

6162 601 44

UV - UFS
BLOEMFONTEIN
BIBLIOTHEEK - LIBRARY

HIERDIE ERGEMPLAAN MAG ONDER
GEEN OMSTANDIGHEDE UIT DIE
BIBLIOTHEEK VERVREED WORD NIE

University Free State

34300004921213
Universiteit Vrystaat

Raising assumptions:
**intertextuality as a
marketing tactic in reason
and tickle advertisements**

M.S. Conradie

Raising assumptions: Intertextuality as a marketing tactic in reason and tickle advertisements

M.S. Conradie

A dissertation submitted to meet the
requirements for a Doctoral degree in the
Faculty of the Humanities (Department of
English; in Sociolinguistics) at the
University of the Free State, Bloemfontein

Supervisor: Dr S.I. Brokensha

Date: 20 September 2011

Table of Contents

Abstract..... 7

Chapter 1 9

1.1 Introduction 10

1.2 Advertising and intertextuality 11

1.3 Research aims 13

Chapter 2 14

2.1 Print advertising and mass communication 14

2.1.1 Characteristics of mass media communication 16

2.1.2 The principles, pros, cons and types of print advertisements..... 18

2.2 Defining pragmatics 20

2.3 Wilson and Sperber’s relevance theory..... 25

2.3.1 How does it differ from Grice’s Co-operative principle? 25

2.3.2 When is a stimulus relevant?..... 28

2.3.3 The Cognitive Principle of Relevance..... 31

2.3.4 The Communicative Principle of Relevance 33

2.4 Relevance theory and advertising 34

2.4.1 Masking the intention to advertise 37

2.4.2 Covert communication and audience distrust..... 39

2.4.2a) Adjusting product claims 39

2.4.2b) Relevance theory 40

2.4.2c) A validating context 42

2.4.2d) Conviction, seduction and intertextuality 43

2.5 Simpson’s (2001) reason and tickle 43

2.6 Other pragmatic studies of advertising 46

2.7 Defining discourse analysis..... 49

2.8 Intertextuality as a tool for analysing marketing tactics 51

2.9 Intertextuality and ideology 59

2.10 Summary 60

Chapter 3 61

3.1 The sample..... 62

3.2 Textuality: words and images..... 64

3.3 How is intertextuality established?	66
3.3.1 Criteria for identifying intertextuality.....	66
3.3.2 Levels of the analysis	68
3.4 Function and relation to reason and tickle	69
3.5 Analysing reason product claims	72
3.6 Linguistic manifestation of intertextuality.....	73
3.6.1 Analysing idioms as intertexts	73
3.6.2 Inter- and intra-action	76
3.6.3 Irony and intertextuality	77
3.7 Metaphors and intertextuality: relevance theory and cognitive linguistics.....	81
3.8 Limitations	84
3.9 Triangulation: Focus groups.....	85
3.9.1 Characteristics, advantages and disadvantages	85
3.9.2 Designing the research instrument	86
3.9.3 Respondents	88
3.10 Summary	89
Chapter 4	90
4.1 Intertextuality vs. other methods.....	90
4.1.1 Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC)	91
4.1.2 Stork.....	93
4.1.3 BMW	95
4.1.4 Gucci	97
4.2 The establishment and function of intertextuality.....	101
4.2.1 Overview	101
4.2.2 Qualitative reports.....	114
4.2.2.1 Intertextuality and metaphors.....	114
4.2.2.1a) Clinique	114
4.2.2.1b) Aramis.....	117
4.2.2.1c) Sprite	120
4.2.2.1d) Honda	125
4.2.2.2 Linking the product/service with a media text.....	128
4.2.2.2a) Clicks	128

4.2.2.2b) Liberty Life	131
4.2.2.2c) Durex.....	135
4.2.2.2d) Mini.....	138
4.2.2.3 Intertextual references to an historical event, character or object	140
4.2.2.3a) Gino Ginelli	141
4.2.2.3b) Telkom	145
4.2.2.3c) Amarula.....	148
4.2.2.3d) Continental (MH).....	151
4.2.2.3e) Nankang.....	155
4.2.2.4 Intertextuality and gender stereotypes.....	159
4.2.2.4a) Avis.....	159
4.2.2.4b) Ibiza	161
4.2.2.4c) Powerade	164
4.2.2.4d) Brut.....	167
4.2.2.5 Idioms, proverbs and recycled expressions as intertexts	169
4.2.2.5a) BMW	169
4.2.2.5b) Momentum.....	173
4.2.2.5c) Borges	176
4.2.2.5d) Yardley.....	179
4.2.2.6 Using the intertext to generate humour	182
4.2.2.6a) Acer.....	182
4.2.2.6b) Vitaforce	186
4.2.2.6c) Nedbank (MH).....	189
4.2.2.6d) Alexander Forbes.....	192
4.2.2.7 Intertextuality and sex.....	195
4.2.2.7a) Oxy	195
4.2.2.7b) Vodacom.....	198
4.2.2.7c) Nivea	201
4.2.2.7d) Ciao	204
4.2.2.8 Using intertextual symbols to simplify communication	206
4.2.2.8a) Momentum.....	206
4.2.2.8b) Tracker.....	209

4.2.2.8c) Urban Hotel.....	211
4.2.2.8d) City Lodge	213
4.3 Conclusion: the functions of intertextuality	215
Chapter 5	218
5.1 Overview	218
5.2 Qualitative reports.....	225
5.2.1 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, reason subtext.....	225
5.2.1.1 BMW	225
5.2.2 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, reason and tickle subtext	227
5.2.2.1 Clinique	227
5.2.3 Tickle headline, tickle product/service placement and reason subtext	231
5.2.3.1 Acer.....	231
5.2.4 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, reason, without a subtext	235
5.2.4.1 Absolut.....	235
5.2.5 Tickle headline, tickle product/service placement, without a subtext.....	237
5.2.5.1 Sprite.....	237
5.2.6 Tickle headline, tickle product/service placement and tickle subtext	242
5.2.6.1 Designer Collection (DC)	242
5.2.7 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, with a reason and tickle subtext	246
5.2.7.1 Glenrand M-I-B.....	246
5.2.8 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement and tickle subtext	249
5.2.8.1 Obikwa	249
5.2.9 Reason headline, tickle product/service placement and reason subtext	253
5.2.9.1 Mica	253
5.2.10 Reason headline, reason product/service placement and reason subtext	257
5.2.10.1 Nivea (MH).....	257
5.2.11 Reason headline, reason product/service placement without a subtext.....	260
5.2.11.1 Dunlop	260
5.2.12 No headline, reason product/service placement, without a subtext.....	262
5.2.12.1 Tosoni.....	262
5.3 Conclusion: the combination of intertextuality with reason-tickle patterns	263
5.4 Hypernorms	269

Chapter 6 274

6.1 Results of the focus groups..... 274

6.2 Transcripts 275

6.3 Interpretation of the transcripts..... 331

6.3.1 Clinique 331

6.3.2 BMW 336

6.3.3 Gino Ginelli..... 340

6.3.4 Acer 343

6.3.5 Brut 346

6.3.6 Nankang 351

6.3.7 Tracker 352

6.3.8 Hansa Pilsner..... 356

6.3.9 Brand identity and personal choice..... 359

6.4 Conclusion: focus group discussions..... 359

Chapter 7 362

7.1 Implications of the analysis..... 362

7.2 Recommendations for Critical Discourse Analytic studies 366

7.3 Other recommendations for future studies 368

Bibliography 370

Appendix A:..... 386

Advertisements..... 386

Appendix B:..... 387

English translations of the transcripts in Chapter 6 464

Abstract

Advertising constitutes one of the most enduring and influential genres of mass media communication and has, as such, attracted attention from various academic disciplines, including linguistics and its subfield sociolinguistics. This dissertation departs from an argument put forward by Crook (2004), which posits that one of the primary objectives of advertising is the attempt to establish and reinforce positive associations with the advertised brand, in order to gain an advantage over competitors. To analyse this function, the project combines a range of pragmatic and discourse analytic methodologies, under a relevance theoretic framework, in order to conduct an empirical analysis of the role of intertextuality in print advertising. In addition, the study aims to uncover the manner in which intertextuality is combined with direct/logical vs. indirect/emotional claims, by using Simpson's (2001) *reason* and *tickle* constructs. The results support the conclusion that copywriters use intertextuality to foster positive associations with the advertised brand, but also suggest that direct - or reason - product claims serve to guide readers' inferences about the relationship between the intertext and the advertised product/service. Based on these findings, the researcher also makes specific recommendations for future analyses in the field of critical discourse analysis.

Reklame is een van die mees blywende en invloedryke genres van massamedia kommunikasie en het, as sodanig, die aandag getrek van verskeie akademiese dissiplines, insluitend linguistiek en sy subfield sosiolinguistiek. Hierdie verhandeling vertrek vanaf 'n argument na vore gebring deur Crook (2004), wat voorstel dat een van reklame se primêre doelwitte die vas stel en versterk van positiewe assosiasies met die geadverteerde handelsmerk is, ten einde 'n voordeel bo mededingers te bekry. Om hierdie funksie te analiseer, kombineer hierdie projek 'n verskeidenheid pragmatiese en diskoers analitiese metodes, onder 'n relevant teoretiese raamwerk, ten einde 'n empiriese ontleding te doen van die rol van intertekstualiteit in gedrukte media advertensies. Daarbenewens analiseer die studie die wyse waarop intertekstualiteit met direkte/logiese vs. indirekte/emosionele eise gekombineer word, aan die hand van Simpson se (2001) *rede* en *kielie* konstrunkte.

Die resultate ondersteun die gevolgtrekking dat kopieskrywers gebruik maak van intertekstualiteit om positiewe assosiasies met die geadverteerde handelsmerk te bevorder, en dui ook daarop dat direkte - of *rede* - produk eise gebruik word om lesers se afleidings te lei aangaande die verhouding tussen die interteks en die geadverteerde produk/diens. Op grond van hierdie bevindinge maak die navorser ook spesifieke aanbevelings vir toekomstige studies in die gebied van kritiese diskoers-analise.

Key words: Discourse analysis, relevance theory, pragmatics, intertextuality, reason, tickle, Simpson, media, advertising, audience engagement, mental biasing

Acknowledgements

An undertaking of this nature is in a very real sense a group effort. I must therefore thank my supervisor, Dr S.I. Brokensha, for her resolute dedication to this project, especially her professional guidance and constructive comments. I would also like to thank the two anonymous external examiners for their stimulating and gracious feedback, as well as their inspiring recommendations for further research. I am also eternally indebted to my wife, Samantha, for challenging my thinking on crucial points, based on her superb insight into the workings of the mass media and consumers. I also want to thank Marike Potgieter, Danie de Klerk, Liandi Coertze and Marilize Pretorius for creating an atmosphere at work that is conducive to critical and tolerant debate. Finally, I must thank God. Without His guidance none of this would have been possible.

Chapter 1

Introduction and research aims

1.1 Introduction

The expression of meaning through lingual signs is one of the defining characteristics of human behaviour. Moreover, the potential of such signs for manipulating human cognition opens the practice of all social institutions to linguistic research.

The mass media is one such institution, comprising as it does, a myriad channels for national and international communication. This project conducts a relevance theoretic (Wilson and Sperber, 2004) and discourse analytic study of what is undoubtedly one of the most influential aspects of mass media communication: advertising. It proceeds from the claim that one of the primary functions of advertising is to establish and reinforce positive and memorable associations with the advertised product/service, in order to gain an advantage over competitors (discussed in detail in the next chapter). This claim, in addition to the observation that all ads contain a combination of elements that attempt to achieve it through either rational or emotive appeal, forms the basis of the current study (Simpson, 2001: 591). To analyse the manner in which copywriters attempt to establish and reinforce positive associations, the project concentrates on the use of intertextuality in a selection of print ads from a variety of lifestyle magazines. Although this feature has been investigated by analysts such as Kuppens (2009) and van Niekerk (2008), it has not

yet been researched within a relevance theoretic framework. Furthermore, within this framework, the present study combines discourse analytic methods with the pragmatic constructs *reason* and *tickle*. By doing so, the current project aims to make its contribution by expanding research in both pragmatics and discourse analysis, as explicated below.

1.2 Advertising and intertextuality

Advertising is defined by Skinner, von Essen and Mersham (2001: 387; 56) as:

[p]aid, non-personal communication through various media by business firms, non-profit organizations, and individuals who are in some way identified in the advertising message and who hope to inform or persuade members of a particular audience [...] to buy [their] products and services.

Before proceeding, it is important to draw a distinction between advertising and public relations. The latter is a more comprehensive term and denotes:

the art and social science of analysing trends, predicting their consequences, counselling organi[s]ations' leaders, and implementing planned programmes of action which will serve both the organi[s]ation and the public interest (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 4).

Advertising, therefore, represents a subordinate part of public relations. The genre is closely associated with capitalism. In fact, Atkin and Richardson (2005: 165) state that it derives its impetus from the need "to create consumers out of citizens and to nurture these consumers' desire for branded commodities" (cf. Smith 2002). Its commercial significance is attested to by estimations that its absence would increase the retail price of newspapers by up to ten times, television by five times, and magazines (which represent the focus of the current study), by up to three times (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 56). Although it incurs vast expenditure – an estimated three billion US dollars in South Africa during

2007 (Herber, 2008) - it is nevertheless regarded as the most economic means of communicating information about brands, products and services to potential consumers (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 56).

From a linguistic perspective, advertising provides a wealth of research topics, including the manner in which copywriters “play with, push, and extend the limits of language” in order to achieve their commercial goals (Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1807).

In this vein, McQuarrie and Philips (2005) state that analyses of advertising language should suggest explanations for copywriters’ reliance on words and images that constitute indirect and emotive – as opposed to rational/logical – methods of persuasion. This statement provides the rationale for the current analysis (for a clarification of the term persuasion, as it is used in this study, cf. sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2, especially 2.4.2d).

In order to propose a valid account of advertisers’ strategies, the current analysis employs a pragmatic model that may clarify the distinction between *indirect/emotive* and *direct/rational* modes of appeal. This model revolves around the pragmatic concepts tickle and reason, developed by Simpson (2001). However, the present analysis does not aim to cover the full scope of either tickle (emotive) or reason (rational) tactics. Instead, the focus is on one feature that has not yet been analysed within either Simpson’s (2001) framework or relevance theory (Wilson and Sperber, 2004): intertextuality.

Downing (2003: 70) defines intertextuality as a “text which the participants perceive as belonging to other discourse, but which they associate with the text under construction, and which affects their interpretation[s]” of that text. As an example we may consider the televised ads for Spar, aired during the annual Wimbledon tournament. These ads combine terminology from the event - such as *advantage*, *love* and *deuce* – with images of specific products. By doing so, readers are reminded of the advertiser’s status as an official sponsor. The tournament, therefore, represents the intertext. Readers must possess sufficient background knowledge to recognise words such as *advantage*, *love* and *deuce* as references – not only to tennis in general – but to Wimbledon in particular. Then, having identified the intertext, the principles of relevance theory dictate that readers will consider ways in which these may be relevant to the advertised brand, product or service (discussed in detail during the next chapter).

Based on Simpson's (2001) criteria, the manipulation of language in this manner is viewed as a tickle strategy. This raises questions about the various methods with which such intertexts may be embedded in adverting texts, as well the manner in which intertexts may be combined with other tactics, such as the conspicuous or inconspicuous display of a product/service.

1.3 Research aims

The primary objective of this study is twofold. First: to uncover the manner in which intertextuality is manifested in print ads, via words and/or images that signal its presence. Second: to analyse its various functions as a marketing tactic, within the overall aim to establish and reinforce positive associations with the advertised product/service.

To achieve this, the project aims to answer the following questions. Firstly, how is intertextuality established? Secondly, what function does it play in terms of the advertised product/service? Finally, assuming that intertextuality represents a tickle strategy, how is it combined with reason and/or other tickle methods? The analysis is based on a combination of pragmatic and discourse analytic (DA) methodologies.

With regards to pragmatics, the literature review chapter will begin by discussing Wilson and Sperber's (2004) relevance theory, as well as the manner in which previous studies have applied it to the language of advertising. Then, based on the argument proposed by Simpson (2001), it will establish that the concepts reason and tickle are consistent with the tenets of relevance theory, as well as discourse analysis. Thereafter, the discussion will turn to analyses which claim that intertextuality constitutes a pervasive feature of advertising discourse. Thus, by investigating the amalgamation of intertextuality within an ad's overall marketing strategy, which contains various elements of both a reason and tickle description, the researcher aims to expand research in both discourse analysis and pragmatics. This will be achieved by analysing the manifestation of the intertext from a DA perspective, while its contribution to marketing tactics will be investigated by means of both pragmatic (Simpson, 2001) and DA methods (van Niekerk, 2008 and Fairclough, 2003).

Chapter 2

A review of pragmatics, discourse analysis and intertextuality

This chapter will review the literature that has influenced the research project. It begins by discussing the different types of print advertisements, as well as the nature of mass communication. Thereafter, it defines pragmatics and also outlines criteria for such studies, before discussing the pragmatic framework that forms the foundation of the project: relevance theory. Next, it reviews previous applications of relevance theory to advertising, with a view toward justifying an investigation of intertextuality. Then, two pragmatic constructs that influenced the research goals are discussed (the manner in which these were applied during the analysis is outlined in the methodology chapter). Discourse analysis is then defined, with emphasis on establishing a rationale for studying intertextuality from both a DA and pragmatic approach. Finally, intertextuality's role in advertising is treated.

2.1 Print advertising and mass communication

The mass media is arguably one of the most powerful role players in contemporary society (Taveras, Rifas-Shiman, Field, Frazier, Colditz and Gillman, 2004). Advertising

represents one of its most pervasive features, as it constitutes “both a marketing tool and a cultural artifact” (Melchenko, 2003: 6). Its potential for widespread manipulation has attracted attention from various academic fields, including business communication (Joy, Sherry and Deschenes, 2009; Cowley, 2006; Beetles and Harris, 2005), sociology (McCleneghan, 2003; Thompson, 2000) and linguistics (Velasco-Sacristán, 2010; Ustinova, 2008; Martínez, 2005; Melchenko, 2003; Tanaka, 1994).

Pragmaticians, in particular, have explored the use of linguistic devices in concealing this manipulative intent (Martínez, 2005; Melchenko, 2003; Tanaka, 1994). These studies proceed from the notion that advertising messages operate along a continuum, with explicated information at one end, and information conveyed through a variety of less direct methods at the other. Analyses of the latter have, for example, argued that copywriters structure messages in a manner that necessitates the drawing of inferences which – especially if offensive in nature – copywriters may later claim were entirely unintended. The blame is shifted to addressees, although the message structure takes advantage of basic trends in human cognition (Melchenko, 2003: 6).

One of the primary aims of this chapter is to explicate how marketers may exploit human cognition. Although the notion that advertising is inherently contingent on deceit and that audiences are inherently distrustful will be challenged in subsequent sections (cf. section 2.4.2), it cannot be denied that this genre attempts to exploit cognitive systems to facilitate its commercial aims. More specifically, subsequent sections will show that in addition to the denial of offensive strategies, one of the primary functions of indirect methods such as implicatures is to involve audiences in the construction of meaning, in a gambit to increase enjoyment and recall of the message. Before delving into these features, however, the influence of mass communication on the goals, strategies and construction of ads must be considered. Thereafter, the guiding principles, advantages, disadvantages and different types of print ads will also be reviewed, with specific emphasis on magazines.

2.1.1 Characteristics of mass media communication

Whatever its format, advertising is predominantly conveyed by means of the mass media and is, therefore, subject to its characteristics. These include the following.

Firstly, the interlocutors are conceptualised as groups. A company aims to convey information to a specific demographic and constructs the message through professional agents, known as copywriters or advertising agencies. The latter construct the message through various teams, including the creative department (in charge of the linguistic features), the media department (who recommend, on the basis of extensive research, the most appropriate media) and the production department (in charge of logistics). Similarly, the audience for whom the message is designed is an entire group, and its constituent members may differ widely in terms of age, race, religion, gender and culture. Furthermore, other groups are also involved. Rival advertisers also strive to seize the audience's attention, so that professionals are constantly challenged to provide the most salient message. Secondly, communication moves, most frequently, in a single direction. Addressees receive a message – constructed in a different time and location – from a communicator who is absent and thus unable to take direct part in the interaction, by means of additional refutations and arguments. Interaction is, consequently, asynchronous (Melchenko, 2003: 8-10). As a result, addressees may be inclined toward passivity, a feature which advertisers either aim to address by involving them in message construction (cf. section 2.4.1), or exploit in the belief that this renders them less critical (cf. Cowley, 2006, in section 2.4.2). Furthermore, audiences are, to a greater or lesser degree, “involuntarily exposed to advertising” (Melchenko, 2003: 10). A communication model for advertising may be illustrated as follows:

this, it must not only seize attention, but also maintain it by, for example, activating the addressees' pre-existing knowledge or beliefs about the world. In this project, it is assumed – on the basis of various arguments cited below – that this principle is of vital importance, and that it accounts for various linguistic features of advertising (including intertextuality). Fourthly, the marketing message must appear to be trustworthy (Skinner, *et al.* 2001: 61). Copywriters' approach to this aim is facilitated, according to some researchers, by deceitful means that aim to veil commercial objectives (Martínez, 2005; Melchenko, 2003; Tanaka, 1994). More will be said of this in section 2.4.2, which deals with the importance of trust and the semblance of credibility. Fifthly, the asynchronous nature of advertising communication opens the message to various interpretations – some counterproductive to the marketer's aims. Copywriters must, therefore, attempt to foresee and negotiate these, as far as possible (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 61). In this project, attempts to anchor and guide interpretations emerged as an important concern of the genre. Finally, the message must exploit its medium. Copywriters must take full advantage of the benefits of their selected medium and negotiate its drawbacks (Skinner, *et al.* 2001: 61).

The advantages of advertising through print media include the following. Firstly, as magazines are focused on a specific demographic, it provides marketers with reliable information about their target audience, allowing them to determine which magazine would be most appropriate. Secondly, in contrast with television, radio media and even newspapers, magazines stay in circulation for longer periods. Buyers often pass them on to other buyers, or leave them in waiting rooms (Melchenko, 2003: 11; Russell and Lane, 1999: 295). Furthermore, the loyalty of a given title's core readership renders them more likely to consider that title as a valid source of information, which has obvious advantages for advertisers (Massoni, 2004: 49; Simić, 2006: 166; Russell and Lane, 1999: 296). From a marketer's view, the disadvantages of magazines include its high cost. Furthermore, audience specialisation may also become problematic for advertisers who wish to reach a wider audience and – as a result – are forced to advertise in various titles (as was the case in the current sample). In addition, magazines must be ready for printing well before publication dates, rendering them less responsive to sudden market

in mind, as well as strategies that are based on thorough and contemporary research. One of these goals must be to establish clear and memorable differences between the advertised product/service and the myriad of other available brands (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 56). To achieve this goal knowledge of audience characteristics – including their preferred language - is paramount. Of course, it also follows that an advertising campaign's goals must be realistic. In the final analysis, it is “but one element in the marketing mix and on its own, cannot achieve the final objective of the marketing campaign, the sale itself” (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 56). Nevertheless, there are basic principles that marketers should bear in mind (reviewed in the next section).

With regard to research on this genre, it is important to bear the above-mentioned fact in mind, in order to circumvent unrealistic expectations. For example, one of linguists' primary interests in print advertising is the potential role of various linguistic devices in advancing commercial aims. As a result, this genre has received systematic attention from various frameworks, including pragmatics and DA. However, it is important to remember that it forms part of a larger marketing campaign. Taking cognisance of this fact allows one to avoid ascribing invalid functions to the linguistic devices under study, as will be discussed in detail later on (cf. section 2.4).

2.1.2 The principles, pros, cons and types of print advertisements

Advertising is a unique communicative act that may be realised through various channels, such as the internet, television, and print media. However, regardless of its specific channel, its creators must bear the following guidelines in mind.

Firstly, consumers must believe that the message is aimed at their needs/concerns, and views the world from their perspective. Secondly, its selling proposition must be focused to the extent that even when it boasts more than one aspect of the advertised product/service, it is still centred on a single idea (or “consumer benefit”), rendering it relevant to the target consumer and simple enough to be memorable (Skinner, *et al.* 2001: 61). In the current project, the primary consumer benefit on which the message centres, was categorised and tested by means of informant-response data. Thirdly, it must engage the consumer in meaning construction (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 61; Jeong, 2008: 69). To do

this, it must not only seize attention, but also maintain it by, for example, activating the addressees' pre-existing knowledge or beliefs about the world. In this project, it is assumed – on the basis of various arguments cited below – that this principle is of vital importance, and that it accounts for various linguistic features of advertising (including intertextuality). Fourthly, the marketing message must appear to be trustworthy (Skinner, *et al.* 2001: 61). Copywriters' approach to this aim is facilitated, according to some researchers, by deceitful means that aim to veil commercial objectives (Martínez, 2005; Melchenko, 2003; Tanaka, 1994). More will be said of this in section 2.4.2, which deals with the importance of trust and the semblance of credibility. Fifthly, the asynchronous nature of advertising communication opens the message to various interpretations – some counterproductive to the marketer's aims. Copywriters must, therefore, attempt to foresee and negotiate these, as far as possible (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 61). In this project, attempts to anchor and guide interpretations emerged as an important concern of the genre. Finally, the message must exploit its medium. Copywriters must take full advantage of the benefits of their selected medium and negotiate its drawbacks (Skinner, *et al.* 2001: 61).

The advantages of advertising through print media include the following. Firstly, as magazines are focused on a specific demographic, it provides marketers with reliable information about their target audience, allowing them to determine which magazine would be most appropriate. Secondly, in contrast with television, radio media and even newspapers, magazines stay in circulation for longer periods. Buyers often pass them on to other buyers, or leave them in waiting rooms (Melchenko, 2003: 11; Russell and Lane, 1999: 295). Furthermore, the loyalty of a given title's core readership renders them more likely to consider that title as a valid source of information, which has obvious advantages for advertisers (Massoni, 2004: 49; Simić, 2006: 166; Russell and Lane, 1999: 296). From a marketer's view, the disadvantages of magazines include its high cost. Furthermore, audience specialisation may also become problematic for advertisers who wish to reach a wider audience and – as a result – are forced to advertise in various titles (as was the case in the current sample). In addition, magazines must be ready for printing well before publication dates, rendering them less responsive to sudden market

changes (Russell and Lane, 1999: 297). Finally, they also lack sound and moving images, the prerogative of radio and especially television (Melchenko, 2003: 11).

In broad terms, print ads consist of “commercial and non-commercial” types (Melchenko, 2003: 11). The latter consists primarily of public service announcements, consciousness raising and advertising for charity, predominantly funded by governments. The former is further categorised into “consumer [...] trade [...] and corporate advertising” (Melchenko, 2003: 11). The first conveys information to consumers at large (although preference is often given to a specific group), while the second is designed specifically by manufacturers for dealers. The last is also directed to mass audiences, although its emphasis is on enhancing the company’s public relations, instead of specific products or services (Melchenko, 2003: 11). The current project includes examples of all three types. However, as sampling focused on other criteria (cf. section 3.3), membership in these categories was not considered as a decisive variable.

2.2 Defining pragmatics

Nerlich’s *History of Pragmatics* (2006: 37; cf. Nerlich and Clarke, 1996) conceptualises the field as the product of a new language philosophy, developed in the United States, in which the work of Austin (1962; 1963) features prominently. She also acknowledges the influence of European theories which precede Austin’s work¹ (1962; 1963). These include the “*Ordinary Language Philosophy*”, “*British contextualism and functionalism*”, and the French and German schools, associated with the “*theory of enunciation*” and “*Critical Theory Movement*” respectively (Nerlich, 2006: 37).

The fruit of these diverse approaches is a language theory that emphasises: 1) the context-dependability of signs’ meanings, including the deictic link between sign users and context, 2) the action-orientated nature of signs as tools that serve to influence the

¹ In an evaluation of the influence of the anthropologist Malinowski on Austin’s contribution to pragmatics, especially speech act theory, Korta (2008: 1658) concludes: “Considering the possibility of an influence of Malinowski on Austin, via Wittgenstein, we found no reason to reject Nerlich and Clarke’s [1996] conclusion that Austin’s conception of speech act theory was a rather isolated affair, with little influence from Malinowski or Wittgenstein.”

behaviour of others, and 3) the notion that signs fulfil “not only an intellectual, but also an affective function” (Nerlich, 2006: 51-52).

The scope for pragmatic research is clearly wide, which complicates the formulation of a clear-cut definition. Nevertheless, Levinson (1983) in his seminal work on the subject lists three reasons why an attempt at outlining the nature and subject matter of pragmatics should be made. The first of these is the relative youth and obscurity of the term. The second concerns the fact that, at the time, no textbooks and only one journal, *Journal of Pragmatics*, existed to provide novice researchers with guidelines. The third, and perhaps most serious, reason concerns claims by Lyons (1977: 117) that no clear focus exists at all. Although these considerations may no longer be an issue for pragmaticians (although Nerlich, 2006, and Kota, 2008, still observe that the field is often treated as young), new challenges necessitate reliable criteria by which a study may or may not be considered a legitimate part of the field.

In this vein, Biletzki (1996: 455), in an exposition of the philosophical roots of pragmatics, observes the proliferation of specialists in the field, the diverse subjects that have received systematic attention, as well as the tendency toward interdisciplinary work, with the following warning: “sitting on any of the branches of this pragmatic tree - be they philosophical, linguistic, psychological – one wonders if the tree mightn’t topple over for lack of roots”. Weideman (2007: 589) – although he refers specifically to the field of applied linguistics – makes an admonition that is equally relevant to the current study: aspiring researchers who neglect to consider that which precedes their own work may develop unrealistic and academically incongruous expectations of what their research should achieve. To circumvent this danger, new entrants into this and any other academic field should reflect upon whatever definition they subscribe to, in order to 1) avoid uncritical acceptance of what happens to be in vogue and 2) consider the validity of their own contributions. As this study proposes to combine pragmatic and DA methods, it is even more important to consider exactly how these two fields may be utilised and combined responsibly, in order to advance research in both. This section will begin by discussing Biletzki’s (1996: 455) assertion that, for the purpose of judging whether a study can in fact be viewed as pragmatic or not, the field is best conceptualised as involving “explicit and essential” reference to language users.

Biletzki (1996: 458) begins by stating that definitions of pragmatics are either intensional or ostensive/extensional in nature. The former constitutes an attempt to demarcate the field's subjects by means of an overarching and unifying characteristic that justifies the categorisation of these subjects under one head. Here, Biletzki (1996: 458-459) pays specific attention to definitions which find that unifying characteristic in the significance of the role of language users, before considering the main pitfall of this approach. These include definitions of pragmatics as: "the study of the relations of signs to interpreters" (Morris, 1938: 84), "the relationship between a language, its subject matter, and the users of the language" (Martin, 1971: 138), "the relation between the language users and the language structure" (Apostel, 1971: 33), "the science of language use" (Haberland and Mey, 1977: 1), "the rules of principles which govern language in use" (Malmkjaer, 1991: 345), and "the science of language seen in relation to its users" (Mey (1993: 5).

Nerlich's more recent work (2006: 37) supports Biletzki's (1996) approach. Based on Morris's (1983) view that pragmatics represents a third component of semiotics, the other two being syntax and semantics, Nerlich (2006: 37) also employs the definition of pragmatics as the study of "sign use and sign users in situations". The significance which these definitions place on sign users in context represent a response to the structuralist approaches to language as "a closed system to be analysed in itself and for itself" (Nerlich, 2006: 37). The implication of this shift in emphasis to the language user is that pragmatic analyses focus on the manner in which language is employed to "influence others in certain ways, to communicate with others, to act upon others, and to make them act in certain ways" (Nerlich, 2006: 41). However, there is an obvious weakness in all these definitions, which is that they cast the net far too wide (Biletzki, 1996: 459), a problem which Levinson (1983: 5) also encountered "[if] pragmatics is the study of language [or sign] usage [...] it will hardly suffice to indicate what the practitioners of pragmatics actually do".

Here ostensive/extensional definitions may serve to augment the intensional, as they provide a list of all matters that constitute legitimate research subjects. In pragmatics, Levinson's (1983: 27) list is still one of the most seminal: "Pragmatics is the study of deixis, implicature, presuppositions, speech acts, and aspects of discourse structure".

However, this list lacks a clear delineation of criteria for the addition or rejection of new subjects that may draw attention, so that pragmaticians are required to rely on the recognition of a “family resemblance” between these items and new candidates (Levinson, 1983: 27). This, again, brings Weideman’s (2007) warning to mind. Levinson (1983: 27-28) continues to consider conceptualising pragmatics as the field of study that finds its “upper border” at semantics and the lower at sociolinguistics, and discusses the challenges involved in this enterprise. Biletzki’s (1996: 459) treatise, on the other hand, suggests Kasher’s (1977: 106) definition as a guideline and investigates its validity: “an investigation in the field of language study is assigned to Pragmatics if reference is made in it, explicitly and essentially, to the user of a language”. Biletzki’s (1996) evaluation of the validity of the concepts *explicit* and *essential* is discussed below, and contextualised in terms of Nerlich (2006), for its bearing on the current study.

Employing explicit and essential references to the language user as criteria to determine whether a study is pragmatic or not, has the following pitfalls. Explicitness may be problematic because language is viewed, by linguists and philosophers alike, as a human product. Researchers may thus be inclined to discover references to language users and to consider these as explicit, even when they do not exist or – more likely – are oblique. This danger may be countermanded by the concept of essentiality. Biletzki (1996: 459) asserts that essentiality may enable researchers to determine whether a treatise that makes explicit reference to the language user treats him/her as a decisive variable. Therefore, explicitness represents a vital, but insufficient criterion for labelling a study as pragmatic. However, if essentiality supersedes explicitness, a systematic method is required to determine whether an investigation treats the language user as a crucial variable. Here, Biletzki (1996: 460) suggests recourse to the ostensive/extensional list for pragmatics: “context, indexicals, communication, use, implicature, presupposition, speech act, convention [and] intention”. As the items in this ostensive list are “what pragmaticists talk about when they do pragmatics”, it may be assumed that they presuppose the significance of the language user (Biletzki, 1996: 460). They represent “a cluster which points in the direction of pragmaticity” by virtue of their status as concepts that are used in this language theory (Biletzki, 1996: 460).

Biletzki’s (1996) approach is aligned with Nerlich’s (2006: 41) formulation of pragmatics as the study of signs as representative of human action in context (intensional definition), which is studied through reflection on what motivates a user’s selection and use of signs (through analysing items in the ostensive list). Figure 2 below demonstrates the role of intensional definitions and the ostensive list, in conjunction with essentiality and explicitness, as criteria for pragmatic studies.

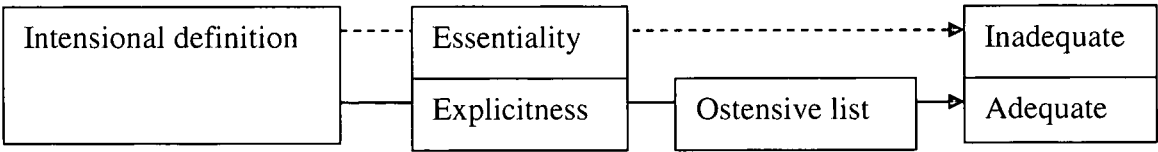


Fig. 2: Interface between intensional, ostensive definitions, essentiality and explicitness for defining pragmatics (based on Biletzki, 1996)

Adopting these criteria for pragmatics holds the following implications for the current investigation. Firstly, they confirm the legitimacy of advertising language as a research subject, especially for the manner in which it employs signs to “*influence others* in certain ways, to *communicate* with others, to *act upon* others, and to *make them act* in certain ways” (researcher’s emphasis - Nerlich, 2006: 41). More importantly, the current analysis employs relevance theory, a pragmatic framework developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986; Wilson and Sperber, 2004) on the basis of Grice’s inferential pragmatics (1989). Essential and explicit mention of sign users may, therefore, be presumed. However, as this theory is used in conjunction with the pragmatic constructs studied by Simpson (2001), it must be determined whether the latter represent a justifiable elaboration of Levinson’s (1983: 27) extensional list. A subsequent section will give this matter due attention. First, however, the precepts of relevance theory will be outlined, before discussing the manner in which previous studies have applied these to advertising.

2.3 Wilson and Sperber's relevance theory

2.3.1 How does it differ from Grice's Co-operative principle?

This section discusses inferential pragmatics and the Gricean maxims, as the basis of Wilson and Sperber's (2004) relevance theory, before outlining the latter as a framework for the current analysis.

Developed since 1986 (Wilson and Sperber, 1986; 2004), relevance theory falls under inferential pragmatics, a sub-field of pragmatics that aims to explicate how addressees are able to arrive at a communicator's intended meaning. It posits that an utterance contains evidence which guides addressees to the acceptance of one interpretation over others (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 607-608; cf. Crook, 2004: 716). More specifically, relevance theory constitutes an elaboration of Grice's (1989) claim that hearers conduct this inferencing process by assuming that speakers adhere to an underlying principle of communication (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 608).

Grice's (1989) work laid the foundations of inferential pragmatics, and represents an opposition to the code model of communication. In this model, the communication process begins when a communicator encrypts his/her intended message into a code, which the hearer/listener decrypts on the basis of a matching version of that code. The message issued by the communicator, it is assumed, is identical to the message received by the hearer, so that communication constitutes the transmission of knowledge from one individual to another (Crook, 2004: 721; Rayner, Wall and Kruger, 2004: 38-39; Ramos, 1998: 306). Inferential pragmatics, on the other hand, takes a more complicated view, by taking into account the difference between what speakers intend to communicate and the surface meaning of their utterances (Melchenko, 2003: 16; Pérez, 2000: 38). From this view, addressees are able to arrive at the speaker's intended meaning, not because they receive an identical version of the code, but because of their ability to draw inferences from a speaker's communication.

To guide hearers in this endeavour, speakers must provide evidence which audiences then process on the assumption that polite speakers will adhere to the Co-operative principle. This principle is expressed by obeying the maxims of quality, quantity, manner and relevance. The first of these implies that polite speakers should not utter what they

believe to be fallacious or unsubstantiated. The second dictates that the amount of information contained within an utterance should be proportionate to the requirements of the engagement. Therefore, a single word may be sufficient if hearers already possess or may infer the information required to understand it correctly. The maxim of manner implies that speakers must avoid ambiguity by selecting the clearest and most intelligible method of expression. The maxim of relevance requires co-operative speakers to ensure that their utterances are relevant to the current exchange (Grice, 1989: 368-372; Levinson, 1983: 101-102). Assuming that co-operative speakers obey these maxims entails that the inferencing process will lead rational listeners to that interpretation which complies best with all four maxims. In discussing the merit of these maxims, Levinson (1983: 102) notes that they are guidelines rather than strict rules, so that when a speaker's contribution ostensibly disobeys one or more, hearers are still motivated to consider scenarios which preserve co-operation. For example:

1.a. Speaker A: Are you going to watch tonight's movie?

1.b. Speaker B: Well, it's a comedy.

Although the explicitly communicated information/explicatures of B's utterance appears to be un-cooperative, hearers will automatically make inferences by considering scenarios that render B's response trustworthy, sufficient, clear and relevant. To preserve the Co-operative principle in this example, the addressee must consider background knowledge/contextual assumptions about whether or not speaker B enjoys comedies, and use this information to reach a conclusion. Retrieving information regarding B's taste is referred to as implicated premises, while the conclusion to which it leads constitutes an implicated conclusion (Pérez, 2000: 41-42). Grice refers to such inferences, drawn to maintain the Co-operative principle, as implicatures (Levinson, 1983: 102).

Relevance theory concurs with Grice's emphasis on the retrieval of contextual assumptions in order to interpret utterances. However, it diverges from Grice on the role of relevance. As a point of departure, Wilson and Sperber (2004: 608) assert that relevance does not form part of an overarching communicative principle and other maxims, but can account satisfactorily for the inferencing process. This claim disputes

one of the most central precepts of Grice's (1989) work: the feasibility of assuming that speakers base communication on a Co-operative principle. It is founded on the concept that "the search for relevance is a basic feature of human cognition, which communicators may exploit" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 609). From this argument, an elementary example of inferencing routes in advertising would run as follows:

2.a. Brand X... The whiskey connoisseur's choice

The reader/hearer of 2.a. attributes to the communicator the desire to convey information and assumes that it will prove relevant enough to be worth processing. From 2.a. the addressee infers the proposition that people who have good taste in whiskey prefer brand X, based on schemata (frameworks/structures for organising and recalling information, Brown and Yule, 1983: 247) for the word *connoisseur*. It also follows that those who do not prefer brand X have poor taste. The first inference is an implicated premise (or conventional implicature) while the second is an implicated conclusion (or logical entailment; cf. Melchenko, 2003: 3). The addressee is able to make these inferences by processing both the stimulus - represented by 2.a. - as well as its context, such as a billboard that signals its status as an ad. This activates background knowledge surrounding the advertising genre so that, despite the fact that the information is implicated and not explicated, addressees search for a claim about Brand X, since this concurs with their expectations of advertising. Thus, the addressee now has grounds on which to attribute to the communicator the intention to establish or reinforce the belief that brand X is an index of whiskey drinkers' taste. Even if the communicator can, strictly speaking, deny responsibility for this inference in a court of law, it is undoubtedly in his/her interest that readers are able to reach a positive conclusion like this quite easily (cf. sections. 2.3.3 and 2.3.4). Whether or not this belief becomes stable enough to influence behaviour is another matter (discussed under the next heading).

There is, however, much more to distinguish relevance theory from the Gricean Co-operative principle. Most notably, the theory rests on two principles of relevance: the Cognitive and Communicative. However, before discussing these principles, the next section will first clarify the term relevance.

2.3.2 When is a stimulus relevant?

In Wilson and Sperber's (2004: 609) theory, a stimulus is considered relevant when processing it within a specific context - that provides the individual with various assumptions on the basis of pre-existing schemata - leads to meaningful conclusions. These conclusions are referred to as "positive cognitive effects" and are defined as a significant impact on the individual's perception of the world (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 609). Examples of such effects include the 1) alteration or 2) verification of a belief, 3) providing the individual with more information, 4) providing an answer or 5) making aspects of a specific schema more salient (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 609; cf. Crook, 2004: 716-717). An example from 1.a above is the belief: *brand X is an index of whiskey drinkers' taste*.

Drawing erroneous or unsupported inferences, although they also represent cognitive effects, are negative effects. Although individuals may be unable to distinguish between true and false conclusions, the search for relevance dictates that they will only find relevant what they deem to be truthful and thus meaningful: "An efficient cognitive system is one which tends to pick out genuinely relevant inputs, yielding genuinely true conclusions" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 609).

An essential point about this inferencing process is that its most significant starting point is a "contextual implication" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 609). These are implicated premises made by simultaneously processing the stimulus and its context, rather than either one in isolation. A relevant stimulus will therefore be analysed in terms of the schemata it evokes within its context - i.e. the pre-existing assumptions that are retrieved from memory in order to process it. In advertising, for example, a stimulus such as the printed image of a luxury car may be analysed by noticing its presence in a magazine as well as other features such as a prominent headline and company logo which signal its status as an ad. Having drawn a contextual implication from the stimulus and its context, additional cognitive effects may be yielded, such as those mentioned earlier: the confirmation or rejection of an opinion, and so forth (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 609), referred to as implicated conclusions by Pérez (2000: 41-42). For example, in terms of the car ad, one may upon observing an attractive female model next to the car, retrieve

schemata surrounding the purpose of advertising and infer that the model is meant to support this purpose. Depending on his/her background knowledge, this may establish pleasant associations with the car and/or reinforce the individual's pre-existing beliefs that advertisers employ sex as an advertising strategy.

From this discussion it is not only clear that relevance may differ from one individual to another – a feminist and misogynist may react differently to the earlier example - but also that a stimulus' relevance to the same person may differ from context to context. Furthermore, at any given time a myriad of different stimuli, or cognitive effects from a single stimulus, may be relevant to a single individual. According to relevance theory, two variables determine a stimulus' priority in the processing queue: firstly, the degree of relevance of the stimulus' cognitive effects and, secondly, the costs involved in accessing these effects. With regard to the first, one stimulus may yield more positive cognitive effects than another and will, consequently, be more relevant. Just so, when dealing with a single stimulus with multiple possible effects, observers automatically pay more attention to that cognitive effect which they perceive as most relevant. A sociologist may find conclusions about the use of female models more relevant, than the specific features of the advertised car. The second variable dictates that relevance decreases when a disproportionate amount of cognitive energy is required to process the stimulus in conjunction with the assumptions derived from its context (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 610-611). If a stimulus manages to balance cognitive effect with cost it obtains "optimal relevance" – a term that will be treated in more detail in a subsequent section (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 614).

This method of determining a stimulus' priority in terms of its relevance is viewed by relevance theorists as a subconscious result of evolution. The notion that evolution has compelled humanity to optimise cognitive efficiency is the rationale behind Wilson and Sperber's (2004: 612) claim that relevance is a basic human drive, and leads them to the Cognitive Principle of Relevance (discussed in the next section). As a consequence, observers spontaneously judge the relevance of incoming stimuli on the basis of these two variables (relevance and processing effort), and spontaneously retrieve relevant assumptions from memory regarding its context, in order to draw contextual implications.

In terms of advertising, the first variable holds significant implications. All advertisers aim to make their stimuli optimally relevant to the target market. The second variable, however, requires some clarification. Although they do not specifically focus on advertising language, Wilson and Sperber (1994: 99; 1986) note that increasing cognitive cost can be used to “encourage the hearer to look for additional contextual effects in the form of additional weak or strong implicatures”. Therefore, relevance theory does not suppose that an advertising message should be as simple as possible, in the sense that almost no cognitive energy is spent (features such as syntactic simplicity can be ascribed to other factors such as special constraints – cf. Bruthiaux, 2000). Instead, cognitive effort must be balanced with the cognitive effects that may be drawn. A potent illustration is explored by Martínez (2005), who investigates English ads in the Spanish press. Here, the additional processing effort required to read a second or third language appears to reduce relevance – which it undoubtedly does for audiences who do not speak English at all. However, the cost is balanced by strong cognitive effects, especially since the target audience consists of teenagers who possess a higher proficiency in English, and view this as symbolic of their in-group status. Thus, in this example, an increase in cognitive effort is used to heighten relevance by constructing a message according to the preferences of the intended market (cf. Ustinova, 2008). Other authors (van Niekerk and Keyser (forthcoming); Lim, Ang, Lee and Leong, 2009: 1784; van Mulken, van Enschoth-van Dijk and Hoeken, 2005: 710; Crook, 2004: 730; Simpson, 2001: 591; 602; and Pérez, 2000: 45) have observed that copywriters may in fact enhance recall of their advertising message by increasing the effort required to process it.

This will be discussed in more detail later on, but one of the implications for this analysis is that an ad may refer to an intertext in an oblique manner that encourages the expenditure of additional cognitive effort. Consequently, readers must access more background knowledge to recognise the intertext, in the first instance, before considering its relevance to the product.

Having clarified the term relevance, the next section will discuss the twin pillars of Wilson and Sperber’s (2004) theory: the Cognitive and Communicative Principles of Relevance.

2.3.4 The Communicative Principle of Relevance

According to this principle, hearers may assume that a communicator has imbued his/her message with optimal relevance. In Wilson and Sperber's (2004: 614) terminology: all ostensive stimuli assume their own optimal relevance.

This principle forms the foundation of relevance theoretic analyses by replacing the need for a Co-operative principle. Instead, assuming optimal relevance legitimises the twin expectations that a stimulus will: 1) yield stronger positive cognitive effects than others currently available and 2) demand only a proportionate level of cognitive effort. The rest of this segment elaborates on these expectations, with emphasis on their superiority over the Gricean account as well as two further variables for cognitive effort.

The most significant implication of the first expectation, and the most challenging from a communicator's perspective, is that the ostensive stimulus must appear to be the most relevant one in its immediate context (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 614; Pérez, 2000: 43; van Niekerk and Möller, 2008: 118). To achieve this it must promise to yield more and/or stronger positive cognitive effects than alternative stimuli in its context. To illustrate this, we may return to the earlier examples. In order to ensure that his/her stimulus is the most relevant, a communicator may also look meaningfully at the door, or whisper *it's getting late*, while tapping his/her wrist to provide strong evidence for the intended message. In the context of advertising, an image of a luxury car and an attractive female model may be supported by a subtext stating: *Women love men who love this car*. This combination may serve to strengthen the inference that the car is marketed as an item that attracts attractive women to male consumers.

The second criterion implies that hearers may expect the communicator to make him/herself as comprehensible as possible "within the limits of her own capabilities and preferences" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 615). This provision elucidates instances in which communicators fail to convince hearers of the optimal relevance of their message and, consequently, fail to hold their attention. More importantly, however, it enables relevance theory to account for instances in which communicators fail to provide relevant stimuli as a result of their unwillingness to do so, as opposed to Grice's account in which this is ascribed to inability alone. In advertising, copywriters may omit information

Embedding one's informative intention in the communicative requires an "ostensive stimulus" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 613). If we return to the example cited above, the communicative intention publicises the informative by means of tapping one's wrist while looking one's audience in the eye (the ostensive stimulus). For this reason, this kind of communication is termed "[o]stensive-inferential communication" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 613). Simply glancing at one's wrist watch may become a case of ostensive-inferential communication by coughing or touching the intended addressee's arm, as these provide an ostensive stimulus.

It is precisely this reasoning which provides support for the status which Wilson and Sperber (2004) accord to relevance. The ostensive stimulus represents the evidence provided by a communicator for the acceptance of one meaning over others. Firstly, producing an ostensive stimulus draws an audience's attention and, secondly, enables them to draw accurate and predictable inferences, thus enabling a communicator to convey his/her message effectively by making certain assumptions more relevant than others. The search for relevance, therefore, accounts for inferential communication without necessitating a Co-operative principle (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 614):

By producing an ostensive stimulus, the communicator [...] encourages her audience to presume that it is relevant enough to be worth processing. This need not be a case of Gricean co-operation. Even a self-interested, deceptive or incompetent communicator manifestly intends her audience to assume that her stimulus is relevant enough to be worth processing

This argument leads Wilson and Sperber (2004) to the Communicative Principle of Relevance.

2.3.4 The Communicative Principle of Relevance

According to this principle, hearers may assume that a communicator has imbued his/her message with optimal relevance. In Wilson and Sperber's (2004: 614) terminology: all ostensive stimuli assume their own optimal relevance.

This principle forms the foundation of relevance theoretic analyses by replacing the need for a Co-operative principle. Instead, assuming optimal relevance legitimises the twin expectations that a stimulus will: 1) yield stronger positive cognitive effects than others currently available and 2) demand only a proportionate level of cognitive effort. The rest of this segment elaborates on these expectations, with emphasis on their superiority over the Gricean account as well as two further variables for cognitive effort.

The most significant implication of the first expectation, and the most challenging from a communicator's perspective, is that the ostensive stimulus must appear to be the most relevant one in its immediate context (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 614; Pérez, 2000: 43; van Niekirk and Möller, 2008: 118). To achieve this it must promise to yield more and/or stronger positive cognitive effects than alternative stimuli in its context. To illustrate this, we may return to the earlier examples. In order to ensure that his/her stimulus is the most relevant, a communicator may also look meaningfully at the door, or whisper *it's getting late*, while tapping his/her wrist to provide strong evidence for the intended message. In the context of advertising, an image of a luxury car and an attractive female model may be supported by a subtext stating: *Women love men who love this car*. This combination may serve to strengthen the inference that the car is marketed as an item that attracts attractive women to male consumers.

The second criterion implies that hearers may expect the communicator to make him/herself as comprehensible as possible "within the limits of her own capabilities and preferences" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 615). This provision elucidates instances in which communicators fail to convince hearers of the optimal relevance of their message and, consequently, fail to hold their attention. More importantly, however, it enables relevance theory to account for instances in which communicators fail to provide relevant stimuli as a result of their unwillingness to do so, as opposed to Grice's account in which this is ascribed to inability alone. In advertising, copywriters may omit information

surrounding the flaws or complaints about a given product, even though these may be optimally relevant to consumers in terms of cognitive effects and their ultimate decision. Co-operation is therefore not prerequisite for communication in relevance theory (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 616).

Furthermore, the Communicative Principle of Relevance claims that two procedures influence the process of analysing the evidence provided by a speaker to arrive at the intended interpretation: "Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects [and] [s]top when your expectations of relevance are satisfied" (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 617). Following this argument, effective communicators would attempt to ensure that the first interpretation that satisfies the criteria of optimal relevance is, in fact, the intended interpretation.

The following will consider the manner in which the precepts of relevance theory apply to the language of advertising.

2.4 Relevance theory and advertising

This section will consider the implications of relevance theory for pragmatic studies of advertising. Specific attention will be paid to two contradictory applications, that of Tanaka (1994) and Crook (2004).

From the Communicative Principle of Relevance, every ad carries the presumption of its own optimal relevance, and is judged on the basis of effort vs. effect. However, the entire process depends on the advertiser's ability to make his/her informative intention known to a target audience. All companies intend to make certain aspects of their products/services known to potential clients (informative intention). However, not all are equally adept at broadcasting this through ostensive stimuli (communicative intention). In other words, an audience can only respond to an ad as copywriters wish them to if they recognise a text as such (Crook, 2004: 732). Although this may seem axiomatic, it holds important implications for the differences between Tanaka (1994) and Crook (2004).

To study advertising, Tanaka (1994: 41) claims that copywriters do not wish audiences to recognise an ad for what it is. She treats advertising as covert communication, a term that refers to communication in which: "the intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive

environment of the hearer [...] without making this intention mutually manifest”. Its distinction from overt communication is illustrated by Melchenko (2003: 29) as follows:

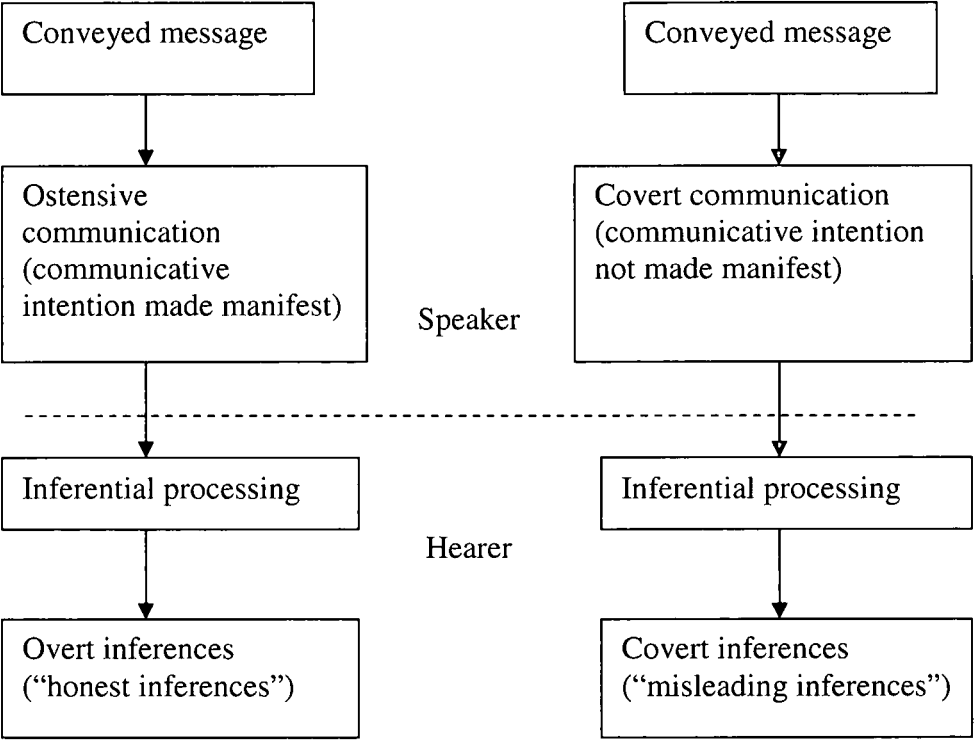


Fig. 3: Ostensive (overt) vs. covert communication (Melchenko, 2003: 29)

It is covert communication’s potential for giving rise to “misleading inferences” that advertisers may exploit in order to mask the intention to advertise (Melchenko, 2003: 29). This claim appears incongruous with the tenets of relevance theory, which emphasises the difference between ostensive-inferential (or overt) communication and covert information transmission (Crook (2004: 721). Having made one’s communicative intention public, in the form of a print ad for instance, entitles audiences to assume that it is meant to affect their cognitive environment and/or behaviour in certain ways. This follows from the Communicative Principle of Relevance, as optimal relevance can only be assumed if an audience has recognised the copywriter’s intention to affect them in some way (Crook, 2004: 718; cf. Žegarac and Clark, 1999: 340).

The rationale behind Tanaka’s (1994: 36) claim is that advertisers face unique challenges, which require them to mask their intentions in some way. Most notably, copywriters must negotiate the distrust generated by audiences’ belief that advertising is manipulative in nature. They must also avoid responsibility for potentially offensive marketing strategies, such as the exploitation of sexual images/lexical allusions as well as materialist attitudes. The function of covert communication, as conceptualised by Tanaka, is illustrated below, based on Crook (2004: 722):

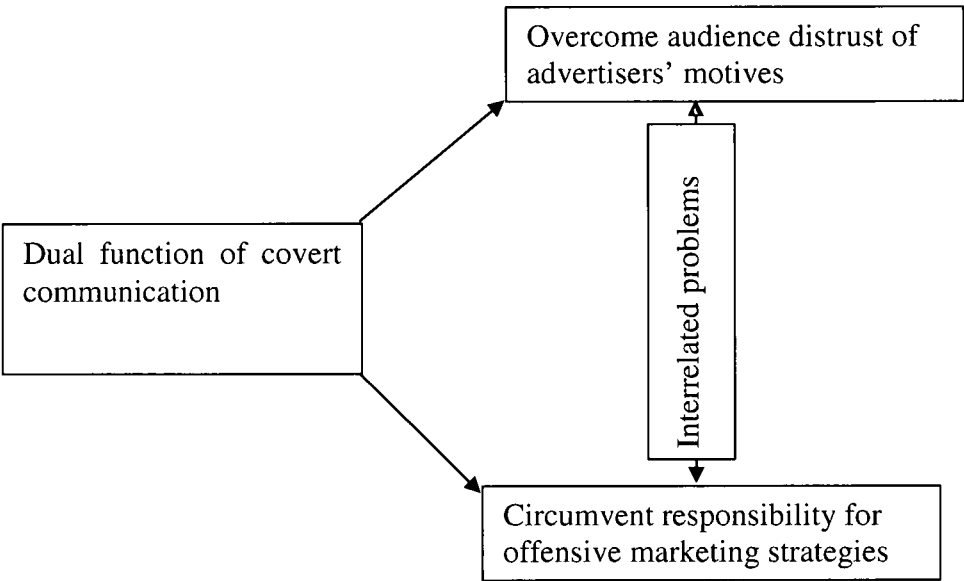


Fig. 4: Tanaka’s (1994) depiction of covert communication’s role in advertising (based on Crook, 2003: 722).

With regard to trust, the argument is that advertisers make explicit only enough information to encourage the audience to invest more cognitive energy to draw inferences. The result is that they become “at least partly responsible for the assumptions that are inferred” (Martínez, 2005: 86; cf. Pérez, 2000: 44). This, in turn, allows advertisers to deny responsibility for offensive or misleading interpretations. Two aspects of Crook’s (2004) criticism against covert communication hold significance for the current study. Firstly, he questions the wisdom of masking the intention to advertise and, secondly, the importance of trust.

2.4.1 Masking the intention to advertise

It is claimed that the need for covert communication proceeds from the notion that the “audience automatically recogni[s]es adverts [...] and is immediately aware of their aim: to persuade their audience to buy a certain product, not a similar one” (Martínez, 2005: 85). Crook (2004: 732) takes the view that any attempt to camouflage the intention to advertise must eventually be unmasked in order for the ad to be persuasive. Failing to recognise a text as an ad is “counterproductive in terms of two basic goals of advertising: salience and memorability”. (Crook, 2004: 733). On this basis, Crook (2004: 721) questions whether covert communication is a feasible explication of advertisers’ strategies and whether it is a justifiable elaboration of relevance theory. Instead, he proposes that weak overt communication poses a more cogent explanation of marketing tactics (cf. Morris, 2005: 698).

Like its covert counterpart, weak overt communication also requires greater cognitive energy, thus involving audiences in meaning construction. However, in contrast with the former, both the communicative and the informative intentions are publicised, albeit in ways that support advertisers’ goals. The crux of Crook’s (2004) argument is not that advertisers are invariably honest and transparent, but that the degree of concealment manifested in ads is insufficient evidence for covert communication.

Weak overt communication provides advertisers with two strategies. The first involves the use of strong evidence for a communicative intention and weak evidence for the informative. Put differently, although the content of the message is unclear, the advertiser clearly intends to publicise it. Cases of this nature include ads in which: the headline is not clearly related to the advertised product, the product claims are oblique (Crook, 2004: 730) or in which the message is incomplete until addressees perform an action such as touching or smelling a part of the print (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). If these strategies convince the audience that the additional cognitive effort is proportionate to the cognitive effects they will draw, addressees will persist until relevance has been achieved. The aim is to provide the audience with the rewarding experience of having successfully solved a riddle. By increasing the audience’s involvement in this manner,

advertisers aim to heighten recall of their message (Crook, 2004: 730; van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming; Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1784; Simpson, 2001: 591; Pérez, 2000: 45; van Niekerk, forthcoming).

The second strategy is to provide weak evidence for one's communicative intention, despite having a strong informative intention. In these instances, advertisers have a strong intention to communicate positive information about their products/services, but make this intention public in a more discreet manner (Crook, 2004: 731). A prominent example is the *Brand Power* ads aired on television (in 2010). They feature a spokesperson for *Brand Power* who presents various items to consumers, as though from the perspective of an objective authority that has judged the quality of these products as superior to others. This façade is augmented by their slogan: "Helping you buy better". In truth, *Brand Power* was conceived by an international advertising company, the Buchanan Group, as a marketing strategy for its client brands. In this case, the advertised brands have a strong informative intention, but consumers have weak evidence on which to attribute this intention directly to the brands. Practically, this means that the assumption which becomes more salient is: *an objective authority A has judged brand B's product as one of high quality*, rather than *brand B intends to persuade me that their product is of high quality*.

In summary, on the issue of covert vs. weak overt communication, Crook (2004: 733) concludes: "covert communication and weak (overt) communication seem on the surface to be very similar. Both shift responsibility for certain interpretations away from the communicator and towards the addressee". As this notion of weak overt communication appears to fit more appropriately within Wilson and Sperber's (2004) relevance theory, it is adopted in the current analysis.

However, against the backdrop of the above discussion, there is another aspect of Crook's (2004: 723) objection against covert communication that has bearing on the current project. Assuming that an audience has recognised a case of weak overt communication as an ad and, therefore, as an attempt at manipulation, they may still be distrustful of this intention. It is to this aspect of Crook's (2004) explanation that the next part will turn.

2.4.2 Covert communication and audience distrust

Crook (2004: 723) critiques the effectiveness of covert communication as a remedy for audience distrust by questioning the very assumption which gave rise to it: how important is trust in advertising? The following will review his argument for instances in which trust is less important (presented with support from the *Journal of Business Research*, as well as a detailed relevance theoretic explanation) and those in which it may in fact become an obstacle.

2.4.2a) Adjusting product claims

Crook (2004) suggests that the degree of trust required for successful advertising is proportionate to the force of product claims. Adjusting the force of these claims until they do not require a disproportionate leap of faith on the audience's part may enhance an ad's credibility.

To achieve this, copywriters employ strategies which "are designed to create only minute effects in their audience" (Crook, 2004: 723). Instead of outright persuasion that brand A is superior to brand B, advertisers simply aim to establish and reinforce positive associations with the former, in order to increase its status over the latter - associations which may or may not be related to its actual quality in some definitive manner. A crucial point is that they are willing to do this by increments over an extended period of time. Sutherland and Sylvester (2000) as well as Baker (2001) concur. The former compare the biasing effects of advertising to physical growth in children: imperceptible on a day-to-day basis. If two brands are in fact equal, advertising does not aim to convince audiences that one is better. Instead, by virtue of the positive associations established and strengthened in the long run, the goal is to reinforce favour for one (Sutherland and Sylvester, 2000).

Tien (2009) observes that audience distrust is a complex phenomenon, influenced by such diverse factors as personal self-esteem, susceptibility to peer pressure and knowledge about market practices. Kaiser and Song's (2009) study of consumer magazines found that audiences' attitude toward advertising is also influenced by the

genre of the magazine (women's, business, political, car magazines or adult magazines), while Wang and Sun (2010: 342) point to a connection between nationality and medium (online vs. other forms). From this perspective, then, characterising advertising as inherently contingent on deception, and audiences as inherently distrustful is less productive than investigating the former's subtle biasing effect (Crook, 2004: 732). To achieve this, linguists may study the manner in which advertising language is oriented towards its primary goals, which are: 1) to draw an audience's attention, 2) to become memorable, 3) to reinforce positive associations with the product/service and 4) "to produce additional contextual effects", which may in the long run influence consumer behaviour in some desirable (and profitable) manner (Pérez, 2000: 37; cf. Myers, 1994). The practical guideline for adjusting product claims to reduce audience distrust, is that they must connect harmoniously with contextual assumptions/pre-existing knowledge in the minds of the audience. For this reason, claims "tend to be far less surprising" as their purpose is simply to emphasise a "characteristic which, although exaggerated, is more or less undeniable" (Crook, 2004: 726). Such claims include the following: "jewellery is 'undeniably' exclusive, [and] drinks are 'undeniably' thirst-quenching" (Crook, 2004: 726). Here it is essential to mention that some of these beliefs are, in fact, the result of years of advertising and public relation campaigns, such as: BMW and Mercedes are undeniably luxurious cars. The implication is that this tactic obviates the need for covert communication. An additional advantage of unsurprising claims is that they are not so exaggerated or specific that copywriters are likely to be forced to prove them in a court of law (Melchenko, 2003: 6-7). Of course, whether or not a certain claim is consistent with the beliefs/assumptions of the audience may be influenced by variables such as culture, age, gender and other demographic features which copywriters must bear in mind.

2.4.2b) Relevance theory

A relevance theoretic description of this biasing effect may run as follows. An ad provides an input that makes certain assumptions more salient to the observer and builds a connection between these assumptions and the advertised product/service.

To illustrate this, consider an ad for *Checker's Steakhouse Classic* from the sample for the current study. The graphic unit displays a table with a small sign that reads "reserved". This stimulus connects with background information about the practice of reserving tables at restaurants. Closer inspection reveals a television, portrait and bookcase in the background. Extrapolating from this, it appears that the room belongs to a middleclass home. The headline reads: "Why go out and spend a fortune if you can enjoy a fine dining experience in the comfort of your own home?"

The use of the reserved sign may serve to retrieve schemata surrounding restaurants (in conjunction with the words "go out"). The aim is to use restaurants as an intertext, in an effort to build an association between the advertised product and the quality one may expect from restaurant cuisine. Having made this extrapolation, the addressees may feel rewarded for having recognised the copywriter's innovation (a positive cognitive effect). Furthermore, as preparing food at home is undeniably more affordable, it is possible that when the cost of visiting restaurants becomes a salient factor this message will be recalled from memory. Here, the relevance of the message may also be enhanced against the background of an economic recession (experienced in 2009).

Examples of this nature are presented in more detail in Chapter 4, but it seems plausible that relevance theory can provide a valid description of marketing tactics that use intertextuality to fix positive associations with brands, products or services. Clearly, however, a distinction is necessary between the intertext itself and those features which copywriters wish to highlight for commercial purposes. For this reason, the analyses focus on determining the methods by which copywriters attempted to render a specific intertext salient, before attempting – on the basis of readers' background knowledge about both the intertext and the advertising genre – to highlight specific features. In this sense, the successful use of an intertext refers to the degree to which it is able to fix positive associations with the advertised product/service².

Before continuing to cases in which issues of trust become more important, it is necessary to clarify that making 'less surprising' or 'undeniably true' claims do not preclude the use of puffery or "wildly exaggerated" claims (Cowley, 2006: 728). Based

² At his point, it is important to remember that adverts represent "but one element in the marketing mix and on its own, cannot achieve the final objective of the marketing campaign, the sale itself" (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 56). The analysis is therefore position on the micro-level of an advertising campaign.

on empirical research, Cowley (2006, *Journal of Business Research*) suggests that inflating a claim with expressions such as *the very best* or *the ultimate*, is effective despite being vague. Provided that these expressions are coupled with fundamentally unquestionable propositions, puffery has positive effects on brand evaluation - even when consumers recognise such claims as unsubstantiated (Cowley, 2006: 728). She accounts for this by positing that “the claim is initially represented in memory as true during the comprehension process”, however even after rejecting it as false “the corresponding [positive] evaluation will not be appropriately adjusted” (Cowley, 2006: 729). This phenomenon held true even when respondents were warned in advance that the ads they were about to see use puffery.

2.4.2c) A validating context

Issues of trust become more important in cases where copywriters produce claims that are not axiomatically consistent with pre-existing assumptions. In cases such as these, advertisers may have recourse to a “validating context” which lends credibility to the claim (Crook, 2004: 726). For example, this allows advertisers to claim that skincare product A is able to improve skin tone and reduce wrinkles, if this fact is attested to by experts such as dermatologists. Here, the stimulus invokes assumptions surrounding the authority of such experts and enables an audience to accept the claim as plausible. This does not, as is also the case with fundamentally true beliefs, imply that audiences automatically accept these claims, but although they may be sceptical, repeated exposure to palatable claims may still achieve the desired effect: “scepticism is not fully-fledged distrust” (Crook, 2004: 724). Moreover, providing such a validating context allows advertisers to appear as though they are simply transmitting information from another source. Although their purpose for transmitting said information is ultimately to influence consumer behaviour – a fact that audiences are aware of - scepticism may be directed to the validating context rather than the advertised brand (Crook, 2004: 726).

2.4.2d) Conviction, seduction and intertextuality

In summary, the literature suggests that adjusting the force of product claims represents an effective solution to audience distrust. The kind of print ads analysed here, do not represent self-contained arguments that are meant to have immediate effects on consumer behaviour. Instead, they form part of an overall marketing strategy that aims to increase profits in the long run. This distinction between outright persuasion and subtle biasing influence (Crook, 2004: 732) echoes Kitis and Milapides' (1997: 560-561) distinction between conviction and seduction – although they refer specifically to editorials rather than ads. Both concepts are “subsumed [...] under the hyperprocess of persuasion” (Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 560). However, the former relies on cogent argumentative steps, which appeal to rational cognition for acceptance. By contrast the latter relies less on convincing evidence/arguments and leans toward emotive appeal. Its goal is to arrange an argument's content so that it manipulates perceptions of its source, rather than the logic of the argument itself. Based on the literature cited above, the current project proposes that ads rely on seduction rather than conviction (although seduction must not be confused with deception, as explicated above). Marketers use seduction by aiming to reinforce favourable associations with the product/service/brand. It is also proposed that intertextuality, which will be defined and discussed later, may play an important role in 1) reinforcing such favourable associations and 2) providing a validating context. As subsequent sections on intertextuality will show, seduction is also achieved by presenting readers with a riddle. Successfully solving such a riddle increases enjoyment of an ad and represents an additional aspect of seduction. However, before turning to this feature of advertising, attention will be paid to Simpson's (2001) pragmatic model.

2.5 Simpson's (2001) reason and tickle

Simpson's (2001) study investigates two features of advertising language and demonstrates their consistency with the items in Levinson's (1983: 27) list. He refers to those aspects of advertising which follow a reason approach – “those which suggest a motive or reason for purchase” – and tickle – “those which appeal to humour, emotion

and mood” (Simpson, 2001: 589). This segment will clarify how these constructs fit within the current pragmatic framework, before outlining their characteristics and bearing on the analysis.

The reason-tickle distinction is also referred to as hard sell vs. soft sell (Kim, 2007: 95; Atkin and Richardson, 2005: 168). These concepts lie on opposite ends of a continuum. The position of a text on this continuum is determined by the frankness of its sales agenda (Atkin and Richardson, 2005: 168). During the production of an advertising text, its producers must consider two interrelated variables: “*structure* and *strategy*” (Simpson, 2001: 592). The former refers to the sequential organisation of the units of which a text consists, expressed in a linear fashion (cf. Downing, 2003), while the latter concerns the various options that a communicator may use to achieve his/her purpose. The reason-tickle, or “direct-oblique”, distinction is one aspect of the latter variable, as communicators must decide where to place a text on the continuum (Simpson, 2001: 592). Simpson (2001) suggests that this distinction has strong counterpoints in both pragmatics and DA.

Firstly, it echoes Grice’s (1975) characterisation of utterances that obey all four maxims to the letter and those which purposely contravene one or more maxims so that hearers must resort to inferences. In discourse analysis, the reason approach finds an analogue in Brown and Levinson’s (1987: 60) “bald-on record” tactic, while tickle strategies resonate with “off-record” approaches (Simpson, 2001: 592-593). Finally, in relevance theoretic terms, reason strategies offer ostensive stimuli that balance cognitive cost and effect by opening a relatively unambiguous inferential route, while tickle strategies are more exacting in terms of the effort and the number of inferences required to obtain relevance (Simpson, 2001: 593). From Crook’s (2004) discussion, it would seem that reason-tickle corresponds well with the division between strong and weak overt communication. Reason and tickle may, therefore, be viewed as legitimate additions to Levinson’s (1983: 27) list of pragmatic subjects, as illustrated in figure 5, taken from Simpson (2001: 593) with weak and strong overt communication slotted in:

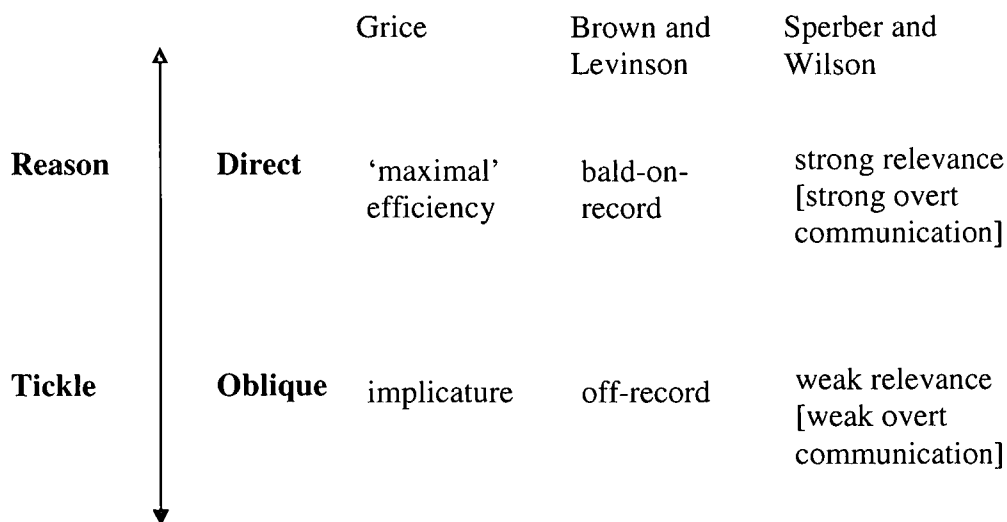


Fig. 5: Simpson's (2001: 593) reason and tickle in pragmatics and discourse analysis.

The basic characteristics of ads that employ a reason approach are: 1) "conspicuous product placement with brand name and (if available) company logo visually prominent", and 2) "a clear and unambiguous statement of the principle reason to buy the product" (Simpson, 2001: 594). The propositional content of the latter may be analysed by means of Halliday's (1994) conjunctive adjuncts (discussed in the methodology chapter). Kim (2007: 96) has also investigated their "problem-solution information structure".

In tickle ads, both the advertised product and brand logos (if available) are visually inconspicuous. More importantly, their headlines and subtexts do not contain clearly defined product claims. In combination, these aspects contribute to the most significant trait of a tickle approach: a higher investment of cognitive effort (Simpson, 2001: 601-602). Although they clearly signal an informative intention, they publicise this in an oblique manner. Upon encountering such a headline, addressees must consider implicatures to resolve the ambiguity by attempting to uncover the intended relationship between the headline and advertised product, as pre-existing knowledge about ads dictates that some relation that supports commercial aims must exist (Simpson, 2001). This is a consequence of the presumption of optimal relevance, and appears to be a case of weak overt communication, as described by Crook (2004).

Although Crook (2004: 735) makes no direct reference to Simpson (2001), he proposes that ads have two interdependent elements: 1) those which present product claims and 2) those which reward the audience for their effort. He states that product claims are communicated through strong overt communication, which is clearly consistent with reason methods (Crook, 2004: 735). His notion of rewards, however, differs from Simpson's (2001) tickle methods. Most significantly, Crook (2004: 735) invokes the term *rewards* as an explanation for the use of sexually provocative images which appear to have no relation to the advertised product and, as such, make no product claims: such "covert elements [are] restricted to the reward dimension" (Crook, 2004: 735). This distinction is understandable, as Crook's (2004) aim is to deal with Tanaka's (1994) claims. Simpson (2001), on the other hand, also deals with linguistic tickle strategies such as tautologies and metaphor to demonstrate their utility for producing product claims in addition to grabbing attention and engaging addressees in a hunt for meaning (Simpson, 2001: 605). His results show that processing tickle ads often "involves reinterpreting the ad in terms of a basic selling proposition" (Simpson, 2001: 603). It is such instances of tickle marketing strategies which will be analysed in the current investigation.

2.6 Other pragmatic studies of advertising

Previous pragmatic analyses (some from an interdisciplinary approach) have investigated various aspects of advertising, such as the use of metaphors in dating ads (Marley, 2008), presuppositions (Yingfang, 2007; Pérez, 2000), implicatures and inferences (Melchenko, 2003; Pérez, 2000), deixis (Downing, 2003), conceptual metaphors (Velasco-Sacristán, 2010; van Mulken, le Pair and Forceville, 2010; Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006; McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005), metadiscursive markers (Fuertes-Olivera, Velasco-Sacristán, Arribas-Baño and Samaniego-Fernández 2001), as well as the relation between Simpson's (2001) constructs and the nature of the commodity being advertised (luxury vs. utility items; Kim, 2007; cf. Bruthiaux, 2000).

Abbott (2000), although she does not refer specifically to advertising, argues that presuppositions are not restricted to the communication of common ground, as previously thought, but may be used to introduce new information. The implications this holds for

advertising will be revisited in the methodology chapter. The rest of this segment will discuss studies which shed light on the subtle biasing effect that marketers aim to exert.

Downing (2003: 67-68) investigates the creation of “text worlds” through pronouns, ellipsis, presupposition, deixis and frame knowledge, in order to uncover how “the advert projects imaginary situations [...] which invite the addressee to identify with the desirable properties displayed”. This evocation of fictional contexts may be a powerful tool for biasing consumers as mentioned earlier. As an example, an ad may display a line of women in evening dress, with a luxury car in the middle, adorned with the tiara and sash associated with the winner of a beauty contest.

Clearly, the success of such methods is contingent on the ability to predict the pre-existing knowledge/assumptions that interlocutors will bring to the interaction. One important implication of this tactic is the impact it may have on identity. For example, a single text may exploit the cultural values of a specific age group, so that the message offends an older generation, and appeals to teenagers (cf. van Niekerk, forthcoming). This move not only demarcates the target audience but encourages them to associate with the product as a symbol of in-group status (Downing, 2003).

One method of evoking such imaginary situations is to use intertextuality, defined by Downing (2003: 70) as a “text which the participants perceive as belonging to other discourse, but which they associate with the text under construction, and which affects their interpretation”. To illustrate this, van Niekerk (forthcoming) analyses an ad for *Cell C* that depicts the hands of an elderly woman of African descent, poised over an assortment of bones, seeds, dice, dominoes and shells. In this case, readers are required to recognise the intertextual reference to the practice of divination by traditional African healers in order to access the intended set of meanings. Although images are effective in this regard, they also run the risk of invoking unintended and possibly counterproductive assumptions (Downing, 2003; van Niekerk, forthcoming). In the *Cell C* ad, for example, the presence of dice may trigger the inference that *Cell C* is related to gambling (Niekerk, forthcoming). To counter this threat, copywriters must provide enough evidence to guide interpretations that arise from an intertextual reference. More will be said about intertextuality under the section about DA, but the literature suggests that it represents a vital aspect of marketers’ strategies. The next paragraph will consider one way in which

advertisers may manipulate, if not fix, the assumptions addressees retrieve when processing a message.

Gardner and Luchtenberg (2000) study the function of phoric reference in advertising, and emphasise the manner in which reference serves to unify image and text, in order to guide the inferencing process. They analyse cases of endophoric, exophoric and homophoric reference. Endophoric reference functions on an internal level between the various elements of a text, and is divided into anaphoric, cataphoric and exophoric reference. Exophoric reference is external and concerns “the immediate spatio-temporal context [...] for example through deixis” (Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1811). Homophoric reference refers to “socio-cultural and world knowledge [or] the context of culture” (Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1811).

To illustrate their point, consider an ad for *Avis* travel agency from the sample for the current study. It contains an image of a female *Avis* staff member, drawn to resemble a comic book super heroine. The headline reads “ULTRA COMPASSIONATE WOMAN”. In smaller print, next to the woman’s figure, a textbox reads: “INSTANTLY, SHE TENDS TO THE WOUNDED WITH SUPER CARING”. The image and text are unified through endophoric reference, as the pronoun “SHE” refers to both “ULTRA COMPASSIONATE WOMAN” and the image, according to Gardner and Luchtenberg’s (2000) study. The relation may be either cataphoric or anaphoric, depending on whether readers observe the image before reading the words, or vice versa (Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814).

Thus, the image, headline and subtext clearly aim to make schemata surrounding comic super heroines/heroes more salient. However, some addressees may also access assumptions about the frivolity of comic books, which may hinder the copywriter’s aim. Next to the cartoon figure’s head, a bubble reads: “AMAZING TRUE STORY”, which on the promise of relevance, may prompt readers to peruse the subtext at the bottom of the page. This text contains information about an *Avis* personnel member, Michelle Dougall, who extended medical assistance to clients during a holiday, at her own expense. The context is now extended, so that “ULTRA COMPASSIONATE WOMAN” also serves as an endophoric (cataphoric) reference to Michelle Dougall, which lends credibility to the advertisers’ claim for the dedication of *Avis*’ staff.

It is, of course, impossible for any copywriter to predict all the positive or negative assumptions that may be drawn from a stimulus. It is not suggested here that copywriters can foresee every possible inference. Nevertheless, the extant literature, as well as the vast sums of money spent on advertising, suggests that great care is taken, by means of various pragmatic tools, to optimise communication through the manipulation of human cognition.

2.7 Defining discourse analysis

Discourse analysis may be used to study both written and spoken forms of discourse. The current analysis will apply it to print ads. This section provides a definition and list of criteria for discourse analytic studies, with a view to establishing a rationale for combining it with pragmatics and to justify the investigation of intertextuality in advertising.

According to Kaplan and Grabe's (2002) *A modern history of written discourse analysis*, the methodology's roots ultimately lie in hermeneutics, but its use has expanded into various disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, rhetorical studies, and linguistics. Under the latter heading it is frequently used in the sub-disciplines anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, descriptive linguistics, functional linguistics, tagmatics and systemic linguistics (Kaplan and Grabe, 2002: 195-196).

As a linguistic enterprise, Kaplan and Grabe (2002: 194) define DA as a framework that explores the way in which a text's meaning is mediated between the interlocutors (the author and his/her readers). To achieve this, it studies organisational features that arise from the influence of 1) context, 2) the communicator's intentions, as well as 3) his/her relationship with the audience.

On this basis, they outline the criteria of DA as the investigation of those linguistic structures in a text that are ordered into patterns which, in turn, influence the interpretation and uses of that text (Kaplan and Grabe, 2002: 194; cf. Weideman, 2011: 62). This definition and criteria are consistent with that of Yule (1996: 139): DA considers the way language users "make sense of what [they] read in texts, understand

what speakers mean despite what they say, recogni[s]e connected as opposed to jumbled or incoherent discourse”.

This emphasis on the influence of genre and function on the organisational features of a text, aggregates DA with those frameworks which present an alternative to Structural linguistics. In Saussurean terminology, the latter focused on *langue*, rather than *parole*, or on *competence* as opposed to *performance*, in Chomskian terms (Kaplan and Grabe, 2002: 195). By contrast, DA proceeds from twin assumptions that 1) language use is opaque which, in turn, necessitates 2) frameworks that operate “*beyond the text*” in the “extra-linguistic world” of social context (Molina, 2009: 185). As a result, instead of taking invented sentences as a basis, DA concentrates on naturally occurring discourse, and aims to explore the grammatical structures that characterise, organise and affect interpretations of the language of specific genres (Kaplan and Grabe, 2002: 197).

The practical implication is that DA studies of advertising will focus on: 1) its key organisational features, 2) the construction/negotiation of meaning, and 3) the relationship between communicators and addressees that emerge from this genre. This is attested to by studies that have explored the use of noun phrases as independent clauses (Rush, 1998), readers’ responses to sexually explicit content (Elliot, Jones, Benfield and Barlow, 1995), and the construction of readers as addressees in a personal conversation (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). Other analyses have also investigated the “marketing myths” (van Niekerk and Möller, 2008: 115) and gender ideologies (Magalhães, 2005) conveyed by underlying linguistic structures, the impact of globalisation on these structures (Cheung, 2010), as well as the nature of advertising as a visual discourse (de Gregorio-Godeo, 2009; 2005).

The above-mentioned agenda for DA points to connections with pragmatics. Wodak (2007), for example, has profitably combined pragmatics, specifically a relevance theoretic framework, with critical discourse analysis (CDA) to scrutinise the use of wordplay, allusions, presuppositions and implicatures in political rhetoric (the differences between DA and CDA are reviewed at the end of this section). Van Niekerk (2008 and forthcoming) combines the two for the purpose of exploring intertextuality (although not in combination with Simpson, 2001).

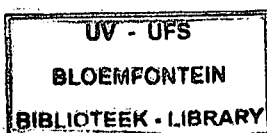
Since intertextuality is a pervasive feature of advertising discourse (van Niekerk, forthcoming; Morris, 2005: 698; Rayner *et al.*, 2004: 70), it constitutes a legitimate subject for DA research that may be incorporated with pragmatics (cf. Simpson, 2001) and other DA methods (van Niekerk, 2008 and Fairclough, 2003). The next segment elaborates the concept, its function in advertising, as well as a rationale for studying it.

Before continuing, however, it must be stated that this analysis does not assume a CDA approach. Both CDA and DA are concerned with the social arrangements that exist beyond the text and which influence its construction as well as the goals for which it is employed. In advertising, therefore, both could be utilised to analyse the devices through which copywriters aim to involve readers in an advertising text in order to promote positive associations with the advertised item. However, CDA differs from DA in its focus on the manner in which discourse manifests and perpetuates asymmetrical power relations and ideology, as well as the manner in which such arrangements may be challenged by alternative discourses (Brokensha, Forthcoming; Brokensha, 2007; Wallace, 1999; van Dijk, 1995; Fairclough, 1992). Such an analysis of advertising may, amongst others, study the social values and norms that underlie advertising texts, and postulate its impact on consumers. However, for reasons that are expounded in section 2.9 and 3.1, this study is not critical in its orientation, as defined by the tenets of CDA.

2.8 Intertextuality as a tool for analysing marketing tactics

Intertextuality refers to surface elements in a text (such as words and images) that signal reproductions of/allusions to alternative texts, but which can be recognised as deliberately built into and combined with the current text to construct new meanings (Downing, 2003: 70). To give the current text meaning, addressees must take cognisance of the functions which these reproductions of/allusions to alternative texts play (van Niekerk, 2008: 497; Kuppens, 2009: 118).

Recognising intertextuality is contingent on the addressees' background knowledge. It enables them to identify specific words, phrases, icons, symbols and/or indexicals (cf. section 3.3.2 for definitions) as reproductions of previously encountered texts – often, although not exclusively, from genres outside advertising. Advertisers must therefore



have reason to believe that their target audience has already encountered these texts before. More essentially, they must also estimate consumers' ability to comprehend the contribution of these allusions to the text under construction (Pantaleo, 2006; Rayner, *et al.* 2004: 70, 73; Kenyon, 2006; Kuppens; 2009).

Although addressees may not be familiar with the term, and thus unable to label an ad as such, a text that can optimise relevance will 1) prompt the retrieval of specific assumptions associated with the intertext and 2) prompt the addressee to consider its bearing on the current text. According to Myers (1994: 4) copywriters use intertextuality to “carry associations from other texts [such as] movies, novels and every day talk” into the current text. These associations may be linked with the advertised product in a meaningful way, such as the gambit to enhance consumers' bias for that brand. In simplified form, the relationship between intertextuality and background knowledge may be represented as follows:

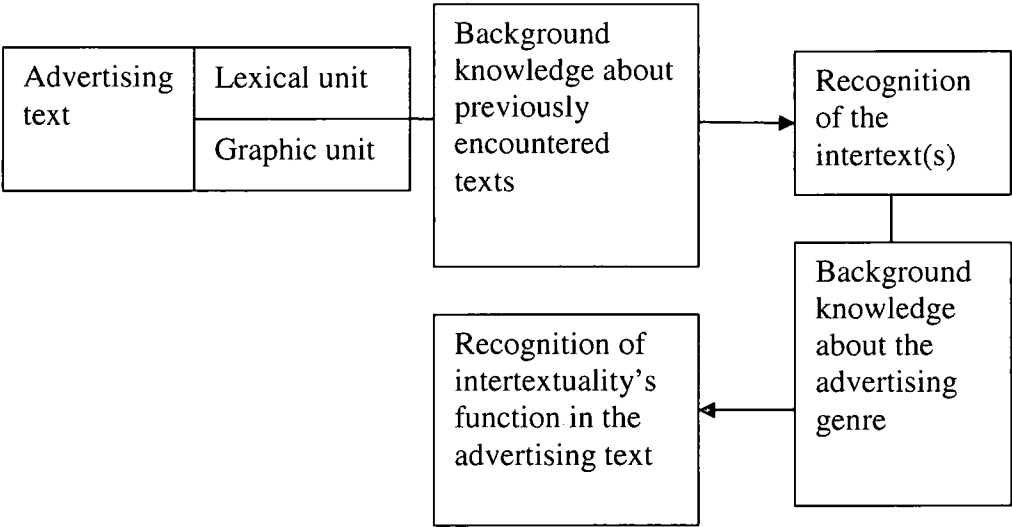


Fig. 6: The relationship between intertextuality and background knowledge

By ascribing to the above-mentioned definition of intertextuality, the current analysis assumes as its basis one of two distinct types of intertextuality: vertical intertextuality (Kristeva, 1986: 36), also referred to as latent (Lachmann, 1990: 57), constitutive

(Fairclough, 1992: 271; cf. Fairclough, 1993) and generic intertextuality (Kuppens, 2009: 115). Its characteristic function, as mentioned above, is the “merging of prior texts in new texts which may assimilate, contradict, or ironically echo them” (Momani, Badarneh and Migdadi, 2010). It contrasts with horizontal (Kristeva, 1986: 36) or manifest intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992: 271; cf. Fairclough, 1993), which covers intertextual references that are explicitly marked as such by quotation marks or citations (Momani *et al.*, 2010). The sample for the current project contained only a single case of manifest intertextuality (cf. section 4.2.2.2b). For this reason, the rest of this section will focus on latent/constitutive/generic intertextuality (henceforth simply intertextuality). First, however, it should be mentioned that in order to distinguish between manifest and constitutive intertextuality, Fairclough (1992: 727) introduces the term “interdiscursivity”. Under this definition, the concept intertextuality not only covers references to alternative texts such as literary texts and speeches, but also alternative genres. To illustrate this, Fairclough (1992: 279) examines a guide for Barclaycard holders. The text contains discourse structures that belong to two separate genres: “financial regulation and advertising” (Fairclough, 1992: 279). More recently, Kuppens (2009) investigates a sample of advertising texts that incorporate discourse structures from genres such as nature documentaries and sports commentary. However, following van Niekerk (2008; forthcoming), Downing (2003: 70), and Kuppens (2009) the current project employs the term intertextuality to refer to interdiscursivity.

To study intertextuality, reliable standards are needed to judge whether traces of another text are sufficient to warrant this label. The standard employed by van Niekerk (2008) demands clear evidence for the presence of a discourse structure that exists prior to the ad under study, and which functions to affect the audience’s construction of meaning. This structure may be alluded to through the repetition of characteristic words or phrases, the conventional form of which may or may not be altered to suit the advertiser’s purposes (Fairclough, 1992: 272). Alternatively, images that invoke the intended intertext may also perform this function (van Niekerk, 2008: 498; cf. section 3.3.2). Therefore, the surface elements of the ad must contain a lingual link with the intertext. As an elementary example, an ad may employ the words *recession* and *credit crunch* in order to incorporate the discourse of a historical event such as the recent economic recession into the ad. As

far as images are concerned, symbols such as the official logo of the 2010 FIFA World Cup may establish a link between the advertised product and the discourse of this event. If we return to the *Avis* and *Checker's Steakhouse Classic* ads, an analysis of intertextuality reveals the presence of other discourses which are intended to affect consumers' interpretations. More specifically, the former employs both graphic and lexical³ elements which recall the discourse of comic book heroes/heroines, before focusing attention on their supernatural abilities. The latter employs an image to invoke restaurant practices, before using this as a basis for asserting the product's comparative quality.

To further operationalise the term intertextuality, we may consider De Beaugrande and Dressler's (2002) criteria for textuality. As it is defined by Fairclough (1992: 727) and applied by Downing (2003), van Niekerk (2008; forthcoming) and Kuppens (2009), the term denotes cases in which discourse structures from other genres are incorporated into the current text. Thus, in De Beaugrande and Dressler's (2002: ch. 8) framework, the term is expanded so that it also covers situationality, which designates: "the factors which render a text relevant to a current or recoverable situation or occurrence".

This is illustrated in the second of the above-mentioned examples, in which the intertext functions to incorporate a specific situation/context (eating at a restaurant) into the advertising context, so that readers are required to draw inferences about its relevance to the product. To do this, they are required to observe the presence of this additional situation/context (manifested in a lingual sign such as the reserved sign), as well as the need to recontextualise it within the context of advertising. Background knowledge about the latter encourages consumers to consider the contribution which the additional situation/context makes to the ad's marketing message, as consumers expect ads to produce these.

As an example from another study, we may consider Kuppens' (2009: 128) analysis of a televised ad that depicts a mother, wearing an orange jumpsuit, and daughter looking at each other through a glass partition in order to suggest that the latter is visiting the former

³ The terms lexical and graphic are preferred to linguistic or lingual and visual. In contrast with the term lexical which pertains specifically to words, the terms linguistic and lingual both include semiotics and can, therefore, relate to more than words. Similarly, the term visual is an umbrella term and unsuitable for the current investigation.

in prison. When the camera zooms out, however, it reveals that the mother is in the process of cleaning a shower. This is followed by a message about the efficiency of a new cleaning agent.

Based on this characterisation, the term *inter-situationality* may also be appropriate for such cases, in contrast with those in which intertextuality is used to refer to novels, poems, films, television series or speeches. Nevertheless, as stated previously, following Downing (2003), van Niekerk (2008; forthcoming) and Kuppens (2009), the term intertextuality is used in this project. However, to avoid broadening the concept to the extent that all language becomes intertextual, Sperber and Wilson's (2004) informative and communicative intentions become essential. The copywriter's informative intention includes the objective of establishing and reinforcing positive associations between the intertext and the advertised product/service. The advertising text counts as evidence of the communicative intention and must therefore contain references to this intertext in its surface features (cf. Kuppens, 2009: 118).

