

**Inferences in advertising:
A study of Swedish and Russian TV commercials**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the role of inferences in advertising discourse. Based on the study of conversational implicatures by Grice (1975), and the distinction between ostensive and covert communication elaborated by Sperber and Wilson (1986), a typology of inferences in advertising is proposed. Furthermore, this typology was applied to a corpus of Russian and Swedish TV commercials. The main findings are a broad similarity between the commercials in Sweden and Russia with respect to the proposed inference-types, showing certain general characteristics of advertising discourse. However, on closer inspection, qualitative differences between certain types of inferences were found that could be related to cultural and historical differences.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. The relevance of inferences for advertising

The process of advertising has attracted scientific attention for a long time. For economists and marketing experts advertising is a very important tool of free-market economy, an element of successful trade. For linguists it is a pragmatically determined type of discourse, which functions in accordance with its main goals: to inform and to persuade. For ordinary people, it is a part of everyday life, which can be annoying or amusing, useful or misleading.

From a linguistic perspective, one of the central aspects of advertising is the heavy use of **implicature**, which involves the recipient in a process of inference-drawing. The main goal of this study is to shed light on this inference-drawing process and the role of implicatures in advertising.

Generally, we may say that in our everyday communications we convey information in two different ways: either by “saying X” or by “implying X”. Consider the following examples:

- (1) I want you to close the window.
- (2) a. Can you close the window?
b. > I want you to close the window.
- (3) a. It is cold here.
b. > I would like the window to be closed.

In (1) the speaker explicitly says that s/he wants to window to be closed by the addressee, in (2) he implies the same information without actually saying it, while in (3) his request is put into even more implicit form. In everyday communication the speaker would choose this or that way of conveying the information, depending on the situation, the audience and other extra-linguistic factors. Using the term introduced by Grice (1975), instead of explicitly asserting something many speakers **implicate** particular information (e.g. (2b) and (3b)). The hearer can easily understand it by **inferring** it. So even if inferences are always more than the literal meaning of any form of utterance, they are usually **overt** in cooperative communication

– both speaker and hearer know that they are made and can acknowledge this if necessary.
Now consider example (4).

- (4) a. Choosy mothers choose Jiff.¹
b. >> Good mothers choose Jiff.
c. > All good mothers choose Jiff.
d. => If X does not choose Jiff, X is not a good mother.

Here (4b) is a **conventional implicature**, the information that good mothers are choosy can be said to be a part of the conventional meaning of the words in (4). (4c) is a **conversational implicature**, since it follows from one of Grice's maxims of **Quantity**²: if X wanted to say "some mothers" he should have said so. (4d) is a logical **entailment** from (4a).

This advertisement has been designed in such a way that the audience is very likely to draw these inferences. However, the copywriter can always deny the fact that he actually meant all this, i.e. that he wanted the audience to understand this advertisement in this particular way from (4a) to (4d). Therefore, such inferences can be called **covert**.

Advertising is a form of communication which has one main function: to make the audience buy the advertised products. The main strategies for achieving this goal fluctuate between persuasive (voluntary) and manipulative (non-voluntary) strategies. Unsurprisingly, covert implicature has become a valued advertising technique used to manipulate. Weak and unsubstantiated product claims can be easily reworked into convincing sales statements that can mislead consumers to infer more meaning than is actually said. Such claims are not shared in the manner of (2) or (3), and at the same time they can be easily denied by a copywriter. Another reason for using covert inferences is that they are usually processed unconsciously and therefore can affect the audience without them noticing it.

However, there are also many overt implicatures in advertising. They are used for several "honest" reasons such as brevity, getting the audience's attention (e.g. humor) and making the

¹ The example is taken from Harris (1999: 127).

² See Chapter 3, Section 1 for a discussion of the Gricean maxims.

ad “stick” in the audience’s memory (since extended elaboration is known to lead to higher memorability). Consider example (5).

- (5) a. Moisture is what your skin needs. Try new L’oreal day cream.
- b. > L’oreal moisturizes your skin.

The (5b) is a conversational implicature derived from the fact that (5a) seems to contradict the Gricean maxim of **Relevance**. Although nothing actually has been said about the moisturising qualities of L’oreal cream, the audience can easily infer (5b). This implicature can be regarded as **overt**, since it is made clear even though it is not explicitly stated, and there is no reason to believe that the copywriter would wish to deny it.

Thus, implicatures (both covert and overt) are widely used in advertising. For this study, I will examine the methods applied by advertisers to embed and transfer underlying, yet unasserted meanings to the audience. Perhaps by learning the clever methods used by marketing professionals, a more efficient path towards critical comprehension can be developed. There are two main aims of this thesis.

The first is to apply Grice’s approach to implicature and communication, further developed by e.g. Levinson (1983) and Sperber and Wilson (1986), to advertising in order to develop a typology of inferences. The sub-goal is to distinguish between overt (persuasive) and covert (manipulative) inferences and discuss if this can be used as a basis for holding copywriters responsible for manipulative inferences, even if they are not “explicitly stated”.

The second goal of the thesis is to apply the developed typology of inferences to a corpus of 40 TV commercials (20 Swedish and 20 Russian) and find out what factors (cultural, linguistic, economic, political) can explain the differences, if such are found.

2. The structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of 6 chapters. In Chapter 2 “Advertising as a socio-cultural communicative activity” we shall have a closer look at the communicative situation, types and functions of advertising. Chapter 3 “Inferential communication” is devoted to the issue of inferences in comprehension, Grice’s approach to inference in communication and its

characteristics. Chapter 4 “An integrated typology of inferences in advertising” describes a proposed classification of overt and covert inferences in advertising. Chapter 5 “Inferences in Swedish and Russian TV commercials” presents an empirical cross-cultural study of inferences applying the typology in Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 6 “Conclusions” summarises the major findings of the thesis, and points to further relevant research. The scripts of studied samples of Swedish and Russian TV advertising are provided in Appendix A and B.

3. Formalia

For the sake of consistency, we shall refer to the recipient(s) of communicated message(s) as “audience”. The addresser of the message is referred to as “speaker”, although the message need not involve spoken discourse. However, in the context of TV commercials the addresser is referred to as “copywriter” or “advertiser”.

The symbol “>” is used to mark conversational implicatures in the examples. The symbol “=>” marks as is customary entailments. Presuppositions are marked in the same way as conventional implicatures with “>>”. The plus sign “+” marks inferences which serve as background premises.

All relevant to the study theoretical terms are given in **boldface**, especially where their meaning is clarified.

Chapter 2. Advertising as a socio-cultural communicative activity

1. Between information and persuasion

An advertisement is both a marketing tool and a cultural artifact. It is an element of popular culture. When people talk about their favourite (or most hated) ads, they expect other people to recognise them, to have opinions about them. Advertising is one of the most frequent types of messages that people encounter, sometimes in places people may not even recognise as being advertising. According to Harris (1999), an average person in USA is exposed to about 500 advertisements per day, 182,000 per year, and millions in a lifetime. An advertisement will normally offer some product or service that is represented as satisfying some consumer need or desire – a tablet which is represented as relieving pain or alleviating the symptoms of the cold, a frozen food that is represented as easy to prepare, nutritious and tasty, or a brand of beer that is said to taste great.

One issue of great concern to the general public is the issue of deceptive, or misleading advertising. This is often discussed in terms of **inferences**. “Human beings are ‘inferencing’ creatures, trained to ‘read into’ what is said as much as is consistent with the literal meaning of what is said and the context in which it is said” (Geis 1982: 46). Advertisers routinely exploit people’s tendency to draw inferences. Studies on inferences strongly suggest that in order to derive the meaning of a statement, people typically interpret beyond what is explicitly stated. When applied to advertising, the consumer may be led to believe things about a product that were never explicitly stated. Therefore, one of the most important features of advertising as a type of communication is its **implicitness**.

There are several reasons for advertisers to exploit implicit language. One of the problems for advertisers is the existence of various consumer “watchdogs”, such as the Advertising Standards Authority in Britain or the American Federal Trade Commission, which regulate what advertisers can say and how they should say it. The British go by the oft-cited general rule that “All advertisements should be legal, decent, honest and truthful” (Hermerén 1999: 152). Also, advertisers are aware that misleading and offensive advertisements are withdrawn. If the claim is very specific, for example, the advertiser may be challenged to prove the

accuracy of this claim. This applies in particular to the cases which involve comparisons with competing brands. If the advertiser cannot substantiate his claim, he may be taken to court and forced to pay heavy damages. Therefore, the safest policy is to keep one's claims as general and unspecific as possible. The advertiser uses claims that seem specific and sound impressive, but which, on closer inspection, turn to be less so. In this case the pragmatic implications are of a good help. "The attractiveness of implying something rather than asserting it overtly derives from the fact that one does not have to defend unasserted claims and consumers seem not to defend well against them" (Geis 1982: 37).

Other reasons for using implicit language are more cognitive. As psychological research shows (Harris 1977), inferred information is remembered and recalled as though it was explicitly stated. This has a great value for advertisers, since it allows the communication of propositions without going through the trouble of stating them. It is also used for the purposes of brevity, drawing attention, and memorability.

Originally, the first advertisements were used to inform people about products and services. However, nowadays this social activity has developed into a successful marketing tool of manipulation. It represents a complex continuum of message functions fluctuating between informing and manipulating. It is difficult to decide whether advertisement is predominantly informative or persuasive, since an extensive use of verbal and non-verbal strategies helps copywriters mask a persuasive message as an informative one. Advertisers exploit the advantages of mass media communication in order to persuade the audience. Therefore, persuasion is an important issue in advertising. However, in order to analyse the persuasive strategies in advertising it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between **manipulation** and **persuasion**.

Let us start by trying to define the terms of the continuum mentioned in the previous paragraph: information – persuasion – manipulation. By the term **information** we shall mean essentially facts and figures, i.e. information which can be described as objective. But it is important to remember that information is not always a self-contained, unassailable entity. "Information is not just written into memory pure and simple; in the process of comprehension it is substantially altered to fit pre existing structures of knowledge. Similarly, when information is recalled, it may change once again" (Chestnut 1980: 273).

