'Żytnia' vodka have found a small village under the same name and organized 'Żytnia Summer Festival' there.

As we notice, this commercial exploits black humour to encourage people to practice 'safe sex'. The use of humour may be also justified by the fact that this ad enters the risky areas of taboo topics and uses the humour as a cover for possible embarrassment. On the other hand, however, the bold mention of the sexually transmitted diseases suggests no embarrassment avoidance whatsoever. This sort of advertising would be very unlikely to appear on the Polish radio, precisely due to the fact that some things are still regarded unmentionable, at least in certain contexts.⁷⁹ Although we may come across ads promoting the use of condoms, they probably would not be advertised in a similar way.

The maxim of manner is often being flouted in a very important part of an ad — in the slogan. There are several features of slogans which call for such flouts and often make them even inevitable. First of all, slogans should be short, which is directly linked to the requirement of memorability. People will not remember slogans which are too long, due to the limits of their short-time memory. Apart from brevity, slogans should also display a high degree of attractiveness, achieved through the use of such poetic devices as rhymes, alliteration, witty metaphors or neologisms. The third important role of a slogan is to summarise the commercial in stressing the most important feature of the product, making it look even more prominent and attractive. All this has a substantial influence on the manner of their delivery. All the words used in slogans have to be very carefully selected and combined in order to produce the desired effect. They constitute typical examples of the abbreviated character of the language of advertising, where the linguistic rules of communication are subjected to the functional requirements of advertising messages. There are considerably more slogans in the Polish data (37) than in English (12), but almost all of them adhere to the requirements outlined above. Let us have a look at some examples.

(18) Get away with less to pay

[E02405]

(19) *Czterech kótek czar to MARKAR*

[P05709]

These two slogans exploit the rhyme and rhythm, which makes them very easy to remember. In the example (19) we also come across the use of *synecdoche* which introduces the product being sold and advertised by the company, as well as alliteration of the initial sound [č]. The slogan quoted

⁷⁹ The contextual clash of contraceptives, venereal diseases and Christmas seems to be unthinkable in the Polish cultural environment.

in (18), in addition to rhyme, takes advantage of the ambiguity of the phrase 'get away' — it is used in a commercial of a travel agent. It also stresses the main advantage of the offer — that it is cheaper than others. Some other slogans used to stress the main point are the following:

(20) DHL — we keep your promises.

[E00513]

(21) VOLKSWAGEN — surprisingly ordinary prices.

[E03112]

The slogan in (20) reassures the customers of DHL that they are very reliable and efficient and that using their services gives you peace of mind and comfort of knowing that whatever happens, your parcel will reach its addressee in time. (21), on the other hand, implies that the prices of Volkswagen cars are way below the average expectations and thus advertise the affordability of the cars. The remaining two slogans combine the explication of the main message with a clever use of ambiguity:

(22) *JM KOMANDOR wykończy Twoje mieszkanie*

[P02511]

(23) INTERCITY — Twoja kolej

[P09005]

Although one of the readings of the word 'wykończy' is not welcome at all with reference to a flat (it implies destruction and chaos), it is still appreciated by the audience. Otherwise the advertiser would be using some other lexical items to render the same meaning. The ambiguity of the word 'kolej' in (23) is reinforced with the premodifying possessive pronoun, giving the impression that the hearer is in the position of control. Some other slogans will be discussed later in connection with other maxims.

One of the important features of slogans is their memorability value, but there are also other means of making sure that the audience will remember the most important part of the message. One of them is the use of repetition. It definitely constitutes a flout of the maxim of manner, as in everyday communication it is not used to such an extent. It is most evident in cases where we would normally use anaphoric pronouns to refer to an entity mentioned earlier in the discourse. The language of advertising is ruled by different principles — whenever you can mention the producer's or product's name you do it, no matter how unnatural it sounds. You can even claim that it does not sound unnatural, because it is so common. In the following example we come across the name of the advertised retailer six times:

(24) HASLEMERE FOOD HALL — the hall that's got it all...

At HASLEMERE FOOD HALL, Park Parade Haslemere, you'll find all the quality food you need for you and your family. HASLEMERE FOOD HALL has an on-site butcher, a bakery and a magnificent range of fresh fruit and vegetables on display. HASLEMERE FOOD HALL also stock wines, beers and spirits, and there's also a tobacconist. For your peace of mind HASLEMERE FOOD HALL have a roof-top car park with a lift to take you directly into the store.

It's a hall that's got it all — HASLEMERE FOOD HALL

[E065]

It is mentioned at the very beginning, as an introduction or a headline, and then repeated as a slogan at the end. In the body copy its use is justified only once, according to the rules of grammar for ordinary talk. All other occurrences would normally be replaced by a third person pronoun. We find a similar strategy in (25), but here the multiple occurrence of the retailer's name (8 times!) is partly justified by the song format employed in the ad:

(25) (1) *taki sprzęt, co zachodu jest wart*(2) *uuuuu...*(1) *kupisz tylko w Twoim sklepie SKARD*(2) *uuuu//uuuuu...**(1) // *SKARD marzenia twoje spełni, dom odmieni Ci zupeł*nie*
Tylko SKARD, tylko SKARD, tylko, tylko, tylko SKARD
SKARD, Piłsudskiego 7.// *Powiedzmy otwarcie — najkorzystniej w SKARDZIE!**// *powiedzmy otwarcie — najkorzystniej w SKARDZIE!**

[P024]

With so many repetitions, it is difficult not to remember the name, even after the first hearing. We might engage here in the dispute again whether the effect of remembering something is an inference or not, but I think that it certainly is a certain change in the cognitive environment of the hearer. Besides, the message to remember something is not explicitly stated anywhere, it is accomplished by a flout of the maxim of manner, which is the topic of the present discussion.

An interesting issue is connected with the manner of presentation of standing details of an advertising copy. It has been mentioned before that this part is used to give the customer some additional information about a product or a service, to encourage him to look for additional information elsewhere or to include disclaimers. If we look at the standing details of the ads collected for the purpose of this study we will notice that in some cases the voice-over speech is distinctly faster from the rest of the ad. It turns out that this

acceleration is characteristic of disclaimers. Wherever the message delivered in the standing details might be cancelling the claims made earlier or decreasing the attractiveness of the offer, it is sped up in such a way that it is very difficult to follow.

It has been discovered that acceleration of the message delivery by 30% actually enhances its recall, but in the case of the disclaimers it is much faster than that, on the verge of normal human being's processing abilities. There is a clear purpose behind this trick: the advertisers simply do not want us to pay attention, let alone remember, what is said there. In the same way the disclaimers in press commercials are in the smallest possible print and on TV they additionally appear for such a short time that hardly anybody can read them. Their presence is very often a legal requirement and the only way to circumvent it is to render them as unclear and indistinct as possible. In the English copies it is quite evident when we look at the commercials [E029], [E032], [E042], [E083] and [E092]. There are very few distinct examples in the Polish data and the closest we can get to a considerable change of speed occurs in ads advertising OTC drugs when the customers are encouraged to read the attached leaflet before using the drug ([P070], [P072], [P081]).

The length of the ad is also related to the manner of its delivery, but it seems that this variable can have little or no influence on the overall persuasive strength of the commercial. Usually radio ads are more or less of equal length, which is determined by many extralinguistic factors such as the price of the broadcast time or the commodity type being advertised. The only motivation behind making an ad significantly longer is its prominence on the background of other ads. This strategy seems to be used in [P002], [P053], [E031], [E042] and [E047]. More often we find very short ads, usually in the form of mentioning the advertiser's name in connection with a sponsored part of the broadcast:

(26) It's all about time at STEPHEN JEWELLER'S.

The time is coming up to nine o'clock.

Brought to you by MORRIS LA CROIX Swiss watches.

[E010]

(27) VIRGIN SPORT, with WASH & GO

For great results, every time.

[E080]

but this is not the only motivation behind a short form. Some other reasons might include the fact that an ad is a part of a longer campaign which the audience is already familiar with or an attempt to impress the hearer with the condensation of information. Otherwise it is not at all clear what kinds of implicatures might be recovered as a result of the length of a copy.

It is interesting that advertisers in Poland use the form of songs and poems very often (34 times). In the English data we very seldom come across voice-overs reciting the ad in a form of a poem or singing a song. A little part of an ad, usually the slogan, sometimes comes in the form of a sung verse, but otherwise such forms are avoided (only 3 occurrences in the English data). In Polish, on the other hand, sometimes the entire ad is in a form of a song. This is most probably motivated by the memorability value of this manner of presentation. I have experienced it on myself, as not infrequently did I catch myself humming the tune of an ad which I had heard in the morning. Sometimes it is quite difficult to get rid of it, especially when the tune is quite catchy. Apart from their attractiveness, songs offer also the option of different approach to reality — in songs, as in poetry, the laws of real world are often suspended, and messages which would otherwise raise suspicion, often sneak into our minds unnoticed. Using this form of advertising indicates the advertisers' preference to appeal to the emotive rather than to the rational component of our mind.

Some of the Polish ads flout the maxim of manner in a very specific way. They use the English language to render a part of the message. English does not function in Poland as a second language and many listeners might encounter problems in understanding such commercials, and many Poles express their irritation with this form of advertising. All in all, English does not occur very often — it was found in the form of English words and phrases only in three ads: [P021], [P028] and [P059], but it occurs also in the product names (13 times). The phrases used in the three above-mentioned ads are not very difficult, even for people who did not have much contact with English: 'Goodyear is OK', 'This is a Style Chicken' and 'Step to the future'. The third one might be the most difficult and in this case we might postulate that the advertiser did not necessarily want the audience to understand the message, he might have been using English as a kind of symbol (Haarman 1989). A similar use of English is reported and accounted for in the study by Cheshire & Moser (1994), in which they describe the function of English used in Swiss advertising as symbolic. It is usually used to evoke certain associations with the English-speaking world and its cultural environment.⁸⁰ This seems to be confirmed by the frequent choice of an English (or an English-sounding word) as a name of a product sold on the Polish market. The name is usually treated as a symbol of the product, so any connotations with the English-speaking

⁸⁰ Eastman & Stein (1993) call it 'language display', where a language is used not in order to communicate linguistically, but to lay claims to the attributes associated symbolically with speakers of that language. There are many publications which address the issue of English as an international language (Garcia & Otheguy 1989, Trudgill & Hannah 1987, Cheshire 1991, Carstensen 1986) speaking for its universality as the medium through which a multiplicity of meanings can be communicated.

world are a part of that symbol. I have not come across examples of foreign language use in the English data, but this might be due to the fact that foreign languages (especially French) are used in commercials of products such as perfumes or expensive alcoholic drinks (luxury commodities), which are not very often advertised on the radio. In such cases, however, the use of a foreign language is to a large extent symbolic in the sense presented above.

Having examined the ads which flout the maxim of manner in so many different ways let us briefly turn to those which seem to abide by the maxim, at least in the context of their most obvious function. I have said earlier that it should be difficult to find examples of such strategy in the language of advertising, where so much depends on novelty and inventiveness. Nevertheless, taking a broad view of advertising we cannot fail to notice that there are a few kinds of it which actually call for a very precise formulation and strict adherence to the maxim of manner, and all other maxims for that matter. We would expect to find it in ads whose aim is first of all to give extensive information about an event, offer or charity. Since English advertising takes up these topics more often, we find 10 ads in the English data which exhibit high adherence to the maxim of manner and only 3 such commercials in the Polish data. Here is an example from the English set:

(28) If you're a charity or non-profit-making organisation and have an event you'd like to publicise free, contact the COMMUNITY LINE, sponsored by North London Railways. Write to us, giving us at least ten days' notice, to The New 96.6 NORTHANTS FM, Broadcast Centre, Enterprise Park, Barton Green Road, Northampton, NN2 7AH

[E00101-05]

Other ads within this format advertise various events, ways of paying council tax, excursions or special offers in shops, and sometimes also OTC drugs. We would find very few examples of typical product advertising here, as adherence to the maxim of manner is more concerned with information than with persuasion.

All the examples presented above show how important is the form of the message in advertising and how much meaning the form may carry. This is why the maxim of manner is a very useful theoretical construct for showing various persuasive strategies used in commercials. However, it is not the only one, as other maxims are also exploited in the advertising discourse with no less important persuasive objectives.

6.3.1.2. *Quality*

The second important maxim is probably the maxim of quality. As the name suggests, it is mostly concerned with the truth value of the message. Although advertisements should present true statements and credible information, we all realise that it is very often not the case. Various issues connected with the concept of truth itself have been discussed earlier and possible ways of circumventing the truth commitment have been signalled. I shall start the discussion in this section with examples of various methods used in advertising to twist the reality, disguise false statements in the shape of general truth, conceal the strategies which allow to avoid making verifiable statements and generally baffle the audience, all subjected to the overriding principle of best possible self- and product presentation. In this context not only evidently false statements will be treated as flouts of the maxim of quality, but also other ways of avoiding responsibility for the truth value of the message or making it simply impossible to verify in terms of truth and falsity. It is quite obvious, therefore, that there will be a lot more cases of flouting the maxim of quality than of following it, just like in the case of manner. Grammar offers a multitude of ways in which truth can be avoided, circumvented or obscured. I shall mention and exemplify the ones which are most often found in the advertising discourse.

One of the most common devices is the use of modality. In advertising we very often come across statements softened by modal verbs and modal constructions in the following way:

(29) AVENUES INTRODUCTIONS **can help** you find that special person

[E02103-04]

(30) ZOVIRAX, krem przeciw opryszczce. Wcześniej zastosowany **może** uchronić cię przed opryszczką.

[P07210-11]

What is being promised here is not necessarily what will happen, because saying that something can or may be a future event opens also the possibility that it may not. We are so much used to such formulations, that we seldom pay attention to the modals and only the main propositional content of the message is being retained in our memory.

Another very common strategy is the use of infelicitous comparisons. There are three types of such constructions. The first one uses only one part of the comparative structure, leaving it to us to decide what the product is being compared to:

(31) Silnik mniej pali, mniej pije i naprawdę śpiewa.

[P09303-04]

(32) With a BT ISTN line, you can access data much faster

[E09903]

We never find out what the fuel consumption of the engine in (31) and the data accessing speed in (32) are compared to. Maybe to another car's engine, maybe to the same engine using different oil? Since this is an ad of an engine oil, we naturally choose the latter interpretation, but we also take responsibility for our inferences, as the advertiser nowhere stated what we inferred. In (32), the BT ISTN line is probably compared to some other operator's line (or maybe to a former standard of BT line), but again the inference is the audience's responsibility.

The second type of infelicitous comparisons uses an unidentifiable comparative element, so that the comparison is impossible to verify:

(33) DULUX — świetlówkę elektroniczną, która zużywa pięć razy mniej prądu i żyje dziesięć razy dłużej niż zwykła żarówka

[P09104-05]

(34) Planning a SCOTTISH WIDOWS pension is a lot easier than you think

[E08308]

The exact identity of the thing which the product in (33) is being compared to cannot be established, as no one knows what an ordinary light bulb is, so the truth of the claim cannot be verified in any way. (34) is a very interesting example, as it uses an indeterminate deictic expression as the basis for the comparison, so that it has a different referent each time a different person listens to the ad. Since people's opinions on the level of difficulty involved in planning a pension certainly differ, we do not really know how easy or difficult planning a Scottish Widows pension is.

The last type of infelicitous comparisons is the use of the superlative degree. It is also a type of comparison since it involves the presentation of the thing being compared on the background of all the possible comparable entities. It is probably the most frequent type of comparison in advertising. Let us look at two examples:

(35) We're working harder to give you the best service, the best choice and the best value

[E01506]

(36) (1) Proszę państwa, wiosna, lato, jesień, zima, opony GOODYEAR'a są (...) najlepsze są, no.

(2) Zawsze są najlepsze

[P02101-02]

It sounds quite straightforward — the best service, choice and value, but when we think about it we will discover that these assessments lend themselves to various interpretations: for some the best service would entail the speed, for others precision and still for others the expertise of the mechanics. In the same way we might show various interpretations of other vocabulary items used in this ad. (36) is not very different — there are many factors contributing to a good quality of a tyre, and it is impossible to estimate which of them is relatively more important than others or how they combine to define the best. In the light of these observations it is justified to claim that these comparisons, similarly to the ones presented earlier, are impossible to verify. However, their effect on the listeners is very desirable for the advertisers, since they will interpret the adjective according to their own idea of ‘the best’ with reference to the advertised product. The indeterminacy of such comparatives is on the verge of being deictic, as their exact reference is determined on each occasion by the hearer of the message.

Let us now consider a different comparative construction, this time connected with the use of the universal quantifier in comparative sentences. As in the case of the comparative constructions presented above, its exact reference is very difficult to establish. It can be illustrated by the following example:

(37) Żadna przyczepa samochodowa nie jest tak dobra, jak z NIEWIADOWA.

[P06401]

First of all, we do not know what features merge into the feature of ‘dobra’, but there is another problem. This comparative construction might be read as claiming that no caravan is good in the same way as the ones from Niewiadów. If we find that in our opinion a different caravan is better, the advertiser can always refer to this second and less obvious reading and claim that his product is good, but in a different way. The more obvious reading of the message is simply a conventionalised implicature connected with this type of expression, and as each implicature, can be cancelled without causing contradiction.

The universal quantifier is also used in other constructions, but in such situations its employment usually involves a flout of quality, as very often even the speaker would be able to find counter-examples:

(38) All who love kitchens, love TORLANA kitchens.

[E05701]

It is difficult to argue with such statements, as we use this type of constructions every day, although we are well aware that general opinions like that

are very rarely true. Their frequency in everyday language licenses the advertiser to make similar claims, although they obviously flout the maxim of quality.

Another way to avoid truth commitment is to use metaphors. They cannot by definition be judged in terms of truth and falsity when it comes to their propositional meaning, while the figurative message is usually subject to various interpretations and the responsibility for them is transferred to the hearer. If we look at the following example:

(39) Koktajl przygotowuje i majonez zrobi taki z niego przyjaciel. I kuchnię zdobi.
ZELMER przyjaciel domu.

[P09405-06]

or example (31) we can clearly see that the metaphors used in them are directed more at creating certain impression than on stating true facts. Such impressions may vary from person to person and they are always a matter of inferences. On each occasion, however, they are persuasively potentially stronger than any statement which could be estimated in terms of truth and falsity.

A very common strategy of truth commitment avoidance is the use of secondary participants. Anyone is allowed to hold their own opinions and if the advertiser presents ordinary people or celebrities in his commercials, they usually talk about the product as if they were expressing their own beliefs. We may believe them or not, but just in case we should have any doubts, the advertisers are very careful when it comes to the choice of the secondary participants. Therefore OTC drugs are often advertised by doctors or pharmacists, toothpastes by dentists, washing powders by housewives and services by happy customers praising the high standards and expressing their gratitude. In this form of advertising we deal with a testimony, which is usually very convincing, because it is not the advertiser but someone from the outside who is praising the product. Secondary participants are seldom suspected of dishonesty, unlike the advertisers blowing their own trumpet might be. Apart from testimonies we also come across product placement in an appropriate context, which can be recognised by the presence of specific secondary participants, as in the following example:

- (40) (1) Hau, hau, wiesz Reks, że 12 i 13 lutego przy ulicy Bokserskiej odbędzie się pierwsza zimowa międzynarodowa wystawa psów rasowych?
(2) Hau, hau, przy Bokserskiej? Dlaczego nie przy Jamniczej?
(1) Wrrr, ponieważ Novea International Targi Warszawa mieszczą się przy Bokserskiej 71. Mam tam duże szanse i jestem w świetnej formie, bo pan karmi mnie PEDIGREE PAL.
(2) Hau, hau: . . .

[P07301-07]

The choice of dogs as secondary participants to advertise Pedigree Pal and an international dog exhibition allows the advertiser to pre-select the audience of the commercial as soon as it starts. One of the dogs in this ad is also giving a testimony, so the previously mentioned function of the secondary participants is being exploited, too. The use of secondary participants is very popular in the Polish ads — we come across this type of advertising in 36 Polish and 14 English commercials, and the main purpose of avoiding truth commitment by the advertiser is quite evident in 21 and 5 of them, respectively. The relative popularity of this strategy in the Polish data seems to be connected with one of the features of the Polish culture mentioned earlier in this thesis — the relatively high constraint on self-praise. That is why the Polish advertisers often prefer to put their message in the mouths of other people (or even dogs, as we can see in the commercial presented above), which makes it more credible for a Polish listener. The high percentage of ads employing secondary participants somehow makes up for the smaller than in the case of English number of commercials containing a form of explicit self-reference.

Because secondary participants are usually licensed to say whatever they like and express even drastically exaggerated opinions, we would expect to find many intensifiers of the maxim of quality in what they say, as the following examples illustrate:

(41) (2) Pani magister, co tak naprawdę jest najlepsze?

(3) **Tak naprawdę?** Najlepszy jest CHLORCHINALDIN.

[P07006–07]

(42) **Everybody knows** they cost more than that! Well, otherwise you'd be advertising it. Golfs, from only 10.501 pounds?! That sort of thing...

[E04705–07]

It comes as a surprise, then, that in fact very few indirect copies contain intensifiers of this sort. Most of the intensifiers are used in direct copies, when we are being addressed by primary participants. This might seem strange at the first glance, but there is a good explanation for this fact. If secondary participants were using too many intensifiers, their opinions would lose their air of authenticity. In most of the cases minidramas are used to imitate the real world, in which people are not normally overenthusiastic about various products. Such behaviour might be equally suspicious as avoiding communication. That is why, in order to sound natural, the secondary participants are using hedges rather than intensifiers.

When it comes to direct copies, hedges and intensifiers seem to be equally balanced. Using hedges signals avoidance of truth commitment (11 cases in

Polish and 13 in English) and employment of intensifiers (7 cases in Polish and 5 in English) enhances the message which, given our knowledge of the world, is usually not true anyway, and as such also constitutes a flout of the maxim of quality. The fact, however, that we are in a way used to such exaggerated claims in advertising allows the advertisers to get away with it without being noticed doing anything wrong. In the same way as we do not protest against archaic forms we come across in church, treating them as an essential part of the discourse, we also accept the intensifiers in advertising as a usual way of saying things.

Coming back to the strategies used by advertisers to avoid truth commitment, we are left with a few less obvious ones. For example, when instead of finite sentences only noun phrases are used, the audience has to reconstruct the message themselves, and if they supply any verbs, the advertisers are always free to claim that those are not the verbs that they intended, or that they did not intend any verbs at all. When we are confronted with constructions of the type:

(43) Komputery PC ADAX. Nowa jakość.

Największy dystrybutor, firma AXEL COMPUTER

[P02801-02]

we usually transform the message into a finite form which can have truth value ascribed to it, absent from the abbreviated form of (43). Again, the whole responsibility for the inferences stays with the listener. Another strategy worth mentioning is connected with a form of pre-selection of the audience described in the chapter on deixis. I have in mind parahypnotic formulas like 'Boli cię głowa...', 'Your skin craves for moisture...', etc., which are true or not, dependent on the particular listener (who might be sometimes inclined to believe such statements, although what they suggest did not occur to him earlier). In a way this might also be considered as a means to avoid saying the truth, although it is not so obvious as the examples quoted above.

A few words should also be said about the imaginary worlds created for the purpose of advertising. As noted above, a lot of effort is invested in the imitation of the real world in advertising, but probably even more inventiveness is required to come up with ideas of alternative realities in which the rules of our world are suspended. We do not normally question the existence of such worlds, treating them as big format metaphors or fairy-tales, while trying to attend to the deeper-level meanings encoded in them. In the ads collected for the purpose of this study we come across tigers bringing down the prices of fuel [E033], King Arthur writing a letter to his wife [E074], dogs talking to each other [P073], a kitchen blender or a vacuum cleaner singing songs [P094],

[P095] or carpets and doormats treated as pupils in a classroom [P005]. One very clever example of such inventiveness is the following commercial of ice-coffee:

(44) (1) Teatrzyk “Fioletowa Kaczka” ma zaszczyt przedstawić sztukę w jednym akcie pod tytułem ‘Dwa rodzaje nowego PICCO EISKAFFEE’. [applause] Występują: PICCO EISKAFFEE Classico, PICCO EISKAFFEE czekoladowo-miętowe, Zimne Mleko, Dwie Szklanki oraz Rozkosz.

Akt I, scena 1 [pouring liquid, powder, stirring] (2) Och!

(1) Akt I, scena 2 [pouring liquid, powder, stirring]

(2) Och! (1) Kurtyna!

(3) PICCO EISKAFFEE to nowy smak orzeźwienia

[P075]

The introduction brings to mind the famous ‘Teatrzyk Zielona Gęś’, in a form of a humorous paradigmatic replacement which is close enough to be recognised by almost all listeners, and then frames the ad as a short theatre play. The fictitious character of the world presented in the commercial becomes evident as soon as the *dramatis personae* are introduced. What follows is a nice exploitation of the maxims of relevance and quantity. First of all the audience is baffled by the introduction of ‘Rozkosz’ (Ecstasy), looking for its relevance, which becomes evident only later, marked by the exclamative ‘och!’. Since the information in scene 1 and 2 is incomplete, we have to retrieve what particular characters are doing from what we can hear as implicatures, finally appreciating the presence of Ecstasy. All elements put together, this ad is definitely successful both in attracting the audience’s attention and in evoking positive attitudes towards the advertiser and the product. It is also a good example of the diversity of various strategies employed by the advertiser to achieve the final effect. We are able to observe how the exploitation of all maxims contributes to the final shape of the commercial.

Going back to the maxim of quality, the advertisers can be shown to flout it in yet another way to achieve their persuasive aims. They very often exploit the grammatical devices used in language for the purposes of logical reasoning, for presenting premises and conclusions and for constructing arguments, but the variables inserted in such contexts are often fallacious, invalid and illogical. The grammatical form is used in such cases to validate them or at least to give them some air of efficacy. A couple of examples should make this point clear:

(45) (1) BIARRITZ — playground of the rich, with smart shops, fancy restaurants and tip-top beaches, it’s miles away, and it costs a fortune. Ah, the RENAULT CLIO BIARRITZ with smart up-to-the-minute interior, fancy Philips stereo and tip-top tilt-and-slide sun-roof that both tilts and slides,

it's just around the corner at your RENAULT dealer. It comes with free insurance and nought per-cent finance and costs you 7.895 on the road. **So, with a CLIO BIARRITZ you'll be able to afford smart shops, fancy restaurants,...**

[E09201-06]

(46) (1) Waluś, ty mos zdrowie!

(4) A mom! **KAME jem, to i serce mom jak dzwon!** Ha, ha, ha, ha...

[P03907-08]

(47) Dziadek Mozarta codziennie pił kawę.

Zaraz, zaraz, ojciec Mozarta też codziennie pił kawę,

a żona Mozarta codziennie rano podawała mu kawę

["Eine kleine Nachtmusik"] Poznaj genialny smak

pij codziennie kawę AMADEUS — kawa AMADEUS cię natchnie

Kawa AMADEUS — genialny, inspirujący smak

[P016]

In (45) we deal with a typical example of drawing erroneous conclusions, which is obvious to anybody who listens to such an ad. It is interesting, in this context, why the advertiser decides to form the message in this way when its falsehood is so evident. He may mean it in a metaphorical way, suggesting (as the advertisements of cars often do) that the act of purchasing a certain car involves entering an exclusive company of privileged people, becoming a member of a distinguished class, whose connotative and symbolic attributes are often connected with luxury and affluence. There is also another possibility: the advertiser has some good reasons to assume that the audience will not listen to the ad very attentively, as it is often the case with the radio.⁸¹ In this situation, the reasoning, however defective, can be expected to enter the subconsciousness of the listener without being filtered out by the conscious processing mechanisms, precisely thanks to his inattention and the power of the conventional grammatical construction. In a similar way the advertiser in (47) is endeavouring to convince the listener that there is more to Amadeus coffee than just its taste, basing his argument on blatantly false premises in the first place. He uses Mozart's music as a supporting vehicle for the message on its way to our subconsciousness. In (46) the reasoning is not so straightforwardly fallacious. Many Polish consumers were subjected in a past few years to a powerful advertising campaign attempting to change their habit of using butter as sandwich spread and to make them turn to margarine instead. One of the basic strategies in that campaign was to stress the possible connection of butter consumption with coronary disease. Replacing butter with margarine would then result in reducing the

⁸¹ Cf. Kwarciak (1997).

intake of bad cholesterol, one of the main factors in the development of coronary condition. That is why for many Polish listeners the sort of argument found in (46) does not raise doubts. However, anybody who has just basic medical knowledge should realise how one-sided and fragmentary such approach is. Almost all commercials of margarine make a direct link between its consumption and health, although it is the same as claiming that watching television will make you rich. Margarine does not have any positive influence on the condition of our blood circulation system, if it is used instead of butter it only slightly reduces the level of cholesterol, just thanks to the absence of butter. But cholesterol comes also with many other kinds of food which margarine cannot replace. The claim in (46) raises a little, possibly positive factor in the coronary disease prevention to the status of the single cause of good health. It is worth mentioning in passing that the death of the actor performing the part of the Kama advocate did not do any good to the persuasive power of the advertising campaign.

We can find some more examples of this type of persuasion in the data, but the ones quoted above should be sufficient to illustrate the point. Their persuasive power lies in the conventionality connected with the grammatical forms which they employ and in the listeners' scattered attention, and their source is again in flouting the maxim of quality. Sometimes it seems that the advertisers intend to make the flout explicit (47) and to imply that their aim is to make a clever link to be appreciated by the audience, and sometimes the covert interpretation of the flout (that the message is intended to be read as true and valid) is more plausible.

The last issue connected with the maxim of quality to be discussed here is connected with the use of humour in advertising, which has been already introduced in the section on manner. Some of the jokes, amusing remarks and situations seem to be attributable to the exploitation of quality. Let us look at the following example:

- (48) (1) I love my work, eh, it's a jungle in the export department, I suppose you have to be the sort of person who thrives on pressure, huh, and it's not everyone's cup of tea, I can tell you, but --- I love it. The tension, the uncertainty of wondering if packages have arrived safely, huh, I love that, and the glamour of international phone-calls at all hours of the night, oh, I love it, and the paperwork, oh, yes, especially the paperwork, I really love that! And also sifting through all the different charges, oh, collection charges, customs charges, oh, handling charges, oh, yes, oh!
- (2) Mr Jeffreys, time for your medication.
 - (3) DHL --- world-wide parcel express. We take care of everything, from your door to their door, with one quote, no hidden charges and no hassle.

At first the commercial looks like a typical testimony and we expect to hear an ad of career opportunities or certain services offered by a company, advertised 'from the inside'. But as the discourse develops, the voice-over becomes more and more excited and we soon notice that in connection with the content of the message it is quite strange. Soon the overexcitement takes the form of shouting, whereupon we become convinced that something must be wrong. Finally, when we are almost sure that the message is an obvious flout of quality, our last doubts are cancelled by the second voice-over, talking about medication. The joke then is turned into a background and contrast for the very sane and professional image of DHL, enhancing its appeal in this way. Another very good example is the following:

- (49) (1) Hello, this is the VOLKSWAGEN Marketing Services Message Line. Please speak after the tone. [biiip]
- (2) Oh, uhm, hello, my name is Avril Gail. I've got a complaint to make. You see, I've always wanted a VOLKSWAGEN, so I've been saving, oh, a few years now, well, eight actually, for a Polo. I thought I was nearly there and then you brought out that lovely new one, so I went on saving. Last week I took all my money, 9218 pounds 56 p. out of the Building Society, and I went down to my local VOLKSWAGEN garage. You could imagine how excited I was. There in the window was the car of my dreams. I went in and asked the price. What a shock! It's only 7700 pounds! I... If only I had known, I mean, I could have had my car a whole year earlier! Why don't you tell people how little they cost? I felt such a fool with all that money, and... [biiip, biiip, biiip] oh!
- (3) VOLKSWAGEN ... surprisingly ordinary prices.

[E031]

The flout of quality serves a slightly different purpose here. We realise at the end of the ad that the picture of reality is a false one and that this is a deliberate manipulation to make us free to laugh at the character pictured there. We all know that a low price is not something that the customers would complain about, and that if you plan to buy a car you usually check the prices very carefully before you go to a garage. This makes the character in the ad look even dumber. At the same time, however, we appreciate the advertiser's inventiveness in the way he advertises cars, which definitely stands out on the background of other car commercials. Another advertisement in this series is [E047], which probably follows the popularity of [E031]. Both of the ads presented here are relatively long, because apart from linguistic factors, they also depend on the situational setting, which had to be presented in the ad as a point of reference for the audience. There are also some other humorous commercials in the data, but the remainder of them will be discussed in connection with the maxim of relevance.

At the end of this section I am going to present the figures connected with the use of the maxim of quality. Since not only obvious flouts of quality were regarded as such, but also various instances of truth value avoidance, the number of commercials in which the maxim is flouted is relatively high. It has been noted in 51 Polish and 42 English ads. One might argue that the representation or description of the world in terms of truth and falsity is not the purpose of advertising and that such approach is irrelevant. However, expressing such opinion would indicate neglecting the important fact that the persuasion in advertising in order to provoke certain behaviours in real world cannot be accomplished without reference to it and making statements about it. Such statements can be evaluated in terms of their truth value and their function related to persuasion can be accounted for in this context.

Examples of strict adherence to the maxim of quality were scarce and appeared usually in the context of the advertisers' quoting an opinion from an independent source to support their claims. In doing so, however, they were often choosing the best and most favourable opinion they could find, leaving unmentioned any negative evaluations or factors abating the positive assessment. In this way they were abiding by the maxim of quality, but at the same time they were flouting the maxim of quantity. Other examples of following quality included a few cases of advertising free promotion for charities in the English data.

When it comes to metalinguistic comments about the degree of maxim abiding (hedges and intensifiers), they were most frequent in connection with the quality maxim. The use of other maxims was relatively seldom annotated, but quality hedges and intensifiers occurred in 18 Polish and also 18 English commercials. This reflects relative importance of truth value in our assessment of commercials and the specific status of the quality maxim. We do not find hedges on the maxim of manner because one of the core features of advertising is variation of styles, and those on relevance are extremely rare, as the overriding assumption that everything is relevant for a given ad⁸² virtually eliminates demand for them. Hedges and intensifiers of quality, on the other hand perform quite important roles of escaping truth commitment and strengthening the claims which are being made, respectively.

6.3.1.3. *Quantity*

Quite different options for persuasive use than in the case of other maxims are offered by the maxim of quantity. Before I go on to analyse particular strategies, however, an important difference between this maxim and the others

⁸² Otherwise it would not be a part of it, given the time restriction imposed on radio ads.

has to be highlighted. The maxim of quantity boils down to the claim that there should not be either too much or too little information. It has an important consequence for the language of commercials. In a communicative situation, before we conclude that our interlocutor flouts a maxim we assume that he is abiding by it. Similarly in advertising — if the advertiser gives us a lot of information, we tend to assume that all of it is important and vital in the context of the ad, unless we can spot elements which are completely irrelevant. In this situation, apart from the cases of clear irrelevance, all instances of information overload⁸³ have to be treated as abiding by the maxim of quantity, alongside the commercials which include a lot of information which is genuinely necessary for the proper understanding or responding to them. Only when there is noticeably too little information will we postulate that the maxim of quantity has been flouted. In this situation the ratio of abiding by the maxim to flouting it is expected to be quite different from the findings for quality and manner.

After this short introduction we can move on to characterise the main strategies connected with the employment of the quantity maxim. Let us first look at two examples of advertisements which include a lot of information about the products:

- (50) *Kupuj BIAZET telewizor kolorowy kupuj BIAZET
Telewizor dla Ciebie i całej rodziny
zdalne sterowanie ma pilotem wyświetlanie funkcji na ekranie
programowe wyłączanie odbiornika po zaniku programu
polski produkt bardzo tani atrakcyjna cena
estetycznie wykończony perfekcyjny odbiór
ekran w różnych gabarytach ma obraz w obrazie
i wersję stereo telegazeta czterdzieści programów
taki telewizor BIAZET szybko sobie kup.*

[P001]

- (51) January sale is now on, and you'll be amazed at how much you can save. ARGOS have reduced the prices of TV's, audio-systems, 3-piece-suites, sofas, power-showers, Nicam video recorders, camcorders, vacuum-cleaners, fax machines, word processors, colour printers, exercise bikes, .hh (. .) Hold it, hold it! There's hundreds of savings.