Thus, on the basis of the extant literature, it seems plausible that intertextuality may represent one method by which advertisers attempt to load their products/services with associations which their competitors lack. Its utility for this purpose may lie in the way it incorporates features from an additional text(s) into the text under construction. Unlike manifest intertextuality, which marks the intertext as a citation, latent/constitutive/generic intertextuality confronts readers with the task of identifying the alternative texts and inferring their purpose in the text under construction. Readers are therefore required, on the basis of the evidence in the text, to access pre-existing schemata about both the intertext and the advertising genre in order to understand the former's function. For this reason, the analyses in Chapter 4 will distinguish between the intertext itself and the pre-existing knowledge readers are encouraged to access about it and the advertising genre, in order to infer a marketing message.

Using intertextuality holds various advantages for advertisers. It is a versatile and striking marketing mechanism. Using an intertext that is of special interest to addressees may enable it to function as an attention-grabbing feature, while the cognitive effort required to process it heightens audience participation (van Niekerk, forthcoming; cf. Morris, 2005: 698; Kuppens, 2009: 119). Its versatility opens various possibilities to copywriters.

They may root the intertext in either words, images or both, and use these traces in a conspicuous or subtle way. On the one hand, they may embed sufficient traces of intertextuality in an ad so that audiences 1) recognise its presence and 2) try to uncover its relation to the product, enticing them to become engaged in resolving a riddle, which in turn has an “ego enhancement” effect (Kuppens, 2009: 119). On the other hand, they may also use intertextual references that are so well known to the target market that they do not consciously recognise its presence. Audiences who fall outside the target market may, consequently, fail to understand the message, contributing to a sense of exclusivity. Furthermore, spatial constraints - a characteristic feature of ads (Bruthiaux, 2000) – may be negotiated, as a single text prompts the retrieval of assumptions from all the other texts alluded to in the intertext (van Niekerk, forthcoming).

It follows, of course, that an intertextual reference that fails to satisfy the twin variables of optimal relevance may not provoke favourable reactions from one’s audience. One often employed solution is to rely on images that have strong symbolic meaning, such as: “a high-heeled shoe to represent femininity, a corkscrew to represent partying, a G-string to represent sexiness, etc.” (van Niekerk, 2008: 511; here semiotic terminology is useful and will be discussed in the methodology chapter). Another tactic is to use intertextual references to aspects of everyday life that are easily recognisable. This may enhance relevance by rendering the ad more authentic and convincing, as it appears to resemble real life (van Niekerk, forthcoming; van Niekerk and Möller, 2008: 115). More importantly, the familiarity of these intertexts may increase the predictability of the inferences that can be drawn, thus simplifying the inferencing path. Again, those who fall outside the target audience may be unable to access the intended inferences (van Niekerk, 2008: 500; cf. van Niekerk and Möller, 2008). Other methods for determining the relevance and predictability of audiences’ interpretations that emerged from the analysis are discussed in Chapter 5.

Van Niekerk (forthcoming) also presents further evidence for the value of studying intertextuality from a DA perspective by considering Barthes’ criteria for textuality (1977: 156-164). These are listed below, followed by a brief outline of their significance to intertextuality in advertising, as observed by van Niekerk (forthcoming):

Criterion 1: The text is not an object but a process; it exists only in the activity of production.

Criterion 2: The reader does not create the text, but he/she realises it or he/she is willing to walk through the textual web. Reading is an interactive process.

Criterion 3: The text is incorrigibly plural, not unitary

Criterion 4: The text is an organism: it may grow, change, evolve, decay, even multiply as it is written in successive essays.

Criterion 5: The laws of the text do not correspond with those of the natural world. To the extent that the (literary) text is realistic, it dissembles its own nature.

Criterion one: an ads' marketing message exists in the moment its constituent words and images - as well as the intertexts these invoke - are processed so that, as a result of the search for relevance, its meaning is constructed. Criterion two: to realise a text's meaning, addressees must be willing/motivated to become involved in the process and invest the required cognitive effort (cf. van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). It has already been said that intertextuality can play a key role in this process. Criterion three: because the audience plays an active role in meaning construction, they may extract inferences which copywriters did not intend to highlight. This complicates the latter's task and forces them to attempt, as best they can, to anchor intertextuality to a narrower range of meanings. Criterion four: as the intertext is sometimes manifested in images that allude to aspects of reality, its interpretation may change in tandem with perceptions of those aspects (cf. Jeong, 2008: 59; Morris, 2005: 697; Russell, 2001: 188, for audiences' preference for images). Criterion five: an audience is aware that an ad often attempts to replicate certain aspects of life in an unrealistically exaggerated manner. Nevertheless, such exaggerations are anticipated and perceived as consistent with pre-existing knowledge of advertising. Thus, although the statement "you can make him love you forever by using a certain perfume" is axiomatically unrealistic in terms of literal expectations, it is accepted as consistent with the genre (van Niekerk, forthcoming; cf. the citation of Cowley, 2006, under section 2.3.2).

In addition to establishing that an ad constitutes a text (on the lexical as well as the graphic level), these criteria justify the study of intertextuality as a key feature in the interpretation of an advertising message (the methodology chapter will also consider De Beaugrande and Dressler's, 2002, criteria for textuality).

Van Niekerk (2008) also continues to state that intertextuality is useful for determining the assumptions that copywriters assume as common ground between them and their audience. This provides evidence for the world-view/ideology expressed in their messages. Van Niekerk (2008: 495) identifies twelve hypernorms that marketers tend to assume as common ground:

- [1] there are no subject taboos [with regard, for example, to the use of sex and other offensive methods, such as the use of Biblical texts]
- [2] physical appearance is important
- [3] health and fitness are important
- [4] life is depicted as leisure and work should be avoided
- [5] a distinction is made between women as sex symbols and emancipated women
- [6] men and women in society have new roles to play
- [7] we have national stereotypes of certain cultural groups
- [8] people from the entertainment world are as much part of our lives as family and friends
- [9] caring for the environment and animals is important
- [10] we have a materialistic and visual approach to life
- [11] sensitivity for minority groups (the deaf, disabled etc.) is important
- [12] globalisation is a fact and our life and language are dictated by technology.

An essential point here is that while individuals may not necessarily hold these beliefs, they come to view them as an accurate reflection of the world in which they live (van Niekerk, 2008: 496; cf. the marketing myths identified by van Niekerk and Möller, 2008).

In summary, intertextuality is a key feature of advertising discourse, with numerous advantages. Analysing it enables researchers to uncover the process by which advertisers

aim to bias consumers in favour of their product. Evidently, it is also well suited to the exploration of ideology in advertising. Although the potentially adverse effects of advertising on society is a worthwhile subject (Hadland, Cowling and Tabe, 2007), ideology is not the main focus of the current study.

2.9 Intertextuality and ideology

Although intertextuality may be useful for uncovering the value-systems that inform a copywriter's linguistic choices, the current analysis concentrates, instead, on intertextuality's manifestation and how it may be embedded in specific marketing tactics (based on Simpson's, 2001, constructs). By assuming this focus, the analysis aims to expand research in both DA (intertextuality) and pragmatics (reason vs. tickle), thus shedding light on the linguistic devices available to advertisers. Furthermore, as stated previously, intertextuality in advertising has not yet been analysed within the framework employed in this project. As such, the research may become a basis for subsequent investigations of the ideologies that result from a copywriter's selection and use of a particular intertext. In some cases, for example the selection of a specific intertext, and/or the manner in which its relevance to product is communicated, may encourage the retrieval of gender stereotypes or capitalist ideologies (cf. Chapters 4 and 5). An additional rationale for this decision is expounded in the next chapter (section 3.1).

Nevertheless, reference will be made to intertextuality's contribution to the implication of hypernorms and other value assumptions (Fairclough, 2003: 55), in cases where marketing messages are contingent on these.

Finally, it must also be stated that the current study does not consider tickle strategies as either inferior to reason tactics, or as indicative of some deceptive intent on the copywriter's part. However, where the analyses suggest that emotive appeal is more frequently used for specific product/service categories, explanations will be advanced on the basis of results. For an analysis of ideology and advertising that employs intertextuality – without reference to reason and tickle tactics – cf. Magalhães (2005).

2.10 Summary

This chapter aimed to establish the project as a legitimate pragmatic and DA endeavour. It has discussed the tenets of relevance theory and its potential as a methodological framework. It has also provided a rationale for investigating intertextuality's function in tandem with Simpson's (2001) pragmatics constructs. It seems evident that intertextuality may be viewed as a tickle strategy, as it appeals to associations with texts (including fields of experience such as visiting restaurants) that may provoke emotional responses, instead of cut and dried product claims. However, it may still be combined with eye-catching displays of the product and brand logo, as well as subtexts which conform to reason strategies. The next chapter explicates the project's methodological framework in more detail.

Chapter 3

Methodology for analysing intertextuality in reason and tickle ads

This project conducts an empirical discourse analytic and pragmatic investigation of naturally-occurring language. Priority is given to the results as they emerge from the data after a process of examination, organisation and categorisation (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006: 116). To preserve this goal, the findings were initially analysed in terms of a broad goal, until underlying patterns were identified. Subsequently, more specific methodologies were utilised to study these patterns within the parameters of the original research goal.

The previous chapter has already stipulated the project's two theoretical frameworks (pragmatics and discourse analysis). The following specifies the sampling procedure, before turning to the primary levels of the analysis. Finally, specific methodologies as well as procedures for triangulation are outlined.

3.1 The sample

The sample consists of print ads from commercial magazines, printed between 2006 and 2010. Two women's, two men's and one gender neutral in-flight tourism magazine, were selected: *Cosmopolitan*, *Fairlady*, *For Him Magazine (FHM)*, *Men's Health*, and *Indwe*. The first four titles were selected because the researcher is familiar with their discourse (cf. Conradie, 2009). *Indwe* was added to balance the sample in terms of readership and topicality.

A cursory overview indicated that some ads had been printed in more than one issue and in more than one magazine, regardless of the presumed gender of its readership. Furthermore, some issues contained more intertextual ads than others. Consequently, drawing an equal number of ads from an equal number of issues of each title proved problematic. Instead, every intertextual ad found in the latest issue available to the researcher of each title was sampled, until a set of twenty ads had been drawn from each magazine. However, if an ad for DKNY perfume, for example, had already been sampled from *Cosmopolitan*, those printed in *Fairlady* or *Men's Health* were ignored. Ads for the same brand were only sampled if they promoted a different version of the product/service, or if the ad was based on a different intertext.

The sample was intentionally balanced in terms of the source magazines' appeal to gender, because an initial research aim was to determine whether the hypernorms inherent in each set of ads correspond with the ideology of its host magazine (cf. Conradie, 2009). *Indwe* was intended to serve as a point of reference to contextualise the findings. However, because ads printed in *Cosmopolitan*, for example, were also printed in *FHM* and *Fairlady*, drawing conclusions about the ideology of a single magazine on the basis of its ads became problematic. More importantly, research in CDA is often intended to play "an advocacy role for socially discriminated groups" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 19). The current research, however, does not share this agenda. As the methodological framework has not yet been applied to advertising discourse, the results are intended to expand research in DA and pragmatics, in order to provide a sound basis for future analyses with a critical objective. For these reasons, the study's list of objectives was amended to its current agenda (cf. introductory chapter).

Furthermore, after the analysis had been completed, an additional sample was added to bolster the findings' validity. Four ads were taken from each of the following randomly selected gender neutral lifestyle magazines: *Popular Mechanics*, *Afropolitan*, *Garden & Home*, *Ideas* and *Top Car*, resulting in a total set of 124 ads. The dataset contains ads for a wide array of products and services, from a variety of brands, as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Brands represented in the sample

Title	Advertised brand
<i>Cosmopolitan</i> (<i>Cosmo</i>)	Durex, GHD, Virgin Mobile, BMW, Ciao, Honda, Calvin Klein, Appletizer, DKNY, Clinique, Wonderbra, Sprite, Obikwa, Vodacom, Subaru, USN, Mini, SEAT, Nivea, Perdeberg Winery
<i>Fairlady</i> (FL)	Aquartz, Sarita, Liberty Life, Sun International, Panache, Borges, DSTV, Orbit, Momentum, Yardley, Fiat, Renault, Gino Ginelli, Vitaforce, Clicks, Elizabeth Arden, Volks Wagen, Sunlight, Addidas
<i>FHM</i>	Pringles, Vuka, Oxy, Designer Collection, Absolut, Nintendo, Tyger Wheel and Tire, Continental, Aramis, Acer, DSTV, Mini (a), Mini (b), Olmeca, Total, Brut, Richelieu, Hamsa Pilsner, Heineken, Johnnie Walker
<i>Men's Health</i> (MH)	Kentucky Fried Chicken, Sasko, Glenrand MIB, Sea Rescue, Go Banking, Berocca, Mini, Chopard, Momentum, Telkom, Mica, Armani, Continental, Powerade, Dunlop, Peroni, Nivea, Blue Ribbon, Tosoni, Toyota
<i>Indwe</i>	Protea Hotel, Amarula, VIP Payroll, COEGA, Visa, Urban Hotel, Avis, Knysna Tourism, City Lodge, Walvis Bay Corridor Group, Nedbank, Tempest Car Hire, DSTV, Subaru, Alexander Forbes, Tracker, Berco, Vision Africa, Tshwane Events Centre, Mascom

<i>Top Car (TC)</i>	Citröen, Santam, Audi, Grants
<i>Ideas</i>	Seemann’s Charcuterie, Checkers, Clicks, Mitchum,
<i>Garden & Home (GH)</i>	Samsung, Suzuki, Avis, Checkers,
<i>Afropolitan (Afro)</i>	Hennessey, Kaya FM95.9, Volks Wagen, Nankang
<i>Popular Mechanics (PC)</i>	Honda, Mazda, Toshiba, Incredible Connection

Each ad was analysed qualitatively and categorised according to the parameters outlined below. Examples from each category are presented in Chapter 4.

3.2 Textuality: words and images

As the dataset indicated that intertextuality is often anchored in images as well as lexical choices, the term *text* must be used to designate both the lexical and graphic elements of an ad. The following section will list De Beaugrande and Dressler’s (2002) criteria for textuality, in order to confirm that ads constitute texts on both levels. These criteria are: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality (De Beaugrande and Dressler, 2002).

With regard to lexical structures, Downing (2003) highlights the cohesive function of deictic devices, while Simpson (2001) demonstrates the role of connective adjuncts in the coherence that underlies reason strategies. However, an ad’s graphic features are equally efficient in this regard. Cohesive links between words and images are maintained through phoric reference (especially cataphoric and anaphoric), as indicated in section 2.5 (Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000). For coherence, images serve as signifiers on the iconic, symbolic and indexical levels (defined in section 3.3), as evidence by semiotic

studies (van Niekerk, forthcoming; de Gregorio-Godeo, 2005). For example, symbols – the meanings of which are contingent on social concurrence – are useful for fixing specific associations with an advertised product/service. Thus, the image of a lady's high-heeled shoe with soles that resemble a tyre's surface may connect ideas of feminine style with stability/safety in car ads.

This notion also points to images' function in terms of situationality and informativity. In the former's case, images may be combined with words to allude to a certain context. For example, the image of a spokesperson, designed to look potential consumers in the eye when they read the text, in combination with speech bubbles and deictic references to time/space can be utilised to set up a pragmatic context (discussed in greater detail in cf. section 3.6.3).

With regard to informativity, exploring intertextuality enables researchers to study the role of images in conveying new information about a product or service. For example, the image of a katana (famous sword of the Japanese samurai), in conjunction with an item of computer hardware, may be utilised to claim that both represent the work of a master craftsman. Where a headline or subtext confirms this connection, some may argue that informativity is grounded in the words, not the images. As an example, consider the headline: *the katana and the 500 GB hard-drive... the instruments of masters*. However, in the interest of involving addressees in the negotiation of meaning, ads often use oblique clues. For example, a headline that makes no explicit mention of either the katana or computer hardware may be used. Consider, for example, the headline: *the instrument of a master*. In such cases, the importance of the images of both the katana and computer hardware as vehicles for information cannot be contested.

Intentionality and acceptability have been approached from the position of Gricean maxims (Beaugrande and Dressler, 2002). The current analysis presents a relevance theoretic elucidation. This necessitates attention to the manifestation of communicators' intentions to affect audiences' mental states. Specific emphasis falls on assumptions that are highlighted by embedding images in intertextual references, in conjunction with those inferences that are legitimised by schemata surrounding the advertising genre.

Finally, intertextuality frequently employs images both as an attention-grabbing device and to establish a context in which to communicate product claims, as the analysis will show.

Henceforth, the concept *text* will be used to designate ads as a unified whole, consisting of both graphic and lexical levels. In each case, the analysis will specify the function of each level in constructing an intertext and in linking this with the overall marketing message.

3.3 How is intertextuality established?

3.3.1 Criteria for identifying intertextuality

In a study of intertextuality in advertising, Kuppens (2009: 118) observes: "In a sense, every media text is intertextual [...] Producers do not create their work in a vacuum: other media inevitably permeate their work". Thus, the pre-existing schemata which both copywriters and consumers retrieve from memory during their interaction with an advertising text has, in the past, been built up and influenced by a myriad of other texts, including those which are not intentionally referred to in the ad. This analysis, however, is specifically concerned with ads in which traces of an intertext have been intentionally embedded in the surface elements of the text. As mentioned earlier, in relevance theoretic terms, the copywriter's informative intention includes the objective of establishing and reinforcing positive associations between the intertext and advertised product/service. The advertising text counts as evidence of the communicative intention and must therefore contain references to this intertext in its surface features.

It is, therefore, important to operationalise the term intertextuality further within the context of the current investigation. For the purpose of this study, intertextual ads are defined as advertising texts that contain clear traces of pre-existing texts that have no axiomatic/unavoidable connections with the advertised product/service. Consequently, the nature of the intertext as well as its connection with the advertised product/service must be inferred by processing the evidence provided in the text. For example, ads for cosmetic products which purposely refer to an ideal of feminine beauty were not viewed

as intertextual, unless they were connected to an intertext such as the mythical Helen of Troy, or a proverb/idiom about beauty. By contrast, ads for luxury vehicles that employ intertextual references to women in order to presume the beauty and desirability of the product were included.

In Brown and Yule's (1983: 239) terms, this approach studies intertextuality's activation of "frame" knowledge and the manner in which this is processed in terms of the "scenario" of an ad (Brown and Yule, 1983: 245). The former refers to a relatively stable structure of knowledge, such as the desirability of beautiful women. The latter designates pre-existing knowledge of contexts/settings, such as knowledge about advertising's commercial goals (Brown and Yule, 1983: 239; 245). For example, intertextual cosmetic ads may arrange lipstick containers to resemble cupid with his bow and arrow. The intertext activates frame knowledge surrounding the magic with which this mythological character inspired affection in his victims. Readers subsequently process the intention to connect these two domains within the scenario of an ad.

Ads that hinge on a pun, or the double meaning of a single word, were not viewed as intertextual unless that word was combined with other traces of an intertext. For example, the headline *Cooking appliances you can swear by*, is only intertextual when combined with the image of Chef Gordon Ramsey and a line in the subtext reminding viewers to watch his cooking shows, during which his use of expletives is notorious. Ads that employed idioms as the intertext were analysed according to the model proposed by Lim, *et al.* (2009 – cf. section 3.6.2).

A further distinction was made between strong and weak traces of intertextuality (cf. Fairclough, 1992: 272). References to historical texts illustrate this point. Strong references to texts such as the Bible or the United States Declaration of Independence will assist recognition of the intertext with supplementary evidence. A Biblical verse may be combined with the image of a cross or an iconic image of Christ. Weak references contain no additional clues to support recognition of the intertext. Although the intertext's origin can easily be traced by means of an internet search (which the researcher conducted in each case), readers are unlikely to exert the additional effort. Nevertheless, the omission is intentional. It indicates either the copywriters' confidence that readers need no further clues (which may or may not be true), or that they do not

intend readers to recognise the source. In the latter case, weakening readers' ability to recognise the original text is intentional. Firstly, such ads are structured so that recognition of the original text is not a prerequisite for comprehension of the ad's marketing message. Instead of attributing the verse to the correct source, readers may simply view it as an anonymous proverb. The verse is still recognised as pre-existent to the advertising text, so that readers still realise the need to consider its new meaning in the current text. Provided that the verse's meaning is sufficiently unambiguous, its function in terms of the overall marketing message remains deducible. In fact, the omission of supplementary evidence may simplify the inferencing path by avoiding undesirable connotations with, in the case of a Biblical verse, religion/spirituality.

3.3.2 Levels of the analysis

Having collected a sample that satisfies these criteria, the first step was to identify each ad's intertextual field. Thereafter, the analysis turned to: 1) the manifestation of this field on the lexical and/or graphic levels, 2) its function within the ad, and finally 3) its combination with reason and other tickle strategies.

On the second level, each ad was categorised into one of three groups: lexical only, graphic only, and a combination of lexical and graphic traces. With regard to graphic traces, semiotic terminology is useful for examining the "different signifiers and different ways of calling up the intertextual world" (van Niekerk, forthcoming). Firstly, an icon is an image that physically resembles its counterpart in the real world, such as an engagement ring. Indexical signifiers bear a consequential association to the signified, such as smoke does to fire, tears to grief, and condensed water to a cold surface (van Niekerk, forthcoming; Rayner *et al.*, 2004: 32). Finally, symbolic signifiers bear an arbitrary, yet socially accepted, association to the signified, as the word *rare* does beneath the image of a diamond ring (van Niekerk, forthcoming; Rayner *et al.*, 2004: 31).

The third level of the study aimed to uncover the various functions of intertextual references. This was a necessary step because the same intertext may have different relations to the product/service in different ads. Similarly, different intertexts may have the same pragmatic function.

Finally, the fourth level focused on the manner in which the intertextual reference was combined with reason and other tickle strategies. This was done because the intertext does not contain the beginning and end of an ad's marketing message. Instead, it represents a single tickle tactic that may be combined with other tickle and/or reason tactics, in order to optimise communication. To analyse this, specific attention was paid to the visual conspicuousness of the product, brand name and logo, as well as the nature of headline and subtext's product claims, as these are the criteria on which Simpson (2001) distinguishes between reason and tickle ads.

3.4 Function and relation to reason and tickle

Intertextuality is one among many strategies in the ever-evolving arsenal at a copywriter's disposal. As such it may be combined with various other strategies that assume either a reason or tickle form. In order to understand an intertext's relation to other tickle and/or reason tactics as well as its contribution to the text's message as a whole, its function *vis-à-vis* the advertised product/service must be identified. Based on the literature cited in the previous chapter, one way in which analysts may achieve this goal is to examine the manner in which references to the intertext attempt to foreground specific assumptions that will support the objective of establishing and/or reinforcing positive associations with the advertised brand. To clarify this point, the categories that emerged from the analysis are listed below. These will be revisited in detail during the next chapter, with an appropriate relevance theoretic explanation.

Intertextuality was found to: 1) suggest a metaphorical projection of attributes from the intertextual field onto the product/service, 2) establish a link between the advertised item and a popular media text, such as a famous novel, song, movie or television series, 3) refer to a historical event, era, character or objects, 4) render a specific gender stereotype salient, 5) use an idiom, figure of speech, proverb or expression in colloquial language as a framework in which to promote the product/service, 6) generate humour in an attempt to enhance recall of specific product attributes, 7) employ sex as a framework in which to promote the object/service/idea, and 8) employ symbols that condense the lexical unit. A

single ad may be listed under more than one of the above-mentioned categories, as an intertext's flexibility allows for multiple functions.

However, this was not the case in the next stage of the study, in which each ad was categorised according to Simpson's (2001: 594) criteria for product placement and claims. Each category consisted of three levels. The first concerns the conspicuous or inconspicuous placement of the product and/or brand name. The second and third concern the nature of the claims produced in the headline and subtexts (unambiguous and rational vs. emotional reasons to purchase the product/service).

Although intertextuality is, by virtue of its indirect nature (cf. figure 2), a tickle strategy, it may be combined with overt or covert displays of the product and company logo. It may also be joined with a headline that employs either a tickle method (such as references to the intertext) or a reason product claim (cf. section 3.5). In addition, the subtext that accompanies the main text may also employ reason and/or tickle tactics. In the latter's case, the subtext reinforces the intertextual field - introduced in the image, the headline or both - or introduces an additional domain. Product/brand display was categorised in the tickle category unless the image dominated the visual field or, in cases where intertextuality is established on the graphic level, was positioned over, or next to a significant graphic trace of the intertextual field.

Finally, underlying hypernorms and additional value assumptions were also studied. Value assumptions refer to textual features that presume the desirability of specific arrangements, goals or behaviour (Fairclough, 2003: 55). Where these assumptions depend on propositional assumptions, the latter were also analysed. Propositional assumptions encompass linguistic devices that reflect assumptions about the nature of a past, current or future state of affairs (Fairclough, 2003: 55). They are manifested in linguistic items that express their propositional content as undeniable facts, rather than suggestions, such as declaratives with unmodified verbs. Consequently, a statement is charged with "assertoric force" in what Kitis and Milapides (1997: 565) term a "factivity guise". For example, the question: *are you looking for a long-term relationship that never becomes boring?* is based on the assumption that long-term relationships possess this tendency.

A list was made of all the ads that contained the hypernorms identified by van Niekerk (2008). However, as the value assumptions were too numerous and contingent on the specific product/service, they will only be discussed where relevant to examples from the above-mentioned categories. Both hypernorms and value assumptions were studied for their relation to the intertextual field and their contribution to the marketing message rather than their potential ideological ramifications.

Before continuing, however, a distinction must be made between Fairclough's (2003: 55) underlying assumptions and presuppositions. Presuppositions must survive the following reformulations: 1) negation, 2) "a possibility modal such as *maybe*", 3) in the form of an interrogative and 4) "in the antecedent of a conditional" (Abbott, 2000: 1420). Thus, the sentence "The King of France is bald", contains the presupposition "There is one and only one King of France", under all these conditions (Abbott, 2000: 1420), as indicated below:

The King of France is not bald.

Possibly the King of France is bald.

Is the King of France bald?

If the King of France is bald he may need to wear a wig.

Such canonical presuppositions are sometimes referred to as grammatical presuppositions (Abbott, 2000: 1420). Value and propositional assumptions, on the other hand, represent a method of studying the values and norms that inform an utterance/sentence from a DA perspective, and are not subject to these standards. A presupposition may, therefore, contain a value assumption and/or propositional assumption, but not all value and/or propositional assumptions are expressed in presuppositions. As an example, in the context of women's lifestyle magazines, the sentence "Buy several pairs of shoes, boots and one serious bag – they make you look as though you know what's what" is based on the assumption that appearing knowledgeable in the area of fashion is desirable for women, despite its failure to meet the criteria for grammatical presuppositions (Conradie, 2009: 80).

3.5 Analysing reason product claims

Simpson (2001: 595) explores bald-on-record product claims by means of Halliday's (1994: 36) conjunctive adjuncts, which are the 1) additive, 2) adversative, 3) conditional, and 4) causal. He also investigates purposive adjuncts as separate conjunctives, even though Halliday classifies them under causal adjuncts, arguing that their prevalence in reason claims warrants the distinction (Simpson, 2001: 595).

Purposive (*so that you can, in order to*), conditional (*if... then, when*) and causal (*that's why, so, then, because*) adjuncts represent the strongest manifestations of reason strategies. In contrast with additives and adversatives, these adjuncts "'enhance' rather than 'extend'" a text. On the semantic level, they express their propositional content through one of two normative conventions: the reason-plus-result ("*If pain strikes, then hit back with Solpadeine*") or result-plus-reason ("*Flash does all the hard work so you don't have to*") structures, which may be expressed in the notations " $p \rightarrow q$ " or " q that's why p " (Simpson, 2001: 595, 596, 597).

With regard to the current study, although the majority of the headlines and subtexts do not include these adjuncts their propositional content still assumes the result-plus-reason or reason-plus-result argumentative structure as a basis.

During the analysis, the propositional content of each ad's headline and subtext was classed as either reason or tickle. Headlines and subtexts which expressed a clear selling proposition were classed under the reason category. However, when its content and relation to the advertised product/service was ambiguous, the headline or subtext was viewed as a tickle strategy. Whenever the headline or subtext was used to allude to an intertext, it was classed as tickle. However, in both cases a category was also created for ads in which a clear proposition is combined with a reference to the intertext. This dual function was particularly prevalent in subtexts, rather than headlines. The former were sometimes used to clarify the intertext introduced in the headline with specific claims, before closing with a final intertextual reference. Finally, where headlines were combined with contact details for the advertised company, such details were not analysed as a subtext, and the lexical unit was classified as consisting of a headline alone.

3.6 Linguistic manifestation of intertextuality

An intertext may be manifested in a number of linguistic devices. After analysing the data within the above-mentioned parameters, it became apparent that, in addition to value assumptions and presuppositions, the following devices were prominent: idioms, items that signal inter- and intra-action, and irony. The first of these serves as the intertext, while the latter two function to make it salient to the reader, as outlined below.

3.6.1 Analysing idioms as intertexts

In some ads the intertext was an idiom that had either been reworded or that required reinterpretation of its conventional form in order to uncover its meaning in relation to the marketer's goal. To study its use, this analysis employs Lim *et al.*'s (2009) investigation of the effects of three variables on the interpretation of idioms: literality, familiarity and compositionality.

Literality, familiarity and compositionality play complementary roles in advertising idioms. With regard to literality, Lim *et al.* (2009) distinguish between literal and non-literal idioms. The former possess, in addition to their idiomatic meaning, a literal meaning that may be quite different from the idiomatic, while the latter possess an idiomatic meaning alone. Examples of the latter include "by and large [or] considering everything" (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1781). In the former's case, readers must determine whether the literal, figurative or both meanings are relevant to the message. For example, the idiom *a piece of cake* may be used literally to inform readers of a restaurant's products. As determined by the search for relevance, readers are required to consider the evidence and select the most appropriate meaning. Furthermore, idioms may also be reformulated by, for example, altering a key word. Thus, the idiom *a piece of cake* may be changed to *a peace of cake* to advertise a special promotion that commemorates Freedom Day.

Of course, the ability to recognise an idiom and to distinguish between its literal and figurative meanings is reliant on the reader's familiarity with that idiom. In the case of unfamiliar idioms, Lim *et al.* (2009: 1783) have found that readers are more likely to seek

a literal meaning, which may be entirely irrelevant or even counterproductive to the copywriter's endeavour. Using figurative language therefore runs the risk of miscommunication, so that marketers are compelled to take familiarity into account (Lagerwerf, 2007; van Mulken *et al.*, 2005; McQuarrie and Mick, 2003). Furthermore, readers are also more likely to remember messages if they believe they were able to interpret them correctly (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1784). On the basis of this argument, unfamiliar idioms should be avoided, but less familiar ones may be exploited. The higher level of cognitive effort they require can enhance recall – provided that readers have reason to believe that they have interpreted the message correctly (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1784). Therefore, although idioms are useful for engaging audiences, marketers would do well to ensure that the target audience feels rewarded for their effort.

At this point, compositionality becomes a key factor, by acting as a counterweight for familiarity. If an idiom is decomposable – that is, its idiomatic meaning can be inferred from its constituent words – less familiar idioms become more viable (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1782). As an example, consider the idiom *true beauty lies on the inside*. In an ad for luxury cars, this idiom is decomposable. Readers who are unable to equate *inside* with personality and *outside* with physical traits, may still be able to infer the claim that the car's interior and/or engineering inspires even more admiration than its exterior. Non-decomposable idioms, on the other hand, are more likely to frustrate addressees' search for relevance. The words in the idiom "kick the bucket" for example contain no hint regarding their meaning (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1782). Thus, in the case of less familiar idioms, literality and compositionality are essential for advertisers' purposes, as illustrated below (adapted from Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1782):

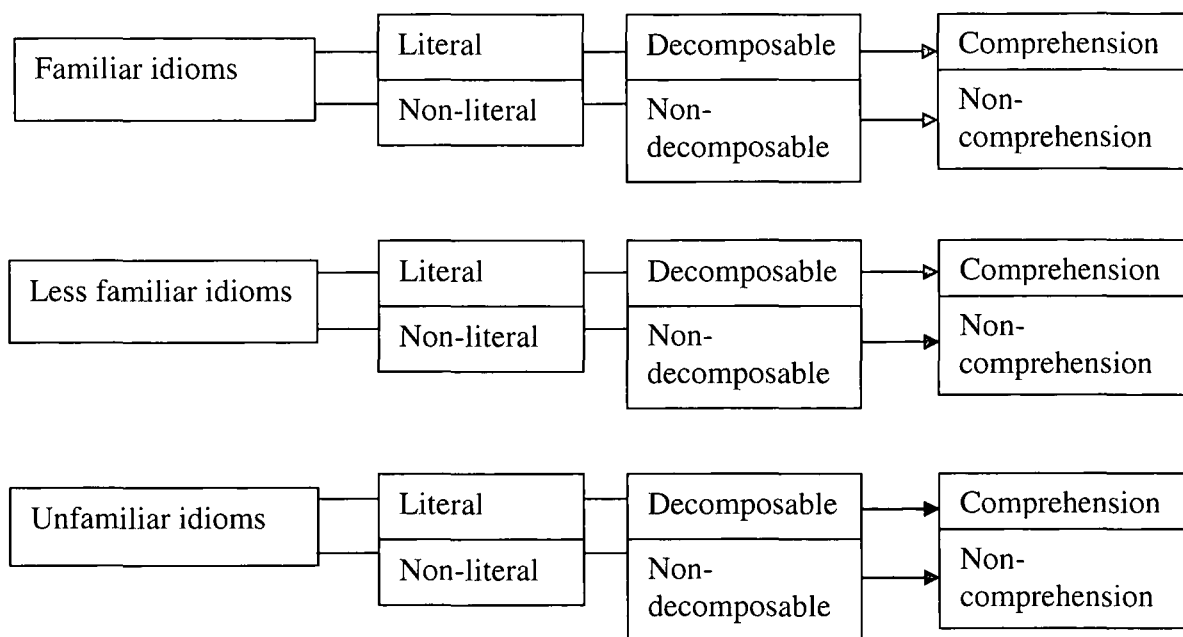


Fig. 7: Illustration of the effects of familiarity, literality and compositionality according to Lim *et al.* (2009: 1782).

This model has the following implications for the current project. Firstly, the observation that audiences “exhibit higher recall for idiomatic headlines that are accurately comprehended” (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1784), provides an additional rationale for analysing the strength of intertextual traces and the guidelines that are provided for their interpretation.

Secondly, where the intertext is a literal idiom, the tension between its figurative and literal meanings impacts the search for relevance. For example, the headline *Scale down* in an ad for a range of dieting products, requires cognisance of both the idiomatic meaning (to reduce the frequency of certain activity) and the literal allusion to attaining a lower reader from a scale. Readers select the appropriate meaning based on the nature of the product. The retrieval of this meaning is also contingent on the recovery of specific assumptions, such as the desirability assigned to a slim female figure in contemporary Western society.

Thirdly, familiarity and compositionality are particularly relevant to the current analysis. The processing procedure for familiar idioms is quite straightforward, as illustrated in

figure 3. However, some idioms in the sample were reformulated, rendering them less familiar. These clearly rely on familiarity with the original form in order to be recognised and re-interpreted. If these are also decomposable, readers who are less familiar with the original idiom may still infer the intended meaning. As an example, financial consultants may employ the headline *buy a piece of mind from leading experts*. Readers who are unable to restore the idiom to its original form may still infer that consumers are encouraged to exploit the knowledge and experience of professional minds.

Thus, when idioms served as the intertext, the analysis aimed to uncover the role played by literality, familiarity and compositionality, within Lim *et al.*'s (2009) framework.

3.6.2 Inter- and intra-action

The dataset contains cases with intertextual allusions to social interactions in a specific context. To support the intertext and to make product claims, markers of intra-action played a prominent role. Van Niekerk and Keyser (forthcoming) distinguish between inter- and intra-action markers in ads on the following grounds.

All print ads are interactive in the sense that readers become involved when reading/viewing them (cf. section 2.8). Van Niekerk and Keyser's (forthcoming) study refers specifically to markers of interaction that mimic aspects of social interaction in everyday talk. The goal is to create the "illusion of intimate interpersonal communication" between an ad's speaker and addressee (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). To achieve this, these markers: 1) signal a time frame and a context that resembles everyday life, which also affects the lexis and syntactic structure of the message, and 2) create the impression that more than one interlocutor is involved in turn-taking (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). The functions of these markers include the following. Firstly, the reader is constructed as an addressee in an intimate conversation. Secondly, the reader becomes an active agent by performing one or a combination of actions, such as flipping a page or viewing an image from various angles (as instructed). The former is manifested through 1) paralinguistic devices (such as eye contact), 2) deictic references (especially pronouns, such as *you*), 3) ellipses, 4) prosodic devices (such as **bold** to indicate emphasis), 5) vernacular from everyday talk, and 6)

speech bubbles and/or quotation marks to signal conversation (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming).

Intra-action, on the other hand, does not address audiences directly. Instead it constructs them as an overhearing third party (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). This may be manifested in one or more of the following: 1) oral verbal, 2) written verbal, 3) technological, 4) non-verbal and 5) “self-reflective” intra-action. Oral verbal intra-action employs 1) paralinguistic devices, 2) deictic references, 3) ellipses, 4) prosodic devices, 5) colloquial language, and 6) speech bubbles in the same manner as interaction in the previous paragraph, as well as 7) interruptions (indicated with ellipses), 8) hedges (*um* or *er*), 9) interjections (*wow!*), and 10) fillers (*well*). Written verbal intra-action uses a format associated with written correspondence, such as letters or postcards. Technological intra-action also refers to such correspondence, but by means of contemporary technology, such as cell phones and computers. It also includes instances in which the products themselves appear to be in conversation. Non-verbal intra-action encompasses all forms of body language, including “gestures, eye contact [and] facial expressions”. Finally, self-reflective intra-action depicts a character’s cogitations by means of devices such as thought bubbles (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming).

The sample under study indicated that intra-action is sometimes useful for establishing an intertextual field. More specifically, as the analysis will show, it serves to establish a context in which product claims may be communicated through humour.

3.6.3 Irony and intertextuality

The dataset also includes ads that, on the basis of an intertextual field that has already been established on the lexical and/or graphic levels, attempt to introduce irony in support of its commercial message. To investigate such cases, the researcher took cognisance of current pragmatic theories on irony. The most applicable of these are reviewed below.

Formulating a comprehensive definition of irony is a notoriously problematic task. The most common layman’s definition is “saying the opposite of what you mean” (Lagerwerf, 2007: 1705). However, like its somewhat more academic counterpart “to express

something other than and especially the opposite of the literal meaning” (Attardo, 2000: 794), it fails to provide a satisfactory account of all its potential uses in either verbal or written exchanges, especially in advertising where it may be manifested in graphic rather than lexical items. Research into its use in verbal exchanges has approached it as a figure of speech that draws attention to a contrast between expected and ensuing events, in a manner that is similar to, but more dramatic than understatement (Colston and O’Brien, 2000: 1575). To apply this definition to advertising, two factors must be taken into consideration. First, in contrast with conversations, ads are aimed at large audiences, which in turn results in the second variable: a lack of direct contact. As a consequence of this factor, an ad’s audience cannot demand additional information from the communicator, which compels copywriters to rely on simpler forms of irony (Lagerwerf, 2007: 1705).

Two contemporary pragmatic approaches to irony provide a useful framework for elucidating its operation in ads: negation and echo theory (Partington, 2007; Lagerwerf, 2007; El Refaie, 2005). Negation theory contends that irony is best approached as a trope that purposely violates one or more of the Gricean maxims. Owing to an inconsistency between the literal (or “most salient” – Lagerwerf, 2007: 1705) and intended meaning of an utterance, the hearer/reader must consider alternative interpretations, in order to uncover exactly how the intended meaning negates the literal (Partington, 2007: 1548; Lagerwerf, 2007: 1705). Referring to this as the “Non-Cooperative Principle”, scholars such as Eisterhold, Attardo and Boxer (2006: 1239) provide strong support for this approach to irony, and also shed light on the relationship between irony and sociolinguistic variables such as age, gender, the relationship between interlocutors, and the setting of the interaction.

According to echo theory (Wilson and Sperber, 1992), irony is used to echo – by means of direct or indirect quotes – the utterances/texts produced by a specific party for purposes such as allusions to the dereliction of a promise (Lagerwerf, 2000: 1705), or to deride the values/norms/opinions of that party (El Refaie, 2005: 785). In such cases, irony serves as a “subversive strategy” (El Refaie, 2005: 784).

Proceeding from echo theory, Partington (2007) conducts an analysis of verbal and written forms of irony in news journalism. He selects as the most appropriate point of

departure Barbe's (1993: 589) study, which approaches irony as cases in which two narratives⁴, both of which are present in the text under study, stand in opposition to each other, so that a "duality [or] incompatibility" is made salient. For example:

It is ironic that the majority of Quebecers favor constitutional recognition of their special and unique heritage, yet have failed and continue to fail to treat native North American Indians with any special respect due to their unique heritage. (Partington, 2007: 1550)

In this text, irony arises from the discrepancy between two narratives. First: "Quebecers demand recognition of their own special heritage" and "Quebecers deny recognition of the special heritage of native Americans" (Partington (2007: 1551). Partington (2007: 1547) refers to this incongruity/discrepancy as the "reversal of the *evaluative* meaning of the utterance", and observes that in news journalism it is exploited to criticise the producer of the original text (emphasis in original). He continues to differentiate between strong and weak forms of irony, based on the strength of the inconsistency between the two narratives. In the case of strong irony, the following distinction is made:

If a protagonist says something containing evaluation E in one narrative and deliberately and wilfully says, believes or commits $\neg E$ in the other, we have a well-formed hypocrisy, duplicity and/or betrayal irony. [...] If a protagonist believes E but in the second narrative someone else show[s] or events conspire to show that things are in reality $\neg E$, then we tend to have either a tragic or comic dupe irony (Partington, 2007: 1556).

Weak forms of irony are also divided into two types (Partington, 2007: 1556):

First, when one protagonist commits E and another protagonist somehow associated with her/him commits or is involved in $\neg E$ [...]. Second, where there appears to be

⁴ Following Partington, this article uses the term narrative in a general sense to denote "an event of sequence of events which unfold from a particular perspective" (2006: 41).

not a radical reversal but only a divergence between the two narratives, for instance, where A wishes to do one thing whilst B wishes something different (e.g. “it is an **irony** that people who have lived totally law abiding lives and want to go on doing so are being pushed by people like Tony Banks [a government minister] into contempt for the law” – emphasis in original).

Strong irony proved to be the most useful type for the purposes of the current analysis, as no cases of weak irony were found. Therefore, the concepts betrayal and comic dupe irony were used to study cases in which the intertextual field was used to construct irony. For copywriters, the value of comic dupe irony may lie in the tension it creates between two inconsistent narratives. More specifically, it may serve to engage audiences in the process of meaning construction by supporting one interpretation of its message in the first narrative, before subverting this interpretation in the second. Audiences are thus tasked with solving the riddle that arises from two incongruent narratives. As mentioned earlier, solving this riddle may become a source of “ego enhancement” (Kuppens, 2009: 119), thus fostering a positive attitude towards the advertised brand. An important implication is that irony may be less explicit - especially in countries where comparative advertising is still prohibited - since the objective is not to criticise or deride an antagonist, but to involve consumers. Its focus, therefore, may not necessarily be a juxtaposition between positive expectations and negative outcomes or vice versa (Partington, 2011: 1787), but simply between the assumption supported in the first narrative and that which becomes more relevant in the second.

However, in sharp contrast with the data investigated by Partington (2007), the texts in the current sample do not signal irony with explicit markers such as the words ‘ironic’, ‘ironically’ and ‘irony’. As a result, alternative criteria were needed to judge whether or not intertextuality is meant to produce irony. Intertextuality was considered to produce betrayal or comic dupe irony when the manner in which it is manifested in the ad presents two narratives, the first of which attempts to provide sufficient evidence for assumption E, while the second signals the relevance of $\neg E$. In each case discussed in the next chapter, the process by which consumers may retrieve assumption E from the first

narrative and infer its reversal from the second is elucidated by means of Wilson and Sperber's (2004) relevance theory.

3.7 Metaphors and intertextuality: relevance theory and cognitive linguistics

The analysis discussed in Chapter 4 indicates that intertextuality often encourages readers to map specific aspects of the intertext onto the advertised product/service. Idioms (cf. section 4.2.2.5a), irony (cf. section 4.2.2.1c), as well as the markers inter- and intra-action (cf. section 4.2.2.1c) are sometimes used to signal this communicative intention. To clarify this investigation's approach to metaphor and intertextuality, specific examples which did not qualify as intertextual ads, although they were metaphorical, are also reviewed in Chapter 4. Specific attention is paid to cases in which the marketing message is contingent on conceptual metaphors. Such metaphors did not receive attention in this analysis, as previous investigations have approached these on the basis of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, an approach that is rooted in cognitive linguistics. For this reason it is necessary to draw a distinction between the relevance theoretic account of metaphors ascribed to in this analysis, and the approach taken by cognitive linguists.

The most salient feature of cognitive linguistic research on metaphor is the notion that it is rooted, not in language, but in "neural and bodily processes" (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1824). The implication is that metaphor constitutes a fundamental aspect of human cognition, rather than a decorative feature of poetic language. Consequently, its analysis must proceed from the observation that metaphors pervade language because people experience the world metaphorically. Language users employ it to explain abstract/elusive knowledge in more precise terms, because they tend to "think, feel, and act metaphorically" (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1824). One significant impact of this departure point is that cognitive linguistics has a special interest in explicating metaphors with implicit rather than explicit source domains, such as those which inform conventional expressions. These are often rooted in physical experiences, such as "My marriage is **on the rocks**" and "I don't see the point of your argument" (Tendahl and

Gibbs, 2008: 1835 – researcher’s emphasis). Even the novel or “classic resemblance type metaphors, such as ‘Man is wolf’ and ‘Harry’s a pig’” are studied as extensions of these conceptual metaphors.

Conversely, relevance theory’s emphasis is on resemblance metaphors, rather than the implicit source-target relationships that may underlie conventional expressions. Its focus is on the manner in which resemblance metaphors are used to optimise relevance, which makes it useful for analyses with the objective of uncovering the role that such metaphors play in a specific communicative intention, such as a commercial message. For this reason, relevance theory provides a more appropriate framework for the current investigation, especially since the construction of novel metaphors represents one among several ways in which an intertext may influence communication. The precise manner in which this framework approaches metaphor is discussed in the next paragraph.

Relevance theory, by virtue of its claim that communication is influenced by the search for optimal relevance, shares cognitive linguists’ interest in the way communication is impacted by fundamental aspects of human cognition. A bone of contention, however, is the fact that unlike the latter, relevance theory has not developed distinct procedures for analysing metaphor. Instead, the trope is approached on the same principles as any other form of communication, i.e. it represents another method with which to optimise relevance. From this understanding, a metaphor may be embedded in a context that exploits the audience’s cognitive systems, by rendering a range of strong and/or weak implicatures salient (Sperber and Wilson, forthcoming). Tendahl and Gibbs (2008: 1831-1832), who present a comprehensive comparison of the relevance theoretic and cognitive linguistic approaches to metaphor, demonstrate this by means of the following dialogue:

Peter: “Can we trust John to do as we tell him and defend the interests of the Linguistics department in the University Council?”

Mary: “John is a soldier!”

In this case, the first speaker’s pre-existing knowledge about the nature of a soldier may support the relevance of the following implicatures (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1832):

- (a) John is devoted to his duty
- (b) John willingly follows orders
- (c) John does not question authority
- (d) John identifies with the goals of his team
- (e) John is a patriot
- (f) John earns a soldier's pay
- (g) John is a member of the military

The context created by Peter's question implies the optimal relevance of implicatures (a)-(d). Having accessed these strong implicatures, the inferencing process comes to a halt, so that implicatures (e)-(g) are not considered at all (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1832).

The above-mentioned dialogue is a clear-cut case. Mary employs a metaphor because of the inferences Peter is likely to draw on its basis. However, as will be elucidated in Chapter 4, ads frequently attempt to optimise readers' engagement with a text, by means of incomplete messages that require more cognitive effort. The result is that a wide range of weak implicatures may also appear relevant, according to the various schemata available to individual readers. Specific examples of this nature – as well as the method with which some ads attempt to avoid confusion by narrowing the message – are discussed in the next chapter (cf. sections 4.2.2.1a and 4.2.2.1c).

A further implication of the relevance theoretic approach to metaphors is that a text's literal interpretation is not perceived as a necessary first step, before considering the relevance of alternative interpretations (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1834). This may, of course, be the case when readers have grounds on which to believe that the text's literal meaning is optimally relevant, before being exposed to evidence which subverts this interpretation – as may be the case where irony is used. Barring such cases then, audiences “will never assume that the speaker's utterance is literal, they will only assume that it is optimally relevant” (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1834). Therefore, when the analysis in Chapter 4 asserts that the literal meaning must be rejected on the basis of evidence which support the relevance of a figurative interpretation, it is not assumed that readers access one prior to the other.

Before discussing the results of the analysis, chapter 4 will clarify the relationship between intertextuality and representational metaphors, by means of an ad which did not qualify as intertextual, although it employs a strong conceptual metaphor.

3.8 Limitations

There are two primary threats to the current project's validity. First, in the absence of any informant-response data, research on advertising can only be tentative. Secondly, and in line with this limitation, Molina (2009) points to the following deficiencies of discourse analysis.

Since DA is concerned with the influence of the "extra-linguistic world" on a text, its analysis cannot be rooted in grammatical features alone (Molina, 2009: 185; 188). Taking linguistic data as the sole evidence of one's extrapolations has the following pitfalls. Firstly, in different contexts, genres and with different interlocutors the same linguistic devices may serve very divergent functions. Secondly, that which is excluded from the text may often provide stronger evidence of the bias/underlying assumptions that inform it. These factors challenge discourse analysts to augment investigations of a text's content with reliable information about the communicative situation in which it is produced and processed (Molina, 2009: 187-188).

Consequently, if the initial focus is on the surface level of the text, through linguistic methodologies such as those outlined above (intertextuality, reason vs. tickle, idioms, inter- and intra-active markers and irony etc.), the research is still deficient. The current project aims to address this limitation in two ways. Firstly, as outlined in the previous chapter, the influence of the sample's genre is viewed as a crucial variable. For this reason, the nature of advertising (especially conviction vs. seduction) determines the goals and methods of the investigation. More importantly, however, it is clear that informant-response data is indispensable. In this project, focus groups were employed to gather such data, as outlined below.

3.9 Triangulation: Focus groups

3.9.1 Characteristics, advantages and disadvantages

As a data collection method, focus groups are characterised by the use of informal social interaction, as a means to gather inductive and naturalistic data from a homogenous group of individuals. The homogeneity of the group is determined in terms of the research question. Although the individuals may differ in terms of age, race and gender, they are deemed appropriate for the group if they correspond to a pre-determined set of criteria, such as their knowledge of ads and language proficiency. Furthermore, collaborative interaction is crucial, as one respondent's contribution elicits more information from fellow respondents, by activating/retrieving additional assumptions, memories, and arguments for example.

The function of such focused and extensive discussions is to yield detailed information from the perspective of the participants (Kruger and Casey, 2000: 18). Moreover, it is characterised by the use of more than one group, in an attempt to increase the findings' validity. Data collection continues until researchers achieve saturation – the point at which the groups have already expressed the full scope of their ideas on the subject, and are no longer producing new information (Kruger and Casey, 2000: 27).

Using focus groups to obtain data about the way consumers comprehend intertextual ads has the following advantages. It enables researchers to pool the collective knowledge of an entire group, by using social interaction and shared activities to create a friendly and co-operative environment (de Vos, Strydom, Fouché, and Delport, 2001: 312). Furthermore, as discussions are conducted with more than one group – a minimum of three (Kruger and Casey (2000) - it also allows for the investigation of patterns as they emerge across different groups. In addition, the fact that this data concerns the viewpoint of the participants aligns it with the objectives of empirical research. Moreover, as a supplementary data collection method, focus groups can identify areas for further investigation (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006: 130).

The disadvantages of focus groups include the following. Researchers have less control over the discussions' outcomes. Ascertaining individual views is complicated by group dynamics. Less vocal members may become reticent, or may simply echo the group

consensus, especially where stronger members dominate the interaction. Selecting appropriate members, making physical arrangements and motivating respondents to participate effectively and honestly, may also become challenging. Finally, focus groups are less appropriate for testing hypotheses concerning large populations, owing to the small number of respondents (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006: 130-131; de Vos *et al.*, 2001: 312-313; Kruger and Casey, 2000: 25).

Some researchers have proposed that internet focus groups may address many of these challenges (de Vos *et al.*, 2001:312-313). Others suggest that losing the benefits of face-to-face interaction is too heavy a price (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006: 133). In the current project face-to-face discussions were used.

3.9.2 Designing the research instrument

Kruger and Casey (2000) suggest the following guidelines for determining and formulating the questions that respondents will be faced with. First, it is vital to ensure that all questions support the informal and interactive nature of focus groups. Researchers must employ language that respondents are comfortable with, avoiding specialised jargon, unless group characteristics demand it. Secondly, questions must also encourage group discussions without insinuating a preference for certain answers. Thirdly, respondents must have sufficient time to delve into topics as they arise from collaborative interaction (Kruger and Casey, 2000: 39-40). Fourthly, questions are designed by using the following steps: brainstorming possible questions, formulating these appropriately, sequencing questions in the most effective manner, and seeking feedback from experts (Kruger and Casey, 2000: 40).

In terms of sequencing, the most important guideline for the current research is to start with broad questions, moving systematically to narrower ones about specific aspects of the subject. This process is referred to as funnelling (Kruger and Casey, 2000: 62). Open-ended questions are desirable in the opening phase of the discussion, as these enable respondents to follow unanticipated tangents. Toward the end, however, narrower questions are acceptable, provided that they show the same sensitivity for the value of honest interaction (Kruger and Casey, 2000: 63).

Although questionnaires are often used in survey research to gather an extensive amount of data from large groups, such an undertaking was complicated in the current project by the fact that all respondents had to be provided with colour copies of the ads selected for discussions (Dominick and Wimmer, 2006: 180). For this reason, focus groups were deemed appropriate. Three groups of students were presented with a series of questions about a set of eight ads, in order to ascertain the correspondence between their perceptions of intertextuality and the inferencing routes proposed during the analysis.

Respondents were presented with a set of questions that makes no explicit mention of intertextuality and provides no information about this device. The sample consisted of third-year students of sociolinguistics. Although these students had been exposed to a critical discourse analytic course on gender ideology in men and women's magazines (cf. Conradie, 2009), none of them had any formal training in copywriting for mass media communication. A few students had already completed a course on pragmatics and advertising in another academic department (Afrikaans and Dutch). The discussions, however, revealed that this had little impact on their ability to recognise and interpret the use of intertextuality. During the first discussion, respondents were asked to record their answers in writing. Soon, however, the researcher observed that this compromised respondents' ability and willingness to conduct in-depth discussions. Respondents were immediately told to restrict their analysis to verbal discussions, as their conversation was being recorded. Subsequently, no respondents were asked to record their answers in written format. As mentioned earlier, the aim of these discussions was to determine whether consumers recognise intertextuality, despite unawareness of the appropriate academic terminology. For this reason broad, open-ended questions were used:

1. What is interesting about the ad?
2. What does this ad aim to say about the advertised product?
3. How do you know this?
4. Do you think the ad's claims are trustworthy? Explain.

These questions were based on the most relevant principles for good advertising posited by Skinner *et al.* (2001: 61). The purpose of the first question was to determine whether

respondents 1) noticed intertextuality and 2) whether it was salient without explicitly mentioning the term. The second question aimed to ascertain whether respondents were able to infer a focused marketing message from the text, as well as the function they ascribed to intertextuality in constructing this message. The third question aimed to test their knowledge of the copywriters' mechanisms for avoiding misinterpretations, while the last concerned the perceived trustworthiness of the ad's claims.

3.9.3 Respondents

During this phase of the investigation, the researcher had access to third-year students of sociolinguistics. These students were selected because they had no formal training in copywriting and were not engaged in media studies. In addition, with the exception of two students, none of the respondents had ever enrolled for a course in either pragmatic or discourse analyses of advertising. Furthermore, during the sociolinguistic course mentioned earlier, the researcher was able to determine that many of these students were avid readers of either *Cosmopolitan* or *Men's Health*. In this regard, therefore, they are suitable representatives of actual consumers.

In terms of their demographics, the majority of these were white students, aged between twenty and twenty-one, with Afrikaans as their mother tongue. Although three black students of the same age group were also approached, all three were unavailable for participation. Furthermore, as these procedures could only be scheduled for the end of the academic semester, the researcher was unable to attach participation to a grade. Respondents were therefore not compelled to participate. Three groups of five students were asked to participate in the study. However, as a result of the above-mentioned variable, only three respondents arrived in time for the first discussion, and only two for each of the subsequent interactions. One result of this was that the majority of the respondents were female. Only one male attended the first discussion.

3.10 Summary

This chapter has discussed the researcher's sampling methods, as well as the manner in which intertexts were identified and categorised in terms of their manifestation and function in the ads under study. It has also outlined the specific methodologies that were used to analyse the patterns that emerged from the categorisation process. After discussing the benefits and limitations of these methods, the researcher's use of focus groups was also clarified. The findings of the analyses are presented in the next three chapters. The first deals with the manifestation and function of intertextuality. The second discusses its combination with various reason-tickle patterns, while the last presents the results of the focus group discussions.

Chapter 4

Results: The manifestation and function of intertextuality

4.1 Intertextuality vs. other methods

To further clarify this project's approach to intertextuality, four examples that do not qualify for the sample are presented below. What follows is not an exhaustive analysis of the selected ads, but a demonstration that they do not employ intertextuality, as it is defined here.

4.1.1 Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC)

**Treat your
family for
under R60!**



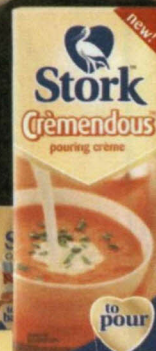
**6 PIECE
STREETWISE
FEAST**



This ad illustrates the operation of reason strategies. Both product and company logo are visually conspicuous, while the headline makes a single reason-based claim. It contains no traces of intertextuality or any other tickle tactics.



The perfect way to make any meal even more delicious is with a thick and creamy sauce. New Stork Crémendous pouring crème is specially formulated to make sure that your sauce is never too runny and your sauce boat is always emptied.



The ad's headline and subtext employ reason product claims to focus readers' attention on a principle, rational motive for buying the product. Specifically, the headline concentrates on the product's primary attribute by means of an incomplete purposive adjunct. The phrase "FOR WONDERFUL THICK SAUCES" may be viewed as purposive because its function is to claim that consumption of the product will result in a desirable state of affairs (Simpson, 2001: 597). In this case, the desired result is introduced by "FOR". Readers are required to complete this message as follows: *For wonderful thick sauces, use Stork Crèmendous pouring crème*. The subtext advances this aim by constructing a premise for the product's necessity: "The perfect way to make any meal even more delicious is with a thick creamy sauce".

The graphic unit employs a tickle strategy to support this claim. It demonstrates the effectiveness of the product, by claiming that it thickens sauce to the extent that one can write in it. Although readers are likely to recognise this as a puffed claim, the message is nevertheless successfully conveyed. More importantly, the process of extracting a reasonable claim from its puffed presentation involves readers in the process of message construction, thus enhancing their enjoyment and recall of the primary claim. Simultaneously, however, readers are not presented with a claim that is exaggerated to the extent that it damages the communicator's credibility.

Furthermore, all ads are, by their very nature, connected to the word beyond the text. In this case, specific reference is made to culinary procedures which may encourage the retrieval a wide variety of schematic assumptions. For example, readers who observe that the hand holding the spoon is feminine may retrieve assumptions about women's roles in traditional households. However, the ad contains insufficient traces of intertextuality, according to the criteria used for this study, which are the following: 1) the intertextual domain is defined as a pre-existing text with no axiomatic/unavoidable connections to the advertised product/service, and 2) the intertext is recognised as pre-existing, so that readers must consider its re-contextualisation in the message currently under construction (cf. section 3.3).

4.1.3 BMW

to focus on
don't you

BMW 1 Series
116i
118i
120i
120d
130i



Sheer
Driving Pleasure

[www.bmw.co.za/1](http://www.bmw.co.za/)



the bonnet will truly get the driver's heart racing, the changes to the grille, headlights & tail lights will ensure all those that see it will be left speechless too. The new BMW 1 Series, available in an updated 5-door and a new 3-door model. **The new BMW 1 Series. The only one(s).**

It's difficult
just one,
think?



If you're reading this then you have managed to do something most people can't, you've taken your eyes off the new BMW 1 Series. Designed for those who love to drive, the new 6-cylinder in-line engine delivers unmatched power to the rear wheels, offering precision steering and increased performance. And while what lies beneath

This ad employs interactive markers, specifically the pronoun “you”, to prompt readers into performing an action. Reading the headline requires readers to glance from the first to the second page in quick succession. This creates the illusion that addressees have become torn between gazing from one image of the product to the other. Although - on the one hand - readers can identify this as a false appraisal of their behaviour, they are nevertheless also able to recognise it as a commercial - and humorous - ploy aimed at presupposing the product’s captivating appearance.

However, the ad was not considered intertextual. Its headline clearly employs a tickle strategy to boast the product’s appearance, while the subtext uses a reason approach to discuss both its appearance and performance. None of these, however, contain sufficient traces of a pre-existing text. The subtext’s exposition of the cars’ ability to “get the driver’s heart racing” was not considered sufficient. This requires some clarification. The expression *to get one’s heart racing* may be viewed as an idiom, and thus pre-existing to the text. However, ascribing to this broad view of intertextuality implies that nearly all language is intertextual. For this reason the definition in section 3.3.1 specifies that the intertext must not only be external and without axiomatic connections, but must also be re-contextualised in the text under construction in order to access the copywriter’s intended range of meanings. In accordance with these criteria, the current ad contains inadequate evidence of the author’s intention to have readers consider the clause “what lies beneath the bonnet will truly **get the driver’s heart racing**” (researcher’s emphasis) as an external text that must be reformulated to construct a new meaning in the current text.

A similar case that did qualify as intertextual may clarify the distinction. The ad depicts a luxury car with a rollercoaster in the background. The headline reads “YOU’LL FEEL A RUSH OF BLOOD, FIRST TO THE HEAD, THEN TO YOUR HEART”. Here the reader is required to interpret *a rush of blood* in terms of the gratification derived from rollercoasters. This constitutes a reference to an experiential domain that has no axiomatic connections with the product other than that which is constructed in the text. Moreover, the subtext provides an even clearer framework in which to interpret the references to “HEAD” and “HEART”, by distinguishing between the rational and emotive advantages of purchasing the product. To reach this conclusion, pre-existing

knowledge of both the idiom and the distinction between the heart - as the symbolic centre of emotions - and the head - as the source of rational cognition - is necessary. Thus, contextual implications are drawn by analysing the incoming stimulus in conjunction with its context.

Another example involves the idiom *tip the scales in your favour*, printed in the headline of an ad for a weight-loss supplement. Again, readers must reinterpret the idiom's meaning to uncover the message that, instead of shifting weight from one position to another literally, or gaining an advantage over a contestant in a figurative manner, the product results in weight loss, as reflected by a more desirable scale reading.

This distinction is clearly artificial, especially since intertextuality is a necessary criteria for all texts (cf. Beaugrande and Dressler, 2002, in section 3.2). However, it is functional in terms of the researcher's aim to determine the manifestation and function of intertextuality, as well as its contribution to the product's marketing message in conjunction with reason and other tickle strategies.

4.1.4 Gucci

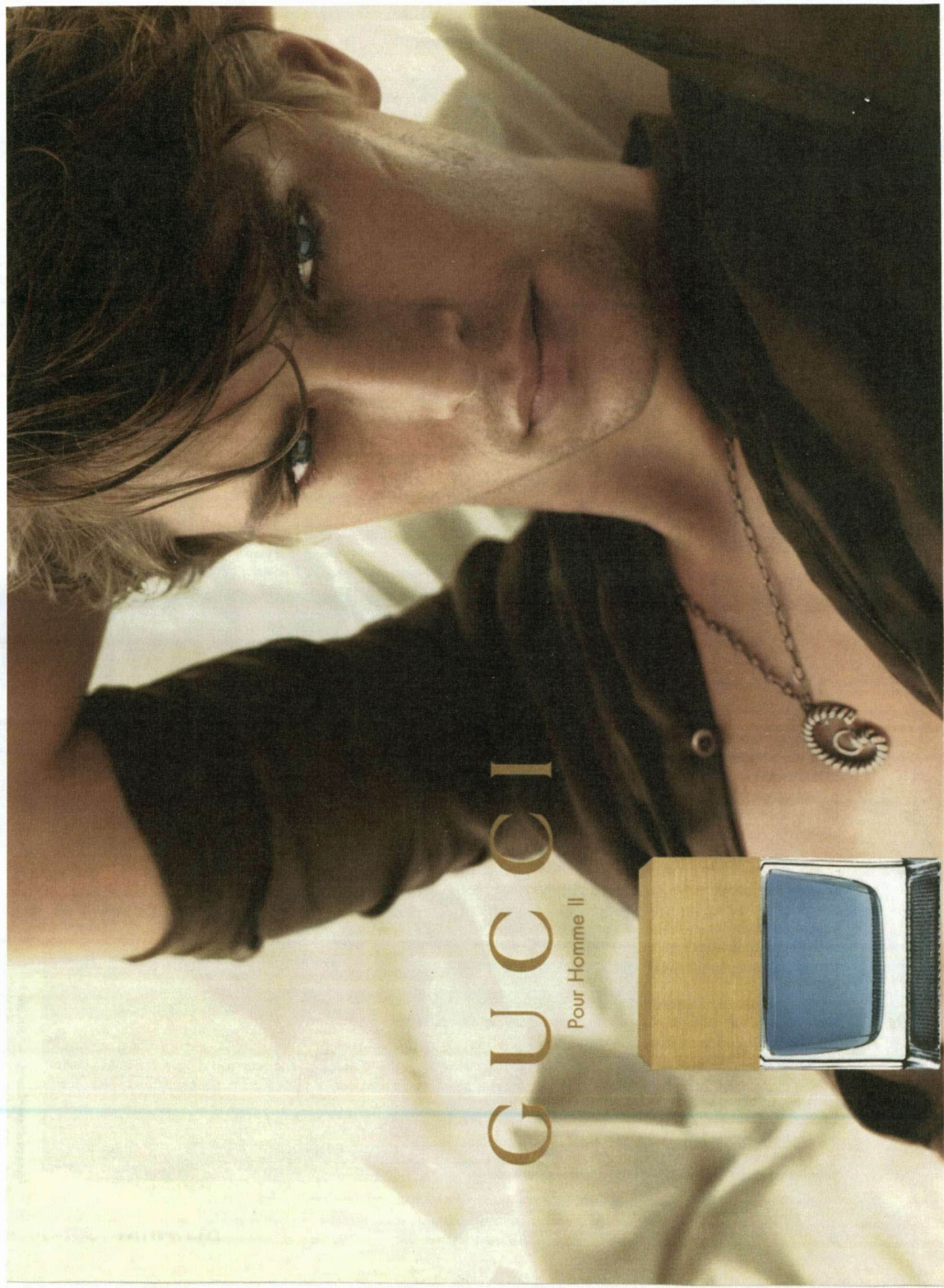
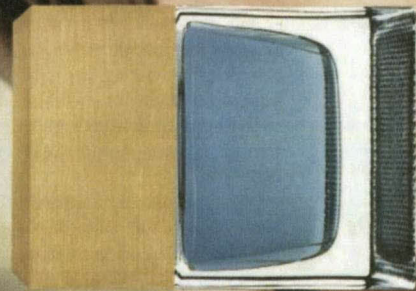
The findings presented in the rest of this chapter suggest that one of the most prevalent functions of intertextuality is to construct a pictorial and/or lexical metaphor. This comes as no surprise, as metaphor is "a ubiquitous part of ordinary language [rather than] an ornamental aspect of speech" as was once believed (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008: 1823). In advertising research, both lexical and pictorial metaphors have received extensive attention from authors such as McQuarrie and Phillips (2005), Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006), Velasco-Sacristán (2010) and van Mulken *et al.* (2010).

Metaphors' value lie in the tension they create by confronting readers with the proposition that two seemingly incongruous domains are similar. In comparison with similes, its propositional form exacerbates this tension by stating that domain X is domain Y, rather than X is like Y. Based on the evidence in the text, however, the search for relevance will indicate that the most relevant interpretation is one in which only specific aspects of field X should be mapped onto field Y, rather than a literal X is Y interpretation (Kaplan, 2005: 170).

Intertextuality, however, is not simply a new term for metaphors. One of its distinguishing features is that it can be put to various uses in addition to the construction of metaphor. Before dealing with each of these functions, however, a distinction must be drawn between the lexical and pictorial metaphors analysed here, and the conceptual metaphors analysed in studies from a cognitive linguistic perspective. This distinction is illustrated by means of the following ad.

GUCCI

Pour Homme II



Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006) employ Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory to study gender metaphors in advertising. From this perspective, Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006: 1989) focus on perfume and lingerie ads such as this one, and suggests that "the nonhuman entity of a commodity is understood in terms of a person (consumer) and the different human features [...] related to this person". Consequently, based on the proximity of the model to the product, we may conclude that the current ad is based on the metaphor THE ADVERTISED FRAGRANCE IS AN ATTRACTIVE MAN. Velasco-Sacristán (2010) takes this notion further by developing metaphors such as THE ADVERTISED LINGERIE IS A WOMAN, into "FEMALE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE IS SEXUAL EMOTION" (Velasco-Sacristán, 2010: 69).

In addition to considering the proximity of the product to the model, these studies also investigate the models' positions *vis-à-vis* each other and the product. For example, ads that place men on the left-hand side or in the foreground construct them as superior to women on the right-hand side or in the background, or vice versa (Velasco-Sacristán, 2010: 73; Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera's, 2006: 1992).

As stated in the previous chapter, this analysis does not employ conceptual metaphor theory. When intertextuality operated metaphorically, the resultant metaphors were analysed as linguistic rather than cognitive constructs. This was done in order to provide a relevance theoretic account of the impact that linguistic form may exert on interpretation by virtue of its impact on the search for relevance. Intertextuality can be signalled in various ways, and the focus of this research is on the manner in which an ad's linguistic items provide addressees with evidence for an intended range of meanings. This approach takes Cameron (1999: 12) into consideration, who warns that an overemphasis on the conceptual properties of metaphor may undervalue the impact of form on interpretation.

Furthermore, in response to the centrality which conceptual metaphor may give to the position of models, chapter 2 has already established that a ubiquitous feature of advertising is the attempt to situate the message in a simulation of real events and people. For this reason, the analysis did not view the models/consumers that are depicted in ads as intertexts in their own right. However, aspects such as attire and position were taken

into account if, in conjunction with other traces, they contributed to the construction of an intertext. For example, images of servants and slaves in the garb of the Ancient World may be functional in this regard, especially when stationed around a model who, by virtue of his contemporary clothing, represents consumers. In this manner, the models' attire provides evidence for the relevance of banquets in the Ancient World, as part of a message that boasts the advertised company's dedicated service. This message may be embedded in a specific reason-tickle pattern, in terms of its headline, subtext and the placement of the product/company logo. In other cases, the lexical unit, for example, may refer to military combat while the graphic unit depicts athletes. In such cases, only the lexical unit was viewed as a trace of intertextuality, as the models' attire contain no explicit reference to the military. In this case, the lexical unit's function is to construct military conflict as the metaphor's source, while the models' attire, although they are not intertextual, serve to fix athletes as the metaphor's target.

A distinction is therefore drawn between the graphic and/or lexical features' role in establishing intertextuality, as well as the intertext's purpose in terms of the product, which may include the construction of novel/resemblance metaphors (henceforth simply metaphors). In order to achieve the latter, specific attention is paid to copywriters' attempts to anchor interpretations of the intertext in an intended range. These strategies are discussed in section. 4.2.2.

4.2 The establishment and function of intertextuality

4.2.1 Overview

This section begins by discussing the manner (lexical vs. graphic) in which intertextuality was most frequently manifested. Thereafter, the different functions identified in the analysis are discussed, before listing the findings (cf. Table 3) and illustrating each category by means of a qualitative report of four ads from each group.

Table 2 illustrates the findings with regard to the manifestation of intertextuality.

Table 2: The manifestation of intertextuality

Lexical vs. graphic	Number of ads	Percentage /120	Brands	
Graphic alone	10	8.3	Ibiza Mini (<i>FHM a</i> & <i>b</i>) Mica Nivea (<i>MH</i>) Tosoni	Tracker Tempest Car Hire Subaru (<i>Indwe</i>) Calvin Klein
Lexical alone	47	39.2	Clicks (<i>FL</i>) BMW Addidas GHD Vodacom Honda Liberty Life Gino Ginelli Mini (<i>MH</i>) Appletizer Virgin Mobile Wonderbra Powerade Kotex USN Momentum (<i>FL</i> and <i>MH</i>) Yardley Dstv (<i>FL</i> and	Elizabeth Arden Fiat (<i>Cosmo</i> and <i>FL</i>) Borges Olmecca KFC Blue Ribbon City Lodge Berco Express VIP Payroll Knysna Tourism Armani Protea Hotel Urban Hotel

			<i>FHM</i>) Nivea <i>(Cosmo)</i> Obikwa Sunlight Perdeberg Winery Santam VW (<i>Afro</i>) Hansa Pilsner	Blue Label Audi Grants Honda (<i>PM</i>) Checkers (<i>GH</i>), Suzuki DSTV (Indwe)
Combination of lexical and graphic	63	52.5	Oxy Durex Mini <i>(Cosmo)</i> Clinique DKNY Sprite Acer VW (<i>FL</i>) Richelieu DC Aramis Panache Continental (<i>FHM</i> and <i>MH</i>) Vuka Vitaforce Sun International	Nintendo Vision Africa Pringles Tiger Wheel and Tyre Sasko Walvis Bay Corridor Group Nankang Amarula Alexander Forbes Berocca Mascom Tshwane Events Group

			Nedbank (<i>MH</i> and <i>Indwe</i>) Renault Aquartz Sarita Sea Rescue Brut Subaru (<i>Cosmo</i>) Chopard Ciao Orbit Glenrand MIB Telkom Peroni Absolut Total Toyota Kaya FM95.9 Visa	Coega Hennessey Avis (<i>Indwe</i> and <i>GH</i>) Clicks (<i>Ideas</i>) Incredible Connection Checkers (<i>Ideas</i>) Samsung (<i>GH</i>) Seemann's Charcuterie Mitchum Toshiba Mazda Citroen Heineken Dunlop
Total	120	100		

Despite the dominance of images in advertising (Morris, 2005: 697), the results suggest that intertextuality relies heavily on words. Very few ads in the sample – a mere 8.3% - relied solely on graphic elements to establish the intertext. Instead, a combination of graphic and lexical traces is most commonly used to signal an intertextual domain’s relevance. The prevalence of this pattern indicates the value of exploiting striking images to attract attention, while – as indicated in the qualitative analyses (cf. section 4.2.2) -

lexical elements are often employed to guide interpretations of the graphic unit, by specifying the relationship between the images, the intertext(s) they evoke, and the advertised product/service. For example, where symbolic images, such as stormy weather, may signify troubled times in general, words such as *recession* fix the recent global economic meltdown as the intertext (cf. section 4.2.2.3b).

The rest of this section is devoted to the categories that emerged from the analysis of intertextuality's function. In each, a distinction is drawn between the intertextual fields – which are legion in each category – and their potential functions. Before continuing, however, it must be reiterated that a single ad can use intertextuality in various ways, especially since some ads referred to more than one intertext or to images that recall a broad set of assumptions.

Firstly, some ads used the intertext to introduce a metaphor, defined as cases in which “one experiential domain is partially mapped unto a different experiential domain” (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006: 1982-1983). The intertext is often a social practice, such as weddings or sports, manifested in icons, symbols and indexicals. These are embedded in a stimulus that encourages readers to attribute to the communicator the intention to map specific attributes from the intertext onto the product/service. The result is a metaphor that, in conjunction with other tickle and/or reason strategies, aims to contribute to a focused commercial message, by encouraging readers to interpret the product/service within the framework laid down by the intertext. In relevance theoretic terms, the ad presents an ostensive stimulus, the optimal relevance of which is contingent on being processed within the advertising context. Thus the process of inferring the details of the metaphor relies, firstly, on the assumption that all ads must contain a selling proposition and, secondly, on the resultant assumption that some of the associations raised by the intertext must be related to the advertised product/service in this way. Furthermore, since the inferencing process is heavily influenced by the attributes of the individual reader, copywriters often use culture-specific symbols for which certain associations may be taken for granted. In such cases the parameters of the metaphor are clearly demarcated by these widely accepted associations, and require little (cf. section 4.2.2.1a) or no further guidance in order to support a marketing message (cf. section 4.2.2.4d). In other cases, the metaphor is laboured and requires more cognitive effort.

This was especially true of metaphors that rest on ambiguous images that are likely to raise a more complex network of associations than those with culture-specific connotations (cf. section 4.2.2.1c). As a consequence, advertisers must attempt to anchor the inferencing process in some way. Specific methods are discussed below (cf. section 4.2.2.1).

Secondly, the intertext may be a popular media text, such as a film, television series, music, novel or the much celebrated lifestyles of celebrities. The objective is to foster associations between the advertised product/service and the popular media text depicted in the intertext. In the sample under study, the link between product/service and intertext served either to create a validating context for the ad's claims (cf. section 4.2.2.2a), or to foreground specific assumptions which support the advertisers' goals (cf. section 4.2.2.2b). In the former's case, fictional characters or technical personenel - such as makeup artists, authors or directors - may serve as experts who endorse the product. In the latter's case, the media text's title or a characteristic phrase from it is exploited to render specific assumptions more salient to the reader. It must also be said that the scope of this category was broadened to include references to the lifestyles/characteristic traits of iconic media figures such as disc jockeys (DJs) or ninjas, as they are represented and stereotyped in popular entertainment media.

At this point, some clarification between the current and previous category may be required. Since all metaphors construct links with the domain they aim to project onto the target, it was important to develop reliable criteria on which to determine whether an ad should be included in the first, second or both categories. Ads that contain no evidence for the intention of mapping traits from the intertext onto the product/service were classed under the second category alone. For example, cases in which the copywriter claims that the advertised product/service will enable consumers to attain the characteristic traits of a character in a popular movie do not suggest that those traits should be projected onto the product metaphorically. It does, however, aim to establish positive associations with the product by exploiting associations that have already been entrenched with the character by admirers of the movie, or other media text, from which he/she originates. Thus, the defining difference between the metaphorical use of

intertextuality and the present category is that attributes of the media text are not mapped directly onto the product.

This does not, however, preclude the use of both metaphors and links of the second nature in a single ad. For example, references to the lifestyles of ninjas may, for example be established as follows: "Ninjas never leave the party first" (taken from an ad for Berocca). In this sentence, the intertext makes a humorous reference to these oriental warriors' endurance by means of a fictional allusion to their attendance at parties. It does not aim to map these traits onto the product itself. Instead, it aims to presuppose the existence of a certain goal on the consumer's part, by foregrounding the assumption that it is desirable to attend parties for a long time. However, a subsequent sentence "A kick when you need it!" projects the ability to kick from ninjas onto the product - contingent, of course, on the double meaning of the word kick. In brief, one part of the ad's lexical unit establishes a link with the media text, while the other operates metaphorically. It is also important to clarify why these lexical items are not viewed as references to historical intertexts, within the parameters of the current analysis. Although ninjas are historical oriental soldiers, the ad does not support the relevance of their historical roles as spies and scouts, during which fighting was avoided, or any other aspect of the era of Japanese history during which they were active. Instead, the ad's graphic unit shows a cartoon ninja, loosely based on the facial features of Bruce Lee. Thus, in combination with the lexical items mentioned earlier, our attention is focused on the popular rather than historical features associated with of these soldiers.

Thirdly, the intertextual field may also concern historical events, especially those that have become embedded in South African culture, such as Youth and Freedom Day. References to the 2010 FIFA World Cup are also included in this category, as are historical figures, such as Nelson Mandela, objects such as the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and texts such as the Bible, Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto and the United States Declaration of Independence. The function of the reference is to build associations between the product/service and the event/person/object, in order to gain an advantage over competitors. Where the copywriter also aims to project specific attributes of the object, person, text or event onto the product, the ad was also classed as metaphorical.

Fourthly, the intertext may centre on a gender stereotype as its commercial platform. The ad may either refer to the stereotype explicitly or implicitly. In the former's case, the stereotype is the intertext. In the latter's case, the intertextual field may be something different, such as a specific social situation, in which the copywriter chooses to highlight a gender stereotype. In both cases, the intertext's function is to render a certain stereotype salient.

Fifth, the intertext may be an idiom, proverb, or colloquial expression. The copywriter may either reformulate the intertext by altering one or more words, or present it in its standardised form. In either case, the idiom/proverb/expression represents a pre-existing text that acquires new meaning in the ad. Readers infer the new meaning, or set of new meanings, by analysing the evidence presented in the text under construction.

As will be illustrated subsequently, the origins of some expressions are opaque, to the extent that readers may fail to attribute the intertext to the correct source. Failure to recognise the correct intertext may reduce the ad's optimal relevance. However, in the cases analysed here, it appears that copywriters took care to structure ads so that even readers who are unfamiliar with the intertext may still derive a meaningful message. This was done by structuring expressions so that their meanings and relevance to the product/service are still deducible from their constituent words, even if the novel use of an intertext is overlooked. This provides evidence of copywriters' attempts to embed safety measures in the ad's linguistic structure. In such instances, readers' enjoyment and ability to remember the ad may be reduced, because the nature of the intellectual game is compromised. Nevertheless, communication does not entirely fail. Although the degree to which individual readers' inferences fall within the copywriter's range of intended meanings is not the primary goal of this analysis, attention will be paid to the evidence and safety measures that serve to guide the process (cf. section 4.2.2.5).

Sixth, in some ads the intertextual domain was a social situation that did not function metaphorically, set up a link with a media text, or employ an idiom. Instead, its primary purpose is to generate humour. As all intertextual ads aim to enhance enjoyment by means of an intellectual riddle, any of them may become humorous. However - as will be elucidated in the next level of the analysis - the intertexts in this category generate humour with the specific aim of enhancing recall of specific product/service claims.

Again, however, it is possible for a single ad to combine different functions. For example, some print ads were grouped in the second category because they echo their televised versions (such as the Mitchum ad in *Ideas*, and the Total ad in *FHM*). Such instances contain intertextual references to these counterparts, sometimes in combination with other media texts, such as popular music in the case of the Total ad. However, they may also be accurately comprehended without knowledge of the televised version, based on the humour generated by the print version alone.

In other cases intertextuality’s function was to make assumptions surrounding sex salient. Such ads either referred to sex explicitly, or contained a neutral intertext before loading it with sexual connotations.

Finally, intertextual symbols were also used to simplify the communication of claims. These include mathematical symbols, culture-specific forms of address and jargon. In each case, traits of the intertextual field are neither projected onto the product/service, nor do they set up a link with a media or historical text. Their presence, however, augments the communication of product claims by reducing the lexical unit’s length. Table 3 below summarises the findings with regard to the function of intertextuality.

Table 3: The function of intertextuality in print advertisements

Category	Number of ads	Percentage (/120)	Brands	
Metaphorical	62	51.7 %	BMW Honda (<i>Cosmo</i>) Mini (<i>Cosmo</i> and <i>FHM</i> a and b) Clinique Durex VW (<i>FHM</i>) Richelieu DC Appletizer Aramis	Brut Tiger Wheel and Tyre Nedbank (<i>MH</i>) Walvis Bay Corridor Group Amarula Berocca Tshwane Events Group Coega

			Subaru Virgin mobile Panache Continental (<i>FHM</i>) Vuka Sun International Toyota Renault Aquartz Dstv (<i>FL</i>) Sarita Elizabeth Arden Sea Rescue Dunlop Chopard Glenrand MIB Peroni Absolut Nintendo Sprite Kotex Tempest Car Hire	Nedbank (<i>Indwe</i>) Knysna Tourism Protea Hotel Mascom DSTV (<i>Indwe</i>) Blue Label Hennessey Avis (<i>GH</i>) Clicks (<i>Ideas</i>) Grants Incredible Connection Checkers (<i>Ideas</i>) Seemann's Charcuterie Toshiba Mazda Citroen Heineken Hansa Pilsner Liberty Life DKNY
Establishes a link with popular media	17	14.2%	Clicks (<i>FL</i>) Durex Liberty Life Total Fiat (<i>FL</i>) Tosoni Sun International Honda (<i>PC</i>)	Samsung Suzuki Mitchum Santam Olmeca Aramis Mini (<i>MH</i>) Kaya FM95.9

			Berocca	
Refers to an historical event, character or objects	11	9.2%	Continental (<i>MH</i>) Blue Ribbon Amarula Nankang Visa Addidas	Knysna Tourism DKNY GHD Nedbank (<i>Indwe</i>) Telkom
Employs a gender stereotype	13	10.8%	Wonderbra Ibiza Brut Powerade KFC Sasko GHD	Nivea (<i>MH</i>) Durex Avis (<i>Indwe</i>) Hansa Pilsner Sprite Acer
Employs an idiom, proverb or recycled expression	18	15%	Sunlight Perdeberg Winery USN Momentum (<i>FL</i>) Yardley Borges Olmecca BMW Berco Express VIP Payroll	Vision Africa Protea Hotel Audi Checkers (<i>GH</i>) VW (<i>Afro</i>) Obikwa Virgin mobile Gino Ginelli
Aims to generate humour	12	10%	Acer Total Vitaforce	Walvis Bay Corridor Group Alexander Forbes

			Obikwa Pringles Nedbank (<i>MH</i>)	Sprite Tempest Car Hire Avis (<i>Indwe</i>)
Employs sex	13	10.8%	Oxy Ciao Vodacom Dstv (<i>FHM</i>) Olmeca KFC Calvin Klein	Sasko Mica Hansa Pilsner Acer Nivea (<i>Cosmo</i>) Orbit
Serves to simplify communication	4	3.3%	Momentum (<i>MH</i>) City Lodge Tracker Urban Hotel	

As indicated in Table 3, the analyses suggest that intertextuality’s primary function is to construct metaphors. However, the results also show that various other functions are subsumed under this predominant function, as several ads also used intertextuality for other purposes.

The second most prevalent function was to incorporate an idiom/proverb/colloquial expression into the advertising text. The third was to set up a link with popular media texts. However, the latter category was less frequent than the former by only a single ad. The difference was caused by the fact that one ad’s intertext may be derived from either a media text (the novel *Animal Farm*, by George Orwell) or a historical text (the United States Declaration of Independance). However, as the ad’s linguistic structure contains no evidence to support the relevance of one of these at the expense of the other, the intertext was classified as a recycled expression (cf. section 4.2.2.3a). Therefore, it seems

plausible that the difference is not significant and that both categories occur with the same frequency.

The category for media texts includes intertexts such as movies (Clicks in *FL*), television series (Samsung in *GH*), songs (Liberty Life in *FL*), and the stereotypical lifestyles of iconic media figures (Olmeca and Aramis in *FHM*). The frequency of this category indicates copywriters' assumption that readers also engage with other channels of the mass media. If this assumption were void, copywriters would have no grounds for believing that readers would be able to recognise and interpret the intertext's function within the advertising text. As such, the results also suggest that copywriters consider media texts reliable, in terms of the associations they are likely to evoke in readers, and that these associations have commercial value. Thus, the mass media represents a network that is perceived as a cohesive whole, so that links and associations between different modes – such as print and television – may be exploited for mercantile purposes. Exploiting this network enables copywriters to communicate more information in less space without compromising an ad's memorability. As will be elucidated in the qualitative reports, a single image or phrase often establishes a satisfactory link with the intended media text.

With regard to the use of an idiom/proverb/colloquial expression as the intertext, the regular use of these tropes indicates copywriters' presumption of the target audience's familiarity with and ability to deconstruct their meaning in the text under construction. Where idioms are used, the search for relevance is often supported by additional evidence that anchors the figurative, literal or both meanings in a specific marketing message. As was the case in the previous category, this allows copywriters to communicate in more succinct/condense language without compromising a message's potential for engaging the audience in meaning construction. The qualitative reports on idioms will discuss their use in terms of Lim, *et al.*'s (2009) model.

The next section provides a more detailed account of the results, by reporting on four ads from each of the above-mentioned categories.

4.2.2 Qualitative reports

4.2.2.1 Intertextuality and metaphors

4.2.2.1a) Clinique

This mascara vows to look pretty
for 24 hours without a smudge
or smear.

'Til warm water do us part.

Talk about a committed relationship. One stroke and these pretty lashes last through rain, sweat, humidity, tears. Yet the formula removes easily with warm water.

Ophthalmologist tested, too. By the power vested in new Lash Power™ Mascara Long-Wearing Formula, let the lovefest begin.

Clinique. Allergy Tested.

100% Fragrance Free.

clinique.co.za



Available from the following Authorised Retailers:
Edgars, Foschini, Stuttafords and Truworhs.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This ad establishes intertextuality through both its graphic and lexical features. The intertextual domain is committed romantic relationships, especially marriage. The following section will first discuss how intertextuality is established graphically, before turning to the lexical level.

The ad's most prominent graphic feature is an image of the mascara container and applicator, both of which are encircled by two rings. The most visually appealing of these is adorned with a large diamond, rendering it reminiscent of an engagement ring (in traditional Western culture). The second appears to be a man's wedding ring. In semiotic terminology, the engagement ring in particular may be viewed as an icon of marriage, as it resembles an object that is central to the ceremony. The two rings also serve to bind the applicator to the mascara container in a manner that suggests the bond between husband and wife, symbolised by wedding bands. The ad provides no clues to suggest whether the applicator or the container represents the groom or bride. As the applicator is thinner and appears to recline on the upright container, some may suggest that the applicator is placed in a stereotypically feminine position. Although it is conceivable that some readers may come to this conclusion – based on pre-existing cultural views – the ad itself contains no further support for such deductions.

The lexical and graphic aspects of the ad are connected via the phoric reference "This" which refers to the image, either cataphorically or anaphorically – depending on whether consumers read the headline before observing the image or vice versa (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). Having made this connection, the lexical level establishes the domain of marriage as follows. The verb "vow" introduces the intertextual field, and is supported by the reformulation of the ceremonial phrase *till death do us part*. Both references employ personification, by projecting the ability to lay down marriage vows onto the product. By employing personification to construct intertextuality, the copywriter aims to engage the audience in "an intellectual game" (van Niekerk, forthcoming). First, readers must uncover the intertextual domain and, subsequently, its relation to the advertised product by, for example, deducing that loyalty is projected onto

the product (discussed in more detail later on). Consequently, the audience may “feel ‘rewarded’ when it is able to reconstruct the message” (van Niekerk, forthcoming).

These references to marriage are further reinforced by the subtext, which contains two additional references in its description of the product: “Talk about a committed relationship” and “By the power vested in new Lash Power Mascara Long-Wearing Formula, let the lovefest begin”. The latter of these continues to use personification. However, in this instance the product no longer personifies a groom or bride uttering marriage vows. Instead it occupies the role of the authority conducting the ceremony. The reason for this sudden change in roles is uncertain, but it may indicate the product’s role in facilitating romantic relationships (“the lovefest”), by rendering its female consumer more attractive. If this is indeed the case, the ad’s message is clearly dependent on a gender stereotype about men’s obsession with women’s physical attractiveness. However, as there is insufficient evidence in the text, this ad was not classed under the category for such stereotypes.

In summary, this ad employs intertextuality to create a platform on which specific attributes are metaphorically projected unto the product, through a combination of lexical and graphic elements. The lexical features are particularly prominent, as they centre readers’ attention on a specific aspect of the intertextual field: the loyalty on which marriages depend. The subtext serves to guide interpretations of the intertext. By doing so, it establishes the ad’s primary selling proposition: the presupposed loyalty of the product. Establishing a metaphor is the sole function of intertextuality in this example. Furthermore, the operation of this metaphor is relatively straightforward, as its interpretation is guided by the headline and subtext. The following ad, however, contains a metaphor that is less clearly defined, in addition to combining it with other functions of intertextuality.

4.2.2.1b) Aramis

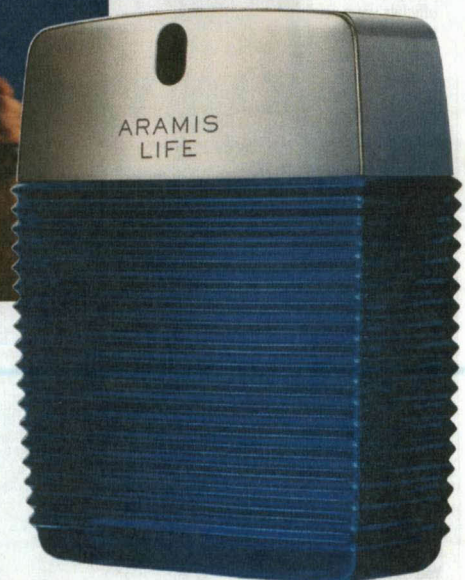
LIFE. IT'S A GREAT GAME.

MAGNETIC.
CONFIDENT.
MASCULINE.

ARAMIS LIFE. Hopes. Dreams. Possibilities. The belief that it can be done; the mindset to make it happen. For some men, it is what keeps life exciting. That rush that propels them forward. That challenge to go the distance. That passion for life.

This attitude and fragrance are a winning combination for success.

The fragrance is confident and magnetic – for those who aspire to surpass their own expectations.



THE FRAGRANCE FOR MEN
ARAMIS
LIFE
aramis

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Tennis and tennis players serve as the intertext in this ad. The domain is established on both the graphic and lexical levels. The former portrays an action scene from the sport. The latter establishes intertextuality in the headline, where "great game" functions as a phoric reference to the action in the image (cf. Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). The headline therefore posits that life is as great a game as tennis. The subtext functions to list and map specific attributes of successful male tennis players onto the product, as part of the main advertising strategy.

The subtext contains no explicit mention of tennis or specific male tennis players. However, taking the image and the headline as a starting point suggests that the list contains the most salient traits of male tennis stars. These include "The belief that it can be done [and] the mindset to make it happen", attributes which are exclusive to those men who enjoy "[the] rush that propels them forward [the] challenge to go the distance [and] passion for life" (note that the noun phrases are used as independent clauses; as observed by Rush, 1998: 155).

Constructing successful male tennis players as the embodiment of these attributes, raises the question of its relevance to the advertised perfume. Based on pre-existing knowledge of ads, the description may encourage readers to associate such traits, not only with tennis players, but also with the product. However, should this metaphor also be extended to the product's consumers? In contrast with the previous ad, the metaphor is less explicit in this case. Such an interpretation is certainly encouraged by the last two paragraphs of the subtext. The second paragraph states: "This attitude and fragrance are a winning combination for success". It seems conceivable that the word "attitude" constitutes a reference to the consumer, raising the inference that the previously mentioned traits also apply to them. Furthermore, the conjunction indicates that the advertised fragrance and attitude are an axiomatic combination. Although this appears to narrow the target market to an exclusive group, its intention may also be to prompt readers to consider themselves as appropriate candidates, with or without sufficient evidence. Becoming a consumer, therefore, marks them as members of this elite group. The last paragraph supports this conclusion, by employing personification to explicate the metaphor: "The fragrance is

confident and magnetic [and therefore suitable] for those who aspire to surpass their own expectations”.