As far as the term **persuasion** is concerned, Schmidt and Kess (1986: 2) define it as “the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone’s attitudes, beliefs or behaviour through the transmission of a message”. Persuasion primarily acts on “an individual’s beliefs about an object, his evaluation of it, and his intentions towards it. This may, but does not necessarily affect his behaviour towards the object” (Sandell 1977: 70). It is often mentioned that the pre-eminent means for effectively transmitting a persuasive message is language. This is not to deny that gestures, music, and even art might have a persuasive appeal, but rather to indicate that these channels are typically employed to a much lesser degree and that their role is generally secondary to the verbal component which carries the message. In human societies, persuasion constitutes a non-violent means whereby conflicts and differences of opinion can be resolved. Because of its role in interpersonal relations, it has even been considered by some commentators to be the primary tool of civilisation (Bettinghaus 1968). Yet, there is a tendency to consider persuasion as primarily an instrument of such obvious marketing ventures as commercial advertising or such linguistic genres as classical oratory.

Sandell (1977) specifies that in persuasion the change which is brought about must be a voluntary one; violent measures such as brainwashing and torture are obviously ruled out and considered as instances of **manipulation**. For example, such phenomena as the so-called 25th shot in film production is a non-voluntary manipulative technique, which is prohibited by the law. Such stimuli are called subliminal, which means below conscious perception. They may be a sub-audible sound message in a store (“Don’t shoplift”), or a very brief message in a movie or TV show (“Buy popcorn”). However, there is little evidence that subliminal messages affect people very much.

2. The communicative situation of advertising

Advertising is a communicative situation in which language operates in accordance with the purposes and actual possibilities of this type of communication. According to Leech (1966), in order to describe and define any situation of linguistic communication the following questions should be answered:

Who are the participants?

The participants of advertising communication are a copywriter and an audience. The first category is usually represented by an advertising agency, where a group of people works on

the production of a certain message on behalf of the advertiser. Behind the second category also stands a group people, or audience, who usually by chance are exposed to advertising from different sources.

What objects are relevant to the communication?

The relevant objects are products or services being advertised. However, not all of them are actually mentioned or discussed in a message. Moreover, they might not be physically or sensibly present. Such advertising involves a complex process of creating a positive image of a certain company, or even an attempt to sell a life style, a value, an emotion etc (cf. Klein 2000).

What is the medium of communication?

The most important distinction of medium is between speech and writing. However, under this heading such types of media as television, radio, print can be specified. Furthermore, print advertising can be presented in form of newspaper messages, billboards, special advertising brochures etc. Each type has its own advantages, available facilities and flaws.

What is the purpose or effect of communication?

In the advertising situation, involving a form of inferential communication, “purpose” and “effect” are not the same thing. The effect of advertising may take different forms and need not coincide with the purpose. It is only partly a question of buying or not buying the product. However, the purpose remains fairly constant, that is to make people purchase products or services advertised.

As we can see from this brief discussion, the communicative situation of advertising is yet not clearly defined, and each of the parameters discussed present some difficulties for definition. This unclearness is caused by the nature of this particular type of communication – mass communication. One of the main distinctive features of mass communication is its one-way direction. Since the addresser and the addressee (or audience) are physically distant from each other, the time and the place of production of the mass media message is different from the time and place of its reception. Often, a message is produced in one country and consumed in another.

Another aspect of mass communication is that both terms **speaker** and **audience** refer not to a single person, but to a collective. The creators of a message are a group of people, copywriters and art directors working for an advertising agency. They have a developed view of their goals and of the general nature of the audience they work for. By contrast, the audience is a group of people different in terms of sex, age, occupation, income and education. Such a heterogeneous nature of the audience presents a problem from the point of view of the speaker. Therefore, ad-makers have to take into account for whom this or that advertisement is made. As Simpson (1993) puts it, “each mass media organ has to anticipate an ‘idealised’ reader to whom its material is tailored. It is to this typical reader that all people have to relate themselves” (1993: 151). This relationship manifests itself through the text, notably its various interactive signals, such as direct address in the form of offers and advice, and explicit first and second-person pronouns (Hermeren 1999).

One more characteristic of mass audience is their inability to take part in the interaction. They cannot respond directly with arguments and counter arguments, as in the case with interpersonal communication. The fact that the audience is heterogeneous and passive is likely to make them uncritical participants in the communication process, which will make them more vulnerable to persuasion (Reardon 1981: 196). This characteristic of the audience is exploited for the purposes of covert communication.

The communicative situation of advertising has a rather complex structure. One of the most crucial facts is that we are involuntary exposed to advertising. Therefore, advertisers make a particular effort to attract our attention and arouse our interest. This is why the design, the layout and the language of advertisements are very important.

3. Types and structure of advertisements

All advertisements can be divided into different groups based on various criteria. One criterion is a geographical area for which the message is intended. Therefore, advertisements can be local, national and international.

Another criterion relates to the form and medium of advertisement. Print advertising includes newspapers, magazines, posters, hoardings and street signs. Electronic advertising involves both sound and/or pictures, as on television or radio. Obviously, various media have their

strengths and weaknesses. Television, combining sound, sight and motion, is considered to be the medium with the greatest impact. However, television advertisements, or commercials, are very expensive. Print advertisements' advantage is that they do not disappear that quickly, and they are very suitable for detailed descriptions. Due to an extensive development of multimedia a new type of advertising has emerged, that is the so-called "netvertising".

In general, advertising can be divided into two major groups: commercial and non-commercial. The commercial division includes consumer advertising, trade advertising and corporate advertising, where the first one is directed at a mass audience, the second type is used by manufacturers to communicate with their retailers via trade press, and the last one is advertising by companies to affect people's awareness of and attitudes to the organisation as a whole rather than its products or services. The non-commercial division consists of government advertising (usually public service information) and charity advertising, which is intended to give publicity to the needs and objectives of an association or organisation conducted for charitable or benevolent purposes (Hermerén 1999).

Advertisements have a certain sustainable structure. Often advertising starts with a **headline**, which is intended to attract viewer's attention. It is often followed by a description (**body copy**) that elaborates on the attention-getting device. Usually advertisements contain a **technical text**, i.e. description of a product, producer's name and/or address etc. Finally, every advertisement has a **slogan**, that is a representative phrase of the message. It is a sort of a motto of a commercial, which can be a rhyme or just a short phrase. Its main function is to be memorable, "catchy", recognisable to the audience (Hermerén 1999). All of these components may vary in order, some of them may be omitted. However, the typical structure of advertisements represents an established pattern.

4. Psycholinguistic approach to inferences in advertising

The cognitive principle known as **construction** implies that people do not literally store and retrieve information they read or hear, but rather modify it in accordance with their beliefs and the environment in which it is perceived (Harris and Monaco 1978a). The encoding and later retrieval of the information about the product is guided by knowledge structures called **schemas**. A schema is a knowledge structure or framework which organizes an individual's memory of information about people and events. It accepts all forms of information – visual,

auditory, linguistic or non-linguistic. An individual is bound to go beyond the information available to draw inferences about people or events that are congruent with previously formed schemas. For example, a commercial for Lucky Soda might depict a group of smiling young people running on a beach and opening a cooler filled with pop. At the bottom of the screen are the words “Get Lucky”³. The slogan, together with the picture, evokes the schema from the memory, which contains information about such events, based on individual’s experience. This schema helps the viewer draw inferences to fill information about the scene, as well as ascribe meaning beyond what is specified directly in the ad. The reader’s “beach party schema” lends a sense of coherence and meaning to a scene that is otherwise incomplete in letting them know exactly what is happening, has happened, or is about to happen. The viewer uses the schema to infer information not specifically stated in the ad.

The experimental studies showed that people make the inferences and remember the inferred variety of dependent measures (Harris and Monaco 1978b). Burke et al. (1988) even developed a computer-based measurement technique for assessing the deceptive affects of advertising claims. Training people not to make such inferences is very difficult, because the tendency to infer beyond the given information is very strong. However, a training session to individually analyse ads and identify unwarranted inferences does have some significant effect in teaching people to put a brake on this natural inference-drawing activity (Bruno and Harris 1980).

5. Harris’ approach to inferences in advertising

Advertising may deceive either by increasing a consumer’s false belief or by exploiting a true belief in the ways designed to sell the product. This issue was examined in some depth by Richard J. Harris and his associates (Harris 1999; Harris et.al. 1978). He distinguished between several types of **linguistic constructions** that may deceive the consumer without actually lying. Such claims may invite the consumer to infer beyond the information stated and thus construct a stronger interpretation. The constructions described by Harris are the following:

³ This example and those in the following section are from Harris (1999).

Hedges

Hedge words or expressions (e.g. may, could help) considerably weaken the force of a claim without totally denying it.

- (1) Rainbow toothpaste *fight*s plaque.
- (2) Scrubble Shampoo *may help* to get rid of dandruff *symptoms*.

In (1) the audience is assured that the toothpaste fights plaque, however, it does not obligatory defeats it. In (2) it is said that the shampoo only “may help” with dandruff; the careful reader would also understand that it fights the symptoms, but not dandruff itself.

Elliptical comparatives

Comparative adjectives or adverbs necessarily involve some sort of standard to which something is compared. When a product is said to give *more*, the statement is largely vacuous without knowing the basis for comparison. As long as anything true could be used to complete comparatives, the statement can not clearly be considered false. However, our minds tend to construct the most plausible basis for comparison, not necessarily the most accurate.

- (3) The Neptune Hatchback gives you *more*.
- (4) Fibermunchies have *more* vitamin C.
- (5) Powderpower laundry detergent cleans *better*.

In (3), (4) and (5) the basis for comparison is obviously other producers of similar goods. But since no comparison is practically made, the claims are not considered to be false.

Implied causation

Often a causal relationship may be implied when there exists only a correlational one. One particular technique is the juxtaposition of two imperatives.

- (6) Help your child excel in school. Buy an Apricot home computer.
- (7) Shed those extra pounds. Buy the Blubberbuster massage belt.

In both of these examples it is not stated that buying the product will have the stated effect, but the causal inference should be drawn normally. Such a cause-effect relationship may also

be implied in a more general sense. Harris (1999) gives an example of radio commercial for diet pop where a young woman talks about using and liking the product. Then, at the end the male voice says, “And I like the way it looks on her too”. Listeners may infer that drinking that product will cause female listeners to be more attractive to men, although it was never stated directly.