[E09101-04]

In the Polish ad the advertiser decided to promote a new TV set by enumerating several of its features, while in the English commercial we come across

⁸³ In the sense of ordinary communication, of course. There is seldom need for so many details in our everyday speech as we encounter in the advertising discourse.

a list of items available at Argos stores. The model of inference drawing in cases of 'information overload' illustrated above would look more or less like this (the advertiser referred to as 'he'):

- (52) a He has communicated p including a large number of details.
 b There is no reason to suppose that he is not observing the maxims, in particular the maxim of quantity, or at least the Cooperative Principle.
 c He could not be doing that unless he thought that q (= 'all the information given in the text is vital and important. Because all the details are important and relevant, their number suggests that the product/offer described in this way is very attractive').
 d He knows (and knows that I know that he knows) that I can see that the supposition that he thinks that q is required.
 e He has done nothing to stop me thinking that q .
 f He intends me to think, or is at least willing to allow me to think, that q .
 g And so, he has implicated that q .

In this way, assuming that the advertiser abides by the maxim of quantity, we get the impression that the TV set and the Argos offer are both very attractive. In a slightly different application of the same maxim the elaboration of q could contain the statement that, given our knowledge of the world and advertising in particular, the advertiser will make the strongest claim he possibly can, and that inclusion of all the elements constitutes this strongest possible claim. Since their number is relatively high, it follows that the claim is also proportionally strong. In both cases the implicatures are similar and pertain to the attractiveness of the advertised product or offer. Apart from their attractiveness, however, the ads are very informative and help the potential customers in making a choice. Actually, one could claim that ads are never too informative, because it is in the customers' interest to know as much as possible about a product. Upholding this opinion would support the claim that such advertisements follow the maxim of quantity.⁸⁴

On the opposite end of the scale we find ads which contain evidently too little information. Because of that they commit flouts of quantity maxim. It is quite manifest in the following examples:

- (53) (3) On nie wiedział, ale ty już wiesz, że nowe, bardzo korzystne warunki ubezpieczenia mieszkań oferuje PZU S.A.
 (4) Szczegóły w inspektoratach PZU.

[P06204-06]

⁸⁴ Within a completely different framework pertaining to the use of metaphors (cf. Lakoff & Johnson (1980)) we could postulate that a general metaphor 'much means "good"' operates here.

- (54) You could have luxury for so much less. LAKER AIRWAYS daily scheduled services — Gatwick to Miami start 21st of March.
See your travel agent now.

[E052]

Neither of the ads gives the prospective customers enough information to act upon. That is why their main function is to encourage them to take some further action and get some more information about the offer on their own. The flout of the maxim of quantity takes advantage of our inborn curiosity and willingness to know more, even if we are not initially interested. Such strategy is exploited in many English advertisements, but (53) seems to be the only example in the Polish data, apart from the ads of OTC drugs which encourage us to read the leaflets included in the package before using the medicine, which cannot be treated as flouts of quantity.⁸⁴ Unlike in English commercials, Polish advertisers are quite happy to leave some kind of impression on the audience without encouraging them to do anything. Polish advertisers seem to believe that when the hearer finds himself in an appropriate situation (while shopping, for instance), the images and beliefs planted in his mind will do their job anyway. To achieve this aim, relatively more information is given in the Polish ads. When we compare the number of flouts of the quantity maxim we will find out that in the Polish data such flouts occur 19 times, whereas English commercials do it on 35 occasions. Not all flouts, of course, involve giving too little information, but this is by far the most common flout type. English ads favour much more interactive type of advertiser — consumer communication, trying to influence audiences' closest future decisions concerning purchase and leisure. They take advantage of that little indecisiveness of human beings in their plans for the nearest future, so much characteristic of nearly everyone of us, filling it with their own suggestions of what we might do. For some people it is quite fortunate, as there are many individuals who prefer to depend on others when it comes to making decisions.

A different type of quantity flout has already been mentioned in connection with the 'information overload' ads. It occurs when completely irrelevant or too obvious information is being presented as vital. On a more superficial level, it actually acts as intensifier of the attractiveness of the product, according to the inference model presented above. The advertisers would prefer the audience to stop their inferencing there, because going slightly deeper puts their credibility to doubt and damages the good impression created

⁸⁴ On the grounds that different parts of the leaflet are relevant for particular hearers and inclusion of all this information would take a few minutes, which is out of the question in radio advertising.

by the ad. As soon as the hearer notices that the information given by the advertiser is quite useless and its presence is justified only by an attempt to make a superficially good impression, fill the advertising space and blur our perception of the ad, his attitude towards the commercial and the product radically changes. If we scrutinise the commercials quoted in (50) and (45) very carefully, we will notice that in both of them the advertisers are trying to do what has just been described. The following fragments:

(55) ...*bardzo tani, atrakcyjna cena; estetycznie wykończony, perfekcyjny odbiór; ekran w różnych gabarytach...*

[P00109-13]

(56) ...the RENAULT CLIO BIARRITZ with smart up-to-the-minute interior, fancy Philips stereo and tip-top **tilt-and-slide sun-roof that both tilts and slides...**

[E09202-04]

do not really say anything new or they repeat information. In (55) the first two phrases are just paraphrases of one another, the third and the fifth phrase refer to features which are expectable as a standard and are presupposed in case of TV sets, so there is no need of stating them, and the fourth phrase stresses something which is only partly dependent on the product. In (56) we deal with a repetition of the same piece of information in almost exactly the same wording. Another example of this type of flout can be found in the Polish commercials of margarine which stress that it does not contain cholesterol:

(57) Smak zdrowia. Margaryna KAMA bez cholesterolu.

[P03909]

This information is not very useful here, as no kind of margarine contains cholesterol. Inclusion of this sort of message was motivated by the advertising campaign against butter described in the section on quality maxim. In fact it is as helpful as saying that eggs contain no alcohol.

The situation in the case of such commercials is quite different from other cases when some information is missing. In the situation described above the advertiser does not want the audience to notice that anything is wrong and hopes that the implicature based on the inclusion of such details will prevent us from digging too deep into the meaning of the message. The hearer should stop at concluding that if something has been said, then it must be important, full stop. This is a very important point, because it marks the borderline between persuasion and manipulation.⁸⁶ As long as the advertiser keeps his intentions mutually explicit, we deal with persuasion, but as soon as he tries to achieve

⁸⁶ Cf. Chisholm & Feehan (1977).

a certain effect without our noticing that he is trying to do so, he enters the area of manipulation. This distinction is a synthesis of Geis's (1982) and Tanaka's (1994) approaches. In the former the difference between manipulation and persuasion consists in the parameter of listener evaluation: in cases of manipulation there is no conscious evaluation by the receiver of the merits of the source's message. The latter approach giving base for the distinction of persuasion and manipulation is connected with the classification of two types of communication: ostensive and covert. It is one of the features of covert communication that the sender of a message does not want to make his intentions recognisable by the hearer.

Another very frequently used strategy is the style of presentation of various quantities, especially prices. The price of a commodity can be in itself a form of advertising, when it favourably distinguishes one product from similar ones. Very often a small fraction of a monetary unit is subtracted from the full price to create an impression of attractiveness. Instead of \$5.00, a given commodity will be priced \$4.99, which in terms of real value amounts to no difference at all, but psychologically looks much more attractive. In advertising the prices are usually preceded by phrases like 'as little as', 'from', 'from as little as', 'only', 'już za', 'za jedyne', 'tylko', etc. The general tendency is to state only the lower limit of the price range, which is a flout of the quantity maxim, because the advertiser usually does not inform the hearer about the limitations connected with the lowest price or does not include the conditions which must be fulfilled by the buyer in order to qualify for it.⁸⁷ The customers most often find out what the whole story is at the place of purchase, where it is psychologically more difficult to abandon the decision of buying. In this way the advertiser makes sure that this form of presentation of price will result in higher sales. Quite the opposite end of scale is used when the hearers have the opportunity of winning something, saving money or taking advantage of bargains. In such situations the advertisers wrap up this sort of information into seductively sounding phrases like 'up to', 'as much-/many as', 'genuine', 'aż', 'do X procent'. Confronted with such style of presentation, we are tempted to give in to our greed and take advantage of the offer. The style of the quantity maxim flout is the same here as in the case of price presentation. We might say that it lies on the verge of manipulative style, since not all details are being made mutually explicit, but at the same time the advertiser marks the lower or upper limit of the range of prices or savings by appropriate phrases, some of which have been quoted above.

⁸⁷ In some cases such information is included in the standing details part of an ad in the form of a disclaimer, but its speed of delivery is quite often too high for the listener to attend to all the details included in it.

The use of scalar implicatures (Gazdar 1979) has been partly accounted for in the discussion of the quality maxim, because exploitation of various strengths of scalar items can be used to avoid truth commitment or to make a message impossible to verify in terms of truth or falsity. Since the inferences connected with scalar items are not straightforwardly accessible and since they are unfavourable for the advertiser,⁸⁸ we cannot treat them as one of the strategies used for persuasion. Besides, such implicatures are usually in conflict with implicatures resulting from other maxims which are both favourable for the advertiser and easier to access.

When it comes to the role of metalinguistic comments on the use of quantity maxim, the situation is a bit different from the rest of the maxims. Since withholding important information has a very clear persuasive purpose in advertising, which has been described above, it can be expected that hedges on quantity maxim will be extremely rare. Indeed, apart from one single example, they occur only in the dialogues or monologues of secondary participants in the English ads, whereas they do not occur at all in the Polish data. The single example in the English data [E018] seems to be also related to the maxim of relevance, so it can be neglected for the purpose of this argument. We are not surprised, however, to find a few intensifiers in both Polish and English ads. Their role is to stress that beyond the information already given there is some more, which is equally important. The intensifiers have the form illustrated in (58) and (59):

(58) Aha, DULUX ma jeszcze jeden plus.

(1) Plus?

(2) Plus — jeden rok gwarancji.

[P09105-7]

(59) Furthermore, our fitters will work round the clock to suit you.

[E00306]

It has been argued in this section that the use of quantity maxim is quite different from the exploitation of other maxims, as the strategy used most

⁸⁸ This was demonstrated by Geis (1982) on the example of the ad for Aftate, which implied (without stating it overtly) that it kills athlete foot fungus. This could be inferred from the maxim of relevance, but an opposing implicature might be drawn from the maxim of manner or quantity. Since the advertiser makes usually the strongest possible claims, it follows that if he softens the strength of his claim, he is not able to prove it. If this is so, the implicature is that the medicine can be ineffective. Such an implicature is clearly not intended by the advertiser. He chooses nevertheless to state his claim indirectly taking advantage of greater salience of implicatures resulting from the maxim of relevance, hoping that the hearer will not go any further into inference drawing. Leaving the claim in the domain of implicated rather than stated meaning enables the advertiser additionally to withdraw the claim in cases of accusations from people who found the medicine ineffective.

often is to follow the maxim instead of flouting it, in order to give the audience as much information as possible. In the less frequent cases of quantity flouting, we could detect advertisers' eagerness to motivate the audience to take some action, or their attempts to use manipulative strategies in product presentation. In such cases the discourse of advertising displays one of the typical features of covert communication: the willingness on the part of the sender to conceal his true incentives. As in the case of other maxims, the advertisers exploit to the full the persuasive potential of inferential meanings in order to achieve the main goal of advertising discourse.

6.3.1.4. *Relevance*

Many linguists claim that it is impossible to flout the maxim of relevance — this is, among others, also one of the key assumptions behind the RT (Sperber & Wilson 1986). According to this view all utterances are relevant to their context, the hearer must only find the most relevant interpretation in order to understand the utterance properly. If we accept this point of view, all exploitations of the maxim of relevance would have to take the form of abiding by the maxim. However, I am not going to take this standpoint here yet — I shall do that later when discussing the language of advertisements from the RT perspective. Within the GP there is a theoretical possibility of relevance flouting, as with any other maxim. In deciding, however, what constitutes such a flout I have been using a relatively subjective criterion of my own intuition, supported by opinions of a number of individuals whom I asked about their judgements. Whenever I thought that a particular example might constitute a flout of the maxim of relevance, I presented it to a number of people asking them if they could find its relevance in relation to the whole ad. In cases when it proved impossible or very difficult in terms of the number of additional assumptions necessary to recover it, I was assuming that a flout of relevance had occurred. One of the weaknesses of this approach is a possible neglect of some important contextual factors connected with those ads in our judgements. Either I or my informants may have lacked some important piece of knowledge about the context of the ads which in an essential way influenced the relevance of various messages used in them. That is why I was quite reluctant to classify anything as a relevance flout unless I had reasonable evidence that it must be the case. As a result of this, the number of ads in which the maxim of relevance was flouted is not very big. In the Polish data we find 4 examples, whereas the English ads use this strategy 5 times. I think that it would be illustrative to present here two examples:

(60) The words 'rush-hour' and 'traffic jam' were coined in New York in the 1890's. In 1905 Silvanus F. Bowser invented the petrol pump. Now, presumably shortly after the free glass promotion.

This information is brought to you by SUDAFED, the simple way to clear congestion without causing drowsiness. SUDAFED contains pseudoephedrine to unblock stuffy noses fast, especially after colds and flu. Ask your pharmacist for advice and read the label. SUDAFED ... the unblocker.

[E094]

(61) (1) MAV TELKOM (2) PANASONIC

(3) Janku,

(4) Kochanie...

(3) Dzwonisz z Chicago?

(4) Nie, z automatu.

(3) Co się stało?

(4) Mam!

(3) Co?

(4) Telefony, telefaksy, centrale, a już na początku grudnia...

(3) Co?!

(4) Telefony komórkowe ... najniższe ceny, realizacja natychmiast!

(3) No, adres!

(4) Gdynia, Śląska 35/37, telefon 21-13-03

(1) MAV TELKOM (2) PANASONIC

[P049]

In (60) it is quite unclear how the information included in the first part of the ad contributes to the whole. The only link that my informants were able to find was between the expression *traffic jam* and ambiguous in this context phrase *to clear congestion*. Even if we appreciate the cleverness of the pun, we are left baffled about the relevance of rest of the message. The intentions of the advertiser are even less clear in (61). First of all it remains a mystery why the advertiser implies a very intimate relationship between the secondary participants, both of whom are men, as we can recognise by their voices, which makes the situation even more baffling. The rest of the commercial suggests that this type of conversation would be much more likely to occur between business partners. The relevance of Chicago in the context of this ad is also far from clear. The conversation itself makes a strong impression of unnaturalness and significantly deviates from the form of talk it strives to imitate. The agitated voices of the participants can be justified by the intended sensation of unique attractiveness of the advertised offer, but in the context implied at the beginning they sound very much out of place. The overall effect of this commercial is a mixture of audience's confusion and vital information retention. Although the advertiser seems to be successful in presenting

the main point of the offer, he does it in such a way that it reduces the positive and desired impact of the ad. The audience usually has the impression that such an ad has been created in a hurry, without proper care about the form and in absence of good creative ideas for the strategy of presentation. A similar impression is created by commercials [P86], [P33], [E11] and [E33]. All these ads seem to require too much in terms of information processing in order to recover the intended implicatures. The only example of an advertisement which uses the flout of relevance in a successful way is the one which employs the joke about the chicken and windows as an attention-catching device [E018].

In other cases than the ones described above we deal with abiding by the maxim of relevance. Although in some cases the relevance might not be obvious at the first sight, it is relatively easily found and contributes to the overall effect of the ad. Commercials which seem to depend on the exploitation of relevance maxim are quite numerous: we find 35 of them in the Polish and 31 of them in the English data. There are several different ways in which relevance is used, as well as many different persuasive purposes behind them. Let us have a look at the most important of them.

One of the important functions is connected with our expectations that all the information which is given is in a way relevant to the whole message, even if it is not made manifest at the beginning of an ad. In such cases a sensation of suspension is created, because we wait for further hints which should help us in establishing the intended relationships between particular fragments of the ad. This suspension acts as a kind of attention-catching device and in this way it is similar to the use of diverse forms constituting flouts of manner. In all cases, however, our patience is rewarded, as the expected link is presented in the remainder of the ad. Examples (62) and (63) illustrate this strategy very well:

- (62) (1) Najpierw proszę usiąść!
 (2) Dziękuję... [short break] Kupuję!
 (3) HAZE -- krzesła i fotele biurowe, które kupuje się bez zbędnych słów.
 [P020]
- (63) (1) Can I ring you back? At least one birthday this month... You're going to a wedding next June, a hand night in May, maybe yours? You are going to join a gym, you booked in for a hair cut, a waxing, a massage, there's a girls-night-out a week on Friday, you're already talking clothes and babies, but not yours, not yet, although now you think about it... Shoes, need new shoes, call him next week, wait till Wednesday though, don't wanna look too keen, cause you're not, frankly... Then you think you're no good at organising things, so, what about a pension?
 (2) Planning a SCOTTISH WIDOWS pension is a lot easier than you think...
 [E08301-08]

The ad quoted in (62) is very short, but quite clever. It depends very much on our imagination and ability to guess the situation from verbal clues. The relevance of the situation is only made clear in the signature line of the ad, so the use of suspension strategy is quite evident. It works similarly in (63): following what the secondary participant says we simultaneously wonder what might be advertised in this way, as virtually no clues are given. Our curiosity is satisfied later, and although many of the listeners may be disappointed by the true relevance, the suspension strategy kept them listening to the ad, which was the advertiser's aim. The same strategy was used alongside the flout of quality in the example (48), as well as in the commercials [P007], [P034], [P069], [P079], [E019] and [E032].

I have been mentioning the potential power of reference to some of our basic instincts, and this power is exploited in commercials which connect the advertised product with sex or use sex to promote services. We will not find as many examples of this strategy as we would find in TV commercials. This is connected with the fact that reference to sex is much stronger through the visual channel, whereas the spoken language is a secondary medium. Nevertheless, in a few instances (7 in Polish and 3 in English) a more or less explicit invocation of sex is present in the radio commercials. In the English data two of the ads advertise safe sex and condoms, so their relevance to sex is obvious. In the third ad sex is introduced in connection with Diet Coke, a strategy implicitly present in many ads of soft drinks broadcast on television. Polish commercials stick to universal tendencies in advertising manifest in associating sex with perfumes and deodorants, jewellery or clothes. They are also similar to [E032] in exploiting sexual references in the ads of beer, but less typical employment of sexual background is found in [P072] which advertises Zovirax, a balm against cold sores, and in [P039], an ad for Kama margarine. In this commercial eating Kama is associated with enhanced sexual performance, a connection quite unexpected and extraordinary.

Another motivation behind the use of relevance is relating commercials to other ads in the same campaign or to different ads by competing companies. In the first situation, the audience recognises an overall pattern exploited earlier and appreciates the parallels between commercials constructed on the same basic idea. The English commercials [E031] and [E047] are related in this way, as well as several groups of Polish ads, for instance [P094], [P095] and [P096]. In some cases such combinations allow the advertiser to shorten one of the subsequent ads in a campaign, taking advantage of their similarity and recognisability due to a set of common features. This can be exemplified by the following commercial:

(64) *w murowanej piwnicy tańcowali zbójnicy*

(1) KAMA to samiuckie zdrowie!

(2) Tys prowdą!

kazali se piyknie grać i na nózki spoziyrać

[P044]

in which the advertiser takes advantage of the familiarity of the advertising strategy, exploited in a few ads which were broadcast before (64) was created. Although the relevance of the identity of the secondary participants or the relevance of the whole situation and framework may be unclear for someone who does not know the previous ads in the series, it is quite obvious for those who are familiar with it. Such a strategy has one more important advantage: in reducing the time of the commercial it also saves advertiser's money.

The second option, of relating a commercial to the competing ones, has not been found in the set of data analysed in this thesis. Advertisers do not do it very often anyway, but there are some examples of ads which were doing precisely this. For instance, in an advertising campaign of the Ramada Inn corporation,⁸⁹ the following slogan was used:

(65) We're building a reputation, not resting on one

For almost all the respondents who were interviewed about this slogan, the implied meaning was suggesting that some leading competitors were resting on their reputation instead of doing anything to build it, and that the competition implicitly referred to was Holiday Inn. The closest attempt to do a similar thing in one of the ads analysed in this thesis can be found in one of the English commercials:

(66) (2) Now, at SAFE-STYLE UK when you buy the downstairs windows and doors for your home, they'll give you the upstairs free! And with SAFE-STYLE UK interest-free credit is available. Ask for written quotations.

(1) **But what if another company tells you they're cheaper?**

(2) Ha! Well, show SAFE-STYLE UK their quote and, like for like, they'll beat it!

[E03903-07]

However, in this case the reference is being made to all potential competitors on the market, so this ad is quite similar to any others which also make general comparisons, using, for example, the superlative degree of adjectives.

Sometimes the advertisers are trying to construct a 'new relevance' for the products they advertise, placing them in contexts which are not immediately related to them. A strategy which is being used quite often here is making a link between the product and a holiday, especially Christmas. Since

⁸⁹ The advert was published in *Newsweek* magazine on the 02-06-1978.

Christmas is seen as a huge commercial opportunity, making a connection between it and a product is very desirable for the producers. If it is successful, it may bring a short but enormous rise in sales of commodities which can be offered as gifts. As such advertisements are broadcast only in the appropriate periods prior to a holiday they refer to, there are not very many examples of them in the data, which was collected throughout the whole year. The following ad is one of the few:

- (67) (1) Mamusia długo cieszyła się moim prezentem. Ciocia Ela szeptała jej coś do ucha, a babcia śmiała się z zeszłorocznych dowcipów dziadka. I wtedy tata wszedł do pokoju z pachnącą kawą.
 (2) TCHIBO Exclusive --- aromat tej kawy już zawsze będzie kojarzył się ze świętami.
 (3) TCHIBO --- podaj to, co najlepsze.

[P069]

Just in case we do not make the appropriate connection on the basis of the first fragment of the ad, the advertiser is careful to do it for us later. A very strong emotive stimulus is used here to intensify the strength of the link being made, in the form of evoking family-related sentiments and feelings of peaceful and cheerful happiness. In other ads of this type the producer takes the opportunity to wish the listeners Merry Christmas, which has a similar effect to getting a Christmas card from friends or relatives. The only commercial which in a sense departs from this pattern is the English ad [E078], advertising condoms and safe sex in the context of Christmas. In a way this can be treated as an attempt to cleverly relate it to other, prototypical instances of Christmas advertising, and using the effect of a twisted formula. Warning us against venereal diseases, it ends with a witty pun:

- (68) ...so whatever you do give your partner for Christmas, make sure it's properly wrapped.

[E07806-07]

Here, the advertiser's intention is clearly not so much putting the product in the context of Christmas, but rather using the stereotype as a joke.

Products and services can be also linked with many other things, not only holidays. In most of the cases, however, the intention of the advertiser is far from trying to reinforce the link in the minds of the consumers, but to use it as a means of making the ad itself more attractive. Quite often we come across commercials which advertise certain products in an untypical way. This impression stems from the fact that the connections applied by the advertiser are new and unexpected. It is also very much connected with the maxim of relevance, as new relevance links are being exploited for the purpose of the ad.

Let us look at a couple of examples, which should make clear the peculiarity of this strategy:

- (69) (1) For postmen, lollipop ladies and window-cleaners...
 (2) From MOBIL comes a new kind of Diesel that dramatically reduces black smoke emissions,
 (1) For pedestrians, cyclists and milkmen...
 (2) And it also gives you more engine power,
 (1) For paper boys and bus conductors...
 (2) MOBIL cleaner-burn Diesel Plus. Less smoke, more power and no extra cost,
 (1) For me and my children and for your children...
 (2) You don't just have to be a driver to appreciate it.

[E034]

- (70) [marching, commands shouted]
 (1) (()), nogę wyżej! Spocznij!
 (2) przeciwpotowy dezodorant do pielęgnacji stóp.
 AMBRE — to działa!
 [marching]

[P036]

In (69) there is some information processing required before we infer in what way a new kind of Diesel oil can be beneficial for postmen, lollipop-ladies, and all other kinds of people referred to in the ad. When we finally conclude that it must be connected with the cleaner (or, more precisely, less polluted) air they breathe when car owners use it, we probably reflect that it is true, but we have never thought about it in this way before. As an effect, we appreciate the advertiser's wide perspective, as we would appreciate anybody making a good point which we were failing to see in a discussion. A very clever strategy is applied in the penultimate line of the ad, in which the beneficiaries of the new Diesel are personalised as 'me and my children and your children', in this way expanding the range of people who benefit from it to all listeners. This was possible through the use of deixis, whose applicability in ads was discussed earlier. Here it serves as an intensifier of the effect achieved by the exploitation of the maxim of relevance. In the example (70) the relevance is significantly easier to establish, but nevertheless most of the listeners would probably be surprised by the framing of the product within the context of military training. Such strategy allows the advertiser to detach the audience's attention from the connotations of the product, which are not very pleasant for anybody, since the product's function is to kill a bad smell of feet. In a similar way, in commercials of sanitary towels the stress is put on comfort, freshness and safety, instead of mentioning menstruation or, even worse, blood.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ In this context the significance of blue liquids used in TV commercials of sanitary towels becomes quite evident.

Since some of the humour used in advertising is dependent on finding an unexpected link between two objects or events, which boils down to finding their mutual relevance, a few examples will be presented here. The function of humour has been discussed already, and in the commercials quoted so far the humorous effect depended partly on the application of the maxim of relevance. This was the case in the [E078] (the ad of condoms and safe sex), [E018] (the chicken joke), [E005] (the DHL ad), [P039] (Kama margarine as a source of sexual prowess), [P098] (the 'censored' ad of beer) and [P075] (the theatre piece with ice-coffee). In two of the Polish ads the maxim of relevance is used in an untypical way by the secondary participants, who interpret the questions of interviewers as relevant to only one topic, before the questions are even asked properly. They give their answers as if they knew what they are being asked about, although for all the listeners of the ad it is not so obvious. One of these commercials, [P002], is very long by all standards, so I shall quote the other one here:

- (71) (1) Jesteśmy na ulicach Trójmiasta i pytamy pierwszego napotkanego przechodnia: Dzień dobry, czy pan...
 (2) Słucham?
 (1) Czy pan słucha...
 (2) Tak, tak, słucham.
 (1) Czy pan słucha...
 (2) Słucham.
 (1) Czy pan naprawdę słucha...
 (2) Tak, tak, słucham.
 (1) Czy pan mnie słyszy?!
 (2) Mów pan.
 (1) Czy słucha pan radia PLUS?
 (2) Słucham, słucham, przecież cały czas mówię, że słucham. A po co pan pyta?
 (1) yyy... Słucham?

[P052]

It could be also treated as an example of quantity flout, since one of the participants gives an answer having not enough information about the topic of the question, but its reading as exploitation of relevance is justified just by this: he establishes the relevance sooner than all of the listeners do. This interpretation is supported by the contributions of the interviewer, whose judgements about the relevance the other participant's answers are different. All this adds up to the effect of humorous misunderstanding, strengthened by the interviewer's bafflement at the end of the commercial. Other ads exploiting humorous relevances are [E042], [E019], [E031], [E047], [E074], [P040] and [P051], some of which have been quoted before in connection with different strategies employed in them.

The last strategy which I would like to talk about in the section devoted to the maxim of relevance is related to the use of secondary participants. Their identity, their language and the context in which they appear is very often significant for a commercial. Using the authority of a dentist in an ad of a toothpaste is the most relevant and straightforward way of advertising it, and we come across similar examples quite often.

Besides all relevant features of the commercial [P039] which were discussed earlier, there is one more aspect of it connected with relevance. The choice of the secondary participants makes an important link between the advertised margarine and the atmosphere of folksiness and closeness to nature. We usually associate these things with freshness, health and purity, which places the product in the most favourable context of connotative elements. Exactly the same strategy is used in the following English ad:

(72) We operate a very caring farm and grow there birds traditionally without any antibiotics. A choice of 60 products of the most natural poultry around. From a whole bird to a small portion. Pop in to the farm shop and say "Howdo?" They're just through Chesham on the vale road past the Total garage, and two miles on the right. See our ad in the Bucks Examiner. CHESHAM VALE farm. You'll taste the difference, so see for yourself.

[E053]

The voice-over is styled for a farmer-type speaker, which reinforces the connotative meaning of the commercial, although part of the intended message is stated overtly: 'traditionally without any antibiotics', 'natural poultry'.

In the Polish data we come across several examples of family connotations exploited in the ads. It seems that including the notion of a family enhances the persuasive power of an ad, because of positive connotations associated with it and also because of implicated universality of the product, in the sense that it can be used by the whole family. This strategy is present in the commercial of Tschibo quoted above as (67), in [P001] ('telewizor dla ciebie i całej rodziny') and in [P017] ('zjedliśmy z całą rodzinką').

The key to successful persuasion in such cases lies in the commonly agreed connotative (not literal!) meanings of the applied settings and archetypes associated with them. Such archetypal connotations must be fairly universal in order to support the persuasive power of a commercial. In the cases when such universality might be doubted, various approaches by different advertisers can be found. It is not illustrated in the radio ads collected for the purpose of this study, but a few examples from television advertising can be quoted. For instance, there is a certain pattern in the choice of secondary participants used to advertise washing powders, washing-up liquids or other products of house-

hold hygiene. Usually such commodities are advertised by women, playing a part of a happy and caring housewife. Some people may not be very happy about such archetypisation of a woman's role in a family, as some of its connotations might include social injustice, male chauvinism and exploitation of women. That is why in a number of ads televised recently it is a man who is presented as the user of such products. For the people opposing the commercials in which women were used, this strategy might carry connotations of equality, shared responsibility for the household, as well as a hint of revenge for the experiences of the past. Whatever the associations, however, we must remember that they are only secondary in relation to the primary messages stated and implied in such commercials. They constitute a kind of background for the foregrounded message that, for instance, a washing powder X is better than Y.

6.3.1.5. Gricean Paradigm in synthesis

As we have seen, the overall effect of particular advertisements very often, if not always, depends on the interaction of simultaneous exploitation of several maxims. It is virtually impossible to find an ad which would be entirely dependent only on one of them, for each maxim contributes its own share in the global reading of the ad. This is justified by the advertisers' aim to reach the widest possible audience through a combination of factors which may affect different individuals in various ways when singled out, but producing more or less the same final effect in all cases. It was necessary, however, to discuss each of the maxims in isolation to be able to show how exactly they are being exploited and what persuasive purposes are served by their use. It was quite rarely the case that two different maxims would be used for the same purpose, as each one of them relates to a quite separate aspect of communicational behaviour. We have seen that some of the maxims tend to be flouted more often than followed (i.e. manner and quality), whereas in the case of others (i.e. quantity and relevance) the tendency is the opposite. This is related to the particular persuasive aims, which have been characterised so far in this section. Their variety and multitude shows how important the implicit messages communicated in advertising are. Nevertheless, their description is not quite complete yet. In the following sub-chapter the theoretical framework of RT will be used to account for some of the findings which do not fit neatly within the GP.

6.3.1.6. Understanding of commercials — explanatory account of Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory provides the first fairly comprehensive account of pragmatic understanding of utterances (Grundy 1995:141). It not only offers a framework of theoretical description, but also tries to show different degrees of understanding, related to the levels of meaning encoded in utterances. It distinguishes at least three such levels. The most superficial contains what is said, which roughly corresponds to the notion of a sentence, phrase, or anything that was said, without a slightest elaboration. The second level is called explicature and contains logical elaboration of the linguistic form. Explicature is already partly dependent on inferences, but they are highly conventionalised and, as the supporters of RT suggest, universal. The third level of meaning is implicature, which is arrived at following the assumption that all that is said is relevant to the given context. The closest relevant inference is in most of the cases the implicature. 'The closest' means the one which requires the least processing effort and which is the most accessible.

RT is best applicable in an analysis of spoken discourse in which the contributions of two or more participants are recorded. What they say as responses to other participants' utterances provides the evidence of how they understand them and can be the basis for the description of the levels of meaning and how they are addressed in such responses. However, if the interactive responses of the hearers are absent from the data, we can only speculate about possible understandings of messages. That is why RT cannot give definite answers to the questions about our understanding of commercials. Nevertheless, the insights into the encoding of various meanings which it offers are undoubtedly very valuable and worth investigating. Advertising is a mode of communication whose success depends on the audience's understanding of the message. To ensure the success, the advertisers must shape the messages in a way which will be comprehensible for the audience. In creating commercials they must be constantly aware of their most likely impact on the readers and listeners. If this is so, RT may prove very useful even if our data is restricted to the contributions of the senders of the message.

Within the framework of RT, advertising can be presented as a game of understanding between the advertisers and their audience. The latter have a role of a guesser, the former give the guessers clues necessary to solve the riddle. A lot of various factors contribute to the way the game is played. The advertiser must make certain assumptions about the audience's knowledge and resources, which are essential in the process of inferencing. If his expect-

tations are too high, a large part of the listeners may fail to understand the message. If they are conspicuously too low, the audience may feel offended by such assumptions. Usually if the advertising message is too straightforward nowadays, it loses in comparison with others in terms of its chances of being noticed. Another factor connected with the degree of personality of style has already been mentioned: to sound personal and close to the listener, the advertiser must assume mutual context shared with the audience and communicate part of the message in an implicit way. Sometimes, to make the game more attractive, the sender of the message may use various tricks to amuse the receiver. He will use jokes, or deliberately make the listener draw inappropriate conclusions first in order to surprise him later, or take him for a trip to a world of wonder and imagination. All this, however, is subjected to the overriding rule that both players know that ultimately the game counts as advertising. Awareness of this fact is an important premise in the process of inference drawing by the audience. Since ads occupy an easily recognisable place in the broadcast, the advertisers are free to indulge in virtually unlimited style borrowing, being certain that in whatever form, the message will be understood as a commercial.

There are three levels on which the audience may fail to understand the advertising message. The first one is the level of what is said. There are two types of failures here, one is unplanned and unwanted, the other possibly intended (at least allowed for). In a number of commercials in the data there were fragments which I could not understand when I was transcribing them. I had to consult my friends and colleagues to help me in such cases and finally I have managed to get rid of almost all incomprehensible parts. Almost, for there are still a few places whose meaning remains a mystery for me and all the people whom I asked about them. Of course, this may be due to ignorance and lack of contextual knowledge on our part, but even in such a situation the advertiser may be said to be taking a big risk if he uses phrases or names in the ad, which are far from clear for a big number of hearers. On a few occasions these incomprehensible words are names of the products, which is a sign of considerable carelessness on the part of the producer and advertiser. A completely different type of understanding failure occurs when the advertiser uses a foreign language in an ad. Although such utilisation of foreign languages is usually restricted to a few relatively easy words or phrases, there still may be many listeners who will not understand them. This, however, does not constitute such a problem as in the previous case. Very often the advertiser's aim is connected more with evoking certain stereotypical connotative meanings than with literal understanding of the foreign phrases. In such situations lack of understanding on the most superficial level does not prevent the hearer from drawing the deeper level inferences, a situation quite untypical

for RT. Within this framework, understanding of a deeper level is conditioned by prior comprehension of the more superficial message.

The second level is the domain of explicature. There might be certain theoretical problems connected with it — for instance how exactly it is elaborated — but such considerations are not the main concern of this thesis. Explicature is a comfortable theorem for the present discussion, as it allows us to do away with references to several maxims of conversation and depend solely on logical and common sense conventions in deriving it. For example, scalar implicatures, which had to be described as flouts of quantity or quality within GP, in RT are treated as part of the common sense, logical elaboration of the linguistic form. We do not have to refer to the maxim of manner to account for our interpretation of the verbless constructions and juxtaposed phrases. Such interpretations are also part of explicatures.