Using intertextuality in this manner aims to enhance potential consumer's regard of the fragrance. Regardless of whether consumers believe that they also exemplify some or all of these attributes, or whether they go as far as to assume that the fragrance will impart confidence and magnetism to them, the product is viewed as desirable by virtue of the associations that are linked with it. Thus, the fact that the metaphor is less specific than in the previous case does not necessarily detract from the ad's effectiveness, as positive associations are still tied to the product (cf. section 6.3.5).

Finally, as avid supporters of tennis players are likely to associate some or all of these traits with their favourite male tennis star, the ad also attempts to establish a link with such players. In terms of its marketing strategy, the aim is to promote the product by confirming its association with popular sports stars, especially as they are depicted in popular media (in this case without paying a particular star to endorse the product).

The following case concerns a metaphor that is even less clearly defined and combines more than two functions its intertexts.

4.2.2.1c) Sprite





life's sweeter with zero sugar. zero limits.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This ad is printed on both sides of a single sheet, so that readers must turn the page in order to process the complete text. The objective is to increase readers' involvement with the text, by encouraging them to perform a physical action (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). More importantly, this allows the copywriter to use irony, by constructing an inconsistency between the intertexts on the first and second page.

The first page employs traffic violations as the intertext, while the second refers to men's attempts to secure intimate social interactions - or *dates* in colloquial terms - with attractive women. The first intertextual field is established on the graphic level alone, while the second requires the aid of the lexical. Uncovering the discrepancy between the first and second field is central to the ad's marketing message. With regard to the construction of metaphor, the discrepancy serves to project the pleasure of receiving romantic attention from men - as opposed to the discontent of being penalised for a traffic violation - onto the product, as discussed below.

To access the intended schemata from the first page, readers must retrieve background knowledge of law enforcement and traffic violations, by processing the following evidence: 1) the young woman is sitting in a stationary car, 2) the man is dressed in a traffic officer's uniform and 3) is holding out a piece of paper to her. As the reader cannot see what is written on the piece of paper, the previous two clues aid the implicated conclusion that it must be a penalty for a traffic violation. The second page allows the reader to observe the smile on the man's face. However, without the aid of the name and cellphone number on the card, this would not have overthrown the conclusion drawn from the first page.

The fact that the second page overthrows the inferences drawn from the first supports the deduction that the marketing message is encapsulated in the second. Recognising the true purpose of the engagement encourages the reader to retrieve associations surrounding *dates*. Then, following the principle of relevance, readers have grounds for deducing that these, arguably positive, associations must be related to the product in some way. The only logical connection between the product and intertext is that the pleasure of romantic attention is projected onto the product. To clarify this issue we may consider an

alternative ad for the same product (not included in this sample). This ad depicts a young woman who appears to be stranded with a dysfunctional car next to a deserted road. Again, the first page shows only part of the image. The second, however, shows the image from the other side and reveals four men attempting to repair the vehicle. The common denominator is the pleasure of receiving romantic attention from men. This, in turn, points to the suggestion that consumption of the product is somehow central to this result.

At this point, the claim that the product contains no sugar becomes salient. As sugar is often associated with weight gain, the intertextual field may serve to suggest that consuming this sugar-free product circumvents this undesirable result, and will consequently elicit more romantic attention from men (discussed in more detail in section 5.2.5).

In addition to this metaphor, the process of resolving the discrepancy engages the audience in decoding a form of irony, referred to by Partington (2007: 1556) as the “comic dupe”.

If a protagonist believes E but in the second narrative someone else show[s] or events conspire to show that things are in reality $\neg E$, then we tend to have [...] comic dupe irony (Partington, 2007: 1556).

The reader is meant to make inference 2.a. (E) from the first page, before drawing conclusion 2.b. ($\neg E$) from the second.

2.a. A traffic violation is being issued to the young woman.

2.b. A traffic violation is not being issued to the young woman. Instead, the man is providing the young woman with his name and telephone number.

2.c. The man hopes that the young woman will contact him and arrange a date.

2.d. The man finds the young woman attractive.

The inferences in 2.c. (implicated premises) and 2.d. (implicated conclusion) follow logically from the explicated information in 2.b. - based on background knowledge about

romantic interaction in Western culture. Therefore, the function of the ironic discrepancy between the two pages is to generate humour, by means of the comic dupe that proves the first set of expectations to be false.

Thus, in addition to constructing a metaphor, intertextuality also aims to generate humour. However, the humour clearly relies on readers' recognition of a gender stereotype: men cannot resist the urge to give romantic attention to a slender and attractive young woman. However, the stereotype that attractive women are liable to use their sexual appeal to extricate themselves from undesirable situations has no direct support. Although some readers may reach this conclusion, the text contains no clear evidence for the young woman's motives.

Interpreting intertextuality in this example clearly requires readers to identify and test various possibilities, in order to establish relevance.

HONDA
The Power of Dreams4.2.2.1d) Honda

Looking for a long-term relationship that never gets boring?

With impressively low fuel consumption, and a higher level of performance and power, the Honda Jazz 1.5 VTEC is as reliable as it is ready for action. Stylish and conveniently compact on the outside, it's unbelievably luxurious and spacious on the inside. Excellent safety features, multi-award winning build quality and keen responsiveness complete this unrivalled package. The Jazz is also available in a 1.4 i-DSI model, with a smaller, more economical engine - but the same mighty value for money offering. Both models also come with a free 4 year / 60 000km service plan. **jazz** www.honda.co.za



The establishment and function of intertextuality

In this ad the intertextual field is long-term romantic relationships. It is manifested on the lexical level alone, by means of a rhetorical question in the headline. The function of this question is to draw attention to a specific feature of the intertextual field, while the subtext constructs a metaphor. The latter is contingent on readers' ability to recognise an interrelated propositional and value assumption.

On the basis of the headline, readers are intended to access schemata for long-term relationships and to consider its advantages and disadvantages. In the former's case, readers can access a wide and unspecified range of assumptions. These, however, are irrelevant to the text under construction, as the headline centres attention on a single drawback. This is achieved by constructing the rhetorical question around the propositional assumption that all long-term relationships have a propensity to become tedious. The assumption is expressed as an undeniable fact, rather than a possibility, which imbues the statement with a factivity guise (Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 565). This, in turn, sets the stage for the value assumption that having a long term relationship that remains thrilling is desirable. On the basis thus created, the text raises the inference that the product circumvents this problem in some way, allowing consumers to reap the rewards, but shred the boredom associated with a long-term relationship.

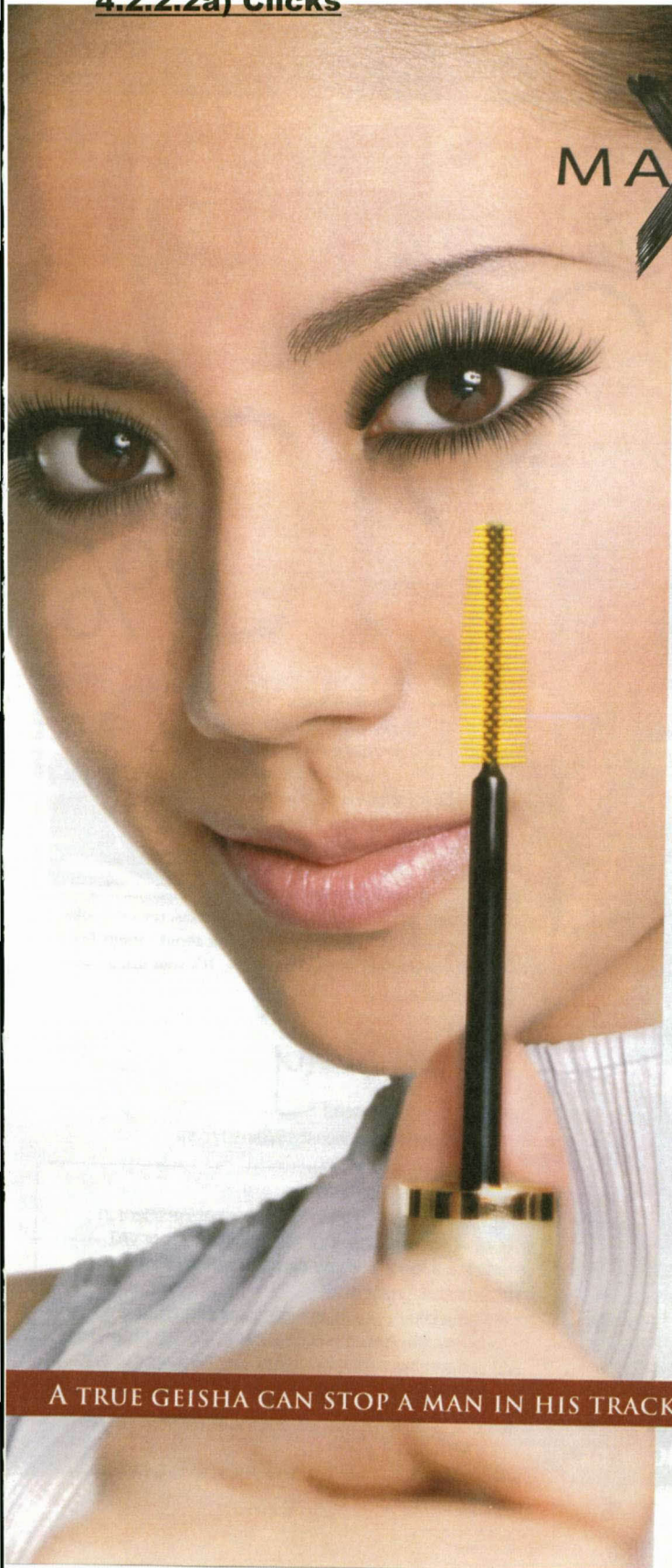
Thus, intertextuality's first function is to support retrieval of what is presumed to be a common conundrum in long-term romantic relationships. This dilemma is then mapped onto cars in the subtext. In this context, the words "long-term" and "boring" must receive new interpretations. According to the subtext, the former refers specifically to the product's reliability, which implies the following features: "low fuel consumption", "conveniently compact", "[e]xcellent safety features" and "multi-award winning build quality". The ability to remain exciting is connected with the following features: "a higher level of performance and power", "[being] ready for action", "[being] unbelievably luxurious and spacious on the inside", as well as "keen responsiveness". The subtext concludes its claims by asserting that this combination "completes this unrivalled package", before turning to alternative models and warranty specifications.

In this manner, intertextuality creates a metaphor which allows the advertiser to boast the product's uniqueness. This car circumvents a common problem by means of an unusual combination of attributes. As such, intertextuality may also set up the hypernorm that modern society has "a materialistic and visual approach to life" (van Niekerk, 2008: 495), as it is assumed that possessing such a unique combination is desirable.

This section has reported on intertextual ads that confront readers with the task of: 1) recognising the communicator's intention of constructing a metaphor, 2) identifying those aspects of the intertext that are most relevant to the current message, before 3) uncovering how these traits can be mapped onto the product/service. The next section investigates the interconnectedness between advertising and other media texts.

4.2.2.2 Linking the product/service with a media text

4.2.2.2a) Clicks



MAX FACTOR
THE MAKE-UP OF MAKE-UP ARTISTS

BEAUTIFULLY
FRAMED EYES
UP TO **5X** MORE
STRIKING



**MASTERPIECE
MASCARA**

"The secret is in the brush. This new mascara smoothly covers your lashes, even the tiny ones - corner to corner, base to tip. So your eyes are beautifully framed and ultimately more striking"

Noriko Watanabe
NORIKO WATANABE CHIEF MAKE-UP ARTIST
MEMOIRS OF A
GEISHA



C22355 Beyond The Blue

A TRUE GEISHA CAN STOP A MAN IN HIS TRACKS WITH A SINGLE LOOK

EXCLUSIVE TO

Available in selected stores 0860 CLICKS or 0860 254257

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Here the intertextual field is the film and novel *Memoirs of a Geisha*. However, the ad contains no graphic trace of the film. The smaller image of the young woman holding an oriental fan does not represent a still from the film. More importantly, the model is of European descent, judging by her blue eyes. Instead, intertextuality is situated on the lexical level alone. It is manifested in the title printed above the smaller image of the European model, as well as the quote in the headline: "A true Geisha can stop a man in his tracks with a single look". Although the film's title may serve as an implicit citation for the headline, the latter is not printed in quotations marks and is therefore treated here as a case of constitutive intertextuality.

Considering the nature of the product, the most relevant contextual implication must be the following: this product enables consumers to achieve the same level of attractiveness as geishas, specifically by enhancing the beauty of their eyes. This inference is supported by Noriko Watanabe's explanation of the product's "secret" method for achieving this goal. The reader is expected to trust the endorsement of one who was responsible for making actresses in the film resemble historical geishas. Thus, his endorsement of the product serves as a "validating context" (Crook, 2004: 726).

Of course, this does not imply that readers will view the headline as a literal prediction of the product's efficiency. Instead, based on their knowledge of advertising's proclivity to puff claims, readers are able to infer the basic claim that the product will confer similar beauty to their eyes. The claim's credibility is enhanced by the fact that it was designed and used by Noriko Watanabe. Furthermore - following the argument postulated in section 2.4.2a) in chapter 2 - even readers who neglect to read the subtext are encouraged to associate a movie about exotic, oriental beauty with the advertised product. In this case, however, the association is vague and may, consequently, fail to achieve optimal relevance, as the validating context is overlooked.

It should also be mentioned that incorporating a popular media text into the current text is a common feature of articles in men and women's magazines (Conradie, 2009: 152). Its functionality lies in the relatively stable assumptions that the magazine's core audience is liable to retrieve. In articles, such intertexts are often employed for rhetorical purposes.

Examples include the use of television series to explain psychological hypotheses: “They’re [psychologists] not pretending it’s quick or simple, nor radical – our inner Christina Yang isn’t miraculously replaced by Izzie Stevens [characters from the television series *Grey’s Anatomy*]” (Conradie, 2009: 152).

The implication for the current analysis is that copywriters may legitimately expect loyal readers of lifestyle magazines to carry knowledge about such media texts. This provides a relatively stable set of assumptions with which to construct a commercial message. Even if individual readers did not enjoy the film, they can still be expected to carry knowledge of its most salient themes (exotic sexuality). In this ad, it is assumed that audience members are not only familiar with the film but will, consequently, reach a conclusion within the intended range of meanings.

In summary, having observed the product, the intertextual domain, and the fact that the text is an ad, the Communicative Principle of Relevance implies the following route. Elements of the film are not metaphorically projected onto the product. Instead, it provides a validating context for a puffed product claim.

An additional advantage of employing a popular film as an intertext is that readers who view it after exposure to the ad are more likely to recall its claims. In this specific case, they may observe the actresses’ lashes more carefully, further enhancing their interaction with and recall of the ad. Clearly, therefore, the ad is also contingent on the value assumption that all women should aspire to become an arresting sight to men.

Finally, in contrast with the current case, the analyses below will illustrate how links with a media text may be combined with other functions.

4.2.2.2b) Liberty Life

Have you ever noticed
the poor grammar in the song
“We don’t need no education”?

Liberty Life’s Educator benefit guarantees your children the one thing crucial to their success: an education. That’s because it covers the costs of their schooling should you become disabled or pass away. Liberty Life Educator - helping you score full marks for your children’s future. For more information, call 0860 456 789 or speak to a Liberty Life Consultant.

www.liberty.co.za



**LIBERTY
LIFE**

The way life insurance should be

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Intertextuality is manifested on the lexical level alone. Two intertexts can be distinguished. The most prominent of these is the headline's reference to the song by Pink Floyd, *Brick in the Wall*. The second is the allusion to academic assessment in the subtext: "helping you score full marks". The rest of this discussion will begin by analysing the primary intertext in the headline, before turning to the secondary field in the subtext.

With regard to the first intertext, the headline guides the inferencing path quite explicitly. Attention is fixed on the poor grammar of the sentence "We don't need no education", as well as the omitted lyrics from Pink Floyd's song. As such, this headline constitutes the only instance of manifest intertextuality, as the presence of the intertext is signalled by quotation marks (Fairclough, 1992: 271). Furthermore, the fact that the headline takes the form of a rhetorical question, in addition to mimicking aspects of everyday talk (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming), is evidence of the copywriter's efforts to involve readers, by inducing them to consider the song in a new light.

As was the case in a previous ad, a specific form of irony is at work, referred to by Partington (2007: 1556) as "betrayal irony". Betrayal irony is similar to comic dupe irony, as both cases revolve around the tension created when a second narrative reveals that matters are not what the first narrative asserted them to be. However, in the case of betrayal irony, generating humour is not the goal. Instead, the objective is to depict the producer of the first narrative as hypocritical by, for example, revealing a discrepancy between the producer's beliefs and behaviour. In the ad under study, betrayal irony is used to insist that those who employ grammatical structures such as the double negative in "We don't need no education" are, ironically, in dire need of education.

By depicting the statement in the headline as self-condemning, betrayal irony is exploited to construct the need for education as incontestable. Consequently, the importance of education becomes common ground so that, even before reading the subtext, readers can infer that some claim will be made about the product's role in securing access to education. In this capacity, the intertext foregrounds a social value that – in the copywriter's view – no parent could contest.

Against this backdrop the secondary intertext - manifested in the subtext - becomes important. Firstly, the subtext begins to explicate the product's role in securing access to education by means of a reason approach: "Liberty Life's Educator benefit guarantees your children the one thing crucial to their success: an education. That's because it covers the costs of their schooling should you become disabled or pass away". The first sentence contains a grammatical presupposition about the significance of education, as shown in 4.a to d.

4.a Liberty Life's Educator benefit *does not* guarantee your children the one thing crucial to their success: an education.

4.b. Liberty Life's Educator benefit *may* guarantee your children the one thing crucial to their success: an education.

4.c. *Does* Liberty Life's Educator benefit guarantee your children the one thing crucial to their success: an education?

4.d. *If* Liberty Life's Educator benefit guarantees your children the one thing crucial to their success: an education, *it might be wise to acquire it directly*.

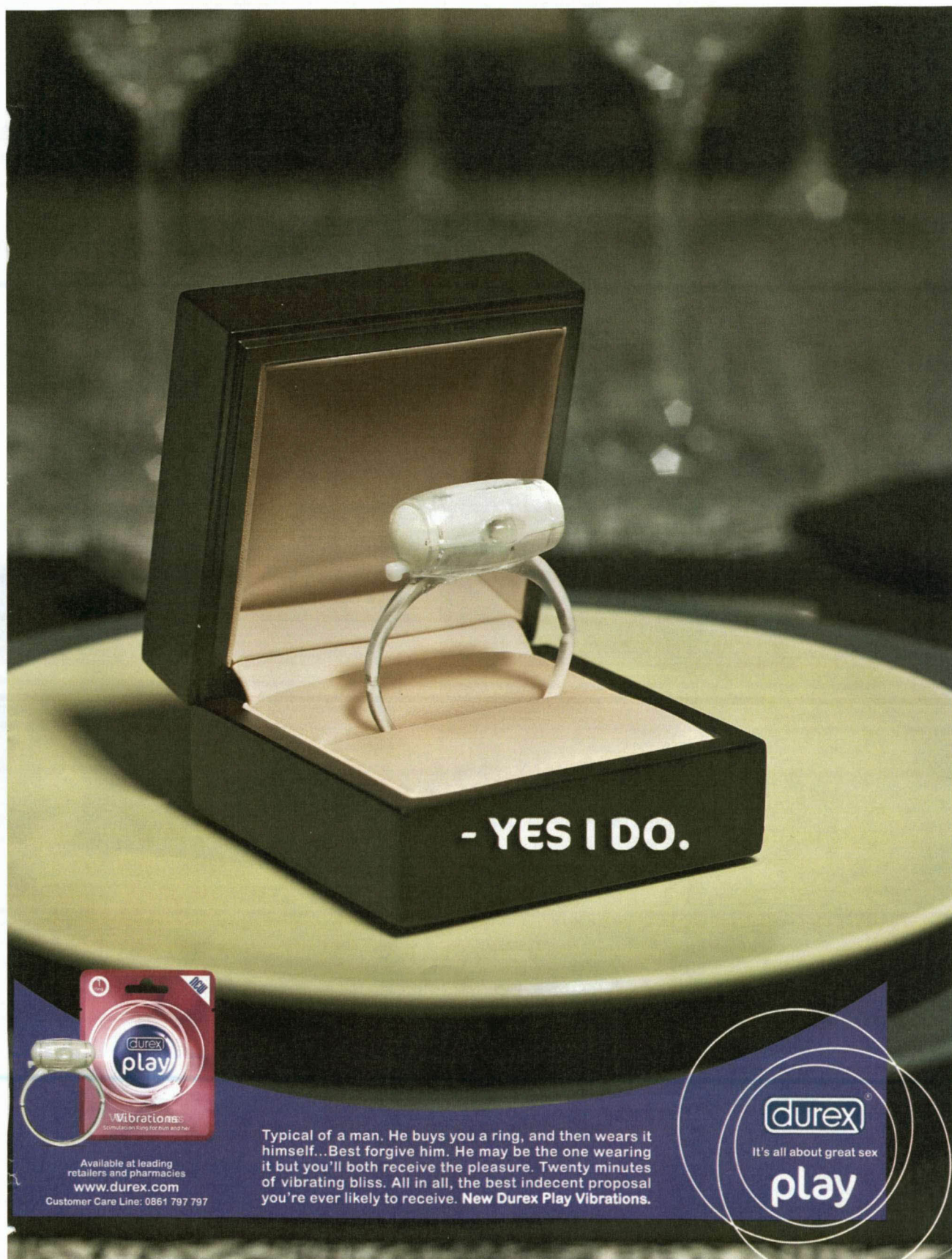
This presupposition fixes the importance of education as given, and also constitutes a value assumption. It is connected with the next statement by means of the causal adjunct "because", which contains the most prominent and direct reason-to-buy element of the ad. The next sentence contains the second intertextual reference: "Liberty Life Educator – helping you **score full marks** for your children's future" (researcher's emphasis). Here a link is established with academic assessment. This reference functions metaphorically, by constructing parents' devotion to their "children's future" as a test of good parenting. By implication, Liberty Life is the best guide to passing this test, as it is the best evidence of parents' devotion.

In summary, this ad contains an intertextual link with the song *Brick in the Wall*, which functions to produce irony. In accordance with the Cognitive Principle of Relevance, the first meaning which balances cognitive effort and effect must be the intended message. Therefore, the relevance of the betrayal irony must be to foreground a specific assumption and to establish a sense of solidarity between devoted parents and the

advertised service provider. As was the case in the previous ad, one advantage of setting up this link is that readers who subsequently listen to the song are more likely to recall the ad's claims. The second intertextual domain operates metaphorically in order to focus readers' attention on the value of the product.

In this ad, setting up a link with a media text constitutes the primary function of intertextuality. The next ad represents a case in which this link plays a secondary role.

4.2.2.2c) Durex



- YES I DO.



Available at leading
retailers and pharmacies
www.durex.com
Customer Care Line: 0861 797 797

Typical of a man. He buys you a ring, and then wears it
himself...Best forgive him. He may be the one wearing
it but you'll both receive the pleasure. Twenty minutes
of vibrating bliss. All in all, the best indecent proposal
you're ever likely to receive. **New Durex Play Vibrations.**



The establishment and function of intertextuality

In this text, the most conspicuous intertextual field is the practice of presenting engagement rings to one's partner during marriage proposals in Western culture. This field is situated on both the graphic and lexical levels. On the graphic level, the product's container and its position in the container are functional, while on the lexical level the words "Yes I do" confirm the intertext. The subtext refers to the film *Indecent Proposal* and also employs a gender stereotype.

With regard to the first intertext, readers are engaged in a riddle that requires them to access schemata about marriage proposals, before noticing that these must be altered in some way, in order to maintain relevance in terms of the product. Based on the ad's evidence, a metaphor is at work. However, it is not clear from the headline which characteristics of the intertextual field are projected onto the product. To uncover the metaphor, the subtext guides interpretation: "you'll both receive the pleasure [...] Twenty minutes of vibrating bliss [...] All in all the best [...] proposal you're every likely to receive". Thus, the excitement and pleasure of receiving a marriage proposal is projected onto the sexual gratification that will be derived from using the product.

This is noteworthy as it complies with an implicit value assumption that both partners should derive pleasure from sexual intercourse: "He may be the one wearing it but you'll **both** receive the pleasure" (researcher's emphasis). This assumption may serve to appeal to a specific readership, as it constitutes a prominent value in men's and women's magazines (Conradie, forthcoming; Conradie, 2009). Against this backdrop, relevance suggests that the "Yes I do" in the headline be re-contextualised as an acceptance and expression of excitement about the mutual gratification that sexual partners will derive from the product.

Furthermore, the claim is delivered on the basis on a gender stereotype: "Typical of a man. He buys you a ring, and then wears it himself... Best forgive him". However, apart from men's presupposed selfishness, this does not appear to be a well-known stereotype. Its primary function, therefore, is to construct the speaker in the ad as a fellow woman who understands the difficulties inherent in intimate relationships with men (another prominent feature of women's lifestyle magazines – cf. Conradie, forthcoming). As such,

the manner in which the stereotype is formulated constitutes a device of interpersonal interaction that presupposes a specific relationship between speaker and addressee (Van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). In Kitis and Milapides' (1997: 579) terminology, it constitutes a device of interpersonal rhetoric, as it conveys its argument on the basis of emotive rather than a cognitive/rational appeal.

The intertextual reference to the film *Indecent Proposal* plays a secondary role. As the movie is associated with sex and controversy, constructing this link aims to retrieve the desired assumptions from memory and to reinforce these associations with the product. Furthermore, in terms of the earlier metaphor, the word "indecent" serves to reinforce perceptions of the product as a guilty pleasure. By doing so, the copywriter may intend to negate counterproductive assumptions about marriage proposals, especially those that are less sexually loaded, such as spiritual, religious and even legal connotations. In addition, sexually loaded connotations with the word "indecent" may also act as a failsafe for those readers who are unfamiliar with the film.

Thus, the function of this media link is - on the one hand - to reinforce specific associations with the product, and - on the other hand - to anchor interpretations of the metaphor in the sexual. As the words "indecent proposal" are not capitalised, the copywriter provides additional clues to prompt the intended interpretation. These include the nature of the product, as well as the words "pleasure" and "bliss". The prevalence of ads that utilise links with popular media, suggests that copywriters have valid grounds on which to assume that readers will recognise such implicit references. However, if all these devices fail, common associations with the word "indecent" still augments the copywriter's purpose.

The next section discusses an ad that contains no evidence on either the lexical or graphic level to support recognition of the intertext's source.

4.2.2.2d) Mini



128 kW OF POWER TO THE PR

VILEGED.



INTRODUCING THE ALL-NEW MINI. INCREDIBLY MINI.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

The headline makes an intertextual reference to the phrase *power to the people*. This phrase has been used in various contexts, including the title of director Lee Lew-Lee's 1997 film about American civil rights movements, as well as a song written by John Lennon in 1971. However, based on the information in the text, it seems unlikely that the copywriter had a specific source in mind. The ad contains no evidence for the intention to make the film, song or any other source for the phrase salient to the reader. It is therefore more probable that the phrase will be regarded as an anonymous proverb, or a "recycled fixed expression" (Redfern, 1997: 267; cf. Tsakona, 2009: 1175). As such, it may be associated with a variety of contexts, including democracy, civil rights movements or even communism, depending on the background knowledge of the individual reader.

Its meaning, however, is unambiguous, regardless of readers' knowledge of its origin. In each case, it recalls the undesirability of asymmetrical power relations. Of course, the specific group designated as *the people* will differ in each context. Similarly, the purpose of its reformulating into the current format – "POWER TO THE PRIVILEGED" – is unambiguous.

Although they may be unable to attribute it to the correct source, readers are still likely to recognise the phrase as pre-existing. More importantly, they still realise that it must be reinterpreted in the text under construction. Recognition of the intertext's source therefore constitutes an additional, but non-essential method of capturing the audience's attention and involving them in meaning construction. Even readers who are entirely unfamiliar with the intertext and even fail to view it as a recycled anonymous proverb may still derive a reason claim from the headline. Although this may be less striking and memorable, the message is not entirely impotent.

The reformulation of the intertext is functional on the following levels. Firstly, the word "privileged" is broken by the broad white line. To comprehend the message readers must infer the white line's function as a substitute for the letter *i*, which also draws attention to the image of the product. Moreover, substituting the word *people* with "PRIVILEGED" presupposes the exclusivity of the product. The headline supports this conclusion by

using “128kW” as a metonymic reference to the product, resulting in the inference that those who own it belong to a privileged group.

The subtext, in addition to introducing the product’s name in the first sentence, provides further support by using the word *Mini* as an adjective in the second sentence, thus presupposing its greatness.

Therefore, connotations with political movements, song writers or film directors are irrelevant to the advertiser’s message – regardless of their relation to the headline’s etymology. Instead the intertext’s function is to subvert readers’ expectations. Rather than the word *people*, readers find *privileged*, which prompts the inference that the product confers a privilege (128kW of power) onto its owners.

This section has reviewed ads in which intertextual references to media texts play both primary and secondary roles. The results suggest that media texts are useful for creating a validating context and for foregrounding assumptions that create a platform on which to promote the product. Media texts may also give rise to proverbs and slogans which, regardless of readers’ knowledge of their etymology, can be manipulated and re-worded in a manner that allows the copywriter to engage the audience in associating it with a new meaning.

The next section reports on the use of historical events, characters, texts and objects as intertexts.

4.2.2.3 Intertextual references to an historical event, character or object

This section begins by analysing an ad with an intertext that may be grouped with either this or the preceding section. Depending on their background knowledge, readers may attribute the intertext either to a media or historical source. However, the ad was not grouped with either of these. Instead, owing to its oblique nature, as well as the lack of additional evidence to fix the intertext as a media or historical text, it was classed as a reference to a recycled, proverbial expression, which positions it in the fifth group (according to Table 3). Nevertheless, it is discussed here in order to clarify the

researcher's approach to historical intertexts, as well as the rationale for placing it in the fifth group.

4.2.2.3a) Gino Ginelli



NOT ALL ICE CREAMS ARE CREATED EQUAL

Gino Ginelli

The establishment and function of intertextuality

In the current text, intertextuality is established on the lexical level alone. However, the oblique nature of the reference complicates attempts to specify its source. On the one hand, the intertext may be the *United States Declaration of Independence*, which contains the clause: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that **all men are created equal**, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights" (Gilje, 2005; researcher's emphasis). On the other hand, it may also allude to a maxim from George Orwell's *Animal Farm*: "all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (Orwell, 1945: ch. 10). Although the latter may have been derived from the former, copywriters may still choose to construct the text around one rather than the other.

In addition, the graphic level also represents a tickle strategy. However, it does not constitute a clear intertextual field, and provides no evidence to specify the headline's source. Personification is certainly employed. The spoons appear to queue in front of the ice cream container, presumably to scoop some of its contents. This representation supports the meaning of the intertext, by presupposing the superiority of the product. However, it has no definite analogues in an external text. It is intertextual only in terms of the practice of humans to crowd around or queue to see a popular person, but there is insufficient evidence to fix the image in anything other than personification. Consequently, the graphic unit was not classed as intertextual.

The function of the headline's intertextual link, regardless of its source, is to claim that the product's quality is above average, by echoing and subverting the intertext's original meaning. The copywriter assumes that the target audience is familiar with the phrase – regardless of their ability to attribute it to either of the above-mentioned sources – and will be able to recognise it as external to the ad. Based on this knowledge, readers must play an active role by attempting to comprehend the manner in which its original meaning is subverted. Finally, the relevance of the subversion in terms of the product must be processed. In commercial terms, the latter part of the process is unambiguous. The only relevant inference is that the advertised product is superior in comparison with other brands. This statement is unambiguous to the extent that it almost constitutes a

reason claim. Simpson (2001: 604) accounts for such instances by observing that tickle strategies often employ reason claims as “a cognitive template” around which to structure their messages (Simpson, 2001: 604). In this case, using an intertext to boast the product’s quality allows the copywriter to implicate this message specifically in terms of unmentioned competitors, thus circumventing the legal repercussions of explicit slurs (cf. Melchenko, 2003: 14).

Although the inverse interpretation, that the product is below average, is also plausible – based solely on the range of meanings deducible from the words without their context - it is precluded by background knowledge about advertising.

With regard to the intertext itself, however, the ad contains no additional clues to remind readers of its origin. As indicated in the previous section, ads which allude to media texts, either refer to the intertext’s origin explicitly (Liberty Life), or couple the lexical reference with additional clues to enhance recognition, such as the names of important craftsmen (Clicks). In van Niekerk’s (forthcoming) study, references to the Bible are often paired with religious icons and symbols. In this case, however, readers who are not already familiar with either the *US Declaration of Independence* or the maxim from *Animal Farm* will fail to attribute the headline to the correct source. Instead, those who successfully recognise it as a reformulation of *all men/animals are created equal*, are more likely to view it as a recycled anonymous proverb.

The Communicative Principle of Relevance predicts such behaviour when readers do not consider additional cognitive effort – such as an internet search to verify the expression’s etymology - worthwhile. Consequently, the expression may not be viewed as originating from American politics or literature, but simply as a proverb with democratic connotations, which is reformulated in the ad for commercial purposes.

The omission may, in fact, indicate the intention to avoid counterproductive associations. As the copywriter’s focus is clearly on the presupposed superiority of the product, connotations with American politics or Orwell’s works may have been viewed as problematic. To obviate this, the copywriter omits additional clues so that those who are familiar with either of these sources have no evidence on which to infer that specific connotations with either are relevant.

Although it is also possible that some readers may fail to recognise the headline as intertextual altogether, its relation to the product is still instantly recognisable. The omission does not hinder retrieval of the intended meaning, because the words are decomposable to the extent that their meaning is clear without further background knowledge about their origin (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1782). Thus, readers are able to make the correct inference regardless of their ability to identify the correct source. However, in this case, enjoyment of the ad may be compromised, as readers fail to recognise the novelty of giving new meaning to a pre-existing expression.

It should also be mentioned that the intertext in the headline is not echoed or expanded in the subtext, which may affect readers' interpretation of its relevance (cf. section 6.3.3).

The rest of this section is devoted to ads which specify the historical origin of their intertexts more explicitly.

4.2.2.3b) Telkom

SupremeCall

Weather the storm

Credit crunch

Retrenchments

Recession

Save up to 25% on your monthly telephone call costs with SupremeCall.

That will take a lot off your shoulders, especially in today's economic climate. SupremeCall offers you pure per-second billing on every call made to cellphones, local, long distance as well as international numbers. SupremeCall packages range from R500 to R300 000 per month. Choose the package that suits your telephone call spend and start saving up to 25% on your call costs with pure per-second billing. The larger packages are especially suitable for business customers running a call centre. No contracts, routers or new technologies are required in order to start saving!

For more information call 10217 or visit www.telkom.co.za/supremecall

Terms & conditions apply.



The establishment and function of intertextuality

This ad employs both lexical and graphic references to one of the characteristic events of the twenty-first century, the global economic recession, or global economic meltdown. On both the graphic and lexical levels the event is metaphorically evoked, by establishing stormy weather as a metaphor for trying economic times.

On the graphic level, lightning, dark clouds and high winds serve to represent tempestuous weather, while the models' attire signals the relevance of the economic sphere. Lexically, the headline, "Weather the storm", supports the graphic metaphor, while the words on the flying pages encourage readers to view the word *storm* as a reference to the recent economic disaster, by virtue of their symbolic association with the event. The second sentence of the subtext specifies the intertext more directly: "That will take a lot off your shoulders, especially **in today's economic climate**" (researcher's emphasis). The emphasised words constitute an anaphoric reference to the image as well as the word "storm" in the headline, as readers are more likely to read the headline and/or view the image before reading the subtext (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000). In combination, therefore, readers have evidence on which to attribute to the copywriter the intention of using stormy weather as a metaphor for the economic recession.

If the ad succeeds in convincing readers of its optimal relevance, the next step in the inferencing route is to consider the relevance of the intertextual domain. One of its central functions is to raise the ad's relevance by reminding readers of the threat, or in some cases the experience, of financial difficulties. Furthermore, readers are also required to observe that, although it is alluded to by means of a metaphor, the turbulent times of the economic recession are not projected onto the advertised service in a metaphorical manner. It is also devoid of overt links with other media texts, such as the manner in which the event was covered in news media. Instead, intertextuality is employed here to create a deictic framework in which to produce commercial claims. More specifically, referring to the uncertain/stormy times of the economic recession, allows the copywriter to underline the value of the advertised service. This is achieved by presupposing the existence of a need/problem on consumers' part. The copywriter assumes that any stimulus that evokes the recession will raise specific assumptions in the minds of

businessmen/women. On this basis, concerns about one's financial future may be taken as common ground, rendering the audience more receptive to the ad's claims. Telkom's service is implicitly constructed as a solution to a presupposed problem. Readers have evidence on which to interpret "Weather the storm" as an offer, extended to those who make use of their service. The subtext further reinforces this guise: "That will take a lot off your shoulders".

4.2.2.3c) Amarula

THE OTHER TROPHY
FROM AFRICA.



©The Official Emblem and Official Mascot of the 2010 World Cup South Africa™ and the FIFA World Cup Trophy are copyrights and trademarks of FIFA. All rights reserved.

The goal is scored. The fans cheer. The final whistle blows. And a glass of Amarula is raised to celebrate the golden moments. Distilled from sun-ripened marula fruit which can only be found in one untouched corner of subequatorial Africa, then barrel-matured for 2 years and blended with the finest cream, this is the premium drink for those treasured moments. Drink to the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. Drink to the special moments. Visit www.amarula.com

AMARULA. THE SPIRIT OF AFRICA.



Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

In view of the economic opportunities presented by the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and the historical significance of the fact that South Africa was the first African nation to host the event, it comes as no surprise that advertisers would attempt to exploit it. Here, the 2010 FIFA World Cup is established as the intertext on both the graphic and lexical levels.

The graphic manifestation of intertextuality is most prominent in the 2010 FIFA World Cup logo, but is also situated in the small soccer ball, which functions as a symbol of the World Cup. The soccer ball is viewed as a symbol rather than an icon, because although it bears a physical resemblance to the object used in the sport, it may be iconic of any soccer tournament. This, however, is not the case in this ad, where its meaning is fixed in terms of the 2010 FIFA World Cup by virtue of the logo.

The lexical unit manifests intertextuality in a more oblique fashion. The headline's reference to "THE OTHER TROPHY FROM AFRICA" is ambiguous. The visual prominence of the elephants, for example, may prompt some readers to associate the word "TROPHY" with hunting. If this occurs, background knowledge about the range of meanings that may be associated with the word *trophy* impedes recognition of the intertext, which in turn may compromise the copywriter's attempt to associate the product with the intertext.

To prevent this, additional allusions have been embedded. Readers can fix the headline as an allusion to the 2010 FIFA World Cup by virtue of the event's official logo. The subtext contains a more explicit reference: "The **goal** is scored. The **fans** cheer. The final **whistle** blows. And a glass of Amarula is raised to celebrate the golden moments" (researcher's emphasis). Here, background knowledge about the bolded words' meanings – interpreted against the backdrop created by the official logo – supports recognition of the intertext. The specific association which this description aims to fix between intertext and product is the presupposition that drinking Amarula is a natural, possibly traditional, part of the proceedings of a soccer match. It does not constitute a grammatical presupposition (cf. Abbott, 2000: 1420), but contains the propositional assumption that drinking Amarula is a conventional/culturally established way to celebrate the scoring of a goal. This proposition is not presented as a suggestion, but as a statement of fact, by

means of a declarative with the unmodified verb “is”, which imbues the statement with a factivity guise (Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 565). To reinforce an intended perception, the same propositional assumption is often manifested in various linguistic devices over long stretches of text (Conradie, 2009: 78-79). It is therefore important to remember the assumption manifested in this ad represents one aspect of a larger marketing campaign. To increase efficiency, repeated exposure to the same message in different media may be necessary.

Furthermore, in contrast with the previous ad, the intertextual field does not provide a platform on which to construct claims. Instead, its function is to reinforce associations between the product and an historical event. From a relevance theoretic perspective, the headline achieves this through a metaphor that maps the prestige and desirability of the 2010 FIFA World Cup trophy onto the product. Although the reference to the “THE OTHER TROPHY” is oblique, the presence of the 2010 FIFA World Cup logo provides readers with evidence on which to attribute to the communicator the intention of implicating the product and FIFA World Cup trophy in a metaphor. Readers have legitimate grounds on which to infer the implicated premise that one trophy from Africa is the FIFA World Cup trophy, while the other is the product. This, in turn, provides grounds for the implicated conclusion that the advertiser claims that the second is as desirable as the first. The image of the product and the headline therefore become part of a unified whole, as the words “OTHER TROPHY” are now understood as a cataphoric or anaphoric reference to the image of the product (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). In brief, the historical intertext functions to signal the relevance of a metaphor.

The subtext follows a different tactic. It begins by embedding consumption of the product in the procedures associated with the sport and ends by inviting consumers to “[d]rink to the 2010 FIFA World Cup [and d]rink to the special moments”, in an effort to reinforce associations between the product and intertext.

4.2.2.3d) Continental (MH)

Make safety your
G  **al!**

Rely on Continental - Official Sponsor of
the 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa™.



Continental
Tyres - Engineered in Germany.



The establishment and function of intertextuality

In comparison with the Amarula text, the lexical and graphic units of this ad are less crowded. The subtext, for example, spans only two lines, while the graphic unit consists of only one main image, in addition to the company and 2010 FIFA World Cup logo. Moreover, intertextuality is established on both levels in a more conspicuous manner. The word *goal* assumes a prominent position, as do the four soccer balls and soccer stadium. All three are intended to support recognition of the intertext by activating the appropriate schemata from memory, as explicated below.

The headline contains both a graphic and lexical reference to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The former is situated in the soccer balls which replace the letters *o*, and the latter in the double meaning of the word "GOOOOAL!". However, as was the case in the previous ad, these references can only be fixed as allusions to the 2010 FIFA World Cup when readers observe the official logo printed in the lower left-hand corner, or the explicit reference in the subtext beneath the headline. If one of these observations has been made, the soccer balls in the headline may be viewed as symbolic, rather than iconic, of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. As for the word *goal* itself, its use as both a synonym for *aim/objective* and as a reference to the method with which points are scored in soccer, fixes the intertext in the sphere of soccer, and becomes symbolic of this specific tournament by virtue of the logo. Some readers may, of course, establish this connection without recourse to the logo, as a result of media hype surrounding the event, which renders it more salient in memory. However, without informant-response data, this cannot yet be ascertained.

The primary feature of the graphic unit is also functional in this regard. Given that contemporary readers may be more likely to process the graphic unit first, (Morris, 2005: 697) its role in establishing soccer as the intertext is essential. Again, however, the inference that specific reference is made to the 2010 FIFA World Cup is contingent on the logo and subtext. For example, another ad for the same product in *FHM* contains the same graphic amalgamation of product and soccer stadium, but as an allusion to the 2008 UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) tournament.

In addition to background knowledge about the purpose of advertising, both the graphic and lexical levels encourage readers to consider the connection between the intertext and product by combining the two in visually conspicuous ways. As indicated above, soccer balls replace the letters *o* in the headline, while on the graphic level an image of the product serves as the outer structure of a soccer stadium. The headline and subtext are most functional in specifying the relationship between the two. The former urges readers to take a particular action, while the subtext specifies the means by which readers can do so by stating: "Rely on Continental". In conjunction, therefore, the message produced by the headline and subtext is: *make safety your goal by relying on Continental*. This message is retrieved by drawing the implicated premise that Continental is reliable, as this serves to connect headline and subtext. This in turn may encourage the implicated conclusion: *if safety is your goal, purchase Continental*. The headline and subtext's grammatical structure means that this claim is not manifested in a grammatical presupposition or a propositional assumption. Nevertheless, the ad's structure exploits readers' ability to draw inferences in their search for relevance, which in turn enhances their involvement in meaning construction (cf. Crook, 2004: 730). Against the background thus created, readers may also process the image as a visual metaphor that maps the proposed reliability of a stadium's structure onto the product.

The contrast between this strategy and that employed by the Amarula ad is that the claim expressed in the headline is not directly related to the intertextual field. In the previous case, the headline refers to the intertext in a manner that signals a metaphor, while the subtext explicitly connects the product to procedures associated with the sport. In the current text, despite the clear presence of the same intertext, the headline and subtext extol specific product attributes which are independent of the intertext, apart from the desire to be associated with the event. With regard to the latter, the subtext explicates the nature of this association more explicitly.

The rest of the subtext boasts the advertised company's status as an official sponsor of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This provides readers with evidence of the advertiser's intention to be associated with the sporting event, which in turn explains the repetition of the letter *o* in the headline. The repetition constitutes a prosodic device – a feature that characterises print advertisers' attempts to imitate spoken discourse (van Niekerk and

Keyser, forthcoming). In this case, it functions to mimic the vowel stretch that may result from the excited announcement of a goal. Therefore, the copywriter - in addition to boasting *Continental's* status as an official sponsor - aims to make the excitement associated with the event salient to readers, in order to establish favourable connotations with the advertised company, as a sponsor that played a role in making the event possible (cf. Conradie 2011).

4.2.2.3e) Nankang

BLACKPOWER

**HAPPY 90th
BIRTHDAY
MADIBA!**



The Nankang NS-II tyre offers comfort at a high level, giving not only a sporty performance, but also excellent traction in cornering - with good balance, grip and consistency throughout.

*Feel confident to drive & brake hard with this sports tyre. **Go Nankang.***

www.nankang.co.za

NSII

NANKANG

THE WAY TO GO

Distributed by **YSA**

The establishment and function of intertextuality

In this ad, the headline, "BLACK POWER", may constitute an intertextual reference to either an African American civil rights movement, active in the United States during the 1960's, or Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) in South Africa. This is coupled with a graphic and lexical reference to Nelson Mandela, which suggests that this figure is constructed as a symbol of "BLACK POWER". The relevance which these lingual signs bear to each other requires some knowledge of the ad's discursive context.

As mentioned earlier, it was published in *Afropolitan*. The topics discussed in this edition are particularly relevant to political figures of African descent. They range from issues surrounding black economic empowerment (BEE), to reflections on the historic significance of figures such as Malcolm X, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Barack Obama. Therefore, the copywriter has reason to assume that the magazine's core readership has a high regard for Nelson Mandela, and that they have knowledge of both the African American Black Power movement, as well as BEE. More importantly, the copywriter has reason to believe that readers are likely to perceive a relation between the achievements of both Nelson Mandela and the Black Power movement, in terms of the strides both made toward the emancipation of people of African descent across the world. In this sense, therefore, the image of Nelson Mandela is not only an icon of the man, but also a symbol of the emancipation of African people in post-1994 South Africa and, possibly, across the world. Based on the ad's context, therefore, it seems conceivable that the copywriter has reason to assume that readers will perceive a symbolic connection between them.

Of course, South African readers may be more likely to interpret "BLACK POWER" as a reference to BEE. This, however, does not compromise the manner in which the graphic and lexical references to Mandela collaborate with "BLACK POWER" to support the retrieval of assumptions about emancipatory movements in African politics as an intertext.

A similar case was analysed by van Niekerk (forthcoming), which contains the headline “As kaas kon praat, was ons kaas Eybers”⁵. Here, a single reference to a famous Afrikaans poet serves as the intertext. In the current ad, however, the reference to an individual person is exploited for his symbolic value, in order to establish African freedom movements as the intertext.

Having identified the intertext, however, readers have yet to determine its relevance to the product. Following the authors cited in section 2.4.2a), marketers aim to enhance the status of their products/services by loading them with associations which their competitors lack. The link which this ad attempts to establish, through intertextuality, with emancipatory African movements must, therefore, be relevant to the product in this manner. However, neither the lexical nor the graphic level contains clear evidence to guide the inferencing process. This contrasts sharply with previous ads. The Telkom ad, for example, constructs a problem-solution message on the basis on a historical event, while the Amarula ad embeds consumption of the product in traditional celebrations of a sports’ victory. Although the Gino Ginelli ad does not support recognition of the intertext and omits additional linguistic devices to anchor readers’ inferences, a clear message can be still derived from the headline. The current ad, however, is particularly opaque in this regard.

It may be posited that the relevance of the Black Power movement lies in the projection of fortitude and reliability (of which Mandela is set up as a symbol) onto the product, so that black power also points to the power of the black tyres. However, instead of supporting this inference with boasts of the product’s reliability or strength, the subtext claims that the product “offers **comfort** at a high level, giving not only a **sporty performance**, but also **excellent traction** in cornering – with good **balance, grip** and **consistency**” (researcher’s emphasis). None of these attributes contain a double meaning or allusion that may be associated with the characteristics of the civil rights movement. As such, the ad contains insufficient evidence on which to surmise that such an interpretation is intended. Furthermore, the relevance of the birthday congratulations directed to Nelson Mandela is even more obscure, in terms of its relation to the product.

⁵ If cheese could talk, our cheese would be Eybers.

However, taking into account the ad's discursive context - as well as the fact that no alternative connections between the domain and product are specified - it seems conceivable that intertextuality serves to communicate solidarity between the advertised company and readers' interests. Thus, while the subtext employs a reason tactic to make unambiguous product claims, the intertext plays no role in producing such claims. Instead, its function lies in persuading readers that the ad's sponsor shares their interest in African politics, and is willing to broadcast the desire to be associated with it. Readers who are not familiar with the Black Power movement may interpret it as a reference to Nelson Mandela. The latter is, they may infer, symbolic (in a semiotic sense) of the power that people of African descent have accrued in a post-1994 South Africa. In this case, the function of intertextuality remains the same.

This tactic contrasts not only with ads in other magazines, but also with samples from the same title. An ad for *Kaya FM 95.5* radio station, for example, uses Motown - a musical record company that catered specifically for African American artists during the 1960s - as an intertext. Although this also conveys solidarity with readers' supposed interests, the relation between the intertext and radio station clearly lies in the latter's aim to be associated with the former, by playing its music.

The following section deals with ads that employed gender stereotypes as an intertextual field.

4.2.2.4 Intertextuality and gender stereotypes

4.2.2.4a) Avis

***Women can't read maps.
Men won't ask for
directions.
Which is why we offer
GPS and free maps.
And, on occasion,
a spot of
marriage
counselling.***



AVIS Rents VW and other fine cars
www.avis.co.za or 0861 021 111

AVIS

We try
harder

The establishment and function of intertextuality

As was the case with the Durex ad (cf. section 4.2.2.2c), this text evokes gender stereotypes by referring to them explicitly. The intertext consists of two interrelated stereotypes, grounded in the lexical level alone. The ad also includes an intertextual reference to marriages, situated in both the lexical and graphic units. The gender stereotypes are manifested in propositional assumptions. That is, their factual nature is presupposed by the unmodified verbs “can’t” and “won’t” (cf. Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 565). Imbuing these statements with the appearance of objective fact constructs them as one of the defining differences between the sexes and provides a base on which to make product claims.

Having established this base, the reference to gender stereotypes is followed by a reason claim about the service provider’s offers. It is also further strengthened when the subsequent sentence continues to imply that these stereotypes may result in severe friction between married partners: “And, on occasion, a spot of marriage counselling”. This deduction is supported by the bride and groom statuettes. Although they traditionally symbolise the unity of heterosexual marriages, these communicate a sense of hostility, thus supporting the inference that the product is necessary to avoid conflict.

To summarise, two gender stereotypes are explicitly evoked in this text in order to construct the product as a necessary solution to a problem. The next three ads opt for a more indirect approach that requires readers to consider the relevance of various linguistic devices in order to recover the correct gender stereotype.

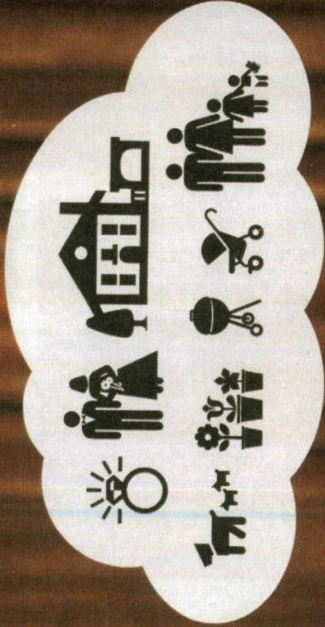
4.2.2.4b) Ibiza



Ibiza beats everything.

Introducing the new 1.4 and 1.6 SEAT Ibiza.

More sporty. More stylish. More affordable.
SEAT Models are imported and supported by Volkswagen of South Africa (Pty) Ltd.
seatsa.co.za



The establishment and function of intertextuality

In this ad the graphic unit plays the most prominent role in establishing the intertextual domain of romantic heterosexual relationships. The headline is printed at the bottom of the page and is therefore more likely to be read after observing the image. Although it refers to the action in the graphic unit, it does not contain any traces of intertextuality. Instead, its primary function is to guide readers in extrapolating a relationship between the intertext and product. For this reason, the ad was categorised as one that manifests intertextuality on the graphic level alone.

The physical proximity and facial expressions of the two models point in the direction of romantic relationships. However, the relevance of this field cannot be established without the assistance of the thought bubbles, which serve to draw attention to a specific aspect of the intertextual domain. The reader is required to infer that the man is contemplating his future dreams for their relationship. He envisions being married, owning a large house, having pets, and starting a family. These thoughts are represented in the thought bubble by icons that share a physical resemblance with the concepts they represent. Based on the combination of icons, it seems conceivable that these thoughts are intended to present the reader with a dichotomy, which follows from the stereotype that men are not as concerned with these elements of a serious relationship as women are. If this is in fact the case, we may also infer that this man represents an exception to what is perceived to be the rule. From a stereotypically feminine perspective he may, as a consequence, represent a highly desirable partner. Alternatively, if readers fail to access this stereotype, they may simply infer that this man loves the woman to the extent that he desires to attain the matrimonial state and physical items depicted in the thought bubble. Whatever the case, the first thought bubble's contents clearly suggest that the man intends to provide his female partner with these items.

On the other hand, the female model's thoughts are occupied by the image of a SEAT Ibiza alone. Relying once again on gender stereotypes, it seems conceivable that this is the man's car. Being in a relationship with him implies access to the car, a possession which – in the woman's view - represents his most appealing attribute. This notion is supported by the headline: "Ibiza beats everything". Evidence is thus provided for two

potential inferencing routes. Readers may infer that this woman also represents an exception to the rule, in the sense that she prefers a car to the items in her partner's thought bubble. On the other hand – based on both the headline and knowledge of advertising – one may infer that although she recognises the man as a rarity, his car exceeds what would otherwise have been his most desirable traits.

Thus, the function of intertextuality is to render at least one specific gender stereotype salient. Being able to anticipate the assumptions that readers are most likely to retrieve in their search for relevance enables the copywriter, not only to involve readers in meaning construction, but also to fix interpretations in a desired range.

4.2.2.4c) Powerade

The mission: 8 days. 886 kilometres. 15 045 metres of climbing.
Before you go in make sure you're partnered with someone you can trust.
And that you're armed with Powerade.
Because out there, you're going to need all the firepower you can get.



POWERADE® | BRING IT ON™

POWERADE
ELECTROLYTE SPORTS DRINK

ABSA
Cape Epic
OFFICIAL SPORTS DRINK

Powerade, the "P" logo and Bring It On are trademarks of The Coca-Cola Company. © 2007

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This ad's marketing tactic centres on informing readers of the company's status as a sponsor of the Cape Epic race, as well as the attempt to construct the product as an essential tool for success in this event. To achieve these interrelated goals, the lexical unit is designed to prompt the retrieval of schemata surrounding military combat, especially daring missions. This intertext is situated in the lexical unit alone, specifically the words "mission", "armed" and "firepower" in the subtext. The connotations of these words also contextualise "someone you can trust", "out there" (in the subtext) and "Bring it on" (in the headline) as military jargon for comrades, the battlefield, and a battle cry.

On their own, the images that make up the graphic unit are not sufficiently loaded with military connotations. Although they undoubtedly aim to capture the strain and action of a race, readers do not yet have evidence for deducing that it is likened to combat. Only once the subtext and headline have been processed – including the subtext's font - can the facial expression of the most visually conspicuous model, as well as the dirt, injury and the position of his comrade, be interpreted with military overtones. Owing to this dependence on the lexical, as well as the fact that the latter can manifest the intertext without the aid of the graphic, the ad was classed as one that fixes the intertext on the lexical level alone.

It must, however, be noted that this is a mainly theoretical distinction. Readers receive and process the ad as a whole - although the explicitness of the coherence and cohesion between lexical and graphic units undoubtedly affect interpretation, cf. sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3. Both words and images are lingual signs that function as constituent parts of a single message, even when it is a complex and multilayered one. In fact, it is the assumption that readers perceive an ad as such a message that allows researchers to apply the twin principles of relevance. Readers perceive the ad as an ostensive stimulus that legitimises the search for relevance, in terms of the principles of Cognitive and Communicative Relevance (discussed in sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4). Nevertheless, the distinction is made here for the purpose of identifying the constituent parts of the message in order to comprehend the way in which they collaborate in an effort to fix meaning in a range that is most suitable to the copywriter's objectives.

Bringing the intertextual domain of military combat to mind constructs a metaphor, in which the physical strain of war is transferred onto the Cape Epic race. However, as the current investigation is mainly concerned with the product, intertextuality's function was not classified as metaphorical.

Instead, the analysis suggests that in order to promote the product, martial endeavours are used to recall a pre-existing gender stereotype. The stereotype is that men enjoy physical exertion. It entails that masculinity is inherently competitive in nature and must be demonstrated by participating, and excelling, in physically taxing contests. In the ad, it proceeds from the assumption that men view the military as a symbol of physical exertion. As a value assumption, the stereotype is not clearly manifested in a particular sentence or clause. However, if the choice of models also reflects the target market, it contains the value assumption that it is desirable for young men to participate in such events.

This, however, does not yet clarify the product's position within the marketing message. First, readers must access pre-existing knowledge of the product's nature, as the text itself contains no explication of its nutritional value. It is therefore assumed that the target market is already aware of the product's general function and will extract the message that it will enable consumers to participate in the race effectively.

4.2.2.4d) Brut



The establishment and function of intertextuality

As was the case in the Ibiza ad, this text manifests intertextuality on the graphic level alone. However, to draw the intended inferences the headline is essential. The image of a masculine hand on a gearshift and the phrase "The essence of man" is intended to render stereotypes about men's love of cars salient. In addition, if readers retrieve connotations of control associated with driving a manually operated gearshift, the intertext may also construct the stereotype that control is an essential and natural component of masculinity. Having made this observation, readers are required to infer that the product exemplifies masculinity in the same manner that control over a vehicle does. The advertiser exploits a seemingly neutral intertextual field, in order to construct a gender stereotype that allows him/her to position the product as a symbol of masculinity. This is achieved by anchoring interpretations of the graphic unit in the lexical. Although a masculine hand on a gearshift may retrieve a myriad of assumptions, some of which may be counterproductive, the headline provides a specific context. Readers are now able to attribute to the communicator the intention of fixing the inferencing path in a specific stereotype, and to interpret, in this light, the relationship between intertext and product.

Clearly, therefore, copywriters are not limited to icons and symbols that have already been loaded with specific meanings in broader society. By manipulating the interconnectedness between lexical and graphic units, meaning can be fixed in a specific context. Although in isolation a hand on a gearshift may not have a fixed set of socially agreed-up associations, this ad successfully manipulates it to refer to an intertext that is undoubted entrenched: men's stereotypical love of cars. Regardless of readers' ability to infer that control is also alluded to, this strategy provides sufficient verification of the intention to establish the product as equally symbolic of masculinity.

This ad is clearly focused on a specific target market that will be able to make and enjoy the intended inferences. However, it seems conceivable that even readers outside this group, who are not interested in cars and have alternative, if any, associations with gearshifts, will still be able to attribute the correct communicative intention to the copywriter. This is achieved by virtue of the unambiguous link between the headline, intertextual image and product (cf. section 6.3.5).



The sleek design of the new BMW 1 Series Convertible is hard to ignore. But look a little deeper. You'll discover leather seats that reflect sunlight to stay cool. An advanced climate control system that'll have you convinced that the top is up when it's not. And a new approach to energy called EfficientDynamics.

For more information, visit www.bmw.co.za/1/convertible

BMW 1 Series
Convertible

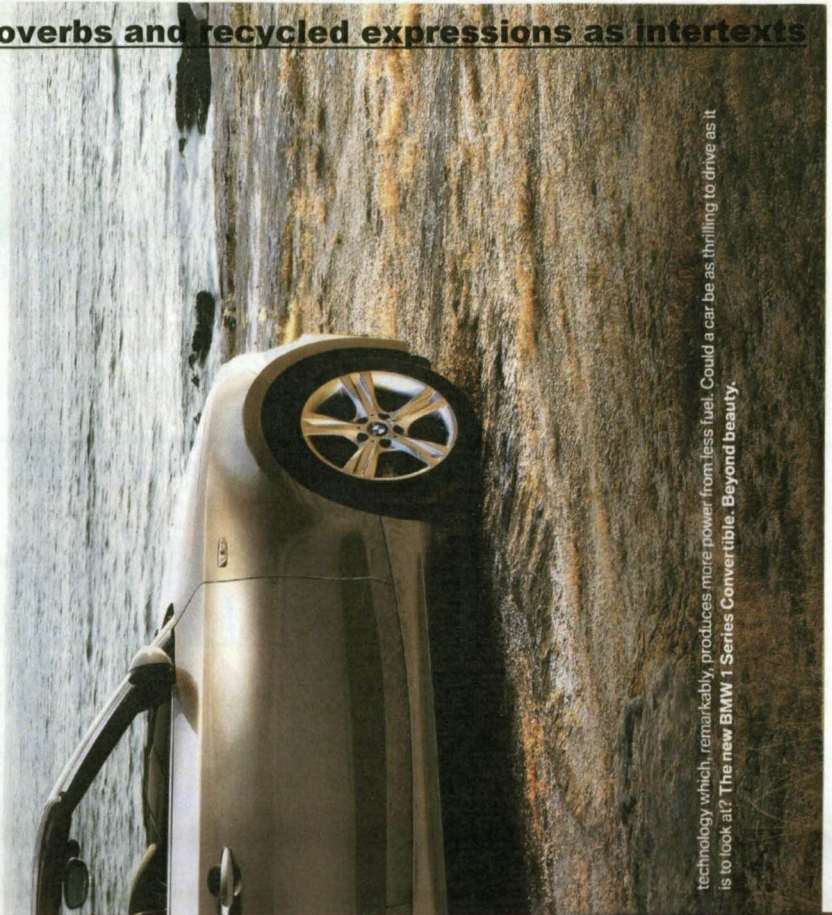


Sheer
Driving Pleasure

www.bmw.co.za

4.2.2.5a) BMW

Surprisingly, the real beauty
lies beneath the skin.



technology which, remarkably, produces more power from less fuel. Could a car be as thrilling to drive as it is to look at? The new BMW 1 Series Convertible. Beyond beauty.

4.2.2.5 Idioms, proverbs and recycled expressions as intertexts

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This section reports on ads that use idioms, proverbs or recycled expressions as the intertext. In the current text, intertextuality is established on the lexical level alone. Nevertheless, as in previous cases, the lexical and graphic levels play interrelated roles in constructing a coherent message.

The headline employs a reformulation of the idiom *real beauty lies beneath the skin*. This is a decomposable idiom, because readers are able to infer the idiom's meaning from its constituent words (Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1780). In this case, the word "skin" informs the reader that a distinction is drawn between physical beauty and an alternative. Coupled with the common metaphorical reference to external, physical appearance as the outside and personality traits as the inside, the reader is able to interpret how the idiom applies to humans.

Having made this inference, the next step is to consider its function in the ad by making it relevant to the product. Relevance is achieved when readers infer that personification is at work. The outer fabric of the car is metaphorically referred to as skin, so that "beneath the skin" must refer its interior and engineering. However, while the original idiom urges one to consider qualities other than the physical attractiveness of another person - such as intelligence or moral fibre - the ad employs it to boast that the product achieves a combination of aesthetic appeal (outside) and technological innovation (inside), which render it extraordinary (discussed in more detail in section 5.2.1).

Furthermore, the adverb "Surprisingly" adds another layer to the message. By altering the idiom's traditional form in this manner, the headline presupposes the product's exceptional beauty. This is a grammatical presupposition as illustrated in 5.a. to 5.d.:

- 5.a Surprisingly, the real beauty *does not* lie beneath the skin.
- 5.b. Surprisingly, the real beauty *may* lie beneath the skin.
- 5.c. *Is it* surprising that the real beauty lies beneath the skin?
- 5.d. *If* it is surprising that the real beauty lies beneath the skin, *allow us to explain*.

Even under negation, a possibility modal, as an interrogative, and in a conditional clause's antecedent, the presupposition remains intact. This claim is then reinforced in the subtext: "The **sleek design** of the new BMW [...] is **hard to ignore**" (researcher's emphasis). As was the case in 5.a. to 5.d., the presupposition regarding the product's sleek design remains intact:

- 6.a. The sleek design of the new BMW [...] is *not* hard to ignore.
- 6.b. The sleek design of the new BMW [...] *may* be hard to ignore.
- 6.c. *Is* the sleek design of the new BMW [...] hard to ignore?
- 6.d. *If* the sleek design of the new BMW [...] is hard to ignore, *wait until you see the interior*.

The function of this presupposition, and the entire subtext, is to guide the reader's interpretation of the relationship between the intertextual field and the product. Thus, in the case of cars, superficial beauty refers to exterior design, while inner beauty refers to technological innovations. This distinction is manifested in the invitation to "look a little deeper", in order to observe "leather **seats that reflect sunlight** to stay cool. An **advanced climate control system** [and] **Efficient Dynamics-technology**" (researcher's emphasis).

Selecting this specific idiom and reformulating it in this manner, may also function to exploit the fact that the ad was printed in *Cosmopolitan*, a context in which the value of physical beauty is viewed as common ground between authors and readers (cf. Conradie, 2009: 74-81). Whether or not individual readers ascribe to this ideology, they are aware that it is presupposed in the magazine as a whole. Copywriters may, therefore, seek to exploit the likelihood that this assumption will influence the search for relevance. However, as stated earlier, some ads were found in more than one magazine and across genres. For example, ads that promote products/services specifically designed for women were sometimes found in men's magazines such as *Men's Health* and *FHM*, and vice versa. We should not, therefore, presume that this ad was only designed for *Cosmopolitan's* readership.

Nevertheless, van Niekerk's (2008: 495) investigation identified physical beauty as one of twelve hypernorms that frequently form the foundation of marketing messages. A comparison between the product and female beauty is, consequently, likely to impact the inferencing process, and to lead to the conclusion that the product is promoted as attractive on the external and internal level.

4.2.2.5b) Momentum

PCB CASE TOWN 09083E

**you can still wear the pants
when you retire**
tailor-made by your designer in paris

Momentum offers you a better financial future with its retirement annuity and endowment products. If you stay committed for the full term of the contract, savings are enhanced by a loyalty and automatic growth bonus. These bonuses are determined by the contribution-payment term, and paid to you at the end of the period. Retirement annuity and endowment clients are also able to hedge the performance of their investment by way of a guarantee that secures a minimum return. Contact your financial adviser to help you make a success of your life.

life | health | investment | retirement

Momentum is an authorised financial services provider. Terms and conditions apply.

making a success of life
momentum

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Here the intertext – manifested on the lexical level alone – is the idiom *to wear the pants*. The idiom has both a literal and figurative meaning. Conventionally, the latter refers to the dominant partner in a household, who is responsible for making importance decisions. The idiom is not decomposable, unless one has knowledge of the strict distinction between men and women's clothing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well as the gendered distribution of economic power in that period. More specifically, in addition to wearing trousers, men acted as a household's primary breadwinners, thus establishing a symbolic relationship between the two. This, in turn, provides a literal basis for the ironic statement that women who take the lead in decision making are, in fact, wearing the pants figuratively. This suggests that the ad is aimed at women, an inference which is supported by its appearance in the women's lifestyle magazine *Fairlady*. Apart from this, however, the ad's propositional content may be aimed at either men or women. It contains no further traces which specify its target audience. In addition, the nature of product may be equally important to both genders.

The first clause of the headline provides evidence of the copywriter's intention to make the figurative meaning of the idiom salient, while the second is clearly literal. The first clause's message proceeds from the belief that readers will recognise retirement as a threat to their financial security. Against this background, it recalls the idiom's figurative allusion to control and financial independence. The second clause, however, renders its literal meaning salient, by illustrating to the addressee the kind of wealth they may derive from consumption of the advertised service. This claim is deducible from the headline alone. Although readers may be unsure about the precise measures with which the advertiser proposes to bring about this state of affairs, the ad's primary message is clear at this point. Therefore, the idiom's function is to involve readers in meaning construction, as they must consider the relevance of the both the figurative and literal meanings. The aim of this process is to entice readers to read the subtext in order to clarify the advertiser's proposal in more detail.

The subtext does not elaborate on the intertext itself, as it contains no further mention of the idiom. Instead, its function is to explicate how the advertised service may enable

readers to achieve the desirable state constructed in the headline. To do this, the subtext employs a reason strategy. The second sentence employs a conditional adjunct to express a claim that may be captured in the notation p therefore q (cf. Simpson, 2001: 597): “**If** you stay committed for the full term [...] savings are enhanced by a loyalty and [...] growth **bonus**” (researcher’s emphasis). The rest of the subtext clarifies the conditions to which such bonuses are subject, before ending with a purposive adjunct that aims to spur the consumer into action: “Contact your financial advisor [**in order**] **to** help you make a success of your life” (researcher’s emphasis). The last sentence takes the imperative form, and is predicated on the propositional assumption that consumers’ financial advisors are likely to recommend the advertised service.

Thus, the function of intertextuality is to incorporate an idiom into the advertising text. Evidence is provided for those meanings which the copywriter attempts to make salient. In the headline, both the idiom’s figurative and literal meanings highlight a particular goal to the reader, before proposing in the subtext that the advertised service is ideally suited for pursuit of this goal.

4.2.2.5c) Borges

“IF YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT
THEN LIFE IS GOOD.”



Reach for Borges and put the rich flavours and texture of
a healthy, sun-drenched Mediterranean life on your table.

Enjoyed
by the world.



Croutons with Mascarpone cheese & basil pesto (serves 8)

Basil pesto with Borges Extra Virgin Olive Oil Put 150g basil leaves, 30 lightly roasted pine nuts, 2 cloves of garlic, 60ml Borges Extra Virgin Olive Oil and salt to taste into a food processor and blend into a rough paste. **Croutons** Line a platter with 250ml rocket leaves and place 16 slices of Parma ham on top. Spoon 150ml Mascarpone cheese on top of slices of baguette, making a little hollow in the cheese. Spoon the basil pesto into the hollow and serve.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

In this ad the proverb *you are what you eat* is re-contextualised in order to claim that the product promotes good health. Intertextuality is established in the headline. At this point, however, the clause “life is GOOD” is opaque. The fact that the original proverb is concerned with good health provides readers with initial clues as to the intended connotation of “GOOD”. Whether readers are able to access these connotations without recourse to the subtext cannot be established without extensive informant-response data. Nevertheless, this interpretation is further supported in the subtext: “Reach for Borges and put [...] a **healthy**, sun-drenched Mediterranean life on your table” (researcher’s emphasis).

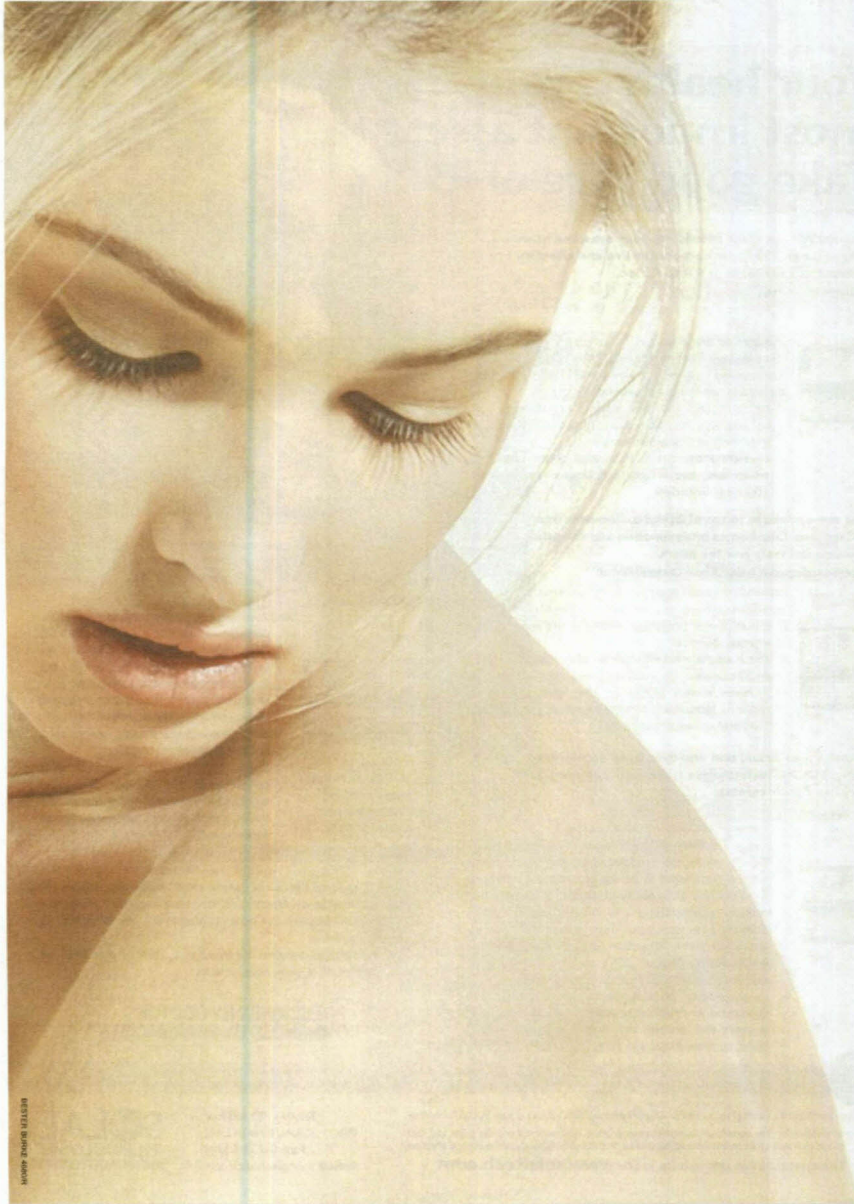
Although the proverb is conventionally used as an admonition, it is used here to claim that, if its wisdom holds true, consumers of Borges may rest assured. The syntactic structure of the headline functions to presuppose that the addressee is already a consumer of the product. This assumption does not take the form of a grammatical presupposition, as indicated by 7.a.

7.a. If you are not what you eat, then life is good.

Instead, it takes the form of a propositional assumption, manifested in the unmodified verbs “are” and “is”, which imbue the statement with a factivity guise (Kitis and Milapides, 1997: 565). The copywriter exploits the conditional adjunct embedded in this structure to present readers with an implicit if p then q argumentative structure: if you consume this product, life is good (healthy).

Furthermore, the copywriter also aims to draw readers’ attention to the words “EAT” and “GOOD”, by printing them in close proximity, as well as capitals and bold. The emphasis may encourage readers to consider the relationship between the words, leading them to associate enjoyable eating (“EAT [...] GOOD”) with healthy food and, by extension, the product. Without informant-response data, however, this suggestion remains conjectural.

To summarise, this ad's headline incorporates an idiom into the text by structuring it in a manner that 1) presupposes that the addressee is already a consumer and 2) that, on the basis of the idiom's wisdom, the consumer's health is assured.



Winner Tissue Oil Category.
Survey of 5 000 people by Nielsen

YARDLEY
SKIN
FOR EVERY BODY

4.2.2.5d) Yardley

Product of the year
and nothing to show for it.



Clinically proven to help reduce scars,
stretch marks, wrinkles and blemishes within 28 days.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

The words “nothing to show for it” in the headline represent an intertextual reference to an expression that conventionally indicates failure and/or disappointment, as in the following hypothetical examples: 1) *I paid to enter the competition, but have nothing to show for it* and 2) *I won an award, but have nothing to show for it, because they didn't even give me a certificate*. Clearly its traditional meaning has negative overtones. As such, the complete headline (*Product of the year and nothing to show for it*) appears at first glance to convey the message that although Yardley Skin had been voted best product of the year, the company failed to secure any significant advantage from this award.

To access its intended meaning in the advertising context, readers must draw inferences from background knowledge about both the objectives of advertising, in a broad sense, as well as specific information about the nature of the advertised product. The text's communicative genre renders a negative meaning unlikely, as this would conflict with the advertiser's goals. Thus, a contextual implication provides evidence for the communicator's intention to subvert the expression's traditionally negative connotations. To solve the incongruity, readers must access pre-existing knowledge of the product's function. Those who are unfamiliar with the product may have recourse to the subtext: “Clinically proven to help reduce scars, stretch marks, wrinkles and blemishes within 28 days”. Readers now have evidence for interpreting the words “nothing to show” as a reference to the disappearance of scars and other skin blemishes. The expression is therefore used as an index of the product's efficiency. Further evidence is provided by the image of the female model, who sports a flawless skin. If Gardner and Luchtenberg's (2000: 1814) prediction that readers with a European education will automatically process a message from left to right and top to bottom holds true, readers are likely to process this image first. This may speed the inferencing route discussed above.

Comic dupe irony is therefore used to involve readers in the process of meaning construction (Partington, 2007: 1556). Audience members are confronted with a headline that appears to flout advertising conventions by making a negative statement about the advertised brand. The resultant tension with readers' expectations for the genre enhances

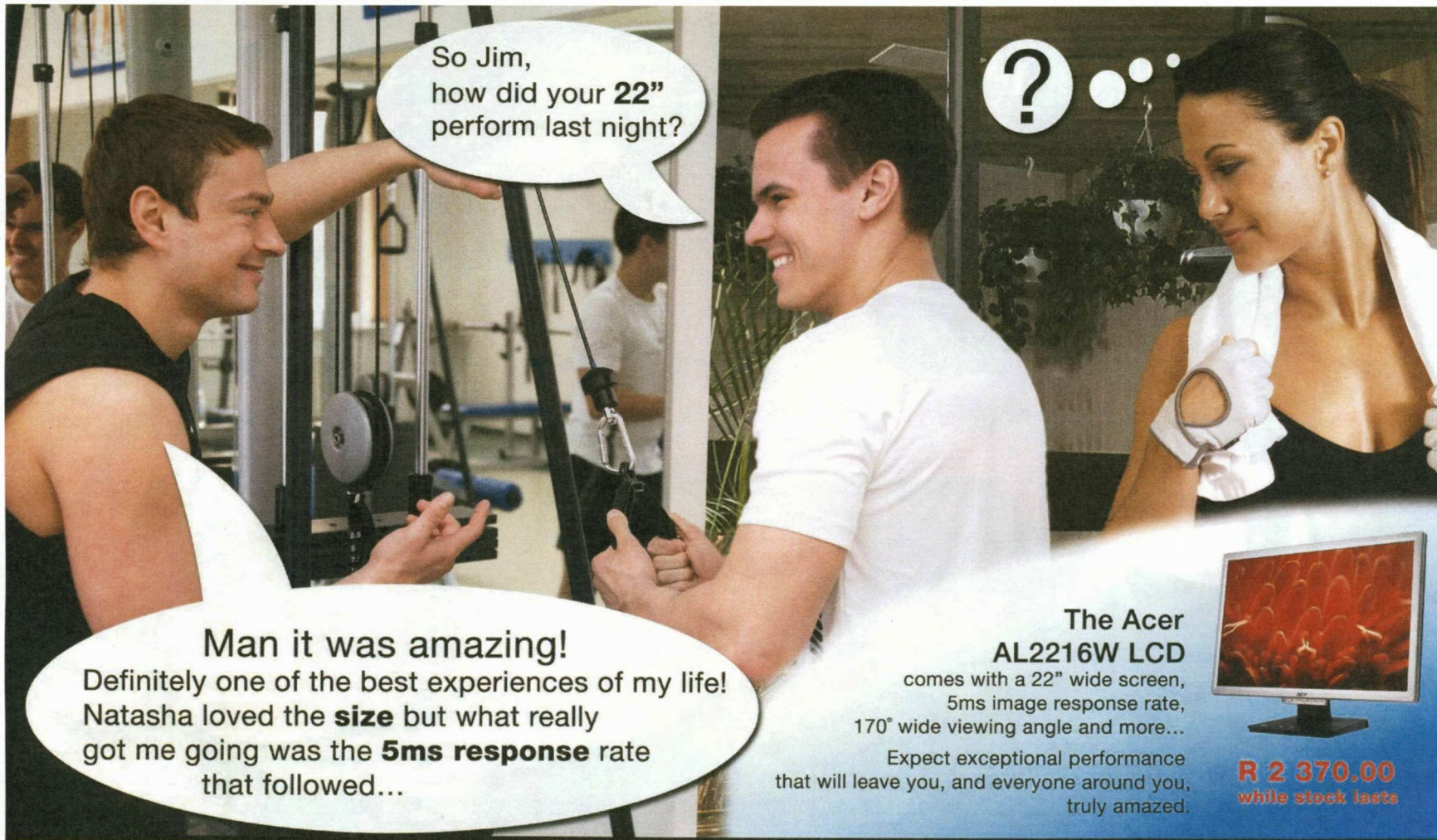
the promise of optimal relevance, so that they are motivated to draw contextual implications, until relevance has been established.

From a discourse analytic perspective, making a negative statement about an advertised product represents one of the “discursive limits” of advertising (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 47). That is, each discourse demarcates “a range of statements that are sayable and [also] inhibits a range of other statements [...] which are not” (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 47). As such, the current ad extends the discursive limits of advertising by means of a rhetorical strategy (comic dupe irony), manifested in a headline that appears to contravene consumers’ expectations (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 47).

To support its claim, the ad contains two validating contexts. The first is the model visible on the first page. However, if readers have knowledge of professional photographer’s ability to alter photographed images, they are unlikely to view this image as irrefutable proof. The subtext provides a canonical validation, by resorting to the authority of scientific trials (cf. Crook, 2004: 726).

The results for this category suggest that the strong, socially agreed upon connotations, associated with familiar idioms, proverbs or colloquial expressions may render them very reliable as intertexts. The fact that each has at least one predetermined, conventional function makes them liable to yield strong and predictable cognitive effects. In addition, the findings also suggest that the following strategies may be effective in enticing readers to invest more cognitive effort: 1) reformulations of the idiom/proverb/colloquial expression’s original linguistic form, 2) mixing their literal and figurative meanings, and 3) providing readers with a message that, initially, seems incongruent with the tenets of advertising.

The next section deals with ads in which various intertexts are exploited to generate humour in an attempt to enhance recall of specific product/service attributes.



So Jim,
how did your **22"**
perform last night?

Man it was amazing!
Definitely one of the best experiences of my life!
Natasha loved the **size** but what really
got me going was the **5ms response** rate
that followed...

The Acer
AL2216W LCD
comes with a 22" wide screen,
5ms image response rate,
170° wide viewing angle and more...
Expect exceptional performance
that will leave you, and everyone around you,
truly amazed.



R 2 370.00
while stock lasts

 www.digitalplanet.co.za

 0860 245 000

Secure. Trusted. Convenient. Online shopping at its best!



*Terms & conditions apply. All prices are inclusive of VAT. Prices subject to change without notice. While stocks last. E&OE.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This ad incorporates the discourse features of everyday conversation. The intertextual domain is primarily established on the graphic level, which sets the conversation's tone and locates it in a gymnasium. The former is set up by markers of intra-action (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming), especially paralinguistic devices, such as eye contact and the men's relaxed posture. Although the man on the right-hand side is engaged in physical exercise, his face does not bear any sign of strain. Instead, he smiles and maintains eye contact with the interlocutor on his left-hand side. On the lexical level, markers of intra-action situate the interaction in a specific time (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). Deictic markers such as "last night" (in the first speaker's speech bubble) position the interaction as subsequent to an important event the preceding night. A filler – "So Jim" – is also used to mimic everyday conversation, in addition to prosodic devices, marked by a larger font size and exclamation marks (Man it was amazing! Definitely one of the best experiences of my life), as well as bold typeface to indicate emphasis (Natasha loved the **size** – emphasis in original).

In addition to the above-mentioned intertext, however, closer inspection of the interaction between the graphic and lexical levels reveals that its relationship with the product is contingent on readers' ability to uncover a second intertextual domain: sexual intercourse.

As the men's conversation is depicted on the left-hand side of the page, readers with a European education are more likely to process these speech bubbles first (cf. Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). If, as a result, readers have not observed the subtext or image of the product in the bottom right-hand corner, the conversation may be difficult to comprehend. This may be especially true of the references to "your **22**", "**size**" and "**5ms response rate**" (emphasis in original). The confusion is functional, as it may entice readers to attempt to resolve the ambiguity (cf. section 6.3.4). An initial clue as to the meaning of these words may be derived from the posture of the woman on the right-hand side. The question mark in her thought bubble signals her interest in something she has just overheard from the men's conversation. To resolve this, readers must notice that her gaze is fixed on the man on the far left-hand side, at a downward angle. The woman's

apparent interest may now be accounted for, provided that readers are familiar with the stereotype regarding women's preference for the physical attributes of their sexual partners. Consequently, readers are able to uncover the woman's interpretation of the words "your **22**" and "Natasha loved the **size**" and "**5ms response** rate" (emphasis in original). The probability that a reader will retrieve this stereotype is heightened by the fact that it was printed in *FHM*, a men's lifestyle magazine that emphasises the importance of sex as a test of masculinity (cf. Conradie, 2011). Of course, observing the product and subtext in the lower right-hand corner reveals the discrepancy between the actual topic of the men's conversation, and what the woman believes it to be. Even if consumers read the subtext or notice the product prior to reading the speech and thought bubbles, they may still be amused by the woman's misapprehension.

The use of this discrepancy supports the intertextual field of social interaction by mimicking the misinterpretations that may arise in real life when people overhear conversations with unfamiliar abbreviations. Of course, attempting to involve readers in this manner is not devoid of risk. By adopting a strategy that depends on piquing readers' interest in an initially oblique message copywriters run the risk of failing their communicative goal. Consumers may, for example, fail to uncover the intended meaning of the ambiguity in the men's conversation, as well as the question mark in the woman's thought bubble. In the latter's case, for example, some readers may simply conclude that she is confused about the bolded words, instead of tying her misconception to the sexual. Without the image of the product, as well as the subtext, readers are essentially in the same position as the woman, since they too only have access to small piece of an ongoing and consequently ambiguous conversation. Knowledge of a specific sexual stereotype is therefore necessary in order to uncover the intertext's intended function. The ad may, therefore, also fit comfortably in the category for gender stereotypes, especially since readers are also given evidence for the stereotype regarding men's propensity to discuss their sexual experiences with friends.

In terms of its function, the ad employs intertextuality in a gambit to render specific attributes of the advertised product salient. The message pivots on the possibility of misinterpreting the bolded words as references to sex, in a specific social context that makes the misapprehension possible. This discrepancy between the woman and by

extension consumers' initial interpretation of the men's conversation (provided that consumers have processed the ad from left to right), and the real topic as revealed by the product claims in the subtext, constitutes a clear case of comic dupe irony (Partington, 2007: 1556). The audience is meant to make inference 3.a. (E) after processing the men's conversation, followed by 3.b. and 3.c. from the woman's thought bubble and the angle of her gaze, before drawing conclusion 3.d. (¬E) from the subtext, followed by 3.e:

3.a. The men are discussing the second speaker's sexual encounter from the previous night.

3.b. The woman has overheard the men's conversation.

3.c. The woman shows sexual interest in the second speaker as a result of assumptions drawn about his physical characteristics.

3.d. The men are discussing the second speaker's new Acer AL2216W LCD monitor.

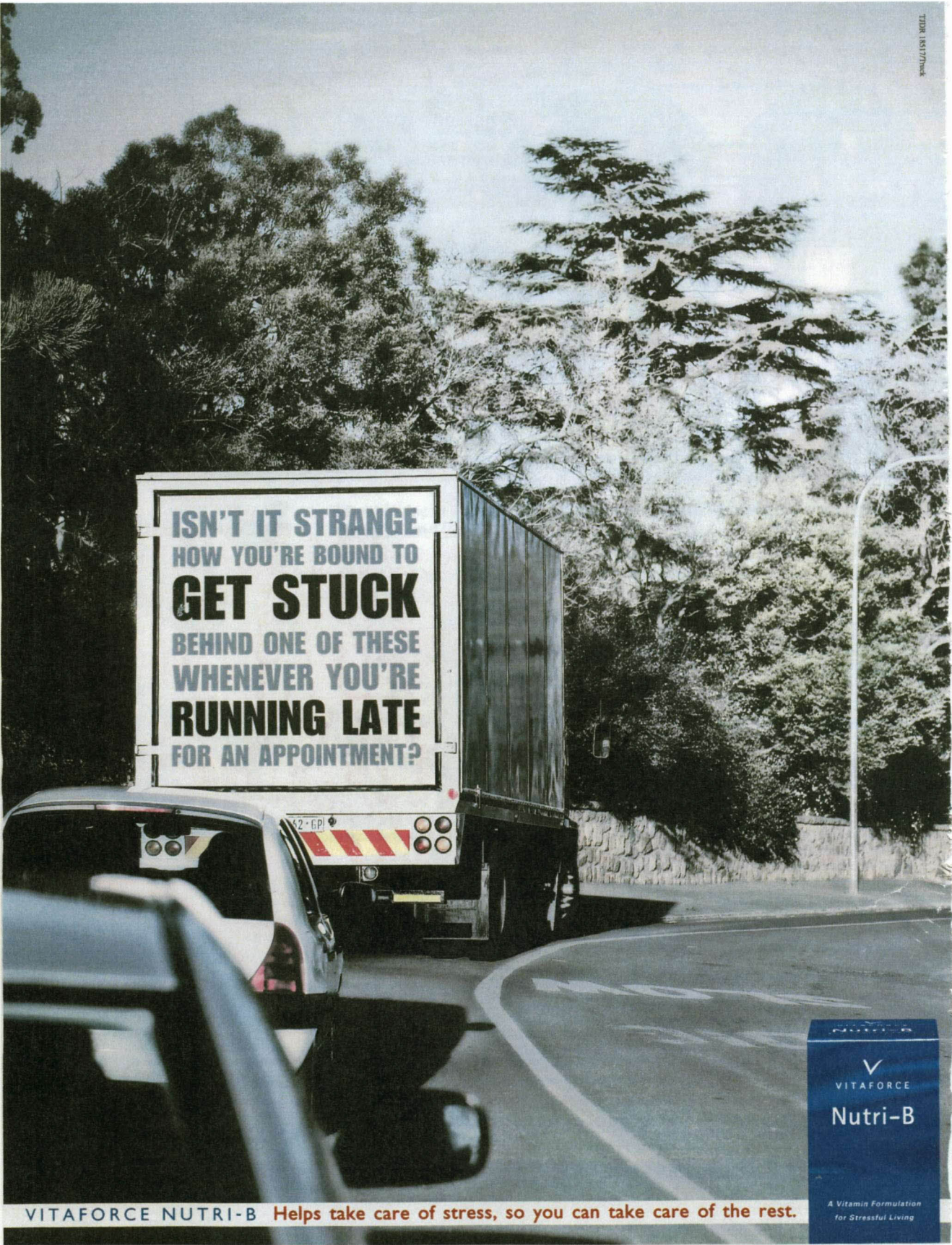
3.e. The woman has misinterpreted the referents of size, 22" and 5ms response rate.

In contrast with previous ads, however (cf. sections 4.2.2.1c and 4.2.2.5d), this case positions readers as witnesses of someone else's blunder. In commercial terms, the comic dupe is functional, not only for its ability to amuse readers, but also because the ability to retell the joke is contingent on remembering specific product claims.

In summary, social interaction – established through intra-active markers - is used to make two sexual stereotypes salient to readers. It is predicated on two propositional assumptions, communicated by both the lexical and graphic units. The first of these is that men discuss their sexual encounters with friends, while the second revolves around women's preference for the physical characteristics of their male sexual partners. These stereotypes, however, are not directly related to product claims. The ad also contains insufficient evidence for a metaphoric relationship between sex and the product. Instead, the stereotype becomes the vehicle for a case of comic dupe irony. Readers witness the dupe and, if they have found it amusing, are better able to remember those attributes of the product on which the joke centres.

4.2.2.6b) Vitaforce

TDM 1.851/77mk



The image shows a white truck stuck in traffic on a road lined with trees. The truck's rear cargo area features a large sign with the following text: "ISN'T IT STRANGE HOW YOU'RE BOUND TO GET STUCK BEHIND ONE OF THESE WHENEVER YOU'RE RUNNING LATE FOR AN APPOINTMENT?". The truck is positioned behind a silver car, and the scene is viewed from the perspective of someone in a car behind it. In the bottom right corner, there is a blue box of Vitaforce Nutri-B. The bottom of the image has a banner with the text "VITAFORCE NUTRI-B Helps take care of stress, so you can take care of the rest." and a small note about the vitamin formulation.

ISN'T IT STRANGE
HOW YOU'RE BOUND TO
GET STUCK
BEHIND ONE OF THESE
WHENEVER YOU'RE
RUNNING LATE
FOR AN APPOINTMENT?



VITAFORCE
Nutri-B
A Vitamin Formulation
for Stressful Living

VITAFORCE NUTRI-B Helps take care of stress, so you can take care of the rest.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

As was the case in the previous ad, this text invokes a specific social situation as the intertext. Both lexical and graphic evidence aims to encourage the retrieval of specific assumptions about traffic congestion. The most explicit reference is located in the headline, which is printed on the back of the truck. The pronoun “THESE” serves to unite image and text, by referring either anaphorically or cataphorically to the image of the truck (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814).

Furthermore, the headline takes the form of a rhetorical question. As such, it functions as an interactive marker, by reproducing aspects of everyday talk (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). Its purpose in this case is to involve readers in the message, by encouraging them to consider what their emotions would have been, had they been caught in the depicted situation. Thus, intertextuality’s function is to exemplify a source of stress in contemporary urban environments. The negative consequences of such an occurrence are highlighted by bolding the words “GET STUCK” and “RUNNING LATE”. Although the headline takes an interrogative rather than declarative form, it nevertheless conveys a propositional assumption about the probability of this event’s occurrence. Readers who are familiar with the situation are likely to recognise it as stressful and, as a consequence, less likely to find the exaggeration - situated in the word “BOUND” - unrealistic. This provides the copywriter with a foundation for product claims. More specifically, the graphic and lexical units construct a basis for illustrating the efficiency of the product.

To avoid the unintentional association of negative emotions with the product, the headline assumes a sarcastic, tongue-in-cheek tone. The objective is to moderate the intensity of the negative assumptions that arise from processing the graphic unit. It seems conceivable that the copywriter believed that a declarative form – such as *you are bound to get stuck behind one of these whenever you’re running late* - would have been less effective. Nevertheless, a problem has now been made salient to readers.

Having retrieved the intended associations from memory – on the basis of the headline and graphic unit – readers may turn to the subtext for specific product claims. Here, the product is constructed as a solution to the problem outlined earlier.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

In contrast with the previous two ads, the primary intertext in this instance is not sex. However, its function in the ad is loaded with sexual connotations. This is achieved, not by means of a play on words as in the Vodacom ad, or by referring to a fictional character, as was the case in the OXY ad, but by anchoring both the lexical and graphic units in a specific social context.