Implied slur on competition

Something unfavourable may be implied about a competitor’s products or services. Although direct false statements about the competition are prohibited, false implications are less clearly proscribed.

(8) Our company gives refunds quickly if your traveller’s checks are lost or stolen.

From the sentence in example (8) consumers may infer that other companies do not provide the same service, whereas most do so.

Pseudoscience

Reporting of incomplete scientific evidence may also imply considerably more than what is stated. In the examples the Maxim of Quantity is violated.

(9) Three out of four doctors recommended Snayer Aspirin.

(10) 2 000 dentists recommended brushing with Laser Fluoride.

(11) In a survey of 10 000 car owners, most preferred Zip.

Here the claim in (9) would not be false if only four people were questioned. Mentioning a percentage or absolute number responding without a sample size or the number sampled without the number responding is seriously incomplete and potentially misleading. Our minds fill in the missing information in ways favourable to advertisers.

Comparative advertising may employ very selective attribute comparisons to imply a much more global impression. In example (12) it is implied that the car has more space on all dimensions than any of the competitors, which is not necessarily true.

- (12) The Egret Pistol has more front-seat leg room than a Ford Taurus, more rear-seat headroom than a Nissan Maxima, and a larger trunk than a Toyota Camry.

Harris (1983) has conducted an empirical study of inferences in the context of advertising. However, there are several problems to Harris' approach. First, it is assumed that inferencing in advertising is a negative process, thus it can and should be avoided. In his earlier research Harris (1983) has proved the efficiency of training techniques for people to detect and doubt misleading claims in advertising. However, the process of inference-drawing is a constituent part of any form of communication. Thus, it should not be considered as a negative phenomenon only. Second, Harris's approach does not distinguish between justified ("honest") and non-justified ("dishonest") inferences found in advertising. Third, Harris's approach is descriptive, but it fails on an explanatory level. The patterns of certain misleading constructions have been detected and divided into several major groups. Although, the explanation of this phenomenon has not been given.

In order to analyse inferences in advertising cross-culturally, we need to create a typology where advertising samples can be better illustrated and explained. A basis for this can be found in the work of Grice (1975). This issue shall be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Inferential communication

In ordinary life, we usually don't make a distinction between what people assert and what they imply, accepting all together as “what they said”. So, if I say *I didn't manage to open the safe*, you might report this to someone as *she said she tried to open the safe but couldn't* even though I didn't literally say that I tried to open the safe. I implied it, but I didn't say it. How do other people understand what I say? Why does it happen? These are the key-questions in the study of human communication. The notion of **implicature** has been used to provide an explanation, e.g. by Grice (1957, 1971, 1975), Levinson (1983) and Sperber and Wilson (1986). In this chapter we shall highlight some of the main points of the theory of communication proposed by Sperber and Wilson and distinguish between two general models of communication: the code model and the inferential model.

For the purposes of this study, it is also important to make a distinction between four related semantic concepts: entailment (logical inference), presupposition, conventional implicature, and conversational implicature.

1. Inferencing vs. decoding in communication

How do people communicate with each other? How is the understanding between them achieved? Sperber and Wilson (1986) proposed that verbal communication involves both coding and inferential processes. According to the code model, communication is achieved by encoding and decoding messages, while in the inferential model, it is achieved by producing and interpreting evidence. Inferential and decoding processes are quite different.

An inferential process starts from a set of premises and results in a set of conclusions, which follow logically from, or at least warranted by, the premises. A decoding process starts from a signal and results in the recovery of a message, which is associated to the signal by an underlying code. In general, conclusions are not associated to their premises by a code, and signals do not warrant the messages they convey (1986:13).

Sperber and Wilson argue that the code model of verbal communication is only a hypothesis. Its main merit is that it is explanatory: utterances do succeed in communicating thoughts, and the hypothesis that they encode thoughts might explain how it is done. However, its main defect is that it is descriptively inadequate: comprehension involves more than the decoding

of a linguistic signal. The authors argue that there are two different ways of conveying information. One way is to provide direct evidence for the information to be conveyed. This should not be regarded as a form of communication: any state of affairs provides direct evidence for a variety of assumptions without necessarily communicating them. Another way of conveying information is to provide direct evidence of one's intention to convey it. This method is clearly a form of communication. Sperber and Wilson call it **inferential communication**: it is inferential in the sense that the audience infers the communicator's intention from evidence provided for this precise purpose. The inferential model provides a reasonable description of human communication. However, it must be developed on the explanatory level.

Sperber and Wilson suggest that Grice's analysis of meaning can be used as a point of departure for an inferential model of communication. Grice proposed the following analysis of what is for an individual S to mean something by an utterance x (where "utterance" refers not just to linguistic utterances but to any form of communicative behaviour): "S meant something by x" is roughly equivalent to "S intended the utterance of x to produce some effect in an audience by means of the recognition of this intention" (Grice 1957: 58). Strawson (1969: 155) reformulated Grice's analysis of meaning in the following way:

To mean something by an utterance x, an individual S must intend:

- (a) S's utterance of x to produce a certain response r in a certain audience A;
- (b) A to recognise S's intention (a);
- (c) A's recognition of S's intention (a) to function as at least part of A's reason for A's response r.

(quoted in Sperber and Wilson 1995: 21)

Sperber and Wilson explain that since communication can succeed without intention (a) being fulfilled, intention (a) is not an intention to communicate at all. It is an intention to inform, i.e. an **informative intention**. Intention (b) is the true **communicative intention**: that is, the intention to have one's informative intention recognised. The authors propose a modified version of Grice's analysis, highlighting the difference between the informative and communicative intentions. According to them, "communication involves producing a certain stimulus intending thereby *informative intention* (to inform the audience of something) and *communicative intention* (to inform the audience of one's informative intention)" (ibid: 29). The communicative intention is itself a second-order informative intention: the former is

fulfilled once the first-order informative intention is recognised. However, a communicative intention can be fulfilled without the corresponding informative intention being fulfilled.

Sperber and Wilson argue that true communication must be wholly overt, and it should be distinguished from covert forms of information transmission. Either your behaviour makes it clear that you are communicating, or else you are not truly communicating at all. Then the question is how to modify the analysis of inferential communication to include this requirement of overtness. Strawson's solution was to add to the analysis of speaker's meaning a third-order intention to have the second-order intention recognised by the audience; a meta-communicative intention was added to the informative and communicative intentions. But this is not enough, because you need an infinity of such intentions to explicate the intuitive notion of overtness.

The idea that communicative intentions must be overt can be worked out in another way, using the notion of **mutual knowledge**. This solution involves the assumption that a true communicative intention is not just an intention to inform the audience of the communicator's informative intention, but an intention to make the informative intention mutually known to the communicator and the audience.

In his William James Lectures, Paul Grice (Grice 1975) made an attempt to develop the inferential model into an adequate explanatory account of communication. He suggested that communication is governed by a **cooperative principle** and **maxims of conversation**. Grice's fundamental idea is that the communicator is trying to meet certain standards. From knowledge of these standards, observation of the communicator's behaviour, and the context, it is possible to infer the communicator's specific intention.

Our talk exchanges...are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognises in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction...at each stage, some possible conversational moves would be excluded as conversationally unsuitable. We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. (Grice 1975:45)

This general principle, which according to Grice all speakers are expected to follow was called “the cooperative principle”. Furthermore, the standards for conducting cooperative communication were claimed by Grice to be of several different types. Grice called these standards **maxims** and grouped them under categories:

Quantity,

1. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. (Grice1975: 45)

Quality,

Supermaxim: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. (ibid: 46)

Relation,

1. Be relevant. (ibid: 46)

and Manner,

Supermaxim: Be perspicuous.

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly. (ibid: 46)

These maxims make it possible to explain how the incomplete and ambiguous representation of a thought in the utterance can nevertheless express a complete and unambiguous thought. From the variety of thoughts the hearer can eliminate any that are incompatible with the assumption that the speaker is obeying the cooperative principle and maxims. Hence, the maxims and the inferences they give rise to make it possible to convey unambiguous thoughts by uttering ambiguous sentences. Grice’s approach to verbal communication also makes it possible to explain how utterances can convey implicit thoughts. We shall discuss the notion of implicature in more detail in Section 4. First, however, the difference between such related semantic terms as entailment and presupposition must be made clear.

2. Entailment

The concept of entailment comes from the study of logic and semantics. Entailment is a relation between sentences (or propositions) given by linguistic structure (or logical form): there is no need to check any fact in the world to deduce the entailed sentence from the entailing sentence. *A Dictionary of Philosophical Terms and Names* (www.swif.uniba.it) states that “entailment is a logical relation between propositions such that one of them is strictly implied by the other(s); that is, its falsity is logically impossible, given the truth of what entails it. Thus, the premises of a valid deductive argument entail its conclusion”. There are either lexical or syntactic sources for entailment (Saeed 1997). Consider examples (1) and (2).

- (1) a. The president was assassinated.
b. => The president died.
- (2) a. Picasso painted this picture.
b. => This picture was painted by Picasso.

In (1) entailment (1b) derives from the lexical relationship between the verbs *assassinate* and *die*. The meaning of *assassinate* (cause to die) contains the meaning of *die*. In (2) the source for entailment is syntactic, here active and passive versions of the same sentence entail one another. Another way to express the relation between (a) and (b) is to say that they have the same logical form.

The way to test entailments is through negation: negating an entailing sentence destroys the entailment. In (1) if proposition (1a) is negated, then (1b) no longer automatically follows from the preceding sentence. Thus, the entailment fails. In this sense, an entailment is clearly distinguished from other types of inference.

3. Presupposition

Presupposition has been an important topic in semantics. Such researchers as Kempson (1975), Gazdar (1979), J. D. Fodor (1975), Levinson (1983) and Sperber and Wilson (1986) devoted strong interest to the subject. The importance of presupposition is that it seems to lie at the borderline of the division between **pragmatics** and **semantics**. On the one hand,

presupposition is based on conventional meaning; on the other, it is based on mutual knowledge.

The *Web Glossary of Linguistic Terms* gives a pragmatic definition of presupposition: “A presupposition is a background belief, relating to the utterance, that must be mutually known or assumed by the speaker and addressee for the utterance to be considered appropriate in context” (<http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/>). Consider example (3).