In this perspective, the role of explicature in advertising is quite important. We will find out that in fact many ads are not intended to reach any deeper when it comes to the level of meaning. The most important message is presented as explicature, understood in the way described above. In the following example:

- (73) WRANGLER i LEE — pierwszy firmowy sklep na Wybrzeżu
Gdynia, Świętojańska 71
Jeansy, spodnie, kurtki, bluzy i tak dalej
WRANGLER i LEE

[P054]

it is quite easy to show an elaboration of this linguistic form into finite sentences which would be acceptable for any member of the audience:

- (74) WRANGLER i LEE jest pierwszym firmowym sklepem na Wybrzeżu (polskim)
Mieści się on w Gdyni, przy ulicy Świętojańskiej 71.
Można kupić tam jeansy, spodnie, kurtki, bluzy i wiele innych rzeczy zwykle dostępnych w tego typu sklepach.
Nazwą sklepu jest WRANGLER i LEE.

This is the explicature of (73), which seems to be the most essential part of the ad. Although we could show that some implicatures connected with the words 'pierwszy' or 'firmowy' are relatively important, too, the elaborated form presented in (74) carries most of the useful information necessary for the hearer to act upon it. We come across a similar situation in 31 English and 15 Polish commercials. Whereas in the case of Polish ads this number is relatively small, a large part of English ads (almost one third) depends on this type of communication. This suggests that they are more straightforward

in the presentation of the advertising messages and more biased towards audience's conscious and rational evaluation of the message than the Polish ads.

As we enter the third, deepest level of meaning, the situation becomes more complicated. It has been already suggested that advertising relies in a large part on implicit meaning. The GP gives some account of how this meaning is accessed and processed, but there are some areas which are unclear. We do not know, for example, the reference point of the maxims, although the GP implicitly assumes the existence of some background against which we are able to assess adherence to them. In deciding about the truth and falsity of an utterance we often have to apply our own standards of judgement, specifying how precise or liberal we want to be. Making judgements about manner we have to establish a certain unmarked pattern as the source of comparison. In dealing with quantity we also have to take into consideration the contextual factors in establishing what does and what does not constitute a maxim flout. It becomes even less clear when we deal with a multitude of various imaginary worlds, each of which has its own rules and standards. Working within this framework we would have to change the perspective constantly to be able to account for all the phenomena in a thorough way, but in such situation the findings would lose their comparative value. Within the RT, the relevance of the message is constant, and in our understanding of it we are invited by our communicative partner to reconstruct the contextual environment which makes it most accessible and reasonable. We do not have to make decisions about the adherence to the truth and its relationship to the real world, as this is the output, not part of the input of the inferencing process. We do not have to define clear borders between our world and the world of advertising as the background of its analysis, because this will be also a part of the implicated meaning that we recover. In this way our knowledge of the world and our opinions may change constantly under the influence of the stimuli which we process. What we infer as implicatures from one ad becomes the background knowledge for the interpretation of another. Whereas GP implicitly assumes constant nature of our cognition, RT makes space for constant readjustments within our cognitive processing. In dealing with metaphors, for instance, RT suggests that we do not dismiss them as untrue (which would boil down to the observation that they do not follow the maxim of quality), but we try to find the most likely interpretation for them in which they make sense in relation to the rest of the message. At the same time, however, thanks to a metaphor we may also notice a new link between certain things which we were unaware of, and which were brought to our attention. Such observations contribute to the fact that metaphors change slightly the way we perceive things and influence our cognitive processing of reality.

That is why virtually any type of communication can be seen as persuasive or manipulative, as each communicative act brings about a small change in our cognitive environment. In this way, in a little bit roundabout way, we have arrived at the definition of the communicative purpose, which was suggested earlier in the third chapter.

Coming back to the explanatory possibilities of RT, let us consider the following example and try to account for it in terms of implicatures retrieved on the basis of the assumption that the relevance is given:

- (75) MARKAR, numer jeden w Polsce
 Pięć tysięcy sprzedanych samochodów, ciężarowe i dostawcze
 Polonez Truck i Renault, Żuk, Star, Jelcz, Lublin i ciągniki Ursus
 Ceny fabryczne, raty, leasing
 Wpłacasz tylko 20% ceny, resztę w ciągu trzech lat
 Zrób biznes z najlepszym
Czterech kółek czar to MARKAR...

[P05701-07]

I am going to assume that the explicatures are fairly clear in this ad and concentrate on implicatures instead. One phrase is of special interest here: 'Zrób biznes z najlepszym'. The referent of the adjective can be established as Markar, since this is the most accessible interpretation, given the fact that the message is an ad (and not, for instance, a piece of impartial advice), and that it appears in the context in which no other possible referent is mentioned. The advertiser does not give us any signals that this interpretation could be wrong, so we infer that it refers to him. The word 'biznes' introduces an air of prestige, as the customer is not asked to simply buy a car, but to enter a business deal, which could be read as an attempt by the advertiser to compliment the hearer (by treating him as a serious business partner). Another implicature which can be inferred is that Markar is the biggest and best retailer of the type of cars it advertises. The number of the sold cars suggests that no other dealer sold more⁹¹ (this interpretation follows also from the phrase 'numer jeden w Polsce'). The mention of the system of payments also implies that it is very attractive (if not the best available) for the customer. All these implicated premises add up to the implicated conclusion that it is most profitable, convenient and safe to buy a car from Markar.

In some cases the two-step inferencing is quite necessary to retrieve the most relevant meaning. In the following example:

⁹¹ In this context the number itself is not really important. It might be three thousand, but also thirty thousand — the exact figure is not relevant for the potential customer, as he is concerned only with the one car he plans to buy. The more important aspect of the number is that it is large and that it implies that it is in fact the biggest in comparison to the competing companies (otherwise it would not be quoted).

(76) Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. został uznany przez jury Gazety Bankowej za najbezpieczniejszy bank Polski.

Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. niewzruszona cisza skarbcza.

[P003]

the implicated premises are that *Gazeta Bankowa* and its jury are the most competent authorities to issue this sort of statements, that the safety of any bank is its most important and demanded feature and that the quietness of the treasury of PBK is another proof of its invulnerability. These inferences, however, would be meaningless if they did not lead to the implicated conclusion that depositing your money with PBK will give you psychological comfort and certainty that it is safe there. There are quite many ads which require double-step inferencing in order to retrieve the most important part of the intended meaning — they are very often found in the Polish data (54 cases) and slightly less often in the English collection (39). In most of such cases we deal with the employment of secondary participants. The implicated premises relate to the imaginary world of advertising and take the form of implicatures which would be normally derived if we were a part of that world, while the implicated conclusions make the link with the immediate real world of the hearer. The postulation of such a double-step processing allows us to escape the difficulty connected with the points of reference for the conversational maxims.

On some occasions, however, even such double-step processing seems to be insufficient. There are a few ads which are quite enigmatic when it comes to their implied meaning. The question that the listeners usually ask when faced with them is 'What do they mean by that?' The processing effort required to retrieve their relevance seems to be too big, in the context of the reward of understanding the ad properly. I am going to quote two of such commercials:

(77) (1) G, H, I, J, K, -- kostiumy kąpielowe, moja mama nieźle w nich wygląda
O, P, R, S, T, -- T-shirt, Kaśka je nosi. Wygląda bombowo.

Ale tata i tak woli czapkę baseballową ej, ta anglosaska moda.

(2) Sklepy ADIDAS zapraszają. Święty Marcin i Wrocławska

[P033]

(78) (1) Today's railway story is brought to you by HORNBY

(2) Patiently, in the heat, a bit of it stands, a thoroughbred on a leash. Vivid green railway coaches pulling out of Brighton station, smoke, rising in the blue, sea glitters like splintered diamonds, stately progression past cliffs bleached by sun. White birds dive through the soft breeze, the buffet car beacons.

(1) HORNBY Railways. Have you missed your train?

[E086]

Both of these ads were quite puzzling for me and my colleagues whom I asked for their opinion. The function of the alphabet reciting in (77) is unclear, as well as the remark about the English fashion. In (78) the nature of the 'railway story' seems quite puzzling, together with the final question and the reference of some items in the body-copy (e.g. 'thoroughbred' — a dog, or a metaphor for the train?). The reception of such ads is sometimes similar to efforts connected with trying to find an interpretation of a poem, song or dream. Their potential strength might lie in this indeterminacy — people would often take up the challenge and try to find and compare various interpretations they can fit to it. Or maybe there should be no interpretation at all? Maybe the most important part of the ad is the signature, where the brand name or a shop are mentioned, and all the rest are some kind of loose associative frameworks?

In a number of cases the advertisers use a device which is called within the RT framework 'a garden path'. It is an implicature suggested by the sender of the message which presents itself as the most accessible at a given point in the discourse, only to be replaced by another one later. At a certain point, some additional contextual clues are made explicit which render the initial interpretation not valid. This principle underlies the structure of many jokes, and in many cases would correspond to a flout of the maxim of relevance in the GP. Its function is to surprise, amuse or shock the hearer, and in this way make the message more attractive. Most of commercials using this strategy have been quoted earlier within the framework connected with the exploitation of various maxims, but referring those advertisements to RT allows us to see their common denominator. In some cases they pretend to be a different discourse type (register borrowing — [P002], [P077], [P067], [P023], [E005], [E033], [E078]), sometimes they play on ambiguities [P043], [P051], [P072], [P093], [E055], [E098]), and in other cases they take advantage of some other, more difficult to classify, linguistic phenomena.

6.4. *Conclusions*

Both the size of this chapter and the figures presented in it prove that out of all pragmatic meanings the implicit messages play the most important role in the persuasive function of advertising. A large part of the message communicated in commercials arises as a result of inferences triggered by

a substantial number of various strategies connected with a covert type of communication. Although the advertisers cannot be altogether certain how the messages will be understood and evaluated, the insights offered by RT suggest that they operate at least on the level of very high probabilities. The most accessible interpretations of the commercials for most of the audience seem to be fairly universal, although many factors contribute to them. On the other hand, we would probably never find an ad whose perception would be the same in all cases by all members of the audience. That is why in many places I was presenting a number of possible interpretations of a particular ad or a strategy, evaluating their respective saliences for various receivers.

In summarising the most important factors influencing the choice of the covert mode of communication in advertising one cannot fail to mention three such determinants. The first is connected with the strength of appeal to our basic and often subconscious instincts and needs. Since in many contexts it is either completely illogical and irrational or socially unacceptable, such connections cannot be made in an explicit way. In the first case they would be dismissed as fallacious and misleading by our conscious mind, in the other they might give rise to some organised forms of protest or even legal action against the advertiser. Communicating such messages implicitly, on the other hand, renders their existence impossible to prove and leaves the advertiser an easy way out in the case of accusations. Besides, given our sensitivity to this type of stimuli, the hints do not have to be very definite at all. The second important incentive to use the covert mode of communication is the need to establish a close relationship with the audience, become a part of their lives and enter their homes. This can be achieved by the application of a style of discourse which is characteristic for exchanges between close acquaintances. And last, but not least, there is also the necessity of changing the audacious, explicit and hard-sell type of advertising to which most of us became quite immune into a less direct, more attractive and absorbing style, inviting the audience to take part in a fascinating and unforgettable game of guessing. The importance of this third factor was predicted by Leech (1966) and confirmed by Cook (1992), Myers (1994) and Tanaka (1994). This is one of the reasons why it is increasingly difficult to characterise advertising as a genre, which finds its reflection also in the analysis conducted in this thesis.

As we could see, both two theories of implicit meaning applied in the analysis of the commercials offer valuable and interesting insights into the phenomena which we come across in the ads and explanations for various persuasive strategies which are used in them. However, not all the mechanisms could be shown, even in such a detailed analysis as presented in the previous

sections, due to the very complicated nature of the interactions between the explicit and implicit levels of meaning in advertising. There are publications devoted to the analysis of a single advertisement,⁹² and since there were two hundred commercials collected for the purpose of this study, one cannot expect such a detailed approach to all of them. At the price of neglecting certain details, however, a more general and comprehensive account of the implicit meaning in advertising could be achieved.

⁹² For example Barthes (1984a).

Chapter 7

Speech acts in commercials

7.1. The problem

Another pragmatic way of approaching the language of advertising is to employ the theory of speech acts. The title of this section suggests that looking for speech acts in ads can be problematic. There are several reasons for this state of affairs and in the following introduction I am going to address the ones which are most important.

The first difficulty lies in the fact observed forty years ago by Wittgenstein (1958) that there are as many different speech acts as there are roles in the indefinite variety of *language-games* people are engaged in. This poses a problem whenever we want to classify a given utterance as a certain kind of a speech act. Any such classification is bound to involve certain arbitrariness and the amount of contextual data and variables necessary for such categorizing is sometimes so great that the outcome has little value as a systematised description of language use. Therefore listing all the speech acts occurring in commercials would probably contribute relatively little to the descriptive characterisation of this genre, as it would be very difficult to find any clear-cut patterns in such a variety of linguistic acts, given the ratio of register borrowings and the diversity of secondary situations characteristic for contemporary advertising.

The indirectness of the advertising language poses another problem, the same which is encountered by any theory of indirect speech acts. If the language of ads is to a large extent indirect, we should expect to find in it many cases of indirect speech acts. But indirect speech acts are quite difficult to identify and classify, especially in the situations where we encounter a mix-

ture of primary and secondary meanings in ads. Although there are a few theories trying to account for the interpretation of indirect speech acts (the idiom theory (Sadock 1974), the inference theory (Gordon & Lakoff 1975), the anti-LFH⁹³ theory (Gazdar 1981)), serious weaknesses of each of these approaches can be found.⁹⁴

The classification of speech acts is usually connected with the description of illocutionary force connected with them and the felicity conditions they must fulfil (Searle 1969, 1979; Hancher 1979; Allwood 1976; Bach & Harnish 1979), and there are several different approaches to determining this force. Very rarely it is signalled by the performative verbs, as most of the speech acts are indirect. Sometimes it can be recognised by the presence of specific linguistic items (e.g. 'please' in requests), but since the occurrence of those elements is not obligatory, they cannot serve as the ultimate indicators. Although in the case of insertion tests they work very well, it would be difficult to find a set of items, each of which would correspond to a distinct speech act. Indirect speech acts are often performed by the statement of one of the felicity conditions on them, but this cannot be the basis of classification, either, for in many cases felicity conditions for different speech acts overlap. Grundy (1995) points out that the same utterance can be used as a direct and indirect speech act, which makes the picture even more complicated. Additionally, in spite of the problems connected with them, we might use one of the theories of indirect speech acts, based on the application of GP or RT. Both these frameworks worked quite well as the basis of account for the indirect meaning in commercials, so maybe they would prove equally good for the classification of the speech acts. Finally, one should not forget about the importance of the perlocutionary component of a speech act, for various reasons not included or neglected in the discussions focused on speech act classification.⁹⁵ Thus, as we can see, when it comes to the framework of analysis, there are many options to choose from.

⁹³ LFH means Literal Force Hypothesis and can be summarised as follows:

- (i) explicit performatives have the force named by the performative verb in the matrix clause,
- (ii) otherwise, the three major sentence-types in English, namely the imperative, interrogative and declarative, have the forces traditionally associated with them, namely ordering (or requesting), questioning and stating, respectively (with, of course, the exception of explicit performatives which happen to be in declarative format).

Levinson (1983: 263-4)

Sadock's and Gordon & Lakoff's theories tried to uphold the LFH, while Gazdar suggested that sentences have no literal forces at all, and that their forces are mapped on them in particular contexts.

⁹⁴ See the discussion in Levinson (1983) and Grundy (1995).

⁹⁵ It is usually connected with problems of appropriate recognition and classification, and often also with the unclear status of perlocution within the pragmatic theory (cf. Skowronek (1993), Kalisz (1993)).

The last problem is connected with a complicated relationship between the messages communicated by the secondary and primary participants. In many cases it is quite difficult to determine if we deal with primary or secondary address, but even if we were capable of making the difference, there would still remain the question of different reference contexts of various levels of meaning. The same utterance may be seen as a different speech act with reference to the secondary situation, and as a different one when we refer it to the real world. Besides, given the principle of economy of expression and the indirect nature of the advertising language, the same utterance in the primary address may be interpreted as performing two or more different speech acts.

7.2. *The way out*

In spite of all the problems signalled above, one has an instinctive feeling that there must be a way out of it. Besides, while listening to the commercials we often have quite definite intuitions about the nature of the speech acts being performed. Therefore, it must be theoretically possible to provide an analysis of the language of commercials in terms of the speech acts occurring in them. This theoretical possibility is the topic of the subsequent considerations.

In designing the theoretical framework we can depart from Wittgenstein's (1958) concept of *language games*, which can be linked with later theories of *speech events* (Bauman & Scherzer 1974) or *activity types* (Levinson 1979). I am going to use here the most widely known term *speech events* to describe the contextual framework of utterances. Speech events can be defined as recognisable routines in which language use is determined by the type of the activity and the forces associated with particular utterances are conditioned by the character of the speech event. Each speech event can be described as a genre, including the specification of the participants, the socially recognisable goal, the constraints imposed on it and the allowable contributions by the participants. Since the description of the language of advertising as a genre has already been undertaken in Chapter 3, there is no need to repeat what has already been said. It has been demonstrated that although there are some prototypical features of advertising copies, there is also much variation in the actual form and content of advertising messages. This fact seems to make the matters difficult, but we can approach it from a different end. We can use

one of the features of speech events, the fact that they are socially recognisable,⁹⁶ and hold it as a constant in our analysis. In this context we can assume that in all cases of being exposed to advertising, the audience will be conscious of the fact that the message being transmitted is an advertisement. Their experience and knowledge of the world will supply all the contextual characteristics of advertising — the roles of participants, the overall purpose, the scope and the relevance to their immediate environment. This knowledge is going to influence the processing of commercials and limit the number of possible interpretations of particular utterances to a manageable set. Thus, treating advertising as a distinct speech event, alongside such well established types as university lecture, sermon, telephone conversation or betting, allows us to specify the kinds of speech acts we can find in commercials and describe their function within the frame⁹⁷ (Tannen 1979) of advertising. Let us first summarise once again the contextual determinants of the advertising situation, and then see how they influence the nature of the speech acts we can find in commercials.

The participants within the speech event of advertising are not difficult to identify. The sender of the message is the advertiser (we will disregard for the purpose of the discussion the possibility that there may be some other participants acting as the middlemen between the producer of a commodity and the performers of the ad) and the addressee is anyone who receives the ad in whatever form (similarly, we can disregard here possible pre-selection of the audience). The purpose can be generally described as an attempt to evoke the addressee's positive attitude towards the product or the advertiser, or to arouse in him the need to buy the advertised product or to respond positively to the offer. As we can see, it is a bit more difficult to define the purpose than the participants, which indicates that there are several sub-types of commercials, trying to influence the audience in various ways. In each case, however, we deal with an attempt to affect the audience in some way. There is also a specific orientation of the advertising messages — all of them are most relevant to the future, which they try to shape.

In the presence of this contextual knowledge, several speech acts can be identified which best suit the purposes defined above. No matter which secondary costume the commercials wear, they are going to be ultimately

⁹⁶ How this recognition is accomplished is a matter of many factors put together; sometimes the deciding element is the style of language used, sometimes it is the temporal and spatial placement of the message (cf. Cook 1992:9), or various other types of signalling. How all these factors are interrelated in marking a given speech event as advertising is not the main concern here — I assume that in most of the cases (if not in all) the recognition is quite easy and obvious for the audience.

⁹⁷ Frame is defined as a body of knowledge that is evoked in order to provide an inferential base for the understanding of an utterance (Levinson 1983:281).

interpreted as appeals, warnings, offers, promises, announcements and declarations. These are the most common types, which will be characterised and exemplified in the following section. Apart from that, several most common speech acts within the secondary situations are going to be presented.

Next, I shall attempt to show the variety of speech events applied in the commercials making use of secondary address and to characterise the most common ones. It will be shown that their application is determined by such a diversity of factors that it is virtually impossible to provide an extensive list of correspondences, relating a particular speech event to a particular strategy. However, the differences in terms of quantitative use of various speech events in Polish and English ads can be demonstrated.

Implicit in the announcements above is the focus on the illocutionary force as the basis for speech act classification. Consequently, it seems necessary to devote the final section of this chapter to a short discussion of the perlocutionary aspect of commercials, both in order to show certain general tendencies as well as to account for the shortcomings of any such analysis.

7.3. *What do the ads do?*

It has to be remembered that in the majority of commercials there are several different speech acts and that it is rarely the case that the speech event of advertising contains only one speech act. I have already mentioned several types of speech acts which we can come across in commercials, now I shall characterise each of them in terms of their illocutionary force (what they count as doing) and their felicity conditions. The taxonomy is based on several sources: Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1979), Bach & Harnish (1979), with a few modifications to highlight the differences between the particular speech acts described below. Announcements and declarations fall within the category of *representatives* (Searle 1979) or *constatives* (Bach & Harnish 1979), appeals and warnings would belong to *exercitives* (Austin 1962) or *directives* (Searle 1979; Bach & Harnish 1979), while promises and offers are characterised as *commissives* by all three sources. They can be defined as follows (S and H stand for speaker and hearer, respectively):

(1) Announcements

- inform about future event E,
- S believes that H does not know or does not remember that E will take place

- S believes that E will take place and wants H to believe that E will take place
- S knows that E will take place with or without H's participation
- counts as invitation by S for H to participate in E

(2) Declarations

- state proposition p
- S has evidence for the truth of p or believes in the truth of p
- S believes that H does not know or has to be reminded that p
- S wants H to believe that p
- counts as an undertaking to the effect that p represents an actual state of affairs

(3) Promises

- express future act A by the S or future state F
- S is able to do A or can guarantee F
- S believes that by uttering the promise he is obliged to do A or cause F
- S intends to do A or cause F
- H believes that S is able to, obliges himself to, and intends to do A or cause F
- S believes that H wants him to do A or F to take place
- counts as guarantee that S will do A or F will take place, which will be beneficial for H (usually if he follows the course of action suggested by the S)

(4) Offers

- express future act A by S or future state F
- S is able to do A or can guarantee F
- S believes that by uttering the offer he is obliged to do A or cause F, if H accepts
- S intends to do A or cause F, on the condition that H indicates that he wants S to do A or cause F
- H believes that S is able to, obliges himself to, and intends to do A or cause F, if H wants S to do so
- S does not know if H wants him to do A or F to take place
- counts as guarantee that S will do A or F will take place, if H accepts the conditions of the offer

(5) Appeals

- express future act A by H
- S believes that H is able to do A and that there is a sufficient reason for H to do A
- It is not obvious to both S and H that H will do A in the normal course of events on his own accord
- S wants H to do A
- S believes that it is in H's and indirectly also in S's interest for H to do A
- counts as an attempt to persuade H to do A

(6) Warnings

- express future event E or state F
- S believes that E or F is likely to occur
- S believes that neither E nor F is in H's interest

- it is not obvious to both S and H that E or F will occur
- there is a possibility of evasive action by H
- counts as an undertaking to the effect that E or F are not in the H's interest, or may have bad consequences for H

In advertising these speech acts have some additional colouring, connected with the type of communicative situation in which they function. Thus, announcements are usually connected with a stronger force than in unmarked cases, as they always invite, or sometimes even urge, the hearers to take part in the announced event. Let us consider the following example:

(7) (1) The KEY 103 concert connection

(2) With BARCLAYCARD

(1) Three outstanding voices. One heavenly sound. ETERNAL blast the Manchester Apollo on March the 3rd.

Call the ticket line on Manchester 832-11-11 or 242-25-60.

ETERNAL — live in Manchester.

[E03701-06]

We can see here that the announcement is strengthened by exaggerated statements ('outstanding', 'heavenly', 'blast'), to enhance the attractiveness of the forthcoming event, and later followed by an appeal to take some specific course of action as a response to the announcement. This sort of strategy is used in most of announcements found in the English data (18 in total). Among the Polish commercials collected for this analysis there are only two announcements, and they are of a different kind. Both of them announce the new edition of a weekly magazine, and can be treated more like offers for the audience to buy them. However, ads announcing events do occur on the Polish radio, they just happened to be absent from the sample of data analysed here, and they have a similar form to the English announcements.

There are several different types of declarations used in commercials, and they perform various functions, too. One of their uses is to communicate the fact that a given broadcast or event is sponsored by a given company. This information is aimed at evoking a feeling of thankfulness and gratitude towards the sponsor (which seems to be the desired perlocutionary effect), and can be treated as a kind of prestige advertising. It can be illustrated by the following example:

(8) The COMMUNITY LINE, sponsored by North London Railways

[E00106]

In this ad the Community Line is advertised, offering free publicity for charities, but at the same time it advertises North London Railways, who are going to pay for it. We come across 6 commercials including information

about the sponsors in the English data, whereas they are absent from the Polish collection. In the Polish ads some other form of prestige advertising is used — it just presents a very positive picture of a company, but without references to sponsoring. This does not mean, however, that we would not be able to find such commercials on the Polish radio today. A positive self-presentation of companies is used in 8 Polish and 6 English commercials and has the following form:

- (9) Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. został uznany przez jury *Gazety Bankowej* za najbezpieczniejszy bank Polski.
Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. — niewzruszona cisza skarbcia.

[P003]

- (10) The music you want and love to hear. We play all of your favourites. Counting 1170.

[E063]

The majority of these ads are used to advertise the radio stations which play them (10), but there are also such as (9), which promotes a bank. It may be also treated as an indirect offer to use the bank's services, while (10) can be seen as an invitation to listen to the radio station.

Another function of declaratives is to present certain information about the products to the audience and to make them believe it. Such declaratives cannot be really treated as offers, as no future event or state of affairs is presented, nor are details about the place and time of availability given. This sort of information is believed by the producers to influence the buyers' choices when they find themselves in the situation of purchase, facing a number of competing products. The following examples should make this function clear:

- (11) When you're hot, nothing satisfies like the cool, refreshing taste of DIET COKE.
DIET COKE — just for the taste of it.

[E03207-08]

- (12) *kosz na śmieci — mała rzecz, mała, lecz potrzebna
a reklama na nim, choć może trochę zgrzebna,
robi swoje, bo podwoje kosz otwiera przed wszystkimi
patrzcie więc na kosze, bowiem to reklama nie z tej ziemi.
mali, duzi, grubi, chudzi, zawsze coś tam wyrzucają
wyrzucając mrużą oczy, oglądają i czytają
i czytają, dotykają, oglądając wciąż od nowa,
bo zainteresowała ich ta reklama, he, ta koszowa*
Biuro reklam HARPOL, Budzyńska 20, telefon 489-402

[P035]

The truth value of these claims may be, of course, questioned, but they are what the advertisers want us to believe. The use of various persuasive strategies to enhance the trustworthiness of such messages has already been discussed earlier. When it comes to numbers, there are only 4 ads of this type in the English data and 35 in the Polish collection. There are, of course, many other declarative sentences in the commercials analysed in this thesis, but their primary function is in most of the cases different — they act most often as offers. It is only in this belief-shaping function (apart from the cases of prestige advertising) that I regarded them as declaratives. The big difference between the Polish and English ads in this dimension is attributable to the fact that there is not much product-only advertising in the English data. Even if particular commodities are advertised, they are usually presented in connection with specific offers available in certain shops, and thus constitute part of the conditions of the offer. In the Polish data, on the other hand, we find many commercials whose only function is to present a product, without stating anything about its availability. The hearer's role is to remember and believe the information presented in such an ad and use it appropriately in some indefinite future.

Bralczyk (1996) maintains that one of the major functions of advertising is to make promises. However, it can be demonstrated that a more important role is connected with presenting offers. There is an important difference between an offer and a promise, because in the act of promising the speaker must have a good reason to believe that the hearer wants him to fulfil the promise. If there is any doubt about it, we have to treat such an act as an offer. The hearer's willingness can be taken for granted when it comes to generally accepted conventions of what one always wishes for oneself. We can presuppose that the hearer will almost always want to be healthy, rich, happy, comfortable, attractive, successful and better off than others. If these features are the object of the pledge, then we can treat it as a promise. In some other cases, if the possession of a product or acceptance of an offer of a service by the hearer is presupposed by the advertiser, the claims made about them can also be treated as promises, but they function as such only within the framework of the offer. Indeed, sometimes the difference between a promise and an offer lies in the perspective that we apply for the analysis: something which counts as a promise in a secondary situation must be interpreted as an offer in the primary reading of the advertising copy. Let us see how the promises are accomplished in the commercials analysed in this thesis:

- (13) (1) Next time your phone rings, [phone] it could be us!
With up to one thousand pounds in cool, crisp cash.
To get your hands on our money, when you pick up the phone, don't say:

- (2) Hallo!
- (3) Hallo!
- (4) Hallo?
- (5) Hallo!
- (6) Hallo!
- (7) Hallo!
- (8) Hallo!
- (1) Don't say 'hallo', say 'the new 96.6 NORTHANTS FM is my station'. 'Hallo' gets you nothing, nothing, // *nothing**
- (2) // *The new** 96.6 NORTHANTS FM is my station
- (1) gets you the cash.

[E00401-07]

- (14) W leczeniu wszystkich waszych dolegliwości pomoże wam regularne zażywanie LINOKAPSU. To naturalny olej z nasion wiesiołka, który sprawi, że waszym organizmom będzie łatwiej zwalczać te i wiele innych dolegliwości.

[P06807-09]

Both these ads offer genuine examples of promises. In (13) large sums of money are promised and in (14) — health. A peculiar feature of promises in advertising is their conditionality: the desired outcome is guaranteed as the result of hearer's fulfilment of certain conditions, usually connected with buying and using the advertised product. In the Polish data we find more instances of promising (22 cases), probably the consequence of the bigger number of product ads. In the English data 14 examples of promises were found.

Offers are the most frequent speech acts in both Polish and English ads. They are found in the English data 67 times, compared to 59 in the Polish commercials. Most of them could be treated as promises, were it not for the fact that the advertiser cannot be quite sure if the hearers want what is being predicated about the future to happen. The actions or states of affairs can only take place when the audience accepts the offer. In the language of advertising offers also have their peculiar colouring — they usually entail exchange of the offered goods for the customers' money. There is always a certain price that the hearer has to pay, in connection to accepting the offer. This is closer to what Bach and Harnish (1979) call *bid*,⁹⁸ because in their understanding (and probably in our common understanding, too), an offer does not require the hearer to do anything. In advertising, however, we do not expect anything for free. Here are two examples of offers found in the English and Polish data:

⁹⁸ In one of the senses, as a kind of *offer* (Bach & Harnish 1979: 51), since the same term is used as a category name for the speech act related to *wishes* within the group of acknowledgements.

- (15) Ravel's passionate 'Bolero' is just one of nine romantic tracks on this month's CD "The All-time Valentine Greats" with the CLASSIC FM Magazine. Get more from your music with the CLASSIC FM Magazine. Available now at your Newsagent's.

[E043]

- (16) *komputery JTP, JTP, JTP*
Komputery firmy ADAX, drukarki, kasy fiskalne, gry, akcesoria komputerowe, raty, leasing, w hurcie i detalu,
Gdańsk, Ślaska 39 A, telefon 53-99-65.
Wystarczy Twoje "tak"

[P004]

In (15) a piece of information is used as an intensifier of the offer, while in (16) the commodities being offered are simply listed. In both cases the offer is implicit and has to be inferred by the hearer. It suggests itself as the first most relevant interpretation of these commercials, in the presence of details describing the place where the advertised goods can be purchased.

The second most frequent speech act is an appeal. Although in many cases plain imperatives are used to convey the illocutionary force, those acts cannot be treated as commands or orders, because the advertiser does not have appropriate powers to issue orders. In a reverse situation, commands expressed by parents often take a linguistic form of softened expressions, for instance conditional sentences. In the case of advertising, appeal seems to be the most appropriate word to describe the speech act which is so often performed by the advertiser. It often functions as a follow-up of an announcement or an offer, in an attempt to get an active response from the audience:

- (17) Spend a few pesos and get a great take-away meal at CHILLI-KING. Exciting Mexican food for all tastes, whether you like it spicy and hot or not. Be speedy and take away the real taste of Mexico, or relax and eat in CHILLI-KING, 28 Carsol Street, High Wycombe, next to the AA shop. Call CHILLI-KING now, on High Wycombe 53-99-55.

[E06601-05]

This ad is simultaneously an offer and an appeal to the audience to take advantage of it. In some less frequent cases the appeal takes the form of an advice, differing from the previously discussed cases in its bias towards the hearer's benefits. In appeals connected with the use of advertised products or services, the advertiser's interest is always implicit in the sense that we know that this is his source of profit. In the following example, although it is a case of product advertising, the hearer's health is foregrounded as the topic:

(18) DERMOSAN

Chroń swoją skórę, stosując DERMOSAN z filtrem przeciwsłonecznym
DERMOSAN --- zaprzyjaźnij się ze słońcem.

[P042]

Another difference between the former and the latter type of appeal is the ordering of the messages. In (18) the appeal is the first part of the ad, the advertised product appears only later, in the context and as a supplement of the advice. In (17) the offer is foregrounded, and the appeals to take advantage of it seem to have only secondary function, as the response to the offer. Maybe it will be more clear in the following example:

(19) "To be or not to be --- that is the question", but the answer --- aah --- the THEATRE ROYAL WINDSOR in Thames street, with shows constantly changing from classics to comedies, musicals to pantos and even tragedies. Call the box office for details of current and forthcoming shows on 0175-3853888. We look forward to entertaining you.

[E05101-04]

There are also a few appeals which cannot be included in any of the categories discussed so far, being connected with some social issues, important enough to be made conspicuous within the form of radio ads:

(20) Drinking and driving kills (sound of a crash).

Don't drink and drive.

[E009]

(21) For more information about HIV or other sexually transmitted infections, call the NATIONAL AIDS HELPLINE on 0-800 567-123.

[E07808-09]

In (20) the problem of drinking and driving is brought to the minds of the listeners, reminding them that it is a serious social problem and implying that following the appeal is seen as beneficial and important not only for the hearer, but for the whole society as well. (21) is taken from the standing details of an ad quoted already in earlier chapters, which is a part of campaign against AIDS, promoting safe sex and the use of condoms at the same time.

Warnings are not very common — we find only one example in the Polish and five instances in the English data. The warnings are present in the ads discussed above — they warn against dangers connected with unprotected sex and drunken driving, and together with the appeals present in those ads they constitute the whole message. The warnings and advices support each

other in creating the persuasive power of the ads. Other kinds of warnings are usually a part of commercials for insurance companies, whose products are designed to protect the customers against bad consequences of a future misfortune:

- (22) Zawsze może się zdarzyć, że twoje auto zniknie lub stanie się krótsze o parę centymetrów — dlatego już teraz pomyśl o ubezpieczeniu Auto-Casco, najlepiej w Towarzystwie Ubezpieczeniowym FENIX

[P08701-03]

In order to be effective, they often have to incorporate the warning into the whole message. A thing worth noticing in passing is the fact that very often such commercials are constructed in such a way that they imply that the advertised insurance is a sort of guarantee that the misfortune being mentioned will be prevented, it is never stated explicitly that the function of an insurance is to minimalise the losses of the customer in case of an unfortunate event.

Apart from these major types of speech acts which have been discussed so far, we can come across some other, less frequent kinds. In a few cases the commercials contain advice, but since the advice is usually somehow related to the advertised product, it can be also seen as an indirect appeal to purchase the product. In the same way, an invitation found in one of the English ads⁹⁹ can be treated as an explicit version of an announcement, since it has been postulated that announcements in ads usually count as invitations. There is one type of speech act, however, which differs from all the others mentioned so far. In ads broadcast in the period of Christmas or Easter we often find wishes for the listeners by the advertiser. Wishes belong to a different category of speech acts than the ones discussed so far — in Searle's (1979) classification they are *expressives*, whereas Bach & Harnish (1979) call them acknowledgements. Their secondary function is always connected with prestige advertising, as they are trying to create a positive self-image of the company among the audience, hoping that the listeners will receive the wishes in the same way as postcards with greetings from their friends and family. If the commercials analysed here were all recorded in the period just before Christmas, there probably would be many more similar ads than the three found in the Polish data.