By reproducing its characteristic form, this ad's lexical unit makes an intertextual reference to the consumer precautions printed on products, such as *caution: keep beyond reach of children* or *caution: pressurised container*. The graphic unit contains no additional traces of this intertext. Instead, its function is to make specific inferences more salient to the reader. By positioning the male model in the foreground - in the process of dressing himself - and the female model in the background - apparently still asleep - schemata surrounding sex are made relevant. This provides readers with a clearer framework in which to process the term "EYE CANDY". Consequently, we may view the domain introduced by the headline as the primary intertext, while the secondary intertext - alluded to by the graphic unit - anchors its interpretation. From the evidence discussed so far, no clear deductions can yet be made about the exact nature of the characters' relationship, beyond its sexual overtones. The subtext provides more input in this regard.

Thus far, the most relevant marketing message that may be derived from the headline is that the product will transform its male consumers into eye candy, and that addressees should be warned of this fact. The graphic unit narrows this claim to sexual attraction. This message is aimed at a female audience. More specifically, the subtext printed directly beneath the headline, provides evidence for the inference that the models are engaged in an intimate romantic relationship. Against this background, the male model's actions may now be viewed as a morning routine, which in turn may signal that the characters are co-habiting.

The subtext achieves this by referring to the male model as "YOUR GUY". The pronoun *you* - in addition to emulating everyday face-to-face conversation - indicates possession and signals the intention to communicate with women about their romantic male partners

(cf. van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). Based on this evidence, we may infer that the caution contained in the headline is directed to women, a conclusion which is supported by the fact that the ad was published in *Cosmopolitan*. Intertextuality's function, therefore, is to promote a product for men to women.

Readers may now infer the cautionary measure as a boast that the product will render the female reader's male partner, or "guy", so attractive that he may receive increased attention from other women. This in turn may amplify her own social status. Although the ad contains no explicit evidence for the latter, the copywriter may assume it as common ground. An alternative inference, which is supported more strongly by the graphic unit, is that the reader's partner will become so attractive that they are more likely to engage in sexual interactions with them. Of course, both warnings must be made in a humorous tone if it is to succeed in establishing positive connotations with the product.

The product's slogan, printed beneath the subtext and next to the image of the product may constitute an additional intertextual reference. The phrase "WHAT MEN WANT" may be a reformulation of the film *What Women Want*. However, the ad contains no evidence to confirm this notion.

In brief, this ad establishes a sexually neutral intertext (consumer precautions) before loading it with sexual connotations. This endeavour is embedded in an effort to engage a female audience in intimate conversation. As a result some readers may view the ad as allusive to gossip – based on the stereotype that this is a characteristically feminine mode of conversation. However, the ad was not classed under the category for gender stereotypes, as it contains insufficient traces of the intention to make gossip salient.

4.2.2.7d) Ciao

*Bring Out
the Italian
in you.*

Men's denims from R139.⁹⁵

Ladies denims from R139.⁹⁵

©2010 The First Year Design Company

7-17 October 2010 or while stocks last.

CIAO

Bella! @

the Hub

Where there's more to life...

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Here sex is alluded to by means of an intertextual reference to a stereotype about the characteristics of Italian people, situated in the headline. The graphic unit supports this reference, but is insufficient in isolation. Nevertheless, its function is to make a specific stereotype about Italians salient. Some readers may, for example, associate Italians with ice cream, a certain style of cuisine, or cars such as Ferrari or Lamborghini. This possibility is attested to by the fact that the sample contains instances in which Italians are constructed as culinary specialists (Peroni). The lexical and graphic units, therefore, depend on each other in order to convey the message that Italians should – in this case – be associated with sexual zest.

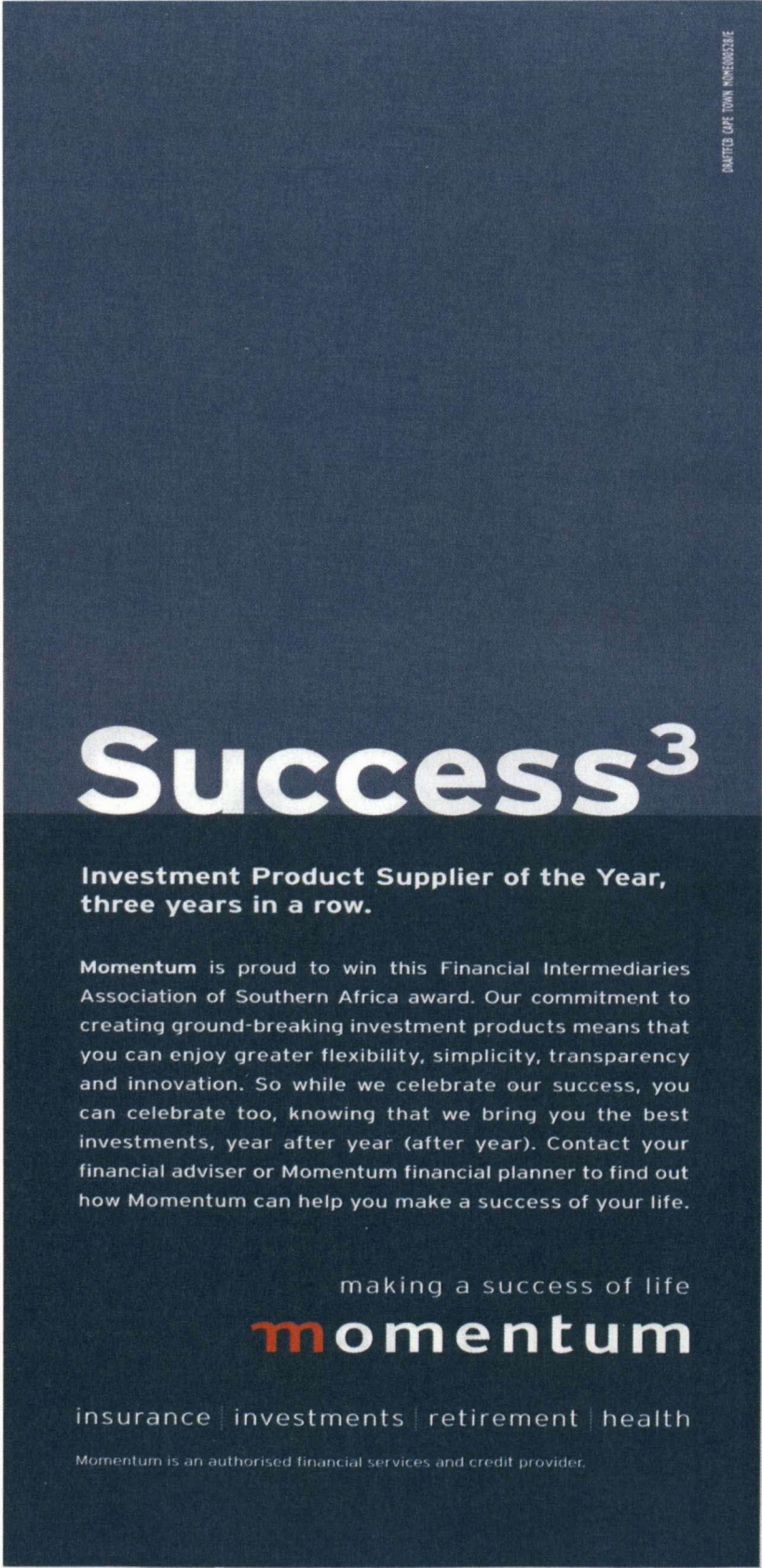
The headline communicates this stereotype by means of a propositional assumption that all consumers possess this authentically Italian attribute. As such, the product does not confer sexual passion onto the consumer, but enables them to let loose what they already possess. The ad does not specify the manner in which this will be achieved. Background knowledge about the product suggests that it may augment one's confidence, optimise one's physical appearance or both.

Although the ad was printed in *Cosmopolitan* it is difficult to determine whether its message is aimed specifically at men or women. While the magazine's readership is predominantly female, the male model's gaze may spur some readers to infer the speaker as male. The rest of the ad contains no further evidence to support either conclusion.

The ads presented in this section employ intertextuality in order to make specific associations with sex salient and to connect these with the advertised product in some way. The first two ads aim to achieve this in a direct way by using sex itself as the intertext. The last two, however, use different, possibly neutral, intertexts before loading them with specific sexual connotations.

4.2.2.8 Using intertextual symbols to simplify communication

4.2.2.8a) Momentum

A vertical rectangular graphic with a dark blue background. At the top right, there is small vertical text: "DONATED CAPE TOWN MUSEUMS". In the center, the word "Success" is written in a large, white, sans-serif font, followed by a superscript "3". Below this, the text "Investment Product Supplier of the Year, three years in a row." is written in a smaller white font. Further down, a paragraph of white text describes Momentum's award and commitment. At the bottom, the Momentum logo is displayed, with the word "momentum" in a white sans-serif font, where the "m" is orange. Below the logo, the services "insurance | investments | retirement | health" are listed in white. At the very bottom, a small line of white text states: "Momentum is an authorised financial services and credit provider."

DONATED CAPE TOWN MUSEUMS

Success³

**Investment Product Supplier of the Year,
three years in a row.**

Momentum is proud to win this Financial Intermediaries Association of Southern Africa award. Our commitment to creating ground-breaking investment products means that you can enjoy greater flexibility, simplicity, transparency and innovation. So while we celebrate our success, you can celebrate too, knowing that we bring you the best investments, year after year (after year). Contact your financial adviser or Momentum financial planner to find out how Momentum can help you make a success of your life.

making a success of life

momentum

insurance | investments | retirement | health

Momentum is an authorised financial services and credit provider.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

The analysis now turns to a category of intertextuality that depends on symbols from other discourse genres, such as mathematics, technology, academic titles and culture-specific symbols. In each case, attributes of the genre from which they derive are not projected metaphorically unto the product. Instead, their symbolic significance is used to 1) engage readers in the task of reinterpreting their conventional function in the context of the ad and 2) to simplify the communication of product claims by reducing the lexical unit's length. However, only four ads in the sample were found to use intertextuality in this way. The result may be a function of the sampling procedure, but may also indicate that this is a less prevalent use for intertextuality. This may be accounted for by the results from previous categories, which suggest that intertextuality is routinely exploited in rich and diverse strategies that go beyond the mere simplification of communication.

The current ad contains no graphic unit. The headline employs a symbol that designates cubic metres, or a numerical value's expansion to the power of three. This constitutes an intertextual symbol from the field of mathematics. Its function, however, is not to establish a metaphor with mathematics. Instead its function is to boast the service provider's status as the third time winner of the "Financial Intermediaries Association of Southern Africa award" for the "Investment Product Supplier of the Year", as stipulated in the subtext. The subtext continues to explicate that clients share in the company's success and reminds them of the award by stating "we bring you the best investments, year after year (after year)". Here the conventional method of conveying an event's inevitable annual reoccurrence, through the expression *year after year*, is expanded to establish coherence with the headline and the subtext immediately beneath it.

Success to the power of three does not, therefore, refer to cubic metres or the literal expansion of one's financial assets to the power of this value. Instead, the symbol functions to inform audiences of the award which, in turn, serves as a validating context for the company's expertise. The fact that this symbol possesses a fixed, socially accepted meaning allows it to convey this boast in a spatially condense – albeit exaggerated – manner.

At this point, however, the claim is vacuous, in the sense that readers cannot infer the means by which the company claims to enhance success. For this reason, the subtext augments the boast with specific claims.

Finally, as was the case in the previous Momentum ad, a purposive adjunct, embedded in an imperative sentence, provides the basis for a propositional assumption that consumers' financial advisors are likely to recommend the advertised service.

4.2.2.8b) Tracker

**Thank you for giving our
young men a little direction.**



**Tracker would like to thank everyone who supported
Men in the Making on Thursday, 25 March 2010.**

**By welcoming high school students into your business,
you've let them experience the working world and
helped them to make the right career choices.**

**For more information on this initiative
call Tshego on (011) 998 4877 or visit www.tracker.co.za**



Taking back tomorrow www.tracker.co.za

The establishment and function of intertextuality

The intertext in this ad is the Western symbol for masculinity, manifested in the graphic unit. To elicit the investment of additional cognitive effort, the symbol's traditional form has been altered. By moving the arrow to its nearest right angle, the graphic unit supports the message expressed in the headline. First, the word "direction" must be associated with determination and vision. Then, in order to associate this with the arrow's upward angle, readers must retrieve positive connotations based on "image-schemas of bounded space" in which up is associated with "power, control [and] goodness" (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006: 1991).

However, masculinity is not projected onto the advertised service itself. Furthermore, although individual readers may have various personal connotations with the symbol, the text itself suggests no connections with media or historical texts, and is not intended to generate humour, despite the novel adjustment of the arrow. A gender stereotype about young men's proclivity for delinquency may be activated, but again the advert makes no explicit comparison between men and women in this regard. It is therefore posited that the symbol's function is, in the first instance, to direct attention to the headline if readers observe the image before the text and, secondly, to support the former's message through a graphic representation.

Furthermore, the intertext plays no role in producing or supporting product claims. This can be accounted for by the fact that the entire ad is not focused on this objective. No mention is made of specific attributes of the company's service. The intertext itself, even when combined with the headline does not clarify the issue, so that recourse to the subtext is essential. From the latter, it is evident that the advertised service aims to enhance its status – not by making product claims – but by attempting to become associated with social development (cf. section 6.3.7). Intertextuality's role in this endeavour is to support the headline with a graphic representation, which simplifies the message and aims to render it memorable.

4.2.2.8c) Urban Hotel



CAPPUCCINO @ *'moerkoffie'* PRICES



QUICHE @ *'tert'* PRICES



BLUE LABEL @ *'umqombothi'* PRICES



TIMELESS CLASSICS @ *'Made in Taiwan'* PRICES



ACCOMMODATION FOR THE DISCERNING TRAVELLER CONCERNED ABOUT HIS BUDGET.



T 051 444 3142

|

F 051 444 2605

|

info@urbanhotel.co.za

|

www.urbanhotel.co.za

Corner of Parfitt and Henry Street

|

29° 06' 41.06 S

26° 12' 05.97 E

it's all about **u**

theurban
hotel bloemfontein

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Colloquial speech forms the intertext in this ad, and is enacted on the lexical level alone. The ad was not classed under the category for idioms, proverbs and recycled expressions because “moerkoffie”, “tert”, “unqombothi” and “Made in Taiwan” do not represent colloquial terms for “CAPPUCCINO”, “QUICHE”, “BLUE LABEL” and “TIMELESS CLASSICS”. Instead, regardless of their similarity in a general sense, they represent qualitatively different objects and this distinction is central to the ad’s message.

The commercial claim conveyed by the intertext is that the advertised company provides luxury items at a price associated with cheap products. By exploiting the intertext, this claim can be conveyed in a spatially compressed manner. The symbol “@” supports this endeavour. Readers are required to access its use in sms language, where it replaces the preposition *at*, in order to infer the claim that cappuccino, for example, is available for the same price as moerkoffie at the advertised hotel.

By structuring the message in this way, the copywriter not only engages audiences in meaning construction, but also positions them as “DISCERNING TRAVELLER[S]”. Based on the intertext’s function in the headline, readers have evidence on which to interpret *discerning* as the ability to find luxury accommodation at a reasonable price. Thus, although the headline does not perform any of the functions discussed in previous sections, it remains useful for its utility in conveying the commercial message in an encrypted and lexically compressed manner.

4.2.2.8d) City Lodge

Whether it is a Mr, Prof,
Dr or a Sir, we have a hotel
for every kind of traveller.



COURTYARD



CITY LODGE



TOWN LODGE



ROAD LODGE

No matter what kind of client you have, and whatever size budget they're on, our hotel group has got accommodation to suit them. From the no frills Road Lodge to the affordable Town Lodge, comfortable City Lodge or the ultimate Courtyard Hotel, we have rooms all over South Africa where they'll feel right at home.

Reservations: 0800 113 790 or www.citylodge.co.za.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Titles, or formal forms of address, form the intertext in this ad. The first three are derived from academia, although "Mr" may also be the generic title for a man, while "Dr" may also refer to a medical practitioner. The last title may either constitute a generic reference to male educators, or knighthood in the United Kingdom. As outlined below, whatever distinctions the readers' background knowledge leads them to, the nature of the target audience - as specified in the subtext - may render them liable to interpret the intertext as a condensed/encrypted statement of the advertised product's flexibility, especially in terms of its affordability.

Each designation is intended to raise assumptions about the socioeconomic status of its holder. This allows the copywriter to convey a specific product claim in a lexically compact form. However, whether or not this simplifies communication depends on the individual readers' background knowledge, since the additional cognitive effort required to interpret the titles' function may enhance or hamper optimal relevance. For those who are unfamiliar with them, relevance may be seriously reduced. Alternatively, others may interpret the headline as a general statement of the advertised service's ability to cater for different clients' preferences. In this case, the correct interpretation is outlined by the subtext: "whatever size budget they're on". Only readers who already associate each title with a specific income category will immediately access a message about budget constraints. In this case the subtext will confirm their initial suspicions.

The subtext also clarifies that the message is not aimed at the title's holders, but at travelling companies who need to suggest lodgings to their clients: "No matter what kind of client you have". This provides evidence that budget constraints are particularly relevant to the target audience, thus enhancing the relevance of each title's socioeconomic status over alternative assumptions.

Clearly therefore, attributes associated with the intertextual domain are not projected onto the service itself. Instead its utility lies in the simplification of a particular claim.

4.3 Conclusion: the functions of intertextuality

As outlined in Table 3, intertextuality can play various roles within a single ad. Moreover, as indicated in the qualitative reports, some functions may be superior or subordinate to others in some texts. Across these different functions, the results suggest that copywriters not only provide evidence for the presence of an intertext (such as words, phrases, icons, symbols and indexicals), but also structure the ad in a manner that enhances the relevance of a set of assumptions about it. In combination with further background knowledge about the ultimate goal of advertising (to enhance sales), these sets of assumptions may be relevant to the advertised product/service in various ways, all of which support the aim of establishing or reinforcing positive associations with the advertised item.

The analysis has also indicated how these strategies are related to the agenda for discourse analysis outlined in section 2.7⁷. Firstly, the ad's key organisational features are structured in a manner that encourages recognition of the intertext through a series of lexical and/or graphic allusions. Exceptions include recycled expressions that originate from media and/or historical texts which the copywriter does not deem relevant to his/her commercial goals. In such cases, additional evidence of the intertext's source(s) is omitted so that readers only have sufficient evidence for the inference that it is pre-existing to the current text. Secondly, readers are actively involved in meaning construction, as they are tasked with 1) recognising the intertext, 2) identifying its most relevant characteristics and 3) the manner in which these are related to the rest of the ad. Finally, the ad's linguistic structure often aims to position readers as addressees in intimate conversations. The rest of this section will review the strategies which ads in the sample used to fix positive associations.

Firstly, positive associations may be transferred onto the product/service, as is the case where intertextuality operates metaphorically (section 4.2.2.1). Such metaphors may support rational or vacuous claims (cf. section 4.2.2.1a vs. 4.2.2.1b and c). In the former's case, copywriters may opt to combine the headline and graphic unit with a

⁷ Studies of advertising will focus on: 1) its key organisational features, 2) the construction/negotiation of meaning, and 3) the relationship between addresser and addressees that emerge from this genre.

subtext that clarifies the claims that are inherent in the relation between the metaphor's source (the intertext) and target (the product). For example, the Clinique ad's subtext explicates precisely how mascara may be like a good marriage partner (cf. also section 4.2.2.1d). This notion is analysed in more detail in the next chapter.

In the latter's case, the precise manner in which the intertext's attributes may be projected onto the product/service is unclear (how can a perfume be like a professional tennis player?). However, the search for relevance – which enables consumers to activate their knowledge of advertising – enables them to 1) recognise vacuous claims as a common feature of advertising and 2) to infer some coherent, albeit puffed, message from the metaphor. On this basis, consumers may infer the following claim: *this perfume will endow consumers with some of the traits of professional tennis players*.

In addition, ads also attempt to enhance consumers' regard for the product/service by strengthening its association with a popular media text, historical text or sex (cf. sections 4.2.2.2, 4.2.2.3, and 4.2.2.7, respectively). Copywriters assume that the target audience interacts with various other media texts, that they have knowledge of certain historical texts, and also that they are aware of the trend of exploiting sex in advertising. More importantly, it is assumed that they will access a relatively fixed set of assumptions about such intertexts, creating a platform on which to promote the product/service. In the case of media texts, celebrities or technical staff who were involved in the production of that text may also serve as validating contexts (section 4.2.2.2a as well as the Samsung ad, cf. appendix). In the case of historical texts, figures who are loved and respected by the intended audience may fulfil the same role.

The results also suggest that historical events (sections 4.2.2.3b and 4.2.2.3c) and gender stereotypes (section 4.2.2.4) are used to establish a specific state of affairs as factual, before producing product claims on the basis thus created.

Expressions from media and historical texts (sections 4.2.2.2d and 4.2.2.3a) can also be manipulated and re-worded in a manner that allows the copywriter to engage the audience in associating it with a new meaning, within the advertising context. Idioms/proverbs/recycled expressions, as well as efforts to generate humour may also serve this purpose (section 4.2.2.5 and 4.2.2.6).

Finally, readers are also encouraged to engage with the advertising text, by attempting to decipher the use of symbols which condense the lexical unit (4.2.2.7).

In brief, copywriters exploit intertextuality in these ways in order to: 1) engage readers in meaning construction, especially in cases where it demands the background knowledge of a specific target market, 2) to render its claims memorable, and 3) to act as a validating context.

However, in view of Skinner *et al.*'s (2001: 61) principle for good advertising, regarding the use of a focused selling proposition (cf. section, 2.1.2), it seems logical to proceed to the analysis of intertextuality's contribution to a single, clearly defined commercial message. Much has already been said of the way copywriters guide interpretations of the intertext toward a specific marketing message. In the Clinique text, for example, the subtext centres attention on loyalty, as a specific attribute of the intertext (marriage). Thus far, however, these discussions have not yet specified how these features are combined with product/logo placement and rational vs. emotive claims in order to express an overall marketing message. This is an important step, not only in light of Skinner *et al.*'s (2001: 61) principle, but also since it was necessary in some cases to draw a distinction between the message expressed through intertextuality and that communicated by those elements that employ a reason approach.

For these reasons, the next chapter will discuss the manner in which intertextuality is embedded in other reason and/or tickle strategies, by focusing on product/logo placement as well as rational (reason) vs. emotive (tickle) claims in the headline and subtext. The next chapter begins by outlining those combinations that were most prevalent before focusing on specific examples from each category. During this discussion, more attention will also be paid to the role that value assumptions and hypernorms play in supporting these claims.

Chapter 5

Results: Intertextuality in combination with reason-tickle patterns

5.1 Overview

The table below outlines the various patterns in which intertextuality was combined with conspicuous/inconspicuous product/service placement and rational (reason) vs. emotive (tickle) claims in lexical units. Each ad was analysed on three levels. First the nature of the headline's propositional content was classified as assuming a reason, tickle, or in some cases a combined approach. Thereafter, the subtext's content was analysed in the same manner. Finally, the position of the advertised product, or the service provider's logo was classed as either visually conspicuous or inconspicuous.

Table 4: Intertextuality in combination with reason vs. tickle product/service placement and rational vs. emotive claims

Category	Number of ads	Percentage (/120)	Brands	
Tickle headline Reason product/service placement Reason subtext	42	35	BMW Honda Clicks <i>(Cosmo)</i> Ibiza OXY Aramis Subaru <i>(Cosmo)</i> Panache Total USN Yardley Toyota Aquartz Dstv <i>(FL)</i> Nivea <i>(Cosmo)</i> Mini <i>(FHM</i> <i>a and b)</i> Ciao DSTV <i>(Indwe)</i> Clicks <i>(Ideas)</i> Mazda Kotex	Borges Tiger Wheel and Tyre Berocca Nankang Continental <i>(MH)</i> Urban Hotel Tshwane Nedbank <i>(Indwe)</i> Protea Hotel Mascom Audi Grants Incredible Connection Honda <i>(PM)</i> Checkers <i>(GH)</i> Seemann's Charcuterie Perdeberg Winery Hansa Pilsner Continental

			Gino Ginelli	(FHM)
Tickle headline Tickle product/service placement Reason subtext	23	19.2	Acer VW (FL) Virgin Mobile Momentum (FL) City Lodge Berco Express VIP Payroll Alexander Forbes Coega Vision Africa Nedbank (MH)	Vitaforce Sun International Momentum (MH) Telkom Nintendo Sasko Walvis Bay Corridor Group Visa Tempest Car Hire Santam Renault Vodacom
Tickle headline Reason product/service placement Tickle and reason subtext	11	9.2	Mini (Cosmo) Clinique Addidas Durex Wonderbra Sarita	Elizabeth Arden Fiat (FL) Blue Ribbon Amarula Suzuki

Tickle headline Tickle product/service placement No subtext	10	8.3	Sprite Brut Sea Rescue Dstv (FHM) Olmeca Samsung	Kaya FM95.9 Orbit Knysna Tourism Avis (Indwe)
Tickle headline Reason product/service placement No subtext	10	8.3	Mini (MH) Richelieu Appletizer Blue Label DKNY	Hennessey VW (Afro) Heineken Absolut Pringles
Tickle headline Tickle product/service placement Tickle subtext	7	5.8	Vuka KFC Calvin Klein	GHD Tracker DC Powerade
Tickle headline Tickle product/service placement Tickle and reason subtext	5	4.2	MIB Toshiba	Avis (GH) Peroni Liberty Life
Tickle headline Reason product/service placement Tickle subtext	3	2.5	Obikwa	Chopard Armani
Reason headline Tickle product/service placement Reason subtext	3	2.5	Mica Checkers (Ideas)	Mitchum

Reason headline Reason product/service placement Reason subtext	3	2.5	Nivea (MH) Citroen	Subaru (Indwe)
Reason headline Reason product/placement No subtext	2	1.7	Sunlight Dunlop	
No headline Reason product/service placement No subtext	1	0.8	Tosoni	
Total	120	100%		

As outlined in the table, the majority of the ads in this sample employed headlines with a tickle approach, in combination with a visually conspicuous depiction of the product/service, as well as a subtext with clear, unambiguous claims. Following a reason approach in the subtext implies that, on the lexical level, intertextuality was only referred to in the headline. This does not imply that the graphic unit played no role in this regard, as indicated by Table 5, which confirms that combinations of lexical and graphic traces of intertextuality were marginally more prominent for this category.

Table 5: The manifestation of intertextuality in ads that use tickle headlines, reason product/service placement and reason subtexts

The manifestation of intertextuality	Lexical only	Graphic only	Combination of graphic and lexical features
Number of ads	18	4	20

The pre-eminence of this group suggests that intertextuality – whether situated in the headline alone or in a combination of the headline and graphic unit – is exploited in order

to draw attention and engage readers as explicated in the previous section. However, to ensure that readers interpret intertextuality's use correctly, in terms of its commercial function, the product/service takes a prominent position, while the subtext contains clear selling propositions which often serve to fix the intertext's relevance to the product/service. More will be said of this in the qualitative reports below.

The second most prevalent combination involves the use of a tickle headline, with tickle product/service placement and a reason subtext. Again, this does not mean that headlines alone were responsible for fixing the intertext, as indicated by Table 6.

Table 6: The manifestation of intertextuality in ads that use tickle headlines, tickle product/service placement and reason subtexts

The manifestation of intertextuality	Lexical only	Graphic only	Combination of graphic and lexical features
Number of ads	8	1	14

In terms of the conspicuous or inconspicuous display of the product or company logo, the difference between this category and the first may be ascribed to the nature of the advertised item. Ads in the first category promoted products rather than services (35 products vs. 7 services), as was the case in the second group (6 products vs. 17 services). These findings suggest that ads for products are more likely to position images of the product in a visually prominent manner. On the other hand, when services are promoted, company logos feature less prominently, so that readers must pay more attention in order to determine the identity of the advertiser (cf. section 5.2.7.1).

The common denominator in both categories, however, is the use of reason subtexts. Therefore, the results suggest that while headlines and graphic units – in combination with conspicuous or inconspicuous depictions of the product/service – fix the intertext, the subtext's most dominant function is to make specific claims. This conclusion is supported by the observation that 71 ads in the sample (59.2%) used reason subtexts, while a further 16 (13.3%) combined reason and tickle tactics. That is, the subtext makes unambiguous product claims in conjunction with strong allusions to the intertext.

As the previous section suggests that subtexts also attempt to fix the precise nature of the relationship between the intertext and product/service by means of these unambiguous claims, the combined results seem to imply that copywriters employ subtexts as a safety measure against misinterpretations of intertextuality. The qualitative reports below will pay specific attention to such cases, as well as those in which copywriters did not deem the use of such a subtext necessary (cf. sections 5.2.4, 5.2.5, 5.2.11 and 5.2.12).

As will be explained in detail, these omissions may, on the one hand, be ascribed to the nature of the product/service, which – in the copywriter's mind – does not require a subtext. On the other hand, the nature of the intertext may also have induced copywriters to believe that subtexts with additional claims or clarifications were unnecessary.

In each qualitative report the specific strategies employed in the ad under study will be discussed. However, the discussion's primary objective is to illustrate the mixture of reason-tickle strategies that intertextual ads assumed in the sample.

Finally, where they underpin the overall marketing tactic, value assumptions and hypernorms will also be discussed. With regard to the former, it must be mentioned that all ads will state or imply the desirability of the advertised item. Subsequent analyses will look specifically at the manner in which value assumptions that go beyond the particular product or service are used to augment the overall marketing tactic.

The qualitative reports will begin by discussing the category that was most prevalent (42 or 35%), before contrasting this with one that combined reason and tickle strategies in its subtext (frequency: 11 or 9.2%). Thereafter, the second most frequent category will be discussed (23 or 19.2%), before turning to the two most significant groups which omitted a subtext (both 10 or 8.3%). Finally, the rest of the categories, all of which occurred with a frequency of less than 10 (8.3%), will be illustrated.

5.2 Qualitative reports

5.2.1 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, reason subtext

5.2.1.1 BMW

The qualitative report below illustrates the manner in which intertextual ads in the sample combined conspicuous depictions of the product/service with a tickle headline and reason subtext.

The marketing strategy employed in this text promotes the product as an exceptional combination of desirable attributes. It takes as its basis the rarity of “a car [that is] as thrilling to drive as it is to look at”. This is achieved through a combination of reason and tickle strategies. The former is situated in conspicuous brand name and product placement, as well as specific/unambiguous product claims in the subtext, while a tickle approach is used in the headline. The following discussion will begin with the headline, before outlining its coherence with the reason subtext.

As discussed in section 4.2.2.5a, the headline encourages readers to recognise the re-contextualised idiom’s function in setting up the metaphoric projection of human beauty onto the exterior design of the product. The headline’s presupposition introduces the supposed difficulty of imagining that a car with such an appealing exterior can have more to offer in terms of technology. Therefore, in keeping with tickle strategies, the headline flaunts the principle of relevance, as its current form requires more processing effort in comparison with a claim made by a reason strategy, such as the following: not only is this car’s exterior design beautiful, but its interior is also exceptional. Demanding additional cognitive effort is functional, as it aims to render the ad memorable by requiring readers to engage with the message on a deeper level, compared to a message that is simpler to process (cf. Crook, 2004: 730; Lim *et al.*, 2009: 1784).

On the basis of this presupposition, the first line of the subtext guides the inferencing process to more specific claims, in a manner that is consistent with a reason approach. By doing so the copywriter attempts to ensure correct interpretation of the intertext by specifying its relevance to the product. However, these reason claims are not made

through the connective adjuncts analysed by Simpson (2001). Instead they rely on interaction markers that construct the audience as addressees in a verbal exchange (van Niekerk & Keyser, forthcoming). More specifically, these markers begin by requesting an action from readers before asking a rhetorical question. The former serves only as a play on the idiom in the headline, since the nature of the graphic unit means that readers are unable to look deeper into the product. Similarly, they cannot experience the climate control or take advantage of the improved fuel consumption. As such, readers may simply view the request as an invitation to visit a BMW dealer (cf. section 6.3.2).

The rhetorical question, however, reinforces the marketing strategy described above. Although it is not a presupposition in the pragmatic sense (cf. Abbott, 2000: 1420), it nevertheless constructs the product as an unexpected combination of seemingly incongruous attributes, as something that is “Beyond beauty”. Consequently, readers are urged to retrieve the following marketing message: *Although it is difficult to ignore the sleek design of the new BMW, we urge you to look past the exterior long enough to notice the “leather seats that reflect sunlight”, “advanced climate control”, and efficient fuel consumption.* These claims clarify the headline, by specifying the idiom’s relevance in no uncertain terms.

With regard to hypernorms, the headline’s use of intertextuality supports van Niekerk’s (2008: 495) conclusion: The mass media assumes the importance of physical appearance as shared information (cf. section 6.3.2). More telling, however, is the fact that in conjunction with the reason claims of the subtext, this assumption not only forms the basis of the intertextual field, but is used in a marketing strategy based on another hypernorm: Contemporary society has “a materialistic and visual approach to life” (van Niekerk, 2008: 495). As mentioned earlier, this ad rests on the notion that the incorporation of physical appeal and a thrilling experience – manifested here in superior technology – is viewed as an astonishing achievement. The implicit value assumption is that to own such a wonder is worth the expenditure. It is manifested in: “Could a car be as thrilling to drive as it is to look at”. Thus, through a play on the importance of physical beauty, the ad aims to exploit the supposedly materialistic outlook of the target audience. This observation is supported by Bruthiaux (2000: 297), who states that advertising

discourse constructs “a largely artificial sense of exclusiveness among status conscious readers” (cf. Small, Harris and Wilson, 2008).

In brief, this product is promoted through a combination of reason and tickle methods. Firstly, the brand name and product are visually prominent. This may function to trigger readers’ schemata for advertising and also to render the product memorable. The findings summarised in Table 4 suggest that this is a pervasive feature of advertising, as 60% (70) of the ads in the sample employed this method. The tickle tactic in the headline may serve to attract attention and to engage readers in meaning construction. The inferencing process operates on the assumption that physical beauty is important, as well as the assumption that ownership of unique products is desirable. With regard to the subtext, the results also suggest that, in terms of intertextuality, these lexical units may function to avoid confusion by augmenting previous tickle tactics with reason claims that dispel ambiguity.

5.2.2 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, reason and tickle subtext

5.2.2.1 Clinique

This section is closely related to the previous. It illustrates the same combination of reason product/service placement with a tickle headline, but with the exception that the subtext combines references to the intertext (tickle tactics) with reason claims that have no relation to the intertext.

The current ad contains one of the central features of a reason strategy, as the product and brand name are placed conspicuously in the middle of the page (Simpson, 2001: 594). At the same time, however, this depiction attempts to raise schemata for a specific intertext. The product is portrayed with two rings, which constitute an implicit graphic reference to marriage. Thus, although classed as a reason tactic, the results suggests that conspicuous product placement can also be combined with semiotic icons and symbols which impact interpretations of tickle tactics on the lexical level, as discussed below (cf. section 6.3.1).

With regards to the product claims produced by the lexical unit, a combination of tickle and reason strategies are employed. The following will first pay attention to the retrieval of product claims from the headline, before turning to those produced in the subtext.

In order to retrieve a meaningful product claim from the headline, readers must access the necessary implicature. Of course, the exact cognitive route that potential readers may take to achieve this cannot be outlined without extensive informant-response data (cf. section 6.3.1). However, regardless of the exact steps in the inferencing process, readers are required to convert the headline from its current form ("This mascara vows to look pretty for 24 hours without smudge or smear") into something resembling the following: This mascara *is guaranteed* to make *you* look pretty for 24 hours without *smudging* or *smearing*. The goal is to flaunt the principle of relevance by enticing readers to play a more active role in the communication, by extracting a reason claim such as the one posited above.

Moreover, section 4.2.2.1a) has already specified that readers are required to deduce that loyalty is one of the product's main attributes. Since loyalty is a trait associated with humans and animals, readers must resort to inferences, a process for which the copywriter has provided specific guidelines. The headline initiates this effort by specifying one manner in which loyalty may be projected onto the product, manifested in the claim that it will "look pretty for 24 hours without smudge or smear", while simultaneously being easy to remove: "'Til warm water do us part".

The subtext opens with a reference to the intertextual field ("Talk about a committed relationship") and supports this with two other references: "By the power vested in" and "let the lovefest begin". Between these three allusions, the subtext provides further guidance for interpretations of the intertextual field with claims that do not require the same processing effort as the headline (cf. Simpson, 2001: 594). From the first two lines it is clear that, in the case of mascara, loyalty implies the ability to "last through rain, sweat, humidity [and] tears" while remaining easy to remove: "Yet the formula removes easily with warm water". Thus, after projecting the loyalty of a good husband/wife onto the product through a tickle strategy in the headline, a reason approach is utilised in the subtext to specify the relevance of this trait to the product. In this particular case, the

subtext also contains two claims which have no relation to the intertext, as explained below.

As was the case in the BMW ad, the subtext's reason claims do not contain conjunctive adjuncts. Instead, they are characterised by interaction markers that position readers in the role of addressees (cf. van Niekerk & Keyser, forthcoming). The most prominent example is the first line of the subtext. "Talk about a committed relationship" mimics a conversational move that members of the target audience may use to initiate a conversation. Although "Ophthalmologist tested, too" and "100% Fragrance Free" also appear to mimic everyday talk, the case is not as strong as that of the first line. On the one hand, the grammatical structure of both claims resembles utterances rather than grammatically complete sentences. On the other, advertising discourse often uses noun phrases as independent clauses in order to conserve space (Rush, 1998: 155). What is clear, however, is that these two attributes not only digress from the intertextual field, but also that they are secondary to the main claim. After boasting the product's status as having been tested by ophthalmologists – which also constitutes a validating context – attention is again focused on romantic relationships: "let the lovefest begin". This may be functional in reminding the audience of the intertextual field.

In summary, thus far the analysis suggests that this ad's marketing strategy promotes the product on the basis that it excels at two attributes. The first is its presupposed loyalty, which is derived from the intertext, and pinned to specific product claims in the subtext. The second, also derived from the intertext in the headline and elaborated in the subtext, concerns the convenience with which the mascara may be removed, a trait that is not conventionally associated with marriage. Consequently, readers not only have evidence for a metaphor with marriage as the source, but also for the claim that the product combines a major benefit of such a union with convenience. The next paragraph deals with the role of value assumptions.

This ad's marketing strategy is augmented by the value assumption that committed relationships, including marriage, are desirable. Although women are not explicitly marked as the target audience, the product is manufactured for women and is advertised in a women's lifestyle magazine. Thus, the assumption may be that such relationships are particularly desirable for women. This assumption is essential to the commercial

message. Attempting to connect a positive attribute of committed relationships (loyalty) to the product would be impossible without taking for granted that some positive associations with such relationships exist.

Furthermore, because the ad was printed in *Cosmopolitan* it also seems conceivable that centring the tickle strategy on the intertextual domain of marriage is functional within the ad's discursive context. The implication is that, in addition to presenting the reader with a riddle to solve in order to infer the intended product claims, the copywriter has purposely embedded an intertext that he/she assumes to be of special interest to the target market. This hypothesis is based on the importance of romantic relationships and beauty in the discourse of *Cosmopolitan*. (cf. Conradie, 2009: 74, 83-84). Thus, by printing the ad in a magazine that operates on the assumption that romantic relationships are a central component of women's lives, the copywriter hopes to render this ad more relevant than competing texts.

However, as mentioned earlier, ads may be published in more than one magazine. Even those which obviously promote products for women may be seen in magazines with a predominantly male readership. For this reason, one cannot assume that results about the nature of *Cosmo's* ideology are reliable indicators of the advertised company's strategy. Simultaneously, however, advertisers are likely to focus their campaigns on areas where they are most liable to engage their target market. This also represents one of the advantages of print magazines, as they are viewed as reliable sources of information about the interests and characteristics of their readership (Melchenko, 2003: 11).

With regards to van Niekerk's (2008: 495) hypernorms, the fact that the advertised product is mascara connects the above-mentioned value assumption with the norm "physical appearance is important". By implication, physical appearance is viewed as an essential component of committed relationships. Of course, it is to be expected that all cosmetic products should take the importance of physical attractiveness as a basis. However, the same cannot be said of the above-mentioned value assumption about relationships. Thus, by exploiting intertextuality, the copywriter adds an additional layer to the tickle strategy by not only implying that physical appearance is important, but that committed relationships represent a desirable state for women. Conclusions about the

exact role of physical appearance in initiating or maintaining romantic relationships cannot be deduced from the evidence in the advertisement.

In summary, this ad's reason-tickle recipe exploits intertextuality's utility for involving readers while simultaneously avoiding potential confusion. The visual prominence of the brand name and product operate in the same manner as the BMW ad, except that it also points to intertextuality. The tickle tactic in the headline also assumes the same role as that of the previous text in terms of involving readers. In this case, it utilises wordplay in order to focus attention on a specific attribute of the intertext. The subtext maintains coherence through additional references to the intertext. Again, however, its primary function is to clarify the function of the intertext. In this case it pins it to specific and unambiguous claims, thus providing evidence for the operation of a partial metaphor. After this, it also produces additional claims that are unrelated to the intertext ("Ophthalmologist tested, too" and "100% Fragrance Free"). In combination with a value assumption that implies the desirability of marriage, this communicates the message that the product excels at two attributes.

5.2.3 Tickle headline, tickle product/service placement and reason subtext

5.2.3.1 Acer

With regards to the headline, markers of intra-action such as speech bubbles anchor the intertext in everyday social interaction, which constitutes a tickle strategy. Although these speech bubbles form part of a conversation, rather than a single, self-contained phrase or clause, as the headlines of previous ads did, they were nevertheless analysed as headlines. This tactic was coupled with the inconspicuous placement of the product and brand name, while the subtext contains clear product claims, in accordance with a reason approach. Thus, the ad is similar to the previous case, except for the inclusion of a reason subtext. Subsequent paragraphs will first discuss the relation between the headline and graphic unit before turning to the subtext.

Firstly, using social interaction as an intertextual field enables the copywriter to highlight specific product characteristics, such as the size of the screen and the five milliseconds image response rate. Moreover, this domain also enables the copywriter to make these claims by means of the testimonial/endorsement of a hypothetical consumer. However, the references to “your **22**”, “**size**” and “**5ms response rate**” can only be interpreted as product claims once their referents have been clarified (emphasis in original). Thus, in contrast with the previous ad, the message communicated by the tickle strategy in the headline and graphic unit can only be interpreted as a case of comic dupe irony once consumers have identified the product.

This strategy may obviate the risk mentioned in the previous section. The content of the male model’s conversation generates confusion, which can only be resolved by identifying the true subject of their dissuasion. Consequently, the risk that readers who have processed the irony will page on without identifying the product and advertiser is reduced (cf. section 6.3.4). Furthermore, although the copywriter has also opted for an inconspicuous product and brand name placement, their presence in the lower-left hand corner is made more prominent by the fact that they break the scene in which the conversation is taking place.

After observing the product, some readers may immediately infer the true referents of “your **22**”, “**size**” and “**5ms response rate**”. However, to ensure correct interpretation, the image in the lower left-hand corner is coupled with a subtext that explicitly clarifies the matter. A list of the product’s most salient traits is present in conjunction with the claim that consumers may “Expect exceptional performance that will leave you, and everyone around you, truly amazed”. Although the words “performance” and “amazed” may also serve as allusions to the intertext (sex), the intention is not as clearly marked as was the case in the Clinique ad. Consequently, the subtext was not classed as a reason and tickle text.

In summary, the domain of social interaction enables the copywriter to make claims through the endorsement of a hypothetical consumer. However, the most prominent function of intertextuality is to generate humour by means of a comic dupe (cf. section 6.3.4). As the humour is contingent on the nature of the product – especially the size of its screen – readers are likely to recall these claims if they retell the joke to other potential

consumers. Humour, therefore, not only improves recall of the intra-action and the woman's misinterpretation, but also the ad's most prominent claim. To facilitate this, the product's placement on the ad's periphery is functional, as a more central position may have compromised the irony too early. Finally, the subtext serves, not only to explicate the irony by listing the product's attributes, but to confront readers with a clear selling proposition: "Expect exceptional performance".

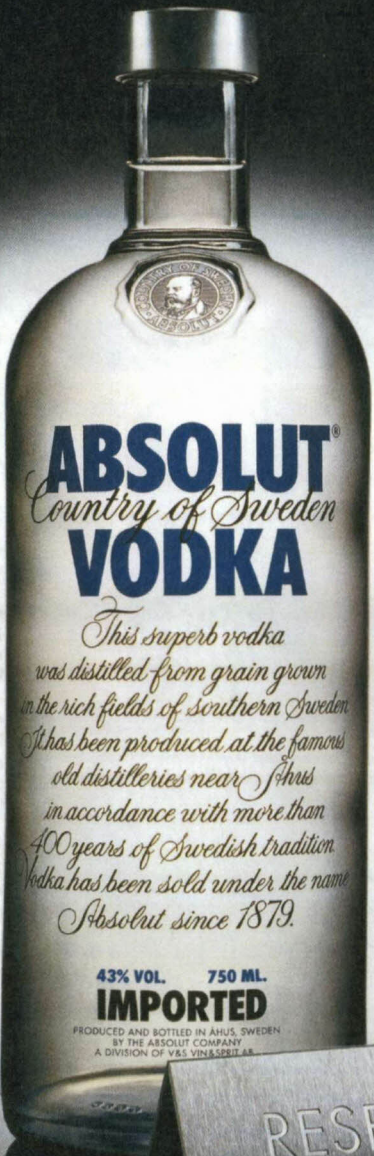
With regard to value assumptions, the above-mentioned claim may have been sufficient grounds on which to promote the product. However, the copywriter deemed it necessary to add "leaving everyone around you, truly amazed". Thus, the selling proposition also contains the value assumption that it is desirable to impress others with the performance of one's electronic equipment. The inclusion of this statement provides evidence for the hypernorm that contemporary society is characterised by "a materialistic and visual approach to life" (van Niekerk, 2008: 495). Finally, the fact that sex is used to convey this information indicates that the ad operates on the assumption that "there are no subject taboos" (van Niekerk, 2008: 495). In other words, copywriters believe that the incorporation of sex as a marketing tool will not have a negative impact on sales.

As mentioned earlier, the prevalence of this category indicates the significance accorded to a subtext with unambiguous (reason) claims. As such, the findings support the conclusion that while intertextuality is used to engage audiences in a variety of ways, as illustrated in section 4.2, copywriters deem it necessary to anchor the use of this tickle tactic in reason subtexts. This category included a variety of products and services, including cars (VW *Cosmo*), bread, (Sasko), mobile service providers (Virgin Mobile), financial/investment advisers (Momentum *FL* and *MH*; Coega; Vision Africa), hotels (Sun International; City Lodge), logistics services (Berco Express; Walvis Bay Corridor Group), payroll services (VIP Payroll), insurance (Alexander Forbes; Santam), telephone companies (Telkom), stress relief medication (Vitaforce), entertainment technology (Nintendo), car hire (Tempest Car Hire) and electronic payment services (Visa). Clearly, therefore, the analysis suggests that the combination described above is not specific to a particular product or service category. It must, however, be stated that the manner in which this ad attempted to address the risk involved in a tickle depiction of the product does not apply to other ads in the category. As a result, advertisers run the risk that

readers will fail to identify the product/service and/or advertiser (cf. section 5.2.5.1). However, the frequency of this pattern (23 or 19.2%) also suggests that copywriters may view this combination as a reasonable risk. One possible explanation may be the hope that intertextuality, in combination with background knowledge about advertising, may be sufficient to entice readers to expend more cognitive effort (cf. section 5.2.5.1).

5.2.4 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, reason, without a subtext

5.2.4.1 Absolut



ABSOLUT VIP.

NOT FOR SALE TO PERSONS UNDER THE AGE OF 18.

As was the case in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, the copywriter of this ad opted for a visually prominent display of the product and brand name. Furthermore, in a manner that is similar to the Clinique ad, this depiction of the product contains a graphic allusion to the intertextual field. Here, it is situated in the spotlight which illuminates the product, and – more significantly – in the “RESERVED” sign positioned at the bottle’s base. These traces serve to incorporate some of the discourse features of celebrity lifestyles into the advertising text, by alluding to the practice of reserving seats or special items for a very important person (VIP). The spotlight suggests that VIP status is projected onto the product through personification. However, the sign indicates that the product is reserved, which suggests that it is currently reserved for a consumer with VIP status.

The headline attempts to balance cognitive effort and effect by requiring readers to interpret “ABSOLUT VIP” as both a reference to the product, as well as a misspelt *absolute VIP*. In conjunction with the graphic unit, the latter’s relevance must lie in the proposition that the product is exclusive. Thus, possession of the product marks the consumer as a privileged person. The omission of a subtext that augments the inferencing process provides evidence of the copywriter’s conviction that the relationship between the headline and graphic unit requires no further clarification.

This result may be ascribed to the nature of the products in the category. On the one hand, other ads promoted snack food (Pringles), soft drinks (Appletizer) and alcohol (Richelieu, Blue Label, Hennessy, and Heineken). It therefore seems plausible that copywriters did not deem additional information, such as the production/brewing process or nutritional characteristics, necessary. According to Kim (2007: 96), the omission of reason tactics is characteristic of products which do not possess an obvious benefit, such as health promotion or financial advancement. For this reason, the headlines and graphic units in these ads were designed to enhance relevance through intertextuality, while their lack of an obvious benefit renders a subtext with reason claims less appropriate. On the other hand, two ads in this category promoted cars (Mini in section 4.2.2.2d and VW in *Afro*), while another promoted perfume (DKNY). The implication is that these texts may have opted for the same approach as the BMW and Clinique ads. That is, they may have included information about their products’ technology and safety. However, such information was not considered sufficiently important. Consequently, the reason-tickle

recipe may be attributed to a marketing strategy in which the support of a subtext was deemed unnecessary to the process of strengthening positive associations.

In brief, the results suggest that the manner in which intertextuality is embedded in a blend of reason and tickle tactics is determined, to a large extent, by the nature of the product, which may or may not necessitate the communication of detailed information (as was the case in the BMW ad).

The next section discusses a similar case, with the exception that the product is displayed in an inconspicuous (tickle) manner.

5.2.5 Tickle headline, tickle product/service placement, without a subtext

5.2.5.1 Sprite

The following analysis will begin by investigating the ad's graphic unit before turning to the headline.

As explicated in section 4.2.2.1c, this ad begins by incorporating features from traffic law enforcement as an intertext, before signalling the relevance of an alternative form of social interaction: men's attempts to secure romantic interaction with women. Irony, in the form of a comic dupe, forms an essential component of its commercial strategy. This irony can only be uncovered by observing the comic discrepancy between the first and second page. As the first page's function is to raise schemata surrounding traffic violations, which will be subverted by the second page, it does not contain any clues as to the nature of the product or the identity of the advertiser. Consequently, readers who do not turn the page will be unable to identify these. In fact, even readers who do turn the page are not presented with a conspicuous image of the product.

The risk involved in this tactic is that after uncovering and enjoying the irony, readers may page on, without expending the effort required to notice the image of the product in the lower left-hand corner. It therefore seems possible that the copywriter's strategy relies on readers' background knowledge of advertising, in the sense that the pleasure they extracted from uncovering the irony is intended to pique their curiosity about the identity

of the text's producer. This tactic can only be valid if the copywriter has legitimate reasons for assuming that readers are aware of advertising's commercial objectives. The hope is that this will remind them that entertainment's role must always be to support the ad's commercial aims. On this basis, the results suggest that inconspicuous product/service placement may represent an additional strategy for balancing cognitive cost and effect. Readers are first presented with a novel source of enjoyment which, it is hoped, will motivate expenditure of the additional cognitive effort required to identify the advertiser. Furthermore, it also seems conceivable that the copywriter has attempted to address this risk by constructing the ad around a topic that may be of special interest to the magazine's core readership. This hypothesis is discussed in more detail below, during the analysis of the tickle headline.

With regard to product claims, the relation between the irony communicated on the graphic level and the product is ill-defined. Consequently, as was the case with the ads analysed earlier, the reader must turn to the lexical level for further guidance. In this case, however, the clues provided in the headline are also vaguely related to the intertext. Moreover, as a result of the absence of an explanatory reason subtext, more effort is required from readers, if they are to extract a meaningful product claim.

The headline also employs irony by focusing attention on a discrepancy between its propositional claim and rational expectations. One may reasonably expect "life" to be sweeter with sugar, not without it. As no claim is made about the product's use of artificial sweeteners, which may account for the proposition, the words' literal meanings cannot be more relevant than the non-literal meaning of an idiom (cf. Lim *et al*, 2009). It should be mentioned that the aim of this study is not to determine whether readers process the literal meaning of such idioms before they turn to the figurative (especially since this notion is in conflict with relevance theory), or to determine how quickly this is done. However, it is asserted here that in this ad the reader is required to return to the graphic level in order to determine the product claims inherent in the headline: "Life's sweeter with Zero sugar". As stated earlier, the relation between the intertextual field and the product is ill-defined. Taking into account 1) the lack of a subtext to guide interpretations, 2) the "artful nature [of idioms, which] allows for ambiguous

interpretations” (Lim *et al*, 2009: 1783) as well as 3) the lack of an intensive reader response analysis, the following interpretation can only be provisional.

As the reader is more likely to process the graphic level first – as a result of having processed the first page before turning to the second - the intertextual fields of traffic law enforcement and romantic social interaction should be most prominent. “Life’s sweeter” should consequently be interpreted against the background of the comic dupe between these intertextual fields. Furthermore, as the context of the ad is a women’s lifestyle magazine – which highlights the importance of female beauty (Conradie, 2009: 77) – it seems conceivable that the reader is placed in the position of the woman. “Life’s sweeter” may thus be related to the notion that women may expect men to attempt to secure romantic interactions with them. If the reader accepts this interpretation, “Life’s sweeter *with zero sugar*” (researcher’s emphasis) may be interpreted as a claim that the product will not cause the consumer to gain weight. This in turn may establish coherence with the rest of the headline: “zero limits”.

In this manner the ad claims that life is sweeter because consumers may expect to enjoy Sprite Zero and still remain attractive enough to expect romantic suits from men. If accurate, this interpretation could also account for the fact that the dots on the i’s in the headline are shaped in the form of hearts – a symbol for affection in Western culture. The omission of a subtext with reason claims, such as an exposition of the product’s nutritional value, may count as evidence of the copywriter’s assumption that the presence of a romantic male suitor, in the intertext, and the claim that life is more enjoyable without sugar, is sufficient evidence for this inference. Therefore, although the relation between the product and intertext may appear vague, the text’s reason-tickle recipe indicates the communicator’s confidence that the target audience possesses sufficient background knowledge - about both the intertext and advertising - to extract a meaningful claim. This in turn, may explain why the copywriter opted for a tickle placement of the product, despite the risks involved. Based on the assumption that physical attractiveness is of significant value to the magazine’s core readership, the copywriter presumes that they will have sufficient motivation to discover a product that does not threaten their desired weight.

The contrast between this ad and the previous BMW and Clinique ads may also be accounted for on the basis of readers' preferences. Copywriters may have reason to assume that BMW's target audience will consider information about the product's technological makeup relevant. Similarly, Clinique's primary consumers may want to know whether the product is fragrance free and tested by ophthalmologists. The evidence suggests that in these cases, subtexts with reason claims were viewed as an effective method to convey this. In the current ad's case, however, the relation between sugar and physical (sexual) appeal was deemed more relevant than additional details about nutritional characteristics, to the extent that the latter was viewed as a threat to optimal relevance.

In summary, this ad depicts the product in a tickle position, which runs the risk that readers will not expend the effort to notice it. In addition, it utilises a tickle headline with an oblique relation to the product. Nevertheless, the ad attempts to address these risks by structuring its message around an intertextual field that enhances its relevance. As such, it exploits the target audience's background knowledge, to the extent that a subtext was deemed unnecessary. The desirability of the product is presupposed by engaging the audience in a comic dupe, manifested in an ironic discrepancy between expectations drawn from two intertextual fields (traffic violations on page one vs. romantic suits on page two). Finally, if the reader observes the image of the product and the idiom in the headline, he/she may infer the following product claim: Consumers of this product may expect life to be sweet. The meaning of the idiom is grounded by the comic dupe irony. A *sweet life* refers to the notion that female consumers may expect to receive romantic suits from men because the product will not result in weight gain. To access these meanings, readers must have background knowledge of the importance accorded to physical beauty. As such, the ad's message is predicated on the hypernorm: "physical appearance is important" (Van Niekerk, 2008: 495).

The degree to which this ad relies on readers' knowledge of the intertext, as a means of addressing the risks inherent in a tickle display of the product/service and the omission of a clarifying subtext, may also be extended to other texts in the category. The analyses suggest that the creators of these texts operate on the assumption that target audiences have sufficient knowledge of and interest in the intertexts to interpret their relation to the

product/service⁸. Two exceptions are the Avis (Indwe) and Orbit ads. In these cases, the headline reflects the same length and complexity normally contained in subtexts. Consequently, it is able to perform the same function, so that the relation between the intertext and product is unmistakable.

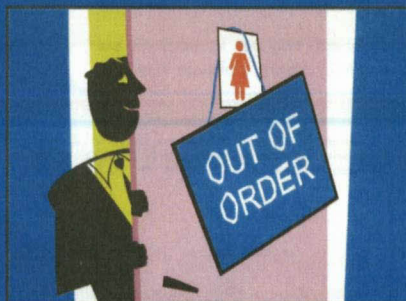
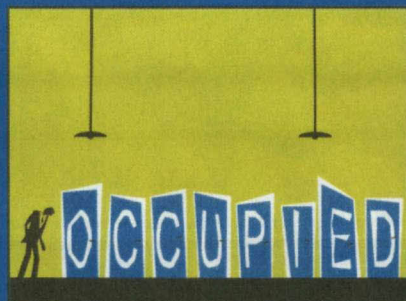
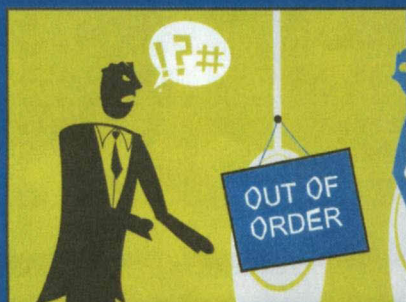
The categories described in subsequent sections concern reason-tickle patterns that occurred with a frequency below 10 (8.3%).

⁸ The intertexts include: 1) the stereotype that an interest in cars is an authentically masculine trait (Brut), 2) the stereotypical fanaticism of sports fans (Sea Rescue), 3) sex (Dstv, *FHM*), 4) a reformulation of the expression *behind every good man there is a good woman* (Olmeca), 5) chef Gordon Ramsey and the television programme *BBC Celebrity Chefs* (Samsung), 6) Motown (Kaya FM95.9), and the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (Knysna Tourism).

Making an intertextual reference to a situation that readers are not only familiar with, but are likely to recognise as a prominent source of anxiety, forms part of a gambit to enhance recall of the ad's claim. As mentioned chapter 2, ads often attempt to simulate authentic contexts (van Niekerk and Möller, 2008: 115). The copywriter's intention in this text may well have been to prompt recall of the ad whenever readers are subsequently caught in traffic congestion. Whether or not this will occur, and whether or not readers will consider this a sufficiently valid reason to purchase the product cannot be determined here. However, the evidence suggests that care is taken to mitigate the intensity of the negative emotions elicited by the intertext. Consequently, humour becomes a prominent result of the intertext's form, and is utilised to enhance recall of specific product attributes.

The next case concerns an ad in which the generation of humour serves to support recall of a metaphor.

4.2.2.6c) Nedbank (MH)



frustration.

You wouldn't put up with it anywhere else,
don't put up with it from your bank.

Visit www.gobanking.co.za or call 0860 654 222.

go easy on yourself

gobanking

brought to you by
NEDBANK in association with **Pick'n Pay**

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Although intertextuality is situated in a combination of graphic and lexical means, the former is the most prominent. Under the definition of intertextuality ascribed to in this study, the discourse structure that is embedded in the advertising text is derived from the genre of cartoon strips. This is illustrated, not only by the use of animation and frames, but by the narrative's use of semiotic symbols that have established meanings in the cartoon genre. In the second frame, the symbols !, ? and # replace expletives in order to emphasise the frustration experienced by the protagonist. The fourth frame utilises an ignited light bulb to signal the character's inspiration. The intertext is therefore derived from one of the subgenres of the mass media. However, the function of intertextuality differs from the cases discussed in section 4.2.2.2. Although humour is central to the message, as discussed below, the aim is not to establish associations between the advertised service and cartoons strips. Instead, the intertext functions, in the first instance, to amuse readers with the protagonist's innovation before using this as the basis of a metaphor.

The narrative's function, in terms of the product, is to generate humour before constructing a metaphor on the basis of the assumptions foregrounded by the joke. With regard to the former, it seems conceivable that the intertext was chosen specifically for its potential to produce humour. It is assumed that audiences will be amused by the protagonist's plight, which contains two potentially embarrassing situations. The first is his desperate need for a lavatory, while the second revolves around the use of a ladies' lavatory, where discovery will result in acute humiliation. In addition to generating interest in the ad, the humour thus created may strengthen recall of the metaphor, which operates as follows.

To solve his dilemma, the protagonist violates a social convention which precludes men's entry into ladies' lavatories. His ingenuity is therefore projected onto the novelty of using internet banking. Thus, by using intertextuality to refer to a situation that all readers are familiar with, internet banking is constructed as a solution to the frustration one may encounter from more traditional banking, which may involve both queues and poor service.

To ensure that readers retrieve this message, the headline and subtext anchor the inferencing process in a specific claim. The headline achieves this by bolding the word “frustration”, which represents an anaphoric or cataphoric reference to the action in the cartoon (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). Its function is to focus attention on a specific aspect of the narrative, which then becomes the basis of the subtext’s claim.

The subtext contains a propositional assumption about consumers’ impatience and lack of tolerance, followed by a causal adjunct. The assumption forms the basis for a conclusion initiated by the adjunct *so*. The resultant message is: you would not tolerate frustration anywhere else (propositional assumption), and therefore you should not tolerate it from your bank; for this reason you should visit www.gobanking.co.za (conclusion). Retrieval of this message requires the implicated premise that the advertised service will not frustrate clients, which may lead to the implicated conclusion that this service provider is superior to its competition.

In brief, this ad presents readers with a familiar situation which, by virtue of its potential for embarrassment, is intended to generate humour. This in turn constitutes a tickle tactic that aims to improve recall of a metaphor in which the protagonist’s resourcefulness is then mapped onto the advertised service.

4.2.2.6d) Alexander Forbes

top // beyond the line 13946

an Authorised Financial Services Provider FMS Licence no. 30414



AEROPHOBIA

~ The fear of air.

There are lots of things to be scared of. Insurance needn't be one of them.

At Alexander Forbes, we've learnt a thing or two over the years about putting motor and household insurance-related fears to rest. We provide the widest cover with the least exclusions, and we give you the option of an up-front discount on your premium when you sign up with us, which puts money back into your pocket immediately. We also give each of our clients their own personal consultant who deals exclusively with their policy and all matters pertaining to it. Simply, we make insuring as effortless and as comprehensive as possible. Because we believe that while some fears in life might need to be accepted, insurance-related fears are just irrational.

www.afi.co.za | Tel: 0860 111 234 | Your World is our World

Terms and Conditions Apply.



Alexander Forbes

MOTOR & HOUSEHOLD INSURANCE

The establishment and function of intertextuality

Here the intertext is irrational fears. The graphic unit sets up this domain with the image of a spider, which is meant to trigger schemata surrounding arachnophobia. To support this inference the spider is depicted in an aggressive stance. When, upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that the spider consists of several black balloons, the headline serves to dispel confusion. Even readers who are unaffected by arachnophobia and may, consequently, be slower to recall the appropriate schemata, would still observe the unusual appearance of the spider and resort to the headline for clarification.

The graphic and lexical units are therefore designed to cooperate, not only to draw attention, but to secure correct interpretations of the intertextual field. The image and word “AEROPHOBIA” thus refer to each other anaphorically or cataphorically (Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814).

In this way, the intertext is developed into a framework with which to communicate product claims. Successful interpretation depends on readers’ ability to recognise “AEROPHOBIA” as both a fictional and preposterous fear. In support of this tactic, the first line of the subtext connects the intertextual field with the advertised service in explicit terms: “There are lots of things to be scared of. **Insurance needn’t be one of them**” (researcher’s emphasis)⁶. The remainder of the subtext elaborates this relationship with specific claims. These specify the manner in which the advertised service is able to put “insurance-related fears to rest”. The last sentence reinforces the intertextual field: “Because we believe that while some fears in life might need to be accepted, **insurance-related fears are just irrational**” (researcher’s emphasis).

In summary, therefore, intertextuality enhances the recall of specific product claims through its ability to generate humour. The reader is presented with a stimulus which, during the search for relevance, is processed in terms of schemata surrounding irrational fears. The subtext explicates the relation between this field and the advertised service in clear, unambiguous terms.

⁶ Readers are clearly required to recognise the adversative relationship between the clauses, which may also have been signalled with the conjunction *but*.

As indicated in the pervious section, intertextual ads sometimes refer to idioms, proverbs or recycled expressions as intertexts. In such cases, the idiom, proverb or expression itself serves as the intertext. Its function is to encourage reinterpretation of its original meaning in the context of the ad. In this section, the intertextual field can be derived from a myriad of social phenomena. In each case, however, the common denominator is the field's utility for generating humour, with the specific aim of rendering certain product/service attributes memorable, by making them central to the joke.

4.2.2.7 Intertextuality and sex

4.2.2.7a) Oxy

A woman with dark hair and glasses, wearing a black blazer over a white shirt, stands in a library. She is holding a book titled 'ART' and has a pen in her mouth. The background is dark with bookshelves. The text 'What would you say to the librarian if you had the confidence?' is written in blue. Below it, three options are listed with checkboxes: 'romance is my favourite genre.', 'you read me like a book.', and 'teach me a lesson.' In the bottom right, three Oxy products are shown: 'face wash', 'lotion', and 'medicated pads'. At the bottom, the slogan 'GET THE CONFIDENCE TO DO WHATEVER.' is written in white, followed by the 'OXY' logo and 'OXYCUTE 'EM' in white.

What would you say to the librarian
if you had the confidence?

Excuse me Ma'am,

- ☐ romance is my favourite genre.
- ☐ you read me like a book.
- ☐ teach me a lesson.

face wash
375 ml
REGULAR

OXY 10
lotion
A CREAM LOTION

medicated pads
36 Saturated Pads

GET THE CONFIDENCE
TO DO WHATEVER.

OXY
OXYCUTE 'EM

Face the world with clear confidence.
OXY unclogs pores and eliminates bacteria, leaving
your skin clean and smooth and letting it breathe.

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This section investigates ads that allude to sex as an intertext. It progresses from cases in which it is explicitly evoked to instances in which other intertexts are purposely loaded with sexual connotations. Before continuing, it is important to note that the emergence of this category from the analysis provides evidence for the hypernorm identified by van Niekerk (2008: 495): “there are no subject taboos” in contemporary society. In other words, the fact that sex is often alluded to in advertising, suggests that copywriters operate on the assumption that this will not have an adverse effect on sales.

In this ad the intertextual field revolves around men’s sexual fantasies. The graphic unit is the most prominent signal of the intent to raise such schemata, while the lexical unit guides the inferencing process.

In view of the “greatly expanded and intensified use of images and simulations” in contemporary culture (Morris, 2005: 697), the model’s attire plays a central role in introducing the intertext. It becomes symbolic of a fictional and stereotypical character often celebrated in masculine sexuality. Moreover, by addressing the readers directly – by means of the pronoun “you” – the advertiser positions them as participants in the fictional/hypothetical situation (cf. van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). As a result, readers are encouraged to view the model as a sexual object, while the speaker is constructed as someone who shares this view, thus creating a particular in-group. If, however, the graphic unit does not provide sufficient evidence for the relevance of sexual connotations, the headline and subtext guide interpretations. Firstly, the headline specifies the character represented by the model by labelling her as a “librarian” (image and text are thus united via anaphoric/cataphoric reference – cf. Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). Secondly, the subtext printed directly beneath the headline, presents readers with a list of responses, each with sexual connotations. As such the subtext introduces a new – albeit secondary intertext – which is a specific method of academic assessment. Associations with academia, however, are clearly unintended, especially since this method is now widely used in various contexts, such as the assessment of customers’ satisfaction for example. The only reference that contains some academic overtones is the option “Teach me a lesson”, which is utilised here for its sexual connotations alone.

For this reason the researcher approached multiple choice as a subordinate intertext. Its function is to support the primary intertextual field and to further involve audiences by requiring them to perform an action (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming). Its most prominent contribution is to imply that if men were sufficiently confident they would make verbal advances on attractive women, using the options, or similar utterances, listed next to the boxes. Thus, even if readers do not go as far as ticking one of the boxes, they are nevertheless able to infer the message that these represent increasingly audacious responses to a fictional character in a sexual narrative.

By invoking schemata surrounding a fictional situation that is of particular significance to men, the copywriter attempts to construct the advertised company as both knowledgeable of, and concerned with, its target's interests. As a consequence, the intertext constitutes a validating context. Despite the fact that it concerns a hypothetical context, rather than a socially accepted source of specialised/professional knowledge – such as a dermatologist – it aims to convey the message that this particular brand is not only aware of its consumers' interests, but also that the product is tailor-made for these.

Thus, intertextuality's most prominent function is to use the contextual assumptions raised by a specific sexual narrative as a framework for product claims. As mentioned above, the situation thus created is clearly hypothetical. Its relation to the real world inhabited by actual consumers is fixed by the subtexts printed beneath the image of the model and the image of the product. These claims are rendered memorable by associating them with an intertext that is of special significance to the target reader.

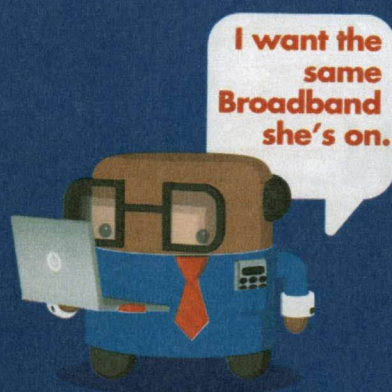
Of course, different readers will have different views as to the intertext's strength as a validating context. Some, for example, may infer that – although their interactions with real women may not be as overtly sexual – they will nevertheless be able to approach them with greater confidence. In this regard, the target market's age may be functional.

The ad was published in the June 2008 edition of *FHM*. In 2009, the average age of the magazine's readers was twenty-eight, with 77% aged between sixteen and thirty-four (available from http://ucm.co.za/media/brand/FHM_Demographic_Profile.pdf). Evidently, the spectrum is quite wide, which complicates simple deductions about whether or not teenagers are the intended audience.

4.2.2.7b) Vodacom

THE LONG LASTING QUICKIE.

GET THE FASTEST INTERNET AND
GET 3G OR HSDPA AT UP TO
61% CHEAPER. GO ON, BE
FULFILLED WITH THE BEST
BROADBAND FOR YOUR RAND.



CALL OUR FRIENDLY DEDICATED DATA CARELINE ON 082 155 OR VISIT WWW.VODACOM.CO.ZA FOR MORE INFORMATION

TERMS AND CONDITIONS APPLY.



FCS JHB VMA010247/E

The establishment and function of intertextuality

This text fixes the intertextual field in the lexical level alone. The graphic unit is not only sparsely populated, but contains no allusions to sex. The headline plays the most prominent role, by drawing attention to a novel notion: “THE LONG LASTING QUICKIE”. To process the headline as intended, readers require background knowledge of the slang term for brief, often impromptu, sexual encounters.

Intertextuality does not, however, rest on the double meaning of this word alone. The headline confronts readers with an oxymoron. To resolve it requires additional cognitive effort. This may prompt a close reading of the subtext, which contains an additional allusion to sex, manifested in the word “fulfilled”. Although in isolation, the word does not have strong sexual connotations, the headline’s oxymoron furnishes readers with evidence of this intention.

The subtext’s function, therefore, is both to guide interpretations of the intertext and to reinforce coherence by means of the second reference to sex. A long-lasting quickie may now be understood as a fast and cheap internet connection that provides consumers with a satisfying service. Although the word *cheap* may also be sexually loaded, the ad does not contain sufficient evidence of this intention. Instead, it seems more likely that readers are intended to categorise both “fastest” and “cheaper” as product claims, while “quickie” and “fulfilled” may be assigned to the intertext.

In contrast with the previous ad, this text does not rely on graphic cues to raise associations with sex. This provides some tentative evidence that – despite contemporary communication’s preference for images (Morris, 2005: 697) – intertextual allusions to sex do not necessarily require images. However, the more implicit approach taken here may also be ascribed to the nature of the product. In contrast with both the preceding and subsequent cases, this product is not cosmetic and plays no direct role in commending consumers to potential sexual partners.

Crook (2004: 735) concludes that sexual allusions in ads enhance the rewards readers derive from processing the text. Although this is undoubtedly the case, the analysis presented above indicates that this does not imply that sex is unconnected from efforts to convey product claims.

Subsequent sections will investigate an instance in which a clear graphic reference to sex is combined with a less explicit lexical reference, before turning a case in which sex is implied by means of a cultural stereotype.

4.2.2.7c) Nivea



BDF ●●●●●
Beiersdorf

NIVEA
FOR MEN

NO 1
NIVEA FOR MEN:
WORLD'S LEADING
MEN'S FACE CARE
BRAND *

NEW

**CAUTION: THIS PRODUCT
CAUSES EYE CANDY**

YOUR GUY'S SKIN WILL LOOK
INSTANTLY ENERGISED WITH
REVITALISING MOISTURISER Q10

- Light texture instantly absorbed
- Invigorates and refreshes tired, stressed skin
- Leaves skin looking healthy and revitalised

www.NIVEAFORMEN.co.za

WHAT MEN WANT

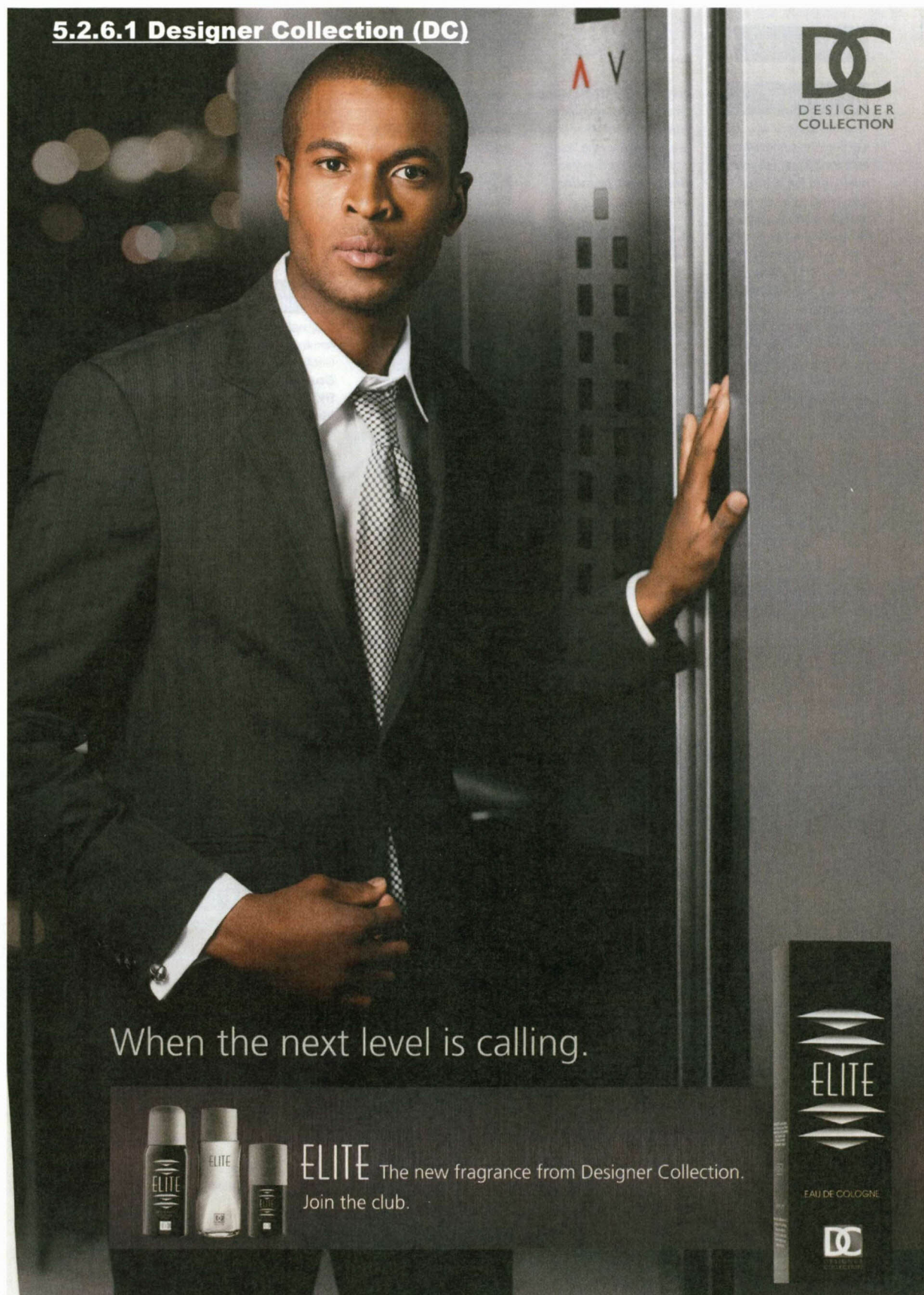
*Source: Euromonitor International, Men's Face Care, by retail sales value 2008

NIVEA
FOR MEN
REVITALISING
MOISTURISER
COENZYME **Q10**
revitalises & strengthens tired,
stressed skin

NIVEA
FOR MEN
REVITALISING
MOISTURISER
COENZYME **Q10**
revitalises & strengthens tired,
stressed skin

5.2.6 Tickle headline, tickle product/service placement and tickle subtext

5.2.6.1 Designer Collection (DC)



When the next level is calling.

ELITE The new fragrance from Designer Collection.
Join the club.

DC
DESIGNER
COLLECTION

ELITE
EAU DE COLOGNE

DC
DESIGNER
COLLECTION

This category contains ads in which both headline and subtext employ a tickle approach, in conjunction with a visually inconspicuous depiction of the advertised product/service. The following discussion will briefly review the establishment of the intertextual field, before investigating the reason-tickle pattern.

In this text, the headline, graphic unit and subtext are jointly responsible for rendering schemata about the corporate world salient. As perfume ads frequently employ attractive models to promote their products, the male model's attire does not provide any strong references to the intertextual field until the headline is read. However, even the headline may be oblique. The noun phrase "the next level" may refer to a large variety of levels, so that the success of the ad is contingent on readers' observation of the male model's attire, the headline, as well as the elevator which the model is entering – especially the arrow which indicates that the model is about to proceed to a higher floor. This combination may present sufficient evidence for the inference that promotions along the corporate ladder are somehow relevant to the product in this ad. The subtext also serves to reinforce the intertextual field. Although "Join the club" may be as oblique as "the next level" in the headline, it adds further evidence for the relevance of the above-mentioned schemata. The fact that the ad contains no explicit mention of the corporate environment may be functional. Not all members of the target market may have positive associations with the corporate world. Moving in an upward direction, however, is generally associated with success (cf. Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006: 1991).

In terms of the ad's overall marketing tactic, the tickle strategy in the headline takes a reason claim as its template by presenting readers with an incomplete conditional adjunct (cf. Simpson, 2001: 595). By doing so, readers are involved in meaning construction, as they are required to complete the sentence. Some, for example, may infer that once one has achieved a privileged status, consumption of the advertised product becomes an appropriate symbol of that achievement. Others may infer the claim that consumption of the product results in promotion and success. In the absence of extensive informant-response data, however, the exact nature of the marketing message cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless, it seems conceivable that the headline – in conjunction with the graphic unit – aims to construct the product's consumers as members of a privileged/elite group, irrespective of the product's precise role. The subtext issues an invitation to "Join the

club” which provides further support for this conclusion. In contrast with the headline, however, the subtext clearly presupposes that one only becomes a member of this elite minority by consuming the product.

In brief, the graphic depiction of a well-dressed man takes centre stage in this ad. A reason portrayal of the advertised fragrance was therefore considered less important than a graphic trace of the intertext. The headline’s function is to fix the model’s attire in a specific intertextual field, while the subtext – after naming the product – confirms this intention. Neither of these provides explicit product claims. This suggests that the ad’s entire marketing strategy depends on intertextuality’s function to establish or reinforce associations between the product and elite status. To achieve this, the combination of a tickle headline and subtext, both of which serve to focus attention on the intertext, was considered sufficient. The ad also fixes elite status in the corporate world rather than alternative domains, thus taking for granted that consumers are aware of – even if they do not subscribe to the value attributed to financial success and materialism (cf. van Niekerk, 2008: 495). In this approach, no additional reason claims were viewed as conducive to enhancing sales. This may be accounted for by the vacuous nature of the ad’s claim. As mentioned earlier, the precise nature of the marketing message is unclear, in the sense that no explicit proposition is made that the advertised fragrance will somehow facilitate success, or that it must inevitably symbolise one’s personal achievements. A tickle approach is thus more appropriate. Readers are now required to consider the evidence and draw those inferences which they find most relevant. The ad thus requires them to make connections which, if explicated in a reason claim such as *this product allows you to travel to the next level of the corporate ladder*, may have demanded a disproportionate leap of faith on consumers’ part. For this reason, it seems possible that the inclusion of factual information that may have been communicated on a reason basis was viewed as a danger to the ad’s credibility.

This explanation may also be extended to other ads in the category. In addition, to another perfume ad (Calvin Klein), it also contains ads for motorcycles (Vuka), security systems (Tracker), energy drinks (Powerade), take-away food (KFC) and hairstyling products (GHD). In the KFC ad, for example, the message rests on a gender stereotype that cannot be supported with factual claims. Similarly, the GHD text claims that, for

women, haircare is of religious importance. The ad for Vuka also makes a vacuous claim by stating that the manner in which a motorcycle helmet depresses the wearer's hair has become a fashion trend which readers should observe by purchasing the advertised motorcycle. All these texts produce vacuous claims for which reason strategies may have been considered less appropriate.

Exceptions to this trend include the Tracker and Powerade ads. In these cases, the marketing strategy did not rest on making statements about the value of the product or service. Instead, the aim was to spread awareness of the advertised companies' involvement with specific social events. Tracker aims to remind readers of its involvement with a crime prevention initiative and makes statement about the effectiveness of its security systems. Powerade, on the other hand, boasts its status as the sponsor of a sporting event, which of course imbues the text with an implicit claim that their product may enhance one's performance during this race. Both methods constitute a tickle tactic, as specific claims are substituted for attempts to build the advertisers' status as a sponsor of important events.

5.2.7 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement, with a reason and tickle subtext

5.2.7.1 Glenrand M-I-B



5005710

Drawing a katana demands supreme skill. Wielding your very spirit begs fierce passion.

It takes many years of disciplined practice to master the katana. But to wield it with honour, the samurai must be passionate about defending his beliefs.

Glenrand M-I-B's extensive experience enables us to think intuitively. This powerful formula culminates in the passion that drives us to create your ideal risk solution. And we always push ourselves further to deliver service beyond expectation.

To find out how a partnership with us can benefit you, call 011 329 1111 or email info@glenrandmib.co.za

www.glenrandmib.co.za
Insurance Brokers & Risk Advisory Consultants
Glenrand M-I-B is an authorised financial services provider.



GLENRAND M-I-B

This ad's reason-tickle pattern is similar to the previous, with the exception that its subtext also contains clear product claims. Before discussing this pattern, the first paragraph below will deal with the establishment of intertextuality.

Intertextuality is established by means of both the graphic and lexical design. The former aims to bring schemata surrounding katanas to mind, through an image that emphasises the weapon rather than the person who wields it. At this point readers may access a wide range of assumptions as there is no strong evidence that some inferences are more relevant than others. The headline elaborates the intertext by honing attention on the katana's wielder. More specifically, verification is provided for the relevance of the "supreme skill" and "fierce passion" that characterises the Japanese samurai. The katana therefore becomes a symbol of the samurai, so that the latter represents the intertext. The subtext, printed beneath the katana's hilt, elaborates this further by stating that samurai acquire their skills through "years of disciplined practice". This line begins to establish a link with the advertised service, as the word "practice" may also refer to legal and financial services. Furthermore, the subtext also continues to elaborate on the passion required from samurai: "to wield it with honour, the samurai must be passionate". Thus, the message of the headline, that samurai are characterised by expertise and passion, is reinforced in the subtext's reference to the development of that expertise through committed training as well as zealous dedication to one's beliefs. Although the exact nature of the advertised service is not explicitly clarified in the headline and subtext described above, readers are required to draw on their knowledge surrounding advertising discourse to infer that the intertextual field is used to make product claims. In this case, the attributes of the samurai are projected onto the advertised service. The second subtext, printed at the bottom of the page, makes this connection explicit: "Glenrand M.I.B's **extensive experience** enables us to think intuitively. This powerful formula culminates in the **passion** that drives us to create your ideal risk solution. And we always push ourselves further to deliver service beyond expectation" (researcher's emphasis). Unambiguous claims are the prerogative of this subtext, and it contains no explicit mention of the intertext. Nevertheless, the words "experience" and "passion" create cohesion with the preceding subtext through an anaphoric reference to "many years of

disciplined practice” and “passionate”, as well as “supreme skill” and “fierce passion” in the headline.

Thus, as outlined above, the lexical unit comprises a tickle headline, one tickle subtext as well as another reason subtext. In this regard, the ad follows the same strategy as the Clinique text. The difference lies in the position of the advertised company’s logo. In this ad, it takes a tickle position in the lower right-hand corner. Processing the intertextual field does not necessitate attention to the advertised service (in contrast with section 5.2.3). This incurs the risk that readers – including those who enjoy the reference to the Japanese samurai – will process the graphic unit, headline and the first subtext without proceeding to the second subtext or logo. Such a reading obviously compromises the ad’s success, and may account for the infrequent use of this pattern. On the other hand, as mentioned in the overview, the analysis indicates that ads which promote services are more likely to opt for a tickle placement. Four ads in the sample fell in the present category, two of which promote services (cf. Table 4). As a result of this low incidence, the analysis cannot confirm whether this explains the tickle placement of the company logo.

Readers who do progress from the tickle units to the reason subtext are required to notice how the anaphoric references reinforce cohesion, as outlined earlier. Thus, the intertextual field established earlier, provides a basis for the inference that Glenrand M·I·B’s service is characterised by passion and skill acquired through experience. Significantly, the twin attributes of passion and skill are never juxtaposed or constructed as a rare combination. Instead, one is viewed as a necessary condition for the other, as indicated by the use of the contrastive adjunct in the first subtext: “**But** to wield it with honour” (researcher’s emphasis). Both attributes form part of a marketing strategy that boasts the quality of the company’s service, by explaining how this quality is achieved.

5.2.8 Tickle headline, reason product/service placement and tickle subtext

5.2.8.1 Obikwa

OBK/1496/01/10

**Long legs.
Light bodied.**



OBiKWA
GO ON. STICK YOUR NECK OUT.



Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18.

This ad combines conspicuous/reason product placement with a tickle headline and a tickle subtext.

In the headline, intertextuality is used to generate humour through a play on the words “Long legs” and “Light bodied”. On the one hand, these attributes may refer to physical features which are commonly celebrated in contemporary Western society as desirable female traits. In this sense, the headline is contingent on the hypernorm that “physical appearance is important” – discussed in more detail in the next paragraph (van Niekerk, 2008: 495). However, in combination with the company’s logo and the specific nature of the product, readers also have evidence on which to attribute to the communicator the intention of emphasising two characteristics of the advertised item. The first two words in the headline also refer to the product’s logo, while the last two refer to the nature of the product, which is classified as a light wine.

In terms of the allusion to the female body, the ad contains insufficient evidence that these attributes are projected onto the product metaphorically. As a consequence, the relation between the hypernorm and the product is unclear. In terms of the authors cited in section 2.4.2a of the second chapter, the copywriter may have attempted to enhance perception of the product by associating it with an attractive female body. In this sense, a metaphor is at work, as readers are encouraged to associate the product with whatever positive pre-existing associations they have with the female body. However, in terms of other ads in the category for metaphors and, more importantly, in terms of the relevance theoretic framework employed in this research, the evidence for a metaphor is inadequate. This result may point to one of the deficiencies of relevance theory, which cognitive linguistics may be able to address through its attention to conceptual metaphors. Nevertheless, by means of this novel play on words, the copywriter may attempt to enhance recall of the advertised company’s logo, on the one hand, as well as the specific product’s primary attribute, on the other.

The subtext supports this playful approach through an intertextual reference to the idiom: *to stick one’s neck out*. Readers are required to process the reference and conclude that both its conventional as well as a novel meaning are relevant. In terms of the latter, it serves as a further reference to the product’s logo and, in terms of the former, as an invitation to potential consumers who have not yet tasted the product to take a risk by

purchasing it. As such, the subtext does not contain a reason claim about specific product attributes or a clear selling proposition. Furthermore, it does not clarify or guide interpretations of the intertext introduced in the headline. Instead, an additional intertext is introduced. In combination then, the headline and subtext aim to enhance recall of the advertised company through a play on words which, in addition to their alternative meanings, also represent an allusion to the advertiser's logo. As the headline and subtext are connected by the attempt to achieve this – through an allusion to the female body in the former's case, and an idiom in the latter's case – it seems plausible that this represents intertextuality's primary function. To support this endeavour, a visually conspicuous depiction of the product is essential. The prominence of the company's logo in particular may encourage readers to consider the relevance of "Long legs", and "STICK YOUR NECK OUT" to the logo. The relevance of "Light bodied" and Pinotage Rosé, on the other hand, requires some pre-existing knowledge of the nature of this product to establish relevance.

In the sample under study this combination was infrequently used. Only two other ads, one for Chopard (men's watch), and another for Armani (men's perfume) employed it. The information contained in these subtexts does not explicate the relation between product and intertext, or produce additional reason claims, as was the case in the Clinique text. In both the Chopard and Armani ads, the subtext merely describes the intertext in a manner that is consistent with the tickle tactic in the current ad. Although the number of instances is too small to make definite statements, it appears that the nature of the product may play a prominent role in determining the reason-tickle recipe.

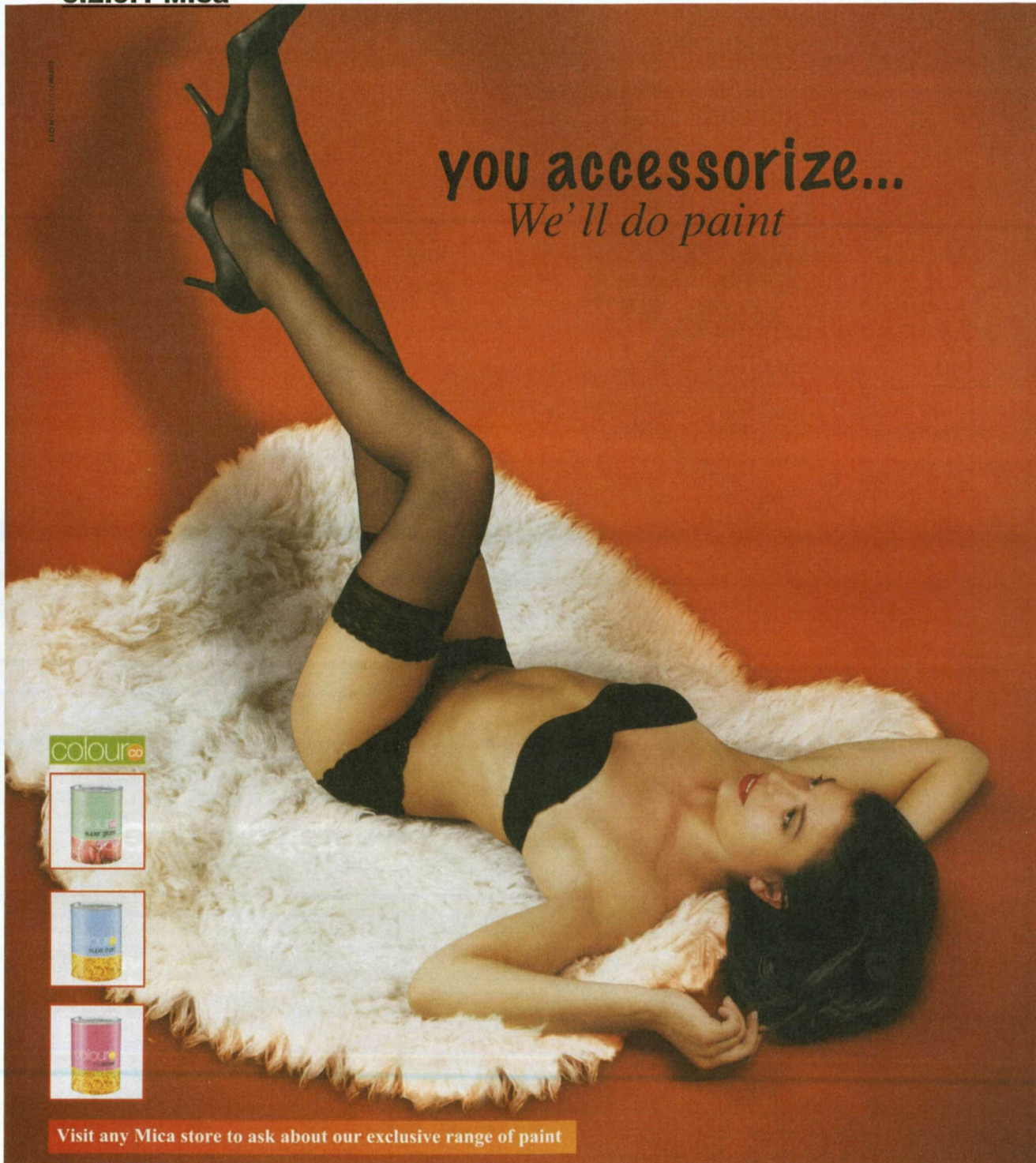
With regard to the current ad, as well the products in section 5.2.4, it appears that ads for alcohol in particular refrain from reason subtexts. Kim's (2007) investigation of snack food ads suggest that the lack of an obvious benefit from consumption may account for this trend.

The Armani and Chopard texts, however, do not promote alcohol or snack food, but men's perfume and jewellery, respectively. The former's omission of a reason subtext may be ascribed to the fact that it claims to enhance its consumers' seductive powers. Although vacuous and difficult to support with reason claims – as was the case with Designed Collection (section 5.2.6.1) – readers may view such puffed statements as

consistent with their expectations for perfume ads. By contrast, however, the Chopard ad promotes a gentleman's watch. The technology inherent in this product may render a reason subtext appropriate. Nevertheless, advertisers have opted for the proposition that the product represents a legend in the same manner as the Mercedes 300 SLR depicted in the graphic unit. Clearly, in its effort to establish specific associations, the message derived from the intertext is aimed at the affective, rather than cognitive level. On the one hand, therefore, a given product's nature may lend itself to tickle rather than reason strategies. On the other, reason tactics are not always deemed effective, even when they may be appropriate.