- (3) a. John regrets that he stopped doing linguistics before he left Cambridge.
b. >> There is someone uniquely identifiable to speaker and addressee as *John*.
c. >> John stopped doing linguistics before he left Cambridge.
d. >> John was doing linguistics before he left Cambridge.
e. >> John left Cambridge.
f. >> John had been at Cambridge.⁴

Presuppositions are inferences which are closely tied to the meaning of lexical items or constructions and were in fact first described in semantic terms. Since presuppositions are linked to the use of particular lexical items or constructions, even pragmatic theories of presupposition (Karttunen and Peters 1979; Gazdar 1979) assume that presuppositions are part of the conventional meaning of expressions. But they are not entailments, that is, they need not be true if the sentence including the word or construction is true: their truth depends on pragmatic factors – on the mutual knowledge or common ground of participants (Herskovits 1997).

Another way to express the difference between presuppositions and entailments is by observing that the negation of the proposition does not destroy presupposition.

- (4) a. I am washing the vase.
b. >> There is a vase.
(5) a. I am not washing the vase.
b. >> There is a vase.

⁴ The example and the analysis of the presuppositions are taken from Levinson (1983).

However, it is hard to **cancel** a presupposition, for example, by asserting “I am not washing the vase, because there is no vase” in (5). Thus it can be concluded that (at least in general) presuppositions are non-cancellable.

4. Conventional implicature

As it was pointed out above, the term “implicature” was introduced by Grice (1975, 1978) in order to explain speaker’s and hearer’s cooperative use of inference. Grice argued that the predictability of inference formation could be explained by the cooperative principle and the maxims.

In the linguistic literature there are different definitions of implicature. According to Gazdar (1979: 38), “implicature is a proposition that is implied by the utterance of a sentence in a context even though that proposition is not a part of nor an entailment of what was actually said”. This would appear to include presuppositions. Heim (1992: 184) states that “implicatures are the inferences that are blessed by mutuality and are not truth-conditional entailments”, proposing the formula:

WHAT IS MEANT – WHAT IS SAID = WHAT IS IMPLICATED

Grice himself distinguished between two classes of implicatures: conversational and conventional. In **conventional implicatures** the conventional meaning of the words used determines what is implicated, besides helping to determine what is said.

- (6) a. He is an Englishman, therefore he is brave.
b. >> Englishmen are brave.

By inserting “therefore” the speaker implicates that being brave is a consequence of being an Englishman. Thus, conventional implicatures are similar to presuppositions in this respect. As Karttunen and Peters (1979) make clearest, there is no sharp distinction between presuppositions and conventional implicatures. Intuitively, the only quality that distinguishes conventional implicatures from other standard types of presuppositions is that the conventional implicatures are often more cancellable than presuppositions.

5. Conversational implicature

The concept of “conversational implicature” explains how it is possible for speakers to mean and for hearers to understand more than is literally said. The hearer understands the speaker’s intended meaning by generating conversational implicature. According to Grice, the maxims and the inferences they give rise to make it possible to convey an unambiguous thought by uttering an ambiguous sentence.

The assumptions that hearers make about a speaker’s conduct seemed to Grice to be of several different types, giving rise to different types of inference, or from the speaker’s point of view, implicatures. Grice called them maxims and distinguished between the categories of Quality, Quantity, Relation, and Manner, as shown in Section 3.1 above.

Furthermore, Grice divided conversational implicatures into 3 groups, based on the way in which they are derived in accordance with the cooperative principle: by “**filling-in**” (though Grice does not use this term), through “**clash**” between different maxims, and through **flouting**, i.e. by blatantly failing to fulfil the cooperative principle in a way that is obvious for both participants in the conversation. These types can be exemplified as follows.

5.1. Inferences through filling-in

In the first group implicatures are generated by “filling-in” with contextually appropriate inferences automatically, without any obvious violation of the cooperative principle, as in (7).

- (7) A: Where are the children?
B: I hear noise in the yard.
> The children are (probably) in the yard.

B’s answer is clear (Maxim of Manner) and true (Maxim of Quality) and even though at face value it may not seem to be relevant, A has no reason to assume that B is being uncooperative, so he automatically “fills in” that B thinks that the children are in the yard.

5.2. Inferences through maxim-clash

In the second group a maxim appears to be violated, but this can be explained by the supposition it clashes with another maxim which may be more important (for current purposes), as is the case in (8).

- (8) A: Where does John live?
B: Somewhere in the South of France.
> I don't know where exactly.

B's answer is less informative than A expects, and thus B violates the maxim of Quantity. However, to say something more would be to violate the maxim of Quality, so B implicates that he does not know in where exactly in France John lives.

It can be claimed that the implicatures made by maxim-clash are very similar to those made by filling-in in accordance with the maxims. Although Grice himself divides them into two separate groups, in both cases there can be said to be a "violation" of a conversational maxim which is not noticed by the hearer since the conflict is automatically resolved through inferential processing. This contrasts with the third type, where the violation itself is made manifest for both participants, as shown below.

5.3. Inferences through flouting

Examples of inferences derived through flouting the maxims can be found in conversations (9) and (10).

- (9) A: Stop criticizing the president. He knows what he is doing.
B: Yes, he is a real Einstein.
> The president is not smart at all.

Here B flouts the maxim of Quality since it is obvious for the audience that he says something he does not believe. For the purpose of irony he states the opposite of what he believes, and does this in a way that is manifest for both. In this way, A can derive what B really thinks about the president by drawing likely inferences.

- (10) A: Where were you last night?
B: Mom, stop treating me like a kid!
> I don't want to answer the question.

In (10) the maxim of Relation is flouted: B blatantly refuses to give a relevant answer to the question, thus, B implicates that A's question is not appropriate at all.

Grice describes how conversational implicatures are "worked out" by the audience in the following way:

He has said that p , there is no reason to suppose that he is not observing the maxims, or at least the CP; he could not be doing this unless he thought that q ; he knows (and he knows that I know that he knows) that I can see that the supposition that he thinks that q is required; he intends me to think, or is willing to allow me to think, that q ; and so he has implicated that q (Grice 1975:50).

This inferential schema can be said to apply to all conversational implicatures, but there is still a difference between the filling-in and maxim-clash types on the one hand, and the flouting type on which Grice concentrated on the other: more automatic and less conscious processing vs. more controlled and conscious processing. Another difference is that the more automatically derived inferences are also more **determinate**: in both (7) and (8) it is clearer what the *exact* implicature is than in (9) and (10), where there is a certain inherent indeterminacy. These differences have implications for the use of inferences in advertising, as we will see in Chapter 4.

6. Entailments, presuppositions and implicatures: what is what?

In this section, we have described the concepts of entailment, presupposition, conventional implicature, and conversational implicature, which are often misunderstood and mixed up in pragmatic and semantic theory. Therefore it is necessary to be able to distinguish between them by clear criteria. The essential differences between these notions are summarised in Table 1, and discussed in what follows.

Table 1. Types of inferences and their essential characteristics

	Negation tolerant	Cancellable	Context-dependent	Calculable
Entailment	-	-	-	-
Presupposition	+	-	-	-
Conventional implicature	+	+/-	-	-
Conversational implicature	+	+	+	+

First, we can notice that of all the inferences, entailment is the only type of inference which is sensitive to negation. Negation of the proposition destroys the entailment as shown in Section 3.1.

An inference is **cancellable** if it is possible to cancel it by adding new premises to the original ones. Entailment and presupposition can not be cancelled. Conventional implicature is similar to presupposition in this respect. Some semanticists claim that conventional implicature can be cancelled in certain contexts, however, since there is not enough evidence for this, we shall treat conventional implicature and presupposition in the similar way.

An inference is **context-dependent** in that it is not a part of the conventional meaning of an utterance. Of the four types of inferences, only conversational implicature is context-dependent in this sense the same utterance might give rise to different conversational implicatures in different contexts.

Conversational implicatures are also **calculable** in that it is possible to construct an argument showing how from the literal meaning of an utterance, the cooperative principle, and the maxims, it follows that the hearer would make the inference in question to preserve the assumption of cooperation. As Grice (1975: 50) puts it, “to work out that a particular conversational implicature is present, the hearer will reply on the following data: (a) the conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved; (b) the CP and its maxims; (c) the context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance; (d) other items of background knowledge; and (e) the fact that all relevant items

falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case". This property distinguishes conversational implicature from other types of inferences.

It should be also pointed out that entailments are not calculable in different way, when compared to conventional implicatures and presupposition. The reason for this is that any proposition (p) can give rise to an infinite number of entailments (p OR not-p, p OR q etc.), and it is not logically possible to calculate them all.

The four properties of conversational implicature – negation tolerance, cancellability, context-dependency and calculability – make it favourable for being widely exploited in advertising. Conversational implicature is cancellable (which makes it easier for copywriters to deny their claims if necessary); it is context-dependent (which gives rise to different inferences in different contexts); and it is calculable by assuming communicative cooperation. These are sufficient reasons to focus on conversational implicature and the inferences it gives rise to in the remainder of thesis.

Chapter 4. An integrated typology of inferences in advertising

As it was shown in chapter 3 inferencing is common for all kinds of human communication, being a feature of natural discourse. However, in the studies of marketing and advertising it is often perceived as a negative feature. Therefore, my first goal is to work out a typology of inferences in advertising, and to distinguish between overt and covert inferences.

1. Ostensive vs. covert communication

It was shown in Chapter 2 that Harris has made an attempt to work out a typology of linguistic constructions used in covert communication, based on empirical studies of advertising. On the other hand, as described in Chapter 3 Grice has developed a general theory of implicatures, based on the principles of cooperative communication. Our case in point is marketing communication, which is not always based on the principles of cooperation, because the nature of the relationship between participants (cf. Chapter 2). The question arises whether it is possible to apply Grice's approach to the study of inferences in advertising.

In order to solve this problem, we shall turn to the theory offered by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) based on Grice's view of communication as intention recognition. As it was pointed out in Chapter 3, this theory distinguishes two types of intention:

- the **informative intention** to make certain assumptions manifest to the audience
- the **communicative intention** to have the informative intention recognised.