Most of the examples of speech acts used in ads were quite direct and did not require much processing in their identification. There are, however, many cases in which the reading of what is uttered (mostly by the secondary

⁹⁹ An invitation differs from an announcement in that it makes explicit the S's request of H's presence in the advertised event.

participants) as a given speech act in the primary interpretation is not so straightforward, as the following examples illustrate:

- (23) (1) Dzień dobry.
 (2) Dzień dobry.
 (1) Proszę pana, // czy ja dostanę u pana...
 (2) // Nie, nie, niech pan nie kupuje u mnie*
 (1) terakotę*?
 (2) Nie kupuj!
 (1) Ale // glazu*...
 (2) // Nie ku*puj! Glazury i terakoty, zanim nie odwiedziś sklepu A.T. PORT.
 (1) A gdzie to?
 (2) W Gdańsku, Nowy Port, ulica Marynarki Polskiej 59.
 (1) A to nie tu?
 (2) Nie, nie, tam jest o wiele sympatyczniej.

[P009]

- (24) (1) It's a store... a department store...
 (2) you've got all your Christmas shopping there...
 (1) How many syllables?
 (2) What are you pointing at? (..) Oh, it's where you got my lovely new handbag!
 (1) And my sports bag, and dad's decanter, // and*
 (2) // And grand*ma's dressing-gown, uncle Malcolm's wine-rack, Rose's candlestick lamp
 (1) Mum's gold necklace, Keith's aftershave and Tony's Teddy!
 (2) First syllable cob... web..., oh, web...
 (1) Rhymes with web...
 (2) eb...?
 (1) Deb...?
 (both) DEBENHAM'S
 (3) Give the gift of Christmas at DEBENHAM'S!

[E085]

In (23) the hearer quickly realises that the shop assistant in the mini-drama is flouting the maxim of quality, and that his words have to be interpreted as a kind of joke, attracting the listener's attention. His untypical behaviour is the most salient feature of the ad, but it does not stop us from inferencing that what he says counts as an offer of purchase at the A.T. Port shop, which is supported by the declarative statement about it. The couple in (24) seems to be engaged in solving a crossword puzzle, but soon they start enumerating all sorts of different objects (as clues maybe?), and the audience realises that this must be a list of exemplary items which can be purchased at the advertised store, whose identity is revealed at the end of the commercial. That is why the listing of the items, together with the name of the shop has to be treated as an offer, paraphrasable in the following way:

(25) Debenham's department store offers to sell the listed items (and many others) to its customers.

As we could see in the examples (23) and (24), the potential variety of secondary situations seems to be without limits. In this situation it would be of little value to try to list and classify the speech acts occurring in them. On the other hand, it is possible to identify and describe the speech events in which these speech acts perform various functions.

In the case of direct advertising copies we can assume that the speech event of advertising is the one which presents itself as the most manifest. Such commercials do not pretend to be anything else but ads, even if they involve some register borrowings. In secondary type of address, however, we deal with situations characteristic for other than advertising speech events. This technique is used to make the ads more attractive, memorable, astonishing or exceptional. It would be interesting to see in what different costumes the commercials are disguised to achieve this aim.

First of all, it has to be pointed out that any attempt of categorisation here is extremely difficult, as the choice of various forms is limited only by the copywriters' invention and imagination. The only patterns which could be observed is the frequent use of testimony or advice by a secondary participant in the Polish commercials (11 and 6, respectively). I have found only one example of testimony-type in the English ads. It seems that in Britain the audience does not believe this type of advertising any more.

Generally, in comparison with the Polish commercials, the English ads use secondary situations and participants less often (24 cases altogether). The remaining three quarters prefer the direct form of address, which has already been accounted for in the chapter on deixis. Not surprisingly, the most frequent secondary situation is an ordinary conversation, without any particular situational setting which would influence the meaning of the message in any important way (6 examples). Speech events which are employed more than once include telephone conversation, thinking-aloud, story-telling and news report. We also come across such frames as quiz-show, lecture, letter, quarrel or haggling. Their recognisability as ads lies in the fact that each of them brings into the context the advertised product or service.

The same is true about the Polish ads, which use the secondary situations twice as often as the English commercials: 53 times. Ordinary conversation in various situational settings is used in 10 advertising copies, whereas distinct speech events used more than once include radio interview, telephone conversation, weather forecast and process description. Many of the speech events found in the English data are also present in the Polish ads, supplemented by sport commentary, patient-doctor encounter or attendance checking procedure.

The choice of particular speech events is sometimes contextually bound to the products being advertised. There is an observable tendency to advertise OTC drugs in the context of doctor's appointments, visits at the chemist's or, in less specific cases, within the problem-solution framework. In the latter instance, the reference to the problem is made first, followed by the solution provided by the advertised product. Food tends to be advertised in situations connected with eating — preparation of a meal or visiting a restaurant. However, in most of the cases the choices of particular speech events in secondary address copies are quite accidental and do not have anything in common with the commodity they advertise. They simply serve as one of the many possible forms in which the message could be presented. In this sense the choice of speech events is more related to the attractiveness of the ad than to some practical consideration connected with the nature of the product. The frame of a quiz show is used, for instance, to advertise an offer of a travel agent [E029] and window blinds [P007], while telephone conversation format is used to advertise cars [E031], [E047], a take-away restaurant [P051], telephones [P049] and OTC medicine [P081]. We also come across radio interview employed in the ad promoting beer [P098], quarrel in the ad for Sony PlayStation [E081], news report in the ad of Esso petrol stations [E033] and weather forecast in the ad of Twix candy bar [P078]. The stress is placed in the case of such commercials on exploitation of a new and interesting connection in an attempt to make the ad very attractive. By appreciation of the advertiser's ingenuity, the hearer is expected to develop a positive attitude towards him and the product. The world of advertising must be very surprising for the audience in order to maintain its saliency, and this can be achieved by constantly new combinations of entities and contexts. The possibilities are infinite, the only limit being human imagination.

7.4. The perlocutionary perspective

As it has been already signalled above, the analysis of speech acts in the perspective of their perlocutionary force meets certain difficulties. In the following section I would like to make an attempt to identify those problems and to suggest certain directions in the investigation of perlocutionary value of commercials.

First of all, we have to be aware that perlocution has not got such a well-established position in the pragmatic theory as illocutionary acts; indeed, it is often claimed that its precise status is not yet well known or described.¹⁰⁰ Perlocution is much more context-based and there are rarely any overt indicators (such as Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices — IFID's) of the intended perlocutionary effect in the utterances. We may only make certain predictions, based on inferences, that prototypically certain illocutions will be aimed at producing specific perlocutionary effects. This possibility will be applied later in the analysis.

Secondly, a distinction should be made between an intended and an actual perlocutionary effect. It often happens that a joke told in order to cause amusement misfires and results in embarrassment or offence, or that a threat characterised by deterring function brings just the opposite effects, due to someone's inborn or evoked stubborn attitude. As Kalisz (1993) writes, "the number of factors responsible for the discrepancy between the intended and the actual perlocutionary effect is so big, and their characteristics so complicated, that contemporary linguistic pragmatics sees no possibility of valid generalisations in this area".¹⁰¹

There is more hope when we focus our attention only on the intended perlocutionary effects. Since commercials include a large number of indirect speech acts, it seems that perlocution will have to be arrived at on the level of inferences. In this situation we will have to make references to the theories of implicit meaning, such as GP, RT or Leech's Politeness Principle (1983). Also, we are forced to view the commercials on the level of the ultimate sender and receiver, not within the secondary situations. If this is so, before any conclusions may be reached, we have to interpret and identify the illocutionary forces directed at the potential buyers or addressees of the commercials. Having done this in the previous section, we may try to suggest intended perlocutionary effects associated with the illocutions characterised above. Thus, announcements seem to be directed at inducing in the addressees at least willingness to participate in the advertised events, declarations function as attempts to change or supplement the beliefs and knowledge of the listeners about the products, manufacturers and sponsors, while offers and promises should give rise to desire in the potential customers to become owners of the advertised commodities, even if the actual commodity is better life or confidence.¹⁰² Some less frequent illocutions also seem to have intended per-

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Levinson (1983), Skowronek (1993), Kalisz (1993).

¹⁰¹ My own translation.

¹⁰² As Myers (1994) observes, advertising industry does not sell us soap or washing powder any more, nowadays the appeal is less direct and we are often offered such things as comfort or luxury.

locutionary effects associated with them: appeals, by stressing the addressee's own interest, provoke particular actions, warnings produce uneasiness and anxiety, which in turn lead to addressee's emotional response manifested in taking advantage of the offer seen as the necessary precaution, while the perlocutionary effect of wishes seems to be gratitude and positive attitude towards sponsors or producers.

The positive attitude may also be conceived in terms of a secondary effect of immediate responses connected with amusement, surprise or even shock. Indeed, amusement seems to be more and more desirable as the immediate response to advertising, as humour is one of the few features of commercials which the listeners are never fed up with. In the absence of other methods to attract the attention of the addressees, the advertisers very often have to resort to humour. It has already been discussed within the framework of GP, but many further examples of jokes used in contemporary advertising can be quoted. For instance, we have witnessed recently a whole advertising campaign based on jokes: in their commercials, the producers of HOOP soft drinks were including jokes sent over by the listeners.

As I have already observed, there is a potential discrepancy between the intended and the actual perlocutionary effect of an advertisement. In order to investigate the latter, one would have to present the commercials collected for the present work to a large number of people and to gather their responses to them in form of detailed questionnaires. Polish and English native speakers would have to be treated separately in such a study, which would seriously undermine its comparative value. Furthermore, in order to make the study more practicable, one would have to limit the number of commercials analysed in this way to a manageable portion — description of one's reactions to one hundred commercials seems to go beyond average person's patience and ability. Bearing all that in mind, I did not carry out this sort of research for the purpose of the present study. Instead, I chose to focus my attention on the intended perlocutionary effects, characterised above, and on their feasible connections with the actual reactions of the listeners. The unclear status of this connection has been quoted as one of the basic difficulties in the analysis of the perlocutionary component of commercials. However, there is one good argument supporting the hypothesis that in the case of commercials the intended and the actual perlocutionary effect must overlap to a large degree.

The aforementioned argument is related to the existence and prosperity of the advertising industry. If actual perlocutionary effects of commercials were not predictable, if they did not overlap with the intended ones, it would not make sense to advertise products and services. If the advertisers were not able to predict the reactions of the addressees, the production of commercials would be connected with unacceptable financial risk. There are, of course,

examples of unsuccessful advertising campaigns, but their proportion to those which succeeded in boosting of sales seems to be quite insignificant. If an advertisement is noticed, it usually achieves its intended effect, even if it is only a certain change of the listener's perception of the world.

Apparently, certain immediate perlocutionary effects may be deemed undesirable. It seems to be the case when commercials irritate their addressees for some reason. From my own experience, I can quote two examples of advertisements which, at the time of their broadcast, invariably were making me run to the radio and switch it off:

- (26) Rewelacja... za pięć złotych — aktywacja...
 Rewelacja... za pięć złotych — aktywacja...
 Rewelacja... za pięć złotych — aktywacja... (etc.)
- (27) Dalej, dalej, nie, dalej... to jest dalej, jeszcze dalej, tak, tak, jeszcze dalej, dalej...
 znacznie dalej, taaak, dalej, (etc.)

It was the annoying repetition of phrases which irritated me most, and this was also the reaction of many people I knew. It was interesting that both these commercials advertised the services of one of Polish mobile phone operators, CENTERTEL. This fact indicated that maybe it was not accidental that the commercials were annoying or irritating — it could have been the intention of the advertiser to provoke such reactions. This, however, must have been a means to some other end — irritation of potential buyers cannot be treated as the ultimate aim of the advertiser. It seems that in spite of the irritation (and maybe thanks to it), the information that the activation of the service costs only five zloty and that large areas (irritatingly large!) of Poland are covered by the network was quite successfully and powerfully planted in the listeners' brains. And this seems to be the main point here: in the situation of choosing a mobile phone operator we are unlikely to be driven by considerations connected with our reception of the advertisement; on the contrary, we will probably remember the advantages of the product and of the offer. Thus, instead of unintended perlocutionary effect of irritation we should probably be talking here of a long-term strategy connected with such advertisements, focused on memorability value of the ad. Every time we are faced with an irritating ad we should ask ourselves the question whether this is not the advertiser's indirect attempt to achieve some positive, in his view, reaction of the audience.

Theoretically, it would not be in the best advertiser's interest to overdo the intended perlocutionary effect if its only function is connected with attracting the audience. One may claim that if the amusement or shock caused by the reception of an advertisement is too powerful, the name of the product or the producer is likely to get lost or ignored. However, it very often happens in

such cases that, after the initial impression wanes, the addressees grow curious about the identity of the sender of such amusing or shocking messages and the positive association with the brand or company name is thus established. The effect is a little delayed, but the advertisers can rest assured thanks to the repetitiveness of commercials — they are broadcast with such frequency that everyone of us is exposed to them at least several times within one week (depending, of course, on how often we listen to the radio). Consequently, the potential discrepancy between the intended and the actual perlocutionary effect of commercials is not as significant impediment to the persuasive power of ads as it may initially seem.

The discussion of the perlocutionary aspect of commercials indicates that the necessity to confirm the hypotheses presented above by means of experimental investigation is not so significant in the case of advertising language. The existence of the advertising industry suggests that the intended and actual perlocutionary effects must be more or less the same.¹⁰³ Even in situations when some of them are delayed or mitigated by some indirect strategies, they seem to perform their role quite successfully. This does not mean, however, that experimental investigation is completely pointless — on the contrary, it would definitely render some very interesting findings. However, this lies beyond the scope of the investigation carried out in the present work.

7.5. *Conclusions*

The main difficulty connected with the analysis of commercials in terms of speech acts occurring in them lies in the determination of their illocutionary force. If we accept that speech acts can be classified according to the illocutionary forces associated with them,¹⁰⁴ we are still left with the problem of their correct interpretation. Since the language of advertising is to a large extent indirect, the identification of particular speech acts requires inference

¹⁰³ I am not talking here about the final perlocutionary effect in the form of buying the advertised product; in such a situation almost all commercials would be maximally effective and all producers advertising their products would significantly increase their sales, which is obviously not the case in the real world. I have in mind here the intermediate perlocutionary effects, such as memorization of the product name or amusement, which only potentially can lead to increase in sales.

¹⁰⁴ And not, for instance, in terms of perlocution, since it depends on the hearer and carries a large degree of uncertainty.

drawing, too. In this situation we can choose either GP or RT to account for the understanding of messages in commercials. Relevance Theory seems to be a good candidate for the explanation of our processing of ads. Their relevance depends heavily on the presumption that they are commercials, used to advertise and promote goods and services. This presumption makes us interpret an attendance checking procedure as an offer [P005] and an appeal not to do something as its own opposite [P025]. This is also the assumption behind the selection of the six major speech act types occurring in advertising, which were characterised and exemplified in this chapter. It is a widely known fact in the pragmatic theory that one sentence can perform various speech acts (cf. Grundy 1995:87–105). It seems that out of many possible interpretations the choice of the ones presented here is due to our application of the Relevance Principle (Sperber & Wilson 1986). It is our preference for the cognitive processes requiring the least effort in the perception and processing of stimuli. This is good news for advertisers, as they can be reassured that whatever they produce will be processed in the right way, on condition that the ad will be placed in a recognisable context.

Chapter 8

The integrated perspective

8.1. The case study

So far the discussion was oriented towards the theoretical frameworks which allow us to account for the tactics and the implicit meanings used in advertising. The commercials were only used to illustrate the strategies and points made in connection with them. In this chapter the situation will be reversed — a number of commercials will serve as a departure point for the analysis, to show how various strategies interact within a single ad to produce its final effect. In this way it is possible to demonstrate that commercials usually depend on interaction of a big number of factors, each of them complementing others in their persuasive function.

8.1.1. Chlorchinaldin

This is the ad for a throat pain relieving medicine:

- (1) (1) Wyobraź sobie, że boli cię gardło, pędzisz do najbliższej apteki, próbujesz spośród wielu różnych środków na ból gardła wybrać ten naprawdę najlepszy — nieszkodliwy i sprawdzony. Może to, może tamto, tego nie znam, nie, nie, nie, za drogie. W końcu gubisz się w tym, to pewne, więc w desperacji, zagubieniu, wyduszasz z obolałego gardła pytanie, które musi paść:
 - (2) Pani magister, co tak naprawdę jest najlepsze?
 - (3) Tak naprawdę? Najlepszy jest CHLORCHINALDIN.

- (2) Rzeczywiście, sprawdzony, skuteczny, znacznie tańszy.
Tak, wybrałem CHLORCHINALDIN, skuteczny od lat.
- (1) Zapoznaj się ze sposobem użycia, podanym na opakowaniu.
Producent — Polfa Rzeszów.

[P070]

The first thing the hearer notices is the 'parahypnotic' formula, suggesting certain feelings, conditions and actions. This is first evoked by the imperative form 'wyobraź sobie' and then by the use of the second person singular form of address mixed with the use of the first person singular ('tego nie znam', 'tak, wybrałem Chlorchinaldin'). The effect of this mixing is a diffused identity of both the sender and the receiver of the message, making it easier for the hearer to identify himself with the character depicted in the commercial. The advertiser adheres to addressing the audience as *ty* in the standing details part of the ad, which is consistent with the standard form found in Polish ads. Its function is to create an atmosphere of familiarity and closeness, quite important in the context of this commercial. The advertiser acts here as a good friend giving us advice what to do when we find ourselves in a difficult situation. The form *ty* can also be interpreted similarly to the English universal non-deictic *you*, suggesting generally acceptable behaviour in situations similar to the one presented in the ad. This further enhances the suggestive power of the commercial.

There are a couple of interesting things going on when it comes to the implicated and explicated meanings. One of the presuppositions, stemming from the use of the word 'próbujesz', is that it is difficult to choose the best medicament, which is later intensified by the statement 'gubisz się w tym'. The general picture of the throat pain relieving drugs market, to a large extent explicated in the first part of the ad, makes an impression of a messy puzzle, inaccessible and far too complicated for an average customer. It is combined with the implicature carried by the word 'naprawdę'. The implicature is that there are several categories of 'najlepszy' (the best), but only one of them is genuine. This first of all highlights the commonly perceivable truth that for different people 'the best' will entail different combinations of features, but at the same time suggests that there exists an ultimate and objective meaning of 'najlepszy' with reference to throat pain relieving drugs. This universal meaning is first explicated as 'nieszkodliwy' (harmless) and 'sprawdzony' (tested, verified), and later again as 'sprawdzony', 'skuteczny' (effective) and 'znacznie tańszy' (a lot cheaper). The first explication is quite interesting, as it foregrounds the fact that the medicament does not cause any harm, which is similar to saying that bread does not make you hungry. Its only justification lies in the fact that it implies that other drugs can be harmful due to their various side-effects. A similar implicature is carried by

the term 'sprawdzony', repeated twice in the ad, which implies that a lot of possible side effects and the true efficacy of new medicaments are not known yet, so their use entails greater risk. The most important feature of the drug — 'skuteczny', comes only as the third, but here some of the implicatures might be not so favourable for the advertiser. It is stated that Chlorchinaldin is effective, but we are not told in what exactly. It is recoverable as an implicature based on relevance — we conclude that it relieves throat pain (and maybe also cures its causes). But if we go on to make further inferences, we may come to the conclusion that if the advertiser does not state his claim explicitly, he is not able to prove it, so Chlorchinaldin may in fact turn out to be ineffective in what we think it should do. But this sort of implicatures are less salient than the one stemming from relevance, so not many people are going to derive them. The last component of 'the best' is stated in the form of an infelicitous comparative construction, which leaves us to supply its second part: cheaper than competitive drugs. Thus, the advertiser defines for us the meaning of 'najlepszy', but in fact many components of this definition depend on our inferences, so we become partly responsible for it. This gives the advertiser an excuse if any of those components are not in fact verified by our experience. Several other features of Chlorchinaldin implied in the commercial include its potential to save money and to bring back the joy of life.

Other strategies strengthening the advertiser's claims include the use of the word 'rzeczywiście', as well as the terms 'desperacja', 'zagubienie', 'obolałe' and 'wyduszasz'. The first one implies that what follows is the only logical and valid conclusion but the one that the speaker failed to notice, whereas the other lexical items present the situation as very serious, intensifying at the same time the healing power of the advertised drug. Another implicature, following from the whole situation presented in the commercial is that in cases of throat-ache we do not have to consult a doctor and that the ultimate authority on medicaments is 'pani magister'.

In terms of its structure the commercial is divided into two distinct parts: the body copy and the standing details. The body copy is further subdivided into two parts, which could be entitled as 'Before' and 'After'. This is a widely known formula, very often used in advertising, which contrasts the bleak and unhappy past with the bright future which is the immediate consequence of using the advertised product. The standing details mention the producer and refer the hearer to the instructions for use printed on the package.

8.1.2. *Twix*

This commercial starts in an untypical way, exhibiting clear features of register borrowing. Since the audience realises that it is an ad, they immediately change the perspective of understanding, temporarily shifting the relevance of the message to the world depicted in the ad:

- (2) (1) Po raz ostatni pytam, czy oskarżony powie nam, co było w środku?
 (2) Wysoki sędzie, w środku było kruche ciasteczko...
 (3) Oooooo...
 (4) TWIX — waniliowe lody z mleczną czekoladą. A w nich — kruche ciasteczko. Strzeż ich pilnie tego lata.
 (1) Sąd w świetle nowych faktów musi udać się na naradę w celu zbadania lodów TWIX
 (4) Lody TWIX — pamiętaj o kruchym ciasteczku.

[P079]

The introduction functions also as an attention-catching device, because it significantly deviates from an unmarked convention of advertising.¹⁰⁵ It exhibits a high condensation of context encoding, because on hearing only the first utterance we are able to identify the situation (a court trial), the participants (the magistrate, the defendant, possibly the public), and the context (there was some kind of crime, the magistrate is impatient, because the defendant has refused to answer his questions at least twice already, the thing which 'was inside' is vital for the case). The audience suddenly finds itself in the middle of the proceedings, but enough contextual clues are given to enable them unambiguously identify the situation. It is a frequent strategy in advertisements which use secondary participants, preferred to forms of external introduction of the situation. Although it requires some inferencing, the audience usually prefers freedom of interpreting to being told, and the advertisers are careful not to make the riddle too difficult.

As I have already remarked, in situations involving register borrowing the audience shifts the perspective of understanding to the imaginary world of ads. They look for the most accessible relevances of the messages within this world, and only later derive the implied conclusions valid for the ultimate understanding of the ad. This is a double-step inferencing, postulated by RT. Let us then analyse first the implicated premises, valid in the world of the court trial.

¹⁰⁵ If we agree that anything like this exists in a form of hearers' intuitions about a 'typical ad'.

The message which is foregrounded in this context is the fact that there was a 'kruche ciasteczko' (crunchy biscuit) inside. The importance of this information was earlier implied in the introductory utterance of the ad, and in the defendant's answer it occupies the prominent focus position, whereas the implicature that it is something unexpected and strange is triggered by the court audience's exclamation which follows the defendant's confession. We are not told inside what the biscuit was at first, as the prepositional phrase is left without its nominal complement. It is only made explicit within a short interval in the action of the body-copy, which for a moment brings us back to the real world. The imaginary judge evaluates the new information about the biscuit as sufficiently important to break up the proceedings and examine the Twix ice-cream. Another implicature connected with the relevance of the magistrate's actions suggests that the fact that the Twix ice-cream contains a crunchy biscuit inside might constitute a justification for what the defendant has done. One of the implied conclusions is that he has stolen Twix ice-cream, and that he will probably be acquitted of the charge, because who could resist stealing Twix, if it has a crunchy biscuit inside? These are the most relevant implicatures of the utterances, and since the advertiser does nothing to stop us deriving them or change them, we have to accept them as implied messages. All this is valid for the world of the ad. What about the real world, then?

The information about the crunchy biscuit is also foregrounded in the direct address of the audience, so the implicature that it is an exceptional and extraordinary feature of Twix is consistent with the implicatures arising from the imaginary world of the message. It is implied, since the message as a whole is an ad, that this feature makes Twix ice-cream more attractive and desirable than all other kinds of ice-cream. The ingredients mentioned in the ad imply that the product is not only very tasty, but also crunchy — a property used in many ads of various kinds of food. It is interesting to note in this context that crunchiness is in fact one of the top three properties used in ads of food,¹⁰⁶ although it does not refer to taste. The warning given later ('Strzeż ich pilnie tego lata') carries two implicatures — that Twix is so attractive that someone might be tempted to take one away from the hearer (derived partly from the secondary situation), and that Twix is a product particularly desirable during the summer, due to its cooling properties. In the slogan ending the commercial the information about the crunchy biscuit is repeated once again, to reinforce this arbitrarily chosen property of Twix as the most important one. One more implicature following from such reinforcements is that other ice-creams do not have biscuits inside them, and even if they do, they are not crunchy.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Leech (1966:152) and Bralczyk (1966:82-3).

The form of address used in the ad is consistent with the prevailing tendency in the Polish commercials. There is one persuasive use of presupposition in the direct part of the copy, which assumes that the hearer is already in possession of Twix ice-cream. When it comes to the structure, the commercial consists of a three-part body copy and a slogan. The first and the third part of the body copy constitute one whole, placed in the imaginary world, whereas the second part is a short real-world interval. What makes this commercial particularly attractive is the interesting interplay of inferences on two levels of implicated meanings.

8.1.3. *The Fidelity Money Builder PEPS*

A brilliant example of interesting advertising innovation comes from the following, fairly long ad in the English data:

- (3) (1) And now follows an appeal on behalf of the tax man.
 (2) Please, spare a thought for the tax man — a poor unfortunate who's been deprived of his income, first by PEPS then by TESSAS. Now there's another threat to his livelihood.
 FIDELITY MONEY BUILDER PEPS. With no entry or exit charges and a high return potential, people are succumbing to them all over the country. Already, they have devastated the tax man's profits. But it's not too late to help. So please, keep well away from the FIDELITY MONEY BUILDER range and give generously to the tax man.
 (1) If you're not feeling charitable, call FIDELITY free, on 0-800 41-41-71 for your free information pack. The value of units and income from them will fluctuate and your capital is not guaranteed. Tax savings and eligibility to invest in a PEP will depend on individual circumstances and may be subject to future statutory change. Money-builder products are subject to an annual management fee and offered by members of the FIDELITY Marketing Group, all of which are regulated by IMRO and the personal investment authority. FIDELITY only gives advice on the FIDELITY Group Product Range.

[E042]

It starts with a strange announcement, introducing a type of genre related in a way to advertising, so while it definitely acts as an attention-catcher, the audience is not sure what kind of message will follow. It is one of the rare examples of genuine register mystification, not recognisable as advertising at least at the very start. Then we hear a soft, funerary piece of music in the background and a sombre, reflective voice of the announcer, reading out the

message. The style brings to mind two genres: reflective death announcements and appeals for charity connected with some sort of catastrophe. The content of the message, however, is in sharp contrast with what would be expected as a genuine announcement or appeal, so the implicature following from now obvious flout of the maxim of manner prompts the audience that we deal with a form of parody, which can be justified only if the message is a commercial (or some form of satire). There are other clues leading to the same conclusion at the beginning of the message. We are confronted with an ironical personification of the tax man, presented as a 'poor unfortunate'. The implicature that this is irony derives from our knowledge of the world, in which the connotations of the term 'tax man' are quite different. Therefore we perceive the formulation as a flout of quality maxim, and given that the CP is adhered to, we conclude that the advertiser is being ironic. This fact immediately changes the audience's mode of understanding into a kind of opposite perception, where all that is said about the tax man is taken to mean just the opposite. The phrase 'deprived of income' usually has negative connotation, but within the context in which the audience now perceives the message, it is by all means positive and desirable for us, the taxpayers. In the same way the phrase 'threat to his livelihood' does not evoke in us feelings of compassion, but a kind of *Schadenfreude*. The same is true about the words 'succumb' and 'devastate'. The phrases with positive real world connotations, on the other hand, signal actions which would be most unwelcome for everyone. In the context of this commercial no one would be positive about 'helping' and 'giving generously'. This ironical framing continues even to the direct address part of the copy, where 'feeling charitable' is not what the advertiser expects his audience to feel. Within the double-step framework of processing we would first read the message at its face value, with all its implicatures, and then confront them with our knowledge of the world and reverse the conclusions arrived at earlier. In this situation, however, the quality flout approach seems to be more economical. We do not need to make two steps of inferences, replacing one with the other after hearing the whole message — this would require greater processing effort. Instead, the quality flout at the beginning of the ad functions as a trigger of a specific mode of perception, which is being applied to the subsequent utterances as the message continues. It allows us to select the items whose meaning or connotations have to be reversed, preventing us, for instance, from treating the phrase 'all over the country' as ironic and giving it a reverse interpretation. It is interesting, how well this selection is organised — the audience knows precisely which parts of the message are genuine and which are ironic. All this is signalled by the initial trigger — presenting the tax man as an unfortunate person, threatened by evil PEPS and TESSAS (tax-exempt investments). This gives the audience the hint to follow up only this one metaphoric figure, and to treat the rest of the message as genuine,

which is motivated by the absence of any other irony-related triggers. The humour of the ad lies in a big part in this juxtaposition of real world and the twisted perception of one of its objects. It is being reinforced many times throughout the ad, which wins the advertiser the audience's appreciation for his ability to build up a series of joking remarks on a single theme.

The formulation and immediate implicatures of the commercial give rise to further inferences, which seem to be relatively easy to retrieve in terms of the processing effort and hearer resources required. The most important of them is, of course, that the audience should invest their money in the new Fidelity Money Builder PEPS. This suggestion is reinforced by a number of other implicatures. One of them is that not investing in the PEPS is an act of wasting money, because instead of saving some part of it, we simply give it away. The ad implies, but does not state it, that the sort of investment it advertises allows the investor to subtract the sum of money he invests from the tax calculation basis. This information may be a part of many people's knowledge of the world, but there are also many individuals who are not aware of such methods of savings. The more indeterminate implicature in such cases will be that investments in PEPS reduces the amount of money one has to pay as his tax. Another implicature connected with it is that the savings can be very big — if investing in Fidelity Money Builder PEPS is capable of 'devastating' the tax man's profits, we must be talking big money. The same implicature is carried by the phrase 'high return *potential*'. The word in italics is important here, as it turns the 'high return' from explicature into implicature, in this way weakening the claim. The implicature that the investment system really works and has already proved to be effective is carried by the phrase 'who has been deprived of his income'. Some hearers may also conclude that there are no charges whatsoever connected with the investment ('no entry or exit charges'), as no other charge, apart from the two which were mentioned, comes to their mind.

The main implicature (the advice to invest) is additionally supported by inferences connected with general standard behaviour. If 'people are succumbing to them all over the country', it implies firstly that there are many of them (NB it is not stated!), and secondly that it is a wise thing to do in view of the implied premise. Many people are susceptible to this sort of 'herd behaviour manipulation', in following what others do without necessarily understanding or even approving of it. Further, because of the ironic framework of the ad, not following the commercial's appeal to invest in the PEPS appears even more silly and unreasonable than it would in the case of unmarked advertising suggestion. Nobody wants to be seen as the one who gives generously to the tax man out of his free will. Therefore, the strategy of ridiculing such behaviour enhances the persuasive power of the commercial. The amount of implicit meaning communicated in this commercial is quite

impressive, and a large part of it results from the ironic strategy applied as the main framework of the ad. It seems to be very economical in its potential of carrying more implicatures than a text not using the humorous flout of quality maxim.¹⁰⁷

Let us now investigate the significance of the standing details of the commercial in the context of the messages explicated and implied in the body copy. It is very easy to notice where the standing details part begins — it is marked by a distinct increase in speed of the message delivery. It starts with the words ‘The value of units. . .’ and includes a large number of details connected with the investment, some of which cancel the implicatures which were derived from the body-copy. The contrast between the two parts of the ad is very sharp and a couple of seconds must probably pass before the audience reset their cognitive perspective into a different mode of perception. The amount of information presented in this part is quite considerable and difficult to remember in its entirety. This is very likely to result in an incomplete understanding of the standing details part, and possible upholding of a number of implicatures which would otherwise be cancelled. Let us assume, however, that all the details will be processed attentively and see how this changes the message communicated in the ad. The first sentence of the standing details carries a very covert¹⁰⁸ implicature that we may in fact lose some money as the result of the unit value fluctuation and that there is some amount of risk connected with the investment. The explicature is less unpleasant, as it only boils down to the statement that our capital is ‘not guaranteed’.¹⁰⁹ The second sentence of the standing details implies that not everyone may be eligible to invest in the PEPS, and that there may be some changes in the possible tax savings introduced later as a new version of statutory rights. As such changes are usually unfavourable for the customers,¹¹⁰ this type of information is another factor which might cool down our initial enthusiasm. The third sentence brings one more, even less palatable (because it’s very concrete) disclaimer, that the investors will in fact have to pay a fee, whose amount is kept secret (because it would scare off another group of potential investors?). The last part of the standing details, the information that if we phone the advertised number we

¹⁰⁷ If a text is unmarked in its mode of communication it gives rise to a certain set of implicatures. If the same message is communicated in a marked way, there must be another set of implicatures justifying the use of the marked form, added to the ones already present.

¹⁰⁸ I call it ‘very covert’ because it stems from the maxim of quantity. Geis (1982) argues and Tanaka (1994) supports his claim that implicatures arising from the quantity maxim are less salient than the ones resulting from relevance.

¹⁰⁹ The implicature connected with this statement, stemming from relevance, is that although the capital is not guaranteed, it is nevertheless fairly safe, which strengthens the positive reading of the explicature.

¹¹⁰ Otherwise the possibility of profitable statutory changes would be clearly stated in the body copy, as another incentive to invest.

will only be advised about the Fidelity Group Product Range, for some people may imply that maybe there are other financial companies whose terms and conditions are better. The advertiser's unwillingness to give information about other organisations may simply be due to the fact that he does not have it, but it would not stop many people from drawing the conclusion presented above. Therefore, in confrontation with the standing details part, the message presented in the body-copy does not look so attractive any more. Nevertheless, we should take into account the fact that many people do not pay much attention to standing details, treating them as a kind of legal explication which has to be there, but does not influence the quality of the information in any way, while many others will not be able to notice or process the implicatures following from the disclaimers. In this situation we can assume that the attractiveness of the commercial resulting from its form and from the implicatures it carries will not be spoiled by the standing details part very much.

8.1.4. NAC windows

The last advertisement analysed in this chapter uses a formula of a song in the body copy. The parts of the ad which are sung are in italics:

- (4) (1) *As beadle of this orphanage I teach lessons night and day. All right boys, it's history first — double-glazing the NAC way*
(Boys) Oh, no!
- (1) *Now, remember the Cinderella sale with windows for twenty-five pounds? Offers like that happened long, long ago, won't happen again, I'll be bound*
Come along, lads, pay attention to me, window history is never a bore, Oliver Twist, what's the matter young man?
- (2) Please sir, I want some more!
- (1) More windows for twenty-five pounds, are you mad?!
- (3) You wanted more? We'll give you more. This weekend buy any two high-security thermally insulated windows from NAC's Cromwell Suite, and we'll give you a third fully fitted for just twenty-five pounds!
Cinderella sale 2 — the sequel, showing at NAC's showroom in Chaucer Street, this weekend
- (4) *Quality assurance guarantee, NAC conservatories, try Northampton 721133!*

[E002]

The form of the song can be also regarded as an attention-catching device, especially that this form does not occur very often in the English commercials.

It is also more natural to introduce secondary participants and imaginary worlds in a song, because it has connotations of a poetic mode of communication. The body-copy of the commercial is divided into two clear-cut parts: the first one in an imaginary 'orphanage', the second one in the real world. Let us investigate first the way in which the topic and the product are introduced in the secondary situation.