5.2.9 Reason headline, tickle product/service placement and reason subtext

5.2.9.1 Mica



you accessorize...
We'll do paint

colour[∞]



Visit any Mica store to ask about our exclusive range of paint

>> Paint | Powertools | Hardware | Gardening <<

For 23 years we have been your expert, owner-managed DIY and hardware store. This is part of the reason that we have been voted Best Hardware Store in 'The Star Your Choice Awards', as well as being voted Best Hardware Shop in the 'Leisure Options Best of Johannesburg Readers Choice' awards and being voted Best Hardware Company in the Caxton/Rising Sun Community Newspapers 'Best of Durban' Readers Choice Awards. So let the experts show you how - visit any one of Mica's 184 stores that will cater for all of your needs.

CUSTOMER CARE LINE 086 112 2118

mica
Let us show you how

The reason-tickle pattern in this text combines a reason headline and subtext with a tickle placement of the company's logo.

The graphic unit constitutes an intertextual reference to sex. Although the lexical unit contains no explicit mention of this field, the word "accessorize" refers either cataphorically or anaphorically to the female model (cf. Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000: 1814). Neither the lexical nor the graphic unit contains any evidence to suggest that consumption of the product will result in access to attractive women. Nevertheless, the headline and graphic unit clearly construct women as fashionable items in men's lifestyles.

The headline achieves this through either an incomplete purposive adjunct - "We'll do paint [so that] you [can] accessorize" - or a causal adjunct: "you [can] accessorize [because] [w]e'll do paint". Its present form renders the headline more similar to everyday conversation, thus assuming the appearance of "intimate interpersonal communication" (van Niekerk and Keyser, forthcoming).

In addition, the headline may also lend itself to the following interpretation: Securing access to sexually desirable women is a time-consuming aspect of men's lives, to the extent that they need the advertised service in order to devote more time to this pursuit. The subtext, however, establishes that the company provides products for do-it-yourself (DIY) projects, which may render this interpretation less probable. Nevertheless, the fact that the headline explicitly divides the task of accessorising and painting between consumer and advertiser may still encourage some readers to infer that consumption somehow enables men to accessorise their homes with beautiful women.

This ambiguity about the relevance between product and intertext may be functional. Firstly, it engages readers in the inferencing process. Secondly, it may function to avoid vacuous claims that require a disproportionate leap of faith on consumers' part, such as *use this paint in your home and you are likely to attract sexually desirable women*.

A similar approach was assumed in the Designer Collection ad. In both texts, readers are required to construct their own, inevitably diverse, interpretations. As a result, it is not necessary to explicate a vacuous claim which may endanger the text's credibility. Future analyses may determine whether such ads are less successful than those with more explicit messages, such as Clinique.

What is clear, however, from both the headline and the subtext is that the advertised service provider is constructed as an expert in its field. The subtext supports this reading through a propositional assumption in the first line. The clause "For 23 years we have been your expert" proceeds from the assumption that readers have already benefitted from the advertiser's expertise. Thereafter, a validating context is created by boasting of the company's awards. Finally, the reason claim is completed with a causal adjunct: "So let us show you how" (researcher's emphasis).

In brief, the results suggest that, like other ads which opt for a tickle depiction of the advertiser, this text relies on its intertext to generate sufficient interest in the nature of the product and the identity of the communicator. In contrast with the category discussed in section 5.2.6, however, a reason headline and subtext were used. One may be tempted to explain the difference as a function of the products or services promoted in each category. However, the category in 5.2.6 also contains an ad for a motorcycle (Vuka), which may lend itself to a reason subtext. Similarly, the current category includes texts that promote deodorant (Mitchum), which may have opted for the same approach as the Designer Collection ad. Thus, the selection of either of these reason-tickle patterns over the other is also indicative of the commercial strategy ascribed to by a particular brand.

Finally, although this ad subverts the more predominant trend in the current sample, which is to combine a tickle headline with a reason subtext, its headline nevertheless plays the same function as the tickle headlines analysed earlier. Although it contains a clear selling proposition rather than an allusion to the intertext, as was the case in the Clinique, Aramis, Sprite and Durex ads, to name a few, it nevertheless establishes coherence with the graphic unit by drawing attention to the most salient trace of the intertext.

This result reveals the limitation of classifying a headline as either reason or tickle, as the current unit takes the form of the former while simultaneously playing a role normally reserved for the latter. It may, consequently, be profitable to research the design of a scale along which a lexical unit may be classified as leaning to one side, while simultaneously retaining aspects of the other.

The subtext, however, still serves as a safety mechanism against misinterpretation. Although it does not explicate the relationship between intertext and brand, it

nevertheless clarifies the headline's claim with a validating context. This may be accounted for by the vacuous relationship between product and intertext mentioned earlier. It seems plausible that a more explicit relation between sex and Mica cannot be made without compromising the ad's credibility.

5.2.10.1 Nivea (MH)

In this text, the graphic unit evokes the intertextual domain of military combat. It does so by exploiting the fact that readers with access to the appropriate pre-existing assumptions will view the act of camouflaging one's face with war paint as iconic of preparations for nocturnal combat.

The headline establishes the relevance between this intertext and the product with a reason claim. Two noun phrases are used without a connecting adjunct. Readers must formulate the correlation by inferring that the product enables consumers to enjoy long nights without suffering from consequences such as poor skin. This result, in conjunction with the previous category, provides evidence for the conclusion that although reason headlines may not refer explicitly to the intertext, they may nevertheless engage readers in meaning construction by requiring them to complete the message. Subsequently, the subtext explicates the manner in which the product can achieve its goal with clear statements about its advantages.

In terms of intertextuality, the ad rests on a gender stereotype about men's presupposed enjoyment of military combat. This provides the basis for a metaphor in which nocturnal social engagements are likened to night-time combat. Within this overarching metaphor, the product is likened to war paint. Moreover, evoking this stereotype is functional in adding a masculine touch to skincare, a stereotypically feminine pursuit. This is a common feature of a specific branch of men's magazines, referred to as *lad mags*. However, as ideology is not the main focus of this study, the significance of this move will only be discussed briefly in the next paragraph.

Lad mags refer to titles such as *FHM* and *Zoo*. Magazines in this category view masculinity and femininity as fundamentally alien to each other. As a consequence, their discourse is characterised by attempts to load stereotypically feminine interests with what is perceived as authentically masculine traits (Benwell, 2001; Attwood, 2005; Boni, 2002; Brown, 2000; Conradie, 2009). Surprisingly, this ad was published in *Men's Health*, a magazine that subscribes to the *new man* ideology, which advocates sensitivity to gender debates (Boni, 2002). Regardless of the magazine's status, therefore, the selection of this particular intertextual field suggests that the advertiser felt the need to avoid negative perceptions of the product which may result from urging men to undertake what is still, in the advertiser's view, a feminine endeavour. In this case, men are

presented with a challenge, manifested in a test of their ability to endure long nights. Unlike war paint which enhances a soldier's performance during the night, the product enables consumers to pursue this goal without suffering adverse effects on their skin in the long run.

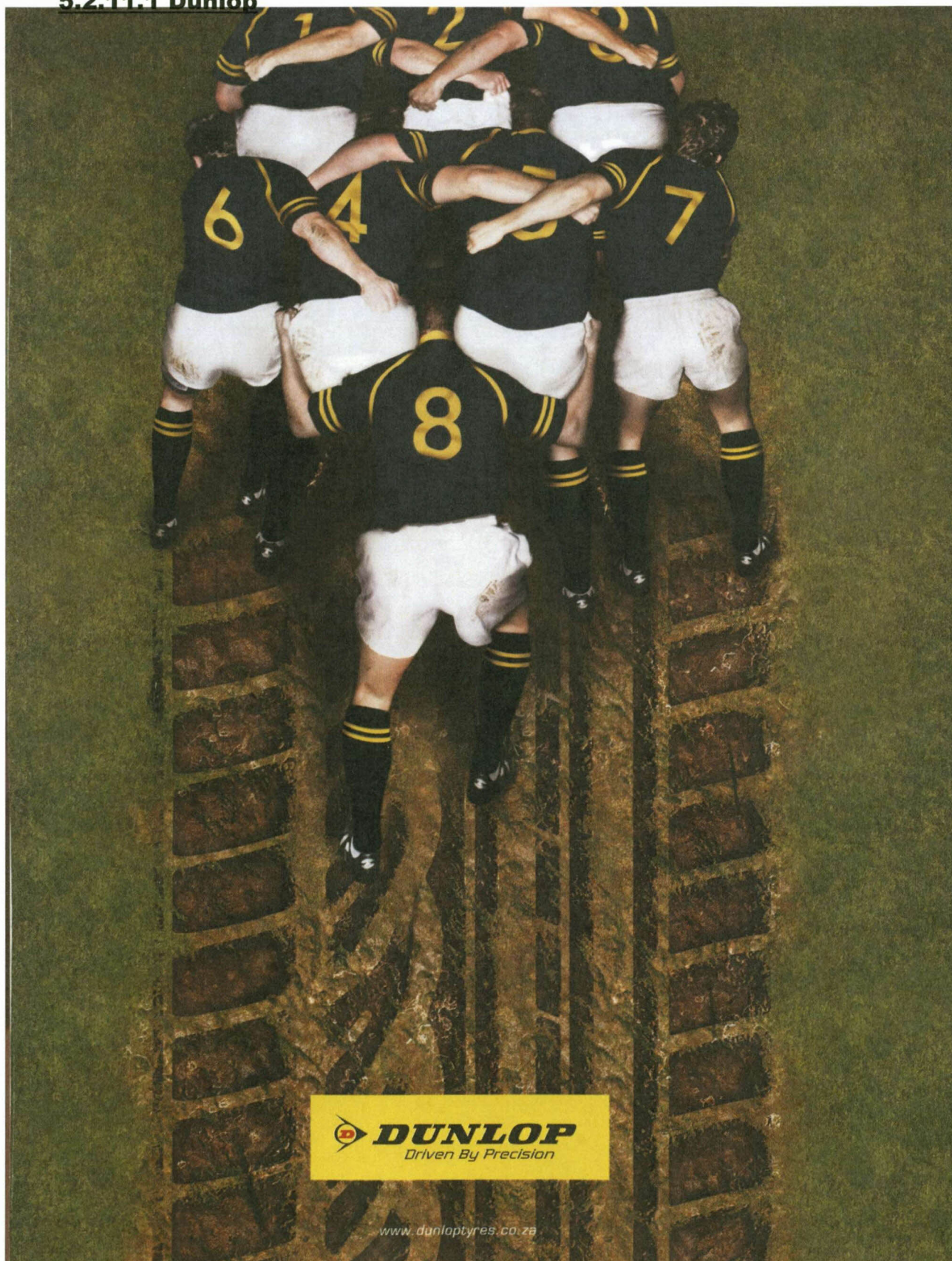
With regards to hypernorms, the implication is that when a product is promoted on the assumption that men's "physical appearance is important", methods such as intertextuality may serve to lend a traditionally masculine guise to the message (van Niekerk, 2008: 495). This conclusion, however, is based on only one ad in the sample and requires further verification.

With regard to the ad's reason-tickle recipe, it indicates that situating intertextuality in the graphic unit alone does not preclude a visually conspicuous depiction of the product, especially since the latter can be positioned in a manner that overlaps with the former. In this case, the product's container overlaps with a prominent signal of the intertext: the hand that is applying a sample of it to the male model's face. This in combination with the fact that the product is white, whereas war paint is normally either green or black, is evidence of the care taken to ensure that readers cannot recognise the intertext and page on without at least identifying the product.

Furthermore, the results also suggest that a reason, rather than a tickle headline, may also serve to focus attention on a specific aspect of the intertext, as was the case in the previous category. Again, this suggests that cataloguing a headline as either reason or tickle is problematic. To remedy this, future analyses of consumers' interpretations of ads may consider investigating the cognitive effort readers spend on such headlines, as opposed to others which assume either a clear reason or tickle strategy.

**5.2.11 Reason headline, reason product/service placement
without a subtext**

5.2.11.1 Dunlop



The reason-tickle combination employed in this ad functions in the same manner as the previous category, with the exception that an explanatory subtext was omitted. This feature cannot be explained by the nature of the product. The technology which allows a tyre to achieve "Precision" may be as relevant to the audience as the methods with which skin cream reduces the physical traces of exhaustion. The same may also be said of the other ad in this category: Sunlight liquid. In the latter ad, the intertext is the expression *to be crystal clear*, as well as a reference to the ad's televised version, via the graphic unit.

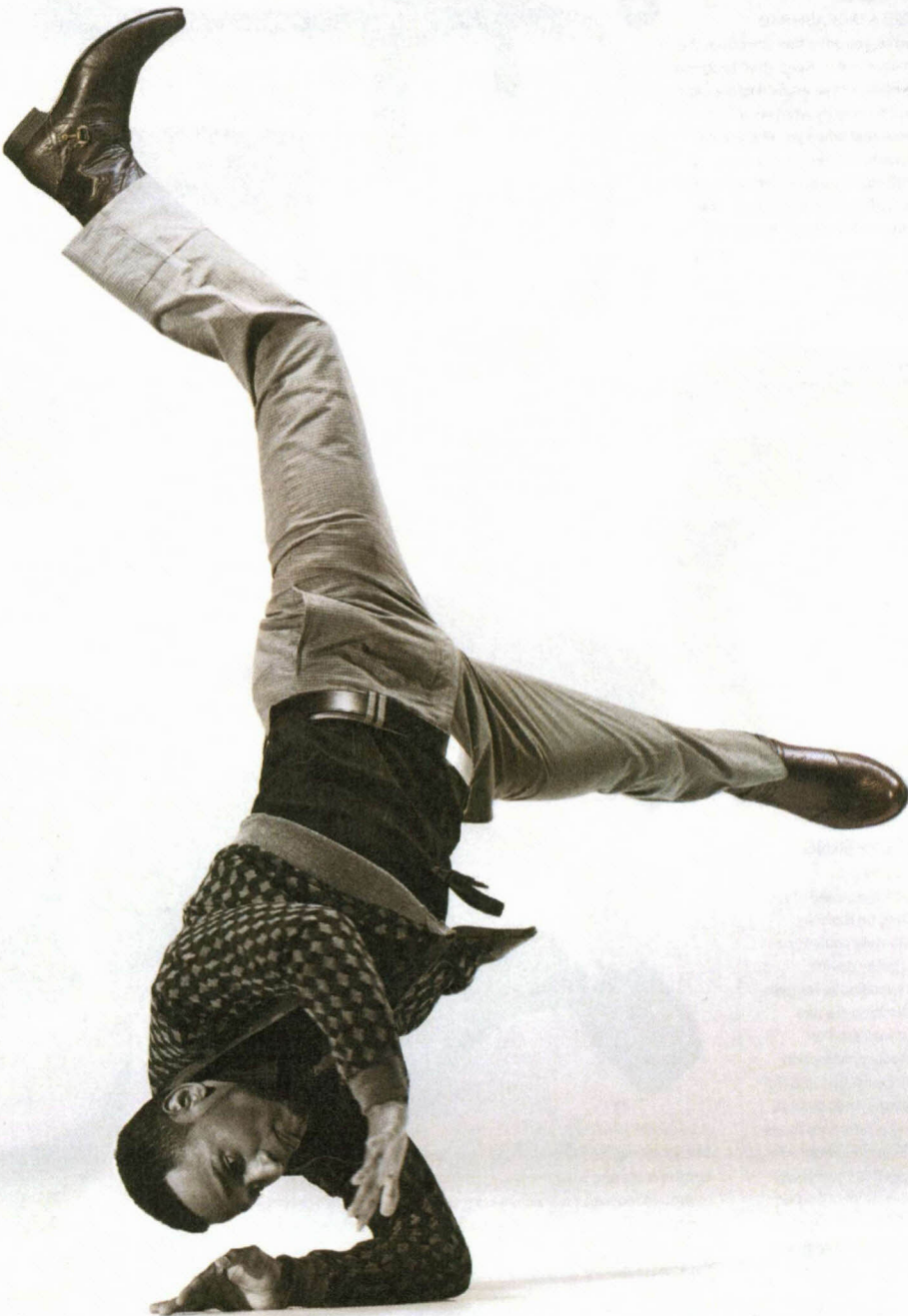
The pattern must, therefore, reflect a conscious decision on the part of marketing planners to omit such information. However, in contrast with ads for alcohol, snack foods or soft drinks, a tyre that achieves precision – as well as a liquid that cleans dishes better – may have obvious benefits such as safety and health promotion.

The omission of a reason subtext may possibly be accounted for by the decision to focus attention on the intertext alone. This strategy may have been motivated by three factors: 1) the belief that the intended audience would appreciate the novel method of communication, 2) the increased cognitive effort this requires, and 3) the conviction that the relationship between intertext and product will be sufficiently clear to the intended audience. As may have been the case in section 5.2.5.1), the validity of these factors may be based on copywriters' knowledge of audience characteristics.

5.2.12 No headline, reason product/service placement, without a subtext

5.2.12.1 Tosoni

BESTER BURGE 4632



Tosoni

Move with style

New & exclusive to

SPITZ

customer care: 0860 109 321
talk2us@spitz.co.za / www.spitz.co.za

In this ad, the graphic unit alone serves as link with a subculture of African American origin, referred to as hip hop. The link is established by means of an iconic image of break-dancing, a form of dancing that is closely association with hip hop culture.

The text contains neither headline nor subtext. This indicates the advertiser's reliance on the background knowledge of its intended audience. The objective is to encourage members of this audience to associate the advertised fashion items with a particular culture of which break-dancing is iconic. It is assumed that readers with the appropriate knowledge will require no further guidance in order to establish relevance. However, this pattern was infrequently used in the sample under study.

5.3 Conclusion: the combination of intertextuality with reason-tickle patterns

In conclusion, the analyses of intertextuality's combination with various reason-tickle patterns suggest the following. On the one hand, in certain cases copywriters make two interrelated assumptions. Firstly, they assume that if readers have identified a particular intertext they will be able to infer a relationship between it and the advertised product/service. Secondly, they assume that this implicated conclusion will cast the advertised product/service in a positive light, without the aid of additional clues, such as those contained in a reason subtext. The ad for Absolut is a clear example. The copywriter does not explicate how the product is related to VIP persons, possibly because he/she is convinced that the intended market will infer that consumption marks consumers as VIPs in some unspecified way (cf. section 5.2.4.1).

In other cases, by sharp contrast, the copywriter provides a more detailed description of the intertext's relevance often in the form of reason subtexts (cf. Table 4). Based on the notion that the maximisation of relevance is a pervasive feature of human cognition, it seems conceivable that the use of this strategy does not indicate copywriters' doubt about consumers' ability to infer at least one plausible relationship⁹. To illustrate, when confronted with an ad that uses intertextuality to signal a metaphorical relationship between mascara and marriage consumers will, if left to their own devices, be able to

⁹ That is, a relationship that is consistent with background knowledge about the goals of advertising.

convert this message into at least one plausible product claim. However, the inclusion of reason subtexts may indicate the intention to highlight a specific message at the expense of alternatives, as explained below.

The analyses in this chapter suggest that reason subtexts operate as safety mechanisms. They perform this function by signposting the inferencing route with a single or set of clear product claims – sometimes in combination with further allusions to the intertext established by the headline and/or graphic unit (cf. 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.7.1). This pattern may reflect copywriters' intention to support a detailed rather than general message, such as: *this mascara is long-lasting yet easy to remove* as opposed to *this mascara is like a good husband*.

In other cases, where subtexts are omitted or where they assume a tickle form, broader interpretations are consistent with the advertiser's aim to establish or reinforce positive associations with the product/service, such as: *this Vodka is reserved for VIPs or like cars, this deodorant is symbolic of masculinity*. Ads that support inferences such as the example for Absolut only provide evidence for implicated premises, without signalling the relevance of specific implicated conclusions, such as *therefore, possession of the advertised Vodka marks consumers as VIPs, as a result of the social capital accrued by the brand name or as a result of its popularity among existing celebrities* for example. This result may point to the possibility that, in some cases, copywriters believe that consumers are more likely to respond positively to an emotional (tickle), rather than logical (reason) appeal. More specifically, in terms of Crook's (2004: 723) conceptualisation of the subtle biasing effects which advertising aims to achieve, the aim is to load the advertised brand with positive associations from the intertext (celebrity lifestyles) in a broad sense.

To clarify, ads from the categories that employ reason subtexts (represented by the Clinique ad in this discussion) as well as those that omit subtexts (represented here by Absolut Vodka) confront audiences with the dual tasks of identifying the intertext, before drawing inferences about its relation to the advertised product. Thus, both employ intertextuality to interest and involve readers in the process of meaning construction. However, in the former category the reason subtext provides a clear set of reasons to buy the advertised product. The objective is to leave readers with a detailed message such as

the above-mentioned example. Therefore, when reason-tickle patterns such as this one are used it may indicate the copywriter's confidence that these logical reasons will be sufficient. That is, they believe that consumers will have a high regard for the advertised mascara, not only because it is associated with marriage in a broad sense, but because a reading of the intertext allows consumers to extract clear and memorable advantages: *this mascara is long-lasting yet easy to remove, and it is fragrance free and ophthalmologist tested*. In other cases, such as the example for vodka and men's perfume, consumers' regard for the product is not enhanced on the basis of clearly formulated and logical arguments, but solely on an emotional appeal to associate the product with the intertext: *this Vodka is reserved for VIPs and like cars, this deodorant is symbolic of masculinity*¹⁰. Based on this hypothesis, one may expect such explicit signposting to characterise ads that promote products/services for which readers may prefer a logical argument with detailed information. To shed light on this, one may consider the distinction between high- and low-involvement items. The former refers to products/services that require comparatively more deliberation on consumers' part. In addition, they are bought infrequently and for higher prices in comparison with low-involvement products/services (Kim, 2007: 98). Examples include luxury cars, computer systems, tyres and insurance, as opposed to skin-care, perfume, soft drinks, snack foods and clothes. High-involvement services also include those that require a monthly payment. For example, although an individual cellphone may represent a low-involvement product, selecting one service provider over another constitutes a high-involvement service, as the contract may last for a year or longer.

Assuming that reason subtexts characterise ads that attempt to support a detailed rather than broad message, Table 7 below confirms that such lexical units are more frequently used in ads for high-involvement products/services. By contrast, ads with a tickle or no subtext predominantly serve to promote low-involvement products/services.

¹⁰ It is imperative to bear in mind that this analysis does not propose that an explicit list of product claims is somehow superior to an emotional appeal, or that the latter is necessarily indicative of some deceptive intent on the advertiser's part.

Table 7: The distribution of high- vs. low-involvement products/services among ads with a reason, tickle, reason and tickle or no subtext

Nature of subtext	Number of ads	Brands	
Ads with a reason subtext			
High-involvement	47 (39.2%)	BMW Ibiza Vodacom Subaru (<i>Cosmo</i>) Mini (<i>FHM</i> a and b) DSTV (<i>Indwe</i>) Tiger Wheel & Tyre Nedbank (<i>MH</i>) Nankang Nedbank (<i>Indwe</i>) Audi Incredible Connection Seemann's Charcuterie VW (<i>FL</i>) Virgin Mobile Momentum (<i>FL</i>) City Lodge Berco Express Telkom Walvis Bay Corridor Group Visa Mica	Honda (<i>Cosmo</i>) Panache Toyota Dstv (<i>FL</i>) Mazda Continental (<i>FHM</i>) Continental (<i>MH</i>) Urban Hotel Tshwane Events Centre Protea Hotel Mascom Honda (<i>PM</i>) Acer LCD VIP Payroll Alexander Forbes Coega Vision Africa Sun International Momentum (<i>MH</i>) Tempest Car Hire Santam Renault Subaru (<i>Indwe</i>) Citroen

Low-involvement	24 (20%)	Clicks (<i>Cosmo</i>) Oxy Aramis USN Total Yardley Borges Berocca Hansa Pilsner Vitaforce Checkers (<i>Ideas</i>) Mitchum	Aquartz Nivea Clicks (<i>Ideas</i>) Ciao Kotex Gino Ginelli Grants Checkers (<i>GH</i>) Perdeberg Winery Nintendo Sasko Nivea
Ads with a reason and tickle subtext			
High-involvement	7 (5.8%)	Mini (<i>Cosmo</i>) Fiat (<i>FL</i>) Suzuki Liberty Life	Glendrand MIB Toshiba Avis (<i>GH</i>)
Low-involvement	9 (7.5%)	Clinique Addidas Blue Ribbon Amarula Durex	Sarita Elizabeth Arden Wonderbra Peroni
Ads with a tickle subtext			
High-involvement	3 (2.5%)	Chopard Vuka	Tracker
Low-involvement	7 (5.8%)	Obikwa Armani KFC	Calvin Klein GHD DC Powerade

Ads without a subtext			
High-involvement	8 (6.7%)	Dunlop Sea Rescue Dstv (<i>FHM</i>) Samsung	Knysna Tourism Avis (<i>Indwe</i>) Mini (<i>MH</i>) VW (<i>Afro</i>)
Low-involvement	15 (12.5%)	Sunlight Tosoni Sprite Richelieu Appletizer Blue Label DKNY	Brut Olmeca Kaya FH95.9 Orbit Hennessey Heineken Absolut Pringles
Total	120		

The findings summarised in Tabel 7 suggest that the manner in which intertextuality is embedded within specific reason-tickle patterns may largely be attributed to the nature of the advertised product/service. That is, ads for high-involvement products/services are more likely to be accompanied by subtexts with reason claims, which function to hone inferences about the relevance of the intertext to a specific message by means of a logical argument. Simultaneously, however, it is also clear that some advertisers prefer marketing strategies that depend on encouraging consumers to associate the advertised product/service with the intertext in a more general sense, as some high-involvement products opted for a tickle or no subtext. Moreover, the results may also be a function of the genre under study. Reichart (2001: 50) notes that lifestyle magazines are focused on an audience with a higher disposable income, which may account for the prevalence of high-involvement products/services with reason subtexts.

In summary, therefore, the omission of reason subtexts may be ascribed to 1) the nature of the advertised product/service, especially when it concerns low-involvement items without an obvious benefit, such as alcohol, 2) a decision on the marketer's part to omit additional guidance and technical information, even though it may have been relevant to

the exchange, 3) reliance on readers' interests (such as the intertextual field) and knowledge of an ad's function to spark sufficient curiosity to motivate a search for the relevance between the headline, graphic unit and product/service without further guidance. Where tickle product/service placement is used, this curiosity must also spark an interest in identifying the advertiser. Finally: 4) subtexts may also be omitted when the ad's claims are vacuous to the extent that it is preferable to leave readers without explicit claims.

Finally, the results also indicate that products often assume a reason position, while a service provider's logo is placed in an inconspicuous position. One possible explanation may be that, in comparison with products, it is more difficult to depict services in a canonically reason manner. While products can easily take centre stage, the same effect can only be achieved for services by illustrating them as they are used by consumers. Consequently, the advertiser may opt to design the message around an intertextual field that aims to entice readers to expend sufficient cognitive effort to identify the advertised company (cf. sections 4.2.2.2b, 4.2.2.3b, 4.2.2.2.5b, 4.2.2.6c, 4.2.2.6d, 4.2.2.7b, 4.2.2.8a and 5.2.7.1). Future research may investigate this hypothesis by studying a dataset with an equal selection of ads for products and services, as this variable was not considered during the sampling procedures for this project.

Before proceeding to the next chapter, the following section will review the findings with regard to hypernorms.

5.4 Hypernorms

The analyses presented in Chapter 4 and section 5.2 suggest that copywriters assume that readers have access to a range of societal norms, such as the beliefs about the use of sex in advertising, and that this knowledge will impact readers' search for a coherent marketing message. Therefore, intertextuality may legitimately rely on lexical and graphic features which prompt the retrieval of such beliefs, so that words such as *quickie* will be recognised as alluding to sex (cf. section 4.2.2.7b). As mentioned earlier, even readers who do not support these beliefs view them as characteristic of the society they inhabit and will consider them during the inferencing process (van Niekerk, 2008: 495).

As a result, even though an analysis of ideology is not the primary goal of this project, cognisance of the most common hypernorms was necessary in order to understand the information which readers may draw upon to infer a marketing message.

Furthermore, taking care to detect the presence of hypernorms has two further advantages. Firstly, the current research is in a position to provide some support for van Niekerk’s (2008) findings. Secondly, specific areas for future research on the relation between intertextuality and hypernorms may be suggested. The following table summarises the prevalence of the twelve hypernorms in the sample.

Table 8: Prevalence of the hypernorms identified by van Niekerk (2008: 495) in the sample

Hypernorm	Number of ads	Brands	
Society has a materialistic and visual approach to life	21	Mini (<i>FHM</i> and <i>Cosmo</i>) Ibiza BMW Honda Renault Sarita Fiat (<i>FL</i>) Subaru (<i>Indwe</i>) Blue Label Citroen	Acer DC Prato Panache Momentum (<i>FL</i> and <i>MH</i>) Orbit Southern Sun Nedbank Hennessey
Physical appearance is important	16	Clicks (<i>FL</i> and <i>Ideas</i>) Clinique GHD BMW Mini (<i>Cosmo</i>) Sprite	Oxy Yardley Nivea (<i>Cosmo</i> and <i>MH</i>) Obikwa Elizabeth Arden Fiat (<i>FL</i>)

			Tyger Wheel and Tyre Sasko
There are no subject taboos	10	Vodacom Acer Oxy Ciao Mica Hansa Pilsner	Tyger Wheel and Tyre Olmecca Kentucky Fried Chicken Sasko
We have national stereotypes of certain cultural groups	3	Santam Tempest Car Hire Ciao	
Health and fitness are important	5	Addidas Sasko Blue Ribbon	Borges Checkers (<i>GH</i>)
Our life and language are dictated by technology	5	Addidas Acer Checkers (<i>Ideas</i>)	Nedbank Kotex
People from the entertainment world are as much part of our lives as family and friends	1	Dstv (<i>FL</i>)	
Men and women in society have new roles to play	1	Telkom	

The results in Table 8 appear to support Bruthiaux's (2000: 297) assertion that the "language of advertising [is often] designed to create a largely artificial sense of exclusiveness among status-conscious readers" (cf. Small, Harris and Wilson, 2008). Copywriters assume that readers are able to access assumptions about the connection between social status and the possession of luxury goods, such as cars that combine aesthetic appeal and high performance (cf. section 4.2.2.5a).

However, this result may be a function of the genre under study (lifestyle magazines), rather than intertextuality. As mentioned earlier, lifestyle magazines are specifically aimed at audiences with a higher disposable income (cf. Reichart, 2001: 50). Marketers may be convinced that they represent an appropriate platform for promoting products that require knowledge of, and possible adherence to, a matraislistic worldview. This hypothesis is supported by the prevalence of high-involvement products/services in the sample (cf. Table 7). Future analyses may therefore compare the use of intertextuality in lifestyle magazines with other genres that focus on low-involvement goods.

As for the hypernorm about physical beauty, it comes as no surprise that it was most prevalent in cosmetic ads (9 of the 16 texts). The majority of these texts had been sourced from *Cosmo*. One study of the articles in this magazine, suggests that they frequently operate on the assumption that women are concerned with their appearance (Conradie, 2009: 76). A hypernorm's prevalence may, therefore, depend more on the nature of the product (cosmetic and/or luxury), as well its context (lifestyle magazines), rather than the intertext. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that ads for cars, soft drinks, wine, bread and tyres may also base their messages on this norm. Future studies may aim to determine whether non-intertextual ads are also loaded with the same hypernorm. The present study is limited in this regard, as its focus was on intertextuality rather than ideology.

With regard to sex in advertising, Table 8 supports Crook's (2004: 735) observation that sex may serve to draw readers' attention and as part of a cognitive reward. However, as indicated in section 4.2, sexual allusions may also produce specific product claims. In terms of ideology, investigations of the gender ideologies of *FHM* and *Cosmo*, as constructed in articles rather than ads, suggest that this hypernorm is prominent across both magazines' texts (Conradie, 2009). Three ads from the category discussed in section 4.2.2.4 demand recognition of the stereotype that men's behaviour is often determined by their desire for sex (Sprite, KFC, and Hansa Pilsner). One of these appeared in *FHM* and another in *Cosmo*. Although this may provide preliminary support for a link between intertextuality and a magazine's overarching ideology, the results are insufficient and require further validation. Another stereotype that may warrant further investigation is the assumption that men view the military as a paragon of masculinity. Two ads in the

sample exploited this belief by setting up a metaphor between it and physical exertion (Powerade in *MH*) and social engagements (Nivea in *MH*).

In summary, to gain more insight into the relation between the ideologies espoused in a magazine's articles and its advertising content, analysts must consider a sample of both intertextual and non-intertextual ads, from a broad range of titles, including *Fairlady* and *Men's Health*. These findings may be contrasted with ads from presumably gender neutral lifestyle magazines, such as *Afropolitan*, *Top Car*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Idea* and *Garden & Home*. Attention must be paid to the nature of the products/services that are most commonly advertised and the hypernorms on which they are based. The next chapter discusses the results from the focus group discussions.

Chapter 6

Results: focus groups

6.1 Results of the focus groups

During the focus group discussions, respondents were required to examine a selection of ads on the basis of the following questions:

1. What is interesting about the ad?
2. What does this ad aim to say about the advertised product?
3. How do you know this?
4. Do you think the ad's claims are trustworthy? Explain.

The following eight ads were selected for this part of the study: Clinique, BMW, Gino Ginelli, Acer, Brut, Nankang, Tracker and Hansa Pilsner. These texts were selected to represent the eight functions which intertextuality played in the sample. One exception was the Gino Ginelli ad. Although categorised as an anonymous recycled expression (cf. section 4.2.2.3a), the ad was included in the sample for the focus groups in order to ascertain whether respondents would ascribe the headline to a media text, historical text, a recycled expression, or whether they would fail to recognise it as pre-existing altogether. In addition, after analysing the first group's discussion, in preparation for the second and third, it became apparent that requiring participants to analyse more than

eight ads could compromise the quality of their discussions, especially since their efforts were not attached to assessment.

Furthermore, respondents were not informed about the source from which ads had been taken and could not draw from knowledge about the magazine's overarching ideology. However, when participants in the first group questioned the researcher on the *Nankang* ad's source – in order to test a hypothesis that had emerged from their discussions – the researcher informed them.

Initially, respondents in the first group were required to record their answers in writing, until it became apparent that this compromised the depth of their discussions. At this point, the researcher immediately informed respondents that written responses would no longer be necessary. Nevertheless, participants in the second group produced a written record, even though no materials had been provided. The researcher was not present to correct this. Its content, however, does not provide more information than the transcript of their discussion.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the objective of the focus groups was to determine whether participants recognised the intertext, as well its function in terms of the advertised product/service. Respondents were also asked to provide support for their inferences, by citing evidence from the lexical and/or graphic unit (cf. Appendix B for transcription conventions).

Finally, it must also be mentioned that the researcher was present during the first group's interaction, but not during the second or the third. In the former, the discussion took place in a venue that required the researcher's supervision. However, in order to avoid any biasing influence on the discussions, the venue was changed to one that allowed respondents to conduct their analyses in isolation.

6.2 Transcripts

This section presents both the transcriptions as well as an analysis thereof (cf. Appendix B for an English translation). The following transcription conventions were used. The full stop (.) indicates an abrupt halt in a speaker's turn. Question marks (?) denote a rising intonation such as those commonly used to signal questions. Commas (,) indicate pauses

under one second, while ellipses (...) represent pauses of a longer duration. Finally, the dash (-) serves to indicate interruptions by an alternative speaker.

First discussion		
Turn	Speaker	Content
Ad under discussion: Clinique		
1	LE	Kan ons maar Afrikaans praat?
2	RN	Do you prefer us to discuss it in English?
3	LE	Ek druk myself beter uit in Afrikaans.
4	R	Maak nie eintlik saak nie.
5	LE	Goed.
6	R	Soos baie Afrikaanssprekendes is ons almal gekonfronteer met Engelse advertensies, so praat gerus in Afrikaans.
7	LE	Goed, ok. Wat is die verhouding tussen jou en die maskara en die verhouding. Till warm water do us part. Dit is soos until death do us part.
8	RN	Trouing.
9	LE	Trouing, ja.
10	MM	Werk actually (laughter). Ek het van dit (laughter)
11	LE	Okay vows, dit is weer vows. Till warm water do us part. Al daai goed gaan oor vows wat in die kerk afgelê word tussen die man en vrou obviously. Committed relationship. Word vergelyk

		die verhouding van jou en die maskara met die verhouding van jou en jou man. Is dit reg? En, wat is daar nog? Dit is asof hierdie gaan oor I'm not going to let you down, without smudge or smear tot jy verkies om dit te laat gaan. Ja. So hulle sal jou nie in die steek laat nie tot jy verkies om dit te laat gaan. Interesting. (...) uhm (...) Wat is daar nog?
12	RN	(Inaudible)
13	LE	What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?
14	MM	What does it say?
15	LE	OK, wat hulle sê in paragraaf vier, stel nou weer ten toon die prentjie (...) emphasising (laughter). Hulle sê 'n nice ding hier en dan beeld hulle dit uit in die prentjie. So hul emphasize dit.
16	RN	So jy kan als in jou mind lees, kan jy in daai stukkies sien, in die prentjie.
17	LE	Ja, ja presies (...) Kan ek nie nou 'n (...)
18	RN	Presies.
19	LE	Help my (...) is ek te vêr af? (...) Dit lyk nogal so (...) Ja, (...) Ja, dit is iewers hierso. Uhm (...) waar trek julle?
20	RN	(Inaudible)
21	LE	Nee, ons wag vir jou.
22	MM	Vir my?
23	LE	Nee, vir hom.
24	LE	Ons is nou al hier. O, o die laaste vraag
25	MM	O, I know it is trustworthy! (Laughter)
26	LE	Dit is wat ek sê. As jy na die een kyk, as dit enige maskara was, het ek gedink dit is 'n pot stront.
27	MM	Jammer! Ja.
28	LE	Maar omdat dit Clinique is (laugh)
29	MM	Clinique is nogal (...)
30	LE	Clinique

31	MM	Ek dink die naam sê (-)
32	LE	Ek dink die brand sê, maak dit trustworthy
33	MM	Ja.
34	LE	Maar die advertensie self, die advertensie self, as dit enige advertensie, enige maskara was dan sou dit nie.
35	MM	Ek dink dit gaan partykeer oor die brand en nie noodwendig oor die advertensie nie.
36	LE	Ja. Dit is baie mense lees net die advertensie en wow. Ander kyk na die brand. OK. Ons kan dit sê. (...) Is julle klaar?
37	MM	Um um
38	RN	Umm
Advert under discussion: BMW		
39	LE	Die heel laaste een? (...) Skuus ek wil net vra. Gaan hierdie twee advertensies saam?
40	RN	Ja.
41	LE	Daai twee.
42	RN	Ja.
43	LE	Kan ons al twee gelyk beoordeel?
44	RN	Ja.
45	LE	Nee, jy place hom. Toemaar dan maak ons net hierdie ding groter.
46	MM	Ons maak een hier ook.
47	LE	Reg. So.
48	MM	Nie daai nie.
49	RN	Ons moet dit seker (-)
50	LE	Hulle is dieselfde (laughter)
51	MM	Hierso, hierso, die een is by my.
52	LE	Blonde was nog nooit slim nie. Ai, askuus tog.

53	MM	En die een is by jou.
54	LE	Ja, dan maak ons so. Hier is nou weer dieselfde een!
55	MM	Ja, maar as jy hom daar click dan maak hy die volgende een oop.
56	LE	Toemaar, toemaar, okay. Watter een het jy? Toemaar.
57	MM	Ek het die eerste een.
58	LE	Okay. Goed
59	MM	Ek dink hy begin by daai een. O nee.
60	LE	Hy begin daarso.
61	MM	The sleek of the new BMW one series convertible is hard to ignore but look a little deeper. You will discover leather seats that reflects sunlight to stay cool. An advance climate control system will have you convinced that the top is up when it is not. A new approach to energy (...) Proficient dynamics.
62	LE	Hier begin die helfte van 'n sin.
63	MM	Is dit? Ja, efficient dynamics, technology which remarkably
64	LE	Is more powerful, less fuel. Could a car be as thrilling to drive as it is to look at? The new BMW (...) beyond beauty. Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin. Uhm, OK. Word die beauty van die kar vergelyk met die see?
65	RN	Nee
66	LE	Wat gebeur hierso?
67	RN	Lies beneath the skin. Praat hulle van die engine?
68	LE	Ja, maar hierdie. Can a car be, nee. Ek weet nie. Can a car be as thrilling to drive as it is to look at? Dit is nogal 'n mooi kar, ek moet sê.
69	MM	Maar ek dink hulle fokus nie. Dit is daai ding van look deeper.
70	LE	Ja, look deeper.
71	RN	Ja.
72	LE	Beauty lies within. So hy ry, hy's mooi maar hy ry beter.
73	RN	Mm (...)

74	LE	Ja, hy's mooi maar hy ry beter. Sulke goeters. Hy is mooi buite maar jy sit gemakliker. Wat is daar nog? Ek weet bitter min van 'n kar. Wat is daar nou nog?
75	MM	Kyk hierso sê hulle ook van mm climate control, leather seats. Dit is binne die kar. Verstaan?
76	LE	OK. Ek weet nie regtig wat om te sê nie. Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin. Surprisingly, so asof jy nie kan nie glo die kar is so mooi en hy het nog al die goed ook nie (...). Real beauty lies beneath the skin. Dit is so. Alles is perfek binne-in die kar. Is daar nie iets oor die see ook nie? Dit voel vir my so asof ek daar ook moet iets sê. Dit is nou maar net mooi. Dit is nou maar net pragtig. Dit is nou nie dat hy op daardie harde klippe moet ry nie.
77	RN	Die feit dat 'n ou dit wil ry is meer buite mense.
78	LE	Daar's hy. Outdoor!
79	MM	Sê weer.
80	LE	Dit is 'n outdoor kar.
81	RN	Die ou wat dit ry is meer 'n buitelug ou.
82	LE	Jy sal nou weet. Wat sê ons van hoe dit daar lyk? Die kar staan op rotse.
83	RN	Ja.
84	LE	Dit is nou nie 4x 4 wat ons bespreek nie (...) What is interesting about this advert? (...) Daar is nie regtig iets interesting nie. Dit is baie plein. Dit is alledaags.
85	MM	Wel, as ek nou moet sê. Die wêreld gaan oor jy moet fokus op wat buite aangaan. Die ding sê jy moet dieper kyk. Verstaan? Jy moet bietjie meer kyk as wat net buite aangaan.
86	RN	Maar jy kan nie dieper kyk as jy nie die (-)
87	LE	Die bonnet oopmaak nie.
88	MM	Ja

89	LE	Die bonnet begin daaronder begin krap.
90	MM	Maar ek dink nie dit gaan net oor die bonnet nie. Ek dink dit gaan oor dit wat daar binne is.
91	LE	Jy want jy kry die climate control wat jou gemakliker laat ry.
92	RN	Volgens my (...)
93	LE	Ja, dit steek niks weg nie (...). Ek weet rêrig nie wat om te sê nie.
94	MM	Nee, ek dink nie dit moet iets wegsteek nie. 'n Ad doen juis iets om te sê wat aangaan.
95	LE	Dit is regtig 'n baie plain advertensie. Dit is straightforward.
96	RN	As hierdie onderste paragraaf nie daar was nie, dan dan het dit iets anders, dan het die prentjie. Dan weet jy niks van (...)
97	LE	As jy net daai kry, nè, dan dit wat jy klaar dink, dit sal mos dadelik die idee wees as jy daardie idee dink dan okay so die kar is mooi maar daar is meer tot die kar. Dan kan jy die onderste lees dan sien jy.
98	RN	Dan kan jy sien wat is meer tot die kar
99	LE	Okay as jy die onderste goed sien dan sien jy o, dit is, is dit en dit en dit. Ai. What is interesting about the advert?
100	RN	Ja?
101	R	Can I make a suggestion? Move the chairs closer together so that we know the recorder gets it all.
102	LE	Okay.
103	R	Move closer together. Just move your chairs together so that the recorder can record you.
104	LE	Okay.
105	MM	Skuif so.
106	RN	Oay.
107	MM	Ons kan maar. Maak nie saak nie.
108	LE	Okay. Is ons nou klaar met die ene? Ek dink ons het genoeg

		gesê.
109	MM	Gaan jy?
110	RN	Wat?
111	MM	Must we go through the questions?
112	LE	O daar was nog 'n vorige een wat ons gou moet klaarmaak.
113	MM	Ja.
114	LE	Okay. Het ons nou gesê? Ek het gesê al wat hier staan is niks interessant nie. Al wat vir my interessant is, daai claim dat inner beauty is belangriker as outer beauty. Daai bekende gesegde kan ons maar sê.
115	RN	By hierdie tweede ene voel ek dat soos ek gesê het dat as daardie eerste paragraaf nie daar was nie dan het jy nie iets geweet nie. So die grafika sê nie veel nie.
116	MM	Ja
117	Spreker 1	Behalwe dat jy die kar sien.
118	MM	Ja. 'n Mens kan elke dag 'n mooi kar sien maar as jy nie meer weet nie, dan gaan jy nie meer weet nie.
119	RN	Ja
120	LE	En dit is so klein dit is actually nogal moeite om dit te lees
121	RN	Ja, exactly.
122	LE	Eerlikwaar.
123	RN	Ja.
124	LE	As jy belangstel in karre gaan jy dit lees, maar ek gaan dit definitief nie lees nie. Ek sal daai dingetjie lees en dan gaan ek bietjie verder dink maar dis al.
125	RN	Ok, dan kan hy hom nie, ek weet ek sou hom gelees het, so kan 'n ou dan sê?
126	LE	As dit by die vorige advertensie van die maskara was, sou ek dit weer gelees het.
127	RN	So dit gaan.

128	MM	Ek weet nie. Ek sou sê hierdie stelling maak dat jy daai moet lees of wil lees, verstaan? Dat jy meer wil uitvind.
129	LE	As jy 'n boek deurblaai, sal jy regtig dit lees?
130	MM	Ja, ek dink ek sou.
131	RN	Ek sou.
132	LE	Ek sal dit verseker nie lees nie (laughter) Daar is nie 'n manier nie. Mm, how do you know this? Ok dit het ons nou klaar gesê (...)
133	MM	Ja, ek dink dit is 'n straightforward ding maar hy sê ook nie soveel nie.
134	RN	Nee.
135	LE	Jy moet sien jy gaan dit nou begin vergelyk met ander karre. Nou gaan jy wil weet hoeveel km per liter kry hy uit, hoeveel dit, doen hy dit.
136	MM	Ja,
137	LE	Dit is al wat ek weet van karre.
138	MM	Hoekom sê hulle eintlik is hy so mooi?
139	LE	Vir al wat 'n kar en goeters gaan jy obviously eers na 'n car dealership toe gaan en sê wat weet jy van dit en dit. Jy gaan hom vrae vra, maar as jy net wonder oor die kar gaan jy nie regtig iets doen nie.
140	RN	Die informasie wat hulle vir jou gee hier onder is nogal baie basies. Daar is duisende ander goed wat ook interessant is oor die kar, basiese goed is hier so ek glo nie daar is regtig gaps nie iets tensy jy dit graag so kar wil hê.
141	LE	Presies.
142	MM	Seker ja.
143	LE	Stel jy belang om die kar te koop so obviously, maar as jy wil weet waar by wat (-)
144	RN	Dan is dit basies

145	LE	Trustworthy. Weereens sal ek sê BMW omdat dit 'n BMW is
146	MM	Die brand.
147	LE	Ja, omdat BMW die brand is, is dit trustworthy andersins is dit nie, ek weet nie. Omdat dit soveel basiese inligting gee is dit nie rêrig 'n trustworthy advertensie nie. En soos ek dit, eerlikwaar nou. Hy sê nou suppose the real beauty lies beneath the skin maar hulle wys niks van binne die kar aangaan nie. Hulle wys die buitekant van die kar.
148	MM	Ja en as mens nou kyk na hierdie ene en Clinique s'n, die vorige een, in Clinique s'n het gesê dat die scientists het dit geproof.
149	LE	Ja, ja
150	MM	BMW het geen. Jy moet verdere ondersoek instel om uit te vind of dit waar is.
151	LE	Maar dit is ook hoekom ek eintlik dink hulle contradict eintlik hulle self want hulle sê surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin maar hulle wys net die buitekant.
152	RN	Hulle wys net die buitekant. So dit is half (-)
153	LE	Okay hulle noem die goed wat dit mooi maak binnekant maar dit is nie dit is so klein, dit is asof dit minder is in die werklike lewe asof dit minder belangrik is in elk geval.
154	MM	Ja.
Advert under discussion: Gino Ginelli		
155	LE	Next.
156	RN	Gino Ginelli. Not all ice creams are equal.
157	LE	Spoil yourself Italian style, rich creamy chocolate ice cream, filled with tempting milk chocolate chips.
158	RN	Okay wel interessant soos ek dit sien. Hulle sien daai is so lekker dat die teelepels in 'n ry staan.

159	LE	Dit is hoe jy dit sien. Nè? Dis (-)
160	MM	Ek sien dit ook nogal so.
161	LE	Hoe ek dit weer sien. Ek het die onderste ding ge lees. Not all ice creams are created equal. Is asof jy begin onder, sien jy dit lyk of die lepels boontoe-er gaan vir my. Dit lyk. Dit is asof jy begin basies en jy gaan hoër, hoër tot jy by Gino Ginelli uitkom.
162	MM	Ja.
163	LE	Dit is wat ek in die eerste plek lees, verstaan jy? Dit lyk asof jy al hoe vêrder gaan om by Gino Gineli uit te kom, by die top.
164	RN	Okay.
165	LE	Roomys.
166	MM	Mmm.
167		Julle sien dit staan in 'n ry. Dit is eintlik (...) ek sien altyd ander goed raak. Spoil yourself Italian style. Rich creamy chocolate ice cream okay dit verduidelik wat daar in is. Filled with tempting milk chocolate chip.
168	RN	Ja.
169	LE	Hulle maak jou honger. Ek sien al so pot voor my. Maar daar is niks rêrig (-)
170	RN	Niks opvallend daar nie.
171	LE	What is interesting about the advert? Dat die lepels op 'n ry staan.
172	RN	In 'n ry staan. Ja. Wat wil hulle sê? Dat dit so lekker is dat hulle in 'n ry staan?
173	LE	What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? Dat dit so goed dat die lepels staan in 'n ry. Vir my obviously dit is 'n hoër rank ice cream.
174	MM	Ja.
175	LE	Okay how do you know this? Okay deur die uitbeelding van die lepels.

176	MM	Ja.
177	LE	Die lepels is al wat hul uitbeeld rêrig.
178	MM	Ja.
179	RN	Ja en dan (...) oor die gaps. Ek glo nie hier is enige gaps nie, want hier beskryf hulle tog die roomys.
180	MM	Ja.
181	LE	Ja, ja.
182	RN	Dit is roomys, roomys is 'n roomys.
183	LE	Maar sien daar's dink ek dan is daar geen ander inligting van watter flavor hierdie obviously is nie, waar koop jy dit, verstaan jy? Daar is nie sulke inligting nie.
184	MM	Hoeveel dit kos.
185	LE	Hoeveel kilogram of gram is dit, hoeveel, verstaan jy? Whatever.
186	RN	Okay, ek hoor wat jy sê.
187	LE	Sulke goedjies. Verstaan. Ek sal, meisies kyk altyd na ons gaan hier onder dan staan daar, gewoonlik adverteer hulle goedjies vir meisies dan staan daar fat free.
188	RN	Okay, kom ons kyk dan so daarna. As julle nou na so ding kyk, sal julle lus wees vir roomys?
189	LE	Ek is klaar lus vir dit.
190	RN	Okay dit sê baie. Ek het geensins (-)
191	MM	Ek het ook glad nie.
192	LE	Ek het klaar lus maar en ek hou nie eers van roomys nie. Ek dink dit is omdat ek honger is. Ek is baie honger. Dit is dalk 'n (-)
193	MM	Soveel so, dit maak nie saak nie. Jy is nou lus vir dit. Selfs al is jy honger, is jy nou lus vir dit.
194	LE	Ja.
195	MM	Ek is nie nou honger nie, so ek is nie nou lus vir dit nie.
196	LE	Die maak is snaaks hulle wys nie, hulle wys buitekant. Hulle

		wys glad nie die roomys nie.
197	RN	Die roomys self nie.
198	LE	Hulle wys nie 'n bakkie met hoe die roomys lyk nie. Dit maak jou lus daardeur.
199	MM	Mmm.
200	LE	Ek wil net sê Gino Ginelli is 'n goeie maak.
201	MM	Ja.
202	LE	Jy sal dit wil eet maar hulle wys nie hoe lekker dit lyk nie. Dit is net die paragraaf wat beskryf hoe dit lyk wat dit kan sê. Wat is daar nog?
203	RN	Claims.
204	LE	Trustworthy?
205	MM	Weet nie.
206	LE	Weereens, Gino Gineli is 'n vrek goeie maak maar ek weet nie of dit regtig so goed is nie maar dit is so flippen duur dat dit (...)
207	RN	Ja.
208	LE	Jy betaal R50 vir so boks.
209	MM	Ja.
210	RN	Bly jy het uitgevind vir ons.
211	LE	Dit is R50.
212	MM	Dit is lekker hierdie ons het dit al geëet (laughter).
213	LE	Dit is lekker.
214	RN	Okay, cool.
Advert under discussion: Acer		
215	LE	(Laughter) Ek weet nie of ek mooi verstaan wat hier aangaan nie!
216	MM	Daai gaps (laughter).
217	LE	En die girl kyk nog vir hom ook en sy wonder wat gaan aan.

218	MM	Ja, ek dink nie hy het gaps nie maar ek dink nie almal gaan. Ek gaan nie hierdie lees nie. Dit is rêrig nie vir my nie.
219	LE	Die TV is ook op die agtergrond. Sien jy?
220	MM	Ja.
221	RN	Hum, (laughter) dit is eintlik 'n vrek goeie advertensie.
222	LE	Dit is.
223	RN	Jy het al gesien in die gym dan staan jy en jy is besig met iets anders en dan hoor jy hoe praat die ouens oor ander goeters. Obviously.
224	LE	Jy kom altyd in die helfte van 'n gesprek daar aan.
225	RN	Ja.
226	MM	En dan?
227	LE	Maak jy afleidings.
228	RN	Jou eie afleidings.
229	LE	Die hele advertensie is die gym ding en die TV is so half op die agtergrond, verstaan jy?
230	RN	Ja.
231	LE	Dit is 'n humoristiese ding, dit vat jou aandag, lekker aandag so jy gaan dadelik dink niemand gaan mos nou dit adverteer nie. Ek het eerlikwaar ek het dadelik gedink adverteer hulle Viagra pille of wat gaan hier aan (laughter). Verstaan jy? Ek het nou en dan sien jy eers die TV. The size, what really got me going was the ms response rate (...) verstaan nie
232	RN	Mm.
233	LE	En altyd.
234	RN	So hulle adverteer eintlik ook nie eers regtig die TV nie. Dis 'n brand wat hulle adverteer.
235	MM	Ja.
236	LE	Sien daai is nou op 'n special. Die TV is op 'n special.
237	RN	Dit is vrek goed die.

238	LE	Dadelik, as ek so ding in 'n tydskrif sien, waar hul ietsie in 'n regte situasie uitbeeld en daar is speech bubbles, gaan ek altyd lees. Ek wil altyd die dialoog sien. Verstaan jy?
239	MM	Mmm.
240	LE	Dit is nie meer soos die ander advertensies waar dit nou hulle is en dan is dit onder geskryf nie. Dit is speech bubbles wat dadelik jou laat lees want jy wil weet wat dink sy. Watse afleiding maak sy, of ek dieselfde afleiding maak.
241	RN	Ja, op daai stadium sal ek nogal like om te weet wat dink sy.
242	LE	Ja, sy kyk nogal hoor.
243	MM	Sjoe.
244	LE	What is interesting about the advert? Ons het nou gesê dit is humoristies.
245	RN	Ja, definitief.
246	LE	Dit gebruik speech bubbles, real life situations. Dit is regtig so. In die gym gaan jy mos so na 'n nuwe dingetjie toe en dan kom jy in die helfte van die gesprek daar aan.
247	MM	Ja.
248	RN	En dan hoor jy al die goed.
249	LE	Ouens praat altyd oor vreemde goed. Hulle sê meisies skinder maar het jy al gehoor hoe skinder ouens in 'n gym? (laughter) Hulle vergelyk mekaar se (...) What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product? Hulle sê nie rêrig, okay daar verduidelik hulle al die inligting van die van die TV, maar ek, maar hy het sy girl beïndruk met die TV, so jy gaan jou girl beïndruk as jy die TV het.
250	MM	Ek dink hulle adverteer dalk Digital Planet ook, maar hulle fokus meer op die TV.
251	RN	Die TV self.
252	MM	Net op die TV. Verstaan? Hulle sê nie iets oor Digital Planet nie.

253	LE	Dit is seker om te weet waar jy moet gaan koop. Verstaan jy? Okay? Dialoog sê nie rêrig (...) wat is dit? Wat is hierdie five ms response?
254	RN	Five milli second response rate.
255	LE	Hier staan glad nie wat dit is nie. En die size, jy gaan nou die girl beïndruk met die TV se size.
256	RN	Ja, dit is daai (laughter).
257	LE	How do you know this? Dit is ja dit wat ons gesê het.
258	RN	Okay (...)
259	MM	Ek dink nie rêrig nie, want hy het nogal (...)
260	RN	As jy net tot daar lees, tot daar, daai stuk dan gaan jy wonder wat de hel en dan lees jy daai stuk en dan verstaan jy dit gaan oor die TV.
261	LE	Ja.
262	RN	Of eintlik nog tot hierso gaan jy ook nog wonder wat de hel, tot jy hier sien.
263	MM	Ja.
264	LE	En dan hier by die TV gee hulle al die inligting, hoe groot hy is, wat is sy prys.
265	MM	Waar om dit te kry.
266	LE	Alles, ja, hulle gee alles, baie inligting oor die TV, maar ek weet nie wat hul vra oor die TV nie, so ek weet nie waar ons is nie. Terms and conditions apply ja, sommer die hele storie.
267	MM	Ja.
268	LE	Trustworthy. Ek weet glad nie van hierdie af nie.
269	RN	Ek het nog nooit daarvan gehoor nie.
270	MM	Ek het ook nie.
271	LE	Secure, trusted, convenient online shopping. Kom ek sê vir jou as daar staan secure, trusted en convenient dan is dit seker trustworthy. Maar sodra ek iets sien soos online shopping at its

		best dan verloor ek (...) hoekom het hulle nie 'n vaste winkel nie, hoekom moet hul online shopping hê?
272	RN	Ja, ek stem saam.
273	LE	Verstaan? So dit gooi mens dadelik af.
274	MM	Omdat mens soveel goed hoor oor online wat hulle jou rob en so aan, dink mens daai lyk nie, eerder nie, kom ek gaan na 'n ander plekkie toe.
275	LE	Ek stem (laughter). Dit is 'n gear shifter of wat noem mens dit?
276	RN	Ja, dit is.
277	MM	Ja.
Advert under discussion: Brut		
278	LE	So hulle wys vir jou wat. Soos ek dit sien is hulle twee goedjies. Hulle wys vir jou die 'n man se lewe gaan of 'n man stel belang in karre en wat wat wat en dalk spoed of so iets en dit is in die palm van sy hand. Verstaan jy? Hy't sy (...)
279	MM	Hy is in beheer.
280	LE	Ek weet nie wat ek wil sê nie.
281	MM	Hy is in beheer.
282	LE	Hy is in beheer, hy het dit in die palm van sy hand. Hy het beheer.
283	RN	Ja.
284	LE	The essence of man.
285	RN	Ja, so iets. Met ander woorde saam met daai tipe features van mans sê hulle (...)
286	LE	The essence of man.
287	RN	Maar wat wel vir my interessant is, is dit vat net daai om die actual ding wat geadverteer word, weg te vat. Verstaan? Ek meen, as jy net dit sien, so dit is net so stukkies wat gebruik word

		in die actual (...)
288	MM	Ding.
289	LE	Sien, as ek nou die advertensie sien gaan ek dink dit is vreemd, so ek gaan moet kyk wat adverteer hulle. Dit is 'n vreemde advertensie.
290	MM	Ja, hulle, dit is net 'n (...)
291	LE	Ja, dit is so basic, ek bedoel ek gaan moet kyk wat adverteer hulle.
292	RN	Ja.
293	LE	Ja, what is interesting about the advert? Is dit maar weer dit is so vreemde prent dat jy wil weet waaroor gaan die advertensie.
294	MM	Mmm.
295	RN	Hier is definitief gaps.
296	LE	Baie gaps.
297	MM	Ja.
298	LE	Essence of man. Okay dit is deodorant. Dit is waar dit stop. Daar is niks van keeps you dry all day (laughter) of daai slogans nie. Dit is net deodorant, dit is waar dit stop.
299	MM	Twenty-four hour day of so iets nie. Niks van dit nie.
300	LE	So daar is baie gaps, maar tog dit is 'n bekende produk.
301	RN	Ja.
302	LE	So jy weet ook al klaar 'n bietjie van dit, so.
303	MM	Ja.
304	LE	Die ouer mense weet baie mos van die produk.
305	MM	Mmm.
306	LE	Dit is al lank op die mark. Dit is al wat ek kan.
307	RN	Ek dink nie daar is iets meer nie.
308	LE	Trustworthy. Obviously trustworthy.
309	RN	All that's trustworthy is the brand name.
310	LE	Die brand sê trustworthy maar die advertensie claim nie dat dit

		kan trustworthy wees nie.
311	MM	Nee (...)
Advert under discussion: Nankang		
312	LE	Black power (...) hierso sou ek sê het hulle 'n fokusgroep.
313	RN	Ja.
314	LE	Glad nie lelik bedoel nie.
315	RN	Ek sou net like om te weet in wat se tydskrif dit geadverteer word.
316	LE	Vra vir hom.
317	RN	Mr. Conradie
318	LE	Mr. Conradie
319	RN	Can you remember in what magazine this was in?
320	R	Afropolitan
321	RN	Okay (...)
322	LE	Dit is hoekom ek sê hul fokus op 'n groep.
323	RN	Absoluut.
324	MM	Steek hy sy tong uit?
325	LE	Nee, ek dink hy het net dik lippe.
326	MM	Dit lyk rêrig (...)
327	RN	Dit lyk vir my ook so.
328	MM	Dit lyk of hy sy tong uitsteek.
329	EM	Hierdie is mos als tyres.
330	LE	Ek wou nou iets sê maar nee want ons word mos opgeneem so (...) ek gaan net stilbly maar nee. Nee, ek dink nie so nie. Hy lag, sy ogies lag.
331	EM	Kom ons wees eerlik. Hierdie gaan nie in 'n FHM geadverteer word nie. Soos hy sê dit is in die wat?
332	MM	Afro (...) iets.

333	LE	Nog nooit van so tydskrif gehoor nie.
334	RN	So ja, soos hy sê, dit is 'n fokusgroep.
335	LE	Dit fokus op mans en dit fokus op (...)
336	RN	Ja en die ander ding is obviously black maar daai black kan dalk daai tyres is swart.
337	LE	Black verwys na black empowerment en black power. Die tyre het power hy is soos sterk.
338	MM	Mm, maar toe ek black power lees toe dink ek dadelik aan black empowerment. BEE
339	RN	Jy konnekteer dit.
340	LE	Ek het ook daaraan gedink.
341	MM	Ja.
342	RN	Anyway. Die tyre se naam.
343	MM	Ek ken glad nie dit nie.
344	RN	Maar dit is 'n swart naam.
345	MM	Ja, way to go.
346	LE	Why they (...) sporting performance but also excellent (...) Wat is daai (...) corner?
347	MM	Hy hou pad as jy draai.
348	RN	Ja pad (...) vashou.
349	LE	Dis nou nie hoe ons bestuur nie? (laughter) Komaan, ek het dit raakgesien. Sies vir my. Good balance (...) break hard with the sports tyre. Jy kan jaag en dan as jy by die stopstraat stop, stop jy (laughter) Okay hulle so hoekom het hulle (-)
350	RN	Daar is definitief 'n teikenmark.
351	LE	Hoekom nou vir Madiba inbring?
352	MM	Kyk hulle sê geluk met sy verjaarsdag. Dit is maar net. Ek dink nie om die tyre te adverteer nie, dit is net iets ekstra, ook om vir Madiba te sê geluk met sy verjaarsdag.
353	RN	Miskien is die tyre net 'n limited edition net vir sy verjaarsdag.

		Daarvandaan black power en die feit dat dit 'n swart naam het. Ek weet nie dit is hoe ek dit sien.
354	MM	Ja.
355	LE	Ek dink hier moet nog iets wees. Kom ons kyk wat is interesting. Okay hulle sê vir Madiba geluk met sy verjaarsdag. Tog gaan jy nie as jy nou 'n ANC lid is, gaan jy tog meer respek kry vir die advertensie.
356	RN	Jy gaan definitief 'n stel tyres koop.
357	LE	Ja, want hulle sê vir my hero happy birthday.
358	MM	Ja.
359	LE	Dan gaan jy mos nou respek vir hulle hê.
360	MM	Ja.
361	LE	Okay.
362	RN	Die uiteinde dit is uit en uit net 'n teikenmark.
363	MM	Ja.
364	LE	Veral hierdie description ook want rêrig waar. Ons gaan mos nie hand break turns doen nie.
365	MM	Maar hulle doen nogal dink ek, hoor.
366	LE	Dit is nou die laataande as (...)
367	RN	In daardie geval is dit man man, dit is maar in daai geval.
368	MM	Buiten dat dit dalk op swart mense geteiken is, is dit dalk ook meer op mans, want soos jy nou self gesê het daai is maar man. As jy daai description lees, 'n man doen dit. Hulle hou van dit doen dit is maar so, maar ek dink nie 'n vrou somer nie. Daar is party
369	LE	Tensy jy 'n grease monkey is (laughter) daar is 'n paar. What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product? Okay dat die tyres is sterk.
370	RN	Ja, ek bedoel, dit word beskryf in daai stukkie.
371	MM	Mmm.

372	LE	En jy kan hand break turns doen (laughter) hulle gee 'n paragraaf wat dit beskryf.
373	MM	Ja.
374	LE	En gaps? Hulle sê nie wat kos dit nie, hulle sê nie rêrig waar om dit te kry nie.
375	RN	Daai wat jy nou gesê het hulle sê nie wat dit kos nie. Het nog nie by een advertensie gesien nie.
376	LE	By die TV het dit gesê.
377	RN	Behalwe by die TV.
378	LE	Seker omdat hy 'n special edition is.
379	RN	Bitter min dat hulle pryse byvoeg.
380	LE	Is dit omdat dit hulle afskrik of iets? Skrik dit jou af om te gaan kyk?
381	MM	Nee, ek dink dit is (...)
382	RN	Dit is nogal een ding wat ek altyd mis. As ek iets sien wat geadverteer word waarin ek geïnteresseer is, wil ek die prys by hê.
383	LE	Presies.
384	MM	Ja, want mens kan kyk of jy dit kan bekostig.
385	LE	As jy sê nou die maskara, as jy Clicks toe gery het om dit te gaan koop en jy sien dit is R10 te veel as wat ek nou sou betaal dan dink jy wel ek is nou hier, koop dit nou maar. Verstaan jy?
386	RN	Hulle kon net 'n stukkie hier gehad het wat sê daai tyre is soveel duim en daai een .
387	LE	Of as jy vier koop dan kry jy of wat ook al.
388	MM	Ja,
389	LE	Trustworthy (...) sjoe (...)
390	MM	Ek weet nie, ek ken nie die naam nie.
391	RN	Ja, ek weet nie, ek ken ook nie.
392	MM	Ek dink rêrig dit gaan partykeer oor die brand. Of jy die brand

		ken of nie.
393	LE	Jy ken nie die magazine nie, jy ken nie die brand nie.
394	RN	So dit is moeilik om te sê.
395	LE	En dit gaan nie, kyk hier. Hier gaan dit as hulle die ding skryf sê hulle ook net jy kan break hard, excellent tracking, ek weet nie wat dit beteken nie en sporty performance. Dit is glad nie soos vir 'n family car jy kan nou Kaap toe ry van hier af, hoeveel keer, die tyre gaan hou nie. Dit is nou glad nie, voel veilig, dit is glad nie sulke goed nie. So ek sal dit nie as vreeslik trustworthy sien nie.
Advert under discussion: Tracker		
396	MM	Ek sou glad nie sê dit is 'n Tracker advertensie as ek so na hom gekyk het nie.
397	RN	Nee, maar die feit dat hulle men in the making
398	MM	En dan gebruik hul die tekenjie, ja
399	RN	Ja, (...) daardie simbool.
400	LE	Ek het al sestig SMS'e gekry. Uhm ek sien ook weer twee goedjies. Eerstens dit gaan nie, as jy nou, jy gaan dadelik die sign sien.
401	MM	Mmm
402	LE	Nè, jy gaan dadelik dink dit gaan oor mans. Thank you for, hul adverteer nie regtig Tracker nie. Hulle bedank eintlik mans en die ander ding is, as jy mans direction in die lewe gee gaan jy hom obviously nie leer om karre te steel nie. So.
403	RN	Dit kan wees. Okay, ja dit kan wees.
404	MM	Cool, ja nee dit is.
405	LE	Die direction wat jy hulle gaan gee is obvious nie om 'n kar te steel nie, so dan, ek weet nie. So hulle ondersteun dan nou

		obviously.
406	RN	Sien, dit sou ek glad nie gesien het nie, want en hulle sê nie rêrig waaroor die ding gaan nie.
407	LE	Ja, hulle moes seker in 'n vorige advertensie of iets moes hulle seker men in making geadverteer het of ietsie.
408	RN	Ja. Hierdie kan nou 'n opvolg advertensie wees.
409	LE	Ja.
410	RN	Uhm. Al wat jy rêrig min of meer kan sien wat aangaan is hierdie paragraaf.
411	MM	Mmm.
412	LE	Welcome high school students into your business. Let them experience the working world. Skuus, kan ek gou vinnig antwoord?
413	MM	Ja. And help them to make the right career choices.
414	LE	Ek is in die lab. Ons is gou besig. Ek het jou gesê van die ding. Kan ek later jou bel? Baai. Hoeveel keer nou nog? Skuus julle.
415	MM	Mmm
416	RN	Hhum, wat jy kan aflei is dat Tracker miskien 'n projek gelaunch het om (...)
417	LE	Misdaad te bekamp.
418	RN	High school students in besighede in te kry om bietjie te werk en daarvandaan die direction.
419	LE	Ja.
420	MM	Mmm. En die direction wys ook.
421	LE	Die simbool wys na mans.
422	MM	Vorentoe, buiten hulle.
423	LE	Gee rigting.
424	MM	Ja, hy gee rigting.
425	LE	Hulle trek hul van die strate af en help hulle.
426	MM	En ook hul logo is hier onder staan taking back tomorrow.

427	RN	Tomorrow, ja.
428	MM	So dit is ook nogal.
429	LE	Weet jy wat besef ek. Ons het nie in een advertensie goed uitgelig soos hulle gebruik meer prente of kleur of woorde of. Ek kyk nie juis na sulke goed nie.
430	RN	Ja.
431	LE	Hier lyk dit. Alles is nou twee kleure nè en tog die Tracker dingetjie staan onder uit. Dit is bright.
432	RN	Die enigste een wat uitstaan is hierdie een.
433	MM	Ja.
434	LE	Ja en hulle staan. Okay. Dit sê niks van die produk nie. Niks.
435	EM	Nee, glad nie.
436	LE	Dit sê hulle ondersteun.
437	EM	Dit gaan meer oor die (...)
438	LE	Dit kon net sovel Nedbank gewees het verstaan?
439	RN	Ja, dis waar.
440	LE	Dis nie, dit sê niks van die produk nie.
441	MM	Mm mm.
442	LE	Okay. Daar is baie gaps. Een is hulle sê niks van die (...)
443	MM	Hulle gee tog 'n plek waar jy kan gaan uitvind.
444	RN	Ja.
445	LE	Ja, en tog hul slogan ook nè. Taking back tomorrow. Dit is ook niks van make you feel safe of whatever nie. Dis net, dit sê niks nie. Dit sê rêrig waar niks.
446	RN	Trustworthy.
447	LE	Weereens (...)
448	RN	Daar is nie rêrig claims nie.
449	LE	Maar, daar is nie claims nie. Dit is waar wat jy sê. As jy weet wat Tracker is maar daar is nie claims nie, glad nie.
450	RN	Mmm. Jy moet weet wat Tracker is.

451	LE	Ja.
Advert under discussion: Hansa Pilsner		
452	RN	Okay.
453	LE	(Laughter) Okay, waarna verwys hulle?
454	RN	Dit is obviously vir mans geadverteer.
455	MM	Ja.
456	LE	Want hul verwys na? (Laughter)
457	RN	I don't know.
458	LE	Hulle kan na baie goed verwys waarin mans belangstel.
459	RN	Die meeste goed eintlik.
460	MM	Pair.
461	RN	Daarvandaan, it's a man's world (laughter)
462	LE	Dit is lekker. Ons gaan nou nie uitbrei daarop nie maar hulle kan na baie goed verwys, soos jy sê.
463	RN	Het Hansa nie altyd so tipe prentjie?
464	LE	Ek sal verseker nie weet nie.
465	MM	Ja.
466	LE	Skuus ek wil eers die advert behoorlik bestudeer (...)
467	MM	Sars hop.
468	LE	Waar is sars hop?
469	RN	Daarso.
470	MM	Nee, dis maar hulle slogan.
471	LE	Is dit? Is dit nie ou wêreld (...) die ou (...) wie drink Hansa?
472	MM	Baie mense hoor.
473	LE	Is dit?
474	MM	Rêrig ja.
475	LE	Ek weet glad nie, so daar is nie 'n tipe man betrokke nie?
476	MM	Nee, meestal mans. Ek dink hierdie is meer mans gerig. Soos hy

		gesê het, maar alle kleure.
477	RN	Ja, nee dis verseker.
478	MM	Ek het daar by die rugby gewerk en baie mense drink dit.
479	LE	Is dit? Ek weet niks van bier en daai goed en wie drink dit wat nie, wie drink Castle.
480	RN	Ek sou nie sê daar is 'n kleur aan betrokke nie.
481	MM	Uh uh.
482	LE	Sou jy nie sê.
483	RN	Maar definitief mans.
484	LE	Iets van jy moet nou another magnificent pair you love to get your hands on en die bottels staan. Dit is ook 'n paar. Skuus. Dit is ook 'n paar soos twee so jy gaan twee, een aan elke hand gryp (laughter) dit het dalk verkeerd uitgekom, verstaan, jy wil sommer by die bar sommer twee vat.
485	MM	Ja.
486	LE	Verstaan jy? En hoekom is die een se proppie af?
487	MM	Jy gaan eerste hom drink. Jy kan nie twee op 'n slag drink nie.
488	RN	Die eerste een is net lekker as jy die tweede ene kan drink. (laughter)
489	MM	Wow!
490	LE	Okay (...) uhm (...) dan ook weereens alles is swart en dan staan die bierbottel uit.
491	RN	Staan uit, dit is verseker.
492	LE	En, the refreshing choice wat daar onder staan. Kyk gou al die waterdruppeltjies op die goed en op die vloer lê ook waterdruppeltjies.
493	MM	Mmm.
494	LE	Dis asof jy kry klaar die gevoel van dit is 'n warm dag, jy wil 'n lekker koue bier hê.
495	RN	Ja soort van.

496	MM	Ja.
497	RN	Hier is nie rêrig gaps nie.
498	LE	Ja, dit is maar 'n baie algemene bier jy gaan dit in enige bottelstoor kry. Daar is ook nie die algemene going rate vir pryse vir dit so. Dit is nie rêrig (...)
499	MM	Trustworthy.
500	LE	Ek weet niks van Hansa af nie. Ek kan nie regtig sê is dit grand of wat nie.
501	RN	Hulle sê dit is 'n SAB produk.
502	LE	Ja en SAB is trustworthy.
503	MM	Waar sê dit dit is 'n SAB produk?
504	RN	Okay, onthou nou hulle vra (-)
505	LE	Ek dink amper dit is.
506	RN	Advert claims. Nie spesifiek die ding wat geadverteer word nie maar die claim wat hulle maak.
507	LE	Die claim is dat dit 'n refreshing choice is.
508	MM	Ja.
509	LE	Maar then again op 'n warm dag is enige koel ding 'n refreshing choice. So dit is nie regtig, ek weet nie. Dit is nie 'n moeilike claim om na te kom nie. Nog iets?
510	RN	Dit was die laaste een.
511	LE	O! Ag nee, dit het nou begin lekker raak (laughter)

Second discussion		
Turn	Speaker	Content
Advert under discussion: Clinique		
1	R	Okay, you can start. Call me if you need to know anything. Take as much time as you like.

2	LS	What is interesting about the advert? Okay, ek dink dit is daai till warm water do us part. Dit kan (...)
3	EM	Nee, die ringe.
4	LS	Baie. Ja, ja, die ringe maak dit baie catching maar soos jy dit sê die ringe en dan daai till warm water do us part, till warm water do us part vertel van die (-)
5	EM	Van wat nodig is om dit te, verstaan jy, gaan dit nie oor die warm water en wat nodig is om dit af te haal nie?
6	LS	Ja, maar dit gaan, dit is die, dit vertel vir jou van die produk.
7	EM	Ja, ja.
8	LS	Hy sê vir jou in daai klein quote wat die produk is. Want dit is half in between the lines, till warm water do us part, okay, want dit is maskara, okay.
9	EM	Ja.
10	LS	Maar dit is oulik (...) ja kyk daar sê hy last through rain, sweat, tears en dan vertel hy jou nou.
11	EM	Ja.
12	LS	Power vested in you (...) jis dit is cool, okay dubbelsinnig, maskara (...)
13	EM	Wat noem mens dit, soos 'n (...) die huweliksding wat jy sê dit bring soos die getroude lewe, soos ek dit sien soos die man en vrou wat nou getroud is en wat tussen hulle kan kom of nie tussen hulle kan kom nie. Dit is soos die maskara en die vrou.
14	LS	Dit is dieselfde bond, ja dieselfde tussen die man en die vrou is similar to the relationship between the woman and the maskara.
15	EM	Ja.
16	LS	Dis hoe lief die vrou vir haar maskara is. Okay dit is eintlik baie oulik.
17	EM	Moet ons nou hierso?
18	LS	Ja, skryf maar daarso

19	EM	One (...)
20	LS	Ja kom ons sê (...)
21	EM	Skryf jy maar.
22	LS	What is interesting about the advert? Okay, ek gaan net sê, it symbolises jy kan amper sê unity.
23	EM	Mm. Okay (...) the wedding (...) Okay so dit verduidelik nou (...)
24	LS	Dit is dieselfde soos wedding rings, is die is actually die wedding ring is die maskara.
25	EM	Ja.
26	LS	Okay. Similar to (...)
27	EM	The relationship to (...)
28	LS	Ja. Similar to the relationship (...)
29	EM	Relationship between the woman and the maskara, so iets (...)
30	LS	Moet ons net hierdie een nou?
31	EM	Nee, almal dink ek. Ek dink ons skryf sommer hier onderaan nommer een. Ons kan net aangaan hierso. What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?
32	LS	Can't go without it. Um.
33	EM	Ja, um.
34	LS	Woman is not one without it. You are not complete without it. You are, uhm, the maskara and you the female they complete each other.
35	EM	Ja.
36	LS	Uhm (...)
37	EM	Do you think you can quote, as ons goed moet aanhaal uit die ding, sê, soos how do you know this?
38	LS	Ja.
39	EM	Okay dan kan ons sê (...)
40	LS	Till warm water do us part (...)
41	EM	En daai by the power vested in you, lash power, sulke goeters, let

		the love fest again (laughter)
42	LS	Do you think the advert claims are trustworthy? Uhm (...) daar is credibility (...)
43	EM	It is very catchy, so I think if people see this advert they will really fall for it. It is very creative but I don't know, I am not a sucker for any of this.
44	LS	It is very creative but you have to, they have to choose their market (...)
45	EM	They must be more specific about their market.
46	LS	Precise. They have to be more precise regarding their market.
47	EM	Okay. Ek dink dan kan ons hier skryf advertisement two en dan kan ons die volgend een analise.
Advert under discussion: BMW		
48	LS	Wat is dit? Sleek design. New BMW, one serious convertible (...) volgende bladsy. Okay, dit is dubbelsinnig. Weet jy hoekom? Want okay eerstens dit is buite gepark, dit is by die see, dit is beautiful daar. Jy moet besluit of jy vir die water of vir die kar wil kyk
49	EM	Ja.
50	LS	Dis soos 'n mooi kar met 'n meisie, soos jis, die meisie is mooi maar die kar is nicer (laughter) verstaan jy wat ek sê?
51	EM	Ja.
52	LS	Car met control, immediately the tree, daar is 'n resemblance, 'n relation, climate control.
53	EM	En met die see.
54	LS	Gepark onder die, gepark onder die boom. Met ander woorde dit is koel. Okay, what is interesting about the advert? Okay, kom ons begin. Gee nog blaaië.

55	EM	Kom ons maak nommer een. Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin. Wat bedoel hulle daarmee? The leather seats daarby wat hulle van praat wat ons nie kan sien van buiteaf nie of wat?
56	LS	Beneath the skin, ja daar is more to the car that you can see.
57	EM	Ja.
58	LS	Daarso is, as jy hom gaan ry gaan jy die beauty, the real beauty discover.
59	EM	Ja.
60	LS	You don't judge a book by its cover.
61	EM	Ja, okay, what is interesting about the advert?
62	LS	Ek dink ek het pretty much als al gesê. Uhm (...) the setting, the relations (...) hoe kan ek sê, the coherence, nè?
63	EM	Sê net the setting of the (-)
64	LS	Correlates, or relates of wat ook al.
65	EM	Ek wil sê dit is dubbelsinnig of dit verdeel mens se aandag. Verstaan jy. Dit, jy kyk vir die kar maar tog kyk jy vir die see. Verstaan jy wat ek sê? Dit voel vir my asof mens se aandag verdeel is. Dit is 'n kar advertensie maar tog is die omgewing rondom.
66	LS	Ek gaan skryf the car is just as pretty as the nature surrounding it. The car is just as pretty as the surrounding (...) just as pretty as the surrounding (...) you can't decide what to look (...)
67	EM	You must decide what is more pretty or what.
68	LS	Fokus on the car or the (...)
69	EM	I think the environment automatically makes the car look more pretty or more (...)
70	Unkown	(Inaudible)
71	LS	What does the advert aims to say about the advertised product? Okay. Ek gaan dit hierso sê (-)

72	EM	Die volgende deel som dit nogals op.
73	LS	The real beauty lies beneath the, ek gaan dit quote.
74	EM	Jy kan ook sê uhm, wat het jy gesê van what you see or don't see? The power of the beauty lies in what you can't see of so iets.
75	LS	Ja .
76	EM	The beauty or luxury, or whatever lies in.
77	LS	The real beauty lies beneath the skin. Dit beteken the real beauty (...)
78	EM	Will be discovered once you drive the car, or get inside the car. Whatever (...)
79	LS	Once you drive the car. Is jy klaar met eksamen?
80	EM	Nee, ek maak eers die 26ste, ek skryf die 22ste, 24ste en 26ste.
81	LS	Okay the tree resembles shade and climate control (...) how do you know this, okay ons skryf dit hierso.
82	EM	Seker maar weer daai (...)
83	LS	Nee, nee, nee. Daarso gaan jy nou in diepte in, want dit is nou half wat jy.
84	EM	Hoekom weet ons dit?
85	LS	Dit is nou bietjie meer what you assume, what you read between the lines. Dit sê real beauty will be discovered once you drive the car, surprisingly the real beauty will be (...) okay. Wat is die vraag? How do you know this? (...) Trustworthy, how do you know this? (...) Uhm, ek haat skryf (...) duh (laughter) hallo don't you know BMW. Kom reg.
86	EM	Uhm (...)
87	LS	How do you know this? Daar kan goed, soos ek gesê het van die boom en die climate control wat aanmekaar link. Dit kan ek hierso skryf van trustworthy.
88	EM	Ja, ja.
89	LS	How do you know this? The real beauty lies beneath the skin.

90	EM	So hulle vra nou hoekom?
91	LS	Ek gaan skryf don't judge a cover by, don't judge a book by its cover. There is more to the car than what you think.
92	EM	This is just to tempt us to look for more of so iets.
93	LS	Ja, okay.
94	EM	So don't judge a book by its cover. This advertisement is just to tempt us to want more to see more about the car.
95	LS	Don't judge a book by its cover. The whole ad is a temptation for you to seek for more information. The advert is a temptation.
96	EM	To seek for mōre.
97	LS	To get you to search for more info.
98	EM	Okay, ja. And number four. Do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy?
99	LS	Yes because (-)
100	EM	Gaan jy sê oor die climate control of wat gaan jy daar sê?
101	LS	The setting, uhm, trees, water (...) almost represents the characteristics. Wat gee jou die idee ek moet gaan advertising geswot?
102	EM	Ja nee.
103	LS	The setting represents the characteristics of the car namely the climate control, the tree providing us with the idea of the climate control, the tree okay, en dan die the water equals the beauty of the car. O jis, ek kan baie skryf hieroor. Wat is dit nog? Dit is
104	EM	The water, the ocean.
105	LS	It gives you a calm feeling.
106	EM	Ja.
107	LS	It gives you a calm feeling
108	EM	Relax, soos die see.
109	LS	And relaxed. Okay kom ons move on.

Advert under discussion: Gino Ginelli		
110	EM	Volgende een. Gino Genelli (...)
111	LS	Oh ek kan lank oor hierdie goed dink.
112	EM	Not all ice creams are created equal. Spoil yourself Italian style, chocolate mousse, tempting chocolate (...) ahh (...)
113	LS	Okay, dit is actually brilliant. What is interesting about the advert? Okay the first thing is the different sizes spoons. You have to choose one. I think I will take the biggest one because Gino Ginelli can't just eat little. Klein bakkietjie. Ek wil baie hê.
114	EM	Ja, as jy begin dan kan jy nie ophou nie.
115	LS	Once you start, you can't stop. The different sizes spoons, spoons. Moet ons sê hoekom? What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? Uhm, okay, ek gaan sê question one, the different sizes spoons, once you start you can't stop.
116	EM	Ja.
117	LS	Uhm, similar (...)
118	EM	Hier is 'n skoon blaai. Ons gaan nog baie nodig hê.
119	LS	Hoeveel ads is daar?
120	EM	Ek weet nie. Ek dink ag.
121	LS	Once you start you can't stop. You have to (...) a spoon (...) take the biggest one (laughter)
122	EM	How do we know this?
123	LS	Because I say so (laughter)
124	EM	Mens kan seker nie sê those of you who experienced the taste of Gino Genelli will know that you can't stop once you started nie. Wat vra hulle?
125	LS	Hallo, look at the famous chocolate man. Ag lekker (...)
126	EM	Advertised product. Sal ons nou gesê het (...)
127	LS	Uhm (...) kan ons nie sê if you know the product then, uhm (...)

		Onthou advertising is juis om dit wat ons glad nie ken nie.
128	EM	Ja.
129	LS	Uhm (...) if you know the product, uhm. Actually the spoons gee die produk weg as jy weer bietjie dieper daaroor dink, so ek gaan net skryf the spoons in the ad play a big role.
130	EM	Vier vra hulle is dit trustworthy (...) I think so. It is ice cream. Its (laugther)
131	LS	Yes even though I think hulle kon bietjie meer duidelik gewees het. Even though I think they could, even though I think they could have been a bit more precise, specific. Okay advertise motive. Vier. Dit is te veel hoor. Dis 'n gym. How did your (-)
Advert under discussion: Acer		
132	EM	Perform last night?
133	LS	Wag net gou. A man is a man (...) love the size go the five basic response rate as followed. Okay. Okay Nou! Baie dubbelsinnig.
134	EM	Ja.
135	LS	Uhm, ok. Dit is nou reg.
136	EM	Dit gaan oor sy (...)
137	LS	Okay, ja, ek gaan dit nou nie skryf nie. Die advertisement is sexually connected. Hoekom seks self? Die setting is in a gym. Wat gebeur in a gym? Mans gym, vrouens gym in so min as moontlik klere. Daar vind perving and lusting en hul lust oor mekaar, plaas. So nou dit is hoekom ek sê, die girl op die agtergrond, check hoe kyk sy vir hom.
138	EM	En die vraagteken. Mens kyk dadelik eers na die (...)
139	LS	Ja, sy het 'n wat noem jy dit, 'n uitlokkende, flirty look op haar gesig wat onmiddellik dubbelsinnig meer maak. Meantime die size en die (...) response rate is all characteristics of the Acer

		LCD screen
140	EM	Ja.
141	LS	Okay, need I say more?
142	EM	En die looks op hulle gesigte.
143	LS	Stout. Ja, daai stout.
144	EM	Ja, asof hulle praat oor dit.
145	LS	Okay. Dit is actually maklik. Kom ons skryf. (...) discussion.
146	EM	Gaan jy dit hierso skryf?
147	LS	Nee, dit is cool hierso.
148	EM	Wat is die eerste vraag nou weer? Uhm (...) It is very, hoe sê mens dubbelsinnig?
149	LS	Ek weet nie. Gaan hoor by hom wat dit is. Ek wil weet wat dit is.
150	EM	Kom ons sê net tussen aanhalingstekens very dubbelsinnig (laughter) ons sal nou-nou hoor. Dubbelsinnig.
151	LS	Uhm, conceived, uhm, deceiving. Dubbelsinnig. Can be deceiving.
152	EM	Wat?
153	LS	Dubbelsinnig. It can be deceiving.
154	EM	Is dit dit?
155	LS	Nee, maar dit is deceiving.
156	EM	Okay kom ons sit (...)
157	LS	Whatever, dubbelsinnig. Kan ek hier? Waar kan ek skryf van die what does it say of the advertised product? How do you know this? Uhm, dubbelsinnig. Hoekom sê ek so?
158	EM	Just by reading the whatever. I think it's sexual or it sounds like it.
159	LS	Has a sexual connection. Sexual connection. Why? By means of the conversation (...) the setting.
160	EM	Dit is skerp hierdie.
161	LS	The setting is also (...) a dead giveaway.

162	EM	Because that kind of talk, they play, is in a gym usually, kan ons sê (...) Is baie skerp hierdie, sjoe (-)
163	LS	The tipes of conversations between two people usually occur (...) hê? Occur, take place, occur. Whatever.
164	EM	Sê take place. Al twee pas in daardie konteks.
165	LS	Okay toemaar. Ons skryf nou te veel hierso. Twee. What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? (...) Dit kan vieslik raak maar ek gaan dit nie sê nie. Ek is 'n normale, ordentlike mens. What really got me going? Jis man, ag man, jimmel!
166	EM	Ja.
167	LS	Jimmel, kom net reg (...) okay, okay kom ons wees nou (laughter)
168	EM	Hulle probeer ons vertel van die screen en die (...)
169	LS	The size, ek gaan nie vertel wat die size is nie maar dit is die Acer LCD wat hulle van praat. Sies. Wie se advert is dit die? What does the advert say about the advertised product? The size, the Acer, LCD mm.
170	EM	En die image response rate, die five ms response rate (...)
171	LS	Okay maar die discussion is ook opgeneem so hy het beter clarity daaroor kry, okay.
172	EM	En dan kan ons sê how do you know this? By the inscription. Ons weet dit nie aanvanklik nie maar ons weet dit as ons daai stukkie lees.
173	LS	Jissie, we hope.
174	EM	Ja.
175	LS	By the description on the ad okay.
176	EM	Is it trustworthy?
177	LS	Ja, yes. Dit is al wat ek gaan sê. Okay. Advert five.
Advert under discussion: Brut		

178	EM	Ja, is hierdie een.
179	LS	Mm. Essence of man.
180	EM	'n Kar en 'n man, is mos so?
181	LS	Advert hoeveel is hierdie? Vyf?
182	EM	Ja, wat is daai. Dit is seker niks. Uhm. The essence of man. Wat beteken the essence? The essence?
183	LS	Dit is jou essence, jou jou flavor, jou reuk. Die man moet 'n lekker essence omdat 'n weird essence jou. Jy het 'n vanilla essence, jy het 'n dit en 'n dat. Essence of man. Okay ek weet.
184	EM	Okay ek dink 'n kar en 'n man loop mos (...) is so (...) speed.
185	LS	Jou essence. Jy kan nie ontslae raak van jou essence nie. Jou essence is jou essence. Jy het jou reuk, jy doen (...)
186	EM	Ja.
187	LS	Jou essence, okay, ja.
188	EM	Okay, dit is nou wat?
189	LS	Something (...) that you have. Can't get rid of.
190	EM	Men and cars.
191	LS	Men and cars.
192	EM	En speed tussen hakkies.
193	LS	Ja, go together. The advertisement portrays an inseparability.
194	EM	Mm, Ja.
195	LS	Portrays an inseparability.
196	EM	Sit the product and men, whatever
197	LS	Okay.
198	EM	Ons kan ook sê ons assume altyd dat ouens weet van karre. Dit is asof ons konnekteer karre met ouens so hulle wil hê dat ons moet dit. Verstaan jy, maar ek dink ons het nou genoeg geskryf.
199	LS	Ek dink hierdie is nou twee in one hoor. Kyk daar. What is interesting about the advert? Dit is two in one. Ek het nou al twee

		die vrae in een geantwoord. Het ek nie?
200	EM	What does this advert aims to say about the advertised product? Ja, ja.
201	LS	Ek maak dan net daar 'n pyltjie.
202	EM	Right, three. How do you know this?
203	LS	Okay. Dit is 'n male hand on a gearbox on a car's gearbox and the product is in the right-hand corner which means, the product is in the right hand corner (...) so you link the two.
204	EM	Mm.
205	LS	Okay.
206	EM	Uhm. Do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy?
207	LS	No, because you have really (-)
208	EM	It will depend on your taste. They can't. It is very creative and catchy as well but (...) and not all men want cars. I don't. They cant assume that everyone likes cars, so (-)
209	LS	Can't (-)
210	EM	Assume that all men. It is like rugby.
211	LS	Uhm.
212	EM	Give them an advertisement on rugby, but not all men will be interested in that.(...)
213	LS	Okay, volgende.
Advert under discussion: Nankang		
214	EM	Watter een is ons nou? Ses. Black power.
215	LS	OH dit is dubbelsinnig! Can't it be racist as well? (Laughter) Happy 90 th birthday, black power, okay, nee jiggye, ek moet eerder in advertising gaan werk.
216	EM	Ek dink dit is die black power.
217	LS	What is interesting about the advert? Ek gaan nou net sê om mee

		te begin (...) Die tweede ene, die tweede vraag gaan ek dit sê. What is interesting about the advert? (...) Wat is daai woord? (...) Uhm. Brand personality. Wat hul nou gaan doen, is hul gaan daai produkt koop want brand personality is Nelson Mandela.
218	EM	Ja.
219	LS	So, hul sales gaan increase maar ons praat nie nou daarvan nie. Wat hul vra is what is interesting about the advert? Kom ons sê die layout of the advert. The layout and the presentation.
220	EM	Die black power is baie (...) vir my, maar it is interesting, the title whatever. Wat noem mens dit?
221	LS	Black power. Layout and black power. Okay kom ons elaborate nou verder dan sê ons.
222	EM	What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?
223	LS	Okay.
224	EM	Dit is like Madiba het black power.
225	LS	Ek gaan net sê the celebrity, ek gaan nie praat van hom nie. the celebrity used has, has or have? Has, has power.
226	EM	Has.
227	LS	Had, has had, have had. Has a lot of.
228	EM	The celebrity use to have.
229	LS	(laughter) use to have a lot of power and the people.
230	EM	See him as a role model or (...)
231	LS	People respect him (...) and (...) him. So now they abuse his authority by.
232	EM	They use him.
233	LS	Adding, ja, so now they use his uhm (...)
234	EM	Can we say his name or his power or his, uhm.
235	LS	His (...)
236	EM	Label? Jis ek weet nie hoe sê mens dit nie.
237	LS	Now they use they, now they use his assumed (...) ek gaan

		authority, so they use his authority to advertise a tyre (...) meaning that the tyre has (...)
238	EM	The same characteristics or the same power.
239	LS	The same power.
240	EM	In his context.
241	LS	And credibility and wat noem jy dit tog? Geloofwaardigheid, credibility is geloofwaardigheid. Uhm. Die tyre is net so.
242	EM	In sy konteks
243	LS	'n Afgod soos hy. Daar is hy.
244	EM	Skryf in Afrikaans
245	LS	Uses his authority to advertise the tyre, they use his authority to advertise a tire maar ek het dit seker nou verduidelik hoekom ek so sê.
246	EM	Ja, indirectly they assume or they say that the tyre in his context has the same credibility and the same as Madiba had on the (...)
247	LS	It is just as powerful as Madiba. Indirectly the tyre is just as powerful as Madiba.
248	EM	In its context or whatever.
249	LS	Powerful as Madiba in its context.
250	EM	How do you know this?
251	LS	And personality. How do you know this?
252	EM	Hoekom weet ons nou dat hulle wil hê ons moet dink die tyre is so. Dit is obvious. Dit is net soos dit kom eintlik van self. Ek bedoel. Almal ken vir Madiba en die hele agtergrond is vol tyres. (laughter) ek weet nie hoe om dit in woorde te sê nie.
253	LS	You can just assume and know it.
254	EM	Just by looking at the advert (...) it says everything. Black power again (...) Die mense is baie skerp met advertensies.
255	LS	Jy weet daai Savana ads? Ek het die ou ontmoet. Dit is dry and you can drink it. Ek het die ou ontmoet wat dit maak. Hy is

		briljant. Hy het al RSG se ads gemaak. Daai skape wat so van die windmill af jump.
256	EM	En alles.
257	LS	Dit was hy gewees.
258	EM	Dit was baie goed daai, ja. Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?
259	LS	Wag net gou, ek wil net iets skryf. Uhm. Okay kom ons skryf dit by die vierde ene. I would say, nee want weet jy hoekom? As jy nie vir Madiba ken nie kan jy hom nie vergelyk met die tyre nie.
260	EM	Ja.
261	LS	Dit is weer een van daai. You don't know.
262	EM	Kom ons kyk hoeveel is daar nog. Okay, nog net twee.
263	LS	The advert won't be effective (...) Advert hoeveel is hierdie? Seven?