Sperber and Wilson have shown that getting an audience to draw inferences may be accomplished in two different ways. The communicator may undertake an efficient, overt attempt to secure the audience's attention and make it mutually manifest that s/he intends to convey a particular piece of information. This is called ostensive, or **overt**, communication. On the other hand, the communicator may choose to put information across in a **covert** way, in which case he does not make his/her communicative intention manifest and leaves it up to the audience to draw inferences that s/he wants to be drawn, but can avoid taking responsibility for. The process of inferencing is inevitable in both types of communication,

but in the case of covert communication this process is less controllable in the sense that the speaker can always deny the intention for particular inferences to be drawn. The distinction between ostensive and covert communication is crucial to the issue of advertising. It is illustrated in Figure 1.

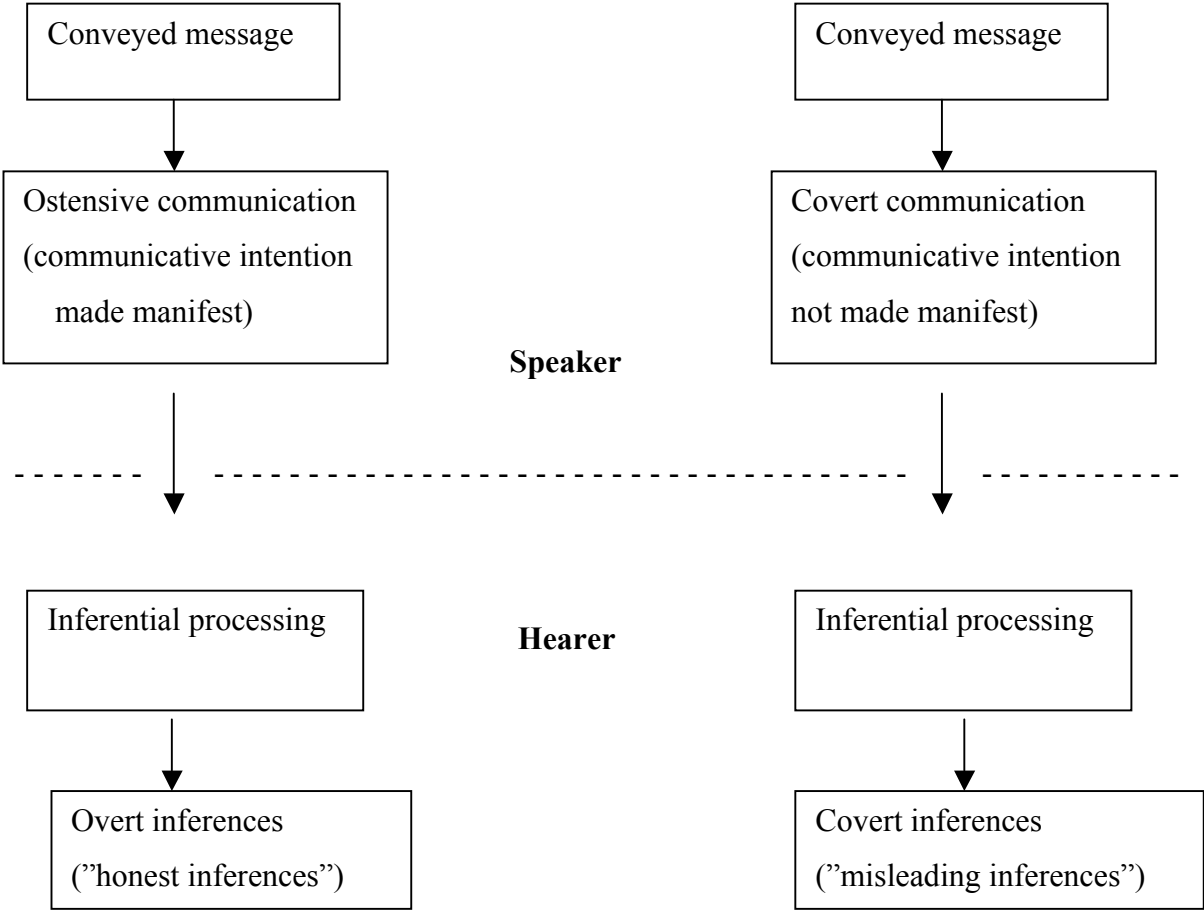


Figure 1. Ostensive (overt) vs. covert communication

Figure 1 shows the different paths that can be followed by the speaker in conveying a message. He may choose to communicate in an ostensive way in which both his informative and communicative intentions are revealed. This leads to inferential processing in the hearer and these inferences are intended to be recognised as intended.

On the other hand, the speaker may choose to convey a message in another, covert, way with no revelation of his communicative intention. This also leads to inferential processing for the hearer, however different from that in ostensive processing. In this case the speaker still

wishes for particular inferences to be drawn, but without bearing any responsibility for them. Such communication can be called a case of “dishonest” communication, leaving the hearer vulnerable to the hidden effects of manipulation.

2. An integrated typology of inferences in advertising

My goal here is to offer a model of advertising communication that concerns the covert and overt implicatures made by a copywriter, and the process of inference drawing by the audience.

First, it will be taken for given that full logical inferences can play a major role in advertising. In deductive, logically-binding inferences all premises must be specified, which forces a copywriter to be very explicit and precise in his statements. This is clearly not appropriate for the goals of advertising. Furthermore from any proposition it is possible to draw an infinite number of deductive inferences, as stated in Chapter 3, making them “uncalculable” for the audience. On the other hand, some relevant for advertising inferences can be shown to follow logically, once non-logical inferences are drawn, which thereby serve as premises, as in example (4), Chapter 1. These however, these will not to be considered in this thesis. For these reasons, entailments are excluded from the typology of advertising inferences.

Conventional implicature and presupposition will be treated here as one type of inference, called **conventional inference**. It was shown in Chapter 3 that the only difference between presupposition and conventional implicature is the degree of cancellability: conventional implicature can be more cancellable than presupposition in certain contexts – but this is a minor difference. It can be expected that this type of inference, following from the conventional meaning of the expressions in the text, is used in advertising, and thus will be included into the typology of advertising inferences under the name “conventional inference”.

Conversational inferences made by clash with the conversational maxims and those made by filling-in are grouped together on the basis of similarity of inference production (cf. Chapter 3). They are called inferences of the **silent** type, because there is no clear violation of the cooperative principle, or at least there is no violation recognized as such by the audience. In this case the audience will draw inferences to the most appropriate meaning of the utterance more or less automatically.

Conversational inferences made by **flouting** are distinguished in a separate group. Flouting is a blatant violation of cooperative principle, which is made manifest for both speaker and hearer, forcing the hearer to “cover up” the violation with appropriate for the case inferences in a more conscious way than in the silent type.

The distinction between overt and covert types of inferences lies in the concept of communicative intention. An advertising inference can be regarded as overt if the copywriter makes it mutually manifest that s/he wished to communicate it, and hence recognises his responsibility for it (Sperber and Wilson 1986). On the other hand, in the case of covert communication the copywriter still wishes to make certain inferences manifest to the hearer (that is, he wishes the hearer to draw them), but he does not want to be held responsible for having done so, and therefore “masks” his communicative intention. In sum, the types of inferences deemed to be (most) relevant for advertising are illustrated in Figure 2.

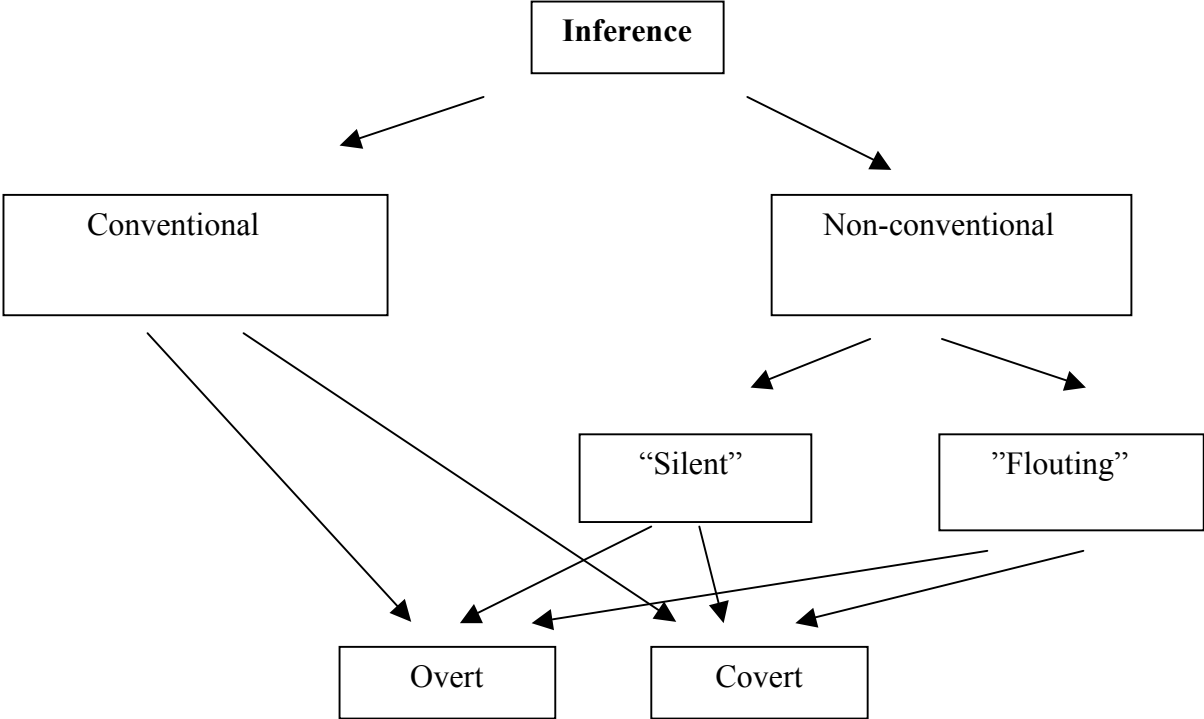


Figure 2. Types of inferences in advertising

In principle, any of the three types of inferences described above, can be either overt or covert. But in effect, there are important differences between them, to be discussed in the following.