We deal here with a classroom setting in which we find the teacher ('the beadle of this orphanage') and a group of boys. So far the situation resembles the real world. But as soon as the subject of the lesson is introduced, we know what is being advertised. This inference is based on our knowing that 'double glazing' is a very unlikely topic for a lesson of history in a boys' orphanage. Further references are being made to the real world events (Cinderella sale), narrowing down the scope of possible advertised offers in the real world reading of the ad. There are two important implicatures following from this first part. First of all, the 'beadle' suggests that it is impossible nowadays that anyone would sell windows for twenty-five pounds, and that to expect it to happen is equal to madness. Such formulation serves the purpose of stressing how enormously attractive such offers were, which is the second implicature. Since we know that the message is an ad, we can instinctively feel that what the teacher considers impossible and too good to be true, is going to turn out quite real. In this sense the first part of this commercial acts also as a background, a reference point and an intensifier for the contents of the second part. What the teacher says about the possibility of such offers nowadays turns out to be a flout of quality, if we relate it to the real world. His interpretation of Oliver's question carries a presupposition that 'more' refers to windows, not to window history, which probably would not be the first relevant interpretation in the real world setting. The audience, however, usually do not question such assumptions as unreal, but try to find their immediate relevance in the context of a particular ad. The mention of *Oliver Twist* in this context is a part of stylistic technique, and the characteristics of the main voice-over in the first part, as well as the situational setting, bring to mind associations with tradition, evoke sentiments of the 'good old days' and nostalgia.¹¹¹

The second part functions in a way as a disclaimer for the impressions evoked in the first part, although nothing was promised there. The first part evoked only some kind of expectation that the advertiser was going to contradict the words of the secondary participant and to offer windows for twenty-five pounds each. The audience may be somewhat disappointed that in order to qualify for a twenty-five-pound window they will have to buy two fully priced windows first, but relating it to the first part of the ad and

¹¹¹ Cf. Stern (1992).

the claim that no one who is sane could expect such things, helps them to accept the disclaimer. Besides, the change of style from the song and the announcement mark the borderline between the imagination and the real world, whose laws are very down-to-earth and do not allow for things which are too extraordinary to happen. Apart from that, the contrast between the implied impossibility of offering windows for twenty-five pounds and the fact that NAC at least in part makes it true, reduces the disclaiming effect of the announcement.

When it comes to the strategies reinforcing the attractiveness of the ad in its second part, we could mention at least three. The question at the beginning of the second part of the ad simultaneously refers to Oliver's request and addresses the audience, presupposing that they 'want more'. Apart from that, we come across the deictic phrase 'this weekend', whose function is two-fold. First of all, it places the ad in the immediate context of the hearer's world and his plans for the future, and secondly it implies certain urgency. It suggests that if you do not take advantage of this extraordinary offer, you will miss your chance for ever. In fact, if we look at it closely, the advertiser does not state that the offer ends after the weekend referred to, it only states its availability during the closest weekend. This allows him to repeat the same offer next week, and the week after that, and maybe the next one, too. This possibility is inherent in the indeterminacy of the deictic expression, which is not modified in order to restrict the scope of the offer to 'this weekend only'. The use of the word 'sequel' brings to mind associations with cinema and films. Only films which were commercially very successful are followed by sequels. If we treat it as a metaphor, we will infer that the 'Cinderella sale' must have been very successful, too. Whether the sequel will be equally triumphant, we do not know. The associations with cinema might produce quite unwelcome inferences this time, as the sequels tend to be much worse than the original productions. The last strategy enhancing the persuasive power of the ad involves the choice of the style of the conditional construction. Instead of using the *if* clause, the advertiser applies the *imperative + and...* construction.

The return to the mode of the song at the end of the commercial closes the frame which was opened at the beginning. At the same time it also stresses the quality value (which implicitly refers to the windows) and gives the telephone number for those who would like to find out something more about the offer. All in all, among the many commercials of windows and conservatories, the NAC ad stands out as a good example of inventiveness of its creators.

8.2. Conclusions

It is my hope that the last chapter of this work devoted to the case study prove that out of all pragmatic meanings the implicit messages play the most important role in the persuasive function of advertising. At the same time, it could be demonstrated how various pragmatic strategies add up to produce the persuasive strength of advertisements. The way they complement and support each other is fully discernible only if we look at them from the perspective offered in the sections above.

I do not make claims that the analysis presented in this work is exhaustive. It has been suggested in many places that there exist other valuable frameworks of interpretation and explanation of the phenomena we find in the language of commercials. One aim of this work, however, seems to be achieved in full. I hope that I have succeeded in presenting the advertising language as a pragmatic phenomenon and, consequently, in demonstrating the applicability and explanatory power of the tools available to classical pragmatic theory.

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Appendix

The transcript of the advertisements

Symbols used in the transcription

CAPITAL LETTERS	-- Names of the products or advertisers
<i>italics</i>	-- The part of the text which is sung
<u>underline</u>	-- Overlapping fragments
VO	-- Voice-over
MB	-- Music background
SEF	-- Sound effect
(1), (2), (3), etc.	-- Marking of voice-overs
(.)	-- Pause (approx. one-syllable-long)
(..)	-- Pause (approx. two-syllable-long)
(2s)	-- Syllable length in seconds
(())	-- Unintelligible fragments
//	-- Starting point of overlap
*	-- Finish of overlap
^	-- Position of sound effects in the text

Number	Transcript	Notes
E00101 E00102 E00103 E00104 E00105 E00106	<p>If you're a charity or non-profit-making organisation and have an event you'd like to publicise free, contact the COMMUNITY LINE, sponsored by North London Railways. ^ Write to us, giving us at least ten days' notice, to The New 96.6 NORTHANTS FM, Broadcast Centre, Enterprise Park, Barton Green Road, Northampton, NN2 7AH</p> <p>The COMMUNITY LINE, sponsored by North London Railways ^</p>	<p>MB: lively, dynamic</p> <p>SEF: train horn</p> <p>SEF: train horn</p>
E00201 E00202 E00203 E00204 E00205 E00206 E00207 E00208 E00209 E00210 E00211 E00212 E00213 E00214 E00215	<p>(1) <i>As beadle of this orphanage I teach lessons night and day</i> <i>All right boys, it's history first — double-glazing the NAC way</i> (Boys) Oh, no! <i>Now, remember the Cinderella sale with windows for twenty-five pounds</i> <i>Offers like that happened long, long ago, won't happen again, I'll be bound</i> <i>Come along, lads, pay attention to me, window history is never a bore</i> <i>Oliver Twist, what's the matter young man?</i> (2) Please sir, I want some more! (1) More windows for twenty-five pounds, are you mad?! (3) You wanted more? We'll give you more. This weekend buy any two high-security thermally insulated windows from NAC's Cromwell Suite, and we'll give you a third fully fitted for just twenty-five pounds! Cinderella sale 2 — the sequel, showing at NAC's showroom in Chaucer Street, this weekend (4) <i>Quality assurance guarantee, NAC conservatories, try Northampton 721133!</i></p>	<p>MB: slow, rhythmical SEF: children's voices</p> <p>MB: faster, joyful</p>
E00301 E00302 E00303	<p>When the wicked winter winds, the hail, the rain and snow have tarnished and corroded and impaired your fair abode, leaving the timbers of your house an eyesore to the street, and you've found that endless coats of paint prove incomplete, give us a quick call on</p>	<p>no background</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E00304 E00305 E00306 E00307	784320, and we'll supply a product that'll lighten your work-load: Life-long lasting FACIA board of brilliant white UPVC, and we'll include free guttering and a ten-year guarantee. Furthermore, our fitters will work round the clock to suit you, (-.) Northampton, 784320. That's right, ring FACIA Future.	
E00401 E00402 E00403 E00404 E00405 E00406 E00407 E00408 E00409	<p>(1) Next time your phone rings, ^ it could be us! With up to one thousand pounds in cool, crisp cash. To get your hands on our money, when you pick up the phone, don't say: (2) Hallo! (3) Hallo! (4) Hallo! (5) Hallo! (6) Hallo! (7) Hallo! (8) Hallo! ^</p> <p>(1) Don't say 'hallo', say 'the new 96.6 NORTHANTS FM is my station'. 'Hallo' gets you nothing, nothing, // <u>nothing*</u></p> <p>(2) // <u>The new* 96.6 NORTHANTS FM is my station</u> (1) gets you the cash. Hallooooo... (Operator's voice) Please replace the handset and try again. (1) Don't say hallooo....</p>	<p>MB: deep sound SEF: phones ringing</p> <p>SEF: crash</p>
E00501 E00502 E00503 E00504 E00505 E00506 E00507 E00508 E00509 E00510 E00511	<p>(1) I love my work, eh, it's a jungle in the export department, I suppose you have to be the sort of person who thrives on pressure, huh, and it's not everyone's cup of tea, I can tell you, but — I love it. The tension, the uncertainty of wondering if packages have arrived safely, huh, I love that, and the glamour of international phone-calls at all hours of the night, oh, I love it, and the paperwork, oh, yes, especially the paperwork, I really love that! And also sifting through all the different charges, oh, collection charges, customs charges, oh, handling charges, oh, yes, oh!</p> <p>(2) Mr Jeffreys, time for your medication.</p> <p>(3) DHL — world-wide parcel express. We take care of everything, from your door to their door, with one quote, no hidden charges and no hassle.</p>	<p>SEF: room noises</p> <p>MB: optimistic, (5s)</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E00512 E00513	To find out more, call 0345-100-300. DHL --- we keep your promises.	SEF: whizz
E00601 E00602 E00603 E00604 E00605 E00606 E00607	^ It's good to know that there is a mobile digital network that can be tailored to meet your business needs. Orange calls are charged by the second and all orange price plans have inclusive talk time. That could make quite a difference to your business or personal mobile phone bill. So if you want to talk the business, talk orange. Call ELITE BUSINESS SYSTEMS, the Mobile Communication Centre, near Abington Square, on Northampton 60-44-44	SEF: phone ringing
E00701 E00702 E00703	If you're in business, you can drive a new MERCEDES-BENZ, from as little as 299 pounds a month, subject to status. Surprised? ARLINGTON of Northampton are full of surprises.	no background
E00801 E00802 E00803 E00804	With TELECENTRAL's new deal every call you make on a TELECENTRAL line at any time of day is cheaper than BT's standard tariff. That's a fact. To get connected, call TELECENTRAL ^ free, on 0-800 663-662 <i>Switch yourself over to TELECENTRAL, TELECENTRAL, the specialists</i>	MB: lively, dynamic (tune for words)
E00901 E00902	Drinking and driving kills. ^ Don't drink and drive.	SEF: crash sound
E01001 E01002 E01003	^ It's all about time at STEPHEN JEWELLER'S. The time is coming up to nine o'clock. Brought to you by MORRIS LA CROIX Swiss watches.	SEF: clock ticking (background for ad)

Cont.

1	2	3
<p>E01101 E01102 E01103 E01104 E01105 E01106 E01107 E01108</p>	<p>^ (1) We interrupt this break for an ALDI News Bulletin. (2)^ We have news of the cheapest way to eat out. In fact its so cheap, everyone's eating out. (3) What? (2) Yes, at your local ALDI store plaid travel rugs are 7.99 and seven-position garden relaxers are only 19.99. ^ Oh, and tool boxes for 4.99, garden forks and spades 4.99, and five litres of emulsion paint for only 5.99. For top quality and incredibly low prices ^ ALDI is the best news in shopping.</p>	<p>MB: orchestral, dynamic, (3s) SEF: birds and animals, garden sounds SEF: chainsaw MB: the same as in the beginning</p>
<p>E01201 E01202 E01203 E01204 E01205 E01206 E01207</p>	<p>CLASSICAL SPECTACULAR ... your favourite show's back at the National Bowl, Milton Keynes, on Saturday, the 13th of July. The Royal Philharmonic Concert Orchestra, Royal Choral Society, the Band of the Welsh Guards and cannons of the Seal Knots return with a thrilling new programme of classical favourites -- plus a biggest fireworks display ever, and a host of dazzling special effects. Book now at the box office 01908 23-44-66, and guarantee your place at the CLASSICAL SPECTACULAR of the summer.</p>	<p>MB: choir, orchestra SEF: cannon shots</p>
<p>E01301 E01302 E01303 E01304 E01305</p>	<p>Lots of carpet companies say they offer the best prices. At MJ GARLING we're almost certain our prices are the lowest, but here's our promise: If you can find the same perfect carpet cheaper anywhere in the UK within 30 days of purchase, not only will we refund the difference, we'll also give you 5 per cent cash back on the carpet.</p>	<p>MB: mild, dynamic</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E01306 E01307 E01308	There's no gamble when you buy carpets from MJ GARLING, heads you win, tails you win. For details visit the MJ GARLING showroom, the Old Chapel, Watling Street East, Towcester, just 6 minutes from Northampton.	
E01401 E01402 E01403	^ For your garden pond or indoor aquarium and all accessories, come to JILTON Aquatic Superstore at Poplar's Nursery, Toddington, just 300 yards from the M1 junction 12. Pop along soon.	SEF: air bubbling
E01501 E01502 E01503 E01504 E01505 E01506 E01507 E01508 E01509 E01510 E01511	<i>It takes team work to succeed, and commitment to achieve, To build, to pave the way, to bring more to you every day --- ALEXANDER'S</i> If there's one thing you'll find at ALEXANDER'S it's commitment. Commitment to our customers, and that's because when it comes to FORD cars in Northampton, we are the number one choice. We're working harder to give you the best service, the best choice and the best value. Our salespeople, our motorability specialists, our service and parts departments, our body shop, our rapid fit centre, all working together to achieve our one goal --- your complete satisfaction. <i>Bringing more to you every day --- ALEXANDER'S</i> ALEXANDER'S, Weston Favell Centre in Northampton ... making cars affordable.	MB: lively, dynamic (tune for words)
E01601 E01602 E01603 E01604	(1) If only you could have this much fun ^ haggling over the price of a hire car or van: (2) Look, I'll give you a camel and three bags of grain. That's my final offer. (3) (()) (2) OK, four bags of grain, but that's as far as I'll go!	SEF: marketplace noises, foreign language

Contl.

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E01605 E01606 E01607 E01608	(1) At BUDGET RENTAL CAR we want you to enjoy hiring a car or van from us. So we've come up with a new year barter. Whatever you need, however long you need it for, phone us and haggle over the price of your next hire car or van. It could be fun! To find out more, call BUDGET RENTAL CAR on Northampton 762-841.	no background
E01701 E01702 E01703 E01704	^ When you're out on business your office doesn't always know where you are. But your PERSONAL TELEPHONE NUMBER does. Join the personal communications revolution. Get your PERSONAL TELEPHONE NUMBER. Call one-call-connect on 0-7000 102-102, 0-7000 102-102.	SEF: phones ringing (background for ad)
E01801 E01802 E01803 E01804 E01805 E01806 E01807 E01808	^ What has a chicken got to do with new windows, doors or a conservatory? ^ Well, BEST BUY manufacture in their own factory, and fit the UPVC windows, doors and conservatories themselves. When you call BEST BUY, you're talking to a local company who'll give you excellent service. Call BEST BUY today on Northampton 40-79-79. So, what has a chicken got to do with new windows, doors or a conservatory? Absolutely nothing! BEST BUY, on Birch Field Rd East, Northampton, or call 40-79-79. Also in Kettering.	SEF: cackle SEF: cackle
E01901 E01902 E01903 E01904 E01905 E01906	^ (1) Aaaaah, oh, oh, that's nice, look at that! (2) Oh, nice touch. Is that Pine Fresh? (1) No, it's Country Garden. Oh, yes, feel the quality of that toilet paper, it's like a baby's bottom, that is. oh, yeah, uh... (3) Ehea, you gonna be long in there? Only other people wanna use it! (1) Just look at the grouting! (2) Oh, nice touch!	SEF: water dripping SEF: sniffing

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E01907 E01908 E01909 E01910 E01911 E01912 E01913	(4) The Swale Borough Council Cleansing Services were awarded the 1995 Charter Mark for the outstanding service and levels of hygiene in their public lavatories. Many of last year's 224 Charter Mark winners were nominated by people who wanted to show their thanks. You can nominate any public service from schools and hospitals to the police and libraries by calling us on 0645 400-444, or by picking up a leaflet from selected Main Post Offices or Tesco's. Charter Mark --- the people's mark of approval.	
E02001 E02002 E02003 E02004 E02005	^ Don't gamble with your future, or leave your next move to chance. Call this lucky number: free-phone infonet on 0-800 50-30-80. All the latest information on training, qualifications and career guidance, helping you to get new skills, advancing your job or improve your business. What have you got to lose? Free-phone infonet, 0-800 50-30-80.	SEF: roulette ball SEF: phones ringing
E02101 E02102 E02103 E02104 E02105 E02106	As a professional, you can spend so much time developing your career, but how much time do you spend on your personal life? Whether you're seeking friendship, companionship or marriage, AVENUES INTRODUCTIONS can help you find that special person. It's the safe and effective way to meet people, so don't leave your life to chance, make a choice, call AVENUES now on 0-800 122-122, 0-800 122-122.	MB: soft, reflexive
E02201 E02202 E02203 E02204	Come racing at Towcester this Easter Sunday or Easter Monday. Entry to the course starts from 4 pounds per person, while children under the age of 16 are free. Or, enjoy racing from the Centre Course picnic car park, 15 pounds car and occupants. Enjoy a great family day out, with free children's entertainment.	no background

Cont.

1	2	3
E02205 E02206 E02207	For season race-goers entry to the tatters halls is 8 pounds, and day members 12 pounds. Racing starts at about 2:15 on both days. Call Towcester Race-course on Towcester 353-414 for more information.	
E02301 E02302 E02303	(1) I like the music, erm, and er I like like er getting all the information, like the news is good, they play all my favourite music and well, what can you ask for? (2) The new 96.6 NORTHANTS FM.	MB: dynamic, drums
E02401 E02402 E02403 E02404 E02405	Book your summer '96 holiday at DAWSON & SANDERSON where we guarantee you'll get away with less to pay. With only 5 pound deposit you'll save up to a genuine 15 per cent off every single holiday we sell or free holiday and travel insurance. Ask for details now at DAWSON & SANDERSON. <i>Get away with less to pay</i>	MB: lively, dynamic
E02501 E02502 E02503 E02504 E02506 E02507 E02508 E02509	Sometimes things go right, your looks fade, then they come back. Was that a dry line you saw? Oh, no, but skin simply remembered in time to make its own plumping moisture. What skin did once, it can do again, and when it starts to forget Clinique's new MOISTURE-ON-CALL is here. MOISTURE-ON-CALL refreshes skin's moisture memory, helping to build a strong moisture barrier, to lock moisture in, environmental irritants out, leaving skin smoother and more resilient to fine dry lines. This is Anna Campbell for Clinique --- the good skin people who make the famous allergy-tested fragrance-free skin-care products. MOISTURE-ON-CALL at the Clinique counter now.	no background

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1	2	3
E02601 E02602 E02603 E02604 E02605	<p>(1) No matter how hard they try, no one beats the storming deals you'll find at SALFORD VAN HIRE, first and foremost with competitive rates. Look in tonight's <i>Manchester Evening News</i>, then reserve your van, ^ 0161 833-0771</p> <p>(2) SALFORD VAN HIRE</p> <p><i>Wherever you want to go, go with SALFORD VAN HIRE</i></p>	<p>MB: lively, dynamic</p> <p>SEF: dialling, phone ringing</p>
E02701 E02702 E02703 E02704 E02705 E02706 E02707 E02708 E02709 E02710	<p>(1) Rob Andrew, 70 games for his country, England's most capped fly half. Will Carling, 61 games for his country, England's most capped centre. The two golden boys of English rugby union ^ go head to head on Saturday, the 27th at Kingston Park, as Newcastle take on the Harlequins in the fifth round of the Pilkington Cup. Rob Andrew's first competitive game for Newcastle pits him against his former England team-mate, but neither of them will be wearing the old school tie for this encounter.</p> <p>Newcastle versus the Harlequins, Saturday the 27th at Kingston Park.</p> <p>(2) Please, use the Metro to avoid congestion, or follow signs to alternative car-parks on match day. Tickets, priced five pounds, available from the ground.</p>	<p>MB: soft, orchestral</p> <p>MB: changes into dynamic rock</p> <p>no background</p>
E02801 E02802	<p>Only CONROYS can offer clearance prices with no deposit, interest free credit and up to three whole years to pay. Ask for written details ... but it's this weekend only!</p>	<p>MB: soft, optimistic</p>
E02901 E02902 E02903	<p>(1) ^ I am now offering huge discounts on overseas summer holidays or 12 months to pay with easy-pay... ^</p> <p>(2) Easy LUNN POLY?</p>	<p>SEF: drums</p> <p>SEF: duck quack</p>

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1	2	3
E02904 E02905 E02906 E02907 E02908	<p>(1) LUNN POLY?! That's absolutely correct! Let's see what's on offer: Yes, there's huge discounts or choose a fantastic easy-pay scheme when you book your overseas summer holiday at LUNN POLY</p> <p>(3) Applies to brochured overseas summer holidays we offer with our insurance. Easy-pay, minimum spend 200 pounds, subject to status.</p>	SEF: fanfare, cheers
E03001 E03002 E03003 E03004 E03005 E03006 E03007 E03008 E03009	<p>(1) Wow! Wild!</p> <p>(2) You don't hear something like that every day. Look out for the Mountain Dew Couriers in their wild neon-green and smooth gear. They're still giving the discs out that give you the chance of winning a wild smooth experience of a snowboarding holiday to Italy, and a share of 1000 pounds. So, if you get hold of a disc, take it to Picadilly Gardens in Central Manchester this Saturday, between 11:00 and 3:00. This is Simon Walkington, I'll be there between one and two. Don't let a disc slip by you, experience Mountain Dew. The smooth and wild experience with KEY 103.</p>	SEF: fancy electronic sounds MB: deep single sound
E03101 E03102 E03103 E03104 E03105 E03106 E03107 E03108 E03109 E03110 E03111 E03112	<p>(1) Hallo, this is the VOLKSWAGEN Marketing Services Message Line. Please speak after the tone. ^</p> <p>(2) Oh, uhm, hallo, my name is Avril Gail. I've got a complaint to make. You see, I've always wanted a VOLKSWAGEN, so I've been saving, oh, a few years now, well, eight actually, for a Polo. I thought I was nearly there and then you brought out that lovely new one, so I went on saving. Last week I took all my money, 9218 pounds 56 p. out of the Building Society, and I went down to my local VOLKSWAGEN garage. You could imagine how excited I was. There in the window was the car of my dreams. I went in and asked the price. What a shock! It's only 7700 pounds! I... If only I had known, I mean, I could have had my car a whole year earlier! Why don't you tell people how little they cost? I felt such a fool with all that ^ money... and... oh!</p> <p>(3) VOLKSWAGEN — surprisingly ordinary prices.</p>	SEF: phone ringing SEF: beep SEF: several beeps

Cont.

1	2	3
E03201 E03202 E03203 E03204 E03205 E03206 E03207 E03208 E03209	<p><i>I just wanna make love to you...</i></p> <p>(1) Is it hot in here, or is it just me?</p> <p>(2) Oh, yeah, it's very hot.</p> <p>(1) I think we should join him for a drink!</p> <p>(2) Oh, that's a great idea!</p> <p>(1) Let's do it!</p> <p>(3) When you're hot, nothing satisfies like the cool, refreshing taste of DIET COKE.</p> <p>DIET COKE — just for the taste of it.</p> <p>Can help slimming or weight control only as part of a calorie-controlled diet.</p>	MB: jazzy, sixties style
E03301 E03302 E03303 E03304 E03305 E03306 E03307 E03308 E03309 E03310	<p>(1) We've been calling police force, the army and emergency services because today we're hoping to clear up the mystery of the recent big cat sightings. We have a positive sighting at a petrol station on the outskirts of town, and a very clear sighting in a supermarket car-park — again heading for a petrol station. There it is! ^ It is a big cat! And it's making its way towards the ESSO station across the road. I can see stripes! Yes, yes, it's a tiger! And it's going up to the price board, ^ oh, good heavens, the fuel prices are coming down, I don't believe it! Look at them fall! Tiger or no tiger, I'm filling my car up, right, boys?! ^ (2) Come on (())</p> <p>(2) The ESSO price watch is coming your way, bringing fuel prices down.</p> <p>^ ESSO price watch — the dawn of a new era in motoring.</p>	MB: news intro style, fades SEF: street noises SEF: roar SEF: roar SEF: shouts, noises, engine starts MB: electronic rhythm
E03401 E03402 E03403	<p>(1) For postmen, lollipop ladies and window-cleaners...</p> <p>(2) From MOBIL comes a new kind of Diesel that dramatically reduces black smoke emissions,</p>	MB: soft, peaceful

Cont.

1	2	3
E03404 E03405 E03406 E03407 E03408 E03409	(1) For pedestrians, cyclists and milkmen... (2) And it also gives you more engine power, (1) For paper boys and bus conductors... (2) MOBIL cleaner-burn Diesel Plus. Less smoke, more power and no extra cost, (1) For me and my children and for your children... (2) You don't just have to be a driver to appreciate it.	
E03501 E03502 E03503 E03504 E03505	The global video review on KEY 103 — every Friday evening at twenty past eight with me — Simon Walkington. The top ten, news of the best of the latest releases, and your chance to win the top ten movies on video. What a way to start the weekend! Don't start it without the global video review. The best family home entertainment guaranteed. With KEY 103.	MB: dynamic, rhythmical
E03601 E03602 E03603 E03604	(1) DISCOVERY data: (2) Musician Rebel XT rapped 674 syllables in 54.9 seconds, at the Harebare Recording Studios, Illinois. That's 12.2 syllables per second. For more hot data watch BOYZ TOYZ, fact-packed high-tech television, tonight at 9:00, only on DISCOVERY channel.	SEF: electronic signal
E03701 E03702 E03703 E03704 E03705 E03706 E03707	(1) The KEY 103 concert connection (2) With BARCLAYCARD (1) Three outstanding voices. One heavenly sound. ^ ETERNAL blast the Manchester Apollo on March the 3rd. Call the ticket line on Manchester 832-11-11 or 242-25-60. ETERNAL — live in Manchester. (2) The only card you'll ever need — BARCLAYCARD. With KEY 103.	SEF: electronic noises MB: Eternal songs as illustration SEF: electronic noises

1	2	3
E03801 E03802 E03803 E03804 E03805	Stand by. ^ Prepare. ^ Ireland's biggest folk-rock band is coming to town. The SAW DOCTORS. ^ The SAW DOCTORS rock the Manchester Apollo on the 10th of March. Call the ticket line on Manchester 832-11-11 or the box office on 242-25-60. THE SAW DOCTORS --- live in Manchester.	SEF: echo effect MB: The Saw Doctors songs as illustration
E03901 E03902 E03903 E03904 E03905 E03906 E03907 E03908 E03909	(1) If you thought you couldn't afford to double-glaze your house, you're wrong, because with SAFE-STYLE UK's amazing double-glazing double-saving deal you can. ^ (2) Now, at SAFE-STYLE UK when you buy the downstairs windows and doors for your home, they'll give you the upstairs free! ^ And with SAFE-STYLE UK interest-free credit is available. Ask for written quotations. ^ (1) But what if another company tells you they're cheaper? (2) Ha! Well, show SAFE-STYLE UK their quote and, like for like, they'll beat it! ^ For details of the amazing double-glazing double-saving deal, call SAFE-STYLE UK now, on 0-800 106-107, 106-107.	MB: soft, peaceful SEF: bang, music stops SEF: bang SEF: bang SEF: bang
E04001 E04002 E04003 E04004 E04005 E04006 E04007 E04008 E04009 E04010	(1) They want full surveillance. That's 24 hours, round the clock, we never close, open 7 days a week. (2) Robert de Niro. A master criminal. (3) I do what I do best. I take scores. You do what you do best --- trying to stop guys like me. (2) Now, for the first time. Two of the world's most electrifying actors collide in HEAT. HEAT --- a film by Michael Man, starring Al Pacino, Robert de Niro and Val Kilmer. (1) This crew is good. Ha! (2) HEAT. Now in a cinema near you. Rated 15. (4) You're going down!	MB: soft, distressing

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1	2	3
E04101 E04102 E04103 E04104 E04105 E04106 E04107 E04108	<p>(1) The KEY 103 concert connection (2) With BARCLAYCARD</p> <p>(1) One of the world's biggest groups are coming to town. BON JOVI are heading for Manchester. ^ BON JOVI — live at Main Road on Tuesday the 9th of July. To book call the box office on 0161 237-55-54. BON JOVI — it's time for a little rock'n'roll — live in Manchester.</p> <p>(2) The only card you'll ever need — BARCLAYCARD. With KEY 103.</p>	<p>SEF: electronic noises</p> <p>MB: Bon Jovi songs as illustration</p> <p>SEF: electronic noises</p>
E04201 E04202 E04203 E04204 E04205 E04206 E04207 E04208 E04209 E04210 E04211 E04212 E04213 E04214	<p>(1) And now follows an appeal on behalf of the tax man. (2) Please, spare a thought for the tax man — a poor unfortunate who's been deprived of his income, first by PEPS then by TESSAS. Now there's another threat to his livelihood. FIDELITY MONEY BUILDER PEPS. With no entry or exit charges and a high return potential, people are succumbing to them all over the country. Already, they have devastated the tax man's profits. But it's not too late to help. So please, keep well away from the FIDELITY MONEY BUILDER range and give generously to the tax man.</p> <p>(1) If you're not feeling charitable, call FIDELITY free, on 0-800 41-41-71 for your free information pack. The value of units and income from them will fluctuate and your capital is not guaranteed. Tax savings and eligibility to invest in a PEP will depend on individual circumstances and may be subject to future statutory change. Money-builder products are subject to an annual management fee and offered by members of the FIDELITY Marketing Group, all of which are regulated by IMRO and the personal investment authority. FIDELITY only gives advice on the FIDELITY Group Product Range.</p>	<p>MB: sad, elegiac cello</p> <p>no background</p>

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E04301 E04302 E04303 E04304	Ravel's passionate 'Bolero' is just one of nine romantic tracks on this month's CD 'The All-time Valentine Greats' with the CLASSIC FM Magazine. Get more from your music with the CLASSIC FM Magazine. Available now at your Newsagent's.	MB: Bolero
E04401 E04402 E04403 E04404 E04405 E04406 E04407	^Open WALLACE ARNOLD's European summer holidays brochure --- and it's just like being there. And then turn a few pages and you're ^travelling the waterways of the romantic Italian city of Venice. WALLACE ARNOLD offer great value holidays by air, sea, rail and luxury coach to over twenty beautiful European countries. ^Olé, we're in Spain! ^Pick up a WALLACE ARNOLD's summer brochure at any APTA travel agent. Now I'm off to Germany!	MB: French style accordion, opera solo MB: guitar flamenco MB: Bavarian brass band
E04501 E04502 E04503 E04504	(1) How about getting 20p off KELLOG's All Bran? Look out for coupons in selected daily newspapers. (2) This one is going straight in my wallet! (1) KELLOG's All Bran --- try it for two weeks, love it forever!	MB: very silent double bass
E04601 E04602 E04603 E04604 E04605 E04606 E04607	(1) ^ I hate this journey! (2) If there was a job that was more convenient for you, wouldn't you want to hear about it? Your CV with PEOPLE BANK can be called up on computers by millions of potential employers who match your details to their precise requirements, so when you're contacted, you're already on the shortlist. What's more, it's totally free to register with PEOPLE BANK. See the form in Saturday's <i>Guardian</i> , the <i>Mail on Sunday</i> , <i>Sunday Telegraph</i> and <i>Sunday Times</i> or free-phone PEOPLE BANK on 0-800 200220	SEF: car motor, horn no background

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<p>E04701 E04702 E04703 E04704 E04705 E04706 E04707 E04708 E04709 E04710 E04711 E04712 E04713</p>	<p>(1) Hallo, this is the VOLKSWAGEN marketing services message line. Please speak after the tone. ^ (2) I was wandering if you could help me. My wife needs a new car and she says she wants a VOLKSWAGEN Golf. Apparently, she's just read in some car magazine that they only cost 10,501 pounds. I think she's gone a little mad. Everybody knows they cost more than that! Well, otherwise you'd be advertising it. Golfs, from only 10,501 pounds! That sort of thing. Anyway, she's calling tomorrow to ask for a price list. Please, be gentle with her. Say you've run out, or something. She'll be so upset to find out she's wrong, that we can't afford one, because she's // <u>very highly strung</u>* (3) // <u>Who are you talking to?</u>* (2) Hello, darling, how are you? (..) Ehm, I'm... I'm... I'm just I'm seeing if John wants to go out for a drink, but I don't think he is in. Eh... no, there's no reply. I'll try again later. (4) VOLKSWAGEN — surprisingly ordinary prices.</p>	<p>SEF: phone ringing SEF: beep no background</p>
<p>E04801 E04802 E04803</p>	<p>Ladies! Buying a new 3-piece-suite? Make sure it has quality written all over it. You can even watch it being made. For craftsmanship at its best see the wide range of 3-piece-suites at HUGH GRANGE Furniture, 161 Desborough Road, High Wycombe.</p>	<p>no background</p>
<p>E04901 E04902 E01903 E04904 E04905 E04906</p>	<p>Here's an important message for used-car buyers. EVANS HOWESHAUW's massive used-car sale is now on. It's your chance to buy a genuine quality used car with genuine savings of up to 2,000 pounds on selected vehicles. There is no frills, no gimmicks, and no fancy offers. Just genuine cars at genuinely low, low prices. Choose from our vast group stock nation-wide. Don't miss out on EVANS HOWESHAUW's massive used car sale. On now, for a limited period, at London Road, High Wycombe.</p>	

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<p>E05001 E05002 E05003 E05004 E05005</p>	<p>Following the success of an 'ideal husband' — Oscar Wilde's classic comedy 'Lady Windermere's Fan' comes to the THEATRE ROYAL WINDSOR for two weeks only. You'll laugh at this brilliant comedy set amongst the wealthy London society. <i>The Sunday Times</i> says it was irresistibly glamorous. Performances run from the 11th to the 22nd of March, so you'll need to be quick. Call the box office now, on 01753-853-888.</p>	<p>no background</p>
<p>E05101 E05102 E05103 E05104 E05105</p>	<p>'To be or not to be — that is the question', but the answer -aah — the THEATRE ROYAL WINDSOR in Thames street, with shows constantly changing from classics to comedies, musicals to pantos and even tragedies. Call the box office for details of current and forthcoming shows on 0175-3853888. We look forward to entertaining you soon. ^ Thank you, thank you, thank you...</p>	<p>MB: recorder tune, Renaissance style SEF: applause</p>
<p>E05201 E05202 E05203</p>	<p>You could have luxury for so much less. LAKER AIRWAYS daily scheduled services — Gatwick to Miami start 21st of March. See your travel agent now.</p>	<p>MB: lively, modern</p>
<p>E05301 E05302 E05303 E05304 E05305</p>	<p>We operate a very caring farm and grow these birds traditionally without any antibiotics. A choice of 60 products of the most natural poultry around. From a whole bird to a small portion. Pop in to the farm shop and say "Howdo?" They're just through Chesham on the vale road past the Total garage, and two miles on the right. See our ad in the Bucks Examiner. CHESHAM VALE farm. You'll taste the difference, so see for yourself.</p>	<p>MB: folk style</p>

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E05401 E05402 E05403 E05404 E05405 E05406 E05407	<p>You don't have to go to New York to shop at BLOOMINGDALE's. There's a BLOOMINGDALE's in Pen. OK, we're BLOOMINGDALE's the florist and we overlook the duck pond, not Fifth Avenue. But, we have free parking available right outside the shop. If you want flowers for that special occasion, our fully trained staff can advise you. Weddings, parties, birthdays or a bouquet for that special occasion. With tele-florists you can send flowers around the world, and we take major credit cards. For high quality and special service, BLOOMINGDALE's of Pen. Call in or phone 01494 81-55-75</p>	MB: peaceful, optimistic
E05501 E05502 E05503 E05504 E05505 E05506	<p>Girls, it's time to be sensible and talk turkey. Turkey isn't just for Christmas. In fact, hot turkey is especially wonderful in the summer. ^ Being a sensible girl, I like to bake until golden brown all over and then jump in the pool to cool off. I got this recipe from the SUNWELL Turkey brochure. SUNWELL --- go for holiday to Turkey at the price that won't make your bank manager flap. Sensible SUNWELL, local flights and prices in May starting from just 129 pounds. See a travel agent.</p>	MB: oriental style
E05601 E05602 E05603 E05604 E05605 E05606	<p>If you're in business, you can't afford to miss 1170's BUSINESS WEEK. Every Monday night from half past six, we'll bring you the latest business news, views and interviews. Plus the up-to-the-minute <i>Financial Times</i> business report. 1170's BUSINESS WEEK, brought to you in association with CHARTRIDGE, the premiere location for business conferencing and training. For further details and the brochure telephone 01494 83-7771 CHARTRIDGE --- guaranteed to create a lasting impression.</p>	MB: dynamic

Conti.