Advert under discussion: Tracker

264	EM	Ja.
265	LS	Okay thank you for giving our young men direction. Tracker would like to thank everyone who supported them in (...)
266	EM	Wat is Tracker presies?
267	LS	Trackers are tracking systems wat jy in jou kar sit as hy gesteel word dan weet hulle waar hy is.
268	EM	O ja. Dit is weer dubbel, dit is nou weer hulle vergelyk die verhouding tussen 'n man en 'n vrou, want hulle sê mos agter elke man is daar 'n vrou wat hom op die regte pad hou en hom lei, kan ons dalk sê.
269	LS	Nie net dit nie, wat ons ook kan sê is die direction ding. Tracker gaan in 'n direction om jou kar te soek.
270	EM	Ja.

271	LS	Daai arrows, like van the arrow means the male and the direction it is going to get your car. Tracking devices.
272	EM	Ja.
273	LS	Ek gaan net sê hierdie picture, the illustration. Okay, die eerste punt. Okay what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? They are hulle thank iemand. Thanking uhm (...)
274	EM	Tracker would like to thank everyone who supported men in the making.
275	LS	Thanking a specific (...)
276	EM	Organisation (...)
277	LS	Or group but the wording (...) thank you (...) Young men (...) a little direction. Our young men a little direction. The direction. Direction. The word direction indirectly refers to the (...)
278	EM	Tracking of (...)
279	LS	Direction in (...) Ek gaan net daar sê direction indirectly refers to the tracking device en dan hier by how do you know this gaan ek net skryf die tracking Tracker is a tracking system company.
280	EM	Ja (...)
281	LS	Is a tacking system company and therefore they use the correct wording.
282	EM	Ja.
283	LS	And therefore they have a good, the play of words.
284	EM	Ja.
285	LS	And therefore (...) and therefore their wordplay on direction is making sense.
286	EM	Ja.
287	LS	Mm ja, so iets nê?
288	EM	Ja.
289	LS	Are the claims trustworthy? Ek gaan net sê yes.
290	EM	Because they want to thank people so obviously they were

		successful or something (-)
291	LS	The description is also clear (...) and direct. Goed. Laaste ene (...) eina (...)
292	EM	Jy skryf soos 'n masjien hoor.
293	LS	Hê?
294	EM	Jy skryf nogal soos 'n masjien.
295	LS	Is dit?
296	EM	Ja.
Advert under discussion: Hansa Pilsner		
297	LS	Another magnificent pair you would love to get your hands on. A refreshing choice. Okay wat?
298	EM	Hoekom is die een se doppie af en die ander een nie?
299	LS	Male and female.
300	EM	Dit is nou weer (...)
301	LS	Dit is nou weer porno (laughter) a refreshing choice, another magnificent pair to get your hands on. Uhm, ek kan nou half (...) ek weet nie, ek kan baie sê. Wel, what is interesting about?
302	EM	Jy het lekker agtergrond hoor. Ek sit en kyk hoe jy (-)
303	LS	What is interesting about the advert?
304	EM	There is, ek weet nie.
305	LS	Nee, dit was die inside detail daar. Dit is die inside detail daai. What is interesting vir jou? Jy kyk na die prentjie en jy sê wat vir jou interessant is. Die volgende een is what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product.
306	EM	Dat die een doppie af is en die ander een nie.
307	LS	Ja, dit is nè? Dit is interessant. Ja, interesting that the one doppie.
308	EM	Cap.
309	LS	Okay, cap, dankie is on and (-)

310	EM	Sê mens nou cap of lid?
311	LS	Ek worry nie.
312	EM	Okay.
313	LS	Cap is on the other. Lid is 'n groter ding .
314	EM	Ja.
315	LS	The other one is off.
316	EM	Ja.
317	LS	What does the advert say about the (...)
318	EM	En hulle assume, wil hulle hê jy moet dit in pairs drink. Verstaan jy? Love to get your hands verstaan on another magnificent pair verstaan? Hulle refer to it as dat jy meer as een moet drink. Verstaan jy? Dit is hoe ek dit sien. Hulle refer to it as pair.
319	LS	Refer to you will probably drink more than one. Probably drink more than one.
320	EM	In pairs, whatever.
321	LS	Another pair you like to get your hands on. Dit is uhm, a slight sexual connotation maybe (...) because you like to talk about that stuff with beer. Another pair you would like to get your hands on, a refreshing choice. Uhm. Pair can also be slightly (...)
322	EM	Jy sê nie jy wil jou (...) want to get your hands on beer nie, verstaan jy. Dit is nie hoe jy praat van bier nie. Verstaan jy?
323	LS	Dit beteken maar basically net dat you would love to (...)
324	EM	Ja,
325	LS	Have one of these beers. Ek weet nie. Dink jy dit kan alright wees? How do you know this?
326	EM	Want the title, what a magnificent pair.
327	LS	The slogan, the refreshing choice (...) is almost like a guarantee, almost like a guarantee
328	EM	Of what you will experience.
329	LS	A guarantee of the product kan jy ook sê, of the product's

		experience, okay.
330	EM	Ek hou niks van bier nie maar die druppeltjies lyk nogal lekker.
331	LS	Lekker refreshing.
332	EM	Ja, dit doen.
333	LS	Okay ek het nou die slogan gebruik vir daai ene. How do you know the adverts claim is trustworthy? Ek sal sê yes because the one cap that is off immediately triggers reaction.
334	EM	Ja,
335	LS	It triggers the response. It draws attention.
336	EM	Ja,
337	LS	Because the one cap that is off. The beer bottle immediately draws the attention of the client or the reader. Daar's hy.
338	EM	Okay. Kom ons skryf gou ons name. Jy is Leandi nè?
339	LS	Ja, ek gaan gou skryf, I will write, don't worry, Leandi
340	EM	Surname onder,
341	LS	Ag, crap,
342	EM	Toemaar hou maar aan.
343	LS	Toemaar (...) skuus. (...) Okay dan maak ons so
344	EM	Ja,
345	LS	'n Slash dingetjie.

Third discussion		
Turn	Speaker	Content
Advert under discussion: Clinique		
1	EJ	Moet ons in Engels praat.
2	R	Nee, enige taal. Dit is 'n informal discussion. Anything goes. En julle sal anonymous bly. Julle kan sê wat julle ook al wil sê.
3	EJ	What is interesting, eerste ding wat ek obviously gesien het, is die ringe gesien.

4	BC	Ek het ook die ringe gesien.
5	EJ	Okay. Die ring en die combination hoe hulle dit saam sit. A girl's best friend, is nou die ring, kyk eerste na die diamant en dan kom jy by die maskara. Dit is wat ek nou gesien het.
6	BC	Ek het ook ja.
7	EJ	Hulle vra nou till warm water do us part so dit het obviously iets te doen met troue. Talk about a committed relationship, one stroke and these pretty lashes last through rain and tears.
8	BC	Weet jy wat, ek dink half dit is soos 'n vrou se belangrikste dag, dit is haar troudag en daar lyk jy die mooiste. Jy kan hierdie gebruik en jy sal altyd die mooiste lyk of jy nou trou, of jy nou mall toe gaan, jy gaan altyd reg lyk.
9	EJ	En ook soos wat die ring soos wat jy die ring aansit deur dik en dun, deur siekte en wat ook al sal ons bymekaar bly, so kan die maskara by die vrou ook bly, verstaan. Dit gaan haar beste partner wees van nou af. Dis wat, ja.
10	BC	Ja, ek dink ook so.
11	EJ	What does this aim to say? Net soos die ring ook wat by die vrou wat dit die marriage sal bond so sal (...)
12	BC	Die maskara ook daar wees.
13	EJ	Ja, okay cool. How do you know this?
14	BC	Ons kry half 'n afleiding met die ringe wat hulle wys en die bewoording ook van (...) till (...) us part.
15	EJ	Ja, dit maak dit duidelik. Do you think the adverts claim or (inaudible) jy gaan nie weet nie.
16	BC	Ja.
17	EJ	Dit is nou die ding, jy gaan sien hoe nuuskierig is jy om dit te gaan koop.
18	BC	Dit is (...)
19	EJ	En dan gaan jy dit gebruik en dan gaan jy eers kan bepaal.
20	BC	Ja, is dit nou so of nie.
21	EJ	So dit gaan nou afhang van hoe, wat noem jy dit (...) hoe noem jy dit, ek kan nie op die woord kom nie, hoe suksesvol die advert gaan wees. Het hy sy doel

		bereik? Het die mense gekom, het die mense gekoop?
22	BC	Ja, so dit lyk nice maar dit is nou maar. Dit lyk oulik met die ringe en goed maar ons sal nou nie weet nie.
23	EJ	Dit hang af. Dit gaan afhang van vrou tot vrou. Gaan sy dink mm hulle sê, kom ons doen dit, kom ons gaan koop dit. Nou ja.
Advert under discussion: BMW		
	EJ	Goed, next. Volgende. Wat is daai, 'n BMW? Ja, baie mooi! It is hard to ignore. Okay, hulle wys nou eers die gatkant. What is interesting about the advert? Dit wys eerste die agterkant van die motor,
24	BC	Ja.
25	EJ	Die ligte, die antenna wat uit is (laughter. dit is al wat ek sien en dan die see.
26	BC	Ja.
27	EJ	Of 'n rivier, nee wat is daai, dit is die see (laughter)
28	BC	Of 'n plaasdam. Ja. Okay. Ek dink hulle skep so idilliese omgewing. Die kar is ook nou daar (...)
29	EJ	Amper soos wat 'n meisie se bikini boudjies op die strand afgeneem sal word, so, ja.
30	BC	Dit lyk vir my ook so.
31	EJ	Okay, what does this advert aim to say about the advertised product? Sleek? Okay wag, you'll discover leather seats that reflect sunlight to stay cool. An advanced climate control system that (...) so dit pas aan by die, dit is 'n omgewingsvriendelike motor of so iets.
32	BC	Ja, ja.
33	EJ	Okay.
34	BC	Dink jy, ek weet nou nie, dink jy nie ons moet die voorste (...)
35	EJ	Moet ons dit ook kyk?
36	BC	Ek dink so, ek weet nie.
37	EJ	Ek verstaan, dit is een ding (laughter) okay.

38	BC	Ja, lyk my so.
39	EJ	Dit suck.
40	BC	The real beauty (...)
41	EJ	Okay, lies beneath the skin. So (...) okay nou verstaan ek eintlik beter want hulle praat hierso van die seats, die leather seats en die goed en dit is half aan die binnekant, so dit is nie net die buitekant wat mooi is nie. The real beauty lies beneath. Ja, wat sê hulle nog? (Inaudible) power from less fuel plus in die engine ook in die binnekant.
42	BC	So al die dinge wat mens na kyk is (...)
43	EJ	Ja, en dan sê hulle could a car be as thrilling to drive as to look at, so sien jy die buitekant, beyond beauty.
44	BC	Ja. Dit lyk vir my ook so, ek dink ook (...)
45	EJ	Wat dink jy?
46	BC	Dis mooi aan die buitekant maar (...)
47	EJ	Van hier af.
48	BC	Krag eintlik en die mooiheid is eintlik aan die binnekant.
49	EJ	Ja, so (...) okay cool. So (...) so dit is dan nommer twee. How do you know this? Presies wat hulle dan op die prentjie en op die bewoording onder.
50	BC	Wat hulle sê.
51	EJ	Ja, okay. Do you think the adverts' claims are trustworthy?
52	BC	Ek dink as ons (...) ek dink iemand wat soos 'n minitjie ry, of so iets. Hulle gaan dan natuurlik daardie kar kies, natuurlik (...) of 'n BMW liefhebber is hy gaan wees (...) definitief. Is dit? Natuurlik gaan hy die BMW kies. Enige advertensie, jy gaan nie kan sê of dit trustworthy is of nie. Dit is so.
53	EJ	Maar dit gaan absoluut weer oor smaak en hoe gullible die mense is om die advertensie te glo en sulke dinge.
54	BC	Nee, dit is (...)
55	EJ	Okay, Gino Ginelli
Advert under discussion: Gino Ginelli		

56	BC	O, dis lekker ice creams (inaudible)
57	EJ	Okay, What is interesting about the advert? Hulle staan in a queue om geskep te word.
58	BC	Aa dit is oulik, ek sien dit nou eers.
59	EJ	Ja, dit is nogal oulik. Dit is asof hulle queue staan. Ja. Om die volgende skep te kry, die volgende skep.
60	BC	Dis oulik, dis baie oulik.
61	EJ	Spoil yourself, Italian style.
62	BC	Ek dink ook wat ook half interessant is, is dat mens sien nie half eintlik die ander nie.
63	EJ	Dit is baie waar.
64	BC	Jy sien die rooi, die rooi Gino Ginelli roomys en dan kyk jy verder en sien dis lepels. Ek het nie eers die lepels gesien nie. So ek het gesien rooi, roomys, dis lekker. Ek het so gefokus.
65	EJ	Dis waar. Die ander fade half in en dan as jou oog verder gaan sien jy die groter prentjie. Okay. What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product? Ek dink dit is lekker, almal soek 'n happie (laughter) of soos hulle sê ander roomyse is maar daar onder, want kyk daarso staan not all ice creams are created equally. So die res is eintlik equal aan mekaar almal proe dieselfde maar dat Gino Genelly het iets (...)
66	BC	Soos op daardie boek Animal Farm wat sê all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others. So ek dink amper soos hierdie een is soos van hy is ook 'n roomys maar hy is daar bo, hy is nie soos die ander nie.
67	EJ	Hy het 'n ander klas. Ja, dit is nogal waar. Okay cool. Dit is nogal 'n lekker advertensie. How do you know this? Want dit staan daaronder met die bewoording. Okay, do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy? Ek sal sê ja.
68	BC	Ek dink ook so, enige roomys is eintlik (...)
69	EJ	Ek is mal oor Gino Genelly se roomys, veral dit is anders as die res. Ek eet baie roomyse in verskillende soorte, maar weereens, hang af.

70	BC	Ja, jy eet baie roomys, so jy sal nou weet (...)
71	EJ	Party mense haat, ja, ek gaan dit definitief probeer.
Advert under discussion: Acer		
72	BC	O, okay, (inaudible), so gym.
73	EJ	Digital planet (...)
74	BC	Oh my word, bietjie suggestief. (...)
75	EJ	22. Wat is dit?
76	BC	Dit lyk soos 'n laptop, nè?
77	EJ	22 inch, ja.
78	BC	Ja (laughter)
79	EJ	Dit is baie, dan kyk sy nog af en die vraagteken.
80	BC	Dan wonder sy nou (...) oh my soul.
81	EJ	What is interesting about the advert? Ek het eerste gedink dit gaan oor gym.
82	BC	Ja, ek het ook gedog, ja. Ek het gewonder wat gaan nou hier aan.
83	EJ	Dit is bietjie deurmekaar. Ja, ek weet (...) Baie deurmekaar, ja. Hier is websites goed en dan (...)
84	BC	Ja, jy het so klomp gedagtes waaroor dit eintlik kan gaan.
85	EJ	Jy sien die rekenaar omtrent heel laaste.
86	BC	Ek het, ja, dit is.
87	EJ	Okay, what does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?
	EJ	Dat dit groot is.
88	BC	Ja (laughter)
	BC	Ek dink ook so (laughter)
89	EJ	En giggel ons en dan (...) dit is, wat noem jy dit? Dubbelsinnig.
90	BC	Ja.
91	EJ	Baie dubbelsinnig. Hang af hoe jou kop dink gaan jy, wat gaan hier aan?
92	BC	As jy eers daai goed, kyk as jy nie sê nou maar jy het nie die rekenaar gesien nie en jy lees dit, dan dink jy, wat? Jy sal nou dink waaroor gaan hierdie.

93	EJ	Dit is soos daai klein print, dit is daar onder.
94	BC	Ek dink dit is hoekom hulle daai rooi goedjies in die skerm gesit het, dat dit so bietjie uitstaan. Ja, want mens sien dit nie eintlik nie.
96	EJ	Vreemd. How do you know this? Wel, as julle nou na die advertensie gaan kyk gaan julle sien wat ons bedoel.
97	BC	Ja en (...)
98	EJ	Dit is moeilik om te verduidelik, ja.
99	BC	Ja en wat hulle sê, soos daar bo praat hulle van 22 inch.
100	EJ	En dan Natasha love the size but it really got me going was the 5 ms response rate.
101	BC	That followed, ja, so ek weet nie. Dit is maar moeilik. Dit is net baie suggestief hierdie advertensie. Dit laat mens, ja.
102	EJ	Do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy?
103	BC	Ek weet nie.
104	EJ	Secure, trusted, convenient. Online shopping at its best. Nee, ek weet nie. Gaan hulle (...)
105	BC	Hulle sê so maar mens weet nou nie.
106	EJ	Ek sal dit nie vertrou nie, want ek ken dit glad nie. Ken jy dit? Ek het nog nooit in my lewe gehoor van die digital planet (-)
107	BC	Nee, ek ook nie.
108	EJ	So, ek weet nie, next.
109	BC	Um fine print okay.
	BC	Hoeveel vroumense is hier, gedog dis moeilik.
110	EJ	Ja, what is interesting about the advert?
Advert under discussion: Brut		
111	BC	'n Mens dink dit gaan oor 'n kar weer. Dit lyk soos (...)
112	EJ	Ja en dan, ons het in Afrikaans geleer hulle sit altyd die die goedjies in die hoeke om dit laaste te sien, of ek kan nie eers onthou wat is die doel nie, maar ek weet

		dit is 'n goeie ding dat hulle dit daar sit, want jou oog gaan daarna toe.
113	BC	Ek het nie daai gesien nie, ek het eers daai gesien, o okay.
114	EJ	En dan verstaan jy al nou, want dan sê hulle die “essence of man”
115	BC	Ja.
116	EJ	Dit is half 'n kar, 'n man wat ratte oorsit. Dit is sy wêreld. Party ouens doen dit op die beat van die musiek. Party ouens verbeel hulle hulle is op 'n F1 baan en kom Brut, dan asof hy soort van vergelyk word.
117	BC	Ek dink jy kry soos jou rush uit jou kar uit, dit is soos jy weet en as jy Brut gaan gebruik dan is dit ook amazing en jy gaan meisies, jy gaan meisies, soos daai Axe advertensie die chickies, as jy dit gaan gebruik, almal gaan jy weet. Jy ken eintlik van dit, so.
118	EJ	Ja, ja. Okay so what does this advert aim to say about the advise. Dit is wat ons basically al gesê het.
119	BC	Van die man en sy kar en (...)
120	EJ	Ja, ja dit word half vergelyk met mekaar. Die (...)
121	BC	Die een kan nie sonder die ander nie.
122	EJ	Ja, okay, how do you know this?
123	BC	Want ons voel mans en karre en nou vergelyk hulle dit nou half met Brut. Daai prentjie (...)
124	EJ	Ja, dit wat die kar aan die man doen gaan die spuitgoed gaan dieselfde rol half speel.
125	BC	Ja, effek op die man hê.
126	EJ	Okay.
127	R	Sorry to interrupt. I just need to go somewhere quickly. So (...)
128	EJ	Got some interesting adverts here.
129	R	Great. I just need to dash off somewhere, so if you are done, just pull the door shut until it clicks.
130	BC	Okay, baai.
132	EJ	Do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy?
133	BC	Dis ook nou weer.

134	EJ	Jy gaan nie weet as jy nie die maak ken of dit gebruik het nie of as ons dit nie geruik het aan iemand nie.
135	BC	Ja, ek dink dit is elke ou se smaak. Dit kan vir een persoon lekker ruik maar vir ons kan dit stink. Dit is maar elke ou se opinie.
Advert under discussion: Nankang		
	BC	Black power.
136	EJ	Okay, happy 90 th birthday Madiba. Okay. What is interesting about the advert? Mandela se gesig dadelik.
137	BC	En dan Black power, ja en dan die wiel. Dit kan als ook dubbelsinnig wees van die black power. Hy is black en hy het power en 'n wiel is swart en het ook power so dit kan maar (...)
138	EJ	Dit is eintlik presies ek dink wat hulle (...) Plus hy het power die wiel wanneer jy dit aan 'n kar sit.
139	BC	Dit is al twee swart en het krag.
140	EJ	Okay, what does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?
141	BC	Dit is iets black and its got power.
142	EJ	Ja, okay. How do you know this?
143	BC	Die wiel (...) want dit is groot daarbo geskryf. Black power en (...)
144	EJ	Dit is net die bewoording.
145	BC	Ja, dit is baie kragtig.
146	EJ	Plus om Madiba in te bring. Dit het soveel meer (...) as hy authorisation gegee het om sy gesig daarop te sit dalk is dit. Party mense gaan so dink as hulle by nommer vier kom, do you think the adverts aim is trustworthy?
147	BC	Ja, hy sal nou nie sy naam op iets sit.
148	EJ	Wat nou, ja, so (...) Nou ja, dit gaan ook weer afhang of mense die ding ken. Ek het nog nooit daarvan gehoor nie. Okay. Next.
Advert under discussion: Tracker		

	EJ	Thank you for giving our young men a little direction. Tracker, oh my word. Tracker would like to (inaudible) Dit is mos die man se teken nè?
149	BC	Ja.
150	EJ	Okay, die manlikheid en Tracker, dit is half soos 'n pyltjie, 'n direction ding. Okay wag, what is interesting about the advert? Ek sien eerste die pyltjie en dan thank you for giving our young men a little direction.
151	BC	Ja, ek dink ook die teken van die man wat hulle gebruik het.
152	EJ	En dan, what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?
153	BC	Lyk my hulle het seuns na hul werksplek genooi, sê nou maar, pa's of so iets, ek is nou nie seker nie, maar dan kon die seuns soos daai dag daar gewees het vir career day.
154	EJ	Om nou by Tracker sê nou te werk?
155	BC	Ek weet nie. Dalk het hulle dit net soos ge-sponsor of (...) into your business.
156	EJ	O, dit was seker ge-sponsor by Tracker.
157	BC	Ja, hulle was soos van 'n main sponsor. Hulle het dit gereël dalk.
158	EJ	En dit was 'n algemene career day. Okay.
159	BC	So daar is nie 'n produk eintlik wat hulle (-)
160	EJ	Nee dit is asof hulle net vir Tracker borg en met die ding beeld hulle die Tracker uit deur manlikheid of wat ook al.
161	BC	Net om te sê soos wat hulle half gedoen het. So ek dink nie daar is eintlik 'n produk nie. How do you know this, okay.
Advert under discussion: Hansa Pilsner		
162	EJ	Verstaan nou nie mooi nie. Hansa Pilsner. What is interesting about the advert? Die een se doppie is af, die ander een is op. Why? Another magnificent pair you would love to get your hands on.
163	BC	Dit is 'n moeilike een. Ek weet nie hoekom die doppie af is nie, by die een nie.
164	EJ	Dalk, mans as hulle by die bar was, voorbarige mans, vat altyd soos twee biere

		want hulle wil nie weer loop nie, nou weet ek nie is dit dalk a pair.
165	BC	Soos jy weet mos hulle, sê nou maar hulle is in die kroeg en hulle prys iemand se bates, dit is 'n pair, so dit is nog 'n pair (-)
166	EJ	Of buns, onthou dit kan ook 'n pair wees. Another magnificent pair you would love to get your hands on.
167	BC	So hierdie een is ook 'n bietjie. Ons sal dit nie altyd verstaan nie.
168	EJ	Nee, ons gaan nie, maar dit moet iets met dit te doen hê.
169	BC	Ek dink ook so.
170	EJ	What does this advert aim to say? Dit is wat ons half gesê het.
171	BC	Wat hul wil hê.
172	EJ	Nog 'n paar lekker dinge om te kry, ja kan hierdie twee paartjies ook kry. En how do you know this? Die uitbeelding en bewoording wat ons nou maar aflei. Do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy?
173	BC	Dit kom nou ook weer by persoonlike, party mans like Black Label en ander mans like hierdie. O, is ons klaar?
174	EJ	Okay. Dit is dit.
175	BC	Ja, dit was regtig lekker.
176	EJ	Is daar rêrig niks, is dit dit?
177	BC	Ja.

6.3 Interpretation of the transcripts

6.3.1 Clinique

Respondents in groups one and three are quick to observe that retrieval of the ad's commercial message requires recognition of specific discourse features from wedding ceremonies. Their inferences are based on both the presence of wedding bands in the graphic unit, as well as the reformulated wedding vow *until death do us part*:

Group one

7 LE: Till warm water do us part. Dit is soos until death do us part.

8 RN: Trouring

9 LE: Trouring, ja.

Group three

5 EJ: Okay. Die ring en die combination hoe hulle dit saam sit. [...] kyk eerste na die diamant en dan kom jy by die mascara. Dit is wat ek gesien het.

6 BC: Ek het ook die ringe gesien.

7 EJ: Hulle vra nou till warm water do us part so dit het obviously iets te doen met troue. Talk about a committed relationship, one stroke and these pretty lashes last through rain and tears.

During the second discussion, LS also begins her analysis with the headline. Her partner, however, interprets it as directions for removing the product only, rather than an intertextual device. Nevertheless, by turn 13 the connection has been observed:

Group two

2 LS: What is interesting about the advert? Okay, ek dink dit is daai till warm water do us part. Dit kan [...]

3 EM: Nee, die ringe.

4 LS: Baie. Ja, ja, die ringe maak dit baie catching maar soos jy dit sê die ringe en dan daai till warm water do us part, till warm water do us part vertel van die [...]

5 EM: Van wat nodig is om dit te, verstaan jy, gaan dit nie oor die warm water en wat nodig is om dit af te haal nie?
[...]

8 LS: Hy sê vir jou in daai klein quote wat die produk is. Want dit is half in between the lines, till warm water do us part, okay, want dit is maskara, okay.
[...]

13 EM: Wat noem mens dit, soos 'n [...] huweliksding [...]

Although respondents do not possess the appropriate linguistic or otherwise academic terminology, it appears safe to surmise that they have recognised marriage as an intertextual field. More importantly, they are also able to extrapolate from this that loyalty is constructed as one of the product's traits:

Group one

- 11 LE: Okay vows, dit is weer vows. Till warm water do us part. Al daai goed gaan oor vows wat in die kerk afgelê word tussen die man en vrou obviously. Committed relationship. Word vergelyk die verhouding van jou en die maskara met die verhouding van jou en jou man. Is dit reg? En, wat is daar nog? Dit is asof hierdie gaan oor **I'm not going to let you down, without smudge or smear tot jy verkies om dit te laat gaan.** Ja. So **hulle sal jou nie in die steek laat nie tot jy verkies om dit te laat gaan.** Interesting. [...] uhm [...] Wat is daar nog? (researcher's emphasis)

In this extract, LE not only points to loyalty, but also convenience as primary product attributes. This, as well as her mention of the phrase *committed relationship*, suggests that she has read the subtext, which states: "Yet the formula removes easily with warm water". On the basis of this evidence she ascribes to the copywriter the intention of constructing the product as possessing the positive, but not the negative characteristics of a reliable romantic partner. That is, while the product is dependable, it is also conveniently easy to remove. As indicated by the extracts cited below, groups two and three also identified the intertext and its metaphorical function:

Group two

- 13 EM: Wat noem mens dit, soos 'n [...] die huweliksding wat jy sê dit bring soos die getroude lewe, soos ek dit sien soos die man en vrou

wat nou getroud is en wat tussen hulle kan kom of nie tussen hulle kan kom nie. Dit is soos die maskara en die vrou.

- 14 LS: **Dit is dieselfde bond**, ja dieselfde tussen die man en die vrou is **similar to the relationship between the woman and the maskara** (researcher's emphasis).

Third group

- 9 EJ: En ook soos wat die ring soos wat jy die ring aansit deur dik en dun, deur siekte en wat ook al sal ons bymekaar bly, **so kan die maskara by die vrou ook bly, verstaan. Dit gaan haar beste partner wees van nou af.** Dis wat, ja (researcher's emphasis).

Thus far, all three groups have successfully identified both the intertext and its function to signal a metaphor between marriage and the product. Respondents in group two, however, articulated their findings less clearly. Although they have clearly recognised the metaphor, their discussion does not elaborate on the nature of the "bond" that is suggested to exist between consumer and product (turn 14). By contrast, groups one and three not only notice the metaphor, but refer specifically to this attribute: "I'm not going to let you down" (turn 7, group one) and "Dit gaan haar beste partner wees van nou af" (turn 9, group three). The lack of specificity in group two – if it reflects the manner in which some readers process ads – does not imply that the ad has completely failed its communicative goal. If the validity of the arguments cited in section 2.4.2a in Chapter 2 are accepted, less specific messages such *the product's bond with consumers is similar to that between husband and wife* may still achieve its objective by enhancing an association that similar products from alternative brands lack. Nevertheless, the results from Chapter 5 suggest that communicating a more specific message was in fact the advertiser's aim and that the detailed inferences drawn by groups one and three represent the preferred inferencing path.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that during the third discussion (turn 9), EJ supports her inferences by citing an additional line from traditional Western wedding vows: “soos wat jy die ring aansit deur dik en dun, **deur siekte** en wat ook al sal ons bymekaar bly, so kan die mascara by die vrou ook bly” (researcher’s emphasis). This suggests that when the headline and/or subtext indicates the relevance of a particular intertext, some readers may consider the relevance of other aspects of the intertext which are not explicitly mentioned.

Finally, in response to item three, respondent BC from group three (cf. turn 14) identifies the graphic unit as a prominent indicator of the intertext and commercial message. EJ, however, notes that it is the reworded version of *till death do us part* that confirms this (cf. turn 15). This provides some initial evidence that, while readers are more likely to process the graphic unit first – as will be confirmed in subsequent analyses (cf. section 6.3.3) – the lexical unit may still be instrumental in confirming the relevance of a particular inferencing route. In this case, the respondents view the proximity of the ring and product as an initial indication that a metaphor is at work. For confirmation of this intention, however, the headline is essential. Participants in the first and second group followed a similar pattern. Although the former views the graphic unit as support for the lexical, while the latter only mention the lexical, it is clear that, in terms of product claims, all groups consider the headline and subtext as the clearest indicator of the intended message:

Group one

- 19 LE: Hulle sê ’n nice ding hier en dan beeld hulle dit uit in die prentjie.
So hul emphasize dit.

Group two

- 37 EM: [...] how do you know this?
38 LS: Ja.
39 EM: Okay dan kan ons sê
40 LS: Till warm water do us part
41 EM: En daai by the power vested in you, lash power, sulke goeters, let

the love fest begin (laughter)

All respondents have, therefore, not only recognised the intertext, but also its function to project associations from marriage onto the product, albeit to differing levels of complexity.

6.3.2 BMW

The current ad spans two pages and was presented to group one as two jpg files. This caused some confusion (cf. turns 39-60, group one) and the original copy was subsequently scanned and saved as a single file for groups two and three.

Only the first group identified a pre-existing text in the headline (cf. turn 114). Nevertheless, the marketing message remains intact. In group one, respondent LE hypothesises that the headline might serve to suggest a metaphor between the advertised product and the sea, depicted in the background. In turn 67, RN rejects this theory and, although he makes no mention of an idiom, accurately interprets the headline's function: "Lies beneath the skin. Praat hulle van die engine?" Subsequently, although she still makes no mention of an idiom, respondent MM recognises the headline's moral admonition. Only in turn 114, does LE explicitly label the intertext as an idiom:

Group one

68 LE: Ja, maar hierdie. Can a car be, nee. Ek weet nie. Can a car be as
thrilling to drive as it is to look at? Dit is nogal 'n mooi kar, ek
moet sê.

69 MM: Maar ek dink hulle focus nie. Dit is daai ding van **look deeper**
(researcher's emphasis).

60 LE: Ja, look deeper.

[...]

- 85 MM: Wel, as ek nou kon sê. Die wêreld gaan oor jy moet focus op wat buite aangaan. Die ding sê jy moet dieper kyk. Verstaan? Jy moet bietjie meer kyk as wat net buite aangaan.
[...]
- 114 LE: [...] Al wat vir my interessant is, daai claim dat inner beauty is belangriker as outer beauty. **Daai bekende gesegde kan ons maar sê** (researcher's emphasis).

In addition, MM's contribution in turn 85 demonstrates knowledge of the hypernorm regarding the premium society assigns to physical beauty.

In the second group, LS also begins by pondering the relation between the headline and setting. She infers that the proximity of the sea and product may be compared to the positioning of attractive female models next to cars¹¹:

Group two

- 48 LS: [...] Okay, dit is dubbelsinning. Weet jy hoekom? Want okay eerstens dit is buite gepark, **dit is by die see**, dit is beautiful daar. **Jy moet besluit of jy vir die water of vir die kar wil kyk** (researcher's emphasis).
- 49 EM: Ja.
- 50 LS: Dis soos 'n mooi kar met 'n meisie, soos jis, die meisie is mooi maar die kar is nicer (laughter). Verstaan jy wat ek sê?

Thereafter, in turn 54, LS also infers that the image of the tree on the left-hand side is relevant to the ad's claim about its advanced climate control system, by eliciting associations between trees and shade. Clearly, interpretations of the interconnectedness and function of images and words may follow an unpredictable array of inferencing routes for each consumer. However, in response to the questionnaire's first item, respondents immediately attempt to uncover the headline's relevance: "Surprisingly the

¹¹ This demonstrates her knowledge of advertising practice and, in terms of van Niekerk (2008: 495), the hypernorm "there are no subject taboos" (cf. turn 28, group three).

real beauty lies beneath the skin. Wat bedoel hulle daarmee?" (turn, 55 EM:). As was the case for the previous group, LS and EM recognise the idiom's intended meaning and relevance to the ad, even though they do not explicitly refer to it as a pre-existing text:

Group two

- 56 LS: Beneath the skin, ja daar is more to the car that you can see.
57 EM: Ja.
58 LS: **Daarso is, as jy hom gaan ry gaan jy die beauty, the real beauty discover.**
59 EM: Ja.
60 LS: **You don't judge a book by its cover** (researcher's emphasis).

Turn 60 indicates that LS has correctly identified the idiom's original moral. More importantly, she has also interpreted its presence as a boast of the advertised product's performance (cf. turn 58). Having made this inference, however, the respondents continue to describe the setting as a graphic illustration of the ad's claims.

In the third group, EJ and BC reach the same conclusion:

Group three

- 41 EJ: [...] nou verstaan ek eintlik beter want hulle praat hierso van die seats, die leather seats en die goed en dit is half aan die binnekant, so dit is **nie net** die buitekant wat mooi is nie.
[...]
46 BC: Dis [the exterior] mooi aan die buitekant maar (...)
47 EJ: Van hier af
48 BC: Krag eintlik en **die mooiheid is eintlik aan die binnekant** (my emphasis)

Unfortunately, groups two and three fail to elaborate on the precise implications of the product's supposed inner beauty. Group one, however, equates the concept with both enhanced performance and comfort:

Group one

72 LE: Beauty lies within. So hy ry, hy's mooi maar **hy ry beter**.

73 RN: Mm (...)

74 LE: Ja, hy's mooi maar hy ry beter. Sulke goeters. Hy is mooi buite maar jy **sit gemakliker**. [...]

75 MM: Kyk hierso sê hulle ook van mm **climate control, leather seats**.
Dit is binne die kar verstaan?

76 LE: [...] Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin.
Surprisingly, **so asof jy nie kan glo die kar is so mooi en hy het nog al die goed ook nie** (...). Real beauty lies beneath the skin.
Dit is so. Alles is perfek binne in die kar. [...] (researcher's emphasis)

The first group's respondents were also the only subjects to articulate the function of the word *surprisingly* (in turn 76).

With regard to the second item on the questionnaire, groups one and three rely on both the headline and the subtext for their inferences, as indicated by turns 72 to 75 and 85-95 (group one) and 41 to 43 and 49 (group three). Respondent RN in group one explicitly states that the subtext's absence would obscure the headline's meaning (96). This conclusion develops from MM's knowledge of advertising's goal to communicate product claims (turn 94). On this basis, LE suggests that if the headline succeeds in seizing one's attention, the subtext is necessary to fully comprehend its relevance to the product (turn 97):

Group one

85 MM: [...] Die ding sê jy moet dieper kyk. Verstaan? Jy moet bietjie meer kyk as wat net buite aangaan.

86 RN: Maar jy kan nie dieper kyk as jy nie die (...)

87 LE: Die bonnet oopmaak nie.
[...]

- 94 MM: Nee, ek dink nie dit moet iets wegsteek nie. 'n Ad doen juis iets om te sê was aangaan.
[...]
- 96 RN: **As hierdie onderste paragraaf nie daar was nie, dan dan het dit iets anders, dan het die prentjie. Dan weet jy niks van (...)**
- 97 LE: As jy net daai kry, nè, dan dit wat jy klaar dink, dit sal mos dadelik die idee wees as jy daardie idee dink dan okay so die kar is mooi maar daar is meer tot die kar. Dan kan jy die onderste lees dan sien jy.
- 98, RN: Dan kan jy sien wat is meer tot die kar (researcher's emphasis)

Although group two recognises the claim that the pleasure of driving the car exceeds its external appeal (cf. turn 58), their attention remains focused on the relation between headline, subtext and setting, rather than the manner in which the subtext guides interpretations of the headline.

To close, only the first group identified the headline as a reformulated idiom. Nevertheless, all groups successfully accessed the idiom's moral injunction, as well as the manner in which it pertains to the advertising text. This process was augmented by the coherence between headline and subtext.

6.3.3 Gino Ginelli

In section 4.2.2.3a this ad was grouped with those which establish intertextuality on the lexical level alone, as the intertext is situated in the headline's reformulation of the expression: *all men are created equal*. Nevertheless, as indicated in turns 158 (group 1), 113 to 115 (group two) and 57 to 60 (group three), although they have read the headline in previous turns, the graphic unit is perceived as the most interesting feature. Participants in groups one and three paid particular attention to the manner in which the spoons queue in front of the advertised ice cream. Group three also observed the importance of colours, and propose that the contrast between the container's vivid red

and the spoons' less conspicuous silver, induces consumers to observe the former first, before discovering the latter (cf. turn 65). Although there is no unequivocal evidence that either group perceived this arrangement as a metaphoric reference to consumers, group three's summary of the marketing message "almal soek 'n happie" points to this conclusion.

The second group conclude that the spoons are arranged in different sizes and that this becomes the basis for the message: "Once you start, you can't stop" (turn 115, LS). When asked to provide evidence for this assertion, the respondents are hard pressed and resort to personal experience of the product's taste, rather than specific lexical or graphic cues. Interestingly, they ascribe this lack of additional evidence to poor copywriting: "I think they could have been a bit more precise" (turn 131, LS). It therefore seems conceivable that this particular inference cannot be described as one that the copywriter intended to support.

In group one, however, LE differs from the participants in her own and other groups. She states in turn 161 that she progressed from the headline to the graphic unit. Eventually, however, she concurs with her two peers' emphasis on the images:

Group one

- 161 LE: Hoe ek dit weer sien. Ek het die onderste ding geles. Not all ice creams are created equal. Is asof jy begin onder, sien jy dit lyk of die lepels boontoe-er gaan vir my. Dit lyk. Dit is asof jy begin basies en jy gaan hoër, hoer tot jy by Gino Ginelli uitkom.
[...]
- 171 LE: What is interesting about the advert? Dat die lepels op 'n ry staan.
- 172 RN: In 'n ry staan. Ja. Wat wil hulle sê? Dat dit so lekker is dat hulle in 'n ry staan?
- 173 LE: What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? Dat dit so goed is dat die lepels staan in 'n ry. Vir my obviously dit is 'n hoër
- 174 MM: Ja.

175 LE: **Okay how do you know this? Okay deur die uitbeelding van die lepels** (researcher's emphasis).

Although respondents have clearly retrieved the message that the advertised product is superior to competitors, the graphic unit remains the strongest source. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that group one has recognised a pre-existing text in the headline. The third group reaches the same conclusion but place more emphasis on the lexical unit:

Group three

65 EJ: What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? Ek dink dit is lekker, almal soek 'n happie (laughter) of soos hulle sê ander roomyse is maar daar onder, **want kyk daarso staan not all ice creams are created equally** (researcher's emphasis).

In turn 66, BC becomes the only participant to observe the presence of an intertext:

"Soos in daardie boek 'Animal Farm' wat sê all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others. So ek dink amper soos hierdie een is soos van hy is ook 'n roomys maar hy is daar bo, hy is nie soos die ander nie".

Her subsequent analysis provides support for the inferencing route suggested in section 4.2.2.3a. Once the expression has been recognised as pre-existing to the current text, the need to re-contextualise its meaning in terms of the advertising genre is also realised. On this basis, BC and EJ are able to infer a coherent marketing message by processing the graphic unit first, before considering the lexical for guidance. However, as proposed in 4.2.2.3a, failure to recognise the intertext does not impede group one's ability to infer the marketing message, although the novel use of language is overlooked.

Thus, on the basis of group three's discussion, we may infer, not only that consumers are more likely to notice the graphic unit first, but also that it impacts the assumptions they draw from the intertext. In this case, the intertext is viewed as an elaboration of the claim made in the graphic unit. As such it appears that despite the fact that intertextual

headlines assume a tickle approach, which may render them less explicit than a reason form (cf. Table 4) consumers may nevertheless turn to these as a more detailed guide for the assumptions drawn from images. It seems appropriate to surmise that this process is made possible by humanity's cognitive inclination towards optimal relevance, which may enable readers to 1) integrate graphic and lexical cues, and 2) find a reason template within a tickle headline, based on knowledge about advertising's communicative goals (Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 612).

However, the data obtained from groups one and two suggest that recycled expressions may not even be consciously recognised as pre-existing, especially in a communicative genre dominated by images. On the other hand, the failure to pay more attention to the headline may also stem from the lack of coherence between the headline and subtext. In comparison with the Clinique and BMW ads, the latter is not sufficiently tied to the former, in the sense that it does not elaborate or specify the headline's message.

In summary, only one group recognised the intertext, while the rest failed even to mention its status as a recycled expression. In conjunction with the previous section, this suggests that while consumers are able to recall an idiom's original meaning during their search for its relevance to the current text, recognition of recycled expressions is poorer. At the same time, however, it must be borne in mind that the current ad exploited its expression less coherently, in comparison with the BMW text.

6.3.4 Acer

The respondents' discussions of this ad provide strong support for the inferencing path proposed in section 4.2.2.6a. Firstly, in turn 72, BC (group three) observes that discourse features from everyday conversation have been incorporated into the advertising text, with specific emphasis on social interaction set in a gym. Subsequently, in 74 to 81 both respondents recognise the ad's allusion to sex, with some shock: "Oh my word, bietjie suggestief" (turn 74, BC). Group one and two follow the same route:

Group one

223 RN: Jy het al gesien **in die gym** dan staan jy en jy is besig met iets

anders en dan hoor jy hoe praat die ouens oor ander goeters.
Obviously.

224 LE: Jy kom altyd in die helfde van 'n gesprek daar aan.

225 RN: Ja

226 MM: En dan?

227 LE: Maak jy afleidings.

[...]

231 LE: [...] Ek het eerlikwaar ek het dadelik gedink **adverteer hulle**

Viagra pille of wat gaan hier aan (laugter) [...] (researcher's emphasis)

Group two

136 EM: Dit gaan oor sy (...)

137 LS: Okay, ja, ek gaan dit nou nie skryf nie. Die advertisement is **sexually connected**. Hoekom seks self? **Die setting is in a gym**. Wat gebeur in a gym? Mans gym, vrouens gym in so min as moontlik klere. Daar vind perving and lusting en hul lust oor mekaar, plaas. So nou dit is hoekom ek sê, die girl op die agtergrond, **check hoe kyk sy vir hom** (researcher's emphasis).

Turns 217 (group one) and 137 (group two) suggest that the direction of the female model's gaze plays a significant role in supporting their inferences. Groups two and three also remark specifically on the significance of the question mark in her thought bubble. Clearly, the use of markers of intra-action necessitates attention to both the ad's lexical and graphic elements:

Group two

138 EM: En die vraagteken. Mens kyk dadelik eers na die (...)

Group three

79 BC: Dit is baie, dan kyk sy nou af en die vraagteken

80 EJ: Dan wonder sy nou (...) oh my soul.

Although the exchanges contain insufficient evidence of the respondents' individual views about sexually allusive ads, it is clear that they are aware of the genre's proclivity for exploiting sex for commercial purposes (for a study of male and female consumers' responses to sex in advertising, cf. Elliot, Jones, Benfield and Barlow, 1995).

With regards to the use of irony, turn 215 (group one), turns 82 to 85 as well 88 to 92 (group three), bear testimony to the respondents' initial confusion about the text's intended message. In turn 89, EJ attributes this to the text's ambiguity: "dit is, wat noem jy dit? Dubbelsinnig". Respondents have therefore recognised the presence of a comic dupe. The ad's meaning is unclear until the female model's misapprehension of the men's conversation is recognised, as is evident from turns 260 to 262 (group one):

Group one

260 RN: As jy net tot daar lees, tot daar, daai stuk dan gaan jy wonder wat de hel en dan lees jy daai stuk en dan verstaan jy dit gaan oor die TV.

261 LE: Ja

262 RN: Of eintlik nog tot hierso gaan jy ook nog wonder wat de hel, tot jy hier sien

263 MM: Ja

264 LE: En dan hier by die TV gee hulle al die inligting [...]

In turn 231, respondent LE explicitly mentions the dupe's function to generate humour, as well as the effectiveness of the markers of intra-action (turns 240 to 246). In turn 249, she also observes the manner in which this creates a premise for promoting the product as something that enables consumers to achieve a presupposed goal: "[...] hy het sy girl beïndruk met die TV, so jy gaan ook jou girl beïndruk".

The comic dupe is also preserved by the fact that the product assumes a tickle position (cf. turn 229, group one). However, this position also encumbered some respondents' ability to identify the product.

Furthermore group three also cites the ad's lexical structure as a hindrance to the inferencing process, as respondents perceived it as overcrowded: "Dit is bietjie deurmekaar [...] Baie deurmekaar, ja" (Turn 83 EJ).

6.3.5 Brut

In this ad, respondents had no difficulty in identifying the intertext:

Group one

275 LE: [...] Dit is 'n gear shifter of wat noem mens dit?

Group two

184 EM: Okay ek dink 'n kar en 'n man loop mos (...) is so (...) speed

Group three

111 BC: 'n Mens dink dit gaan oor 'n kar weer [...]

In turn 112, EJ observes the small image of the product in the lower right-hand corner. Although uncertain as to the precise reason for this position (turn 112), she is confident that it is constructed as a symbol of masculinity by virtue of the implicit comparison with the intertext (turn 116): "Dit is half 'n kar, 'n man wat ratte oorsit. Dit is sy wêreld [...] en kom Brut, dan asof hy sort van vergelyk word". The image of a masculine hand on a gearshift evokes associations with masculinity which, in the context of the advertising genre, must be relevant to the product in terms of the advertiser's goal. On this basis, BC infers: "Ek dink jy kry soos jou rush uit jou kar uit, dit is soos jy weet en as jy Brut gaan gebruik dan is dit ook amazing" (turn 117). EJ concurs in turn 124: "Ja, dit wat die kar aan die man doen gaan die spuitgoed gaan dieselfde rol speel". Thus by combining associations drawn from knowledge of the intertext, as well as the guidance provided by the lexical level, respondents were able to infer a marketing message. This process was

contingent on recognising the presence, not simply of a hand on a gearshift, but of an allusion to the gender stereotype surrounding the gratification men derive from driving.

Group two follows the same route by accessing the above-mentioned stereotype:

Group two

198 EM: [...] ons assume altyd dat ouens weet van karre. Dit is asof ons konnekteer karre met ouens so hulle wil hê ons moet dit. Verstaan jy [...]

Although less eloquent than group three, the retrieval of this stereotype leads respondents to extract the same marketing message from the text:

Group two

203 LS: Okay. Dit is 'n male hand on a gearbox on car's gearbox and the product is in the right-hand corner which means, the product is in the right-hand corner (...) so you link the two.

Group one begins by listing common associations with the image of a gearshift, including men's stereotypical interest in cars and speed, before concluding that control is the most relevant attribute (cf. turns 278 to 282). Although they do not explicate its relevance to the product in the same manner as group three, they nevertheless deduce that control is constructed as an authentically masculine trait:

Group one

285 RN: Ja, so iets. Met ander woorde saam met daai tipe features van mans sê hulle (...)

286 LE: The essence of man.

Subsequently, instead of focusing on the ad's marketing message, their discussing centres on the tickle placement of the product. RN observes the ease with which readers may overlook the product:

Group one

287 RN: Maar wat wel vir my interessant is, is dit vat net daai om die actual ding wat geadverteer word, weg te vat. Verstaan? Ek meen, as jy net dit sien, so dit is net so stukkies wat gebruik word in the actual (...)

288 MM: Ding

LE proposes that this feature is functional in encouraging readers to identify the product:

Group one

289 LE: Sien, as ek nou die advertensie sien gaan ek dink dit is vreemd, so ek gaan moet kyk wat adverteer hulle. Dit is 'n vreemde advertensie.

Respondents also observe the ad's cryptic nature and the resultant strain on cognitive energy:

Group one

295 RN: Hier is definitief gaps.

296 LE: Baie gaps.

297 MM: Ja.

Moreover, LE states that her pre-existing schemata for deodorant ads dictate the relevance of claims about the antiperspirant's duration. She accounts for its absence in

this text by proposing that copywriters expect the intended market to possess sufficient knowledge of the product.

Group one

- 298 LE: Essence of man. Okay dit is deodorant. Dit is waar dit stop. Daar is niks van keeps you dry all day (laughter) of daai slogans nie. Dit is net deodorant, dit is waar dit stop.
- 299 MM: Twenty-four hour day of so iets nie. Niks van dit nie.
- 300 LE: So daar is baie gaps, maar tog dit is 'n bekende produk.
- 301 RN: Ja.
- 302 LE: So jy weet ook al klaar 'n bietjie van dit, so.

Although the exchange contains insufficient data to ascertain whether respondents viewed the lack of an explanatory subtext as a major impediment to the ad's success, it nevertheless suggests that the ad's strategy revolves around reinforcing specific associations with the product, as opposed to producing claims which, it is assumed, audiences are already familiar with. It also seems plausible that the copywriter intended to enhance the ad's memorability by omitting information which readers expect. What is certain, however, is that respondents in group one recognised the need for additional cognitive effort, in response to the ad's cryptic nature. On the basis of this data, future studies may aim to ascertain the success of such strategies in enhancing recall of product claims.

In brief, all respondents recognised the gearshift as symbolic of cars in general. Moreover, to access its commercial message, participants recognised the need to retrieve knowledge about stereotypical associations between masculinity and cars. In contrast with the analysis in section 4.2.2.4.d, only one group deduced that control was essential to the inferencing process. This suggests that some readers may retrieve sufficient

relevance from broad associations, and halt the process at inferences such as *the product symbolises masculinity in the same manner as cars*.

6.3.6 Nankang

During their analysis of this text, no respondent associated the headline with the African American civil rights movement, either because they possess no knowledge of it or because neither found evidence to suggest its relevance. Consequently, the image of Nelson Mandela was integrated with the headline and viewed as evidence for the metaphorical projection of the statesman's power onto the product (cf. turns 237 to 239, group two; turn 137, group three). Although group one interpreted the headline as a reference to black economic empowerment, the observation does not alter their inferences about the text's overall message: "Black verwys na black economic empowerment en black power. Die tyre het power hy is soos sterk" (turn 337, LE).

Thus, the respondents have attributed to the communicator the intention of focusing attention on two possible interpretations of the word *power*. On the one hand it is meant to be associated with political power, by virtue of Nelson Mandela's presence, as well as the reference to black economic empowerment. On the other hand it is relevant to the product in the sense that tyres may augment a car's performance. Interestingly, when asked to provide evidence for their interpretations, respondents did not find the relation between the subtext and intertext incongruous. This provides evidence for the notion that readers are likely to assume that the interpretation that satisfies relevance first, within the genre at hand, is the correct one - provided that it is not directly contradicted by further evidence as was the case in section 6.3.4. An alternative explanation for this result may be that respondents neglected to read the subtext, as only the first recording contains positive evidence (cf. turn 346).

Group one, however, also considered the possibility that the intertext's relevance lies in creating a sense of solidarity with the reader. After questioning the researcher on the ad's source, they deduce that the ad is aimed at readers with a special interest in African politics, and conclude:

Group one

- 355 LE: [...] Okay hulle sê vir Madiba geluk met sy verjaarsdag. Tog gaan jy nie as jou nou 'n ANC lid is, gaan jy tog meer respek kry vir die advertensie.
- 356 RN: Jy gaan definitief 'n stel tyres koop.
- 357 LE: **Ja, want hulle sê vir my hero happy birthday** (researcher's emphasis).

Turns 241 to 246 (group two) and 146 to 147 (group three) indicate that some respondents also viewed Mandela as a validating context:

Group three

- 146 EJ: Plus om Madiba in te bring. Dit het soveel meer (...) as hy authorisation gegee het om sy gesig daarop to sit dalk is dit [the advert's claims are trustworthy]. **Party mense gaan so dink as hulle by nommer vier kom**, do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy (researcher's emphasis).

This assumption arises from associations about Mandela's trustworthiness and provides evidence for the arguments cited in sections 2.4.2a) and 2.4.2c). Copywriters attempt to enhance perceptions of a product/service by reinforcing associations between it and a desirable intertext. None of the respondents questioned Mandela's ability to judge the value of the product. Instead it was simply assumed that he must have authorised the use of his image and that this may induce some consumers to trust the ad's claims.

6.3.7 Tracker

In this case, respondents experienced no difficulty in identifying the intertext on the graphic level, before proceeding to the lexical in order to uncover its function (cf. turns 398 to 399, group one; 271, group two and 150 to 151, group three). Although no respondent makes explicit mention of the alteration of the traditional symbol of

masculinity, they nevertheless recover its purpose in supporting the message communicated by the lexical unit. During this process, groups one and three observe the difference between the current and preceding texts. The ad under discussion makes no claims for a specific product or service. In turn 396 (group one), for example, MM states that the advertiser's identity is not signalled clearly. RN observes that the reference to the *Men in the Making* initiative is meant to be the most salient aspect of the lexical unit rather than the advertised brand. Finally, LE summarises the marketing tactic in turn 402.

Group one

- 396 MM: Ek sou glad nie sê dit is 'n Tracker advertensie as ek so na hom kyk nie.
- 397 RN: Nee, maar die feit dat hulle men in the making
- 398 MM: En dan gebruik hul die tekenjie, ja
[...]
- 402 LE: [...] jy gaan dadelik dink dit gaan oor mans. Thank you for, hul adverteer nie regtig Tracker nie. Hulle bedank eintlik mans en die ander ding is, **as jy mans direction in die lewe gee dan gaan jy hom obviously nie leer om karre te steel nie**, So (researcher's emphasis).

LE has thus inferred that the advertised company aims to enhance its reputation by spreading awareness of its involvement in a crime prevention initiative (cf. turns 416 to 417). Subsequently, RN concludes that inferring this message requires prior knowledge of Tracker's products and services: "Daar is nie rêrig claims nie" (turn 448) and "Jy moet weet wat Tracker is" (turn 450). Although respondents in group three assume that *Men in the Making* refers to a career day project, they also recognise the intention to communicate Tracker's status as a sponsor of the event:

Group three

- 150 EJ: Okay, die manlikheid en Tracker, dit is half soos 'n pyltjie, 'n direction ding [...] Ek sien eers die pyltjie en dan thank you for giving our young men a little direction.
- 151 BC: Ja, ek dink ook **die teken van die man** wat hulle gbruik het.
[...]
- 156 EJ: O, dit was seker ge-sponsor by Tracker.
- 157 BC: Ja, hulle was soos van 'n main sponsor. [...]
- 158 EJ: **En dit was 'n algeme career day. Okay.**
- 159 BC: So daar is nie 'n produk eintlik wat hulle (...) (researcher's emphasis)

The results for groups one and three suggest that they were able to recognise the relation between the headline, subtext, and symbol on the graphic level.

Group two, however, follows a different route. On the one hand, when asked to discuss the ad's intended message they recognise the move to thank supporters of the project (cf. turn 273). On the other hand, instead of observing the attempt to enhance the advertiser's status by associating the advertised brand with a crime prevention or career day project, respondents LS and EM view the word "direction" and the graphic unit as an implicit reference to Tracker's dedicated service:

Group two

- 269 LS: [...] Tracker gaan in 'n direction om jou kar te seek.
[...]
- 273 LS: [...] Okay what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product. They are **hulle thank iemand** [...]
[...]
- 277 LS: [...] Direction. The word direction indirectly refers to the (...)
- 278 EM: Tracking of (...)
- 279 LS: [...] refers to the tracking device to the tracking device en dan hier

by how do you know this gaan ek net skryf die tracking Tracker is
a tracking system company.

280 EM: Ja (...)

281 LS: **Is a tracking system company and therefore they use the
correct wording** (researcher's emphasis).

Prior to the above-mentioned turns, EM also proposed that the word "direction" and the masculine symbol may allude to the gender stereotype that men depend on women for guidance (cf. turn 268). However, as is indicated by the above-mentioned turns, she abandons this line of thought. Although the ad contains little evidence for any of these inferences, it is clear that respondents are aware of the fact that lexical and graphic evidence must be interpreted 1) in the context of the communicative genre at hand, and 2) by activating background knowledge about the nature of the advertised product/service.

6.3.8 Hansa Pilsener

ANOTHER MAGNIFICENT PAIR
YOU'D LOVE TO GET YOUR HANDS ON.



THE REFRESHING CHOICE

Respondents in groups one and two immediately recognise this ad's sexual undertones (cf. turn 456, group one; and turns 301 and 321, group two). In the first group, RN states that the text is "obviously" aimed at a male audience (turn 454), at which point LE produces a jibe in turn 456: "Want hul verwys na? (laughter)". Although they do not explicitly mention the intertext, LE's summary of the marketing message in turn 484, contains some evidence of the group's inference:

Group one

484 LE: Iets van jy moet nou another magnificent pair you love to get your hands on en die bottles staan. Dit is ook 'n paar. Skuus. Dit is ook 'n paar so jy gaan twee, een aan elke hand gryp (laughter). Dit het dalk verkeerd uitgekom, verstaan, jy will sommer by die bar twee vat.

In addition, LE has also resolved the significance of the word "PAIR" as a claim for the product's taste, which will induce consumers to purchase two at a time. MM extends this argument as an explanation for the fact that one of the bottles is depicted with its cap removed.

Interestingly, toward the end of the discussion, when questioned about the claims' trustworthiness, respondents make no mention of the proposition that the product's desirability is compared to women. Instead, the reason statement in the subtext is quoted as the primary claim (cf. turn 507). The second group concurs, and cites the graphic unit as an illustration:

Group two

330 EM: Ek hou niks van bier nie maar die druppeltjies lyk nogal lekker.
331 LS: Lekker refreshing.

In conjunction with previous sections, this result has two possible implications. Firstly, it suggests that readers are not only likely to turn to the lexical unit to clarify the graphic, but, when faced with multiple lexical units, are more likely to search for reason claims

(provided, of course, that cognitive effects and costs are balanced¹²). Furthermore, in comparison with the Clinique, BMW, Acer, Brut and Tracker ads, the current text does not explicate the relationship between its intertext and product with the same coherence. As a result, readers prefer recourse to the clearest source of claims. In the present text, such a claim is derived from the subtext, while in section 6.3.3 it was mainly based on images. Intertextuality may, therefore, be most effective when clear claims can be inferred by combining evidence from lexical and graphic units. Some clarification may be necessary. In this case, the term *clear* does not imply reason claims, as illustrated by the Brut ad. Although arguably vacuous, its claims are nevertheless accessible to readers with sufficient knowledge of gender stereotypes. Moreover, it was able to make this claim without the assistance of a clarifying subtext. The ambiguity in the current ad may result from the opened bottle, which may interfere with the retrieval of assumptions about female anatomy. Clearly, more extensive informant-response data is required to clarify this matter.

By contrast the third group halted their analysis with the sexual allusion. Initially EJ concurs with previous groups in terms of the opened bottle (cf. turn 164). However, when BC observes the reference to female anatomy, its status as the primary claim remains unchallenged:

Group three

- 165 BC: Soos jy weet most hulle [men], sê nou maar hulle is in die kroeg en hulle prys iemand [presumably women] se bates, dit is 'n pair, so dit is nog 'n pair (-)
- 166 EJ: Of buns onthou dit kan ook 'n pair wees.
[...]
- 172 EJ: Nog 'n paar lekker dinge om te kry, jy kan hierdie twee paartjies ook kry. En how do you know this? Die uitbeelding en bewoording wat ons nou maar aflei. Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?

¹² This, in addition to the possibility that respondents may have grown tired, may explain why groups two and three neglected to read the *Nankang* advert's subtext.

173 BC: Dit kom nou ook weer by persoonlike, party mans like Black Label
 en ander mans like hierdie.

6.3.9 Brand identity and personal choice

The fourth item in the questionnaire required participants to discuss the ads' trustworthiness. Although groups two and three describe Nelson Mandela's presence as an attempt to boost the text's credibility (cf. section 6.3.6), on the whole respondents did not view the intertextual field as a determining factor in this regard.

Instead, the matter is more frequently settled by their familiarity with the brand and experience with the product under discussion (for examples cf. turns 25 and 145, group one; 43 and 208, group two; 52 and 69, group three). This result held true for cases in which participants found the use of intertextuality creative (turn 43, group two), and even when they surmised that it may stimulate some readers' curiosity (18, group three). In turn 148, MM became the first, but also the only, respondent to mention the validating role played by the reference to ophthalmologists in the Clinique ad.

Clearly, therefore, to ascertain an ad's trustworthiness one must consider variables beyond the individual texts' combination of graphic and lexical devices, including the audience's personal experiences as well as the reputation accrued throughout the advertised company's existence. As mentioned in the literature review chapter, the ad is "but one element in the marketing mix and on its own, cannot achieve the final objective of the marketing campaign, the sale itself" (Skinner *et al.*, 2001: 56).

6.4 Conclusion: focus group discussions

The results of the focus group discussions suggest that readers are more likely to begin their analysis at the graphic rather than lexical unit. This finding supports Morris' (2005: 697) observation of the dominance of images in this genre. Respondents often sought relevance in the graphic unit, even when the headline and subtext created a stronger sense of coherence, in terms of intertextuality (cf. section 6.3.2). Not surprisingly, this was also

the case where the headline was not only short, but not coherently tied with the content of the subtext (cf. section 6.3.3). Exceptions to this trend include ads in which the graphic and lexical units are intertwined, as was the case in the Acer ad (section 6.3.4).

Nevertheless, especially when the headline and subtext are coherent and cooperate in the construction of the marketing message, respondents recognised their significance in guiding their inferences to specific claims, as suggested by the Clinique (section 6.3.1), BMW (section 6.3.2) and Tracker ads (section 6.3.7). In cases where the headline and graphic unit operated effectively, by exploiting widely held stereotypes for example, no subtext was necessary (cf. section 6.3.5).

On this basis, the researcher deemed respondents able to recognise intertextual references, even when situated on the lexical level alone. In addition, respondents were able to detect intertextuality's role in constructing metaphors, as well as allusions to sex, gender stereotypes and culture-specific symbols for commercial purposes. Participants also recognised the use of historic figures as a validating context and to strengthen solidarity with readers. However, the results also suggest that idioms and recycled expressions are not recognised as intertexts with the same ease. An idiom's original meaning – provided that it is sufficiently stable – may still influence the inferencing process, by virtue of whatever wisdom its conventional form is meant to convey. Recycled expressions, on the other hand, may be easier to overlook, especially if their relation to the graphic and other lexical units is not developed to support a clear and focused message (cf. section 6.3.3).

Future analyses may conduct similar tests with ads that exploit recycled expressions more effectively (for example, cf. section 4.2.2.5b). The researcher was aware of the risk inherent in selecting this ad, but proceeded in order to test whether readers would recognise it.

Finally, the findings for the Nankang ad provide additional support for the argument advanced in section 5.3. Although the relationship between the intertext and product is not clearly stipulated with a reason subtext, readers are nevertheless able to reach a meaningful conclusion. This suggests that the inclusion of reason subtexts do not stem from copywriters' doubt about readers' ability to infer at least one meaningful conclusion.

Instead, these lexical units are used when copywriters aim to communicate a specific, as opposed to broad, message.

The next chapter discusses the implications of the results presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, before making recommendations for future research.

Chapter 7

Implications and recommendations for future research

7.1 Implications of the analysis

One of the pervasive features of advertising discourse is the establishment of connections between the text and the real world through various linguistic devices (van Niekerk, 2008: 499; van Niekerk, 2008, forthcoming; van Niekerk and Möller, 2008: 115). Intertextuality, the strategy which formed the subject of this project, indicates the care copywriters take to obtain knowledge of the interests and experiences of their intended audience – not only to ascertain their need for a given product/service, but to identify indirect/emotive forms of appeal that may enhance their desire for a particular brand. One way to exploit this knowledge is to infuse advertising texts with references to events, social practices, fictional and historical characters, as well as culture-specific items such as symbols, idioms and proverbs from alternative communicative contexts.

These references serve to engage audiences in meaning construction. In the first instance, they must recognise the intertext that is alluded to. This is done on the basis of background knowledge which suggest that certain symbols, icons, indexicals, words and phrases have been encountered before in other communicative contexts and are

incorporated into the ad in order to support a particular commercial strategy (as indicated in Table 2, a combination of graphic and lexical references may represent the preferred method). Having done so, more background knowledge about the intertext must be accessed in order to determine those features which are most relevant to the current context (cf. first research question in section 1.3). During this process, such information must be combined with assumptions about advertising as a communicative genre, in order to comprehend the function of the former within the latter. These functions include the range of strategies discussed in Chapter 4.

Copywriters can only expect consumers to perform the above-mentioned tasks under specific conditions. Firstly, they must possess sufficient knowledge of the myriad of texts which potential clients interact with, in order to gain insight into the kinds of icons, symbols, indexicals, words and phrases that will support recognition of the intertext. Secondly, they must have reason to assume that readers have sufficient experience of advertising texts to know that all messages must aim to enhance the product or service's reputation in some way. Thirdly, they must have legitimate reasons to suspect that human cognition may be exploited in the above-mentioned way, and – far more importantly – that it will result in a measurable fiscal advantage, even if it requires an extended period of time. The fact that copywriters seem aware of these conditions indicates some knowledge of the twin principles of relevance – whether derived from intuition, experience, linguistic (pragmatic and discourse analytic), commercial, or other forms of formal training.

Assuming that readers possess sufficient knowledge of advertising, and that their cognitions are geared toward the maximisation of relevance, implies the following. If potential consumers recognise an intertext they will automatically consider ways in which it functions to cast the ad's object in a favourable light. This pattern holds true even when guidance for the inferencing route is slight (cf. section 6.3.6), and when the text ostensibly makes a negative statement (cf. section 4.2.2.5d). The findings in Chapter 6 suggest that the process often begins at the graphic unit, but that consumers are likely to consider the lexical when searching for specific claims.

When copywriters aim to convey detailed and/or complex information about their products or services, more explicit guidance is provided, often in the form of reason

subtexts. In such cases, readers' natural search for a relationship between the intertext and product/service is guided to favour a particular message above others. More precisely, the relevance of a particular message is signalled with stronger evidence (cf. sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). It seems plausible that copywriters exploit this strategy when they intend to convey a specific rather than broad message such as: *this car combines an aesthetically appealing exterior with a technologically advanced interior, in terms of its comfort and fuel efficiency* as opposed to *this car is beautiful on the inside and outside*. In other cases, broader interpretations are considered sufficient, in terms of the objective of establishing or reinforcing positive associations with the product/service, such as: *this perfume should be a symbol of your success*, as opposed to *this perfume will symbolise (facilitate) your success by enhancing your confidence and attractiveness* (there is insufficient evidence for the latter message in section 5.2.6.1).

One factor that may influence copywriters' selection of either strategy is the distinction between high- and low-involvement products/services. As the former requires comparatively more deliberation from consumers, copywriters may choose to support this effort with a more detailed explication of the reasons to purchase it. This often results in a clearer description of the relationship between the intertext and product/service, by supporting the message with a reason subtext (cf. second research question in section 1.3). In such cases, it appears, copywriters are aware that even readers who share the characteristics of the target audience may assign different meanings to the same message. As a result, the ad is designed to guide the inferencing process more explicitly. Of course, more extensive informant-response data is required to confirm the efficiency of this strategy.

Finally, the investigation also contains preliminary evidence for connections between intertextuality and ideology. The analyses support two interrelated hypotheses. Firstly, the decision to couple a particular intertext with a specific product/service may indicate the world-view which copywriters assume their readers already adhere to. For this reason, intertexts such as military combat may serve to promote stereotypically feminine products, such as skincare, to a male audience. Such ads reveal copywriters' assumption that some readers already view stereotypically feminine and masculine practices as fundamentally alien to each other, so that a strategy must be developed to address

potential problems that may arise from this assumption. As a result, copywriters may choose to address the problem by, for example, resorting to an intertext which readers already associate with masculinity, such as military combat.

Secondly, whether or not individual consumers consistently support a given ideology in their daily lives, copywriters may also structure an intertext in a manner that aligns the ad's message with a world-view which consumers are not only familiar with, but that supports the advertiser's commercial goals. Examples of such world-views include the assumption that a connection exists between women's weight, romantic suits from men and sugar-free products. Similarly, when a media intertext, such as the film *Memoirs of a Geisha*, serves to set a standard for feminine beauty, it exposes the world-view that most women desire to attain a socially established standard of beauty and are willing to spend money on its pursuit. In such cases copywriters assume that, regardless of whether or not individual consumers agree with this perspective, they are nevertheless familiar with it. Copywriters, therefore, take care to select those world-views which, in addition to their familiarity, are most likely to bolster profits. In this regard, an analysis of the hypernorms which emerge from the combination of a given intertext and product/service may provide useful insights.

At this point the difference between the current analysis' agenda and a more critically oriented approach, such as CDA, is poignantly illustrated. The current project does not aim to advocate social change for the benefit of socially discriminated groups such as women. Nevertheless, the next section will make detailed suggestions as to how future studies may exploit its findings for such endeavours. However, to conduct such critical analyses certain complications must be taken into account. On the one hand, critical analyses of ideology can make a valuable contribution by bearing in mind that advertisers may not only exploit world-views that have already attained a certain level of familiarity, but may also attempt to bolster less familiar ones, based on knowledge of audience characteristics and the potential of such views to enhance sales. On the other hand, such analyses should avoid the temptation of assuming that the relationship between the producers and consumers of a particular discourse is one-directional. To elaborate, it is important to acknowledge the co-constructed nature of the ideology on which a particular discourse is predicated. Audiences are not necessarily passive recipients of an

ideologically loaded discourse. As an elementary example, let us consider the connections that may exist between a magazine's overarching ideology and the ads it contains. Readers co-construct the magazine's overall discourse in various ways, such as the letters they write, the messages they post on the magazine's website and, indirectly, the fact that they consider the magazine worthy of purchase in the first place. By supporting its commercial viability and participating in the construction of the magazine's discourse in this and other ways, individual readers may demonstrate the world-views they ascribe to and influence the strategies which advertisers adopt. Clearly, this example does not cover the complexity of the matter at hand. Hopefully, however, it suggests the fallacy – as far as advertising is concerned – of assuming that the consumers of an ideologically loaded discourse are the passive victims of those who produce it.

7.2 Recommendations for Critical Discourse Analytic studies

As mentioned in the previous section, future studies may determine whether connections exist between intertextuality and ideology by investigating whether specific categories of products, such as cosmetics, are more likely to be coupled with specific intertexts, such as sex or romantic relationships. Researchers may also aim to determine whether a relationship exists between the ideologies communicated by ads and those that inform articles within a specific title such as *Cosmopolitan* and/or *FHM*. However, based on the observation that some ads are printed in various titles, it seems possible that ideological connections may only exist in the way both articles and ads assume materialism and the desirability of sex as a basis, but not, for example, in their approach to gender differences (cf. Conradie, 2009: 106-110).

Furthermore, analysts may focus their attention on the different objectives for which intertextuality is used in articles and ads respectively. For example, in advertising it may serve to involve readers in meaning construction, while in articles it may serve to construct a sense of *esprit de corps* between authors and readers, by suggesting that both parties share the same interests (cf. Conradie, 2009: 81 and 152). Towards this goal, the methodologies from the current research may be combined with those from Conradie (2009). Such analyses may depart from the observation that although intertextuality may

be viewed as an aesthetic aspect of both advertising and articles in magazines, it is exploited for various purposes beyond artistic/stylistic considerations, such as engagement in the message and the construction of in-groups and out-groups. The results of such analyses may provide critical discourse analysts with a sound foundation on which to investigate the ideological ramifications of the use of intertextuality.

As a framework, analysts may consider the study of linguistic primitives proposed by Weideman (2011: 151-162). In *A framework for the study of linguistics* Weideman (2011: 156) explicates how:

Taken together, these basic concepts form a class of linguistic primitives or foundational theoretical concepts in linguistics that provide us with a framework to pursue the investigation of lingual phenomena not in a piecemeal, but in a single, coherent, and integrated framework.

Essential to this framework is the range of modalities developed by Dooyeweerd (1953). There is insufficient space here to describe this framework in detail. However, with regard to the recommendations described above, such a framework may assist critical discourse analysts with describing intertextuality's contribution to ideology where it represents a case in which the lingual aspect is linked with the social, juridical, confessional, economic and ethical aspects. For example, although intertextuality may be manifested in lingual signs (the lingual aspect), it may be used in both ads and articles to influence the social aspect in cases where it constructs communicators and addressees as members of an in-group. In cases where it supports stereotypes, the lingual aspect is related to the juridical and ethical aspects.

Weideman (2011: 134-135) refers to these linkages between the lingual and one other aspect as elementary linguistic concepts. Connections between the lingual and social aspects, for example, form an elementary linguistic concept that may be referred to as lingual communication, while that between the lingual and juridical aspects forms the concept lingual ratification (Weideman, 2011: 134-135). Each of these connections may become the focus of systematic study, but none should be considered absolute. In terms of the caveat expressed in the previous section, studies that focus on the lingual aspect's

connection to the juridical should keep in mind that other connections may also be at play in any text. Such sets of multiple connections may be understood as complex linguistic concepts. As a brief example, both advertising and magazine discourse may be approached as one of the three complex linguistic concepts identified by Weideman (2011: 135): “the relation between lingual *subject* (users of language) and lingual *object* (the texts or factual lingual units we produce)”. In both advertising and magazine discourse, lingual subjects (copywriters and journalists) produce lingual objects (advertising texts and articles) that incorporate intertextuality in order to exert an influence on other lingual subjects (readers).

Finally, studies may also investigate the use of intertextuality in political cartoons. As a collection of cartoons by South African cartoonists such as Dov Fedler and Jonathan Shapiro (Zapiro) reveals, intertextual references to media and historical texts may form the basis of a cartoon’s political criticism.

7.3 Other recommendations for future studies

In addition to the above-mentioned research questions, the results of Chapter 5 support the importance of developing a scale along which headlines, subtexts as well as graphic units may be characterised as leaning toward either purely reason or tickle strategies. Where intertextuality is concerned, such a scale may shed light on the manner in which a headline with the traits of a reason approach serves to centre attention on a specific aspect of the intertext without explicitly mentioning it. In addition, it may also indicate how reason depictions of the advertised product/service are incorporated with icons or symbols of the intertext.

The transcripts in Chapter 6 also suggest that the following areas may warrant further examination. Firstly, researchers may aim to determine whether readers’ ability to attribute an intertext to the correct source impacts their ability to remember the advert’s claims. Secondly, to obviate the impact of pre-existing assumptions about a particular brand, brand names, logos and slogans may be erased or replaced with fictional ones in future focus groups. Thirdly, intertextuality’s utility for enhancing recall of commercial claims may be compared with non-intertextual adverts, especially those that contain

canonical reason claims, such as the adjuncts analysed by Simpson (2001). In terms of ideology, some participants demonstrated knowledge of the hypernorms regarding physical beauty (cf. turn 85 from the first discussion). Analysts may therefore find it profitable to conduct similar focus group discussions of a data set selected specifically for its underlying hypernorms. The results of such analyses may also be garnered for pedagogic purposes, by designing a course that develops students' ability to apply the tenets of relevance theory and (critical) discourse analysis in order to: 1) identify the lexical and graphic features that allude to an intertext, 2) uncover the commercial goals for which intertextuality may be exploited, as well as 3) the ideologies that arise from a copywriter's selection and use of intertextuality. In view of the ever-changing nature of advertising, and media discourse as a whole, such studies can make a significant contribution to courses which aim to foster critical reading (and viewing).

Finally, the results of this project should also be compared with adverts from alternative genres, especially those with a different distribution of high- vs. low-involvement products/services. One area that may provide a wealth of opportunities in this regard is online advertising. Previous studies in this field have already posited methods for determining the efficiency of online advertising (Kim, Kwon, and Chang, 2010), as well as gender differences in advert evaluation (Sun, Lim, Jiang, Peng, and Chen, 2010; Song, Xu, Techatassanasoontorn and Zhang, 2011). Analysts may, therefore, consider a combination of these models with this project's approach to intertextuality, as well as the combination of reason-tickle patterns. Such analyses are crucial if linguists aim to remain informed about copywriters' response to societal changes, such as the proliferation of social media including Facebook, blogging, YouTube and Second Life, as well as customer-review websites (Miles, 2007: 307).

Bibliography

- Abbott, B. 2000. Presuppositions as nonassertions. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 32: 1419-1437.
- Atkin, A. and Richardson, J.E. 2005. *Constructing the (imagined) antagonist in advertising argumentation*. In van F.H. Eemeren and P. Houtlosser (eds.) *The Practice of Argumentation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (pp. 163-180).
- Attardo, S. 2000. Irony as relevant inappropriateness. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 32: 793-826.
- Attwood, F. 2005. 'Tits and ass and porn and fighting': Male heterosexuality in magazines for men. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 8(1): 83-100.
- Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Austin, J.L. 1963. *The Meaning of a word*. In C.E. Caton (ed.) *Philosophy and ordinary language*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. (pp. 1-21).
- Apostel, L. 1971. *Further remarks on the pragmatics of natural languages*. In Y. Bar-Hillel (ed.) *Pragmatics of natural languages*. Dordrecht: Reidel. (pp. 1-34).
- Baker, W.E. 2001. The diagnosticity of Advertising Generated Brand Attitudes in Brand Choice Context. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*. 11(2): 129-139.
- Barbe, K. 1993. "Isn't it ironic that...?": explicit irony markers. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 20: 578-590.
- Barthes, R. 1977. *Image-Music-Text*. Glasgow: Fontana.

- Beetles, A.C. and Harris, L.C. 2005. Consumer attitudes towards female nudity in advertising: An empirical study. *Marketing Theory*. 5(4): 397-432.
- Benwell, B. 2001. Male gossip and language play in the letters pages of men's lifestyle magazines. *Journal of Popular Culture*. 34 (4): 19-33.
- Biletzki, A. 1996. Is there a history of pragmatics? *Journal of Pragmatics*. 25: 455-470.
- Boni, F. 2002. Framing Media Masculinities: Men's Lifestyle Magazines and the Biopolitics of the Male Body. *European Journal of Communication*. 17(4): 465-478.
- Brokensha, S.I. Forthcoming. Noticing *us* and *them* constructions: the pedagogical implications of a critical discourse analysis of referring in political discourse. *Per Linguam*.
- Brokensha, S.I. 2007. Employing constructivist-based principles in an *Applied Language Studies in English* course with a focus on ideology in the media. *Journal for Language Teaching*. 41(1): 65-80.
- Brown, L. 2000. *Are magazines for young men likely to reinforce stereotypical, 'macho' and sexist attitudes in their readers?* Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 10-03-2008, at <http://www.theory.org.uk/mensmags.htm>.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Brown, G. and Yule, G. 1983. *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruthiaux, P. 2000. In a nutshell: persuasion in the spatially constrained language of advertising. *Language & Communication*. 20: 297-310.
- Cameron, L. 1999. *Operationalising "Metaphor" for applied linguistic research*. In L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.) *Researching and applying metaphor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Colston, H. and O'Brien, J. 2000. Contrast and pragmatics in figurative language: anything understatement can do, irony can do better. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 32: 1557-1583.
- Cheung, M. The globalization and localization of persuasive marketing communication: A cross-linguistic socio-cultural analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 42: 354-376.
- Conradie, M.S. 2011. Masculine sexuality: A critical discourse analysis of FHM. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Languages Studies*. 29(2): 167-184.
- Conradie, M.S. 2011. The 2010 FIFA World Cup as a commercial platform in print advertising. *African Identities*. 9(3): 291-305.
- Conradie, M.S. 2009. Glossy mags and the sexes: A Critical Discourse Analysis of FHM and Cosmo. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State. Master of Arts Dissertation.
- Crook, J. 2004. On covert communication in advertising. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 36: 715-738.

De Beaugrande, R. and Dressler, W. 2002. *Introduction to Text Linguistics*.

Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 10-08-2010, at
[http://www.beaugrande.com/introduction to text linguistics.htm](http://www.beaugrande.com/introduction%20to%20text%20linguistics.htm).

De Gregorio-Godeo, E. 2009. British men's magazines' scent advertising and the multimodal discursive construction of masculinity: a preliminary study. *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense*. 17: 9-36.

De Gregorio-Godeo, E. 2005. Male-perfume advertising in men's magazines and visual discourse in contemporary Britain: a social semiotics approach. *Image & Narrative* 11. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 01-10-2010, at
http://www.imageandnarrative.be/inarchive/worldmusicb_advertising/godeo.htm.

De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouché, C.B., and Delport, C.S.L. 2001. *Research at Grassroots: for the social sciences and human service professions*. 3rd edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Dominick, R.J. and Wimmer, D.R. 2006. *Mass Media Research: an Introduction*. 8th edition. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Dooyeweerd, H. 1953. *A New Critique of Theoretical Thought*. 4 Vols. Vol 1. *The necessary presuppositions of philosophy*. Amsterdam: Philadelphia, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 24-05-2011 at
http://www.reformationpublishingproject.com/pdf_books/Scanned_Books_PDF/ANewCritiqueofTheoreticalThoughtVolsI-II.pdf.

Downing, L. 2003. Text world creation in advertising discourse. *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*. 13: 67-88.

Eisterhold, J., Attardo, S. and Boxer, D. 2006. Reactions to irony in discourse: evidence for the least disruption principle. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 38: 1239-1256.

- Elliot, R., Jones, A., Benfield, A and Barlow, M. 1995. Overt sexuality in advertising: A discourse analysis of gender responses. *Journal of Consumer Policy*. 18: 187-217.
- El Refaie, E. 2005. 'Our purebred ethnic compatriots': irony in newspaper journalism. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37: 781-797.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 1993. Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities. *Discourse & Society*. 4(2): 133-168.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. Intertextuality in critical discourse analysis. *Linguistics and Education*. 4: 269-293.
- FHM demographics for August 2009. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 21-10-2010 at http://ucm.co.za/media/brand/FHM_Demographic_Profile.pdf.
- Fuertes-Olivera, P.A., Velasco-Sacristán, M., Arribas-Baño, A. and Samaniego-Fernández, E. 2001. Persuasion and advertising English: Metadiscourse in slogans and headlines. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33: 1291-1307.
- Gardner, R. and Luchtenberg, S. 2000. Reference, image, text in German and Australian advertising posters. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 32: 1807-1821.
- Gilje, P.A. 2005. Declaration of Independence. *Microsoft Encarta 2006*. Redmond, W.A. Microsoft Corporation.
- Giora, R. 2002. *On Our Mind: Salience, Context and Figurative Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Grice, H.P. 1989. *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University. Master of Arts Dissertation.
- Grice, H.P. 1975. *Logic and conversation*. In J. Cole and J. Morgan (eds.) *Speech acts (Syntax and semantics 3)*. New York: Academic Press. (pp. 41-58)
- Haberland, H. and Mey, L. 1977. Editorial: Linguistics and pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 1: 1-12.
- Hadland, A., Cowling, L, TABE, B.F.T. 2007. *Advertising in the news. Paid-for content and the South African print media*. Cape Town: Blue Weaver.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An introduction to functional grammar*. 2nd edition. London: Arnold.
- Herber, H. 2008. *Everything you don't know about the media*. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 02-03-2010, from <http://41.215.233.179:8080/themedia/view/themedia/en/page7330?oid=2902&sn=Detail&pid=7330>.
- Jäger, S. and Maier, F. 2009. *Theoretical and methodological aspects of Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis and Dispositive Analysis*. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. 2nd edition. London: Sage Publications. (pp.34-45).
- Jeong, S. 2008. Visual metaphor in advertising: Is the persuasive effect attributable to visual argumentation or metaphorical rhetoric. *Journal of Marketing Communications*. 14(1): 59-73.

- Joy, A., Sherry J.F., and Deschenes, J. 2009. Conceptual blending in advertising. *The Journal of Business Research*. 62: 39-49.
- Kaiser, U. and Song, M. 2009. Do media consumers really dislike advertising? An empirical assessment of the role of advertising in print media markets. *International Journal of Industrial Organization*. 27. 292-301.
- Kaplan, S. 2005. *Visual metaphors in print advertising for fashion products*. In K.L. Smith (ed.) *Handbook of visual communication*. London: Routledge (pp. 167-177).
- Kaplan, R.B. and Grabe, W. 2002. A modern history of written discourse analysis. *Journal of Second Language Writing*. 11: 191-223.
- Kasher, A. 1977. What is a theory of use? *Journal of Pragmatics*. 1: 105-120.
- Kenyon, A.J. 2006. Exploring intertextuality: Young people reading alcohol advertising. *EuroMed Journal of Business*. 1(2): 50-63.
- Kim, K., Kwon, K., and Chang, W. 2010. How to measure the effectiveness of online advertising in online marketplaces. *Expert Systems with Applications*.
- Kim, M. 2007. Discourse features and marketing strategies in American Magazine Advertising. *Texas Linguistic Forum*. 51: 95-102.
- Kitis, E. and Milapides, M. 1997. Read it and believe it: How metaphor constructs ideology in news discourse. A case study. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 28: 557-590.
- Korta, K. 2008. Malinowski and pragmatics: Claim making in the history of linguistics. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40: 1645-1660.

- Kuppens, A.N.H. 2009. English in advertising: Generic intertextuality in a globalizing media environment. *Applied Linguistics*. 31(1): 115-135.
- Kristeva, J. 1986. *The Kristeva reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kruger, R.A. and Casey, M.A. 2000. *Focus groups: a practical guide for applied research*. 3rd Edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Lachmann, R. 1990. *Gedächtnis und Literatur: Intertextualität in der russischen Moderne*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Lagerwerf, L. 2007. Irony and sarcasm in advertisements: Effects of relevant inappropriateness. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 39: 1702-1721.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors we Live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levinson, S. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lim, E.A.C., Ang, S.H., Lee, Y.H. and Leong, S.M. 2009. Processing idioms in advertising discourse: Effects of familiarity, literality, and compositionality on consumer ad response. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41: 1778-1793.
- Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics Vol. 1 & 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magalhães, I. 2005. Critical discourse analysis and the semiotic construction of gender ideology. *D.E.L.T.A.* 21 (special edition): 179-205.
- Martínez, R.D. 2005. Covert communication in the promotion of alcohol and tobacco in Spanish press advertisements. *Revista electrónica de lingüística aplicada*. 4: 82-102.

- Malmkjaer, K. 1991. (ed.) *The linguistic encyclopedia*. London: Routledge.
- Marley, C. 2008. Assuming identities: The workings of intertextual metaphors in a corpus of dating ads. *The Journal of Pragmatics*. 40: 559-576.
- Martin, R.L. 1971. *Some thoughts on the formal approach to the philosophy of language*. In Y. Bar-Hillel (ed.) *Pragmatics of natural languages*. Dordrecht: Reidel. (pp. 120-144).
- Massoni, K. 2004. Modelling work: Occupational Messages in Seventeen Magazine. *Gender & Society*. 18(1): 47-65.
- McCleneghan, J.S. 2003. Selling sex to college females: their attitudes about *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* magazines. *The Social Science Journal*. 40: 317-325.
- McQuarrie, E. and Phillips, B.J. 2005. *Indirect persuasion in advertising: how consumers process metaphors presented in pictures and words*. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, on 31-08-2010, at <http://www.allbusiness.com/professional-scientific/advertising-related-services/476652-1.html>.
- Melchenko, L. 2003. Inferences in advertising: A study of Swedish and Russian TV commercials. Lund: Lund University. Master of Arts Dissertation.
- Mey, J.L. 1993. *Pragmatics: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miles, C. 2007. A cybernetic communication model for advertising. *Marketing Theory*. 7(4): 307-334.

- Molina, P.S. 2009. Critical analysis of discourse and of the media: challenges and shortcomings. *Critical Discourse Studies*. 6(3): 185-198.
- Momani, K., Badarneh, A.M. and Migdadi, F. 2010. Intertextual borrowings in ideologically competing discourses: The case of the Middle East. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*. 22. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, on 02-08-2010, at <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr22/badarneh.htm>.
- Morris, M. 2005. Interpretability and social power, or, why postmodern advertising works. *Media, Culture & Society*. 27(5): 697-718.
- Morris, C. 1983. *Foundations of the theory of signs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Myers, G. 1994. *Words in Ads*. London: Arnold.
- Nerlich, B. and Clarke, D.D. 1996. Language, Action and Context. The Early History of Pragmatics in Europe and America, 1780-1930. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nerlich, B. 2006. History of pragmatics. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*. 37-52.
- Orwell, G. 1945. *Animal Farm: A Fairy Story*. Secker and Warburg: London.
- Partington, A. 2011. Phrasal irony: Its form, function and exploitation. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43: 1786-1800.
- Partington, A. 2007. Irony and reversal of evaluation. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 39: 1547-1569.

Partington, A. 2006. *The Linguistics of Laughter*. London: Routledge.

Pantaleo, S. 2006. *Readers and writers as intertexts: exploring the intertextualities in student writing*. Retrieved from the World Wide Web, on 02-08-2010, at <http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-147755598/readers-and-writers-intertexts.html>.

Pérez, F.J.D. 2000. Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory and its applicability to advertising discourse: evidence from British press advertisements. *ATLANTIS*. XXII(2): 37-50.

Ramos, Y.F. 1998. A decade of relevance theory. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 30: 305-345.

Rayner, P., Wall, P., and Kruger, S. 2004. *AS Media Studies: The Essential Introduction*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Redfern, W.D. 1997. *Traduction, puns, clichés, plagiat*. In D. Delabastita (ed.) *Traductio: Essays on Punning and Translation*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing. pp. 261-269.

Reichart, T. 2001. Sexy as target to young adults. *USA Today*. 129 (2627): 50-52.

Rush, S. 1998. The noun phrase in advertising English. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 29: 155-171.

Russell, S. 2001. *Grammar, Structure & Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Russell, J.T. and Lane, W.R. 1999. *Kleppner's Advertising Procedure*. 14th edition. Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River.

- Simić, M. 2006. *Sex and the Globalization of Female Teenagehood: Croation and Serbian Teen Magazines of the New Era*. In N.M. Bamburać, T. Jusić and A. Isanović (eds.) *Stereotyping: Representation of Women in Print Media in South East Europe*. Sarajevo: Mediacentar Sarajevo. (pp.161-186).
- Simpson, P. 2001. 'Reason' and 'tickle' as pragmatic constructs in the discourse of advertising. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33: 589-607.
- Song, P., Xu, H., Techatassanasoontorn, A. and Zhang, C. 2011. The influence of product integration on online advertising effectiveness. *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*. 10: 288-303.
- Skinner, C., von Essen, L. and Mersham, G. 2001. *Handbook of Public Relations*. 6th Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Small, J., Harris, C. and Wilson, E. 2008. A critical discourse analysis of in-flight magazine adverts: The 'social sorting' of airline travellers? *Journal of Tourism and Culture Change*. 6(1): 17-38.
- Smith, K. 2002. Applying a post-colonial model to the evolution of translation strategies for Russian language advertising texts. Paper presented at *The Annual Postgraduate Conference for the Social Sciences*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.
- Sperber, D. and Wilson, D. Forthcoming. *A deflationary theory of metaphor*. In R. Gibbs (ed.) *Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sperber, D. and Wilson, D. 1995. *Relevance. Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Sperber, D. and Wilson, D. 1986. *Relevance: Communication & Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sun, Y., Lim, K.H., Jiang, C., Peng, J.Z., and Chen, X. 2010. Do males and females think in the same way? An empirical investigation on the gender differences in Web advertising evaluation. *Computers in Human Behaviour*: 1614-1624.
- Sutherland, M. and Sylvester, A. 2000. *Advertising and the Mind of the Consumer: what works, what doesn't and why*. London: Kogan Page.
- Tanaka, K. 1994. *Advertising Language A Pragmatic Approach to Advertisements in Britain and Japan*. London: Routledge.
- Taveras, E.M., Rifas-Shiman, S.L., Field, A.E., Frazier, A.L., Colditz, G.A. and Gillman, M.W. 2004. The Influence of Wanting to Look Like Media Figures on Adolescent Physical Activity. *Journal of Adolescent Health*. 35(1): 41-50.
- Tendahl, M. and Gibbs, R.W. 2008. Complementary perspectives on metaphor: Cognitive linguistics and relevance theory. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40: 1823-1864.
- Tien, C. 2009. A research agenda for consumers' scepticism toward advertising claims (CSA). Paper presented at *The Australia-New Zealand Market Academy Conference*. Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 01-01-2010 from <http://www.duplication.net.au/ANZMAC09/papers/ANZMAC2009-225.pdf>.
- Thompson, M.J. 2000. Gender in Magazine Advertising: Skin Sells Best. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*. 18(3): 178-181.
- Tsakona, V. 2009. Language and image interaction in cartoons: Towards a multimodal theory of humour. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41: 1171-1188.