2.1. Overt vs. covert conventional inference

Conventional inferences can be expected to be used in advertising due to the fact that they follow from the conventional meaning of the words in the utterance, and are thus quite certain to be recognised by the hearer. However, this can also be a disadvantage for using conventional inferences in covert communication. Example (1) illustrates the use of covert conventional inference in an advertisement:

- (1) a. We are working to keep your trust.⁵
- b. >> We have your trust.

It is the conventional meaning of the word *keep* in (1a) that is responsible for the inference in (1b). Furthermore (1b) is a covert conventional inference: it is very unlikely that the copywriter would accept the responsibility to claim that all people do trust this company. In example (2), the conventional inference (2b) can be regarded as overt.

- (2) a. Our company has been on the market for over 100 years. Many people rely on us and we don't want to disappoint them. And we are still working hard to keep their trust.
- b. >> We have our customers' trust.

(2b) can be regarded as overt inference because it can be said to be made mutually manifest. Thus, he holds the responsibility for claiming (2b), and can probably provide evidence to support it if necessary.

2.2. Overt vs. covert non-conventional silent inference

As explained above, this group of inferences is produced without any violation of the cooperative principle, and the hearer automatically fills in the inferences in order to get the most possible interpretation of what has been said. They too can be either overt or covert. Consider example (3).

⁵ Example taken from **Bach** (1997).

- (3) a. Painaway contains an ingredient that substantially reduces back pain.
- b. > Painaway reduces back pain.
- c. > Painaway's ingredient is back-pain specific.

The claim (3a) contains two conversational implicatures, one of them (3b) is most likely overt, and the other (3c) is covert. By saying (3a) the copywriter overtly implicates that this product reduces back pain, because he makes his informative intention mutually manifest and is ready to hold the responsibility for his words. However, (3c) is a most probably a covert inference which is intended by the copywriter for audience to recover, without being held responsible.

Thus, one and the same statement in an advertisement can contain both overt and covert inferences. The advertiser may intend his audience to recover both, but he can claim that he meant to communicate only the inference that is ostensibly communicated.

2.3. Overt vs. covert non-conventional flouting inference

Non-conventional inferences of the flouting type are those made by means of the blatant violation of the cooperative principle, such as in example (4).

- (4) a. For vigorous growth, plant your money with us.
- b. > Leave your money with this company if you want it to increase steadily.
- c. > Leave your money with this company if you want a big return.

The illustration of this advertisement shows a human hand planting seeds, which later grow into small colourful umbrellas – the logo of an insurance company. This is a case of flouting since it is obvious for the audience that the copywriter does not mean that they should plant their money in the ground, a clear case of flouting the maxim of Quality.

How are the inferences (4b) and (4c) worked out? Presumably by a process of thought such as the following: “planting” means to put the seeds or roots of a plant in the ground, resulting in growth – thus a small seed may grow into a big plant. This can be applied metaphorically to money which is also known to “grow” in banks and insurance companies.

However, the advertiser can, if necessary, deny that he intended to communicate (4c): he only claims that the money will increase steadily, but does not guarantee a big return. For instance, the rates are not explicitly stated, they might be very small and might not give a big return. If necessary, the advertiser can deny that he meant to communicate (4c). In this case (4b) can be regarded as an overt conversational inference, and (4c) as a covert one.

As stated in Chapter 3, a feature of conversational implicatures was there relative **indeterminacy**, and it can be seen that this is even more characteristic for flouting inferences than for the “silent” ones. Thus, it can be expected that advertisers will use flouting inferences for the purpose of covert communication, since it is easier to deny responsibility for any inference that may be contested. On the other hand, there is a price to be paid for indeterminacy – it is more difficult to control which inferences the audience would actually draw. In some cases, especially if the advertisement is not well-designed, the audience could even draw opposite inferences to those intended. For example, (4d) is not unthinkable, given the background premise marked with “+”

- (4) + Many seeds die in the ground and never grow.
 d. >Your money could disappear completely.

3. Summary and conclusion

To summarize, 6 types of inferences are expected to be found in advertising, as specified in Table 2.

Table 2. Inference-types in advertising

	Conventional	Non-conventional silent	Non-conventional flouting
Intended to be recognised as intended	Overt conventional inference	Overt silent inference	Overt flouting inference
Not intended to be recognised as intended	Covert conventional inference	Covert silent inference	Covert flouting inference

It has been shown that several types of inferences can be distinguished in advertising communication. The problem of applying Grice's theory of conversational and conventional implicatures to advertising communication which is not particularly cooperative was addressed with the help of Sperber and Wilson's distinction between informative and communicative intentions.

In addition, it should be noted that the typology of advertising inferences is not meant to distinguish advertisements from one another. All advertisements are to some degree ostensive and to some degree covert. In general, it can be stated that there is one covert implicature that is common for all advertisements, as Tanaka puts it: "I want you to buy large amounts of this product so that both I and the manufacturer can make big profits" (1994:43). Therefore, the proposed typology is not a typology of advertisements, but of the inferences they lead to.

In Chapter 5 we shall apply the proposed typology to the data of Swedish and Russian TV commercials. Based on the features of the different types of inferences, we will be able to make different predictions, such as that non-conventional inferences of the flouting type are likely to be favoured by advertisers when intending to communicate something covertly.

Chapter 5. Inferences in Swedish and Russian TV commercials

This chapter presents an empirical study of inferences in commercials from Swedish and Russian TV, applying the typology described in the previous chapter. First, however, we shall briefly describe the socio-political context of marketing and advertising in Sweden and Russia today. This is necessary because it is not only the psycholinguistic and cultural factors described in Chapter 2, that have a great influence of the language of advertising, but also political and economical ones. And in this respect there are large differences between the two countries.

1. Advertising in Russia and Sweden

Russia today is a very young market-economy country. For a long time the country was separated from the West by the “iron curtain” and in those days there was almost no advertising, save from some poor examples of state advertising addressing Western audiences in companies such as Aeroflot. However, with “perestroika” the importance of advertising was realised very quickly, and in the 1990s advertising overwhelmed all mass media. The main characteristic of early advertising was its explicitness, assertion of direct claims, with particular details about places where a product can be obtained (Repiev 2000).

Western companies quickly discovered the advantages of a huge non-occupied market in Russia. The popular practice was, and to an extent still is, to translate Western advertisements directly into Russian. However, this leads to linguistic and cultural difficulties, described by Repiev in the following (rather simplistic) terms:

Russian language, with its suffixes and prefixes, and idiomatic flourishes, is extremely colourful in poetry and fiction. On the other hand, its words are generally longer than in English, its word-forming power is fairly low, on the other hand, many words, especially in high technologies, can only be translated into Russian using two lines or so” (Repiev 2000: 5).

He gives examples of such words as “computing”, “networking”, “full-featured”, “sharing”, which can be handled in the body copy of a Russian advertisement, but their translations may look and sound strange in titles and headings. Semi-idiomatic expressions like “simply the best” will be a problem for a Russian translator. This problem especially concerns advertising

slogans. Nobody can properly translate Nike's "Just do it", Microsoft's "We are rolling out the wheels", Canon's "A pleasure to work with" (who or what is a pleasure to work with?), largely because of the implicit meanings which they carry, easily inferred by the English-speaking audience, accustomed to the genre of advertising.

Another difference is simply the lower general knowledge of English in Russia, compared to most Western countries. Russia is now flooded with foreign names, mostly in English, of products that say absolutely nothing to an average Russian. Some of the brand names are quite self-explanatory (e.g. Deep Cleanser, Head-and-Shoulders, Wash-and-Go, Coldrex, etc.) and most Europeans can at least work out the meanings of such phrases without being very good in English. But this is not the case for most Russians.

Another issue, which foreign advertising companies often neglect, is cultural differences. Repiev (2000) gives an example of Baccardi billboards in Moscow, which showed a huge ugly bat. Bat is a symbol of wisdom in Calabria, the home of the Baccardi family, but in Russia it is a repugnant monster.

Can advertising in Russia perhaps be placed as a stage in a historical scale? Myers (1994) describes three different periods in American and European advertising, each with its own discourse strategies:

- *Stage 1. Creating brands and getting attention.* This early period occurred in the 1890s and was characterised by the advertiser's intention to establish a product's properties, price, and availability. In other words, ads featured brands and had to get attention in media. They did this using rhymes, repetitions, parallelisms, and a scientific and literary style.
- *Stage 2. Creating an image for consumption.* This period ran from the 1920s to the 1960s. Consumption was based on associating social meanings with brands. Advertisers did this using conversational and narrative formats, associative and metaphorical language.
- *Stage 3. Addressing the jaded consumer.* This period runs from the 1960s to our time. There is a tendency towards humour and play, perhaps to overcome consumer saturation. The ads often employ ironies, parodies, ads on ads, and juxtaposition of competing discourses in the text and the images (Myers 1994:199).

Even a cursory view of the advertising situation in Russia today reveals that there are examples of all three periods described above. The reason for this is presumably that Russian advertising was born only in the 1980s, and has for 10 – 15 years “recapitulated” the over 100 year old history of advertising in the West. It can be characterised as a mixture of all the mentioned periods, where different strategies and approaches take place.

On the other hand, advertising in Sweden has been developing rather differently, though there are some parallels. Until the 1980s, the daily press dominated the market and there were many restrictions on what could be advertised, and how (with bans on ads for tobacco and alcohol and a strong sensitivity against any notes of sexism). The introduction of commercial TV in the late 1980s created a dramatic change in the Swedish advertising market, though not in the scale of that in Russia. Currently, there are almost 500 advertising companies in Sweden, most of them small companies with up to ten employees. Eight of the 15 largest companies are U.S. invested (Laroche 1999).

Advertising in Sweden continues to be relatively highly regulated, in particular by the Marketing Act (*Marknadsföringslagen*). Any commercial practices may be prohibited if they are considered wrong in some way in order to protect consumers and traders, mainly from misleading advertising. The Consumer Ombudsman is responsible for ensuring that the Marketing Act is followed. Advertising for alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, prescription medicines as well as medical treatments is prohibited in Sweden. Advertisers are not allowed to target any advertisements towards children under the age of 12.

There are two state-owned channels in Sweden (Channel 1 and TV2), which do not have any commercial advertising. The other channels such as TV3, TV4 and Channel 5 are commercial. Television advertising has increased recently in Sweden. One of the reasons for that is the fact that one channel, TV4, has increased its supply of commercial time. The channel now sells space at three levels: national, regional and local.