1	2	3
E05701 E05702 E05703 E05704 E05705 E05706	All who love kitchens, love TORLANA kitchens. TORLANA provide only the highest quality European kitchens and appliances that are as individual as you. TORLANA will expertly design and install your new kitchen to the highest standards. Kitchens of such quality don't have to cost a fortune at TORLANA. Simply call us free on 0-800 146-182, or call in to our showroom at Darsham Walk of Chesham High Street. You deserve the best, you deserve a TORLANA kitchen.	MB: soft classical guitar
E05801 E05802 E05803 E05804 E05805 E05806	Have you considered paying your council tax by direct debit? At WYCOMBE DISTRICT COUNCIL it couldn't be easier. And if you're a direct debit customer from April the 1st, you can choose from one of four payment days to suit your budget. Make life easier paying your council tax and choose the day you pay. For more information, call the Council Tax Direct Debit Section on High Wycombe, 421-324, or call in to Wycombe District Council during office hours.	no background
E05901 E05902 E05903 E05904 E05905	Now you can buy a quality bed at a great price from the SLEEPSETTER's Store on the 814 London Road Lightwater. ^ So, if you wake up bright and breezy, don't delay because it's easy. The SLEEPSETTER London Road Lightwater is the largest stockist of (()) and pocket sprung beds, with over 50 beds on display, so for friendly service and good advice call us now on High Wycombe 538-988.	MB: soft, sentimental SEF: alarm clock, MB: lively, Mexican style
E06001 E06002 E06003	Maybe ^ the traffic is not flowing freely, but the prizes are! There are a million of prizes from WALKERS and PEPSI to be won at Total service stations in the great 'Star Wars' celebration. No purchase necessary. Pick up a leaflet at participating service stations.	SEF: car horns, street sounds

Cont.

1	2	3
<p>E06101 E06102 E06103 E06104 E06105</p>	<p>Choosing the right printer these days can be a worry. Will they have an understanding of my needs? will they adhere to their delivery dates? And will their prices be realistic? As a family-run business, FAIRPRINT High Wycombe Ltd. understand your concerns and are here to advise you. FAIRPRINT printing today with tomorrow's technology. Telephone 01494 565-381 today, and let us do the worrying.</p>	<p>MB: dynamic, blue</p>
<p>E06201 E06202 E06203 E06204 E06205 E06206 E06207 E06208</p>	<p>(1) Enjoy free removals with PHILIP GREEN & PARTNERS Estate Agents. (2) Sell your home with any of our three local offices and PHILIP GREEN & PARTNERS will pay for your local removal costs, using Gardner's Removals of High Wycombe. As advertised in a box free press, this offer is subject to availability on our usual terms. (1) For a free evaluation or further information, telephone PHILIP GREEN & PARTNERS on High Wycombe 45-10-10. (2) Get moving with PHILIP GREEN & PARTNERS.</p>	<p>no background</p>
<p>E06301 E06401 E06402 E06403 E06404</p>	<p>The music you want and love to hear. We play all of your favourites. Counting (2) 1170. If you own a Honda and are looking to sell or upgrade right now, BEACONSFIELD HONDA wants your used car. If your Honda is under five years old with less than 25 thousand miles we can give you a realistic price or part exchange deal. Call BEACONSFIELD HONDA now on 01494 675-272.</p>	<p>MB: dynamic, rock no background</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E06501 E06502 E06503 E06504 E06505 E06506 E06507 E06508	<p><i>HASLEMERE FOOD HALL -- the hall thats got it all...</i> At HASLEMERE FOOD HALL, Park Parade Haslemere, you'll find all the quality food you need for you and your family. HASLEMERE FOOD HALL has an on-site butcher, a bakery and a magnificent range of fresh fruit and vegetables on display. HASLEMERE FOOD HALL also stock wines, beers and spirits, and there's also a tobacconist. For your peace of mind HASLEMERE FOOD HALL have a roof-top car park with a lift to take you directly into the store. <i>it's a hall that's got it all -- HASLEMERE FOOD HALL...</i></p>	MB: optimistic, cheerful (tune for words)
E06601 E06602 E06603 E06604 E06605	<p>Spend a few pesos and get a great take-away meal at CHILLI-KING. Exciting Mexican food for all tastes, whether you like it spicy and hot or not. Be speedy and take away the real taste of Mexico, or relax and eat in at CHILLI-KING, 28 Carsol Street, High Wycombe, next to the AA shop. Call CHILLI-KING now, on High Wycombe 53-99-55. Hrrrrm... arriva, arriva!</p>	MB: lively, Mexican style
E06701 E06702 E06703 E06704 E06705 E06706 E06707	<p>(1) Go to Holland on half-board for three nights. Enjoy an included visit to the famous Kirkenhoff Garden Bulb Fields, the typical quaint Dutch town of Vollandam, a cheese farm, a clock factory and medieval Brugge. Departs locally April 25th and May 2nd, only 219 pounds. (2) Break of the week, with MOTS LEISURE, your local coach holiday operator, with pick-up points in High Wycombe, Amersham, Chesham, Beaconsfield and Aylesbury. MOTS LEISURE, 01296 33-66-66.</p>	MB: dynamic, lively

Cont.

1	2	3
<p>E06801 E06802 E06803 E06804 E06805 E06806</p>	<p>The FABRICAN SEWING CENTRE, new season's fabrics now arriving with prices from just 2 pounds 65 per metre. They offer the best selection of fashion fabrics for miles. Main agents for DMC and Anchor needle crafts together with a wide range of sewing patterns, crafts, haberdashery, knitting yarns and patterns. The FABRICAN SEWING CENTRE offers the best advice, price and quality service. Pop in and see us, we're at 170 Totteridge Road, High Wycombe, or call 01494 46-42-10.</p>	<p>MB: lively, dynamic</p>
<p>E06901 E06902 E06903 E06904 E06905 E06906 E06907 E06908</p>	<p>The area's largest range of new and used guitars has arrived. PLANET GUITARS of Blackwell Heath carry over a 100 guitars in stock at any one time. With a fantastic range of electric and acoustic guitars for all levels, from beginner to the experienced player, with friendly advice and guidance. PLANET GUITARS are specialists in part exchange, so whether you want to trade up or down or buy outright, PLANET GUITARS has something for you, at the best prices. Finance available subject to status. Call in now to PLANET GUITARS, Blackwell Heath, telephone 01628 524-777.</p>	<p>MB: dynamic, electric guitar</p>
<p>E07001 E07002</p>	<p>^A If you would like free publicity for your charity or non-profit-making organisation, write to 1170 local line, P.O. Box 1170, High Wycombe, Bucks, HP 13 6 YT.</p>	<p>SEF: bang, wind MB: modern, dynamic</p>
<p>E07101 E07102 E07103</p>	<p>Why wait till the weekend to have your hair done? With late-night appointments at IMPRESSIONS HAIR DESIGN in High Wycombe and Marlow you can keep your weekends free to do what you want. Call High Wycombe 525-050.</p>	<p>MB: rhythmic, dynamic</p>

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1	2	3
E07201 E07202 E07203	<p><i>MARTIN's Furniture, MARTIN's Furniture</i> <i>Totteridge Road, seven great frozen furniture bargains</i> <i>That's MARTIN's Store in Totteridge Road</i></p>	<p>MB: lively, dynamic (tune for words)</p>
E07301 E07302 E07303 E07304 E07305	<p>If you love jazz, you'll love NOW'S THE TIME, the 1170 AM jazz programme, Sunday evening from 6:00 to 9:00. Three hours of jazz to suit all tastes and a list of local live jazz venues, throughout South Bucks and East Berkshire. NOW'S THE TIME, the 1170 AM jazz programme, sponsored by PLAITS OF MARLOW, Ford main dealers, West Street, Marlow.</p>	<p>MB: quiet, jazzy</p>
E07401 E07402 E07403 E07404 E07405 E07406 E07407 E07408	<p>(1) My Dear, while you're away, I'll make sure the new conservatory's ready for your return. Fret you not, my little wimple! CAMELOT CONSERVATORIES are taking care of all the design, planning, the construction and decoration, leaving me to reign in peace. Why, the castle will be so much more comfortable with our high quality, individually designed hard-wood CAMELOT conservatory. I've even thrown out that awful round table your mother gave us as a wedding present. By the way, wasn't it kind of Lancelot to accompany you on your trip?</p> <p>(2) CAMELOT CONSERVATORIES, call 0-800 592-897.</p>	<p>MB: trumpet, Middle Ages style</p>
E07501 E07502 E07503	<p>Planning a holiday this year? Then tune into 1170's holiday programme GETAWAY and get away to wherever takes you fancy, whether it's around the world or at home, our experts have been there and will be here every week with advice to help you plan that</p>	<p>MB: dynamic, lively</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E07504 E07505 E07506	perfect holiday. GETAWAY, 1170 AM's holiday programme, Sunday, 11:30 to 12:00. Brought to you in association with TRAVEL TIME travel agents in Beaconsfield and Watlington.	
E07601 E07602 E07603 E07604 E07605 E07606 E07607 E07608 E07609	Don't buy any item of home entertainment from anywhere else until you check out the SONY CENTRE High Wycombe. Why? Because we'll beat the price on any new stock item you've seen elsewhere. That's right. We'll beat the price on any SONY TV or VCR, hi-fi or camcorder you've seen anywhere else. Come in and ask our experts for details. Don't forget the amazing SONY playstation and its new permanent price of only 129 pounds 99, now, at the SONY CENTRE. And you can get nought per-cent finance on selected items, subject to status, written details on request. For a great deal and expert advice, call in to the SONY CENTRE, 5 The High Street, High Wycombe, or telephone High Wycombe 521-382. Do not underestimate the power of the SONY CENTRE.	MB: dynamic, electronic, with fancy SEF's
E07701 E07702 E07703 E07704 E07705 E07706 E07707 E07708 E07709 E07710	<p>(1) This weekend VIRGIN and PILSNER URQUELL are into songs that are rocking the 90's</p> <p>(2) (()) rock, rocking the 90's <i>Yeye, are you ready...</i> (())</p> <p>(1) We're giving away 10 cd's and the original PILSNER every hour...</p> <p>(2) VIRGIN unbelievable</p> <p>(1) Plus --- someone to win a trip for two to party in Prague (()) Europe's coolest city...</p> <p>(2) (()) sure, rock, rocking the 90's (())</p> <p>(3) I don't think I've ever seen anything quite like this before.</p> <p>(1) It's a "rock of the 90's" weekend</p> <p>(4) From PILSNER URQUELL, the world's first pilsner, at 12:15 a.m.</p>	Many fancy SEF's and jingles

Cont.

1	2	3
E07801 E07802 E07803 E07804 E07805 E07806 E07807 E07808 E07809	<p>(1) If you're wondering what to give your loved one this Christmas, the following gifts are always worth considering: chlamydia, genital warts, or even gonorrhoea. At this time of the year, these little surprises are as common as ever, and although you may know of the need to protect against HIV, these other infections can be very serious, despite sometimes showing no obvious signs. Using a condom, of course, can help prevent their spread, so whatever you do give your partner for Christmas, make sure it's properly wrapped.</p> <p>(2) For more information about HIV or other sexually transmitted infections, call the NATIONAL AIDS HELPLINE on 0-800 567-123.</p>	<p>MB: tune of 'Jingle Bells'</p> <p>no background</p>
E07901 E07902 E07903 E07904 E07905 E07906	<p>ORANGE TALK AHEAD is for people who want to plan ahead. Attend, and you can now get a whole year on orange for just 149 pounds 99 r.r.p., including a MOTOROLA MR 30 phone, connection, and 15 minutes of standard monthly talk-time for a year. That's a saving of at least 115 pounds. If you want to save money by planning ahead, get TALK AHEAD at TANDY. For your nearest store, call 0-500 300-666</p> <p>The future's bright, the future's ORANGE.</p>	<p>MB: soft, quiet</p>
E08001 E08002	<p>VIRGIN SPORT, with WASH & GO</p> <p>For great results, every time</p>	<p>MB: dynamic, lively</p>
E08101 E08102 E08103 E08104 E08105	<p>INTER CHAMPAGNE and ^ fresh flower service. Champagne delivered anywhere in the UK from 24.95, fresh flowers starting from 14.95. Call now, on 0-800 614 390.</p> <p>INTER CHAMPAGNE, also the specialist in corporate gifts. If your company requires that extra special personal gift service, call 0-800 614 390.</p> <p>Corporate discounts are available.</p>	<p>SEF: champagne poured into a glass</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
<p>E08201 E08202 E08203 E08204 E08205 E08206 E08207 E08208</p>	<p>^ (1) I picked a man in Madison Square Garden, 'Hey, get this,' he says 'get me to "Judgement Night USA", it's exclusively live on SKY box office.' So I say 'Hey, who do you think you are, the Prince of England?' He says 'Yeah, and I'm in it.' (2) CONQUER AMERICA — a start on the 19th of December (1) 'Wise guy!' (3) Ring 099 0-800 888 to find out more about Prince Naseem's big SKY debut in the Big Apple. Cable customers, contact your local operator. (1) ^ OK, OK...</p>	<p>SEF: sounds of a street SEF: car horn</p>
<p>E08301 E08302 E08303 E08304 E08305 E08306 E08307 E08308 E08309 E08310 E08311 E08312 E08313</p>	<p>(1) Can I ring you back? At least one birthday this month... You're going to a wedding next June, a hand night in May, maybe yours? You are going to join a gym, you booked in for a hair cut, a waxing, a massage, there's a girls-night-out a week on Friday, you're already talking clothes and babies, but not yours, not yet, although now you think about it... Shoes, need new shoes, call him next week, wait till Wednesday though, don't wanna look too keen, cause you're not, frankly... Then you think you're no good at organising things, so, what about a pension? (2) Planning a SCOTTISH WIDOWS pension is a lot easier than you think. You can do most of it in just one phone-call. So, for sensible no-pressure advice on the right pension for you call 0345 678-910. ^ SCOTTISH WIDOWS, looking good for your money. SCOTTISH WIDOWS is regulated by the Personal Investment Authority, we only offer information and advice on SCOTTISH WIDOWS products. For your protection your calls may be recorded or monitored.</p>	<p>MB: percussion rhythm no background MB: percussion rhythm</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E08401 E08402 E08403 E08404	Face to face. VIRGIN presents ELTON JOHN and BILLY JOEL live... ELTON JOHN, BILLY JOEL, next summer, in Glasgow, Manchester and London. For tickets and information call the VIRGIN radio orange directory, 0976 100-500. Face to face, ELTON JOHN and BILLY JOEL live at 12:15 a.m. VIRGIN	SEF: crowd in concert, song fragments as illustration
E08501 E08502 E08503 E08504 E08505 E08506 E08507 E08508 E08509 E08510 E08511 E08512 E08513 E08514	(1) It's a store... a department store... (2) you've got all your Christmas shopping there... (1) How many syllables? (2) What are you pointing at? (..) Oh, it's where you got my lovely new handbag! (1) And my sports bag, and dad's decanter, // and* (2) // And <u>grand</u> *ma's dressing-gown, uncle Malcolm's wine-rack, Rose's candle-stick lamp (1) Mum's gold necklace, Keith's aftershave and Tony's Teddy! (2) First syllable cob... web..., oh, web... (1) Rhymes with web... (2) eb...? (1) Deb...? (both) DEBENHAMS (3) Give the gift of Christmas at DEBENHAM'S!	MB: lively, optimistic
E08601 E08602 E08603 E08604 E08605 E08606	(1) Today's railway story is brought to you by ^ HORNBY (2) Patiently, in the heat, a bit of it stands, a thoroughbred on a leash. Vivid green ^ railway coaches pulling out of Brighton station, ^ smoke, rising in the blue, sea glitterers like splintered diamonds, stately progression past cliffs bleached by sun. White birds ^ dive through the soft breeze, the buffet car beacons. (1) HORNBY Railways. Have you missed your train?	SEF: railway station SEF: whistle SEF: engine puffing SEF: seagulls

Cont.

1	2	3
E08701 E08702 E08703 E08704 E08705 E08706	<p>^</p> <p>(1) To illustrate the incredible 3D action of new STREET-FIGHTER EX I'm here at the Tattooed Arms, Glasgow, so here it goes...</p> <p>(2) Kilts!</p> <p>(3) Skirts more like, you're all raving transvestites!</p> <p>(())</p> <p>(1) New 3D STREET FIGHTER EX, on playstation, now.</p>	<p>SEF: pub noises</p> <p>SEF: punches, fights</p> <p>VO: Scottish accent</p>
E08801 E08802 E08803 E08804 E08805	<p>(1) At the VODAFONE shop sale we're taking 33 per cent off all our accessories and a wide range of mobile phones, including the NEC G-9. For details of our exclusive range of January offers visit your local VODAFONE shop, or call us direct.</p> <p>(2) With over 250 shops nation-wide the word is VODAFONE, the number is 0-800 10-11-12.</p>	<p>SEF: shouts</p> <p>MB: quiet, peaceful</p>
E08901 E08902 E08903 E08904 E08905	<p>(1) The Sale! (2) CAR-PHONE WAREHOUSE! (3) Save telephone numbers!</p> <p>(4) At the CAR-PHONE WAREHOUSE we're stepping up a gear and doubling the value of our sales, with double talk from ORANGE. ^ Buy and connect any ORANGE mobile phone to the talk-15 tariff, and you'll get double the amount of free calls every month for the first year — 30 minutes instead of 15. So you can spend twice as long on the phone.</p>	<p>SEF: fancy electronic noises</p> <p>MB: modern, electronic, dynamic</p>
E08906 E08907 E08908 E08909	<p>(3) ...so you can spend twice as long on the phone...</p> <p>(4) And with 10 per cent off all accessories and over half of our phones reduced in price, you'd better get here quick. The CAR-PHONE WAREHOUSE sale, where you get double the value. Call 0-800 925-925, or pop in and see us.</p>	<p>VO: voice on the phone</p>

1	2	3
E09001 E09002	What went up just came down. The best albums of '97, from only 10.99, now, at WOOLWORTH'S	no background
E09101 E09102 E09103 E09104 E09105 E09106 E09107 E09108 E09109	January sale is now on, and you'll be amazed at how much you can save. ARGOS have reduced the prices of TV's, audio-systems, 3-piece-suites, sofas, power-showers, Nicam video recorders, camcoders, vacuum-cleaners, fax machines, word processors, colour printers, exercise bikes, .hh (.) eh, hold it, hold it! There's hundreds of savings. I'm never gonna get them all in, even if you speed my voice up and up and up and up and up and up and up and up and up... So, why don't I just say that if you want to know what's down in the ARGOS January sale, pick up a copy of ARGOS-Plus. ARGOS takes care of it.	VO: faster and faster
E09201 E09202 E09203 E09204 E09205 E09206 E09207 E09208	(1) BIARRITZ — playground of the rich, with smart shops, fancy restaurants and tip-top beaches, it's miles away, and it costs a fortune. Ah, the RENAULT CLIO BIARRITZ with smart up-to-the-minute interior, fancy Philips stereo and tip-top tilt-and-slide sun-roof that both tilts and slides, it's just around the corner at your RENAULT dealer. It comes with free insurance and nought per-cent finance and costs you 7,895 on the road. So, with a CLIO BIARRITZ you'll be able to afford smart shops, fancy restaurants, . . . (2) Finance subject to status. Call 0-800 52-51-50 for written details. Certain conditions apply to free insurance. New RENAULT CLIO BIARRITZ.	MB: lively, cheerful
E09301 E09302 E09303	(1) Welcome to flight 015 to // Florida (())* (2) // Now let me see... seat 42A, 42B, 43A* . . . Joanna! (3) Rube! What are you doing on this flight?	SEF: sounds inside a plane

Cont.

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1	2	3
E09304 E09305 E09306 E09307 E09308 E09309 E09310 E09311 E09312 E09313 E09314 E09315 E09316	<p>(2) Checking that the seats are all here. What do you think I'm doing? I'm on my way to Florida!</p> <p>(3) That makes two of us!</p> <p>(2) Oh, I'm just thrilled!</p> <p>(3) I'm going to sizzle in oil for seven days, and all just for 404 pounds!</p> <p>(2) Well, your carcass needs cooking. Did you say 404? I paid 449!</p> <p>(3) Should have gone to GOING PLACES, for a VIRGIN Holiday.</p> <p>(2) Should have gone to GOING PLACES!... Oh, great! Tell me that just as the plane is about to take off and I'm trying to shove this seat-belt together...</p> <p>(3) Oh, just fasten it, will you?!</p> <p>(4) For huge discounts on VIRGIN brochure prices to Florida visit GOING PLACES, the holiday match-maker. Subject to purchase of GOING PLACES holiday insurance. Conditions apply.</p>	
E09401 E09402 E09403 E09404 E09405 E09406 E09407 E09408	<p>^</p> <p>The words 'rush-hour' and 'traffic jam' were coined in New York in the 1890's. ^ In 1905 Silvanus F. Bowser invented the petrol pump. ^ Now, presumably shortly after the free glass promotion.</p> <p>This information is brought to you ^ by SUDAFED, the simple way to clear congestion without causing ^ drowsiness. SUDAFED contains pseudoephedrine to unblock stuffy noses fast, especially after colds ^ and flu. Ask your pharmacist for advice and read the label.</p> <p>SUDAFED — the unblocker.</p>	<p>MB: percussion</p> <p>SEF: passing car</p> <p>SEF: police whistle</p> <p>SEF: police whistle</p> <p>SEF: car passing</p> <p>SEF: police whistle</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
E09501 E09502 E09503 E09504 E09505 E09506 E09507	<p>(1) I invited him for a coffee. He says, 'I don't drink coffee'. 'Just as well,' I said, 'cause I haven't got any.' So, anyway, one thing led to another, he wanted to stay the night, but he didn't have any condoms. 'No way,' I said, 'I don't know where you've been, anyway, I don't think either of us should risk getting HIV or anything like that. You'd better call yourself a cab.' He said, 'Oh, I don't have to go home, do I?' 'Yes,' I said, 'unless you can find a 24-hour garage.'</p> <p>(2) For more information or advice about safer sex in confidence, call 0-800 567-123.</p>	no background
E09601 E09602 E09603 E09604 E09605 E09606 E09607 E09608 E09609 E09610 E09611 E09612 E09613 E09614	<p>(1) High temperature the whole day... (2) What a lightweight! (1) Blinding headache... (3) Ohhhh... (4) Are you OK? (1) Keeps throwing up... (2) He's just hammered (1) He thinks it's flu... (3) Oh, no... (1) His friends think it's drink... (2) Leave him, we'll be late... (1) But it's meningitis. ^ Don't ignore a mate who's feeling seriously rough. Get it sussed. Ring the meningitis research foundation 24-hour helpline on 01454 41-33-44. If there's a rash which doesn't fade under pressure — get help immediately.</p>	<p>no background</p> <p>SEF: bang</p>
E09701 E09702 E09703 E09704	<p>(1) You'll see sights no cinema-goer has ever seen. STARSHIP TROOPERS is more than a movie. It's the experience that one day we'll all have... It's not even a new year, and already <i>The Guardian</i> is calling it the biggest, loudest, most audacious and entertaining science-fiction block-buster of the year.</p>	SEF's (noises, shooting) and MB from the film

Cont.

1	2	3
E09705 E09706 E09707 E09708 E09709 E09710	<p>It leaves you giddy with excitement, see it, be amazed, and then see it again, says 'Total Films'.</p> <p>STARSHIP TROOPERS is on a whole other planet ... says 'The Face'.</p> <p>You'll go in a raw recruit, you'll come out a hero.</p> <p>Take a glimpse into the cinema of the future. STARSHIP TROOPERS.</p> <p>(2) Previews -- New Year's day, nation-wide -- January the 2nd. Graded 15.</p>	
E09801 E09802 E09803 E09804 E09805 E09806 E09807 E09808 E09809	<p>(1) Famous quotes, part one. ^</p> <p>(2) I see you stand like greyhounds in the slits, straining upon the start, the game's afoot, follow your spirit, and upon this charge, cry God for Harry, England and Saint George.</p> <p>(3) William Shakespeare</p> <p>(4) To come anywhere near the VOLVO's level of power and performance you need a big capacity six-cylinder engine. And even then it's doubtful they'd have its mid-range pull. 'What car' magazine -- the new VOLVO S40 T4, from 20,530 pounds. Ring 0-800 11-40-40 for further details, or to arrange a test-drive.</p> <p>(1) 20,530 pounds -- now, that's what I call a quote.</p>	SEF: sounds of battle
E09901 E09902 E09903 E09904 E09905 E09906 E09907	<p>(1) OK... click here... yup! and wait... come on... come on!</p> <p>^ (2) Why waste precious time waiting to download? With a BT ISTN line, you can access data much faster, saving your time and aggravation. Every week BT install over two thousand ISTN lines. And now, with our special offer, you can connect to our start-up package for just 99 pounds.</p> <p>(1) ooooh, <i>why-are-we-wai-ting...</i></p> <p>(2) Why not call BT now, on free-phone 0-800 800-800</p>	SEF: beep MB: quiet, classical
E10001 E10002 E10003 E10004 E10005	<p>(1) CUCUMBER man says:</p> <p>(2) Hot in the office? Why pay around 90 pounds a week to rent a mobile air-conditioner, when we'll rent you one from under 5 pounds a week? That's right, from under 5 pounds a week. Still think air-conditioning is a luxury? Huh, hm. Dial 100 and ask for free-phone CUCUMBER quickly.</p>	no background

Number	Transcript	Notes
P00101	<i>kupuj BIAZET</i>	MB: lively, rhythical (tune for words)
P00102	<i>telewizor kolorowy</i>	
P00103	<i>kupuj BIAZET</i>	
P00104	<i>Telewizor dla Ciebie i całej rodziny</i>	
P00105	<i>zdalne sterowanie ma pilotem</i>	
P00106	<i>wyświetlanie funkcji na ekranie</i>	
P00107	<i>programowe wyłączanie odbiornika po zaniku programu</i>	
P00108	<i>polski produkt</i>	
P00109	<i>bardzo tani</i>	
P00110	<i>atrakcyjna cena</i>	
P00111	<i>estetycznie wykończony</i>	
P00112	<i>perfekcyjny odbiór</i>	
P00113	<i>ekran w różnych gabarytach</i>	
P00114	<i>ma obraz w obrazie</i>	
P00115	<i>i wersję stereo</i>	
P00116	<i>telegazeta</i>	
P00117	<i>czterdzieści programów</i>	
P00118	<i>taki telewizor BIAZET szybko sobie kup</i>	
P00201	(1) Jesteśmy na ulicach Trójmiasta i nie pytamy pierwszego napotkanego przechodnia ani	SEF: street, cars
P00202	drugiego tylko trzeciego:	
P00203	Proszę pana, czy pan słucha...	
P00204	(2) Słucham radia PLUS cały czas, od rana do wieczora nic	
P00205	innego nie robię, tylko siedzę, leżę, wiszę, słucham radia PLUS, cała moja rodzina	
P00206	zaangażowała się, proszę pana, w słuchanie radia PLUS, i od rana do wieczora nic	
P00207	innego nie robią, tylko siedzą, leżą, wiszą i słuchają. Przyjechał niedawno taki brat,	

Cont.

1	2	3
P00208 P00209 P00210 P00211 P00212 P00213 P00214 P00215 P00216 P00217 P00218 P00219 P00220 P00221 P00222 P00223 P00224 P00225 P00226 P00227 P00228 P00229 P00230 P00231 P00232 P00233 P00234 P00235 P00236	<p>proszę pana, do mnie ze Śląska, tam to, normalny facet, tam mieszka, pracuje, tam coś kopie, kopalnie, ale on to od rana do wieczora siedzi i wisi i słucha tego radia. No to ja mu mówię, żeby tam wyszedł i z psem, bo to potrzeby ma, normalny pies, zwierzę, no, żeby tam wyszedł na spacer, mówi: nie, proszę pana, siedzi, leży i słucha tego radia. No, dzieciaki to samo, to, to w ogóle... Małego mam takiego jednego, tam trzy latka, siedzi i słucha też od rana, starszy jest — mam trójkę dzieci — ale ten najstarszy to mówi — tamtych didżej już tam poznaję po głosie — jeden, mówi, to blondyn jest. Ja mówię — skąd możesz wiedzieć, że blondyn, no didżej jak didżej, to może być brunet, może być blondyn, nieważne jak wygląda, ważne jak mówi. Ja wiem — mówi — a ten mówi jak blondyn, no to oaaaa, to, to on tak mówi. Ale mnie się wydaje, że, w każdym bądź razie, to jest cudowne radio, to jest świetne radio, tego się słucha od rana do wieczora, tam są po prostu, jakby robić taki, taką ankietę, to, to nie tylko w Trójmieście, no, no w całej Polsce, co ja mówię, w całej Polsce, jakby tam rozumieli, o czym oni mówią w innych krajach, to też by tego słuchali, nic innego. To by powyanczali... Sąsiad, na przykład, ma też takie radio, po drugiej stronie bloku, on mieszka w bloku, to jak normalnie on se kupił żaluzje jakiś tam, nie będę mówił, bo to się robi ta reklama, to, to nie wolno mówić, ale on sobie zamknął te okno tymi żaluzjami, i ja nie mogę słuchać, bo mi się popsulo, tam głośnik coś wysiadł, ale // teraz...</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(1) // <u>Ale*</u>...</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(2) ...proszę <u>pana*</u></p> <p>naprawiłem to znowu // <u>słucham, to jest...</u></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(1) // <u>Ale... chwilkę — ja*</u>...</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(2) ...<u>cudowne radio*</u>, proszę // <u>pana*</u></p> <p>(1) // <u>Ale ja*</u>, ale ja nie, ale ja nie o to chciałem zapytać... (2) (2s) ...A o co? O co pan chciał zapytać? No przecież ja wiem, no przecież pan chciał zapytać o... Proszę pana, radio PLUS to jest najlepsze radio, nie tylko w Trójmieście, ale na całym świecie. Słuchamy go od rana do wieczora z całą rodziną. Moja żona to w ogóle jest zakochana w takim jednym...</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">fade out</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P00301 P00302 P00303	Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. został uznany przez ^ jury Gazety Bankowej za najbezpieczniejszy bank Polski. Powszechny Bank Kredytowy S.A. — niewzruszona cisza skarbcza.	SEF: police siren SEF: clock ticking, light echo effect (inside a vault)
P00401 P00402 P00403 P00404 P00405	<i>komputery JTT, JTT, JTT</i> Komputery firmy ADAX, drukarki, kasy fiskalne, gry, akcesoria komputerowe, raty, leasing, w hurcie i detalu, Gdańsk, Śląska 39 A, telefon 53-99-65. <i>Wystarczy Twoje 'tak'</i>	MB: 'Peer Gynt' by Grieg (tune for words)
P00501 P00502 P00503 P00504 P00505 P00506 P00507 P00508 P00509 P00510 P00511 P00512 P00513 P00514 P00515	(1) EURODOM, sprawdzam obecność dywany PCV (2) obecne (1) chodniki, wycie// <u>raczki</u> * (2) // <u>sa</u> * (1) wykładziny (2) atesto// <u>wane</u> * (1) // <u>listwy</u> * wykończeni// <u>owe</u> * (2) // <u>jesteśmy</u> * (1) korek ścienny, podłogowy (2) jest (1) parkiety, deski (2) <u>jesteśmy</u> (1) aaaa, boazeria (2) wyszła do łazienki	no background

Cont.

1	2	3
P00516 P00517	(1) nie czekamy: wszyscy na podłogę! Lup!... Niel... Pół! Wszystko na podłogę! EURODOM Gdańsk — Zaspą, ulica Kilńskiego 52, Hangary Meblowe	
P00601 P00602 P00603	Dwadzieścia cztery i pół godziny na dobę Dwadzieścia cztery i pół godziny stereo 67.07 MHz — radio PLUS	MB: electric guitar, soft
P00701 P00702 P00703 P00704 P00705 P00706 P00707 P00708 P00709 P00710 P00711 P00712 P00713 P00714 P00715 P00716 P00717 P00718 P00719 P00720 P00721	(1) Czy gra pan dalej? (2) Tak (1) A widzi mnie pan? (2) Widzę, nie widzę, widzę, nie widzę, // <u>widzę, nie widzę*</u> (1) // No, no, no*, to do... do... dobrze, blisko Poziome i pio(.)/nowe* (2) // pionowe* (1) Jasno i // ciemno* (2) // ciemno*, tak (1) Dziesięć lat gwarancji... (2) ... gwarancji... tak (1) Dwieście rodzajów materiałów (2) ... tak (1) Niskie ceny (2) ... tak (1) Aluminiowa szyna, lakierowana na biało... (2) Wiem! Żaluzje! (1) Brawo! (3) Jakość, której oczekujesz. Deko-System S.C. Gdańsk, ulica Paula Anki 110 B, telefon / fax 52-37-36 (2) Tak!	no background

Cont.