Ustinova, I.P. 2008. English and American culture appeal in Russian advertising. *Journal of Creative Communications*. 3(1): 77-98.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1995. Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse and Society*. 6(2): 243-289.

Van Mulken, M., Le Pair, R. and Forceville, C. 2010. The impact of perceived complexity, deviation and comprehension on the appreciation of visual metaphor in advertising across three European countries. *Journal of Pragmatics*. Article in press.

Van Mulken, M, Van Enschoot-Van Dijk, R. and Hoeken, H. 2005. Puns, relevance and appreciation advertisements. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37: 707-721.

Van Niekerk, A. and G. Keyser. Forthcoming. Interactive print advertisements vs. interaction in print advertisements.

Van Niekerk, A. 2008. A discourse-analytical approach to intertextual advertisements: a model to describe a dominant world-view. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Languages Studies*. 26(4): 495-512.

Van Niekerk, A. Forthcoming. A multidisciplinary analysis of print advertising discourse: the relevance of semiotics, rhetoric, ideology and text theory.

Van Niekerk, A. and Möller, J. 2008. Die rol van konnotatiewe en denotatiewe elemente in die instandhou en kommunikasie van reklamemites. *Journal for New Generation Sciences*. 6(2): 115-141.

- Velasco-Sacristán, M. 2010. Metonymic grounding of ideological metaphors: Evidence from advertising gender metaphors. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 42: 64-96.
- Velasco-Sacristán, M. and Fuertes-Olivera, P.A. 2006. Towards a critical cognitive-pragmatic approach to gender metaphors in Advertising English. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 38: 1982-2002.
- Wang, Y. and Sun, S. 2010. Assessing beliefs, attitudes, and behavioral responses toward online advertising in three countries. *International Business Review*. 19: 333-344.
- Wallace, C. 1999. Critical language awareness: Key principles for a course in critical reading. *Language Awareness*. 8(2): 98-110.
- Weideman, A. 2011. *A framework for the study of linguistics*. Grand Rapids: Paideia Press and-Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Weideman, A. 2007. The redefinition of applied linguistics: modernist and postmodernist views. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. 25(4): 589-605.
- Wilson, D. and Sperber, D. 2004. *Relevance Theory*. In L.R. Horn and G. Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell (pp. 607-632).
- Wilson, D. and Sperber, D. 1994. Outline of relevance theory. *Links and Letters 1*. 85-106 Retrieved from the World Wide Web on 22-07-2010, at <http://ddd.uab.cat/pub/lal/11337397n1p85.pdf>.
- Wilson, D. and Sperber, D. 1992. On verbal irony. *Lingua*. 87: 53-76.

- Wilson, D. and Sperber, D. 1986. *Inference and implicature*. In C. Travis (ed.) *Meaning and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell (pp. 45-76).
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. 2009. *Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology*. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications. (pp. 1-33).
- Wodak, R. 2007. Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis. A cross-disciplinary inquiry. *Pragmatics & Cognition*. 15(1): 203-225.
- Yingfang, W. 2007. Analysis of presupposition and its function in advertisement. *Canadian Social Science*. 3(4): 55-60.
- Yule, G. 1996. *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Žegarac, V. and Clark, B. 1999. Phatic interpretations and phatic communication. *Linguistics*, 35: 321-346.

Appendix A

Advertisements

Legend

1000 MIGLIA 1955,
victory of Sir Stirling Moss driving
a Mercedes 300 SLR



Chopard

CLASSIC RACING COLLECTION
1000 MIGLIA GMT CHRONOGRAPH

CHOPARD BOUTIQUE. Shop 7232 | Link Mall | V & A WATERFRONT | 021.421.4296
BOUTIQUE HAUTE HORLOGERIE. Shop 28A | Upper Mall | HYDE PARK | 011.325.4119
Architects of Time Tel: (011) 669-0790. www.chopard.com

ALSO AVAILABLE AT : CHARLES GREIG Nelson Mandela Square (011) 883-9393 BEVERLEY JEWELLERS The Pavilion (031) 265-0466
ELEGANCE PRIVÉ Bedford Centre (011) 615-6602 GERALDS Eastgate (011) 615-7072
GREIG AND MEINKE Brooklyn Mall (012) 460-7415 MURDOCKS V & A Waterfront (021) 419-0302

Publicis JTB SAZG

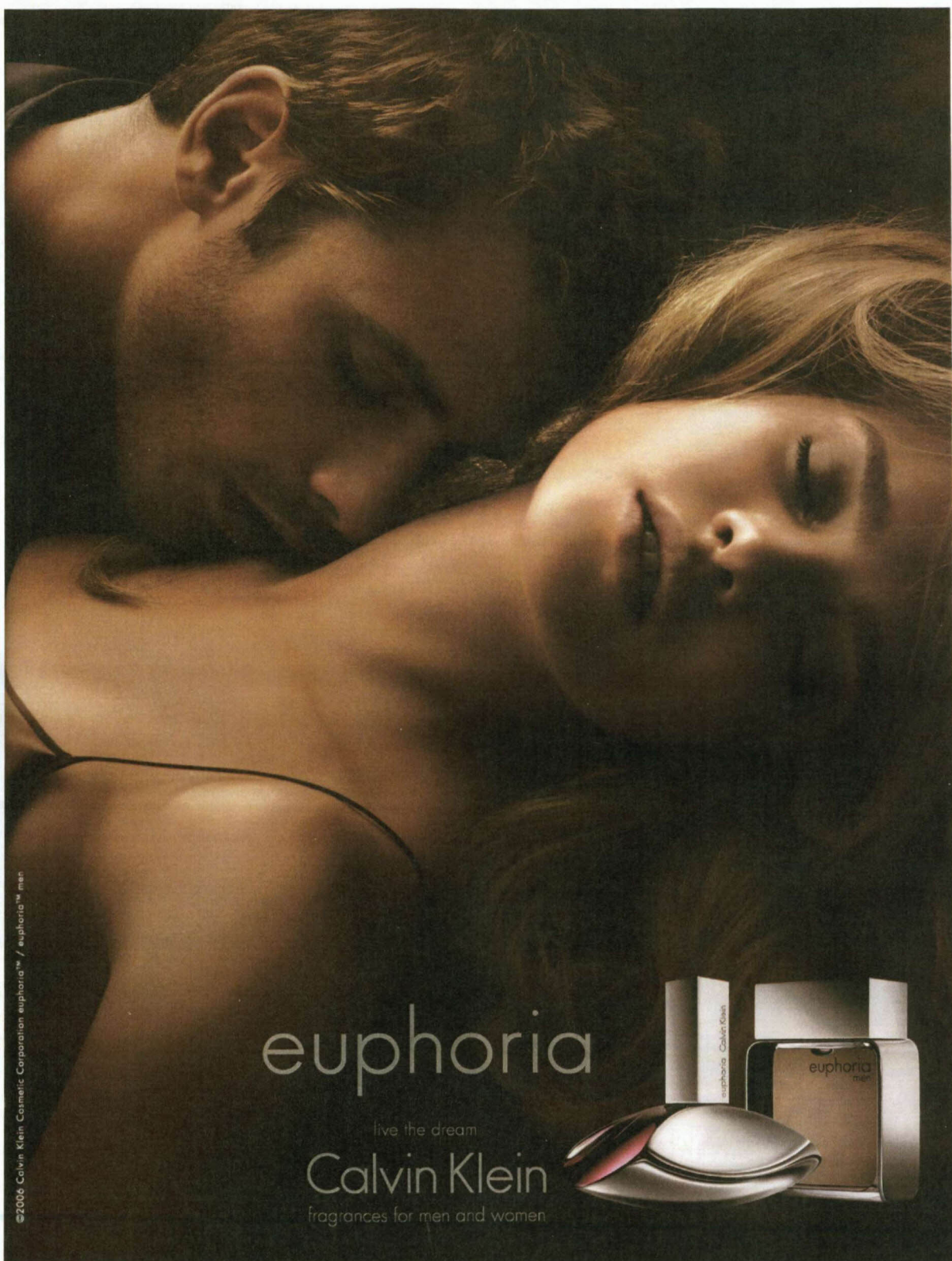
ARMANI
code

the ultimate code of seduction for men

ARMANI
code

GIORGIO ARMANI

www.giorgioarmanibeauty.com



euphoria

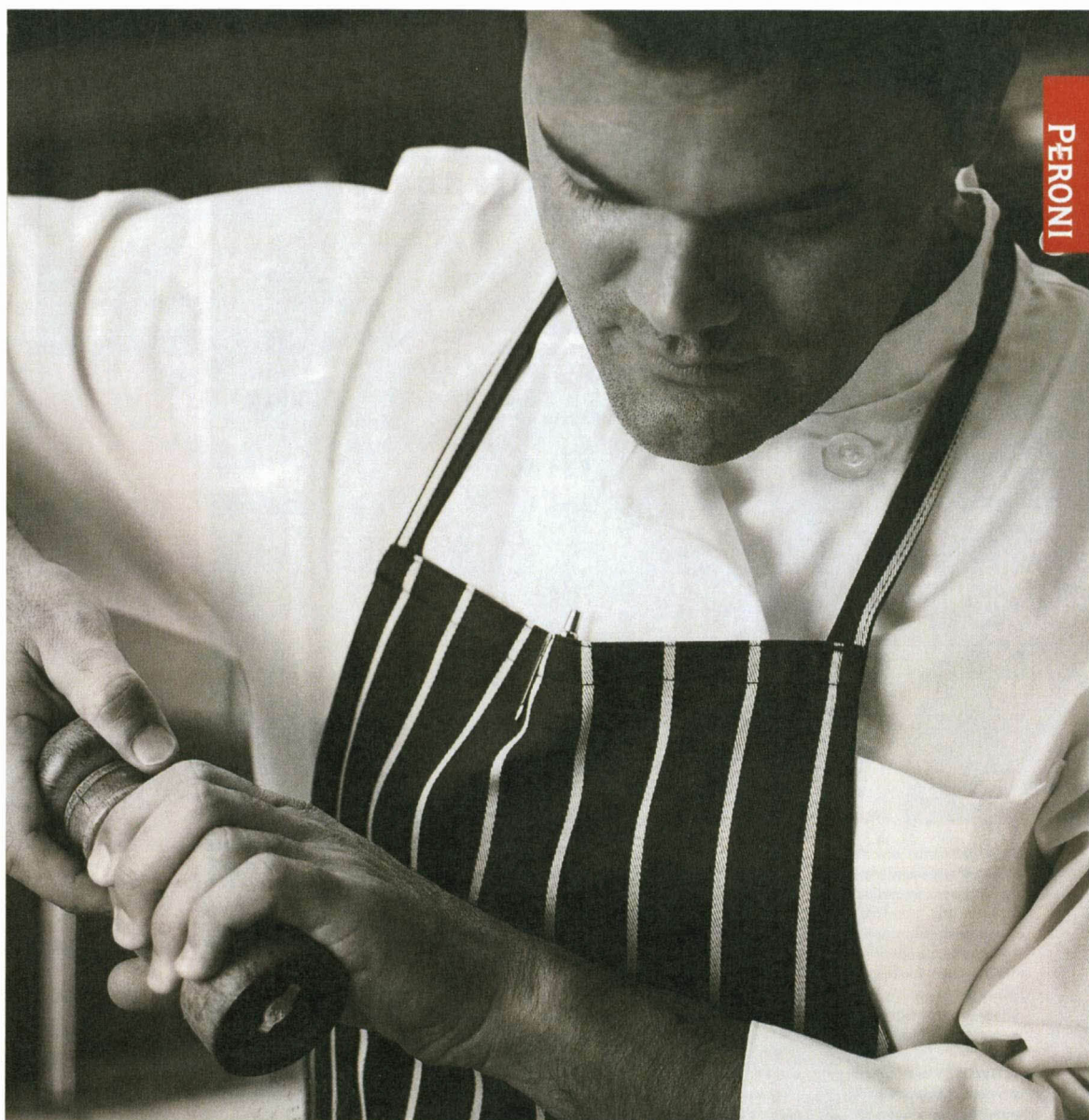
live the dream

Calvin Klein

fragrances for men and women



©2006 Calvin Klein Cosmetics Corporation euphoria™ / euphoria™ men



PERONI

PERONI
ITALY

True Italian style. Exquisite taste.

There is something about the Italian way of doing things... the combination of craftsmanship, effortless flair with a touch of boldness, brewed to an authentic Italian recipe, ensures that Peroni remains a timeless classic.

Craig Hounsom, the Peroni Chef, and Peroni both share the same commitments.
To true craftsmanship. To true passion. To true Italian style.

www.peronitaly.com



Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18.

*The Brazilian swimmer
you met last night
is calling NOW*

take a message



Ninjas never leave
the party first.



NEW



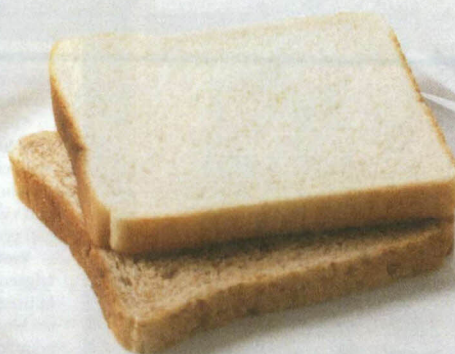
A KICK when you need it!

JWT56612

Pharmaceutically designed by



the Freedom Day sandwich



ingredients



1 slice of Blue Ribbon
white or brown bread,
butter or margarine
or cheddar or gouda
or edam or brie
or sweetmilk or feta
or goat's cheese
or roast beef
or roast chicken
or smoked chicken
or roasted vegetables

or gherkins or turkey
or capers or salami
or sweet peppers
or just chicken
or sweet red peppers
or pickled onions
or black olives
or green pitted olives
or mopani worms
or anchovies or tuna
or salmon or biltong...

12 years ago, you earned the right to make free choices. Exercise that right today by making your very own Blue Ribbon sandwich. Every delicious slice is packed with energy-giving carbohydrates and vitamins, making it nutritious enough to sustain any growing democrat.



You are what you eat

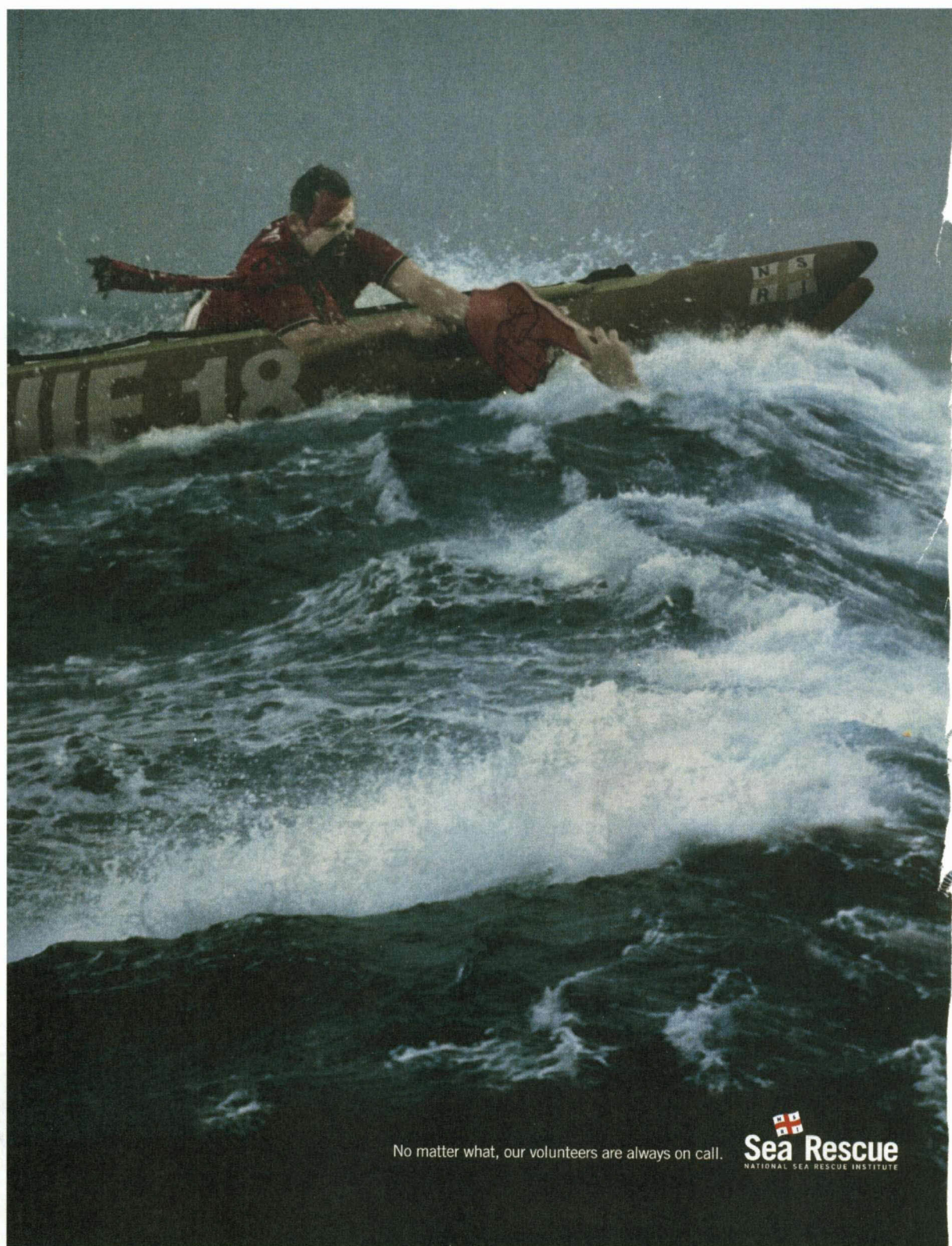
Feel comfortable naked.

All Sasko breads bring a slice of goodness to life. The Sasko Nature's Harvest range is full of all the good things your body needs. Available in Soy & Linseed, Rye and Wheat, Crushed Wheat and Bran and Low GI Seed Loaf. The low GI loaf, provides a slow, consistent release of energy throughout the day and the Crushed Wheat and Bran loaf is approved by the heart foundation. So keep your body looking good inside and out, make Nature's Harvest part of your daily fitness program.



Your Slice of Life

sasko
Since forever



No matter what, our volunteers are always on call.


Sea Rescue
NATIONAL SEA RESCUE INSTITUTE

THE ALL-YEAR TAN.



MEET MINI CLUBMAN, THE OTHER MINI. This bronzed beauty impresses on the inside too with an above-average 1.6L engine, consuming only 5.5L/100km. And with its rich Hot Chocolate colour, you'll never have a fake tan again. If that's too hot for you, choose one with a glass-panel sunroof for added ventilation. And attention.



MINI.co.za

18368REV BLACK PAPER P.C.

EARLY UPGRADE? NEW CELL, SAME PRISON.

Ah... the promise of a better phone, way before you're due for one. Don't fall for it. It's the other cellular networks' way of luring you into another two-year prison sentence. The truth is, with Virgin Mobile you can move freely with zero penalties - so move to us for the fairest rates and keep your number.

THE TRUTH WILL
SET U FREE



The truth is that your mobile service can be transparent, flexible and fair.

For the whole truth visit any Virgin Mobile outlet, go to virginmobile.co.za or simply call us on 0860 000 181.



SUPERMODELS.

 *Appletiser*
100% Pure Pleasure



ELEGANCE.

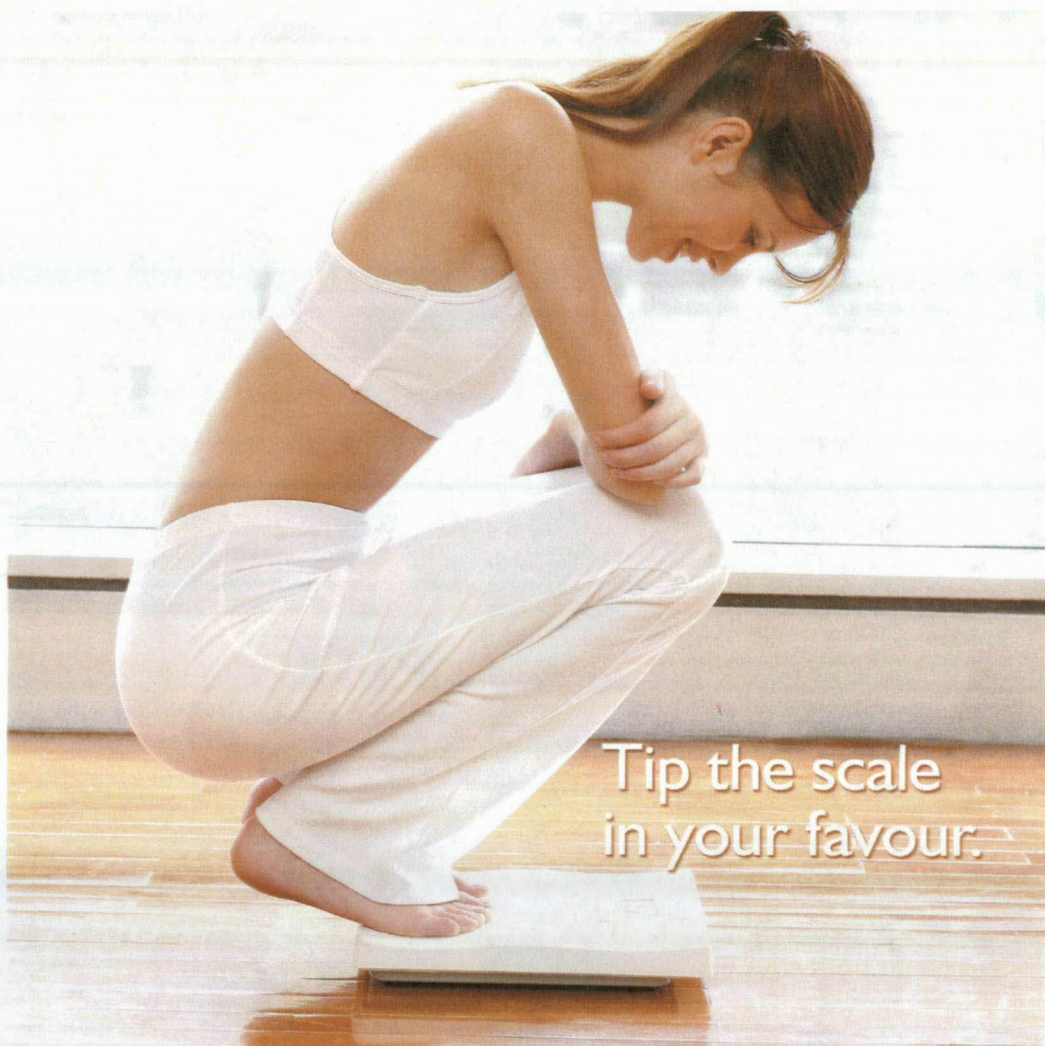
With an edge.

The New Generation Subaru Impreza. With the unique combination of symmetrical All-Wheel Drive, legendary Boxer engine and the **highest ANCAP 5-star occupant safety rating**, this class-leading hatch offers unparalleled performance. From its sleeker, redesigned chassis to its sexier, elegant shape, the new Subaru Impreza exudes sophistication and exhilaration to deliver a perfectly balanced driving experience. www.subaru.co.za.



SUBARU
IMPREZA
ELEGANCE. WITH AN EDGE.

2.0 DOHC Boxer engine, 5-speed manual, 4-speed SS automatic, dual front & side curtain airbags, climate control, steering wheel audio and cruise controls, ABS, EBD & BA, Vehicle Dynamics Control, power steering, 6 CD + 10 SRS stereo, iPod connectivity. Also available in 1.5i manual/automatic and 2.5i WRX (Turbo).



Tip the scale
in your favour.

Multi-Plex **Weight-Care**

The all-in-one multivitamin that helps you achieve your weight goal sensibly.



Eating plan included

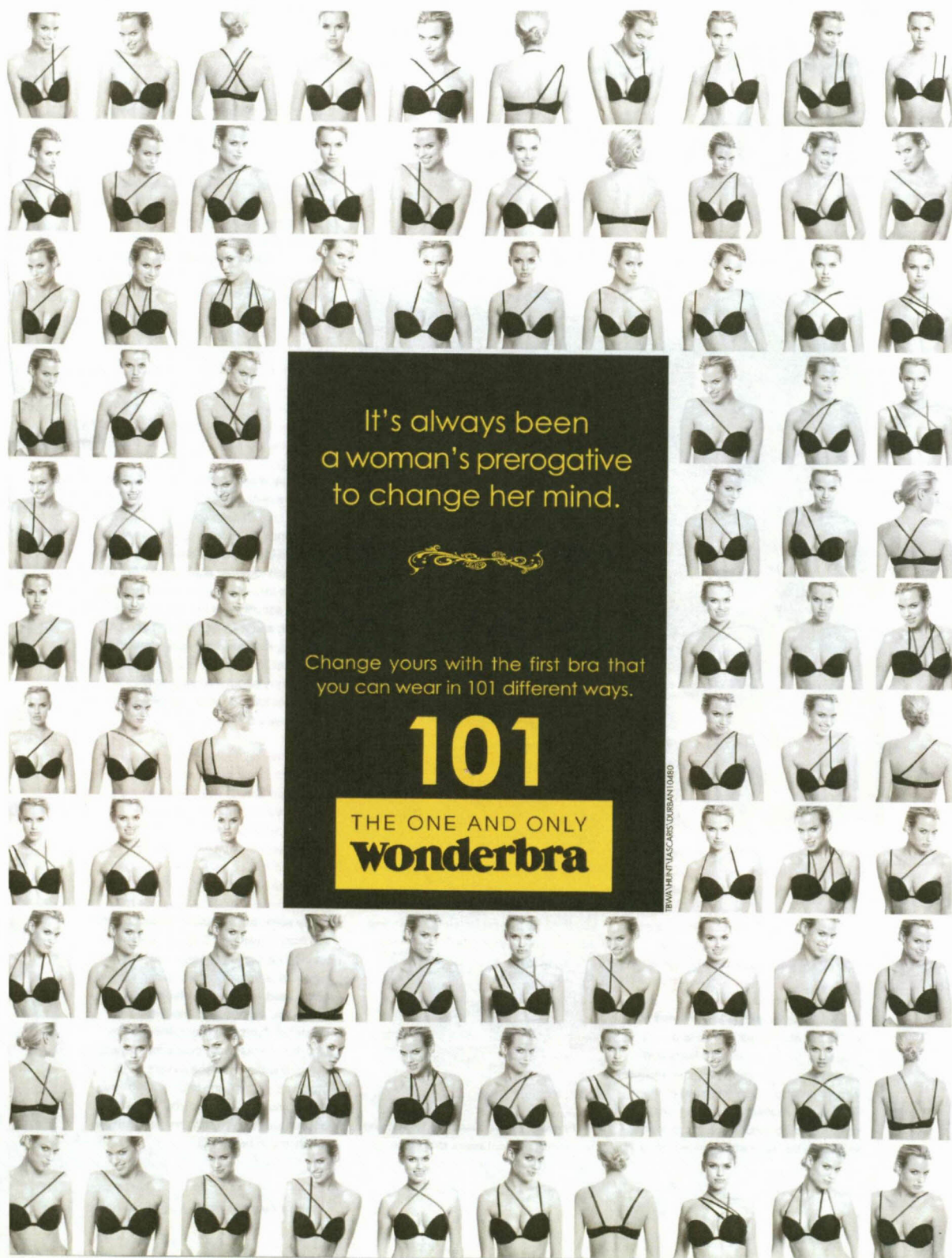


MULTIVITAMIN & MINERAL COMPLEX
Including anti-oxidants, carotenoids, flavanoids and MSM

WEIGHT-CARE includes
Green tea extracts (EGCG)
Garcinia cambogia (HCA)
Chromium & Caffeine



USN[®]
ULTIMATE SPORTS NUTRITION



It's always been
a woman's prerogative
to change her mind.



Change yours with the first bra that
you can wear in 101 different ways.

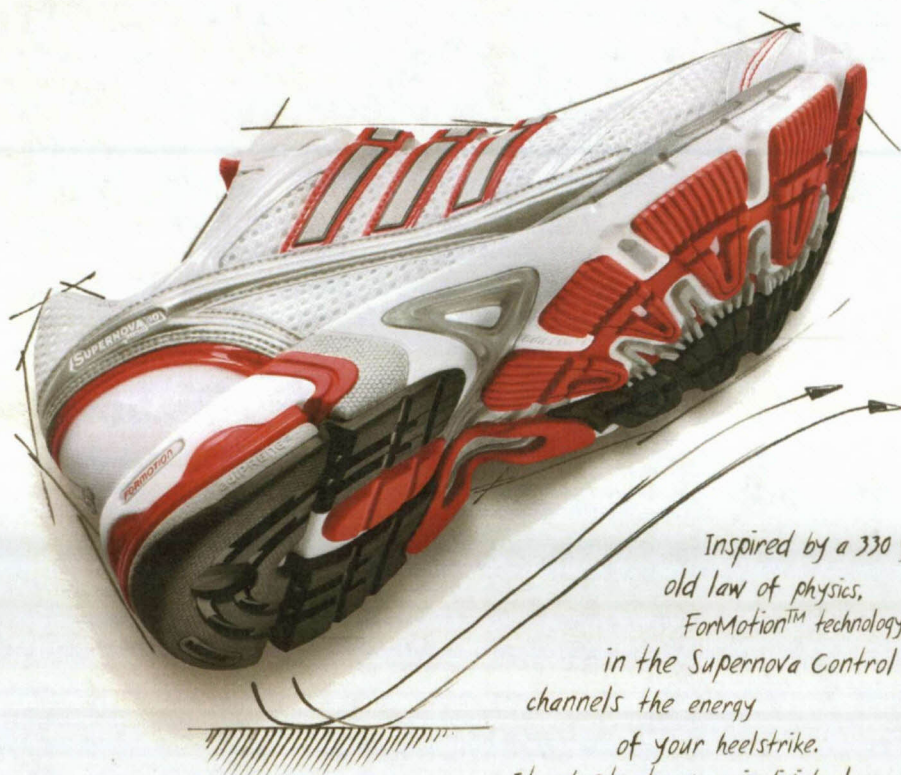
101

THE ONE AND ONLY
Wonderbra

TRAVELING JACQUES LOUBANT (A&P)

THE 3rd LAW OF FORMOTION™

Every action has an equal and opposite reaction



Inspired by a 330 year
old law of physics,
Formotion™ technology
in the Supernova Control
channels the energy
of your heelstrike.
It adapts to your individual running
style for a smooth transition, keeping
the momentum of your run going.

We do the physics.
You do the running.

adidas.com/running

Impossible is nothing



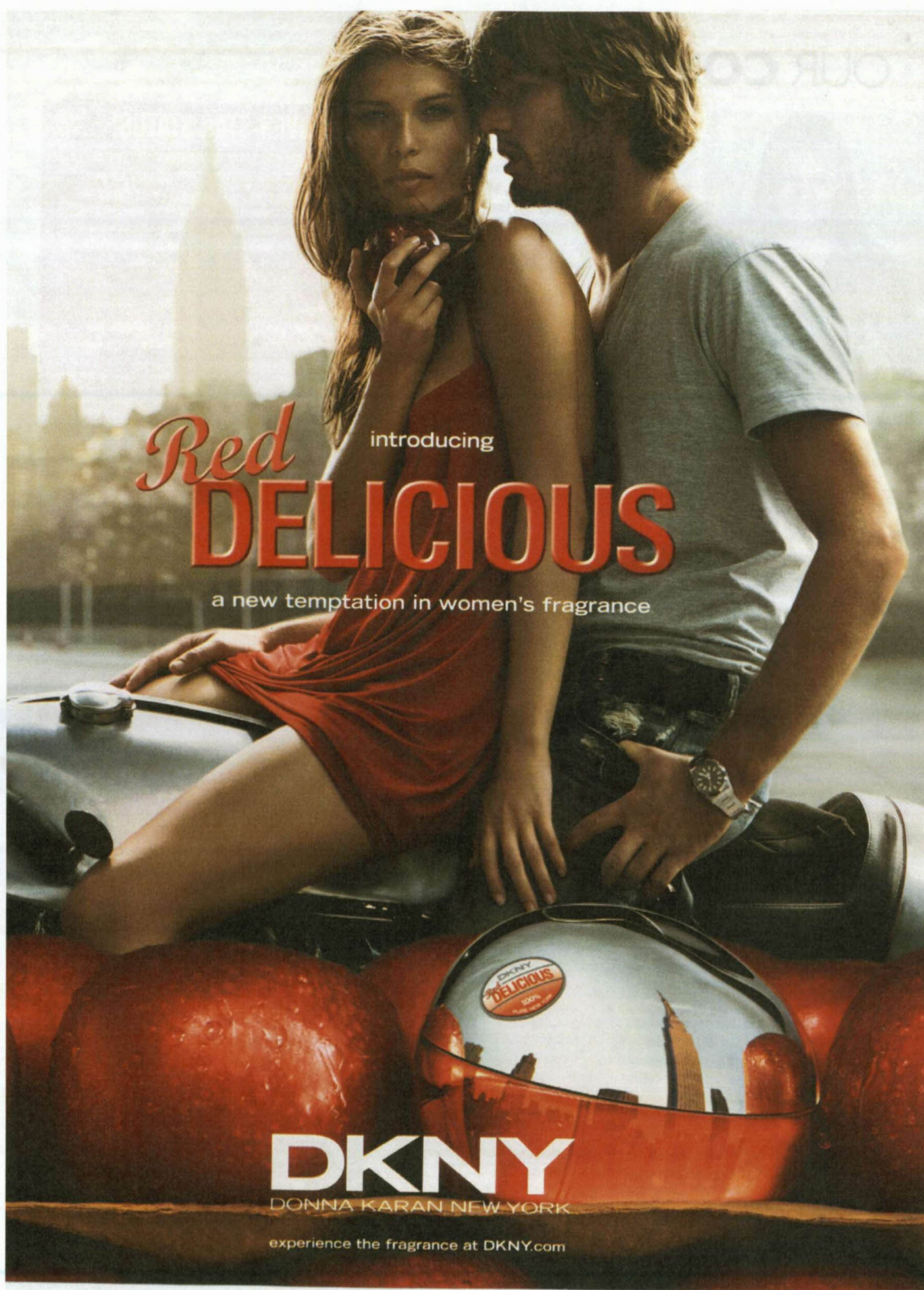
© 2007 adidas AG. adidas, the 3-Stripes logo and the 3-Stripes mark are registered trademarks of the adidas Group.

www.ghdhair.com



The new ghd styler. Thou shalt never be the same girl twice.

ghd
a new religion for hair

A romantic couple is featured in a vintage-style advertisement. A woman with long brown hair, wearing a red dress, sits on a motorcycle. A man with short brown hair, wearing a light blue t-shirt and jeans, leans in to kiss her on the cheek. The background shows a city skyline with a prominent skyscraper. In the foreground, several large, ripe red apples are visible. A motorcycle helmet with a 'DKNY DELICIOUS' sticker is also present.

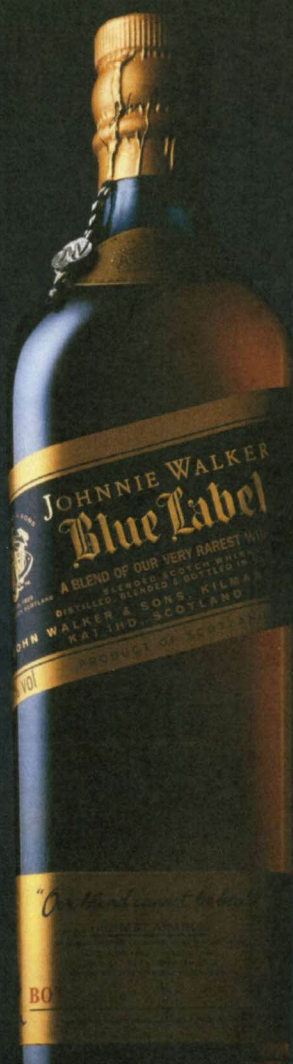
Red
DELICIOUS

introducing

a new temptation in women's fragrance

DKNY
DONNA KARAN NEW YORK

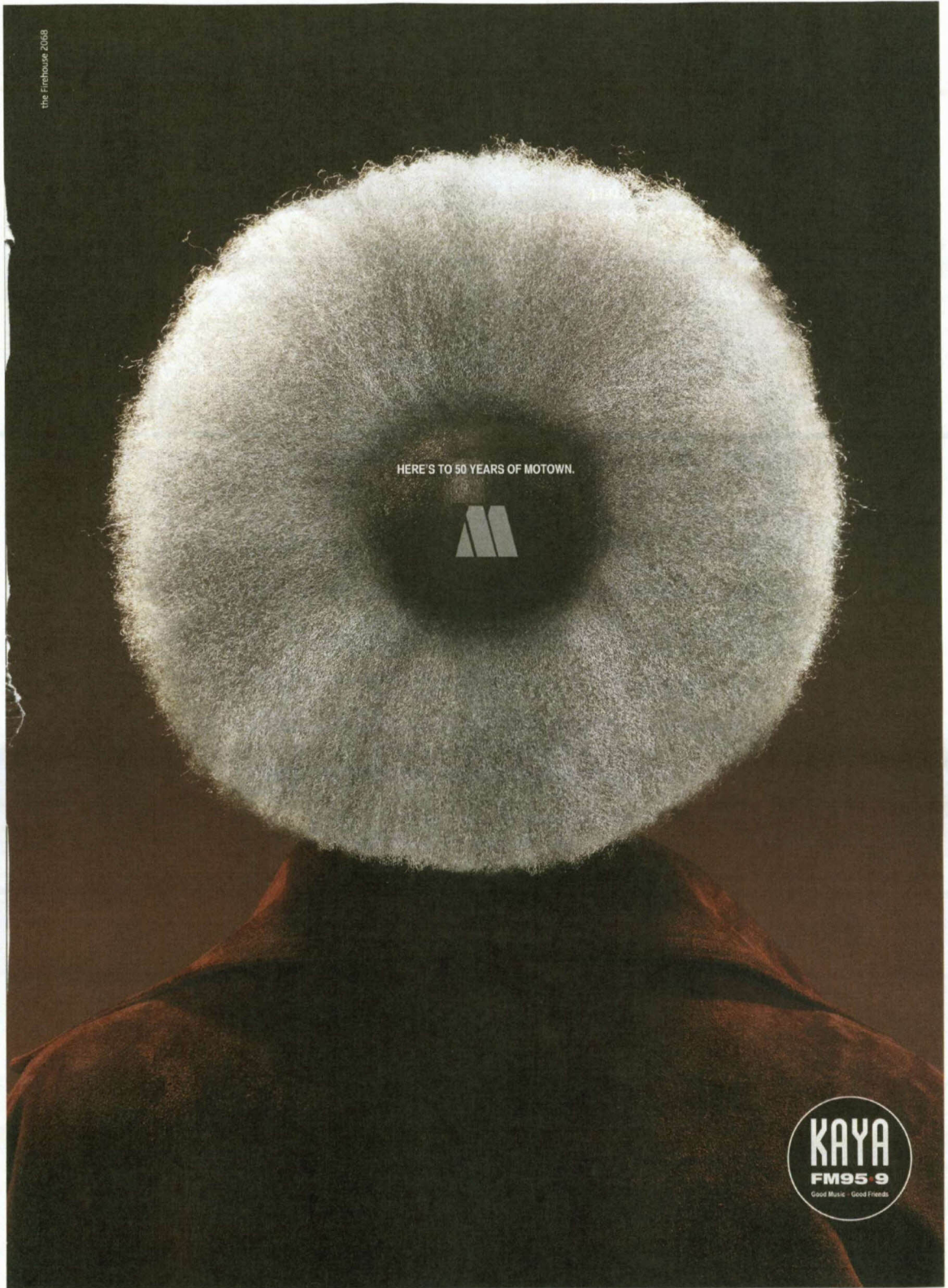
experience the fragrance at DKNY.com



PRICE ON APPLICATION

Not For Sale To Persons Under The Age Of 18 Years.





ULTRA COMPASSIONATE WOMAN

AMAZING
TRUE STORY!

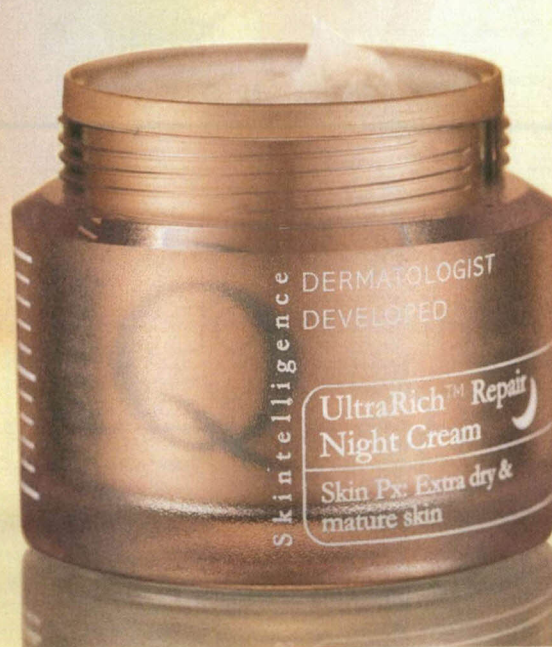


INSTANTLY, SHE TENDS TO THE
WOUNDED WITH SUPER-CARING!

WHEN MRS GOLDBERG BROKE A RIB ON HOLIDAY IN UMHLANGA IN MAY 2006, MICHELLE DOUGALL FROM THE AVIS OFFICE HAD TO OPERATE FAST. WITHOUT HESITATION, SHE PHONED HER OWN DOCTOR AND DROVE MRS GOLDBERG TO HIS SURGERY IN HER OWN CAR, THEN SHE DROVE THE GOLDBERGS TO THE HOSPITAL FOR X-RAYS. PERFORMING THESE SORTS OF FEATS MAY BE EXTRAORDINARY FOR SOME, BUT THEY'RE SUPER NATURAL FOR THE PEOPLE AT AVIS.

AVIS
We try harder.

The pot of gold



Dry & mature skin? The end of the rainbow's within reach

It's never too late to 'immunise' your skin. Introducing a range of skin treatments from IQ - UltraRich™... they're just that. Intensive, non-greasy skin treatments specially developed by our SA Dermatologist* for extra dry & mature skin. He's combined Soy & Wild Yam natural phyto-oestrogens with the richest emollients & IPF™ (Immuno Protection Factor) Anti-oxidants to scavenge Free Radicals while supporting collagen & elastin renewal.

This unique IPF™ helps protect & prevent the Langerhans' cells from being depleted. (*Decoded:* improves skin elasticity, surface roughness & structure. Enhances your skin's own defences against further sun damage).

No Prescription Required™ for intensely nourished, firmer, more elastic skin. IQ UltraRich™ treatments. Available in a Daily Cleansing Wash, Rejuvenating Day Cream (with SPF 15), Repairing Night Cream & an amazing peptide-boosted Renewing Serum. Just what the doctor ordered.

IQ. It's Pure Genius™

Join Club IQ at
www.IQskintelligence.com

IQ™
DERMATOLOGIST
DEVELOPED

EXCLUSIVE TO
CLICKS+
and selected medical practitioners
Available in selected stores
0860 CLICKS or 0860254257

*IQ skin care treatments were developed by a South African Dermatologist who has diagnosed & treated over 50,000 patients. He is an authority on photo ageing & sun-related skin damage (name withheld in line with the Health & Professional Council of South Africa's regulations). He took 5 years to develop these products & designed them specifically to meet SA's sunny & harsh climate & various skin types.

IQ 45

100 years
Vorsprung durch Technik

Handle with flair.

The new Audi S4.

The road is about to be redefined. Breath-taking design and superior performance have long made the Audi S4 a mainstay of motoring. Now, a new generation supercharged V8 engine is set to exalt it to a new rank of sporty performance and efficiency. Think 245kW of power, 440Nm of torque and 0 - 100km/h in 5.1 seconds. Vorsprung durch Technik, of course, comes standard.

Official fuel consumption for the Audi S4 from 3.4 / 100km - 9.2 / 100km (combined). CO₂ emissions from 219g/km - 225g/km (combined). 5-year / 100,000km anti-rust warranty. *See brochure.



YOU DON'T NEED TO BE AN AUTHOR
TO HAVE A STORY TO TELL.



Patiently crafted for you to enjoy responsibly.
Brandsmith-GP&V

For depth and character that's taken five generations to create.

TRY A DIFFERENT ANGLE. GRANT'S.

www.grantswhisky.com

Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18.

HONDA
The Power of Dreams

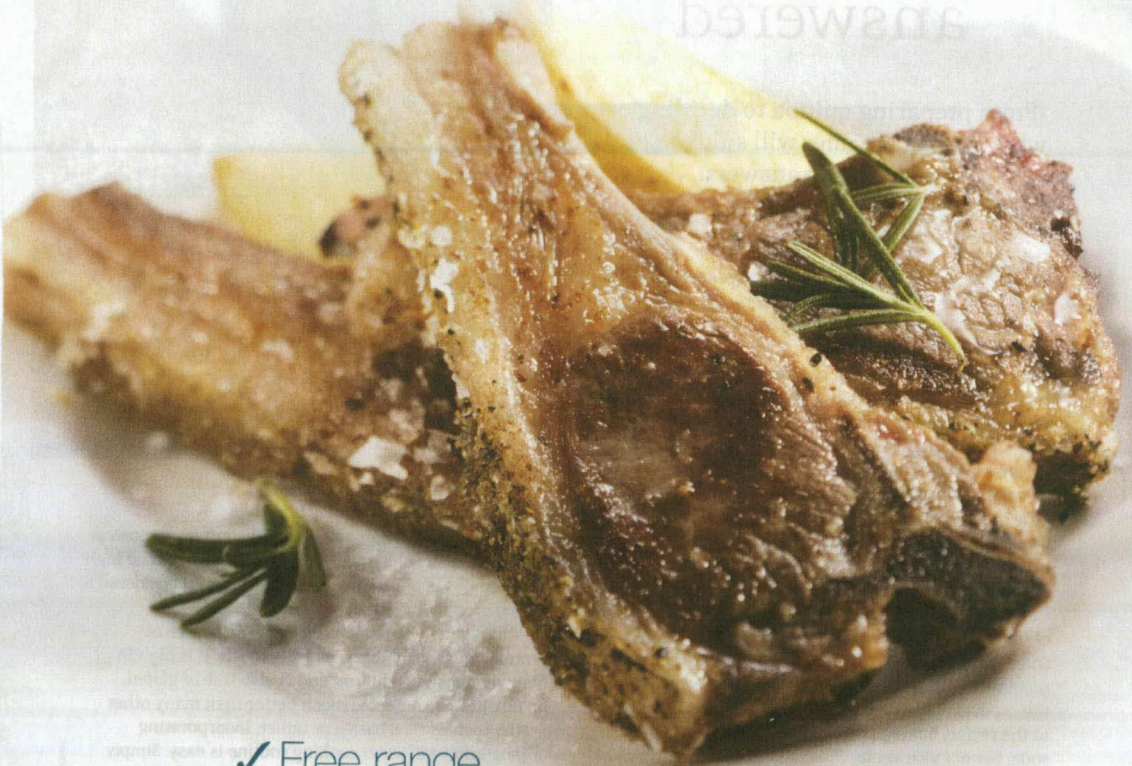
Extreme makeovers aren't only for humans.



Sleek aerodynamic body, intelligent safety systems, 1.8 i-VTEC that gives 2.0l power with 1.5l fuel economy, breakthrough interior and dashboard design: just a few of the revolutionary ideas in the radically new Honda Civic 4-door Sedan. www.honda.co.za **CIVIC** Feel moved

DOB South Africa 23971

The best things in life are free.



- ✓ Free range
- ✓ Free of antibiotics
- ✓ Free of added hormones



If **better living is important to you** then you'll appreciate being able to get better quality every day. Our exclusive Certified Natural Lamb is not only free range, free of antibiotics and free of added hormones, but the quality control measures are so strict that we can trace every delicious cut of lamb back to its farm of origin. So you can be sure that you're getting nothing but the best. Don't change your lifestyle, change your supermarket.

NINETYCENTS CORC548/E

better and better
Checkers

www.checkers.co.za



Reserved

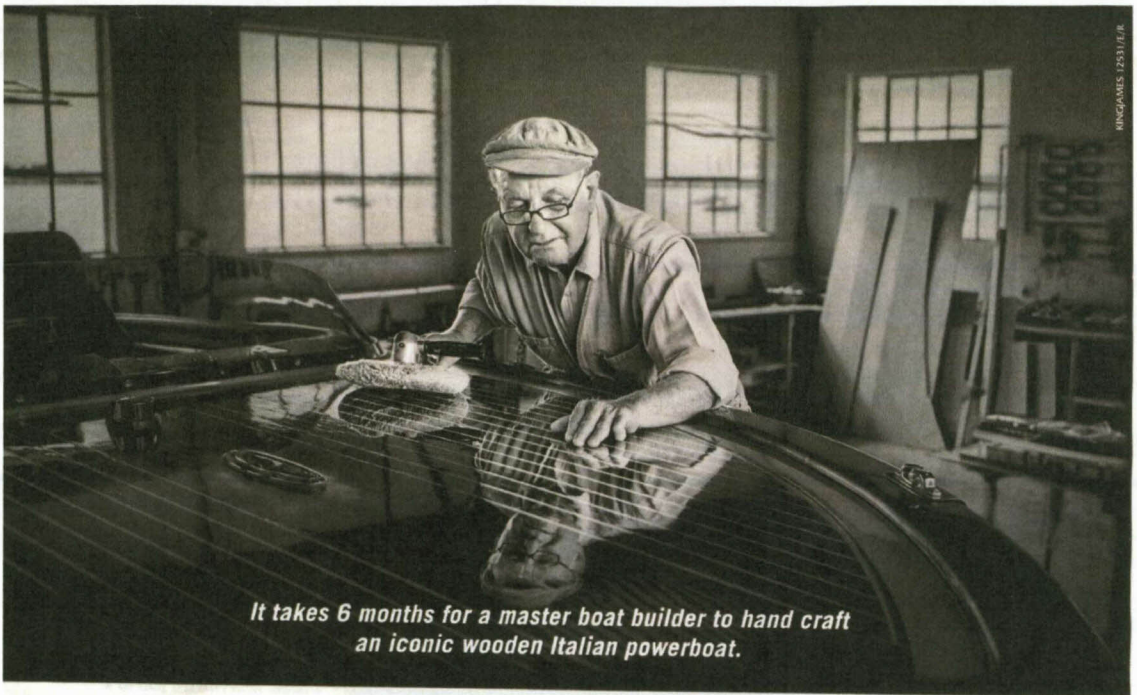
Why go out and spend a fortune if you can enjoy a fine dining experience in the comfort of your own home?

• EXTRA MATURED • VACUUM-PACKED • GRAIN-FED • A-GRADE STEAK

STEAKHOUSE
Classic
*Restaurant-quality steak
at a fraction of the price*

exclusive to **Checkers**
and *CheckersHyper*

IBDO CAPE TOWN CONCERN



It takes 6 months for a master boat builder to hand craft an iconic wooden Italian powerboat.



In the same time, we make a parma-style ham.

Only available in selected stores.

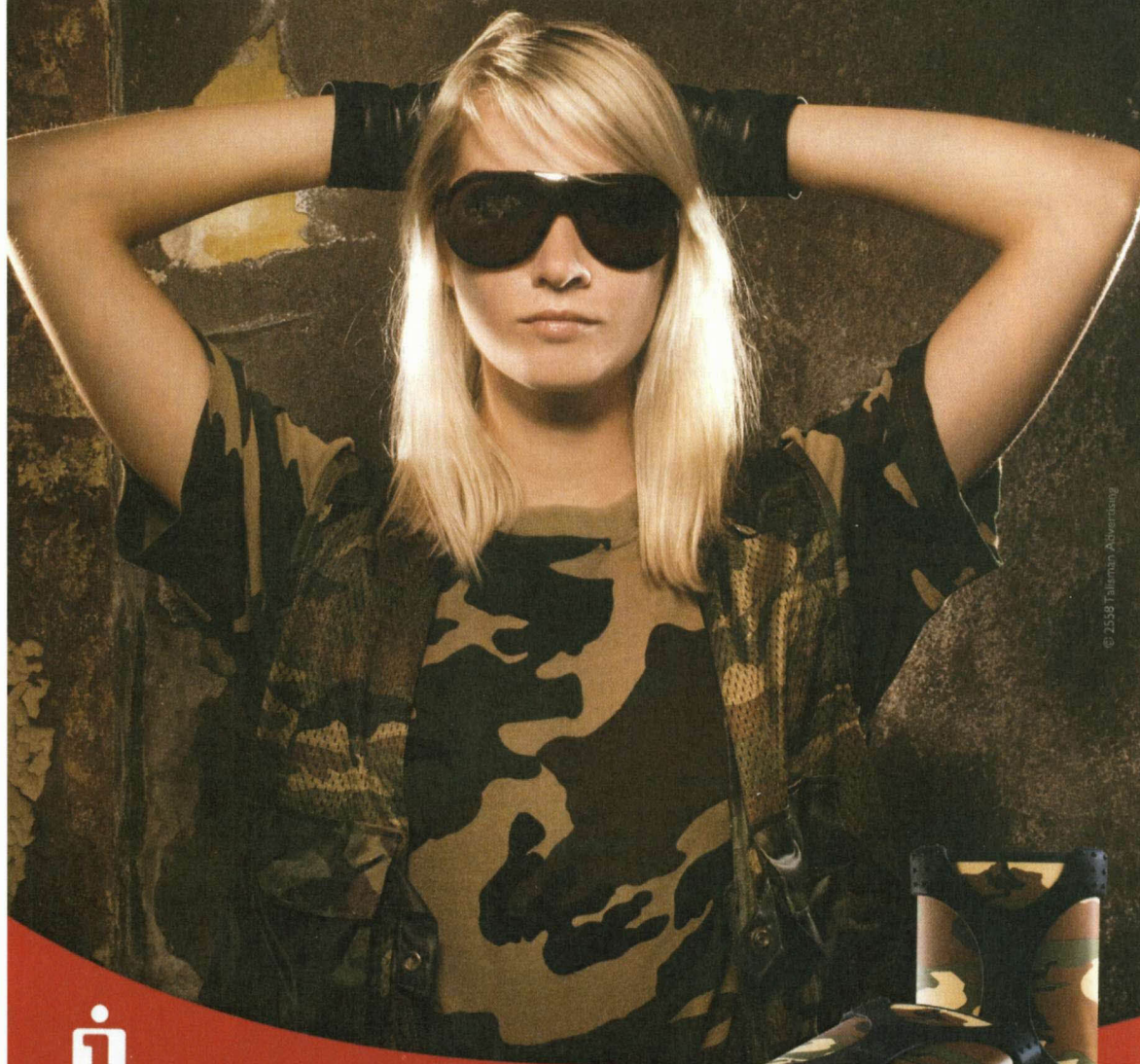
There are no short cuts in the fine art of charcuterie. Introducing Seemann's Parma Style Ham. Hand selected pork legs are cured with salt on the bone and then matured for 6 months to allow the air to kiss the enticing flavours to life. Made in the slow and time-honoured way, it truly captures the spirit of la dolce vita. Slow down and savour the taste that only patience and time can deliver.



SEEMANN'S
CHARCUTERIE

THE DIFFERENCE THAT TIME AND CRAFT MAKE

It's all about backup!



© 2008 Talman Advertising

i
iomega
an EMC company

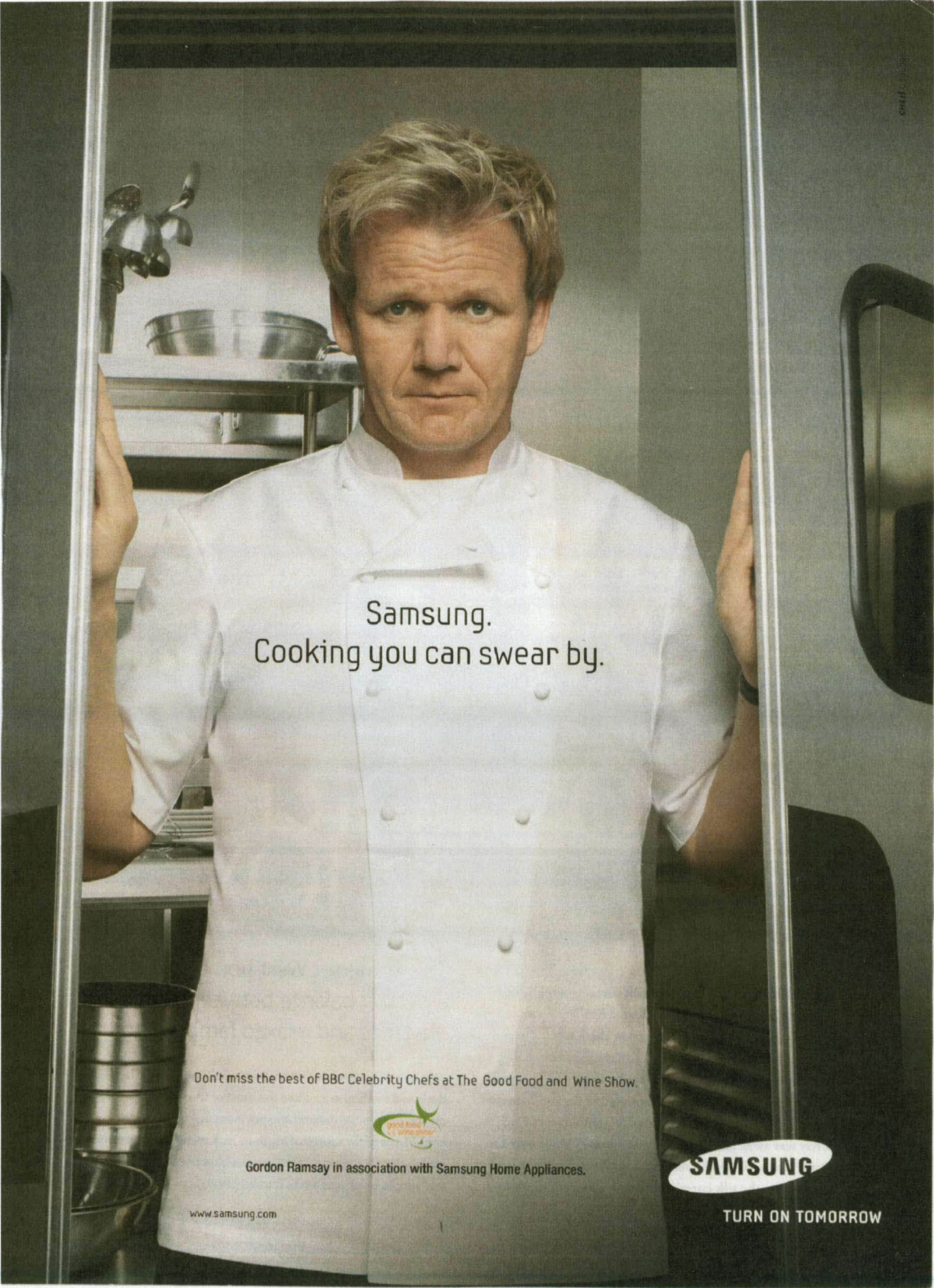
www.iomega.com
kasselman@iomega.com

Add a unique look to your mobile digital life style! The rugged iomega@eGo™ Portable Hard Drive USB 2.0 Camo is available in a cool camouflage pattern and includes Drop Guard™ to withstand the toughest travel environments. Available in 250GB capacity with black iomega Power Grip Band included.



Available at Incredible Connection & other leading retail outlets.

Incredible
CONNECTION

A full-page advertisement featuring Gordon Ramsay in a professional kitchen. He is wearing a white chef's coat and has a serious expression, looking directly at the camera. His hands are resting on the vertical handles of a large, dark-colored Samsung refrigerator. The background shows stainless steel kitchen equipment, including a sink and shelves with pots.

Samsung.
Cooking you can swear by.

Don't miss the best of BBC Celebrity Chefs at The Good Food and Wine Show.

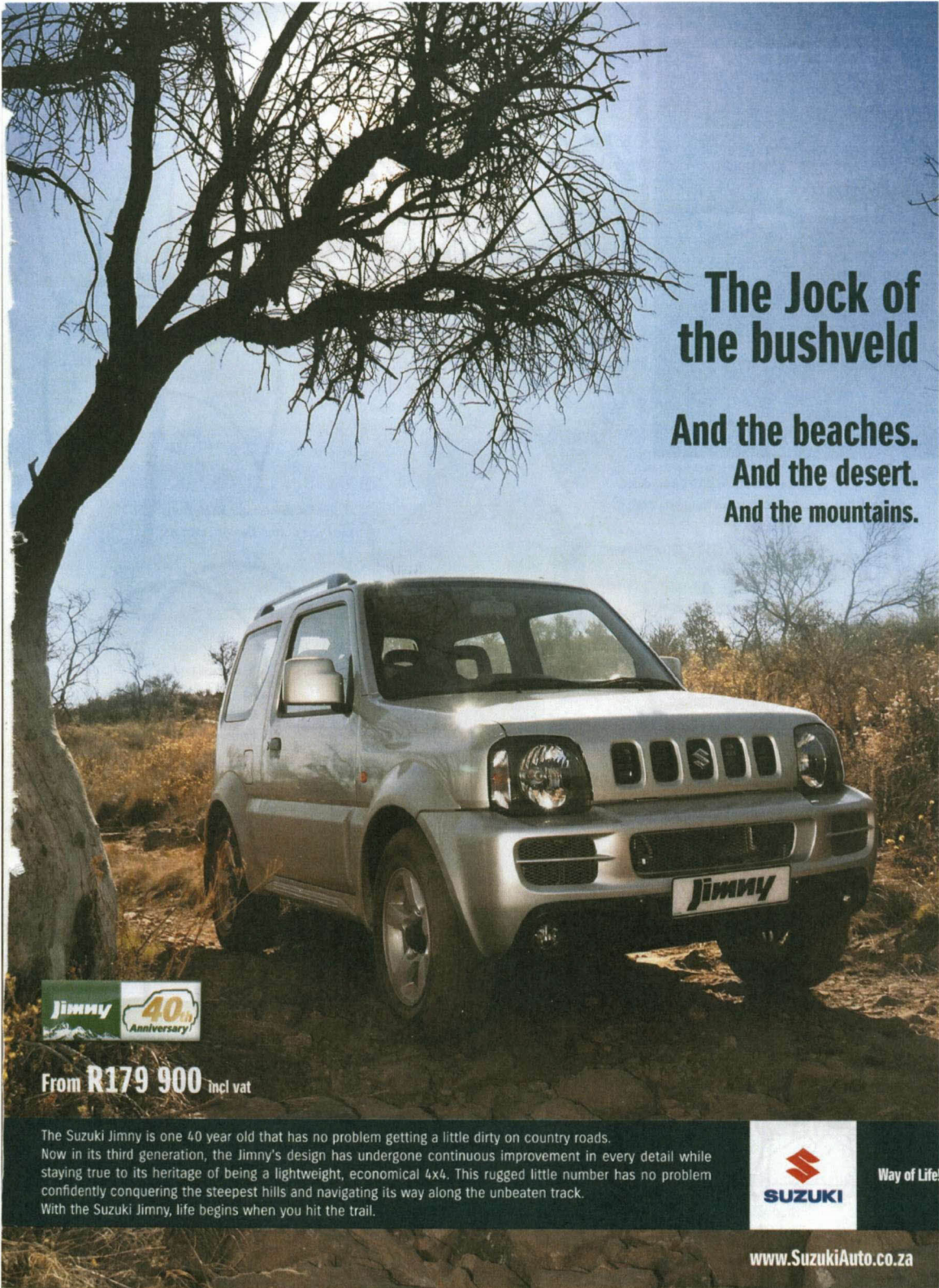
The logo for the Good Food and Wine Show, featuring a stylized green leaf and the text "good food wine show".

Gordon Ramsay in association with Samsung Home Appliances.

www.samsung.com

SAMSUNG

TURN ON TOMORROW



**The Jock of
the bushveld**

**And the beaches.
And the desert.
And the mountains.**



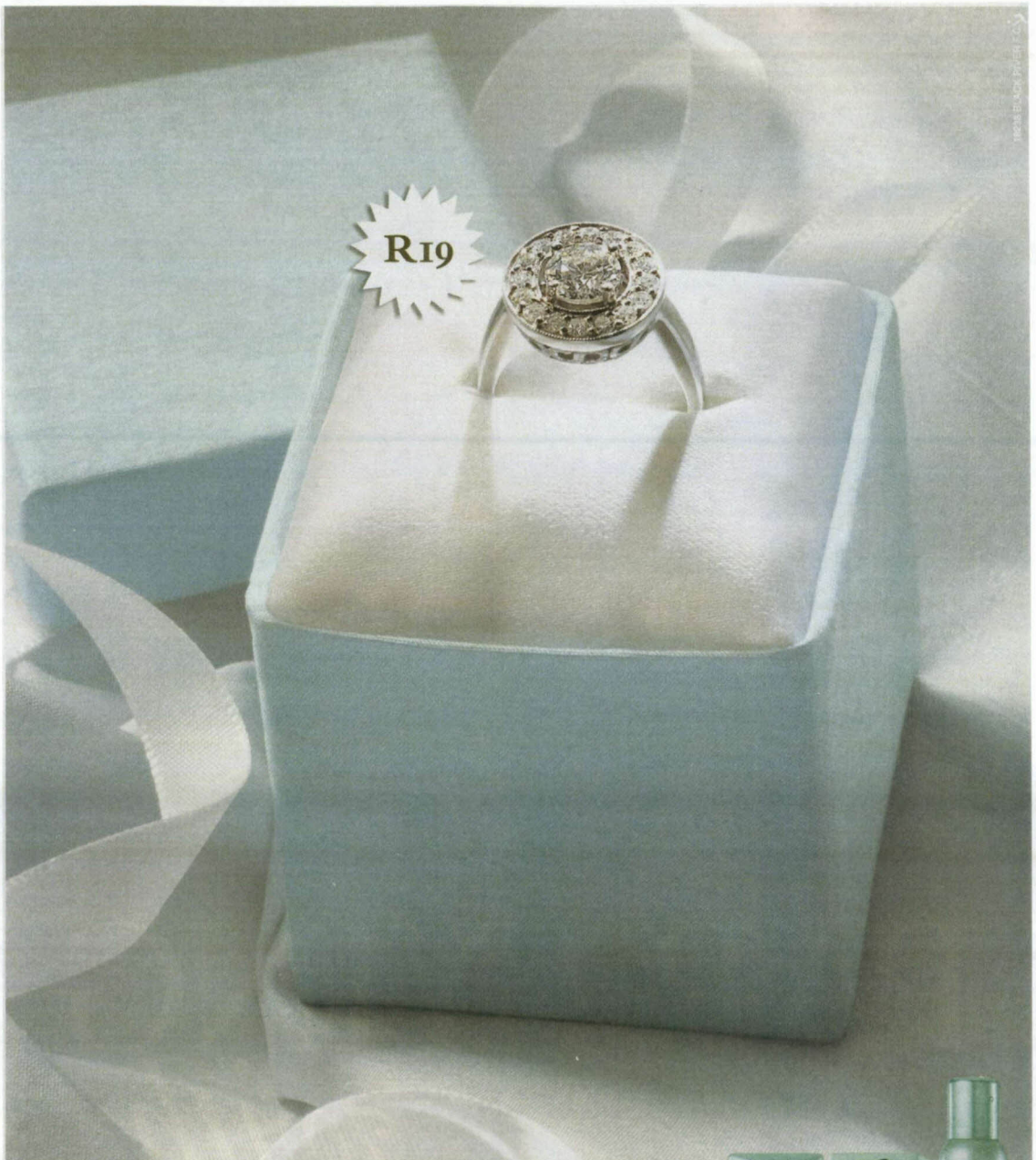
From R179 900 incl vat

The Suzuki Jimny is one 40 year old that has no problem getting a little dirty on country roads. Now in its third generation, the Jimny's design has undergone continuous improvement in every detail while staying true to its heritage of being a lightweight, economical 4x4. This rugged little number has no problem confidently conquering the steepest hills and navigating its way along the unbeaten track. With the Suzuki Jimny, life begins when you hit the trail.



Way of Life

www.SuzukiAuto.co.za



When the price is questionable, so is the quality.

Mitchum may cost more than the average antiperspirant. But then again, it's not your average antiperspirant.



You get what you pay for.

Toshiba recommends
Windows Vista® Home Premium



> QOSMIO X300 - THE INSTRUMENT OF A MASTER



Experience the awesome rush and realism of today's gameplay as never before.

The Qosmio X300 combines massive performance with ground-breaking style. First choice of the diehard gamer, the display is a 17" WXGA+ widescreen with brilliant colour and clarity. Best-in-class NVIDIA® graphics deliver thrilling images with seamless transitions. The integrated 5-speaker Harman® Kardon audio system with subwoofer creates an uncanny sonic stage, reproducing every sound from the faintest footstep of an approaching foe to earth-shattering explosions. A full set of Toshiba EasyMedia features support for every element of today's digital lifestyle.

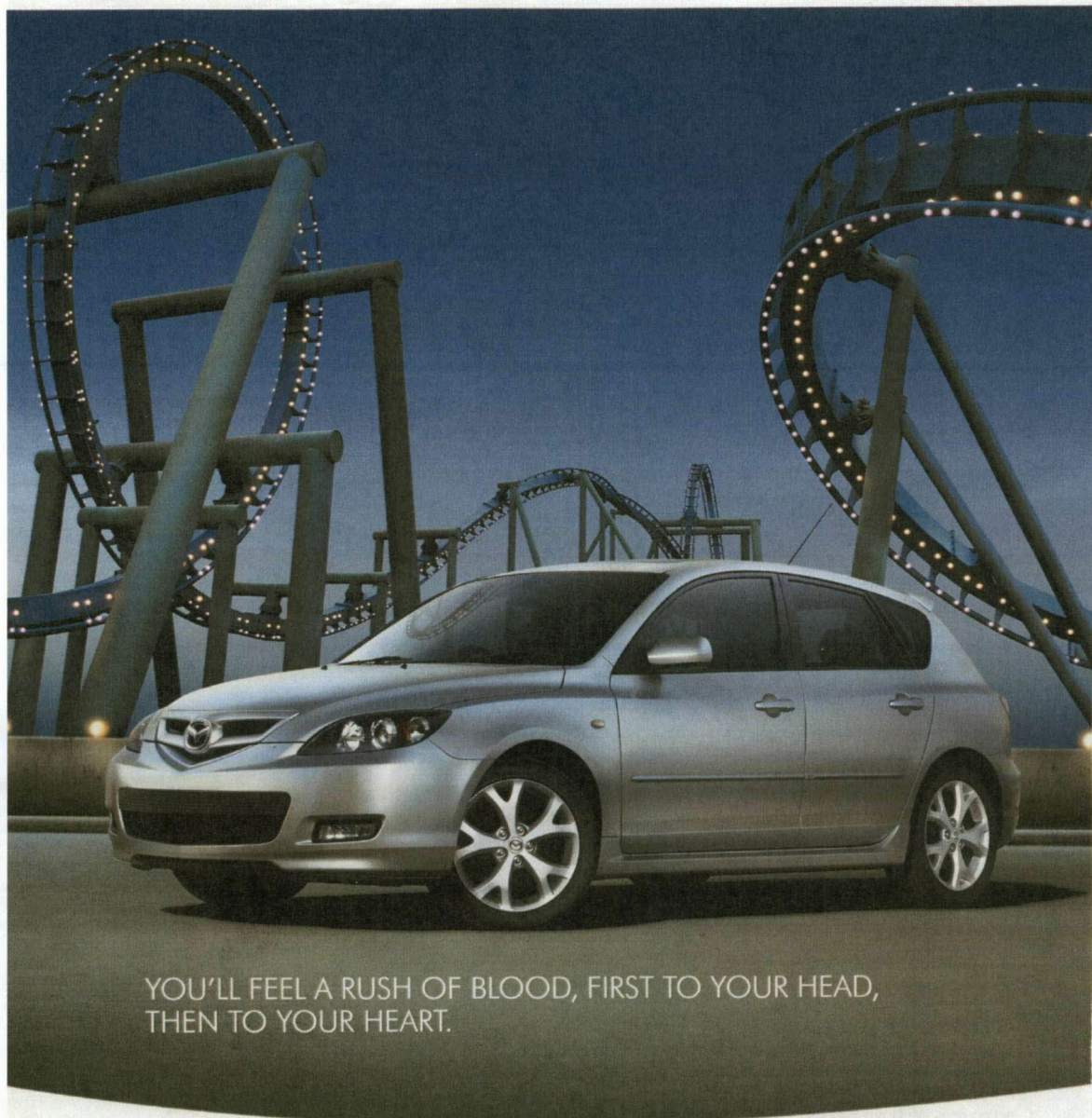
Find your way. become a Mastershogun.
www.toshiba.co.za

TOSHIBA
Leading Innovation >>>

Intel, the Intel logo, Core™, Intel Core and Core Inside are trademarks of Intel Corporation in the U.S. and other countries. Microsoft, Windows and Windows Vista are either registered trademarks or trademarks of Microsoft Corporation in the United States and/or other countries. All trademarks are acknowledged.



zoom-zoom



YOU'LL FEEL A RUSH OF BLOOD, FIRST TO YOUR HEAD,
THEN TO YOUR HEART.

When you think about it, there are so many logical reasons to fall in love with the new Mazda3 Sport: the more powerful 2.3i engine, genuine leather seats, power slide sunroof, bigger boot space and dynamic new styling. Of course, it's when you get behind the wheel and experience the exhilarating performance, that's when the heart takes over. Mazda. Always the soul of a sports car. For more information visit www.mazda.co.za

MAZDA 3 SPORT

| The power to perform.

GREY 119079

DAVIDE CAPE LOWE SANTAM/ISGUE



NOW IS A GOOD TIME TO INTRODUCE A WORLD OF CERTAINTY.

Life's unpredictable. But one thing you can know for sure is that you can rely on Santam when it comes to award-winning insurance innovations, tailor-made packages and more value than ever before. Even more reason to rest insured. Our straight-talking brokers can help you and your business become part of our world of certainty.

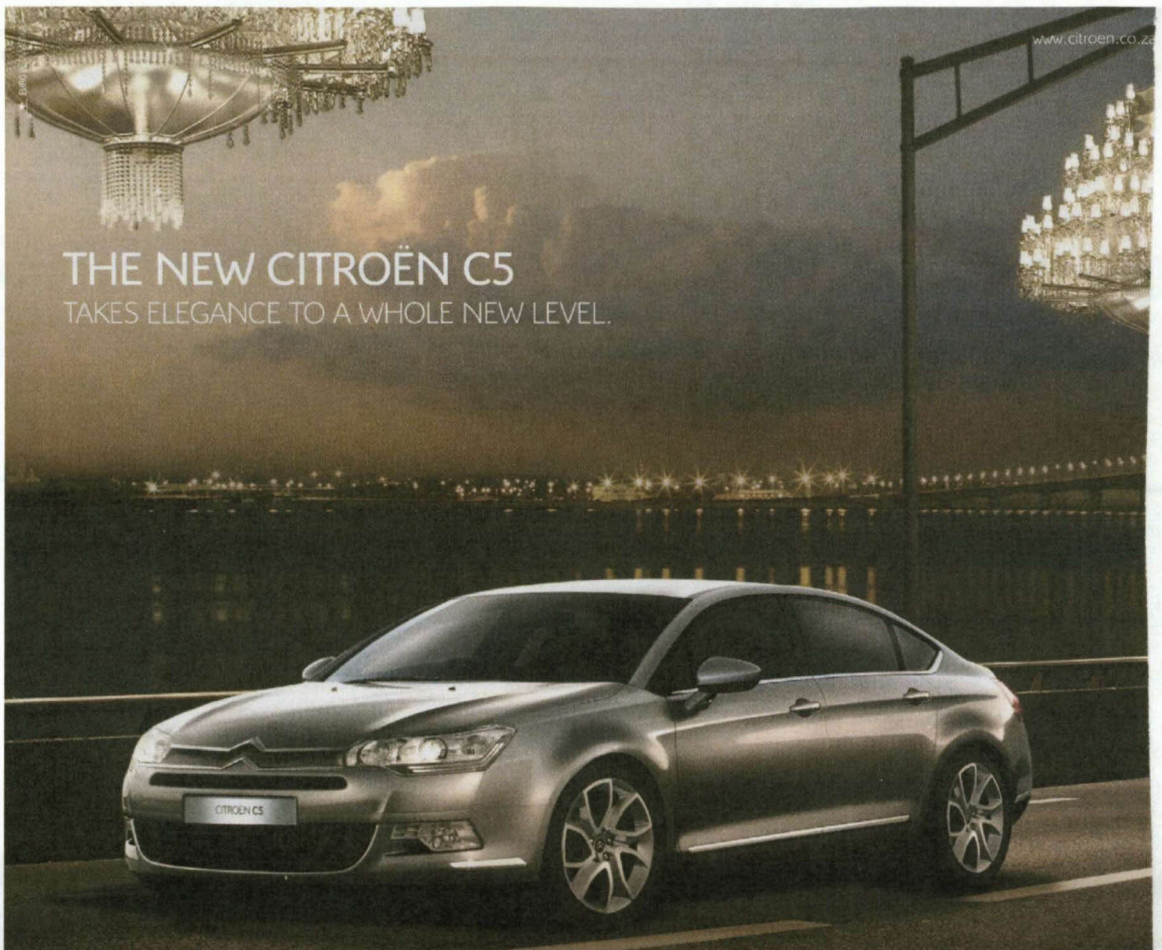
Call one today or dial 0860SANTAM.



Rest insured

www.santam.co.za

Santam is an authorized financial services provider (licence number 3416)

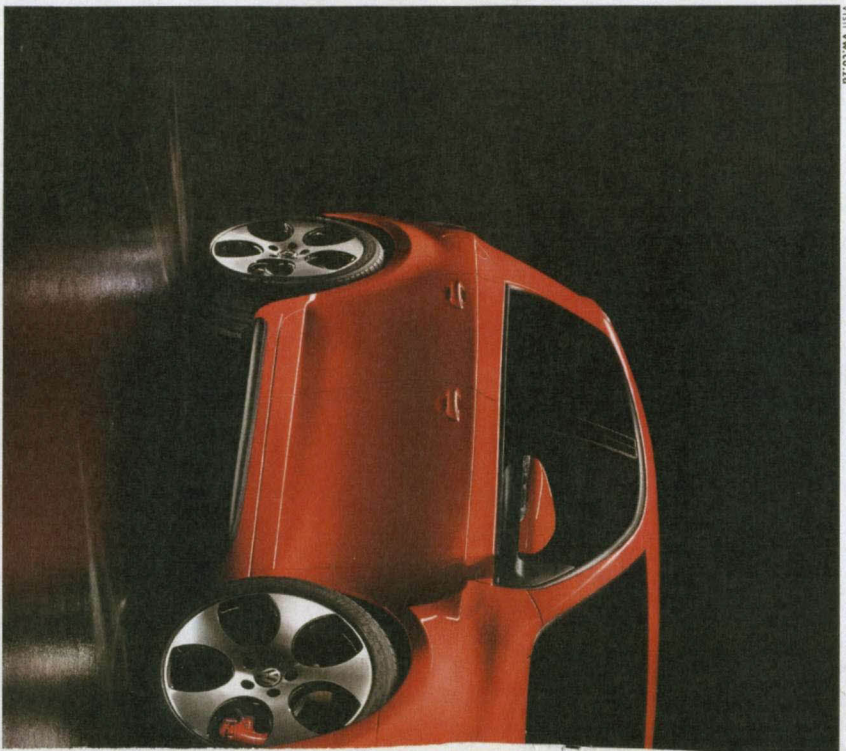


The first step you take inside the new CITROËN C5 instantly rewards you. Features standard on all models such as electrically adjustable leather seats, bluetooth handsfree kit (with music streaming), automatic windscreen wiper, front and rear parking sensors, automatic headlights and cruise control with speed limiter, speak of luxury and comfort, elegantly assembled in a manner only a discerning few can appreciate. The Hydractive III+ suspension* allows you to switch between comfort or sport mode. This includes height sensors that help maintain the vehicle at a constant height/level regardless of the number of passengers. The new CITROËN C5 really does take elegance to a whole new level. Test drive one today.

* This feature is only available on the C5 3.0 HDi V6 Auto. Visuals for illustration purposes only. E&OE.

CRÉATIVE TECHNOLOGIE





02 03 New GTI



GLAXY CAR TONY JAMES © 1999

Even your butterflies
will have goosebumps.

New GTI

155kW New GTI



Das Auto.

FLAUNT
YOUR TASTE




Hennessy
COGNAC

FLAUNT RESPONSIBLY. NOT FOR SALE TO PERSONS UNDER THE AGE OF 18.

© 2001 HENNESSY

Best friends with



Derek Watts

J-Lo

Patrick Jane

McDreamy

Gabrielle Solis

Terrence Howard

You have 11 new friend requests in 2011



Make new friends this year with great shows like *American Idol*, *Grey's Anatomy*, *Desperate Housewives*, *The Mentalist*, *Law and Order: LA* and a new *Carte Blanche*.

*RECOMMENDED RETAIL PRICE. TERMS AND CONDITIONS APPLY.



DSi
STANDARD DECODER
R599
FULLY INSTALLED



SO MUCH MORE

© GETTY IMAGES. AS SEEN ON DSi

JHB 2804



EXPERIENCE OUTSTANDING. Subaru's new powerful Tribeca provides a winning incentive for being exclusive. This streamlined beauty with a luxurious, award-winning interior is powered by a gutsy 3.6 litre Boxer™ Engine while enjoying the highest levels of safety by global standards derived from its unique Symmetrical All-Wheel Drive system. If you appreciate the outstanding, drive one and you will understand. www.subaru.co.za



180kW, 252Psi 5-speed automatic SportShift™, front, side & intelligent curtain airbags, climate control, steering wheel audio controls, ABS brakes, Electronic Brake-force Distribution & Brake Assist, VDC stability control, sun roof, 215mm ground clearance, 6 CD + 9 speakers, iPod connectivity

With the Nedbank American Express® Travel Card you're on the winning team. No cash. No risk. No worries.

Limited offer - free to American Express Card members



The Nedbank American Express® Travel Card – for a hassle free travel experience.

The Nedbank American Express® Travel Card is a safe and convenient alternative to cash and allows you to load cash at a fixed exchange rate. You can draw cash or make purchases in South African rand wherever American Express® Cards are accepted. What's more, if your Card is lost or stolen, it can be cancelled and usually be replaced within 24 hours. In addition, exchange your American Express® Travellers Cheques at any Nedbank Forex branch and pay no commission. To get your Travel Card visit any one of many Nedbank Forex branches nationally. For more information visit www.nedbank.co.za.

The Card is available to non-South African residents only.



MAKE THINGS HAPPEN

NEDBANK

A Member of the OLD MUTUAL Group

Nedbank Ltd Reg No 1951/000009/06. We subscribe to the Code of Banking Practice of The Banking Association South Africa and, for unresolved disputes, support resolution through the Ombudsman for Banking Services. We are an authorised financial services provider. We are a registered credit provider in terms of the National Credit Act (NCA Reg No NCRCP16).



As proud host of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, South Africa is opening its doors to visitors far and wide. Whether you're here for the soccer or just exploring our beautiful country, use your Visa card for special offers at major attractions.

go to www.visa.co.za to find out more about these special offers.



more fans around the world go with Visa

VIP PAYROLL

Africa's leading payroll & hr service provider



Head & shoulders above the rest

When it comes to payroll services you want the team that goes that extra mile

VIP PAYROLL offers payroll software and exceptional services to suit any size business. The software is easy to use, up to date with the latest legislation and is accompanied by excellent support from a team of VIP employees that is willing to go that extra mile.

Become one of more than 24 000 VIPs in southern Africa who use VIP Payroll and HR solutions.

+27 861 55 44 33
www.vippayroll.co.za



SoftlineVIP®

payroll & hr solutions that work

Knysna



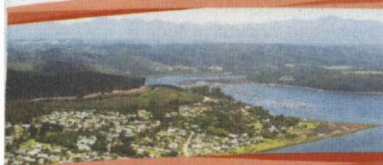
Sedgefield



Discover the

Seven Wonders

of the Garden Route



Belvidere



Brenton



Rheenendal



Buffalo Bay

Noetzie



Tel +27 (0)44 382 5510 • Fax +27 (0)44 382 1646

E-mail info@knysna-info.co.za • Visit www.tourismknysna.co.za

The greater Knysna area comprises Knysna, Sedgefield, Brenton, Noetzie, Rheenendal, Belvidere and Buffalo Bay

Knysna
tourism

You're treated like a star when you roam on Mascom in Botswana

MTN SA subscribers now enjoy the benefit of roaming
on Mascom, with the following rates,

R3.29 per minute for local calls
R5.70 per minute for calls to South Africa
R2.54 per minute for receiving calls
R4.82 per MB data roaming
R1.40 per sms

Available for Postpaid Customers

All rates are VAT exclusive

THEMBA DLAMINI



Preferred roaming

Number 1 because of you.





PROTEA HOTEL KIMBERLEY



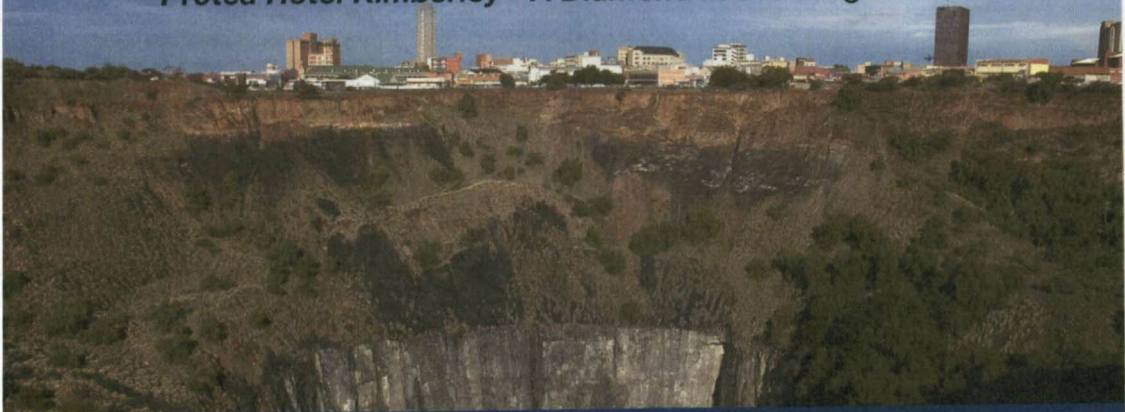
We've unearthed our latest gem

Protea Hotel Kimberley is situated on the rim of the historic Kimberley Big Hole, bordering the Old Mining Village. The hotel forms the ideal base from which to enjoy all that historical Kimberley has to offer including museums, war routes and, most importantly, the newly-upgraded Kimberley Big Hole and Mining Village.

The hotel, with its 94 newly designed bedrooms, offers you scrumptious meals in the restaurant, or relax and enjoy a refreshing cocktail at the pool.

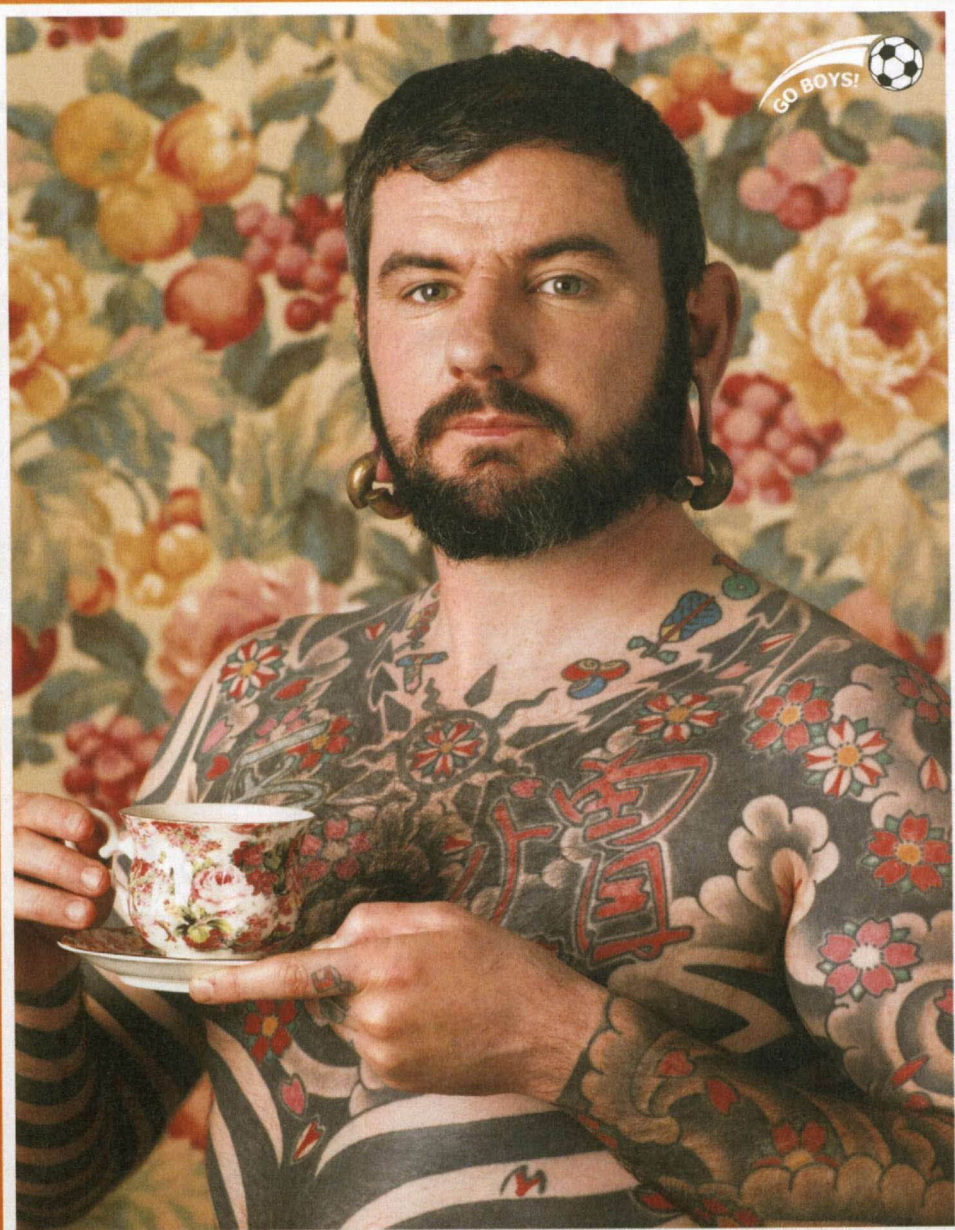
Whatever your reason for staying in Kimberley, Protea Hotel Kimberley is the ideal choice.

Protea Hotel Kimberley - A Diamond in the rough



West Circular Road, Kimberley CBD
PO Box 110440, Hadison Park, Kimberley
Tel: (053) 802 8200 • Fax: (053) 802 8203 • E-mail: res@phkimberley.com

THINK THIS IS BIZARRE?



0861 TEMPEST (836 7378)
www.tempestcarhire.co.za

YOU SHOULD SEE OUR
RIDICULOUSLY LOW RENTAL RATES.

WE ARE
IMPERIAL

TEMPEST
CAR  HIRE



don't be part of the flock...

**...uncover the unknown,
and profit from understanding
and gaining insight into
your customers**

Vision Africa is a team of professionals that offer product and stakeholder research services to businesses across Southern Africa.

We will help you collect information on your stakeholder needs and their perceptions about your service and products to give you the competitive edge.



T: +264 61 244 660 **F:** +264 61 244 551 **info@vision-africa.com** **www.vision-africa.com**

The **SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE's** largest investment destination, equivalent to 15 000 football fields

Join the field of world class players...
invest today, win tomorrow

www.coega.com



ADVERTISING: EMAP, WAG 2013



INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ZONE

www.coega.com

right PLACE • right TIME • right CHOICE



We wrap our venue around your event

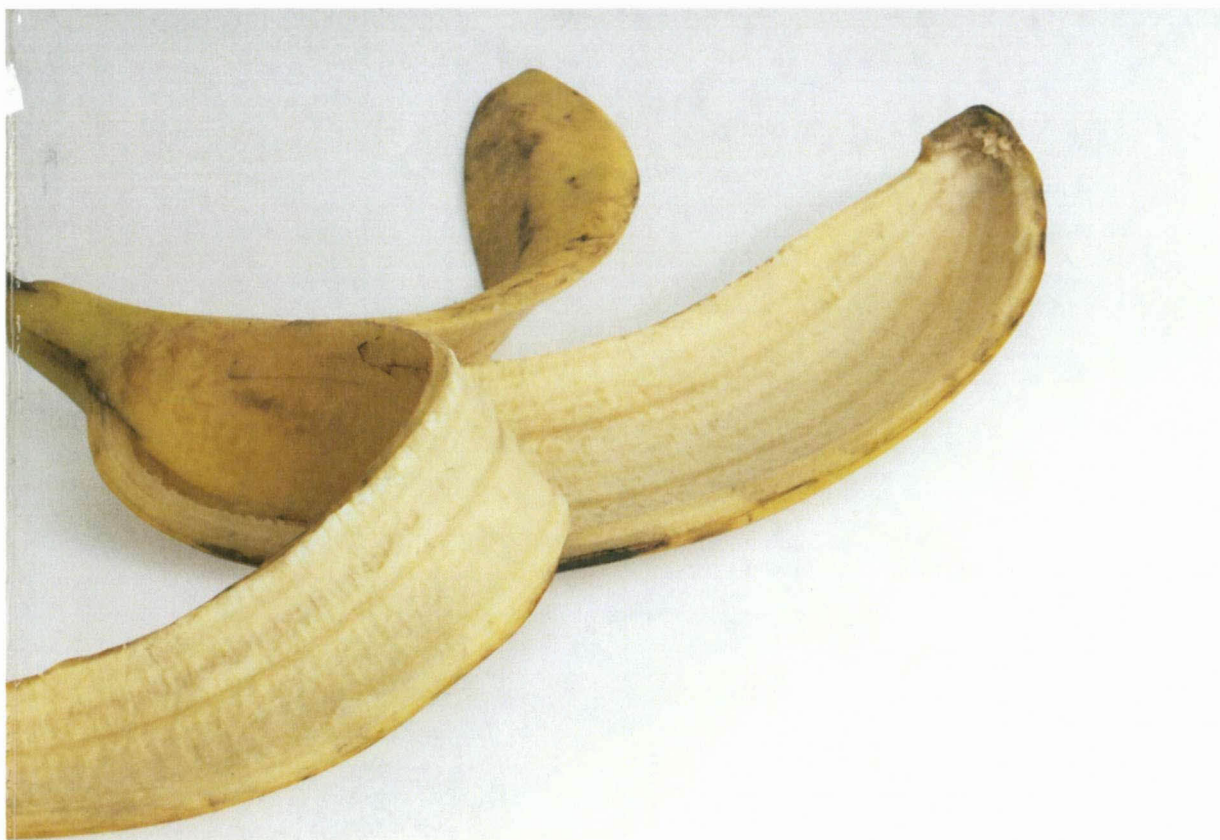
Tshwane's venue of natural choice - the Tshwane Events Centre - has the capacity and versatility to tailor-make every event to your specific needs.