There are many commercials on Swedish TV that are wholly or partially in English. The majority of the population are quite fluent in English, and therefore copywriters are not afraid to use English in advertising, sometimes in order to achieve a particular rhetorical effect.

In general, the “level” of advertising in Sweden nowadays can be characterised as “Stage 3” according to Myers’ (1994) classification: addressing the jaded consumer. The main features of this period are puns and play with words, parodies and ironies, references to other ads, dominance of the image over the text, incorporation of other discourses into advertising (Myers 1994).

2. Hypotheses

As shown in Chapter 4, there are differences between the types of inferences involving properties such as cancelability and determinacy. This together with the differences in the socio-cultural and economic situations in Sweden and Russia described in the previous section, allows us to make a number of predictions concerning the presence of inferences in Swedish and Russian TV commercials.

- *Hypothesis 1.* In **overt** communication conventional inferences and silent inferences will be more common than flouting inferences in both Swedish and Russian commercials.

The basis for this hypothesis is the nature of overt inferences, which are meant to be recognised as intended, and therefore it is in the interest of the copywriter to make them as determinate as possible. Independently, we know that conventional inferences, which follow from the conventional meaning of the words in the utterance, and silent inferences, which are not caused by an explicit violation of the cooperative principle, are more determinate than flouting inferences (cf. Chapter 3, Section 5.3, Chapter 4, Section 2).

- *Hypothesis 2.* In the case of **covert** communication Russian TV commercials will employ more conventional inferences and silent inferences (together) than flouting inferences. In Swedish commercials, the situation is expected to be reverse: more flouting inferences than conventional and silent inferences.

The basis of hypothesis 2 is the greater indeterminacy of flouting inferences, along with the economical and cultural differences between Sweden and Russia, and in particular the presence of strict laws concerning deceptive advertising in Swedish legislation. This would lead Swedish copywriters to prefer flouting inferences for the purpose of covert

communication, since these are more indeterminate and hence easier to deny. On the other hand, the greater “efficiency” of conventional and silent inferences, combined with fewer “watchdogs”, would lead to their prevalence in Russian advertising. Since Russian copywriters can more easily avoid holding responsibility for suggesting misleading claims, the easiest way to convey a desired implicit meaning is via conventional or silent inferences, automatically processed by the audience.

- *Hypothesis 3. Flouting* inferences in general, i.e. both overt and covert, will be more common in Swedish than in Russian commercials.

Considering the relevant novelty of advertising communication in Russia, commercials with flouting messages involving irony, hyperbole etc. would be more likely to be misunderstood in a way that is negative for the product and are thus more risky – no matter if they communicate overt or covert inferences. (cf. Chapter 4, Section 2.3)

3. Method and procedure

3.1. Data collection

In order to investigate the hypotheses stated above, a corpus of 40 TV commercials, of which 20 Russian and 20 Swedish, was collected. The commercials were recorded in prime time (between 18.00 and 22.00) from main national channels (Russian Channel 1 and Swedish TV3, TV4 and TV5, all three commercial channels). The recordings were made in September 2002 in Kaliningrad and in Malmö. Almost all of the commercials were addressed to a national audience, though two of the Russian commercials were regional.

3.2. Choice

Initially, three hours of Russian and one hour of Swedish advertising were recorded on VHS tape and from this set 40 commercials were chosen at random according to the fulfilment of the following conditions:

- There must be spoken language in both body copy and slogan of the commercials.

Commercials which this condition excluded were those which contained spoken language only in the slogans, possibly repeated several times. Others were those where the text is presented visually, but not spoken.

- The speech must be directed to the audience.

It is common that the body copy of a commercial is presented by a background voice, which indicates that it is directed to the audience. However, commercials also commonly involve the actors addressing each other as well as the audience. According to this condition we excluded commercials consisting *exclusively* of “role play”.

- Commercials must not be in a foreign language (e.g. English).

It was noticed that especially in Sweden there are some commercials including a foreign language, especially English, sometimes with subtitles in Swedish. Such commercials were ruled out. It also concerns those TV advertisements where only slogan is not in the original language.

- Commercials, which advertise rather a place of purchase, a price or discounts than a product itself were not considered.

Some commercials are mainly focused on informing the audience about a place where the product can be bought, about prices or discounts on different products. Usually such advertisements contain no information about the product itself, thus, they were not considered in this study.

3.3. Digitalisation

The TV advertisements were digitalised with the help of the *Final Cut Pro* computer programme, which was done with the help of my advisor Dr. Jordan Zlatev and the facilities of Betalabbet at the Department of Linguistics, Lund University.

3.4. Transcription

The 40 commercials were transcribed from their digital versions. The transcription of Russian texts was made in accordance with the Library of Congress international transliteration table (<http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/european/lccyr.htm>).

Acknowledging the importance of non-verbal communication, it was found necessary to give information concerning the non-linguistic context, highly relevant to the production of non-conventional inferences. However, since this thesis is not intended to include a semiotic analysis of the visual meaning of TV commercials only the contextual information that was seen to be relevant for working out the particular inferences was included in the transcription. The corpus of 20 transcribed and analysed for inferences Swedish commercials is presented in Appendix A, and that of Russian commercials is attached in Appendix B. Apart from transcription and analysis, the Russian commercials are also supplied with an English translation.

3.5. Analysis

The transcribed texts of commercials were analysed for inferences according to the typology presented in Chapter 4, namely conventional, silent and flouting inferences. Only inferences that could be regarded as *intended by the advertisers* were considered. Inferences related to the product were distinguished from background premises or “bridging inferences” (Hellman 1992) that were not directly related to the product. The decision on whether any inference was overt or covert has based on the answer to the question:

Is it reasonable that the advertiser intended the inference to be not only recognized, but also recognized as intended, and thus willing to defend it if necessary?

If the answer to this question was positive, the inference was deemed as overt, if negative, covert. Note that this is not a question on whether any particular inference is *actually* intended to be recognized as such: we have no way of reliably knowing that even if we were to ask the advertisers. But the soundness of the methodology rests on the ability to make a rational, intersubjective judgement on whether it is reasonable to assume that the inference is made manifest. For that purpose, each candidate inference was discussed at length between myself and my advisor, and we gradually converged on a set we both agreed on.

The following is an example of conducted analysis, first on a Russian and then a Swedish commercial. The Russian commercial is of a coffee brand named *Ambassador*.

(1) Male voice: *Vam znakoma stikhiia strasti?*

Do you know the storm of passion?

Context: There is a thunderstorm behind the window.

(2) Male voice: *Etot vodovorot zhelanii, uragan iskushenii.*

This whirlpool of desire, the hurricane of seduction.

Context: A woman is approached by a man dressed in black coat and hat.

(3) Male voice: *I vse eto sobiraetsja v odno strastnoe chuvstvo, kogda vashix губ kasaetsja Ambassador.*

And all this is gathered together into one passionate feeling, when your lips are touched by Ambassador.

Context: It looks like the man is about to kiss the woman.

(4) Male voice: *Kofe Ambassador – stikhiia strasti.*

Ambassador Coffee – the storm of passion.

(1), (2) and (4) give rise to a number of inferences in (5), (6) and (7) which are conventional, since the meaning of the expressions in (1), (2) and (4) imply that passion comprises elements of a storm, desire - of a whirlpool, and seduction – of a hurricane.

(5) Passion is like a storm.

(6) Desire is like a whirlpool.

(7) Seduction like a hurricane.

However, these inferences have no direct relation to the advertised product and are therefore simply bridging inferences to the other more interesting for our purposes ones. Once they are drawn, and in combination with the statement in (3) the audience can relate the emotional and natural characteristics in some relevant way to the characteristics of the advertised product and thereby infer (8), (9), (10) and (11).

- (8) The taste of Ambassador combines features of passion, desire and seduction...
- (9) The taste of Ambassador combines features of storms, waterfalls, and hurricanes...
- (10) Ambassador is delicious.
- (11) Ambassador is a strong coffee.

For example, is possible to assume that one common feature of natural forces and human emotions is their strength. In relation to the product, the audience is likely to understand that the copywriter meant to communicate the strong taste of this coffee, and thus infer (11). These inferences are silent, because the audience infers them more or less automatically and there is no obvious case of flouting. Furthermore, these inferences can be regarded as overt, because they are both plausibly intended, and there is no reason why the advertiser should avoid responsibility for communicating them. While not being factually true, the advertiser could defend (8) and (9) due to the vagueness and therefore are also considered overt.

However, the commercial also supplies information about a mysterious man dressed in black who approaches a woman as though trying to kiss her which supports the ambiguity in (3). Thus the attention of the audience is brought to the ambiguity of this sentence, resulting in a what I will call the **flouting message** (12), which not only blatantly violated the maxim of Manner: avoid ambiguity, but also the Maxim of Quality.

- (12) Drinking this coffee is like kissing a mysterious foreign man. (Quality)

On the basis of this, and in a process such as that described by Grice (cf. Chapter 3, Section 5.3) the audience is likely to infer (13), (14).

- (13) Ambassador gives as strong satisfaction as sex.
- (14) Ambassador is especially designed for women.

Inferences (13) and (14) are considered to be covert, because it is very unlikely the copywriter would admit to wishing to communicate such socially loaded messages concerning sex and gender. Nevertheless, inferences (13) and (14) are easily drawn on the basis of textual information supported by the context and are therefore considered a form of covert communication. Such inferences enable copywriter to avoid taking responsibility for these

implications, due to the fact that flouting inferences are characterised by their relative indeterminacy that leads to difficulties in detecting them in the messages.

Furthermore, together with the bridging inferences (15) and (17) made possible in *the context of Russian advertising*, the audience can infer (16) and (18).

- (15) “Foreign” things have high quality.
- (16) Ambassador has high quality.
- (17) An ambassador is a “high class” individual.
- (18) Ambassador gives you class.

By underlining the foreign name of the product and by using an image of foreign person, furthermore the one associated with “class”, the copywriter can communicate the especially good quality of coffee and probably its Latin-American origin. It is quite common for Russians to associate foreign (especially Western) products with good quality. It would hardly be the case in Sweden, where it is rather the national products which are associated with good quality. Another cultural difference between modern Russia and Sweden, involves the attitude toward snobbery: while (18) would be considered “politically incorrect” and therefore likely to be denied to be intended in Sweden, in the present socio-political situation in Russia it would (unfortunately) be affirmed. Hence we judge both (16) and (18) to be overt flouting inferences.