1	2	3
P00801 P00802 P00803 P00804	<p><i>gdy jest Ci smutno, nie jesteś sam dzisiaj na ten problem lekarstwo mam zrób głośniej radio i poczuj luz radio, radio PLUS</i></p>	MB: hard rock style (tune for words)
P00901 P00902 P00903 P00904 P00905 P00906 P00907 P00908 P00909 P00910 P00911 P00912	<p>(1) Dzień dobry. (2) Dzień dobry. (1) Proszę pana, // <u>czy ja dostanę u pana...</u> (2) // <u>Nie, nie, niech pan nie kupuje u mnie*</u> (1) <u>terakotę*</u>? (2) Nie kupuj! (1) Ale // <u>glazu*</u>... (2) // <u>Nie ku*puj!</u> Glazury i terakoty, zanim nie odwiedziłeś sklepu A.T. PORT. (1) A gdzie to? (2) W Gdańsku, Nowy Port, ulica Marynarki Polskiej 59. (1) A to nie tu? (2) Nie, nie, tam jest o wiele sympatyczniej.</p>	SEF: shop noises
P01001 P01002 P01003 P01004 P01005	<p>(1) <i>tak świeżo, tak przyjemnie, skąd ja to znam?</i> <i>czym pachnie ten pan?</i> (2) <i>HATTRIC, HATTRIC...</i> (1) <i>ten zapach za mną chodzi,</i></p>	MB: lively, rhythmical (tune for words)

1	2	3
P01006 P01007 P01008 P01009 P01010 P01011 P01012 P01013 P01014	<p>nie mogą się uwolnić, (2) <i>HATTRIC, HATTRIC...</i> (1) i marzę by codziennie (2) <i>HATTRIC, HATTRIC...</i> (1) ten zapach za mną chodził wciąż, uwodził mnie Na gwiazdkę (2) <i>HATTRIC...</i> musisz go mieć.</p>	
P01101 P01102 P01103 P01104 P01105 P01106 P01107 P01108 P01109 P01110 P01111 P01112	<p><i>dzień noc pogania, obiad, śniadanie, praca, dom, praca, czas nie zawraca,</i> <i>dobrze, że jest...</i> <i>troski, marzenia, nic się nie zmienia, makijaż nowy, a jak to zrobić?</i> <i>dobrze, że jest...</i> <i>Twoja najlepsza PRZYJACIÓŁKA</i> <i>co tydzień bierzesz ją do ręki i chwilę czasu jej poświęcasz,</i> <i>a warto, bo ona wiele wie,</i> <i>Twoja najlepsza PRZYJACIÓŁKA</i> <i>samo życie na stronie każdej,</i> <i>w szczególności, w smutku, bliska jak żadna, przyjaciółką zawsze jest</i> <i>Tygodnik PRZYJACIÓŁKA od poniedziałku w kioskach —</i> <i>Twoja najlepsza PRZYJACIÓŁKA</i></p>	<p>MB: soft, reflexive (tune for words)</p> <p>chorus: more lively</p>
P01201 P01202 P01203 P01204	<p>(1) Znaleźć sposób na życie W najnowszym numerze FILIPINKI — poszukiwania, pasje, rozczarowania. (2) Tu wasz Chris o poranku — każdy poszukuje swojego przystanku Alaska (3) Nie mam pomysłu na małżeństwo</p>	<p>MB: soft, reflexive</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P01205 P01206 P01207	Chcę wiedzieć, co ludzie mają w środku ... robię im zdjęcia. (4) Poezja i proza życia. (5) FILIPINKA --- to lubię!	
P01301 P01302 P01303 P01304 P01305 P01306	<i>czarno, szaro dookola, wielka, ciemna plama</i> <i>już nie widać wcale ludzi, tylko jakaś masa szara</i> <i>nie, nie, nie, krzyczą kolory żywe,</i> <i>pokaż innym, że żyjesz, pokaż innym, że żyjesz</i> <i>krzyczą kolory żywe, kolory żywe, kolory żywe...</i> Kolorowy dotyk BENETTONA, Piłsudskiego 24	MB: lively, dynamic
P01401 P01402 P01403 P01404 P01405 P01406	Zaufanie w sprawach finansowych buduje się na solidnym fundamencie. Nie ma lepszego dowodu zaufania, jak powierzenie komuś własnych pieniędzy. Bank Zachodni S.A. to sprawdzony partner. Ponad cztery miliony ludzi związało swój los z Bankiem Zachodnim. A zaufanie nie jest przecież modą. Przyszłość należy do nas.	MB: soft, peaceful
P01501 P01502 P01503 P01504 P01505	<i>(1) tajemnicza, piękna, smukła jak pantera</i> <i>biżuteria, strój zapiera wszystkim dech</i> <i>(2) Kotku, kto Cię ubiera?</i> <i>(3) La Pantera --- to mój sklep.</i> <i>(4) Sklep z ekskluzywną odzieżą damską i biżuterią.</i>	MB: rhythmical (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P01506 P01507 P01508 P01509	Jakość, wdzięk i styl La Pantera Wita Stwosza 3... Wita Stwosza 3... Bądź drapieżna na piękno --- La Pantera (3) La Pantera to mój sklep.	
P01601 P01602 P01603 P01604 P01605 P01606 P01607	Dziadek Mozarta codziennie pił kawę Zaraz, zaraz, ojciec Mozarta: też codziennie pił kawę, a żona Mozarta codziennie rano podawała mu kawę ^ [only first few bars] Poznaj genialny smak, pij codziennie kawę AMADEUS kawa AMADEUS cię natchmie ^ [music resumes] Kawa AMADEUS ---- genialny, inspirujący smak ^	no background MB: Eine Kleine Nachtmusik no background MB: Eine Kleine Nachtmusik SEF: applause
P01701 P01702 P01703 P01704 P01705 P01706 P01707 P01708 P01709 P01710 P01711 P01712 P01713	PIZZA HUT ---- legenda amerykańskiej pizzy ^ (1) Bardzo smaczna była pizza, zjedliśmy z całą rodziną i bardzo nam, bardzo nam smakowało, miła obsługa, jesteśmy zadowoleni, często tu przychodzimy (2) Bardzo mi smakuje, dobrze przyrządzona, bardzo lubię na grubym cieście ^ z PIZZA HUT za pan brat PIZZA HUT wspaniały smak czy już wiesz, co byś zjadł? PIZZA HUT, PIZZA HUT	MB: optimistic SEF: restaurant noises MB: resumes (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P01801 P01802 P01803 P01804 P01805 P01806 P01807 P01808	<p>Drogie Panie, oto CHLORYNKA! <i>(1) gdy wokół brudu w bród, CHLORYNKA sprawi cud</i> <i>każdej plamie radę da, choćby miała i sto lat (2) ooooo!</i> <i>(1) do zmywania, wybielanuia, do czyszczenia i do prania</i> <i>czy brunetka, czy blondynka, kupi ją... bo co?</i> <i>ach, bo to CHLORYNKA</i> <i>tak jest, CHLORYNKA ^</i> Czyszczi zamiast Ciebie — CHLORYNKA</p>	MB: lively, enthusiastic (tune for words) SEF: applause
P01901 P01902 P01903 P01904 P01905 P01906 P01907 P01908 P01909 P01910 P01911	<p>Z pozoru drobna dolegliwość jamy ustnej często staje się wielkim problemem. Stany zapalne dziąseł oraz przyzębia, opryszczka i afty są dokuczliwe i nieznosne. Krwawienie z dziąseł podczas mycia zębów lub jedzenia to pierwsze objawy chorób przyzębia. Nie lekceważ tych sygnałów. Stosuj TOŁPA CHAMOSALDONT ŻEL. Jest skuteczny w leczeniu stanów zapalnych dziąseł oraz przyzębia, opryszczki i aft. Eliminuje dolegliwości bólowe. Dostępny w każdej aptece bez recepty. TOŁPA CHAMOSALDONT ŻEL pomoże! Przed użyciem zapoznaj się z treścią ulotki</p>	MB: soft, relaxing
P02001 P02002 P02003	<p>(1) Najpierw proszę usiąść! (2) Dziękuję... (3s) Kupuję! (3) HAZE — krzesła i fotele biurowe, które kupuje się bez zbędnych słów. ^</p>	SEF: shop noises SEF: sound of wood against wood

Cont.

1	2	3
P02101 P02102 P02103 P02104 P02105 P02106	(1) Proszę państwa, wiosna, lato, jesień, zima, opony GOODYEAR'a są najlepsze są, no. (2) Zawsze są najlepsze (1) Tak jest! Balon, dystrybutor opon GOODYEAR, Strzegomska 36 <i>oooooh, GOODYEAR is OK, GOODYEAR</i> (1) GOODYEAR jest OK!	MB: lively, enthusiastic
P02201 P02202	(10s) ^ (10s) BMW --- radość z jazdy ^ BMW Maruszewski --- Lubieszyn 1B, telefon 11-85-46	MB: lively, dynamic SEF: motor sounds SEF: slamming of car door
P02301 P02302 P02303 P02304 P02305 P02306 P02307 P02308	Podanie do zawodnika w spodenkach za milion dziewięćset tysięcy złotych. Zawodnik w kurtce za dwa dziewięćset przyjmuje piłkę, wykopuje na lewe skrzydło, podbiega piłkarz w kamizelce za dwa miliony siedemset tysięcy, dalekie podanie, zagranie głową -- jest! Przecena, to zagranie zdecydowanie o zwycięstwie LEDERA. ^ LEDER, LEDER, publiczność szaleje, LEDER, przecena do czterdziestu procent. Sklepy LEDER, Krzywoustego 4, Bohaterów Warszawy, naprzeciw targowiska Tużyn. Prawdziwa przecena u LEDERA	SEF: stadium noise MB: lively, dynamic
P02401 P02402 P02403 P02404	(1) <i>taki sprzęt, co zachodu jest wart</i> (2) <i>uuuuu...</i> (1) <i>kupisz tylko w Twoim sklepie SKARD</i> (2) <i>uuuu//uuuu...*</i> (1) // <i>SKARD marzenia twoje spełni</i> <u>dom odmieni Ci <u>zupel</u>*nie</u>	MB: rhythmical, optimistic

Cont.

1	2	3
P02405 P02406 P02407 P02408	<p><i>Tylko SKARD, tylko SKARD, tylko, tylko, tylko, tylko SKARD SKARD, Piłsudskiego 7.</i></p> <p><i>// Powiedzmy otwarcie ... najkorzystniej w SKARDZIE!*</i></p> <p><i>// powiedzmy otwarcie ... najkorzystniej w SKARDZIE!*</i></p>	
P02501 P02502 P02503 P02504 P02505 P02506 P02507 P02508 P02509 P02510 P02511	<p>(1) Ludzie, nie kupujcie kanadyjskich drzwi zsuwanych do zabudowy wnęk JM Komandor, (2) które mogą być dopasowane do każdego rozmiaru (1) i pomieszczenia, (2) z lustrem kryształowym.</p> <p>(1) Nie kupujcie tych eleganckich, (2) nowoczesnych (1) i wygodnych drzwi.</p> <p>(2) Nie kupujcie, bo drzwi Komandor są niesamowicie funkcjonalne (1) i tanie, (2) z pięcioletnią gwarancją.</p> <p>(1) Nie kupujcie drzwi, które mogą upiększyć biura, hotele i każde mieszkanie.</p> <p>(2) Nie dzwońcie pod numery telefonów 226-229 i 34-40-18.</p> <p>(1) Omijajcie ulicę Lipową 5/6 w Szczecinie,</p> <p>(2) bo jeśli nie, (both) to kupicie</p> <p><i>JM KOMANDOR wykończy Twoje mieszkanie</i></p>	<p>MB: weak, dynamic</p>
P02601 P02602 P02603 P02604 P02605 P02606 P02607 P02608	<p><i>gdy wiatru pełne żagle i siłą je poskromić,</i></p> <p><i>gdy bryza czule szepta i światło igra w toni,</i></p> <p><i>plynmy więc jak Krzysztof Kolumb,</i></p> <p><i>stopę wody wąż pod kil</i></p> <p><i>zapach morza pozostanie,</i></p> <p><i>choćbyś tysiąc przebył mil</i></p> <p>Kosmetyki KRZYSZTOF KOLUMB</p> <p>Zapach dla mężczyzny, któremu nikt nie wmówi, że Ziemia jest płaska.</p>	<p>MB: guitar and flute, style of a sailors' song</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P02701 P02702 P02703 P02704 P02705 P02706	(1) Wyroby hutnicze, armatura CO i gazowa, (2) Właśnie przygotowujemy na żądany wymiar (1) Rury polietylenowe, armaturę do rur PE, profile aluminiowe, (2) Pięćdziesiąt pozycji — wapno, cement — gotowe! (1) Siła (1s) i moc (1s) należą teraz wyłącznie do Ciebie! (2) CENTROSTAL Opole, Wspólna 7, telefon 744-723	MB: electronic, with SEFs (factory noises)
P02801 P02802 P02803 P02804	(1) Komputery PC ADAX — nowa jakość. Największy dystrybutor — firma AXEL COMPUTER, Opole, Katowicka 50, budynek NOT-u, telefon 374-91 (2) AXEL COMPUTER — step to the future	SEF (digital phone) MB: electronic with SEFs, voice electronically modified
P02901 P02902 P02903 P02904 P02905 P02906 P02907 P02908 P02909 P02910 P02911 P02912 P02913 P02914	(1) Kochanie, ale jestem głodny. Proszę, zrób obiad w pół godziny. No, nie rób takiej miny. (2) W pół godziny? Zrobię chyba jakies cuda. Z FRIGOPOLEM to się uda. <i>pieczeń, zrazy, bigos, flaki,</i> <i>to mrozone są przysmaki,</i> <i>na patelnię lub do rondla i...</i> (1) Kochanie, jaki fantastyczny zapach! <i>pyzy, knedle czy też kłuski,</i> <i>chce się lizać już paluszki</i> <i>wrzucasz do gorącej wody i...</i> (2) Kochanie, obiad gotowy!	MB: lively, optimistic SEF: sounds of frying

1	2	3
P03001 P03002 P03003 P03004 P03005 P03006 P03007 P03008	<p>(1) <i>zęby zdrowe wszystkie mam, zęby zdrowe mam zęby wyleczono mi — gdzie?</i> <i>jak to gdzie, w EURO-DENTI.</i></p> <p>(2) <i>i ja też piękne zęby mam, zęby nowe wszystkie mam bo zrobiono zęby mi — gdzie?</i> <i>jak to gdzie, w EURO-DENTI</i> Przychodnia stomatologiczna EURO-DENTI, Opole, Plac Kopernika 5, telefon 54-27-84</p>	SEF: laughter MB: lively, optimistic (tune for words)
P03101 P03102 P03103 P03104 P03105 P03106 P03107 P03108 P03109 P03110	<p>(1) Czy zdajecie sobie sprawę, że nasze życie obraca się wokół zębów? Od czasu do czasu wrzucamy przecież coś na ząb. ^ Zdarza się nam nawet połamać zęby na tym lub owym, ^ a ile razy ostrzyliśmy sobie zęby na coś? ^ Później płacz i zgrzytanie zębów. ^ I jeszcze można dostać w zęby. ^ (2) auauuaaaa!... Tak, zęby to poważna sprawa, trzeba je tylko mieć.</p> <p>(3) Przychodnia stomatologiczna EURO-DENTI, Opole, Plac Kopernika 5, telefon 54-27-84</p>	SEF: object dropped SEF: object broken SEF: filing SEF: moans SEF: bang MB: lively, optimistic
P03201 P03202 P03203 P03204 P03205 P03206	<p>(1) Tak, kochasz życie, znasz jego wartość i wiesz, że tym, co w nim najważniejsze, to spokój i pewność, że cokolwiek się stanie, jest ktoś, kto poda pomocną dłoń. PZU Życie (1s) daje Ci polisę, której wartość rośnie z roku na rok, tak, jak Twoja potrzeba bezpieczeństwa</p>	MB: tune of 'Kocham cię życie' by E. Geppert

Cont.

1	2	3
P03207 P03208	<p><i>PZU Życie, przeżyj w spokoju całe Życie twe</i> (2) PZU Życie — Twoja nadzieja na spokojne dni.</p>	(tune for words)
P03301 P03302 P03303 P03304	<p>(1) G, H, I, J, K, — kostiumy kąpielowe, moja mama nieźle w nich wygląda O, P, R, S, T, — T-shirt, Kaśka je nosi. Wygląda bombowo. Ale tata i tak woli czapczkę baseballową — ej, ta anglosaska moda. (2) Sklepy ADIDAS zapraszają. Święty Marcin i Wrocławska</p>	MB: dynamic voice of a child
P03401 P03402 P03403 P03404 P03405 P03406 P03407 P03408 P03409 P03410 P03411	<p>(1) Srebrne księżycy u stóp Twych złożę gwiazdy złociste na Twoich palcach i taką srebrno-złotą zaproszę do jazzowego srebrnego tańca Murzyn z pierścieniem na małym palcu w złotą dmie trąbkę i śpiewa jazz mienią się dźwięki srebrnej piosenki mienią się w biżuterii YES (2) Sklepy firmowe YES zapraszają Poznań, Wrocławska 10 i Dąbrowskiego 41 vis à vis kina Rialto, Swarzędz, centrum handlowe ETC</p>	MB: nostalgic trumpet, echo effect
P03501 P03502 P03503 P03504	<p><i>kosz na śmieci — mała rzecz, mała, lecz potrzebna a reklama na nim, choć może trochę zgrzebna, robi swoje, bo podwoje kosz otwiera przed wszystkimi patrzcie więc na kosze, bowiem to reklama nie z tej ziemi.</i></p>	MB: piano intro, lively, fast (tune for words)

1	2	3
P03505 P03506 P03507 P03508 P03509	<p><i>mali, duzi, grubi, chudzi, zawsze coś tam wyrzucają wyrzucając mrużąc oczy, oglądają i czytają i czytają, dotykają, oglądając wciąg od nowa, bo zainteresowała ich ta reklama, he, ta koszowa</i></p> <p>Biuro reklam HARPOL, Budzyńska 20, telefon 489-402</p>	
P03601 P03602 P03603 P03604 P03605	<p>(5s)</p> <p>(1) (()) , nogę wyżej! Spocznij!</p> <p>(2) przeciwpotowy dezodorant do pielęgnacji stóp.</p> <p>AMBRE to działa!</p> <p>(2s)</p>	<p>SEF: marching commands shouted</p> <p>SEF: marching (fade out)</p>
P03701 P03702 P03703	<p>IDEE KAFE wspaniała, aromatyczna</p> <p><i>Całkiem spokojnie wypijesz trzecią kawę</i></p> <p>Kawa, która pobudza, nie drażniąc żołądka. IDEE KAFE</p>	<p>SEF: heartbeat, wind</p> <p>MB: soft, peaceful</p>
P03801 P03802 P03803 P03804 P03805 P03806	<p>(1) SUPER FISH</p> <p><i>^ (2) my dwaj weseli mali piraci teraz jesteśmy naprawdę bogaci do szczęścia nam nie trzeba więcej nic oprócz paluszków rybnych SUPER FISH</i></p> <p>(1) Panterowane paluszki rybne SUPER FISH z fileta białej ryby</p>	<p>MB: lively, enthusiastic</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P03901 P03902 P03903 P03904 P03905 P03906 P03907 P03908 P03909	(1) Ky sie ten Waluś znouu podziol? (2) O, kruca fuchs, patsaj ino na te stodole! (1) Ki diabeł? ^ Jedno dziolcha, ^ drugo, ojej, ojej, ojej, jej, trzecio! (3) aaaaaa!!! (1) Kruca fuchs! Kwico! (4) A jo! (1) Waluś, ty mos zdrowie! (4) A mom! KAME jem, to i serce mom jak dzwon! ^ Ha, ha, ha, ha... (5) Smak zdrowia. Margaryna KAMA bez cholesterolu.	MB: fragments from the film music — 'Janosik' SEF: laughter, door creaking, SEF: a bell
P04001 P04002 P04003 P04004 P04005 P04006 P04007 P04008 P04009 P04010	(1) Jądruś, a co to tak chowas za pazucha (2) Eeeee, nic... (1) Jo, Jądruś! (2) Da... Daj pokój Waluś, to ino KAMA. (1) Aaaaa, KAMA, dej spróbować! (2) Niecee... (1) Jądruś, no! Co ci powiem, to ci powiem, ale ci powiem — smacno! (2) Tys prowadzi! (3) Smak zdrowia — Margaryna KAMA bez cholesterolu.	MB: fragments from the film music — 'Janosik' SEF: smacking
P04101 P04102	^ Po wykładzinie NOVITY ^ na giełdowy parkiet ^ NOVITA S.A.	SEF: steps SEF: people talking SEF: a bell

Cont.

1	2	3
P04201 P04202 P04203	DERMOSAN Chroń swoją skórę, stosując DERMOSAN z filtrem przeciwstłonecznym DERMOSAN — zaprzyjaźnij się ze słońcem.	MB: optimistic
P04301 P04302 P04303 P04304 P04305	(1) Co się dzieje? Wszyscy polują na CRAZY HORSE! (2) Bo to jedyna w swoim rodzaju kolekcja skózanego obuwia firmy NEPTUN ze Starogardu! (1) Symbol wolności (2) Symbol swobody, (both) buty CRAZY HORSE!	SEF: gunshot MB: country style
P04401 P04402 P04403 P04404	w <i>murowanej piwnicy tańcowali zbójnicy</i> (1) KAMA to samiućkie zdrowie! (2) Tys prowadzi! <i>kazali se piykanie grać i na nózki spojziyrac</i>	no background
P04501 P04502 P04503 P04504 P04505 P04506 P04507 P04508	(1) A-I-DA, A-I-DA, A-I-DA!... (2) Panie i panowie, a teraz ktoś, kogo już znacie- Agencja! (4s) Reklamy! (6s) AIDA, A-I-DA, ^ A-I-DA A-I-DA... <i>agencja reklamy, największa, najwięksha, najwięksha</i> <i>opłaty bez marży, doświadczenie, którego innym brak</i> <i>wszystkie formy reklamy w jednym miejscu</i> <i>prasa, radio, telewizja</i> <i>agencja reklamy ^ AIDA, AIDA, AIDA</i>	SEF: crowd in concert crowd shouting MB: lively rock (tune for words) SEF: crowds cheering

Cont.

1	2	3
P04601 P04602 P04603 P04604 P04605 P04606 P04607 P04608 P04609 P04610 P04611	<p>Carl Lewis, mistrz wszechczasów. Telewizory ^ "The One Up". Nowy rekord świata. Nowa generacja. ^ Lewis go reklamuje, tego jeszcze nie było. A u nas już jest. Nie wszędzie, ale na pewno w Sopocie, sklep D.G. AUDIO, przy alei Niepodległości 786. Tak a propos, to D.G.-AUDIO ma najszerszą i najlepszą ofertę Panasonic i Technicsa A jeśli na nic się nie zdecydujesz, to zawsze możesz wypożyczyć dobry film na kasecie video. D.G.-AUDIO, Sopot, aleja Niepodległości 786, telefon 51-13-65 D.G.-AUDIO</p>	<p>voice modification MB: soft, peaceful</p> <p>voice modification</p>
P04701 P04702 P04703 P04704 P04705 P04706 P04707 P04708 P04709	<p>(1) Uff, jak gorąco, puff, jak gorąco, już ledwo sapie, już ledwo zi//pię* (2) // Kup kom*pletny system klimatyzacyjny, rozdzielnie, klimatyzator okienny, pompę ciepła, rekuperator, water-chillers... (1) Powoli! (2) A.T.C. HITACHI. Wykonuje projekt, dostawę, montaż, serwis... (1) A.T.C. Warszawa. Jedyny bezpośredni dostawca z Japonii (2) Wilecza 69/3, 21-50-63, (1) w Gdańsku 52-02-69 (both) Już pędzi, już wali, już bucha buch, buch ATC HITACHI wprawiło to w ruch, (1) HITACHI (2) to tak to tak, to to tak, to...</p>	<p>no background</p>
P04801 P04802 P04803 P04804 P04805 P04806	<p>(1) jejejejeje! (2) gorące słońce, szampańska zabawa, (3) w kawiarniach tury, (2) o, właśnie jest kawa poznaj aromat i poczuć jej smak (3) świat już w kolorach — (2) to SANTOS, (3) tak, tak. (2) SANTOS jak słońce, muzyka i śmiech (both) aromat SANTOS zapiera mi dech</p>	<p>MB latino music (tune for words)</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P04901 P04902 P04903 P04904 P04905 P04906 P04907 P04908 P04909 P04910 P04911 P04912 P04913 P04914	(1) MAV TELKOM (2) PANASONIC (3) Janku, (4) Kochanie... (3) Dzwonisz z Chicago? (4) Nie, z automatu. (3) Co się stało? (4) Mam! (3) Co? (4) Telefony, telefaksy, centrale, a już na początku grudnia... (3) Co?! (4) Telefony komórkowe — najniższe ceny, realizacja natychmiast! (3) No, adres! (4) Gdynia, Śląska 35/37, telefon 21-13-03 (1) MAV TELKOM (2) PANASONIC	MB: soft, peaceful (3) and (4) — both male voices!
P05001 P05002 P05003 P05004 P05005 P05006 P05007	(1) Do biedronki przyszedł żuk, (2) w okieneczko ^ Boazerii szuka żuk. (1) Firma żuka nie oszuka. (2) Boazerii! (1) Tylko? Wiesz — listwy, płyty mam dla żuka, z laminatu i wirowe, twarde deski podłogowe. (2) Boazerii! (1) To, co chcesz, chcesz. (2) Gdzie to wszystko, gdzie to jeszcze, jest? (1) Tam, gdzie Gdańsk ma w nazwie Wrzest (2) Wrzeszcz! (1) Ulica Chwaszczyńska 2, (both) róg ulicy Twardej ^	SEF: knocking SEF: knocking
P05101 P05102 P05103 P05104	(1) Alo, czy to numer 52-46-14? (2) Dzień dobry panu. MiM PACYNKO (1) Głodny z tej strony (2) Świetnie, mamy dla pana świeże, pyszne, gorące dania, również kuch/ni (())*...	no background

Cont.

1	2	3
P05105 P05106 P05107 P05108 P05109	(1) // <u>Nazywam się Głodny</u> , moja babcia jest głodna... (2) Z domu? (1) W domu, w Sopocie. (2) Dla babci mamy dania kuchni jarskiej, 52-46-14, MIM PACYNKO. Całą dobę. (1) Dziękuję za informację. Głodny mówię.	
P05201 P05202 P05203 P05204 P05205 P05206 P05207 P05208 P05209 P05210 P05211 P05212 P05213 P05214	(1) Jesteśmy na ulicach Trójmiasta i pytamy pierwszego napotkanego przechodnia: Dzień dobry, czy pan... (2) Słucham? (1) Czy pan słucha... (2) Tak, tak, słucham. (1) Czy pan słucha... (2) Słucham. (1) Czy pan naprawdę słucha... (2) Tak, tak, słucham. (1) Czy pan mnie słyszy?! (2) Mów pan. (1) Czy słucha pan radia PLUS? (2) Słucham, słucham, przecież cały czas mówię, że słucham. A po co pan pyta? (1) yyy... Słucham?	SEF: street noises
P05301 P05302 P05303 P05304 P05305	(1) Ach, jak trudno dziś o doby towar do sklepu dzieciennego... (2) A czy lubieś zakupy w hultowni KOKA? (1) Jesce nie... (2) Uuu, to błąd! Hultownia KOKA jes tym, cego sukas! Tam kupis smocki, butelki, zabawki z pozytywką, film e...ee...e... Ciko i Kyko...	no background

Cont.

1	2	3
P05306 P05307 P05308 P05309 P05310 P05311 P05312 P05313 P05314 P05315 P05316 P05317 P05318 P05319 P05320	(1) Chico i Kyko. (2) Uhu, meble dla niemowląt, chodziki, wanienki... (1) Kseselka, a oplóc tego bieliznę, wyprawki do chstu... (2) Wyplawki. (1) Wyplawki do chstu, pieluski s tetly i fla//nelki* (2) // I to* wszystko? (1) Nie! (2) Aha, jesece odzież dla dzieci, bo KOKA jest dystybutolem amerykańskiej kolekcji Mysi // Miki* (1) // <u>Takie wyroby*</u> z welulu... (2) Z weluru! (1) Z welulu, typu sukienki, spódnicki, narciarki, bluzy... (2) A jeśli sukas swetrów, spodni, dlesów lub kultek, to nie tlaćąc dnia na jazde po hultowniach jedź do KOKI! (1) W Gdańsku Oliwie, ulica Arkońska 3, (2) albo w Gdyni Cisowej, ulica Mylna 8, o!	
P05401 P05402 P05403 P05404	WRANGLER i LEE — pierwszy firmowy sklep na Wybrzeżu Gdynia, Świętojańska 71 (5s) Jeansy, spodnie, kurtki, bluzy i tak dalej (3s) WRANGLER i LEE	MB: abstract, with SEFs
P05501 P05502 P05503 P05504	(1) Ehh, uhh... (2) O, ładna ta kanapa! (1) Ładna, ale ciężka! (2) Trzeba było kupić w HEBAN-POL-u, miałby pan transport za darmo!	with effort

Cont.

1	2	3
P05505 P05506 P05507 P05508 P05509	(1) No to pan potrzyma, a ja se adres zapiszę. (2) Dobrze. Salony meblowe HEBAN-POL w Gdyni przy ulicy Jana z Kolna 12, a w Gdańsku przy Marynarki Polskiej 82, od poniedziałku do piątku do godziny 20:00 ^ (1) ... do godziny 20:00. ... ciężka, co?	with effort panting MB: soft, optimistic
P05601 P05602 P05603 P05604 P05605 P05606 P05607 P05608 P05609 P05610	BECKERS Tęcza jest twoja (1) Farby i lakiery szwedzkiej firmy BECKERS już na Śląsku! (2) Farby we wszystkich kolorach tęczy (1) Przyjazne dla środowiska (2) Doskonałej jakości (3) BECKERS, BECKERS, (4) tęcza jest twoja, (3) BECKERS (1) farby i lakiery firmy BECKERS dostępne w Supersamie w Katowicach, w Sezamie w Sosnowcu, oraz w sklepach chemii. (2) Wyczaruj sobie nowy świat dzięki firmie (3) BECKERS	
P05701 P05702 P05703 P05704 P05705 P05706 P05707 P05708 P05709 P05710	(1) MARKAR, numer jeden w Polsce (2) Pięć tysięcy sprzedanych samochodów, (1) ciężarowe i dostawcze (2) Polonez Truck i Renault, (1) Żuk, Star, Jelcz, Lublin i ciągniki Ursus (2) Ceny fabryczne, raty, leasing (1) Wpłacasz tylko 20% ceny, resztę w ciągu trzech lat (2) Zrób biznes z najlepszym (3) Czterech kółek czar to MARKAR, (4) czterech kółek czar to MARKAR (1) Myszków, 11 Listopada 2, telefon 132-206 (2) Katowice, Tartaczna 6, telefon 155-63-40 Czterech kółek czar to MARKAR	MB: dynamic SEF: light echo effect (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P05801 P05802 P05803 P05804 P05805 P05806 P05807 P05808 P05809	(1) Tak solidnie, (2) terminowo, (1) pędzi, aby być o czasie (2) Doręczyciel dotrze wszędzie, (1) to ogólnopolski zasięg (3) To tradycja, (2) doświadczenie, (1) to rzecz jasna, sprawa klasy (3) POCZTA POLSKA najpewniejszym jest doręczycielem prasy. Pocztaowa prumerata czasopism dotrze do prenumeratorów bez żadnych dodatkowych opłat. (1) Przedpłaty na III kwartał przyjmowane są w urzędach pocztowych do 25 maja (3) Od mieszkańców wsi i od osób niepełnosprawnych przedpłaty przyjmują doręczyciele (1) POCZTA POLSKA! — (3) z prasą dla ciebie. ^	SEF: trumpet fanfare MB: joyful, fast (tune for rapping) SEF: trumpet fanfare
P05901 P05902 P05903 P05904 P05905 P05906 P05907	<i>Jak ja uwielbiam kurczę pieczone, kurczę pieczone już przyprawione z salatkami, jarzynami, napojami, bajerami, tak!</i> <i>This is a style, style chicken, AMERICAN STYLE CHICKEN</i> <i>Gdy wbijam zęby w mięso kurczaka to jest ekstaza nie hyle jaka, z salatkami i frytkami, przyprawami, dodatkami, yes!</i> <i>This is a style, style chicken, AMERICAN STYLE CHICKEN,</i> AMERICAN STYLE CHICKEN, ASC, ASC, te kurczaki to się je!	MB: joyful, latino music (tune for words)
P06001 P06002 P06003 P06004	(1) Pstryk! (2) To proste (1) Pstryk! (2) To tanie AGFA — film z bonem na trzy bezpłatne odbitki W laboratoriach AGFA-START-PRINT	MB: optimistic (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P06101 P06102 P06103 P06104 P06105 P06106 P06107 P06108	<p>(group) Nowa twarz, nowy image, // nowa twarz, nowy image* // Przed wejściem na antenę twoją ofertą* zajmie się studio Agencji Reklamy Polskiego Radia. Reklamowy makijaż da ofercie nową twarz (1) Kolor, kolor, (2) wdzięk i szyk, (1) co chcesz sprzedać, (2) sprzedasz w mig, (1) z dobrym zyskiem, (2) jasny fart, (1) nie żaden trik (1) 6 4 7 8 1 3 5, 6 4 7 8 1 3 5 — (2) tak, to nasz numer AGENCJA REKLAMY POLSKIEGO RADIA</p>	MB: enthusiastic
P06201 P06202 P06203 P06204 P06205 P06206	<p>(1) Jaskiniowiec, gdy opuszczał swą jaskinię, myślał, że z jaskini nic mu nie poginie (2) wraca, a tu wraz z plemię skromne mu zabrało mienie, on nie wiedział, co to jest ubezpieczenie. (3) On nie wiedział, ale ty już wiesz, że nowe, bardzo korzystne warunki ubezpieczenia mieszkań oferuje PZU S.A. (4) Szczegóły w inspektoratach PZU.</p>	MB: soft, flat
P06301 P06302	<p>HORTEX to słodkie życie HORTEX</p>	MB: romantic, tune no background
P06401 P06402 P06403 P06404 P06405 P06406 P06407	<p>(1) Żadna przyczepa samochodowa nie jest tak dobra, (2) jak z NIEWIADOWA (1) czy kempingowa, czy transportowa, najwyższa jakość (2) tych z NIEWIADOWA (1) Taka przyczepa spełni zadania, (2) jest nowoczesna, trwała i tania, (1) Różnych rodzajów, mogę wam przysiąc, produkowanych jest (both) chyba z tysiąc (3) Najtańsze przyczepy kempingowe, bagażowe, do przewozu łodzi, samochodu, koni, palet, do działalności handlowej, oferuje NIEWIADÓW koło Tomaszowa Mazowieckiego</p>	MB: dynamic, catchy

Cont.

1	2	3
P06501 P06502 P06503 P06504 P06505 P06506 P06507 P06508	<p>(1) <i>Dla nas jest ważny profesjonalizm, śpiewamy lepiej, niż ci z La Scalli</i> <i>O sole mio...</i> teksty autorów jak Boy'a słówka skrzą się humorem i pomysłami jakość nagrania - słyszycie sami</p> <p>(2) <i>długa tradycja, technika nowa,</i> <i>zaś naszym mottem są takie słowa:</i> <i>(both) Musimy tworzyć dobre reklamy, bo przecież reklam sami słuchamy</i> Studio nagrań AGENCJI REKLAMY POLSKIEGO RADIA S.A., tel. i fax 43-16-01</p>	MB: jazzy, dynamic tune of 'O sole mio' back to jazzy, dynamic
P06601 P06602 P06603 P06604 P06605 P06606 P06607 P06608 P06609	<p>(1) Jak przebywasz na świączym powietrzu podczas wiatru i mrozu, ^ deszczu i śniegu, a także na ostrym słońcu, twoja skóra narażona jest na ciężką próbę</p> <p>(2) A nie można jej pomóc?</p> <p>(1) Tak. Zastosuj DERMOSAN, ten, który od wielu lat wiernie służy naszej skórze. Teraz masz go także w nowej wersji, ^ z dodatkiem filtrów i substancji ochronnych DERMOSAN, krem z witaminami A + E, który natłuszcza i zmiękcza twoją skórę Dostępny dla każdej kieszeni.</p> <p>(2) Dziękuję, kupuję.</p> <p>(1) Producent ... Polfa Poznań</p>	SEF: wind SEF: steps in snow MB: optimistic, reas- suring SEF: wind
P06701 P06702 P06703 P06704	<p>^ (1) Podajemy prognozę pogody. W ciągu najbliższej doby do Polski znacznie napływać mroźne powietrze z północnego wschodu. Spodziewane są opady śniegu. Wiatr silny i porwisty północny, dochodzący // do 20 metrów na sekundę</p> <p>(2) // <u>hh</u> znowu <u>popękają mi naczynka*</u></p>	SEF: 3 beeps

Cont.