Offering turn-key solutions, the Tshwane Events Centre will oblige. From an intimate affair for 10 people to a conference, gala evening, product launch or consumer exhibition for up to 10 000 people, the Tshwane Events Centre is your one-stop-shop.

Offering over 40 000 m² of exhibiting and conference space with all infrastructure requirements like catering facilities, wi-fi connectivity and ATM's, provided, the decision is easy. Add to this easy access and secure parking for up to 3 500 vehicles and the natural choice is clear.



Tel: 012 327 1487 | Fax: 012 327 1501
e-mail: ricky@tshwane-events.co.za
www.tshwane-events.co.za



Slip across the border. Thanks to the co-operation between SADC countries, you can now ship your cargo between the SADC region and Europe and the Americas up to 7 days faster. Why get caught up in a web of red tape with your time-sensitive cargo - all you need is one document to tranship your cargo through the Ports of Walvis Bay and Lüderitz straight to its destination. To find out how, just give us a call.

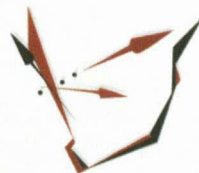


**A decade of
trade facilitation**

WBCG Head Office
T. +264 61 251 669
E. marketing@wbcg.com.na

WBCG Zambia
T. +260 21 124 1320
E. wbcg@coppernet.zm

WBCG South Africa
T. +27 11 418 8326
E. wbcg@officejunction.co.za



**WALVIS BAY
CORRIDOR
GROUP**

BERCO
EXPRESS

WORLDWIDE LOGISTIC SERVICES



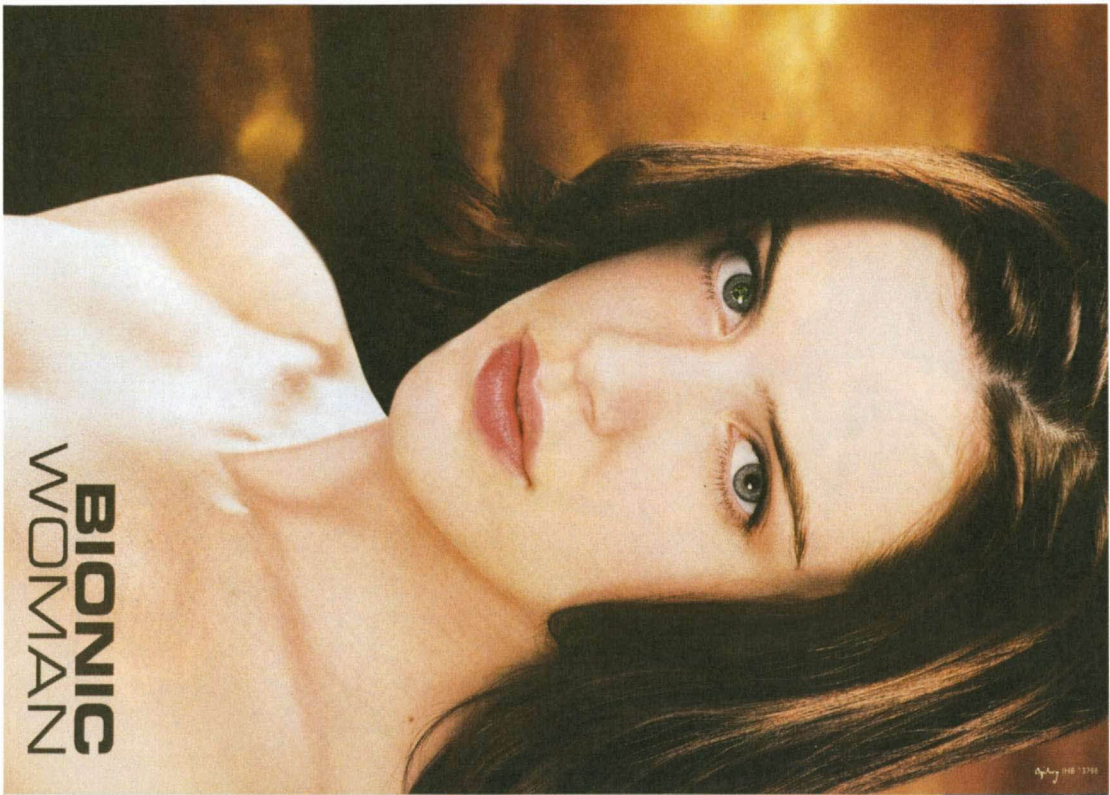
We've earned our stripes.

your complete domestic & international logistical service provider

HEAD OFFICE JOHANNESBURG 011 457 3200/011 457 3126

- BLOEMFONTEIN 051 411 4999/051 447 3986
- CAPE TOWN 021 526 8600/021 551 8259
- DURBAN 031 581 5800/031 569 6206
- EAST LONDON 043 731 2677/043 731 2222
- GEORGE 044 874 0660/044 874 0650
- KIMBERLEY 053 841 0382/053 841 0369
- NELSPRUIT 013 752 3993/013 752 5929
- PIETERMARITZBURG 033 346 0204/033 346 0291
- POLOKWANE 015 297 7798/015 297 7880
- PORT ELIZABETH 041 581 4612
- PRETORIA 012 349 4300/012 349 1284
- RUSTENBURG 014 596 7775/014 596 7707
- VAAL TRIANGLE 016 933 4297 016 931 3550

www.bercoexpress.co.za



**BIONIC
WOMAN**

Exclusive to
DSATV

**MEET THE WOMAN WHO
REALLY CAN GO ALL
NIGHT LONG.**

STARTS 8TH FEB 8:00PM
CHANNEL 106

**met
action**



RYAN MURGATROYD

BEHIND EVERY TOP DJ THERE IS A GREAT TEQUILA

OLMECA
EDICIÓN BLACK

100% IMPORTED MEXICAN TEQUILA

Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18.

Some things will
never be remixed.



It could only be Heineken

3+

www.pap.co.za

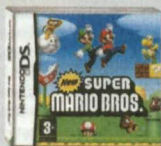
© 2008 NINTENDO. ALL RIGHTS INCLUDING THE COPYRIGHTS OF GAME, SCENARIO, MUSIC AND PROGRAM, RESERVED BY NINTENDO. TM, ® AND THE NINTENDO DESIGN ARE TRADEMARKS OF NINTENDO.
© 2008 NINTENDO. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

20 YEARS OLD
BUT FRESHER THAN EVER!



New Super Mario Bros. out now!

Join the brothers in a brand-new adventure based on the 20 year old unique gameplay experience. And everybody can join in: invite your friends to jump and run with you and play against one another wirelessly. There are also 27 brand-new mini games waiting to be discovered. www.nintendo.co.za



MULTI



TOUCH



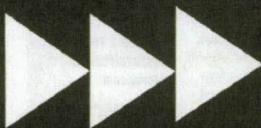
VOICE



*Try our delicious oven roasted flavour.
Or are you chicken?*



new limited edition



Introducing the 6-speed, 155 kW MINI John Cooper Works.
Just nudge the accelerator to rocket from 0-100 in 6.5 seconds.
» RACING IS IN OUR BLOOD.



Enhance your features.

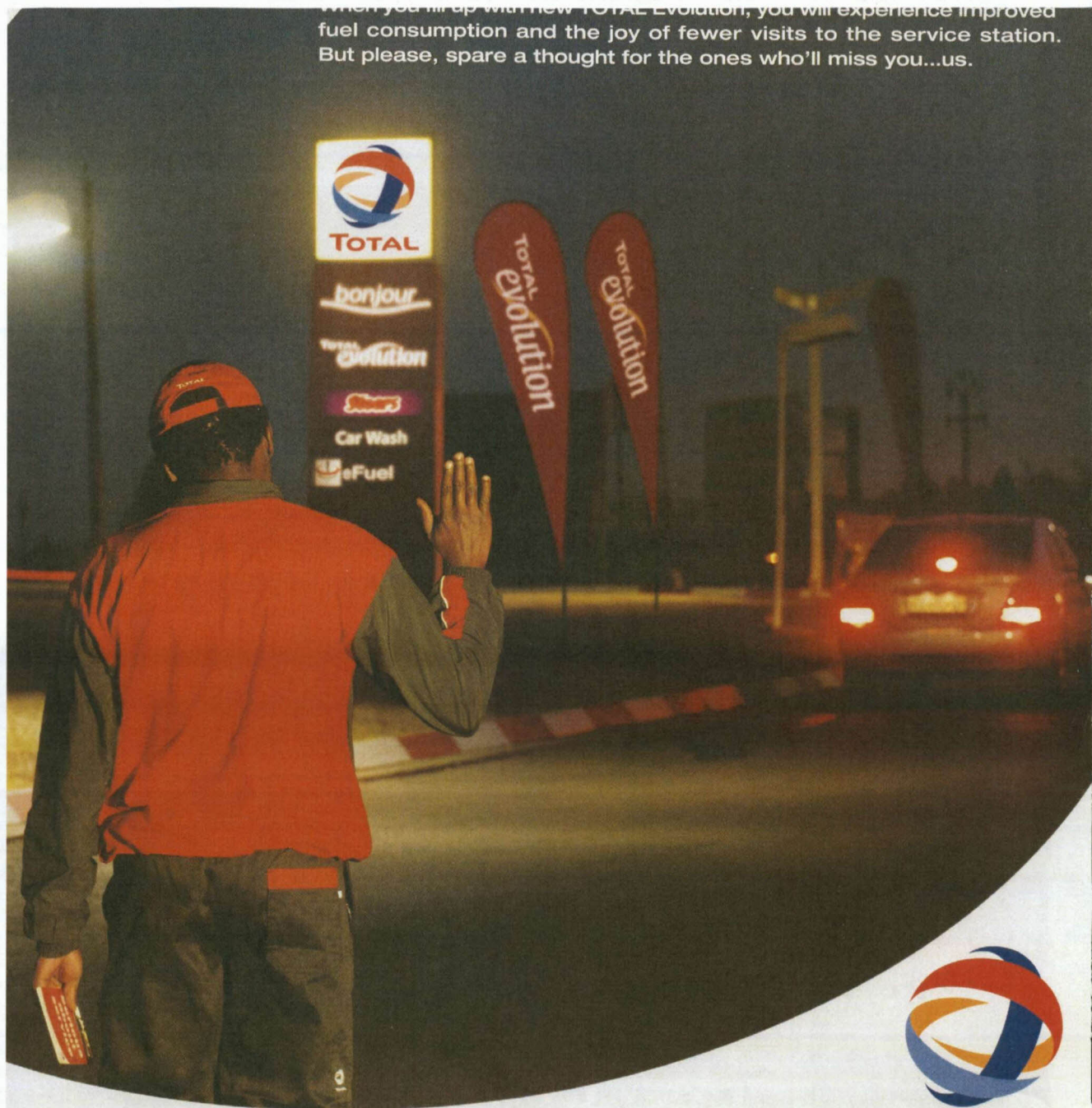
Tiger
wheel & tyre

*Quality, appeal & performance
only at Tiger Wheel & Tyre*

www.twt.to

TWTER001

When you fill up with new TOTAL Evolution, you will experience improved fuel consumption and the joy of fewer visits to the service station. But please, spare a thought for the ones who'll miss you....us.

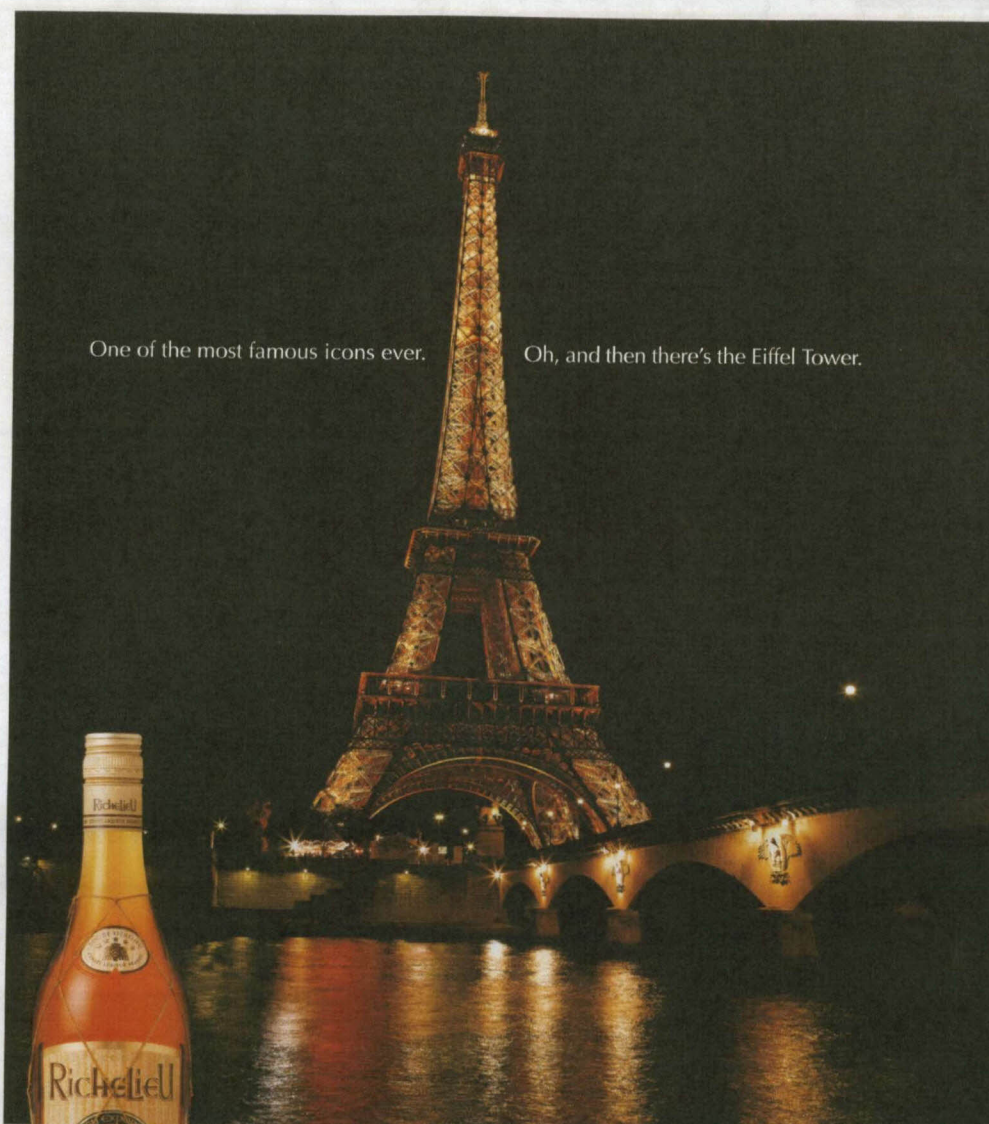


TOTAL Evolution available at selected TOTAL service stations in Gauteng. www.total.co.za

Serious about service



TOTAL



One of the most famous icons ever.

Oh, and then there's the Eiffel Tower.



The Brandy in the Age-old French Tradition.

Rich, Rewarding, Richelieu.

Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18.

NO FEAR.



Take driving to new extremes. Low centre of gravity, sports suspension settings, rigid body shell, wheel in each corner, multilink rear axle, direct steering. So experience adrenaline in motion. MINI. Handles like no other car.



Auto Alpha
Bochum North
(011) 823 4857

Auto Atlantic
Cape Town
(021) 418 4200

Auto Bavaria
Midrand
(011) 315 1403

Auto Umhlanga
Mount Edgecombe
(031) 502 9800

Continental Cars
Port Elizabeth
(041) 502 2100

J&N Motors
Bryanston
(011) 772 6996
Menlyn Auto
Midrand
(012) 426 2700

Northcliff Auto
Blackheath
(011) 772 9800

Sovereign Motors
Blenheim
(051) 448 8800

* Lyn Schoeder
Motors, George
(044) 874 5109

* Modern Automobiles
Pretoria
(012) 295 9122

* Gary McCarty
Pretoria
(051) 897 8800

* Sam Motors
Midrand
(011) 755 2191

*Service only dealers

*"Let me be crystal clear,
Sunlight™ Turbo cuts through grease
fast."*



Sarah Chambers has a particular taste and etiquette. A nonpareil palate for the refined coupled with an unabating pursuit for the perfect, she is a woman of social infamy unmatched among the elite. To impress her requires something of the extraordinary, past the humdrum of the expected.

Like the stylishly elegant envelope pack from Orbit with the easy to open, flip, slide and swanky packaging. That she takes delight in.



DOB SA 321560BE

KOTEX'S NEW ULTRASORB IS SO ADVANCED*, WE THOUGHT OF CALLING IT THE **iTampon**.

9-17 JHA 25317



*Compared to previous Kotex® tampons

New advanced Kotex® UltraSorb tampons have a blue zone of lock away protection, giving you that extra bit of confidence against little slip-ups.

® Registered trademark / *trademark of Kimberly-Clark Worldwide Inc. © 2010 KCWW

FORTUNER Up for anything.



If you're in the market for a lifestyle vehicle, first consider what it'll do for your life and your style. With an aggressive new grille and 17 inch alloys across the range, the Toyota Fortuner is just as comfortable on the high streets as it is in the great outdoors. And with an 80 litre fuel tank and side and curtain airbags on all models, you'll find that you get out there a lot more often. The Toyota Fortuner, now available in automatic on 3.0D-4D and 4.0 V6 models. Designed on anything but a whim, so that you can act on yours.



The Fortuner range: 4.0 V6 4x4 Auto; 4.0 V6 Raised Body Auto;
3.0 D-4D 4x4; 3.0 D-4D Raised Body; 3.0 D-4D Raised Body Auto.
For further information: www.toyota.co.za or 0800 139 111.



LEAD THE WAY **TOYOTA**

CHARLIZE THERON

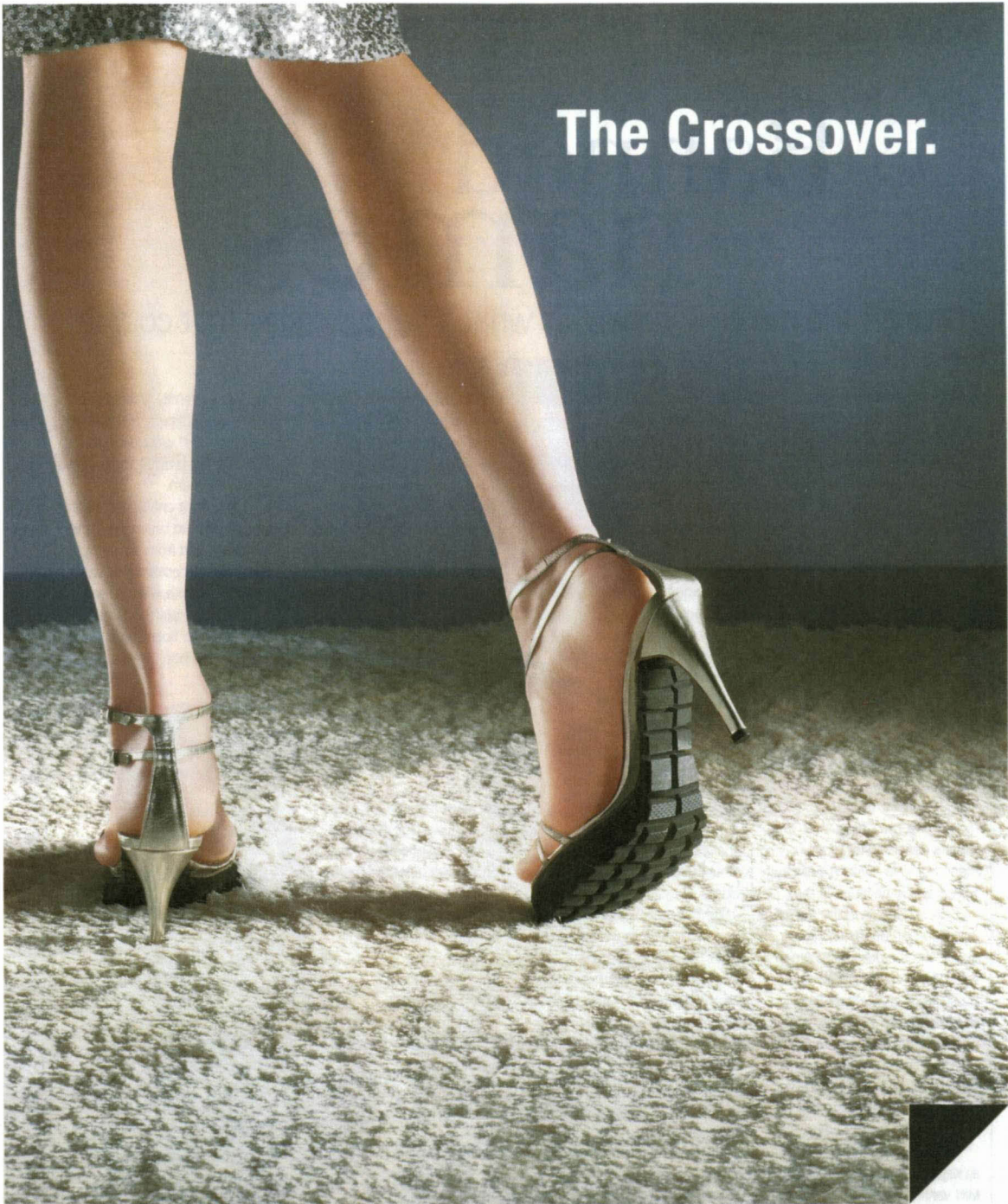
Take your place
in the
spotlight.

Expect the very best. With 21 breathtaking destinations in eight countries, from tranquil retreats to thrilling gaming delights, there's only one choice. Visit suninternational.com to make yours.



Sun International

A Million Thrills. One Destination.



www.koleos.renault.com/south-africa

CROSSOVER TO STYLE AND SUBSTANCE

It's important that design is not just about a thing of beauty; it also has to be functional. Which is why when the practical meets the stylish, it's a crossover that makes sense.



CELEBRATE THE NEW YEAR WITH FRIENDS...

Welcome back the magic with 6 new

seasons of your favourite shows.

Samantha Who II:
Grey's Anatomy V:
Ugly Betty III:
Coconut II:
Prison Break IV:
Desperate Housewives V:

07 January at 19:00
12 January at 19:30
13 January at 19:30
21 January at 19:30
10 February at 19:30
05 March at 20:30



WHERE MAGIC LIVES



...AND MEET A NEW ONE.

SIMON BAKER IS
THE MENTALIST
HE KNOWS YOUR MIND AND YOUR MIND KNOWS HIS

New psychological thriller starts Wednesday
14 January at 20:30.



WHERE MAGIC LIVES



Find yourself in a moment of true clarity.

Aquartz Lite combines naturally sweet mineral water with fruity
flavours to bring you a sparkling fruit flavoured water drink.
Experience pure refreshment in a variety of flavours.



 **AQUARTZ**

BEAUTY. NOT SLEEPING.



THE FIAT BRAVO WITH T-JET TURBO ENGINES

Underneath its enchanting lines, lies an untamed brute. With its turbocharged T-jet engines, you have peak torque at lower RPMs, giving you 110kW of pure power. The new generation turbo-compressor provides you with outstanding performance, lower fuel consumption and fewer emissions. The new Bravo. Looks aren't everything.



www.fiat.co.za





Desirably Dry

Sarita Ruby Dry sparkles. Matured with red apple essence and time, it's designed to produce a drier, more sophisticated taste.

SARITA
RUBY DRY

Enjoy Responsibly. Not For Sale To Persons Under The Age Of 18.

Catherine Zeta-Jones
enjoys a good fight.

©2004 Elizabeth Arden, Inc.

Girl vs. Woman.
Hit Pause.

NEW
INTERVENE EYE
PAUSE & EFFECT
Moisture Eye Cream

One day you have the skin of a girl. The next, you see the first sign of a wrinkle.
Press the pause button.

New INTERVENE EYE delivers the science of **Biodormin™** technology. Extracting its key ingredient from the Narcissus flower bulb during the stage of dormancy to:

- Help minimize the appearance of fine lines and dark circles.
- Noticeably firm and smooth the look of skin.

You'll see a difference: eyes stay smoother, brighter, younger looking longer.

 **Elizabeth Arden**

www.elizabetharden.com



Also available: INTERVENE Pause & Effect Moisture Cream or Lotion SPF 15
and INTERVENE 3-in-1 Daily Cleanser Exfoliator Primer

YOUR HOME'S
ULTIMATE
FASHION
ACCESSORY

For great South African homes... Like Yours



You need the trendiest colours and a product range to suit your lifestyle!
With Panache you can expect your home to stand out and remain stylish.

Panache Paint is exclusively available from Jack's Paint & Hardware,
where great service and advice is standard for all your painting needs.

National Toll Free Number 0800 005 302

Vinyl Silk the perfect finish for all
interior and exterior surfaces



GOLD CREATIVE CONCEPTS



a)



b)

c)



d)



With each new Citi model you get fuel injection, new improved power and a 3 year / 120 000km warranty. What's more, we'll also throw in reliability.

Your Choice. Your Citi. Your Life.



© 2004 VW GROUP OF COMPANIES

Appendix B

English translations of the transcripts in Chapter 6

First discussion		
Turn	Speaker	Content
Advert under discussion: Clinique		
1	LE	Can we speak Afrikaans?
2	RN	Do you prefer us to discuss it in English?
3	LE	I express myself better in Afrikaans.
4	R	It doesn't really make a difference to me.
5	LE	Good.
6	R	Like many speakers of Afrikaans we are often confronted with English advertisements, so feel free to speak Afrikaans.
7	LE	Good, okay. What is the relation between you and the mascara and the relationship. Till warm water do us part. It is like 'until death do us part'.
8	RN	Wedding ring.
9	LE	Wedding ring, yes.
10	MM	It actually works (laughter). I have (laughter)
11	LE	Okay vows, we're coming back to vows. Till warm water do us part. It's all about vows taken in church between husband and wife, obviously. Committed relationship. A comparison is made between the relationship between you and your mascara and you and your husband. Am I right? And, what else? It is as if this says, 'I'm not going to let

		you down, without smudge or smear', until you wish to let it go. Yes. So they will not let you down. Interesting. (...) uhm (...) What else is there?
12	RN	(Inaudible)
13	LE	<i>What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i>
14	MM	What does it say?
15	LE	Okay, what they say in paragraph four, illustrates the picture again (...) emphasising (laughter). They say a nice thing here and then they illustrate it in the picture. So they're emphasising it.
16	RN	So you can read everything in your mind, you can see in that piece, in the picture.
17	LE	Yes, yes, exactly (...) Can I now (...)
18	RN	Precisely.
19	LE	Help me (...) am I down too far? (...) It seems so (...) Yes, (...) Yes, it is somewhere here. Uhm (...) where are you?
20	RN	(Inaudible)
21	LE	No, we're waiting for you.
22	MM	For me?
23	LE	No, for him.
24	LE	We're here now. Oh, oh the last question.
25	MM	Oh, I know it is trustworthy! (Laughter)
26	LE	That's what I said. If you look at the one, if it had been any mascara, I would have thought it was a load of shit.
27	MM	Sorry! Yes.
28	LE	But because it's Clinique (laugh)
29	MM	Clinique is rather (...)
30	LE	Clinique
31	MM	I think the name says (-)

32	LE	I think the brand conveys, makes it trustworthy
33	MM	Yes.
34	LE	But the advertisement itself, if it had been any advertisement, any mascara, it would not.
35	MM	I think the issue is sometimes the brand and not necessarily the advertisement itself.
36	LE	Yes. It is, many people just read the advertisement and – wow. Others look at the brand. Okay. We can say this. (...) Are you done?
37	MM	Um um
38	RN	Umm
Advert under discussion: BMW		
39	LE	The very last one? (...) Sorry, I just want to ask: Are these two adverts together?
40	RN	Yes.
41	LE	Those two.
42	RN	Yes.
43	LE	Can we look at them simultaneously?
44	RN	Yes.
45	LE	No, you place it. Don't worry, we'll just make this thing bigger.
46	MM	We'll make one here as well.
47	LE	Right. Like this.
48	MM	Not that.
49	RN	We probably should (-)
50	LE	They're the same (laughter)
51	MM	Here, here, the one is with me.
52	LE	Blonde was never clever. Ai, apologies.

53	MM	And the one is with you.
54	LE	Yes, then we'll do that. This one is the same!
55	MM	Yes, but if you click it there, it opens the next one.
56	LE	No worries, no worries, okay. Which one do you have? No worries.
57	MM	I have the first one.
58	LE	Okay. Good
59	MM	I think it starts with that one. Oh no.
60	LE	It starts there.
61	MM	The sleekness of the new BMW one series convertible is hard to ignore but look a little deeper. You will discover leather seats that reflects sunlight to stay cool. An advance climate control system will have you convinced that the top is up when it is not. A new approach to energy (...) Proficient dynamics.
62	LE	Half a sentence starts here.
63	MM	Is it? Yes, efficient dynamics, technology which remarkably
64	LE	Is more powerful, less fuel. Could a car be as thrilling to drive as it is to look at? <i>The new BMW (...) beyond beauty. Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin.</i> Uhm, OK. Is the beauty of the car compared with the sea?
65	RN	No
66	LE	What happens here?
67	RN	Lies beneath the skin. Are they talking about the engine?
68	LE	Yes, but this. Can a car be, no. I don't know. <i>Can a car be as thrilling to drive as it is to look at?</i> It is a rather beautiful car, I have to say.
69	MM	But I don't think they're paying attention. It's that thing of 'look deeper'.

70	LE	Yes, look deeper.
71	RN	Yes.
72	LE	Beauty lies within. So it offers a good drive, it's beautiful but it drives better.
73	RN	Mm (...)
74	LE	Yes, it's beautiful but it drives better. Something like that. It's beautiful on the outside but you're more comfortable. What else is there? I know very little about cars. What else is there?
75	MM	Look here, they also talk about mmm climate control, leather seats. These are inside the car. Understand?
76	LE	Okay. I don't really know what to say. <i>Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin.</i> Surprisingly, as if you cannot believe that the car is that beautiful and in addition has so many other features. (...). Real beauty lies beneath the skin. It is so. Everything is perfect inside the car. Is there not something about the sea also? It seems to me that I have to say something about that as well. It is simply beautiful. It is simply gorgeous. It's not as if it has to drive on those hard rocks.
77	RN	The ad targets people who enjoy the outdoors [Die feit dat 'n ou dit wil ry is meer buite mense].
78	LE	That's it. Outdoor!
79	MM	Come again?
80	LE	It is an outdoor vehicle.
81	RN	The kind of guy who drives this is more of an outdoor person.
82	LE	You will know. What do we say about the area? The car stands on the rocks.
83	RN	Yes.

84	LE	It's not a 4x4 we're discussing (...) What is interesting about this advert? (...) There isn't really anything interesting about this advert. It's very plain. It's ordinary.
85	MM	Well, if I had to say. Life is about focusing on what's on the outside. It says you have to look deeper. Understand? You must look further than appearances.
86	RN	But you cannot look further if you don't (-)
87	LE	Open the bonnet.
88	MM	Yes
89	LE	Start to explore under the hood.
90	MM	But I don't think it's simply about the bonnet. I think it's about what's inside.
91	LE	You get climate control that makes the drive more comfortable.
92	RN	In my view (...)
93	LE	Yes, it doesn't hide anything (...). I don't really know what to say.
94	MM	No, I don't think an ad should hide anything. An ad does something precisely because it wants to say what's going on.
95	LE	This is really a plain ad. It's very straightforward.
96	RN	If this bottom paragraph hadn't been there, then it would have something else, then it would have the picture. Then you know nothing about (...)
97	LE	If you get just that, then what you already thought, then that would immediately be the idea, if you think that idea, then okay so the car is beautiful but there is more to it. Then you can read at the bottom and then you'll see.
98	RN	You can see what more there is to the car.
99	LE	Okay if you see what's written at the bottom you see oh, it

		is this and this and this. What is interesting about the advert?
100	RN	Yes?
101	R	Can I make a suggestion? Move the chairs closer together so that we know the recorder gets it all.
102	LE	Okay.
103	R	Move closer together. Just move your chairs together so that the recorder can record you.
104	LE	Okay.
105	MM	Move like this.
106	RN	Okay.
107	MM	We can. It doesn't matter.
108	LE	Okay. Are we done with this one? I think we've said enough.
109	MM	Will you?
110	RN	What?
111	MM	Must we go through the questions?
112	LE	Oh there was a previous one we should finish quickly.
113	MM	Yes.
114	LE	Okay. Have we said now? I have said all that's written here is nothing interesting. The only interesting thing to me, that claim that inner beauty is more important than outer beauty. That familiar saying we can repeat here.
115	RN	At the second one I feel as I've said, that if that first paragraph had not been there then you would not have known something. So the graphics don't say much.
116	MM	Yes
117	Speaker 1	Except that you see the car.
118	MM	Yes. One can see a beautiful car every day but if you don't know more, then you will not know more.

119	RN	Yes
120	LE	And it's so small it's rather an effort to read
121	RN	Yes, exactly.
122	LE	Truly.
123	RN	Yes.
124	LE	If you're interested in cars, you will read it, but I will definitely not read it. I will read that thing and will then think a bit further but that's it.
125	RN	Ok, then it cannot, I know I would have read it, so can you say?
126	LE	If it had been at the previous ad about the mascara, I would have read it again.
127	RN	So it goes.
128	MM	I don't know. I would say this statement leads one to read or to want to read that, understand? That you want to know more.
129	LE	If you page through a book, will you really read that?
130	MM	Yes, I think I would.
131	RN	I would.
132	LE	I will certainly not read it (laughter) There's no way. Mmm, <i>how do you know this?</i> Okay this we've said already (...)
133	MM	Yes, I think this is a straightforward thing but it doesn't say that much.
134	RN	No.
135	LE	You have to see you will now start comparing it to other cars. Now you will want to know how many kilometres it gets per litre, how many this, does it do this...
136	MM	Yes.
137	LE	That's all I know about cars.

138	MM	Why do they really say it's that beautiful?
139	LE	For all that car and stuff you will obviously first go to a car dealership and say what you know about this and that. You will ask questions, but if you're just wondering about the car you won't really do much.
140	RN	The information they give you below is pretty basic. There are thousands of other interesting things about the car, basic things are here so I don't believe there really are gaps, unless you would like it, such a car.
141	LE	Precisely.
142	MM	Probably yes.
143	LE	You're obviously interested in buying the car, but if you want to know where (-)
144	RN	Then it is basic
145	LE	Trustworthy. Again I will say BMW because it is a BMW
146	MM	The brand.
147	LE	Yes, because BMW is the brand, it is trustworthy, otherwise it isn't, I don't know. Because it gives so much basic information, it's not really a trustworthy advert. It says <i>suppose the real beauty lies beneath the skin</i> , but they show nothing inside the car. They only show the outside.
148	MM	Yes and if you look at this one and the Clinique ad, the previous one, in Clinique's ad they said that it had been proven by scientists.
149	LE	Yes, yes
150	MM	BMW has nothing. You have to explore further to find out if it's true.
151	LE	But this is also why I think they're contradicting themselves, because they say <i>surprisingly the real beauty</i>

		<i>lies beneath the skin</i> but they only show the outside.
152	RN	They only show the outside. So it is half (-)
153	LE	Okay they mention what makes it beautiful on the inside but it isn't ... it is so small, it is as if it's inferior in real life; as if it's inferior in general.
154	MM	Yes.
Advert under discussion: Gino Ginelli		
155	LE	Next.
156	RN	Gino Ginelli. <i>Not all ice creams are equal.</i>
157	LE	<i>Spoil yourself Italian style, rich creamy chocolate ice cream, filled with tempting milk chocolate chips.</i>
158	RN	Okay in my view, interesting. The teaspoons see it's so tasty that they queue up.
159	LE	That's how you see it. Isn't it? It's (-)
160	MM	I also see it like that.
161	LE	How I see it: I read what's underneath. <i>Not all ice creams are created equal.</i> It's like, you begin from below, you see, it seems as if the teaspoons go upward – for me. It seems. It is as if you begin basic and you go higher, higher until you reach Gino Ginelli.
162	MM	Yes.
163	LE	This is what I read first and foremost, do you understand? It seems as if you go further and further to reach Gino Ginelli, at the top.
164	RN	Okay.
165	LE	Ice cream.
166	MM	Mmm.
167		You see they queue up. It's actually (...) I always notice

		other things. <i>Spoil yourself Italian style. Rich creamy chocolate ice cream</i> okay that explains what's in it. <i>Filled with tempting milk chocolate chip.</i>
168	RN	Yes.
169	LE	They make you hungry. I already see a tub in front of me. But there's nothing really (-)
170	RN	Nothing obvious.
171	LE	<i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> That the spoons queue up.
172	RN	Queue up. Yes. What do they want to say? That it is so tasty that they queue up?
173	LE	<i>What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i> That it is so tasty that they queue up. For me obviously it is a higher-ranking ice cream.
174	MM	Yes.
175	LE	Okay, <i>how do you know this?</i> Okay, by the placement of the teaspoons.
176	MM	Yes.
177	LE	The spoons are all they show really.
178	MM	Yes.
179	RN	Yes and then (...) about the gaps. I don't really think there are gaps here, because they do describe the ice cream.
180	MM	Yes.
181	LE	Yes, yes.
182	RN	It is ice cream, ice cream is ice cream.
183	LE	But see, there's I think, there's no other information on what flavour this obviously is, where you can buy it, do you understand? This information is omitted.
184	MM	How much it costs.
185	LE	How many kilograms or grams it is, how much, do you

		understand? Whatever.
186	RN	Okay, I hear you.
187	LE	Such things. Understand? I will, girls always look, we're at the bottom where it says, usually they advertise stuff for girls, then it says <i>fat free</i> .
188	RN	Okay, so let's look at it like this. If you look at something like this, do you want ice cream?
189	LE	I already want it.
190	RN	Okay that says a lot. I have no (-)
191	MM	Me neither.
192	LE	I already want it but I don't really like ice cream. I think it's because I'm hungry. I'm very hungry. Perhaps it's a (-)
193	MM	It doesn't matter. You want it now. Even if you are hungry, you now want it.
194	LE	Yes.
195	MM	I'm not hungry now, so I don't want it now either.
196	LE	Funny, they don't show, they only show outside. They don't show the ice cream.
197	RN	Not the ice cream itself.
198	LE	They don't show a bowl and show what the ice cream looks like. This is how they create a desire.
199	MM	Mmm.
200	LE	I just want to say Gino Ginelli tastes good.
201	MM	Yes.
202	LE	You want to eat it, but they don't show how tasty it looks. It's only the paragraph that describes what it looks like that can say this. What else is there?
203	RN	Claims.
204	LE	Trustworthy?

205	MM	Don't know.
206	LE	Again, Gino Ginelli is very good ice cream but I don't know if it's really that good, but it is so freakin' expensive that it (...)
207	RN	Yes.
208	LE	You pay R50 for such a tub.
209	MM	Yes.
210	RN	Glad you enquired for us.
211	LE	It is R50.
212	MM	This is quite tasty; we've eaten it before (laughter).
213	LE	It is tasty.
214	RN	Okay, cool.
Advert under discussion: Acer		
215	LE	(Laughter) I don't think I really get this!
216	MM	Those gaps (laughter).
217	LE	And the girl looks at him as well and wonders what's going on.
218	MM	Yes, I don't think this has gaps but I don't think everyone will... I'm not going to read this. It's really not for me.
219	LE	The TV is also in the background. See?
220	MM	Yes.
221	RN	Hum, (laughter) it's actually an excellent ad.
222	LE	It is.
223	RN	You have seen in the gym, you stand around and you're busy with something else and then you hear guys discussing other things. Obviously.
224	LE	You always arrive in the middle of a conversation.
225	RN	Yes.

226	MM	And then?
227	LE	You draw conclusions.
228	RN	Your own conclusions.
229	LE	The whole ad is the gym thing and the TV is kind of in the background, do you understand?
230	RN	Yes.
231	LE	It's a humoristic thing, it grabs your attention, good attention so you immediately think no one will advertise this. Honestly, I immediately thought are they advertising Viagra pills or what's going on here (laughter)? Do you understand? And only then do you see the TV. The size, what really got me going was the ms response rate (...) don't understand.
232	RN	Mmm.
233	LE	And always.
234	RN	So they don't even really advertise the TV. They're advertising a brand.
235	MM	Yes.
236	LE	See that's on sale. The TV is on sale.
237	RN	This is excellent.
238	LE	Immediately, if I see this kind of thing in a magazine, where they show something in a real situation with speech bubbles, I will always read it. I always want to see the dialogue. Do you understand?
239	MM	Mmm.
240	LE	This is not like the other ads where they are, and something is written underneath. It is the speech bubbles that make you want to read because you want to know what she thinks. What conclusion is she drawing, or am I drawing the same conclusion.

241	RN	Yes, at that moment I would like to know what she's thinking.
242	LE	Yes, she's staring very curiously.
243	MM	Oh my!
244	LE	What is interesting about the advert? We have said it's humoristic.
245	RN	Yes, definitely.
246	LE	It uses speech bubbles, real life situations. This really happens. In the gym you go to a new thing and then you arrive in the middle of a conversation.
247	MM	Yes.
248	RN	And then you hear everything.
249	LE	Guys always discuss strange things. They say women gossip but have you heard how guys gossip in the gym? (laughter) They compare each other's (...) What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product? They don't really say, okay there they explain all the information about the TV, but me, but he impressed his girl with the TV, so you will impress your girl if you have this TV.
250	MM	I think they're also advertising Digital Planet, but they focus more on the TV.
251	RN	The TV itself.
252	MM	Only on the TV. Understand? They don't say anything about Digital Planet.
253	LE	It's probably so you know where to buy it. Do you understand? Okay? The dialogue doesn't really say (...) what is it? What is this five ms response?
254	RN	Five millisecond response rate.
255	LE	It doesn't say what that is here at all. And the size, you

		will impress your girl with the size.
256	RN	Yes, it's that (laughter).
257	LE	<i>How do you know this?</i> It is, yes, it's what we said.
258	RN	Okay (...)
259	MM	I don't really think, because it rather (...)
260	RN	If you only read to there, to there, that part, then you'll wonder what the hell and then you read that part and then do you understand that it's about the TV.
261	LE	Yes.
262	RN	Or actually 'til here you'll wonder what the hell, until you see this.
263	MM	Yes.
264	LE	And then here at the TV they provide all the information, its size and price.
265	MM	Where to buy it.
266	LE	Everything, yes, they provide everything, a lot of information about the TV, but I don't know what they're asking about the TV, so I don't know where we are. <i>Terms and conditions apply</i> . Yes, the whole story.
267	MM	Yes.
268	LE	Trustworthy. I don't know anything about this.
269	RN	I've never heard about this.
270	MM	Me neither.
271	LE	<i>Secure, trusted, convenient online shopping</i> . Let me tell you if it says <i>secure, trusted</i> and <i>convenient</i> then it is probably trustworthy. But as soon as I see something like <i>online shopping at its best</i> then I lose (...) why don't they have a physical shop, why do they need online shopping?
272	RN	Yes, I agree.
273	LE	Understand? So it puts you off immediately.

274	MM	Because you hear so much about people robbing you online and the like, you think that doesn't look, rather not, let's rather go someplace else.
275	LE	I agree (laughter). It's a gear shifter or what do you call it?
276	RN	Yes, it is.
277	MM	Yes.
Advert under discussion: Brut		
278	LE	So they're showing you what? The way I see it, there are two things. They show you the a man's life or a man is interested in cars and what what what maybe speed or something like that and it's in the palm of his hand. Do you understand? He has his (...)
279	MM	He's in control.
280	LE	I don't know what I want to say.
281	MM	He's in control
282	LE	He's in control; he has it in the palm of his hand. He has control.
283	RN	Yes.
284	LE	<i>The essence of man.</i>
285	RN	Yes, something like that. In other words, together with these types of manly features they say (...)
286	LE	<i>The essence of man.</i>
287	RN	But what is interesting to me, is that it only takes that to remove the actual thing that's being advertised. Understand? I mean, if you only see that, so it's only a small piece that's used in the actual (...)
288	MM	Thing.
289	LE	See, if I now see the advert, I'll think it strange, so I'll

		have to look at what they're advertising. It's a strange advert.
290	MM	Yes, they, it's only a (...)
291	LE	Yes, it's so basic, I mean, I'll have to look at what they're advertising.
292	RN	Yes.
293	LE	Yes, <i>what is interesting about the advert?</i> Is it simply again such a strange picture that you want to know what the ad is about?
294	MM	Mmm.
295	RN	Here we definitely have gaps.
296	LE	A lot of gaps.
297	MM	Yes.
298	LE	Essence of man. Okay it is deodorant. That's where it stops. There's nothing about <i>keeps you dry all day</i> (laughter) or those kinds of slogans. This is just deodorant, that's where it stops.
299	MM	Nothing like <i>twenty-four hour day</i> or something similar. Nothing of that.
300	LE	So there are lots of gaps, but nevertheless it's a well-known product.
301	RN	Yes.
302	LE	So you already know at least something, so.
303	MM	Yes.
304	LE	Older people know a lot about the product.
305	MM	Mmm.
306	LE	It's been on the market for a while. That's all I can...
307	RN	I don't think there's anything else.
308	LE	Trustworthy. Obviously trustworthy.
309	RN	All that's trustworthy is the brand name.

310	LE	The brand says trustworthy but the ad doesn't.
311	MM	No (...)
Advert under discussion: Nankang		
312	LE	Black power (...) here I'd say they have a focus group.
313	RN	Yes.
314	LE	Not meant in a bad way.
315	RN	I would just like to know in which magazine this was advertised.
316	LE	Ask him.
317	RN	Mr. Conradie
318	LE	Mr. Conradie
319	RN	Can you remember in what magazine this was in?
320	R	Afropolitan
321	RN	Okay (...)
322	LE	This is why I'm saying they're focusing on a group.
323	RN	Absolutely.
324	MM	Is he putting out his tongue?
325	LE	No, I think he just has fat lips.
326	MM	It looks really (...)
327	RN	It looks like that to me as well.
328	MM	It looks like he's putting out his tongue.
329	EM	These are all tyres, aren't they?
330	LE	I wanted to say something just now but no, because we're seen as (...) I'll just shut up but no. No, I don't think so. He's laughing, his eyes are laughing.
331	EM	Let us be honest. This will not be advertised in an FHM. Like he says this is in the what?
332	MM	Afro (...) something.

333	LE	Never heard of such a magazine.
334	RN	So yes, like he said, this is a focus group.
335	LE	It focuses on men and it focuses on (...)
336	RN	Yes and the other thing is obviously black but that black can be those tyres are black.
337	LE	Black refers to black empowerment and black power. The tyre has power, he's like strong.
338	MM	Mmm, but when I read black power I immediately thought of black empowerment. BEE
339	RN	You're associating it.
340	LE	I also thought about that.
341	MM	Yes.
342	RN	Anyway. The name of the tyre.
343	MM	I don't know this at all.
344	RN	But it's a black name.
345	MM	Yes, way to go.
346	LE	Why they (...) sporting performance but also excellent (...) What's that (...) corner?
347	MM	It grips the road when you turn.
348	RN	Yes road (...) holding.
349	LE	Now this is not how we drive? (laughter) Come on, I noticed this. Shame on me. Good balance (...) break hard with the sports tyre. You can drive really fast and when you get to a stop street, you can stop (laughter) Okay so why did they (-)
350	RN	There's definitely a target audience.
351	LE	Why bring in Madiba now?
352	MM	Look, they're saying happy birthday to Madiba. That's all. I don't think this is meant to advertise the tyre, it's just something extra, also to congratulate Madiba on his

		birthday.
353	RN	Maybe the tyre is a limited edition released just for his birthday. Therefore the reference to black power and the fact that it has a black name. I don't know; this is how I see it.
354	MM	Yes.
355	LE	I think something is missing here. Let's look at what is interesting. Okay they say happy birthday to Madiba. However you won't if you're a member of the ANC, you will surely get more respect for the ad.
356	RN	You will definitely buy a set of tyres.
357	LE	Yes, because they're saying happy birthday to my hero.
358	MM	Yes.
359	LE	Then you will have respect for the ad.
360	MM	Yes.
361	LE	Okay.
362	RN	The result it is without doubt just a target audience.
363	MM	Yes.
364	LE	Especially this description also because really. We're not going to do handbrake turns now.
365	MM	But they do, I think.
366	LE	That's now late at night when (...)
367	RN	In that case it is man man, it is just in that case.
368	MM	Apart from targeting black people, it also focuses more on men, because as you said yourself that's a man. If you read that description, a man does that. They like doing that, that's all, but I don't really think a woman will easily. There are some.
369	LE	Except if you're a grease monkey (laughter) there are a couple. What does this advert aim to say about the

		advertised product? Okay that the tyres are strong.
370	RN	Yes, I mean, this is described in that section.
371	MM	Mmm.
372	LE	And you can do hand break turns (laughter). They provide a descriptive paragraph.
373	MM	Yes.
374	LE	And gaps? They don't say what it costs, they don't really say where to buy it.
375	RN	That what you just said: they don't say what it costs. I've never seen this in an advert.
376	LE	It said so at the TV.
377	RN	Except for at the TV.
378	LE	Probably because that's a special edition.
379	RN	Very seldom that they include prices.
380	LE	Is it that it puts people off or something? Does it put you off from going to have a look?
381	MM	No, I think it is (...)
382	RN	This is one thing I always miss. When I see something advertised that I'm interested in, I want the price included.
383	LE	Precisely.
384	MM	Yes, because you can see if you can afford it.
385	LE	If you let's say the mascara, if you had driven to Clicks to buy it and you see it costs R10 more than you would have wanted to pay, then you think, well I'm here now, let's buy it. Do you understand?
386	RN	They could just have had a section here saying this tyre is so many inches and that one.
387	LE	Or if you buy four you get whatever.
388	MM	Yes.
389	LE	Trustworthy (...) sjoe (...)

390	MM	I don't know, I don't know the name.
391	RN	Yes, I don't know, I haven't heard about it before either.
392	MM	I think really it's often about the brand. Whether you know the brand or not.
393	LE	You don't know the magazine, you don't know the brand.
394	RN	It's difficult to say.
395	LE	And look here. Here it goes, when they write the thing they just say you can brake hard, excellent tracking, I don't know what this means and sporty performance. It's nothing like for a family car you can now drive to Cape Town, how many times, the tyre will last. This is not at all, <i>feel safe</i> , it's nothing like that. I do not see this as very trustworthy.
Advert under discussion: Tracker		
396	MM	I would not have said this was a Tracker ad upon first looking at it.
397	RN	No, but the fact that they, men in the making
398	MM	And then they use the sign, yes
399	RN	Yes, (...) that symbol.
400	LE	I've received sixty SMSs by now. Uhm I again notice two things. First of all it's not, when you now, you will see the sign immediately.
401	MM	Mmm
402	LE	You will immediately think it's about men. Thank you for, they don't really advertise Tracker. They rather thank men, and the other thing is, when you give men direction in life you will obviously not teach him to steal cars. So.
403	RN	That can be. Okay, yes it can be.

404	MM	Cool, yes, no it is.
405	LE	The direction you will give them is obviously not to steal cars, so then, I don't know. So they support now obviously.
406	RN	See, I would not have seen this at all, because they don't really say what this is about.
407	LE	Yes, perhaps in a previous advert or something they probably advertised men in the making or something.
408	RN	Yes. This can be a follow-up advert.
409	LE	Yes.
410	RN	Uhm. The only place where you can more or less see what this is about is in this paragraph.
411	MM	Mmm.
412	LE	Welcome high school students into your business. Let them experience the working world. Sorry, can I answer quickly?
413	MM	Yes. And help them to make the right career choices.
414	LE	I am in the lab. We're busy now. I told you about the thing. Can I phone you later? Bye. How much more of this? Sorry guys.
415	MM	Mmm
416	RN	Hhum, what you can deduce is that Tracker maybe launched a product to (...)
417	LE	Combat crime.
418	RN	Get high school students into businesses to work and therefore the direction.
419	LE	Yes.
420	MM	Mmm. And the direction also shows.
421	LE	The symbol points to men.
422	MM	Ahead, beyond them.

423	LE	Give direction.
424	MM	Yes, it gives direction.
425	LE	They take them off the streets and help them.
426	MM	And their logo is here as well at the bottom it says taking back tomorrow.
427	RN	Tomorrow, yes.
428	MM	So it's also rather.
429	LE	Do you know what I just realised? In not one ad did we highlight things like they used more pictures or colour or words or. I don't really look at things like that.
430	RN	Yes.
431	LE	Here it seems. Everything is in two colours, right, and still the Tracker thing stands out at the bottom. It's bright.
432	RN	The only thing that stands out is this one.
433	MM	Yes.
434	LE	Yes and they're standing. Okay. It says nothing about the product. Nothing.
435	EM	No, not at all.
436	LE	It says they support.
437	EM	It's more about the (...)
438	LE	It could just as well have been Nedbank, understand?
439	RN	Yes, that's true.
440	LE	It's not, it says nothing about the product.
441	MM	Mm mm.
442	LE	Okay. There are many gaps. One is they say nothing about the (...)
443	MM	They do however provide a place where you can find out.
444	RN	Yes.
445	LE	Yes, and also their slogan, right? <i>Taking back tomorrow.</i> It's nothing like make you feel safe or whatever . It's just,

		it says nothing. It really says nothing.
446	RN	Trustworthy.
447	LE	Again (...)
448	RN	They don't really make claims.
449	LE	But there are no claims. It's true what you say. If you know what Tracker is but there are no claims, not at all.
450	RN	Mmm. You have to know what Tracker is.
451	LE	Yes.
Advert under discussion: Hansa Pilsner		
452	RN	Okay.
453	LE	(Laughter) Okay, what are they referring to?
454	RN	It's obviously advertised for men.
455	MM	Yes.
456	LE	Because they refer to? (Laughter)
457	RN	I don't know.
458	LE	They can refer to numerous things that men are interested in.
459	RN	Most things actually.
460	MM	Pair.
461	RN	Therefore, it's a man's world (laughter)
462	LE	That's lekker. We will not elaborate on this now, but they can refer to numerous things, as you said.
463	RN	Does Hansa not always have such a picture?
464	LE	I will certainly not know.
465	MM	Yes.
466	LE	Sorry I first want to study the ad properly (...)
467	MM	Sars hop.
468	LE	Where is sars hop?

469	RN	There.
470	MM	No, that's just their slogan.
471	LE	Is it? Is it not old world (...) the guy (...) who drinks Hansa?
472	MM	A lot of people, let me tell you.
473	LE	Is it?
474	MM	Really, yes.
475	LE	I really don't know, so so there is no type of man involved?
476	MM	No, mostly men. I think this is more oriented towards men. Like he said, but all races.
477	RN	Yes, no it certainly is.
478	MM	I worked at the rugby and a lot of people drink this.
479	LE	Is it? I know nothing about beer and those things and who drinks what, who drinks Castle.
480	RN	I would not say colour is involved here.
481	MM	Uh uh.
482	LE	Would you not say?
483	RN	But certainly men.
484	LE	Something like you must now another magnificent pair you love to get your hands on and the bottles are standing there. It's also a pair. Sorry. It's also a pair, like two, so you'll get two, grab one in each hand (laughter) that probably came out wrong, understand, you will sommer at the bar get sommer two.
485	MM	Yes.
486	LE	Do you understand? And why is the one's cap off?
487	MM	You will drink that one first. You cannot drink two at the same time.
488	RN	The first one only tastes good if you can drink the next

		one. (laughter)
489	MM	Wow!
490	LE	Okay (...) uhm (...) then again everything is black and then the beer bottle stands out.
491	RN	Stands out, for certain.
492	LE	And, at the bottom it says <i>the refreshing choice</i> . Look, all the droplets on everything and on the floor also.
493	MM	Mmm.
494	LE	It's like you already get the feeling of, it's a hot day, you want a cold beer
495	RN	Yes sort of.
496	MM	Yes.
497	RN	There aren't really gaps here.
498	LE	Yes, it's a very common beer; you can get it from any bottle store. There's also not the general going rate for prices so. It's not really. (...)
499	MM	Trustworthy.
500	LE	I know nothing about Hansa. I can't really say it's grand or whatever.
501	RN	They say it's a product of SAB.
502	LE	Yes and SAB is trustworthy.
503	MM	Where does it say it's a product of SAB?
504	RN	Okay, remember they're asking (-)
505	LE	I think it is.
506	RN	Advert claims. Not specifically the thing advertised but the claim they make.
507	LE	The claim is that it's a refreshing choice.
508	MM	Yes.
509	LE	But then again on a hot day any cold thing is a refreshing choice. So it's not really, I don't know. It's not a difficult

		claim to arrive at. Anything else?
510	RN	That was the last one.
511	LE	Oh! Oh no, it was just starting to get fun (laughter)

Second discussion		
Turn	Speaker	Content
Advert under discussion: Clinique		
1	R	Okay, you can start. Call me if you need to know anything. Take as much time as you like.
2	LS	What is interesting about the advert? Okay, I think it's that <i>till warm water do us part</i> . It can (...)
3	EM	No, the rings.
4	LS	Many. Yes, yes, the rings catch your eye but like you said the rings and that <i>till warm water do us part</i> , <i>till warm water do us part</i> tells about the (-)
5	EM	About what's necessary to, do you understand, is it not about the warm water and what's necessary to remove it?
6	LS	Yes, but it's about, it is the, it says something about the product.
7	EM	Yes, yes.
8	LS	It tells you about the product in that small quote. Because it's almost in-between the lines, <i>till warm water do us part</i> , okay, because it's mascara, okay.
9	EM	Yes.
10	LS	But it's cute (...) Yes, look there it says <i>last through rain</i> , <i>sweat, tears</i> and then it tells you.
11	EM	Yes.
12	LS	<i>Power vested in you</i> (...) damn it's cool, okay ambiguous,

		mascara (...)
13	EM	What do you call this, like a (...) the marriage thing, what you said, it brings like marriage, the way I see it, like the man and women who are married now and what can come between them or cannot come between them. It's like the mascara and the woman.
14	LS	It's the same bond; yes the same as between a husband and wife is similar to the relationship between the woman and the mascara.
15	EM	Yes.
16	LS	It's how much the woman loves her mascara. Okay it's actually very cute.
17	EM	Must we now here?
18	LS	Yes, you can write there.
19	EM	One (...)
20	LS	Yes let's say (...)
21	EM	You can write.
22	LS	What is interesting about the advert? Okay, I'll just say, it symbolises you can almost say <i>unity</i> .
23	EM	Mmm. Okay (...) the wedding (...) Okay so that explains now (...)
24	LS	It's the same as wedding rings, this is actually, the wedding ring is the mascara.
25	EM	Yes.
26	LS	Okay. Similar to (...)
27	EM	The relationship to (...)
28	LS	Yes. Similar to the relationship (...)
29	EM	Relationship between the woman and the mascara, something like that (...)
30	LS	Must we now?

31	EM	No, everything I think. I think we'll just write number one at the bottom. We'll just go on here. What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?
32	LS	Can't go without it. Um.
33	EM	Yes, um.
34	LS	Woman is not one without it. You are not complete without it. You are, uhm, the mascara, and you the female they complete each other.
35	EM	Yes.
36	LS	Uhm (...)
37	EM	Do you think you can quote, when we have to quote from this thing, say, like <i>how do you know this?</i>
38	LS	Yes.
39	EM	Okay then we can say (...)
40	LS	<i>Till warm water do us part (...)</i>
41	EM	And that at the power vested in you, lash power, stuff like that, let the love fest again (laughter)
42	LS	<i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i> Uhm (...) there is credibility (...)
43	EM	It is very catchy, so I think if people see this advert they will really fall for it. It is very creative but I don't know, I am not a sucker for any of this.
44	LS	It is very creative but you have to, they have to choose their market (...)
45	EM	They must be more specific about their market.
46	LS	Precise. They have to be more precise regarding their market.
47	EM	Okay. I think we can then write here <i>advertisement two</i> and then we can analyse the next one.

Advert under discussion: BMW		
48	LS	What is this? Sleek design. New BMW, one serious convertible (...) next page. Okay, it's ambiguous. Do you know why? Because okay firstly it's parked outside, it's at the ocean, it's beautiful there. You must decide whether you want to look at the car or the water.
49	EM	Yes.
50	LS	It's like a beautiful car and a pretty girl, like damn, the girl is pretty but the car is nicer (laughter) Do you understand what I'm saying?
51	EM	Yes.
52	LS	Car with control, immediately the tree, there is a resemblance, a relation, climate control.
53	EM	And with the ocean.
54	LS	Parked under the, parked under the tree. In other words it's cool. Okay, <i>what is interesting about the advert?</i> Okay, let us start. Give me more pages.
55	EM	Let's make this number one. <i>Surprisingly the real beauty lies beneath the skin.</i> What do they mean by this? The leather seats that they talk about that we cannot see from the outside or what?
56	LS	Beneath the skin, yes there is more to the car that you can see.
57	EM	Yes.
58	LS	There is, if you drive it you will discover the beauty, the real beauty.
59	EM	Yes.
60	LS	You don't judge a book by its cover.
61	EM	Yes, okay, what is interesting about the advert?

62	LS	I think I said pretty much everything. Uhm (...) the setting, the relations (...) how can I say, the coherence, don't you think?
63	EM	Just say the setting of the (-)
64	LS	Correlates, or relates or whatever.
65	EM	I want to say it's ambiguous or it divides your attention. Do you understand? That, you look at the car but also at the sea. Do you understand what I'm saying? It seems to me that your attention is divided. It's an ad for a car but still the environment surrounds it.
66	LS	I'll write the car is just as pretty as the nature surrounding it. The car is just as pretty as the surrounding (...) just as pretty as the surrounding (...) you can't decide what to look (...)
67	EM	You must decide what is more pretty or what.
68	LS	Focus on the car or the (...)
69	EM	I think the environment automatically makes the car look more pretty or more (...)
70	Unkown	(Inaudible)
71	LS	<i>What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i> Okay. I'll write it here (-)
72	EM	The next part sums it all up.
73	LS	<i>The real beauty lies beneath the</i> , I'll quote this.
74	EM	You can also say, uhm, what did you say about what you see or don't see? The power of the beauty lies in what you can't see or something like that.
75	LS	Yes .
76	EM	The beauty or luxury, or whatever lies in...
77	LS	The real beauty lies beneath the skin. It means the real beauty (...)

78	EM	Will be discovered once you drive the car, or get inside the car. Whatever (...)
79	LS	Once you drive the car. Are you done with exams?
80	EM	No, only on the 26 th , I'm writing on the 22 nd , 24 th and 26th.
81	LS	Okay the tree resembles shade and climate control (...) <i>how do you know this</i> , okay we'll write it here.
82	EM	Probably again that (...)
83	LS	No, no, no. You're going too deep now.
84	EM	How do we know it?
85	LS	It's now more about what you assume, what you read between the lines. It says real beauty will be discovered once you drive the car, surprisingly the real beauty will be (...) okay. What is the question? How do you know this? (...) Trustworthy, how do you know this? (...) Uhm, I hate writing (...) duh (laughter) hallo don't you know BMW. Focus.
86	EM	Uhm (...)
87	LS	How do you know this? Here can be, like I said about the tree and the climate control that's linked. That I can write here under trustworthy.
88	EM	Yes, Yes.
89	LS	How do you know this? The real beauty lies beneath the skin.
90	EM	So now they ask why?
91	LS	I'll write don't judge a cover by, don't judge a book by its cover. There is more to the car than what you think.
92	EM	<i>This is just to tempt us to look for more</i> or something like that.
93	LS	Yes, okay.
94	EM	So don't judge a book by its cover. This advertisement is

		just to tempt us to want more, to see more about the car.
95	LS	Don't judge a book by its cover. The whole ad is a temptation for you to seek for more information. The advert is a temptation.
96	EM	To seek for more.
97	LS	To get you to search for more info.
98	EM	Okay, yes. And number four. Do you think the adverts claims are trustworthy?
99	LS	Yes because (-)
100	EM	Will you say something about the climate control or what will you say there?
101	LS	The setting, uhm, trees, water (...) almost represents the characteristics. What gives you the idea I should study advertising?
102	EM	No kidding.
103	LS	The setting represents the characteristics of the car namely the climate control, the tree providing us with the idea of the climate control, the tree okay, and then the water equals the beauty of the car. Oh great, I can write a lot about this. What else is it? It is
104	EM	The water, the ocean.
105	LS	It gives you a calm feeling.
106	EM	Yes.
107	LS	It gives you a calm feeling
108	EM	Relax, like the ocean.
109	LS	And relaxed. Okay let's move on.
Advert under discussion: Gino Ginelli		
110	EM	Next one. Gino Ginelli (...)

111	LS	Oh I can think about this all day.
112	EM	<i>Not all ice creams are created equal. Spoil yourself Italian style, chocolate mousse, tempting chocolate (...) ahh (...)</i>
113	LS	Okay, it is actually brilliant. <i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> Okay the first thing is the different sizes spoons. You have to choose one. I think I will take the biggest one because Gino Ginelli can't just eat little. Small bowl. I want a lot.
114	EM	Yes, once you start you can't stop.
115	LS	Once you start, you can't stop. The different sizes spoons, spoons. Must we say why? <i>What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i> Uhm, okay, I'll say question one, the different sizes spoons, once you start you can't stop.
116	EM	Yes.
117	LS	Uhm, similar (...)
118	EM	Here's a blank page. We'll need more.
119	LS	How many ads are there?
120	EM	I don't know. I think eight.
121	LS	Once you start you can't stop. You have to (...) a spoon (...) take the biggest one (laughter)
122	EM	How do we know this?
123	LS	Because I say so (laughter)
124	EM	Can't you say those of you who experienced the taste of Gino Ginelli will know that you can't stop once you started. What does the question say?
125	LS	Hello, look at the famous chocolate man. Ag lekker (...)
126	EM	Advertised product. We'll have said (...)
127	LS	Uhm (...) can't we say if you know the product then, uhm (...) Remember advertising is precisely to what we don't

		know.
128	EM	Yes.
129	LS	Uhm (...) if you know the product, uhm. Actually the spoons betray the product once you think about it, so I'll just write the spoons in the ad play a big role.
130	EM	Four, they ask whether it's trustworthy (...) I think so. It is ice cream. Its (laughter)
131	LS	Yes even though I think they could have been clearer. Even though I think they could, even though I think they could have been a bit more precise, specific. Okay advertise motive. Four. This is too much. It's a gym. How did your (-)
Advert under discussion: Acer		
132	EM	Perform last night?
133	LS	Just hold on. A man is a man (...) love the size go the five basic response rate as followed. Okay. Okay now! Very ambiguous.
134	EM	Yes.
135	LS	Uhm, ok. It's good now.
136	EM	It's about his (...)
137	LS	Okay, yes, I'm not going to write this. The advertisement is sexually connected. Why sex itself? The setting is in a gym. What happens in a gym? Men gym, women gym in as little clothes as possible. There's a lot of perving and lusting and people lusting after each other. This is why I say, the girl in the background, look at how she's looking at him.
138	EM	And the question mark. You immediately look at the (...)
139	LS	Yes, she has a, what do you call it, a provocative, flirty look

		on her face that immediately increases the ambiguity. Meantime the size and the (...) response rate are all characteristics of the Acer LCD screen
140	EM	Yes.
141	LS	Okay, need I say more?
142	EM	And the looks on their faces.
143	LS	Naughty. Yes, that's naughty.
144	EM	Yes, as if they're talking about it.
145	LS	Okay. This is actually easy. Let's write. (...) discussion.
146	EM	Are you going to write it here?
147	LS	No, it's cool here.
148	EM	What's the first question again? Uhm (...) It is very, how do you say "dubbelsinnig"?
149	LS	I don't know. Go ask him what it is. I want to know what it is.
150	EM	Let's just say in quotation marks "very dubbelsinnig" (laughter) we'll find out just now. Dubbelsinnig.
151	LS	Uhm, conceived, uhm, deceiving. Dubbelsinnig. Can be deceiving.
152	EM	What?
153	LS	Dubbelsinnig. It can be deceiving.
154	EM	Is it that?
155	LS	No, but it is deceiving.
156	EM	Okay let's put (...)
157	LS	Whatever, dubbelsinnig. Can I here? Where can I write about <i>what does it say of the advertised product</i> ? How do you know this? Uhm, dubbelsinnig. Why do I say this?
158	EM	Just by reading the whatever. I think it's sexual or it sounds like it.
159	LS	Has a sexual connection. Sexual connection. Why? By

		means of the conversation (...) the setting.
160	EM	This is witty.
161	LS	The setting is also (...) a dead giveaway.
162	EM	Because that kind of talk, they play, is in a gym usually, can we say (...) This is very witty, sjoe (-)
163	LS	The types of conversations between two people usually occur (...) hey? Occur, take place, occur. Whatever.
164	EM	Say "take place". Both fit in this context.
165	LS	Okay never mind. We're writing too much here. Two. <i>What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i> (...) It can become perverse but I will not say it. I am a normal, decent human being. What really got me going? Jis man, ag man, hemel!
166	EM	Yes.
167	LS	Hemel, kom net reg (...) okay, okay let's be (laughter)
168	EM	They're trying to tell us about the screen and the (...)
169	LS	The size, I will not say what the size is but they're talking about the Acer LCD. Shame on them. Whose ad is this? <i>What does the advert say about the advertised product?</i> The size, the Acer, LCD mm.
170	EM	And the image response rate, the five ms response rate (...)
171	LS	Okay but the discussion is also recorded so he better gets clarity about this, okay.
172	EM	And then we can say how do you know this? By the inscription. We don't know this at first but we find out when we read that part.
173	LS	Jissie, we hope.
174	EM	Yes.
175	LS	By the description on the ad okay.
176	EM	Is it trustworthy?

177	LS	Yes, yes. That's all I'll say. Okay. Advert five.
Advert under discussion: Brut		
178	EM	Yes, it's this one.
179	LS	Mmm. <i>Essence of man.</i>
180	EM	A car and a man, not so?
181	LS	Advert number what is this? Five?
182	EM	Yes, what's that. It's probably nothing. Uhm. <i>The essence of man.</i> What does "the essence" mean? The essence?
183	LS	It's your essence, your flavour, your scent. The man must have a favourable essence because a weird essence... You have a vanilla essence, you have a this and that. Essence of man. Okay I know.
184	EM	Okay I think a car and a man go (...) is so (...) speed.
185	LS	Your essence. You cannot get rid of your essence. Your essence is your essence. You have your scent, you do (...)
186	EM	Yes.
187	LS	Your essence, okay, yes.
188	EM	Okay, that's now what?
189	LS	Something (...) that you have. Can't get rid of.
190	EM	Men and cars.
191	LS	Men and cars.
192	EM	And speed between brackets.
193	LS	Yes, go together. The advertisement portrays an inseparability.
194	EM	Mmm, yes.
195	LS	Portrays an inseparability.
196	EM	Put the product and men, whatever
197	LS	Okay.

198	EM	We can say that we always assume that men know about cars. It's like we connect men with cars like they want us to. Do you understand? But I think we've written enough.
199	LS	I think this is now two in one. Look at that. <i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> It is two in one. I answered both questions in one, didn't I?
200	EM	What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product? Yes, yes.
201	LS	I'll just draw an arrow.
202	EM	Right, three. How do you know this?
203	LS	Okay. It's a male hand on a gearbox, on a car's gearbox, and the product is in the right-hand corner which means, the product is in the right hand corner (...) so you link the two.
204	EM	Mmm.
205	LS	Okay.
206	EM	Uhm. <i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i>
207	LS	No, because you have really (-)
208	EM	It will depend on your taste. They can't. It is very creative and catchy as well but (...) and not all men want cars. I don't. They can't assume that everyone likes cars, so (-)
209	LS	Can't (-)
210	EM	Assume that all men. It is like rugby.
211	LS	Uhm.
212	EM	Give them an advertisement on rugby, but not all men will be interested in that.(...)
213	LS	Okay, next.
Advert under discussion: Nankang		
214	EM	Which one now? Six. Black power.

215	LS	Oh this is ambiguous! Can't it be racist as well? (Laughter) Happy 90 th birthday, black power, okay, no shame, I should rather work in advertising.
216	EM	I think it is the black power.
217	LS	What is interesting about the advert? I'll just say to start with (...) The second one, on the second question I'll say. <i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> (...) What's that word? (...) Uhm. Brand personality. What they'll do now is they're going to buy that product because brand personality is Nelson Mandela.
218	EM	Yes.
219	LS	So, their sales will increase but that's not what we're talking about now. What they're asking is what is interesting about the advert? Let's say the layout of the advert. The layout and the presentation.
220	EM	The black power is very (...) for me, but it is interesting, the title whatever. What do you call it?
221	LS	Black power. Layout and black power. Okay let's elaborate further, then we say.
222	EM	<i>What does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i>
223	LS	Okay.
224	EM	It is like Madiba has black power.
225	LS	I'll just say the celebrity, I'll not talk about him. The celebrity used has, has or have? Has, has power.
226	EM	Has.
227	LS	Had, has had, have had. Has a lot of.
228	EM	The celebrity used to have.
229	LS	(laughter) used to have a lot of power and the people.
230	EM	See him as a role model or (...)

231	LS	People respect him (...) and (...) him. So now they abuse his authority by...
232	EM	They use him.
233	LS	Adding, yes, so now they use his uhm (...)
234	EM	Can we say his name or his power or his, uhm.
235	LS	His (...)
236	EM	Label? Damn, I don't know how to say this.
237	LS	Now they use they, now they use his assumed (...) authority, so they use his authority to advertise a tyre (...) meaning that the tyre has (...)
238	EM	The same characteristics or the same power.
239	LS	The same power.
240	EM	In this context.
241	LS	And credibility and what do you call it? "Geloofwaardigheid", credibility is "geloofwaardigheid". Uhm. The tyre is just as...
242	EM	In its context
243	LS	A false idol [afgod] like him. That's it.
244	EM	Write in Afrikaans
245	LS	Uses his authority to advertise the tyre, they use his authority to advertise a tire, but I probably explained why I say this.
246	EM	Yes, indirectly they assume or they say that the tyre in this context has the same credibility and the same as Madiba had on the (...)
247	LS	It is just as powerful as Madiba. Indirectly the tyre is just as powerful as Madiba.
248	EM	In its context or whatever.
249	LS	Powerful as Madiba in its context.
250	EM	<i>How do you know this?</i>

251	LS	And personality. <i>How do you know this?</i>
252	EM	Why do we know that they want us to think the tyre is so? It is obvious. It's just like it's self-evident. I mean. Everyone knows Madiba and the entire background is covered in tyres. (laughter) I don't know how to say this in words.
253	LS	You can just assume and know it.
254	EM	Just by looking at the advert (...) it says everything. Black power again (...) People are very sharp with adverts.
255	LS	You know those Savannah ads? I met the guy once. <i>It's dry and you can drink it.</i> I met the man who makes the ads. He's brilliant. He made all RSG's ads. Those sheep jumping from the windmill.
256	EM	And all.
257	LS	It was him.
258	EM	That was very good, yes. <i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i>
259	LS	Just hold on, I just want to write something. Uhm. Okay let's write it at the fourth one. I would say, no, because you know why? If you don't know Madiba you can't compare him with the tyre.
260	EM	Yes.
261	LS	It's one of those again. You don't know.
262	EM	Let's see how many questions remain. Okay, just two.
263	LS	The advert won't be effective (...) Advert number what is this? Seven?
Advert under discussion: Tracker		
264	EM	Yes.
265	LS	Okay <i>thank you for giving our young men direction.</i>

		<i>Tracker would like to thank everyone who supported them in (...)</i>
266	EM	What is Tracker precisely?
267	LS	Trackers are tracking systems that you install in your car and when it's stolen, they can find out where it is.
268	EM	Oh yes. This is ambiguous again: they compare the relationship between a man and woman, because it's said that behind every man there's a woman who keeps him on the right track and guides him, we can maybe say.
269	LS	Not only that, what we can also say is the direction thing. Tracker goes in a direction to find your car.
270	EM	Yes.
271	LS	Those arrows, like the arrow means the male and the direction it is going to get your car. Tracking devices.
272	EM	Yes.
273	LS	I'll just say this picture, the illustration. Okay, the first point. Okay what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product? They are thanking someone. Thanking uhm (...)
274	EM	<i>Tracker would like to thank everyone who supported men in the making.</i>
275	LS	Thanking a specific (...)
276	EM	Organisation (...)
277	LS	Or group but the wording (...) thank you (...) Young men (...) a little direction. Our young men a little direction. The direction. Direction. The word direction indirectly refers to the (...)
278	EM	Tracking of (...)
279	LS	Direction in (...) I'll just say direction indirectly refers to the tracking device and then here at <i>how do you know this</i>

		I'll write <i>Tracker is a tracking system company</i> .
280	EM	Yes (...)
281	LS	Is a tracking system company and therefore they use the correct wording.
282	EM	Yes.
283	LS	And therefore they have a good, the play of words.
284	EM	Yes.
285	LS	And therefore (...) and therefore their wordplay on direction is making sense.
286	EM	Yes.
287	LS	Mmm yes, something like that?
288	EM	Yes.
289	LS	Are the claims trustworthy? I'll just say <i>yes</i> .
290	EM	Because they want to thank people, so obviously they were successful or something (-)
291	LS	The description is also clear (...) and direct. Good. Last one (...) ouch (...)
292	EM	You write like a machine.
293	LS	Hey?
294	EM	You write rather like a machine.
295	LS	Is it?
296	EM	Yes.
Advert under discussion: Hansa Pilsner		
297	LS	<i>Another magnificent pair you would love to get your hands on. A refreshing choice. Okay what?</i>
298	EM	Why is the cap off the one and not the other one?
299	LS	Male and female.
300	EM	Once again (...)

301	LS	It's porn again (laughter) <i>a refreshing choice, another magnificent pair to get your hands on.</i> Uhm, can I now (...) I don't know, I can say a lot. Well, what is interesting about?
302	EM	You have a nice background, really. I'm sitting here watching how you (-)
303	LS	<i>What is interesting about the advert?</i>
304	EM	There is, I don't know.
305	LS	No, it was the inside detail there. It's the inside detail, that. What is interesting for you? You look at the picture and say what's interesting about it. The next one is <i>what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i>
306	EM	The the one cap is off and the other not.
307	LS	Yes, isn't it? This is interesting. Yes, interesting that the one <i>doppie</i> .
308	EM	Cap.
309	LS	Okay, cap, thanks, is on and (-)
310	EM	Do you say <i>cap</i> or <i>lid</i> ?
311	LS	I don't care.
312	EM	Okay.
313	LS	Cap is on the other. <i>Lid</i> refers to something larger.
314	EM	Yes.
315	LS	The other one is off.
316	EM	Yes.
317	LS	<i>What does the advert say about the (...)</i>
318	EM	And they assume, they want you to drink them in pairs. Do you understand? <i>Love to get your hands</i> , understand, <i>on another magnificent pair</i> , understand? They refer to it as like they want you to drink more than one. Do you understand? This is how I see it. They refer to it as <i>pair</i> .

319	LS	Refer to you will probably drink more than one. Probably drink more than one.
320	EM	In pairs, whatever.
321	LS	Another pair you like to get your hands on. It is uhm, a slight sexual connotation maybe (...) because you like to talk about that stuff with beer. <i>Another pair you would like to get your hands on, a refreshing choice.</i> Uhm. Pair can also be slightly (...)
322	EM	You don't say you want to (...) want to get your hands on beer, do you understand? This is not how you talk about beer. Do you understand?
323	LS	It basically means that you would love to (...)
324	EM	Yes.
325	LS	Have one of these beers. I don't know. Do you think this can be all right? <i>How do you know this?</i>
326	EM	Because of the title, what a magnificent pair.
327	LS	The slogan, <i>the refreshing choice</i> (...) is almost like a guarantee, almost like a guarantee
328	EM	Of what you will experience.
329	LS	A guarantee of the product you can also say, of the product's experience, okay.
330	EM	I don't like beer at all but the droplets look rather tasty.
331	LS	Lekker refreshing.
332	EM	Yes, it does.
333	LS	Okay I used the slogan for that one. <i>How do you know the advert's claim is trustworthy?</i> I'll say yes because the one cap that is off immediately triggers reaction.
334	EM	Yes,
335	LS	It triggers the response. It draws attention.
336	EM	Yes.

337	LS	Because the one cap that is off. The beer bottle immediately draws the attention of the client or the reader. That's it.
338	EM	Okay. Then we quickly write our names. You're Leandi, aren't you?
339	LS	Yes, I'll write quickly, I will write, don't worry, Leandi
340	EM	Surname underneath.
341	LS	Ag, crap.
342	EM	Don't worry, keep going.
343	LS	Don't worry (...) sorry. (...) Okay then we'll do that
344	EM	Yes.
345	LS	A slash thing.

Third discussion		
Turn	Speaker	Content
Advert under discussion: Clinique		
1	EJ	Do we have to speak English?
2	R	No, any language. It's an informal discussion. Anything goes. And you will remain anonymous. You can say whatever you want to say.
3	EJ	What is interesting, the first thing I obviously notices, is the rings.
4	BC	I also saw the rings.
5	EJ	Okay. The rings and how they're combined. A girl's best friend, that's the ring, first look at the diamond and then you get to the mascara. That's what I noticed.
6	BC	I did as well, yes.
7	EJ	They now ask <i>till warm water do us part</i> so it obviously has something to do with marriage. Talk about a committed relationship, one stroke and these pretty lashes last through rain and tears.
8	BC	Do you know what, I think kind of it's like a woman's most important day,

		it's her wedding day and there she'll look prettiest. You can use this and you will always look prettiest whether you're getting married, whether you're going to the mall, you will always look your best.
9	EJ	And also like the ring like you wear the ring through thick and thin, through sickness and whatever we'll stay together, so the mascara will remain by the woman, understand? It will be her best partner from now on. That's it, yes.
10	BC	Yes, I also think so.
11	EJ	<i>What does this aim to say?</i> Just like the ring by the woman who the marriage bond will so will (...)
12	BC	The mascara be there as well.
13	EJ	Yes, okay cool. How do you know this?
14	BC	We kind of get an assumption with the rings they show and the wording as well of (...) till (...) us part.
15	EJ	Yes, that makes it clear. Do you think the adverts claim or (inaudible) you won't know.
16	BC	Yes.
17	EJ	That's the thing, you will see how curious you are to buy it now.
18	BC	It is (...)
19	EJ	And then you will use and only then will you know.
20	BC	Yes, is it so or not.
21	EJ	So it will depend on how, what do you call it (...) how do you call it, I can't think of the word, how successful the ad will be. Did it reach its goal? Did the people come, did they buy?
22	BC	Yes, so it looks nice but that's it. It looks nice with the rings and stuff but we won't know.
23	EJ	It depends. It'll differ from woman to woman. Will she think mm they say, let's do it, let's go buy it. Now yes.
Advert under discussion: BMW		

	EJ	Good, next. Next. What's that, a BMW? Yes, very beautiful! It is hard to ignore. Okay, they first show the backside. What is interesting about the advert? It first shows the back of the vehicle,
24	BC	Yes.
25	EJ	The lights, the antenna (laughter). That's all I see and then the ocean.
26	BC	Yes.
27	EJ	Or a river, no what's that, it is the sea (laughter)
28	BC	Or a farm dam. Yes. Okay. I think they're creating an idyllic environment. The car is now there as well (...)
29	EJ	Almost like a girl's bikini backside [boudjies] is photographed on a beach, so, yes.
30	BC	It looks like that to me as well.
31	EJ	Okay, <i>what does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i> Sleek? Okay wait, <i>you'll discover leather seats that reflect sunlight to stay cool. An advanced climate control system that (...)</i> so it ties in with the, it's an environmentally friendly vehicle or something like that.
32	BC	Yes, yes.
33	EJ	Okay.
34	BC	Do you think, I don't know, don't you think we must (...)?
35	EJ	Must we look at that as well?
36	BC	I think so, I don't know.
37	EJ	I understand, it's one thing (laughter) okay.
38	BC	Yes, seems so.
39	EJ	That sucks.
40	BC	<i>The real beauty (...)</i>
41	EJ	Okay, <i>lies beneath the skin</i> . So (...) okay now I'm beginning to understand, because here they talk about the seats, the leather seats and stuff and it's sort of on the inside, so it's not just the outside that's beautiful. The real beauty lies beneath. Yes, what else do they say? (Inaudible) power from

		less fuel plus in the engine also on the inside.
42	BC	So everything you look at is (...)
43	EJ	Yes, and then they say <i>could a car be as thrilling to drive as to look at</i> , so you see the outside, beyond beauty.
44	BC	Yes. It sounds like that to me as well, I also think (...)
45	EJ	What do you think?
46	BC	It's beautiful on the outside but (...)
47	EJ	From here.
48	BC	Power really and beauty is really on the outside.
49	EJ	Yes, so (...) okay cool. So (...) so it's then number two. <i>How do you know this?</i> Precisely what they in the picture and in the wording underneath.
50	BC	What they say.
51	EJ	Yes, okay. <i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i>
52	BC	I think if we (...) I think if someone drives like a mini or something. They will naturally choose that car, naturally (...) or a lover of BMWs he'll be (...) definitely. Is it? Of course he'll choose the BMW. Any advert, you won't be able to say whether it's trustworthy. That's a fact.
53	EJ	But again it's about taste and how gullible people are to believe the ad and such.
54	BC	No, it is (...)
55	EJ	Okay, Gino Ginelli
Advert under discussion: Gino Ginelli		
56	BC	Oh, these are tasty ice creams (inaudible)
57	EJ	Okay, <i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> They're in a queue, waiting to be scooped.
58	BC	Ah it's cute, I'm only seeing this now.
59	EJ	Yes, it is rather cute. It's like they're queuing up. Yes. To get the next scoop, the next scoop.

60	BC	It's cute, it's very cute.
61	EJ	<i>Spoil yourself, Italian style.</i>
62	BC	I also think what's rather interesting, is that you almost don't see the others.
63	EJ	That's very true.
64	BC	You see the red, the red Gino Ginelli ice cream and then you look further and notice they're spoons. At first I didn't see the spoons. So I saw red, ice cream, tasty. I was focused.
65	EJ	That's true. The others kind of fade in and then when you look further, you see the bigger picture. Okay. <i>What does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i> I think it's tasty, everyone wants a bite (laughter) or like they say, other ice creams are inferior, because look here it says <i>not all ice creams are created equally</i> . So the rest are actually equal to each other but Gino Ginelli has something (...)
66	BC	Like in that book <i>Animal Farm</i> where it says that <i>all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others</i> . So I think almost like this one is like it's also an ice cream but it's on top, it's not like the rest.
67	EJ	It's of a different class. Yes, that's rather true. Okay cool. This is a rather fun ad. <i>How do you know this?</i> Because it says so at the bottom. Okay, <i>do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i> I'll say yes.
68	BC	I also think so, any ice cream is really (...)
69	EJ	I love Gino Ginelli ice cream, especially; it's different from the rest. I eat a lot of different ice creams but again, it depends.
70	BC	Yes, you eat a lot of ice cream, so you'll know (...)
71	EJ	Some people hate, yes, I'll definitely try it.
Advert under discussion: Acer		
72	BC	Oh, okay, (inaudible), so gym.
73	EJ	Digital planet (...)

74	BC	Oh my word, a bit suggestive. (...)
75	EJ	22. What is it?
76	BC	It looks like a laptop, doesn't it?
77	EJ	22 inch, yes.
78	BC	Yes (laughter)
79	EJ	It's very, and then she looks down and the question mark.
80	BC	Then she wonders (...) oh my soul.
81	EJ	<i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> At first I thought it was about going to the gym.
82	BC	Yes, I also thought, yes. I was wondering what's going on here now.
83	EJ	It's a bit confusing. Yes, I know (...) Very confusing, yes. They include stuff about websites and then (...)
84	BC	Yes, you have so many interpretations of what's really going on.
85	EJ	It's almost as if you see the computer last.
86	BC	I did, yes, it is.
87	EJ	Okay, <i>what does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i>
	EJ	That it's big.
88	BC	Yes (laughter)
	BC	I also think so (laughter)
89	EJ	And we giggle and then (...) it is, what do you call it? Ambiguous.
90	BC	Yes.
91	EJ	Very ambiguous. Depends on how your mind works, you think, what's going on here?
92	BC	If you first, if you don't, say you did not see the computer and you read that, then you think, what? You'll think, what's this about?
93	EJ	It's like that small print, it's underneath.
94	BC	I think that's why they put those red things in the screen, that it stands out. Yes, because you don't really see it.
96	EJ	Strange. <i>How do you know this?</i> Well, if you looked at the ad you'll see what we mean.

97	BC	Yes and (...)
98	EJ	It's difficult to explain, yes.
99	BC	Yes and what they say, like at the top they talk about 22 inch.
100	EJ	<i>And then Natasha love the size but it really got me going was the 5 ms response rate.</i>
101	BC	That followed, yes, so I don't know. It's hard to say. It's just very suggestive this ad. It makes you, yes.
102	EJ	<i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i>
103	BC	I don't know.
104	EJ	<i>Secure, trusted, convenient. Online shopping at its best.</i> No, I don't know. Will they (...)
105	BC	They say so but you'll never really know.
106	EJ	I'll not trust it, because I don't know it at all. Do you know it? Never in my life have I heard about the Digital Planet (-)
107	BC	No me neither.
108	EJ	So, I don't know, next.
109	BC	Um fine print okay.
	BC	How many women are here, I thought it was difficult.
110	EJ	Yes, <i>what is interesting about the advert?</i>
Advert under discussion: Brut		
111	BC	You think it's again about a car. It looks like (...)
112	EJ	Yes and then, we learnt in Afrikaans that they always put the stuff in corners so you'll see it last, or I can't even remember what the purpose is, but I know it's a good thing that they put them there, because your eyes go there.
113	BC	I did not see that, I first saw that, oh okay.
114	EJ	And then, do you understand now, because then they say <i>essence of man</i>
115	BC	Yes.

116	EJ	It's almost a car, a man shifting gears. It's his world. Some guys do it to the beat of the music. Some guys pretend they're on an F1 circuit and then Brut comes, then kind of like it's being compared.
117	BC	I think you get like your rush from your car, it's like you know and if you're going to use Brut and then it's also amazing and you will get girls, and you will get girls, like that Axe ad and the chicks, if you use that, everyone will, you know. You actually know about this, so.
118	EJ	Yes, yes. Okay so <i>what does this advert aim to say about the advised product</i> . It's basically what we've said.
119	BC	About the man and his car and (...)
120	EJ	Yes, yes these are sort of compared. The (...)
121	BC	The one cannot without the other.
122	EJ	Yes, okay, how do you know this?
123	BC	Because we feel men and cars and now they're kind of comparing it with Brut. That picture (...)
124	EJ	Yes, that which the car does to the man, the deodorant will kind of play the same role.
125	BC	Yes, have the effect on the man.
126	EJ	Okay.
127	R	Sorry to interrupt. I just need to go somewhere quickly. So (...)
128	EJ	Got some interesting adverts here.
129	R	Great. I just need to dash off somewhere, so if you are done, just pull the door shut until it clicks.
130	BC	Okay, bye.
132	EJ	<i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i>
133	BC	That's again.
134	EJ	You won't know if you don't know the manufacturer or have used it before, or if we hadn't really smelled it on someone.
135	BC	Yes, I think it's everyone's own taste. It can smell good to anyone but for us it can stink. It's everyone's opinion.

Advert under discussion: Nankang		
	BC	Black Power.
136	EJ	Okay, happy 90 th birthday Madiba. Okay. What is interesting about the advert? Mandela's face immediately.
137	BC	And then Black Power, yes, and then the wheel. It can all be ambiguous of the Black Power. He is black and he has power and a wheel is black and also has power so it can be (...)
138	EJ	It's actually precisely what I think they (...) Plus it has power, the wheel when you put it onto a car.
139	BC	Both are black and have power.
140	EJ	Okay, <i>what does this advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i>
141	BC	It is something black with power.
142	EJ	Yes, okay. How do you know this?
143	BC	The wheel (...) because it's written large on top. Black Power and (...)
144	EJ	It's just the wording.
145	BC	Yes, it's very powerful.
146	EJ	Plus to bring in Madiba. It has so much more (...) if he agreed to put his face on this. Some people will think so if they get to number four, <i>do you think the advert's aim is trustworthy?</i>
147	BC	Yes, he will not lightly put his name on something.
148	EJ	What now, yes, so (...) Now yes, again it'll depend on whether people know the thing. I've never heard about it. Okay. Next.
Advert under discussion: Tracker		
	EJ	<i>Thank you for giving our young men a little direction.</i> Tracker, oh my word. Tracker would like to (inaudible) This is the man's symbol, isn't it?
149	BC	Yes.

150	EJ	Okay, the manliness and Tracker, it's almost like an arrow, a direction thing. Okay wait, <i>what is interesting about the advert?</i> I see the arrow first and then <i>thank you for giving our young men a little direction.</i>
151	BC	Yes, I also think the symbol of the man they used.
152	EJ	And then, <i>what does the advert aim to say about the advertised product?</i>
153	BC	Seems to me they invited sons to the workplace, let's say, fathers or something, I'm not sure now, but then the sons could be there for that day for career day.
154	EJ	To work at let's say Tracker?
155	BC	I don't know. Perhaps they just sponsored it or (...) into your business.
156	EJ	Oh, it was probably sponsored by Tracker.
157	BC	Yes, they were like a main sponsor. Maybe they organised it.
158	EJ	And it was a general career day. Okay.
159	BC	So there isn't really a product they want to (-)
160	EJ	No it's like they just sponsor, Tracker, and with this they depict Tracker through masculinity or whatever.
161	BC	Just to say like what they kind of did. So I don't think there's really a product. <i>How do you know this</i> , okay.
Advert under discussion: Hansa Pilsner		
162	EJ	Don't really get this now. Hansa Pilsner. <i>What is interesting about the advert?</i> The one's cap is off, the other's on. Why? <i>Another magnificent pair you would love to get your hands on.</i>
163	BC	It's a difficult one. I don't know why the cap is off, on the one.
164	EJ	Maybe, men who come back from the bar, arrogant men, always take like two beers because they don't want to go back to the bar again, now I don't know, is it perhaps a pair.
165	BC	Like you know they, let's say they're in the bar and they admire someone's assets, it's a pair, so this is a pair as well. (-)

166	EJ	Or buns, remembers those can also be a pair. <i>Another magnificent pair you would love to get your hands on.</i>
167	BC	So this one is also a little. We'll not always understand this.
168	EJ	No, we won't, but it has to have something to do with this.
169	BC	I also think so.
170	EJ	What does this advert aim to say? It's sort of what we said.
171	BC	What they want.
172	EJ	Another pair of nice things to have, yes can get these two pairs as well. And <i>how do you know this?</i> The depiction and the wording that we conclude. <i>Do you think the advert's claims are trustworthy?</i>
173	BC	It again boils down to personal, some men like Black Label and others like this. Oh, are we done?
174	EJ	Okay. That's it.
175	BC	Yes, this was very enjoyable.
176	EJ	Is there really nothing, is this it?
177	BC	Yes.