1	2	3
P06705 P06706 P06707 P06708 P06709 P06710	<p>(1) <u>Uwaga*</u>, przed wyjściem z domu zaleca się użycie kremu DERMOSAN UV w celu ochrony skóry. Powtarzam: zaleca się użycie kremu DERMOSAN.</p> <p>(2) DERMOSAN!</p> <p>^ (1) DERMOSAN od lat służy naszej skórze, teraz w nowej wersji z dodatkiem filtrów i substancji ochronnych z witaminami A + E, czyni twoją skórę miękka i gładką, bez względu na pogodę. Producent --- Polfa Poznań.</p>	MB: optimistic, reassuring
P06801 P06802 P06803 P06804 P06805 P06806 P06807 P06808 P06809 P06810 P06811	<p>(1) Panie doktorze, to moje nadciśnienie!</p> <p>(2) Panie doktorze, mój reumatyzm!</p> <p>(3) panie doktorze, skleroza, skleroza!</p> <p>(4) Astma!</p> <p>(5) Alergia!</p> <p>(6) Zapalenie żołądka!</p> <p>(7) Dosyc, (many voices) (()) (7) cisza! ^ W leczeniu wszystkich waszych dolegliwości pomoże wam regularne zażywanie LINOKAPSU. To naturalny olej z nasion wiesiołka, który sprawi, że waszym organizmom będzie łatwiej zwalczać te i wiele innych dolegliwości. I wreszcie będę miał z nimi spokój!</p> <p>(8) LINOKAPS --- dar natury dla każdego wieku. Producent --- Polfa Poznań.</p>	MB: steady, optimistic
P06901 P06902 P06903 P06904 P06905	<p>(1) Mamusia długo cieszyła się moim prezentem. Ciocia Ela szeptala jej coś do ucha, a babcia śmiała się z zeszłorocznych dowcipów dziadka. I wtedy tata wszedł do pokoju z pachnącą kawą.</p> <p>(2) TCHIBO Exclusive --- aromat tej kawy już zawsze będzie kojarzył się ze świętami.</p> <p>(3) TCHIBO --- podaj to, co najlepsze.</p>	MB: Christmas carol 'Cicha noc'

Cont.

1	2	3
P07001 P07002 P07003 P07004 P07005 P07006 P07007 P07008 P07009 P07010 P07011	<p>(1) Wyobraź sobie, że boli cię gardło, pędzisz do najbliższej apteki, próbujesz spośród wielu różnych środków na ból gardła wybrać ten naprawdę najlepszy — nieszkodliwy i sprawdzony. Może to, może tamto, tego nie znam, nie, nie, nie, za drogie. W końcu gubisz się w tym, to pewne, więc w desperacji, zagubieniu, wyduszasz z obolałego gardła pytanie, które musi paść:</p> <p>(2) Pani magister, co tak naprawdę jest najlepsze?</p> <p>(3) Tak naprawdę? Najlepszy jest CHLORCHINALDIN.</p> <p>(2) Rzeczywiście, sprawdzony, skuteczny, znacznie tańszy.</p> <p>Tak, wybrałem CHLORCHINALDIN, skuteczny od lat.</p> <p>(4) Zapoznaj się ze sposobem użycia, podanym na opakowaniu.</p> <p>Producent — Polfa Rzeszów.</p>	<p>MB: deep, distressing sounds</p> <p>MB: optimistic, cheerful</p>
P07101 P07102 P07103	<p>(1) Ufff! Co za ulga!^</p> <p>(2) Tak, to KANIA, naturalne wody mineralne. KANIA, KANIA...</p> <p>(1) Zdecydowanie tykam KANIĘ^</p>	<p>SEFs: water dripping, door closing, running, panting, pouring, drinking</p> <p>MB: peaceful, soft</p> <p>SEF: water dripping</p>
P07201 P07202 P07203 P07204 P07205	<p><i>morza szum, ptaków śpiew, // złota plaża wśród drzew, wszystko to w letnie dni przypomina ciębie mi... na na na na na na...*</i></p> <p>(1) // Julio, w tak pięknych okolicznościach przyrody, i nie tylko, czy mogę panią pocałować?</p> <p>(2) Mmm, zimno...</p>	<p>SEF: sea waves</p> <p>MB: song by Czerwone Gitary in the background</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P07206 P07207 P07208 P07209 P07210 P07211 P07212 P07213 P07214 P07215	(1) Jest gorąco! (2) Opryszczka to problem nie tylko chłodnych miesięcy. Szybkie zmiany temperatury ciała i promienie ultrafioletowe mogą sprawić, że opryszczka stanie się problemem twoich i moich wakacji. (1) Julio, przed nami nie ma problemów. (3) ZOVIRAX, krem przeciw opryszczce. Wcześniej zastosowany może uchronić cię przed opryszczką. (1) Julio, czy teraz mogę? (2) Mmmm (3) ZOVIRAX, dostępny w aptekach. Przed użyciem przeczytaj ulotkę.	
P07301 P07302 P07303 P07304 P07305 P07306 P07307 P07308 P07309 P07310 P07311	(1) Hau, hau, wiesz Reks, że 12 i 13 lutego przy ulicy Bokserskiej odbędzie się pierwsza zimowa międzynarodowa wystawa psów rasowych? (2) Hau, hau, przy Bokserskiej? Dlaczego nie przy Jamniczkiej? (1) Wrrr, ponieważ Novea International Targi Warszawa mieszczą się przy Bokserskiej 71. Mam tam duże szanse i jestem w świetnej formie, bo pan karmi mnie PEDIGREE // PAL. (2) // Hau, hau*... (1) Szy*kuje się wspaniała zabawa. (2) Hau, hau, hau, ty szczęściarzu, hau... (3) Zapraszamy 12 i 13 lutego, Bokserska 71, Międzynarodowa Wystawa Psów Rasowych. Bilety biorą udział w losowaniu nagród. (2) Hau!	no background
P07401 P07402 P07403 P07404 P07405	^ (1) słyszeliśmy dźwięk zimnego mleka wlewane do szklanki. ^ To natomiast był dźwięk wsypywania do szklanki zawartości saszetki PICCO EIS-KAFFEE ^ Obecnie jesteście świadkami narodzin nowego PICCO EISKAFFEE ^ (2) Pík, pik, piko... (odgłosy zabawy, krzyki)	SEF: liquid pouring SEF: powder pouring SEF: stirring MB: playful, warm

Cont.

1	2	3
P07406 P07407 P07408 P07409	A teraz słyszemy smak PICCO EISKAFFEE w upalne popołudnie. Nowe PICCO EISKAFFEE w dwóch obywatelskich odmianach, czekoladowo-miętowej i classic. (3) PICCO EISKAFFEE to nowy smak orzeźwienia.	
P07501 P07502 P07503 P07504 P07505 P07506 P07507 P07508 P07509 P07510	(1) Teatryk 'Fioletowa Kaczka' ma zaszczyt przedstawić sztukę w jednym akcie pod tytułem 'Dwa rodzaje nowego PICCO EISKAFFEE'. ^ Wstępują: PICCO EISKAFFEE Classico, PICCO EISKAFFEE czekoladowo-miętowe, Zimne Mleko, Dwie Szklanki oraz Rozkosz. Akt I, scena 1: (2) Och! (1) Akt I, scena 2: (2) Och! (1) Kurtyna. (3) PICCO EISKAFFEE to nowy smak orzeźwienia	SEF: applause SEF: pouring liquid, powder, stirring SEF: pouring liquid, powder, starring
P07601 P07602 P07603 P07604 P07605	(1) Weź mnie! Weź mnie ŻYWCEM! Weź mnie ŻYWCEM, ŻYWCEM mnie bierz, weź mnie ŻYWCEM, ŻYWCEM, tak bardzo tego chcesz. (2) Jeśli próbowałeś, to już wiesz. Nie próbowałeś -- nigdy nie zrozumiesz. Piwo ŻYWIEC ---- najlepsze, co może cię spotkać. Nawet teraz.	MB: dynamic (tune for words)
P07701 P07702 P07703	(1) Tu program piąty, przepraszam, program pierwszy Polskiego Radia, jest godzina osiemnasta piętnaście, dziewiętnasta pięćdziesiąt, teraz (.) .hh wiadomości, znaczy, przed wiadomościami, chwila muzyki, to znaczy (.) reklama...	

Cont.

1	2	3
P07704 P07705 P07706 P07707 P07708	<p>^ (2) BILOBIL — naturalny lek, ułatwia koncentrację i poprawia zdolności zapamiętywania. Likwiduje szum w uszach, zapobiega zawrotom i bólowi głowy.</p> <p>(1) Z przyjemnością pragnę poinformować, że słuchają Państwo pierwszego programu Polskiego Radia. I zachęcam do pozostania z nami.</p> <p>(2) BILOBIL — już nie zapomnę. Przed użyciem przeczytaj ulotkę.</p>	MB: soft classical violin
P07801 P07802 P07803 P07804 P07805 P07806	<p>(1) Tego lata synoptycy przewidują słabe opady deszczu ^ oraz niezbyt intensywne upały ^</p> <p>(2) Bez względu na przepowiednie najstarszych górali i prognozy wojskowych synoptyków waniliowe lody z mleczną czekoladą TWIX pozwolą ci przetrwać</p> <p>(3) A w ich środku kryje się krusze ciasteczko.</p> <p>(2) Lody TWIX — pamiętaj o kruchym ciasteczku</p>	SEF: thunder SEF: sizzling MB: percussion rhythm MB: cello sound MB: percussion rhythm
P07901 P07902 P07903 P07904 P07905 P07906 P07907	<p>(1) ^ Po raz ostatni pytam, czy oskarżony powie nam, co było w środku?</p> <p>(2) Wysoki sędzie, w środku było krusze ciasteczko...</p> <p>(3) Ooooo...^</p> <p>(4) TWIX — waniliowe lody z mleczną czekoladą. A w nich — krusze ciasteczko. Strzeż ich pilnie tego lata.</p> <p>(1) Sąd w świetle nowych faktów musi udać się na naradę w celu zbadania lodów TWIX</p> <p>(4) Lody TWIX — pamiętaj o kruchym ciasteczku.</p>	SEF: judge's hammer, people talking SEF: judge's hammer MB: jazzy, quiet
P08001 P08002 P08003 P08004 P08005	<p>(1) Mamo, chciałbym mieć skórę czystą i ^ gładką jak aniołek <i>Twoja mama dobrze zna Twych przyjaciół śmiesznych tak --- BO i NA i RO</i></p> <p>(2) BO — pięknie cię wymyje i wyczyszczy</p> <p>NA — skórę wypielęgnuje, a RO czule ją zabezpieczy.</p> <p>BO NA RO — kosmetyki dla mojego dziecka.</p>	MB: joyful (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P08006 P08007 P08008 P08009	<p><i>Od kotylski aż do szkoły skóre pieuszczą — istny cud, BO i NA i RO, BO NA RO!</i></p> <p>(3) Kosmetyki BO NA RO — czuła opieka od pierwszych dni, dostępny w aptekach i wybranych drogeriach.</p> <p><i>BO NA RO!</i></p>	
P08101 P08102 P08103 P08104 P08105 P08106 P08107 P08108 P08109 P08110 P08111 P08112	<p>^ (1) Halo!?</p> <p>(2) Zegarynka?</p> <p>(1) Panie, jaka zegarynka, trzecia w nocy jest, numer pan zapomniał, godziny nie pamięta, jak tak dalej pójdzie, pan zapomni jak się nazywa. Ja radzę, kup pan sobie BILOBIL.</p> <p>^ (2) Aaa, BILOBIL, naturalny wyciąg z miforzębu. Lek, który ułatwia koncentrację i poprawia zdolność zapamiętywania. Likwiduje szum w uszach, zapobiega zawrotom i bólowi głowy.</p> <p>(1) Nie zapomni pan?</p> <p>(2) BILOBIL — już nie zapomnę.</p> <p>(3) Przed użyciem przeczytaj ulotkę. W razie niejasności skonsultuj się z lekarzem lub farmaceutą.</p>	<p>SEF: clock ticking, phone dialling signal</p> <p>MB: joulful classical</p>
P08201 P08202 P08203 P08204 P08205 P08206 P08207 P08208 P08209	<p>(1) Hughm! Czy ty Al wprowadziłeś w ŻYWCUCU prohibicję?</p> <p>(2) To kuzyn Mike.</p> <p>(1) Zastrzelić go?</p> <p>(2) Nie, wzięć go ŻYWCCEM. Zrobimy dobry interes.</p> <p><i>To pora na Lemon, Tonic, Trick, to moment na Orange, Grape, numer jeden...</i></p> <p>(1) Ekstra!</p> <p>(3) I chłodzi.</p> <p>(2) I dobrze wchodzi.</p> <p>(4) Napojów orzeźwiających z ŻYWCA szukaj w butelkach z falą.</p>	<p>MB: soft, swing 30's style</p> <p>(tune for words)</p>

Cont.

1	2	3
P08301 P08302 P08303 P08304 P08305 P08306 P08307	<p><i>Kiedy już pierwsza gwiazdka na niebie się pokaże Pamiętaj, masz w lodówce OKOCIM Twoich marzeń I nic Cię nie zaskoczy, święta, goście czy zima Jeżeli masz OKOCIM, nieważne że m-óz trzyma Czy nów to czy też pełnia, cokolwiek się pokaże Niech Ci się zawsze spełnia OKOCIM Twoich marzeń OKOCIM "Karmi".</i></p>	MB: lively, swing, with Christmas bells (tune for words)
P08401 P08402 P08403 P08404 P08405	<p>(1) W lecie jest gorąco, w lecie są wakacje, i latem można zjeść diuuuuzo ^ lodów. (2) Teraz można zjeść jeszcze więcej, bo McDonald's obniżył cenę lodów. Do końca września lody w restauracji McDonald's już za pięć tysięcy złotych. I co ty na to? (1) A ja na to jak na lato!</p>	child's voice MB: dynamic, lively
P08501 P08502 P08503 P08504 P08505	<p><i>Gdy już gwiazdka na niebie i dzwoneczki u san to bez dwóch zdań, mówię wam --- święta, święta już choinek ciepły blask, // i nowy rok tuż, tuż, i sylwestrowy hal* // Agencja reklamowa DORMINGTON składa wszystkim życzenia spokojnych i radosnych * Świąt. Do siego roku!</i></p>	MB: joyful, Christmas carol style (tune for words)
P08601 P08602 P08603 P08604 P08605 P08606 P08607 P08608	<p>Reklamować klopsika z pomocą Afrika? <i>O tak! Smaczne, pyszne, zdrowe klopsiki drobiowe</i> (1) A psik! (2) Klopsik! (1) Klopsik? (2) Klopsik! <i>Kiedy masz na co nie co chęć jak Puchatek mały miś, to pamiętaj --- smaczne, pyszne, zdrowe klopsiki drobiowe</i> DROBEX HEINZ --- samo zdrowie. (1) mniam!</p>	MB: joyful (tune for words) MB: rap style

1	2	3
P08701 P08702 P08703 P08704 P08705 P08706	<p>Zawsze może się zdarzyć, że twoje auto zniknie, [^] lub stanie się krótsze o parę centymetrów — dlatego już teraz pomyśl o ubezpieczeniu Auto-Casco, najlepiej w Towarzystwie Ubezpieczeniowym FENIX — dlaczego?</p> <p>FENIX ubezpiecza każdy sprawny technicznie samochód. Szybko i solidnie likwiduje szkody i daje możliwość zakupu polisy na raty. Towarzystwo ubezpieczeniowe FENIX. <i>Szczęścia się nie kupuje, szczęście, szczęście się ubezpiecza.</i></p>	SEF: braking SEF: car collision MB: soft, optimistic (tune for words)
P08801 P08802 P08803 P08804 P08805 P08806 P08807	<p><i>Mariola ma oczy piwne, Mariola o kocim spojrzeniu</i> <i>A w oczach błyski przedziwne, jak słońce brzęczące w jęczmieniu,</i> <i>Cienie zielonych pnączy na włosach jej się ściągą</i> <i>Słońca się kropła sączy przez gęste liście chmielu</i> <i>Mariola cię tym zaskoczy, że taka słoneczna jest w cieniu</i> <i>Mariola ma piwne oczy, o kocim, o kocim spojrzeniu</i> OKOCIM "Karmi"</p>	MB: lively, joyful, Mexican style (tune for words)
P08901 P08902 P08903 P08904 P08905	<p><i>Fortuna się kołem nie toczy, fortuna się toczy owocem</i> <i>Póki słońce ziemię karmi i obdarza owocami, a owoce nas sokami wybierz ją</i> <i>Bądź naturalny — FORTUNA, natura, sok naturalny — FORTUNA, natura,</i> <i>Bądź naturalny — FORTUNA, natura, sok naturalny, yeee...</i> FORTUNA — sok na cały rok</p>	MB: lively, joyful, rhythmical (tune for words)
P09001 P09002 P09003 P09004 P09005	<p>Zima to trudny czas dla kierowców — pozwól, by ktoś inny dowiózł cię do celu. INTERCITY — to najlepsze połączenie z centrum do centrum wielkich miast. Podróż, w której swoboda, miła atmosfera, bezpieczeństwo i szybkość przychodzą bez trudu. Zapomnij, co to zmęczenie po podróży. Wybierz pociąg. [^] (2s) INTERCITY — Twoja kolej.</p>	SEF: car starter MB: peaceful SEF: train SEF: train

Cont.

Cont.

1	2	3
P09101 P09102 P09103 P09104 P09105 P09106 P09107 P09108	<p>(group) Ciemno wszędzie, głucho wszędzie, co to będzie, co to będzie, co to będzie?</p> <p>(2) Nic nie będzie. Włączymy DULUX ^ i po strachu.</p> <p>(group) DULUX?</p> <p>(2) DULUX --- świetlówkę elektroniczną, która zużywa pięć razy mniej prądu i żyje dziesięć razy dłużej niż zwykła żarówka. Aha, DULUX ma jeszcze jeden plus.</p> <p>(group) Plus?</p> <p>(2) Plus --- jeden rok gwarancji.</p> <p>(group) DULUX!</p>	SEF: switch click MB: peaceful, soft
P09201 P09202 P09203 P09204 P09205 P09206 P09207 P09208 P09209	<p><i>Boli głowa, bolą mięśnie, ból wykrzywia miny</i> <i>A tu znowu na nieszczęście sprawy i terminy</i> <i>Aby wrócić znów do życia weź PARACETAMOL</i></p> <p>PARACETAMOL --- skuteczny środek przeciwbólowy i przeciwgorączkowy z polskiej Polfy</p> <p><i>On postawi cię na nogi, będziesz zdrów co rano</i> <i>Polfa Poznań --- ona na to radę ma</i> <i>Na złe stany weź PARACETAMOL, śnij się od ucha do ucha</i></p> <p>PARACETAMOL --- na wszystkie polskie bóle. Przed użyciem przeczytaj ulotkę.</p>	MB: orchestra, tune of 'Jeszcze jeden mazur' (tune for words)
P09301 P09302 P09303 P09304 P09305 P09306	<p><i>Kto tak pięknie gra? Kto tak pięknie gra? To ja, to ja</i></p> <p>Wielozonowy olej silnikowy LOTOS SEMISYNTHETIC z Rafinerii Gdańskiej to potrójna oszczędność. Zmniejszenie zużycia silnika, paliwa i oleju. Silnik mniej pali, mniej pije i naprawdę śpiewa.</p> <p><i>Co tak pięknie brzmi? Co tak pięknie brzmi? to my, to my</i></p> <p>LOTOS SEMISYNTHETIC z Rafinerii Gdańskiej --- wyrafinowana jakość.</p>	SEF: motor MB: swing, jazzy (tune for words) SEF: motor starting

Cont.

1	2	3
P09401 P09402 P09403 P09404 P09405 P09406 P09407	<p>(1) Mleko i mąka, i jajka, ach, rodzynki, cukier, masełko, tralala <i>Pędem, pędem do ZELMERA, i niech ugniatą, niech uciera, miesza nas, ha, ha</i> (2) <i>Ja jestem turbo sprint, jestem ja, super robot, co wycisk da</i> Miesza od góry, od dołu, rozgarnia na boki, utrze ciasto, potnie jarzyny ... ma swe uroki. Koktajl przygotowuje i majonez robi ... taki z niego przyjacieli. I kuchnię zdobi. ZELMER -- przyjaciel domu. Zmiksuj raz, dwa, wszystkiemu radę da</p>	MB: optimistic, joyful (tune for words)
P09501 P09502 P09503 P09504 P09505 P09506 P09507 P09508 P09509	<p>(1) <i>Alergiku, (2) nic się nie bój, (1) gdy METEOR sprząta w domu,</i> (3) <i>czysto jest we wszystkich kątach, (2) a kurz ucieka po kryjomu</i> <i>Pędem, pędem do ZELMERA -- brud wysysa, śmieci zbiera, filtr powietrza ma</i> (4) <i>METEOR Super to właśnie ja, (2) to pomocnik, co moc swą zna.</i> Odkurzacz METEOR Super z ZELMERA to super mocne super ssanie, to oszczędność jednej trzeciej energii. Płynna regulacja mocy i ekologiczny filtr powietrza przyjazny nawet dla alergików. ZELMER ... przyjaciel domu. Odkurzy raz, dwa, wszystkiemu radę da.</p>	MB: percussion rhythm for rapping, changes into MB: optimistic, joyful (tune for words)
P09601 P09602 P09603 P09604 P09605 P09606	<p>Krajalnica z ZELMERA ... sprawdza się w domu i w sklepie <i>Pieczyno, owoce, warzywa, jarzyny, na kromki, plastry, plasterki tnie</i> <i>Na cztery, na cztery, wędliny i sery, a jeśli jej każesz ... na pięć, na pięć</i> <i>Pędem, pędem do ZELMERA -- krajalnica w plastry zmienia wszystko, co się da</i> <i>Pokroi raz, dwa, wszystkiemu radę da.</i> ZELMER ... przyjaciel domu, i sklepu.</p>	MB: percussion rhythm for rapping, changes into MB: optimistic, joyful (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P09701 P09702 P09703 P09704 P09705 P09706	<p><i>Wciąż przygoda do przodu nas pcha, pędzimy w dal ja i ty — mój brat Kilometrów setki co dnia, lecz tęsknota doskwiera jak mgła. Wtedy puszczam z gazu nogę, zairzymuję się przy drodze, z dala domu dom po drodze mam.</i></p> <p>CPN składa państwu życzenia spokojnych i radosnych świąt <i>Dom po drodze mam.</i></p>	MB: country style (tune for words)
P09801 P09802 P09803 P09804 P09805 P09806 P09807 P09808 P09809 P09810	<p>(1) Łączymy się z naszym miejscim korespondentem, halo, halo? (2) Zgłaszam się, jestem na ulicy Wyzwolenia i rozmawiam z panem ... Czy może się pan przedstawić? (3) Jan Korycki. (2) Panie Janie, czy może nam pan powiedzieć, jakie [biip] pan pije? (3) No więc, [biip] piję różne, ale najchętniej [biip] szarone, znaczy KOSZERNE. Te nagrodzone [biip] KAPITAN, no, ale najlepsze [biip] to BOSMAN. (2) Słyszmy, że preferuje pan [biip] produkowane przez browar Szczecin. (3) Oni robią najlepsze [biip]. (4) Browar Szczecin, ^ Ocenzurowano.</p>	SEF: street sounds SEF: stamping documents
P09901 P09902 P09903 P09904	<p>(1) <i>Mam ochotę na (2) ALFA PROS, (1) przepij potem (2) ALFA PROS,</i> <i>(1) Na złotą jesień (2) ALFA PROS, (1) i gdy kołody śpiewam (2) ALFA PROS</i> <i>(1) Jak boski nektar (2) ALFA PROS, (1) wciąż kusi, kusi mnie (2) ALFA PROS</i> Browar Szczecin.</p>	MB: reggae style (tune for words)

Cont.

1	2	3
P10001 P10002 P10003 P10004 P10005 P10006 P10007 P10008 P10009	^ (1) .hh hh Jeżeli nie wytrzymujesz już tego tempa (2) Jeżeli bałagan w firmie doprowadza cię do ^ szału (3) Jeżeli męczą cię nocne koszmary, ^ (4) a konkurencja ^ siedzi ci na karku (3) masz tylko jedno wyjście: ^ RUBICON ... (1) komputery (2) z kompletnym, (1) specjalistycznym, (3) niezawodnym (2) opro- (1) gramo- (3) waniem ... (1) twoja (.) nowa (.) broń. RUBICON ... tą bronią zwyciężysz. ^ (5) Aaaaaaa...	SEF: clock ticking SEF: clock cuckoo SEF: glass breaking SEF: spooky laughter SEF: panting SEF: creaking door SEF: machine-gun shots

Adam Wojtaszek

Rozszyfrowując reklamy radiowe — perspektywa pragmatyczna

Streszczenie

Niniejsza praca stanowi próbę opisu strategii perswazyjnych wykorzystywanych w polskich i angielskich reklamach radiowych, opisu sporządzonego za pomocą narzędzi badawczych z zakresu klasycznej pragmatyki językowej. Z jednej strony można ją potraktować jako pragmatyczną analizę konkretnej odmiany tekstu, z drugiej zaś — jako studium porównawcze, mające na celu uchwycenie najważniejszych różnic występujących pomiędzy reklamami angielskimi i polskimi.

Rozdział I poświęcono prezentacji literatury, zawierającej pozycje podobne zarówno pod względem przedmiotu, jak i metod badawczych do prac przedstawionych w następnych rozdziałach: G. Leecha *English in Advertising* (1966), M. Geisa *The Language of Television Advertising* (1982), K. Tanaki *Advertising Language* (1994), G. Myersa *Words in Ads* (1994), G. Cooka *The Discourse of Advertising*, a z rodzimych opracowań — książka J. Bralczyka *Język na sprzedaż* (1996).

W rozdziale II zamieszczono krótką historię reklamy. To spojrzenie w przeszłość zostało podyktowane chęcią ukazania źródeł tego tak powszechnego dziś zjawiska oraz prześledzenia zmian, jakim reklama podlegała w trakcie swojego rozwoju. W jej uwarunkowaniach historycznych odnajdujemy przyczyny wielu współczesnych tendencji, takich jak skrótość komunikatów reklamowych czy użycie pewnych określonych konstrukcji składniowych, oraz obserwujemy genezę różnorodności form stosowanych współcześnie w reklamie.

Dwa pierwsze rozdziały stanowią wprowadzenie do zasadniczej części rozprawy, którą rozpoczyna rozdział III. Zawiera on próbę zdefiniowania reklamy jako osobnego gatunku oraz wyodrębnienia jej charakterystycznych cech, wyróżniając język reklamy spośród innych typów wypowiedzi, a także ustalenia dotyczące materiału i metod badawczych.

Rozdział IV jest poświęcony wykorzystaniu wyrażen indeksykalnych w reklamie. Najwięcej można tu powiedzieć o deiksie osobowej, w pewien charakterystyczny sposób kodującej rolę nadawcy i odbiorcy komunikatu reklamowego. Zauważono na przykład tendencję do unikania przez nadawcę reklamy mówienia o sobie w pierwszej osobie, preferowana jest zaś prezentacja producenta przez osoby trzecie. Reklamy angielskie są bardziej bezpośrednie od polskich w tym sensie, że bardzo często namawiają odbiorcę do podjęcia pewnych określonych działań, podczas gdy reklamy polskie

nastawione są bardziej na zrobienie wrażenia i rzadziej namawiają nas do jakichś czynów, a tym samym rzadziej się do nas zwracają.

W rozdziale V autor zajmuje się perswazyjnym zastosowaniem presupozycji w reklamie. Po zbadaniu korpusu danych okazało się, że do najważniejszych zadań presupozycji należą: wstępna selekcja odbiorców danego komunikatu, perswazja za pomocą grzeczności i pochlebstw oraz pseudohipnotyczne sugerowanie pewnych postaw i poglądów. Pewną niespodzianką było to, że presupozycja nie należy do ulubionych strategii perswazyjnych stosowanych przez nadawców reklam.

Znaczeniu implikatury i ukrytych znaczeń w perswazyjnym oddziaływaniu reklamy poświęcono szósty, najdłuższy rozdział rozprawy. Analiza oparta jest na dwóch, najbardziej chyba znanych teoriach próbujących wyjaśnić mechanizmy powstawania implikatury: „regule kooperacji” Grice’a (1975) oraz związanych z nią maksymach konwersacyjnych oraz teoriach relewancji Sperbera i Wilsona (1986). Uciekanie się nadawców reklamy do ukrywania pewnych komunikatów i sugestii w implikaturze ma wiele przyczyn. Wiąże się to często z kwestiami dotyczącymi prawdy i fałszu oraz ich prawnymi uwarunkowaniami, możliwościami różnorakiego oddziaływania na różnych odbiorców, koniecznością maskowania asocjacji z prymitywnymi instynktami odbiorców, a w szczególności z aluzyjnym traktowaniem seksu, potrzebą wytworzenia iluzyjnej zażyłości z odbiorcą oraz z otwarciem sobie drogi do jego emocjonalnych reakcji, z pominięciem racjonalnego filtra bodźców.

W rozdziale VII przedstawiono analizę reklam na podstawie teorii aktów mowy. Jeżeli przyjmiemy, że reklama jest pewnym szczególnym rodzajem „wydarzenia mownego” (*speech event*), rozpoznawalnym kontekstualnie jako taki a nie inny typ wypowiedzi, można wnioskować, że napotkamy w nim pewne konkretne typy aktów mowy, najczęściej o pośrednim charakterze. W analizowanych reklamach znajdujemy więc takie akty mowy, jak ogłoszenia, deklaracje, oferty, obietnice, apele, ostrzeżenia oraz życzenia. Występowanie właśnie tych aktów mownych jest motywowane ich perswazyjną funkcją, a sam cel reklamy niejako wyznacza się illokucyjną, na podstawie której zostały tu one sklasyfikowane.

Rozdział VIII, ostatni, jest bardziej wnikliwym studium czterech wybranych reklam, w których autor próbuje ukazać współgranie różnych występujących w nich strategii ukierunkowanych na wypracowanie ich potencjału perswazyjnego. Ponieważ poprzednie rozdziały w nieco sztuczny sposób skupiały się na wybranych elementach reklam w ramach zastosowania narzędzi badawczych, rozdział VIII niejako rekompensuje tę fragmentaryczność opisu, ukazując, w jaki sposób siła perswazyjna reklam jest wypadkową wszystkich użytych w nich strategii. Uzupełnieniem książki jest dodatek zawierający transkrypt wszystkich analizowanych w niej reklam.

Adam Wojtaszek

Die Rundfunkwerbung entschlüsselnd — ein pragmatischer Blick

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit will die, in polnischen und englischen Rundfunkwerbungen angewandten Zuredensmethoden mit Hilfe von Forschungsmitteln der klassischen Sprachpragmatik beschreiben. Einerseits kann sie also als die pragmatische Analyse einer konkreten Textvariante gelten, andererseits dagegen ist sie eine vergleichende Studie, deren Ziel ist es, die wichtigsten Unterschiede zwischen den englischen und polnischen Reklamen zu erfassen.

Das erste Kapitel wurde der Literatur gewidmet, die solche Positionen enthält, welche sowohl hinsichtlich des Forschungsgegenstandes als auch der angewandten Forschungsmethoden den folgenden in den nächsten Kapiteln dargestellten Arbeiten ähnlich sind: G. Leech *English in Advertising* (1966), M. Geis *The Language of Television Advertising* (1982), K. Tanak *Advertising Language* (1994), G. Myers *Words in Ads* (1994), G. Cook *The Discourse of Advertising* und von heimischen Monographien dem Buch von J. Bralczyk *Die Sprache zum Verkauf* (1996).

Das zweite Kapitel beinhaltet eine kurze Werbungsgeschichte. Mit Hilfe von solcher Retrospektive wollte man die Quellen und die Entwicklung der heute so populären Werbung zeigen. In historischen Voraussetzungen finden wir Ansätze für viele gegenwärtige Tendenzen, wie die Kürze von Werbungsmitteilungen oder den Gebrauch von bestimmten Syntaxstrukturen und wir können die Genese von verschiedenartigen, heute zur Werbung angewandten Formen untersuchen.

Die zwei ersten Kapitel sind eine Einführung in den Hauptteil der Abhandlung, der mit dem dritten Kapitel anfängt. In dem Kapitel wurde versucht, die Werbung als eine Sondergattung zu definieren und ihre charakteristischen Merkmale zu bestimmen, die die Sprache der Werbung von anderen Aussagetypen unterscheiden. Hier finden wir auch Informationen über Untersuchungsmaterial und Forschungsmethoden.

Das vierte Kapitel ist der Anwendung von Indexausdrücken zur Werbung gewidmet. Die meisten Informationen betreffen die sog. persönliche Hinweisung, die auf spezifische Weise die Rollen des Senders und des Empfängers von einer Werbungsmitteilung verschlüsseln. Man hat zum Beispiel bemerkt, dass sich der Reklamesender weigert, über sich in der ersten Person zu reden; es wird dagegen bevorzugt, dass ein Produzent durch dritte Personen vorgestellt wird. Die englischen Reklamen sind viel unmittelbarer als die polnischen, indem sie sehr oft zu bestimmten Handlungen

überreden, während die polnischen Reklamen viel mehr darauf orientiert sind, um einen konkreten Eindruck zu machen und sich dadurch seltener an uns wenden.

Im fünften Kapitel befasst sich der Autor mit der Anwendung von Präsupposition, die in der Werbung der Überredung dienen sollte. Nach der Datenuntersuchung hat man die folgenden wichtigsten Aufgaben der Präsupposition unterschieden: Vorwahl von Empfängern der bestimmten Mitteilung, Zureden mit Hilfe von Komplimenten und Schmeicheleien und pseudohypnotisches Suggestieren von manchen Einstellungen und Ansichten. Der Autor wurde davon überrascht, dass die Präsupposition bei den Werbungsendern keine beliebte Überredungsmethode ist.

Der Rolle von Implikationen und Hinterbedeutungen bei der Zuredenseinwirkung einer Reklame ist das sechste, längste Kapitel der Abhandlung gewidmet. Die Analyse stützt auf zwei wohl bekannteste Theorien, die die Implikationsmechanismen klären wollen: auf die „Kooperationsregel“ von Grice (1975), auf die damit verbundenen Konversationsdevisen und auf die Relevanztheorien von Sperber und Wilson (1986). Die Reklamesender wollen manche Mitteilungen und Suggestionen in den Implikationen verheimlichen. Die Gründe dafür sind: das Problem der Wahrheit und Falschheit und dessen rechtliche Bedingtheiten, die Möglichkeiten der vielfältigen Einwirkung auf verschiedene Empfänger, die Notwendigkeit der Maskierung von Assoziationen mit primitiven Instinkten der Empfänger und vor allem mit Anspielungen auf Sex, der Bedarf an Schaffung von imaginärer Intimität mit dem Empfänger um seine emotionelle Reaktionen auszulösen, die des rationellen Filters von Impulsen beraubt sind.

Im siebten Kapitel wurden Reklamen anhand der Theorien von Sprechakten analysiert. Wenn man annimmt, dass die Reklame eine spezifische Art des kontextuell ganz eindeutigen „Sprechereignisses“ (*speech event*) ist, kann man daraus schließen, dass sich dort manche konkrete Typen von Sprechakten befinden, die meistens einen mittelbaren Charakter haben. In den untersuchten Reklamen finden wir also solche Sprechakten, wie Inserate, Manifeste, Angebote, Versprechen, Appelle, Warnungen und Wünsche. Die Anwendung von solchen Sprechakten wird durch Zuredensfunktion der Werbung bestimmt und schon das Werbungsziel entscheidet über die illokutive Kraft, auf deren Grund sie hier klassifiziert wurden.

Das letzte achte Kapitel ist eine tiefgründige Studie von vier ausgewählten Reklamen. Der Autor versucht, das Zusammenwirken von verschiedenen Strategien zeigen, die auf Überredungsfunktion gerichtet sind. Da sich die vorigen Kapitel auf künstliche Weise im Rahmen der angewandten Untersuchungsmittel auf ausgewählte Werbungselemente konzentriert haben, will das achte Kapitel diese fragmentarische Beschreibung ersetzen, indem es die Überredungskraft als eine Resultante aller angewandten Strategien darstellt. Das ganze Buch wird durch den Anhang mit Kopien aller untersuchten Reklamen ergänzt.

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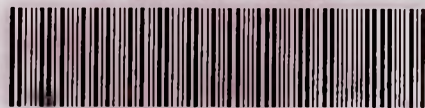
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