A typical Swedish commercial is the following example, advertising Kellog’s All-Bran cornflakes.

- (19) Female voice: *All-Bran ger inre välbefinnande.*
All-Bran gives you inner well-being.
Context: A clumsy man is brushing his teeth. A written message says “Annikas Jonas, 2 dagar”.
A cooler man is getting dressed and dancing “Gunillas Lasse, 8 dagar”.
- (20) Female voice: *Efter 14 dagar kan du själv märka skillnaden.*
After 14 days you can notice difference yourself.

Context: A man full of energy wearing skis, hat and scarf in the house “Katarinas Pär, 10 dagar”.

(21) Female voice: *Fiber för inre välbefinnande.*

Fibers for inner well-being.

Context: A healthy looking, handsome man eating All Bran at the breakfast table.

(22) Female voice: *Precis som min Carl (karl) gjorde.*

Just like my Carl (man) did.

(23) Female voice: *Till den du tycker om.*

For those you love.

Context: “Min Carl, 14 dagar”, a heart is drawn around the number “14”.

What are the intended inferences in this commercial? First of all, the background premise (24) gives rise to the silent, overt inference involving implied causation in (25), based on the double mention of fiber in sentences (19) and (21).

(24) Fiber is good for you.

(25) All-Bran is good for you, since it contains fiber.

The inference (25) is judged to be silent because the audience can automatically infer the presence of causation between the two seemingly unrelated sentences (19) and (21), supported by the bridging inference (24). (25) is considered overt, since the copywriter obviously wished to communicate it, and there is no reason why s/he would deny this.

Inferences (27) and (28) follow from sentence (23) and the context, and are worked out with the help of bridging inference (26). They are also silent inferences, which appear to be overt.

(26) One should give good things to the loved ones.

(27) One should treat the loved ones with All-Bran.

(28) All-Bran you will make you more fit and more full of energy.

Inferences (30) and (31) can be worked out by means of observing the flouting message (29) expressed through the combination of the spoken text and visual context of the commercial.

(29) is considered a flouting message since it is a blatant violation of the maxim of Quality: Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. The audience is likely to understand this and see that the copywriter hints at the similarity of eating All-Bran with dieting, after which a person normally becomes more fit and healthy. A more subtle inference is that 1 pack of the product is hardly enough for 14 days, and therefore one should stick to All-Bran to experience its positive effect. Obviously, (30) and (31) are covert inferences, since the copywriter did not make it clear that s/he wanted to communicate them, and if pressed could hide behind the flouting message: “This is after all a joke.”

(29) 14 days are enough to change a person completely. (Quality)

(30) After 14 days you will be much more fit.

(31) You should buy at least 2 packs of All-Bran (enough for 14 days).

The female background voice, the written messages of “Katarinas Pär” etc. as well as the intentional ambiguity of “Carl”/“karl” imply a flouting message such as (32), which not only flouts the maxim of Manner: Avoid ambiguity, but also Quality, since if uttered in earnest would be taken as an insult by both sexes.

(32) Men are like boys and women must take care of them. (Manner, Quality)

(33) All-Bran is especially good for men.

The inference (33) can easily be drawn from it – wives should buy this product to their husbands if they want them to be fit, attractive, healthy. However, the copywriter does not make clear for the audience his/her intention to communicate this and furthermore secures avoidance of responsibility by spelling out the name “Carl” on the screen, which on the one hand, draws attention to the fact of ambiguity, and on the other hand, the interpretation of “karl” (Swedish: “man”, colloquial) can be denied. Therefore, (33) is judged to be a covert inference.

A similar way of reasoning was applied to all 40 commercials, presented in alphabetical order in Appendix A and Appendix B.

4. Results and discussion

Table 3 shows all the inferences found in the Swedish and Russian TV commercials, classified according to the presented typology, using the method of analysis described in the previous section. Bridging inferences were excluded from the count.

Table 3. Number of inference-tokens in all 40 commercials.

	Conventional inferences		Silent inferences		Flouting inferences	
	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert
Russian	1	1	27	26	13	11
Swedish	9	1	22	28	16	9

However, since there is a large degree of indeterminacy in the nature of conversational (non-conventional) inferences, and especially in the case of flouting, these results can be regarded with some doubt from a methodological viewpoint. Indeed, we found that it was somewhat arbitrary whether we should stop at one flouting inference or infer two or three similar ones. It was found to be more easy to decide whether there was *any* instance of flouting or not, and if so, whether it was overt and covert. Table 4 therefore presents the data from this viewpoint. The question here is not “how many inferences” but “in how many commercials” where there any occurrences of inferences of a given type. As can be seen by comparing Table 3 and 4, the overall patterns are the same, but since the method of counting for Table 4 was judged to be more reliable, the evaluation of the results was based on it.

Table 4. Proportion of commercials containing inferences of the different types.

	Conventional inferences		Silent inferences		Flouting inferences	
	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert
Russian	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	17 (85%)	15 (75%)	9 (45%)	8 (40%)
Swedish	6 (30%)	1 (5%)	14 (70%)	16 (80%)	11 (55%)	6 (30%)

4.1. Hypothesis 1: Different types of overt inferences

It was hypothesised that in **overt** communication conventional inferences and silent inferences will be more common than flouting inferences in both Swedish and Russian commercials. As can be seen in Table 4, in only 5% of the Russian commercials there where

overt conventional inferences, but as many as 85% had overt silent inferences, compared to 45% of overt flouting inferences. On the other hand, in 30% of Swedish commercials there were overt conventional inferences, 70% overt silent, compared to 55% overt flouting.

In general, the results confirm Hypothesis 1, which was based on the fact that conventional and silent inferences are more determinate than flouting inferences. Therefore, they make it easier for the audience to work out the intended message. In the case of overt communication, it is the copywriter's goal to make his intentions manifest and if necessary stand behind the implied claims.

However, it was surprising that conventional inferences were found to be relatively rare in overt communication, especially in the Russian commercials, although they are easy to be worked out through the conventional meaning of the words. On the other hand, when considering the background premises, such as (24) and (26), which were not counted in Table 4, since they are not related to the product advertised, it was found that in 5 additional Russian commercial (25%) and 5 additional Swedish commercials there were conventional inferences which functioned as background premises. Together with the figures in Table 4, this means that in 55% of the Swedish and in 30% of the Russian commercials there were conventional inferences which brings them to approximately the same level as flouting inferences. Still, the category of silent overt inferences clearly dominates over overt flouting inferences.

4.2. Hypothesis 2: Different types of covert inferences

It was expected that in the case of **covert** communication Russian TV commercials would employ more conventional and silent inferences (together) than flouting inferences. In Swedish commercials, the situation was expected to be reverse: more flouting inferences than conventional and silent inferences. The results were at least in part confirmed for the Russian commercials: as in the case of overt inferences, the silent category dominated over the flouting ones: 75% vs. 40%. Conventional covert inferences were very scarce however, both in the Swedish and the Russian commercials, showing that advertisers in both countries are (implicitly) aware of the risk of using non-cancellable inferences (cf. Chapter 3) for making contestable claims. The major surprise, though, was that contrary to the hypothesis, a much larger percentage of the Swedish commercials used covert silent inferences than covert

flouting inferences: 80% vs. 30%, a greater difference than in the case of Russian commercials.

How can we explain this finding? First of all, it can be noticed that silent inferences were placed between conventional and flouting ones in Tables 4. This was not accidental and reflects their intermediary position between the other two categories. On the one hand, they are not bound to the conventional meaning of the expressions as the conventional inferences, but they are nearly as determinate and automatically produced. On the other hand, they are more determinate than the flouting inferences, but since like them they possess the property of cancellability, they can more easily be denied. So it seems that advertisers in both countries capitalize on this fact and employ silent inferences for covert communication to a great extent.

Furthermore, there appeared to be a qualitative difference between the covert inference types. In both the Swedish and the Russian commercials when the covert inference concerned socially loaded themes such as gender-differences, sex and snobbery this was usually a flouting-type inference, which could more easily be denied though its greater indeterminacy. While the silent covert inferences mostly concerned blurring or even violating factual truth to the benefit of the product. And in this respect, there was a difference between the Swedish and Russian commercials that could be expected given the socio-political differences described in Section 1. Swedish covert silent inferences were commonly of the type of (34) which while factually wrong, could be interpreted as “bragging”.

(34) Always Light gives you the best protection. (Appendix A, #2)

While many of the Russian silent covert inferences were similar, such as (35), there were quite a few deceptive inferences such as (36) which probably would not have been permitted in Swedish commercials.

(35) Dove is best for washing your face. (Appendix B, #6)

(36) Colgate Motion cleans 25 times better than a usual toothbrush. (Appendix B, #4)

This difference between Swedish and Russian covert inferences was made clear by the fact that the same commercial for Duracell batteries was included in both a Swedish and a Russian version in the corpus (Appendix A, #9, Appendix B, #7). Both contained the same video clip

involving competing toy rabbits with the Duracell rabbit winning, but the linguistic commentary was quite different. It is instructive to compare the final slogans of both commercials (37) and (38).

(37) *Duracell – rabotaet do 10 raz dol'she!*
Duracell – works up to 10 times longer!

(38) *Duracell – batterier som går och går och går....*
Duracell – batteries which go and go and go...

In the case of (37), there is the covert inference (39), which can be considered deceptive, while the Swedish example (38) is much more vague and to the extent that it leads to the covert inference (40), the advertiser can defend it by saying that it was not meant literally, since it involved the make-belief context of toy-rabbit racing.

(39) Duracell functions 10 times longer than all other batteries.
(40) Duracell never stops.

4.3. Hypothesis 3: Flouting inferences in Swedish and Russian commercials

It was expected that **flouting** inferences in general, i.e. both overt and covert, would be more common in Swedish than in Russian commercials. This hypothesis was clearly falsified by the data. All in all 15 of the 20 Russian commercials (75%) contained flouting inferences while 13 of the Swedish ones (65%) had such inferences, either overt or covert. This shows as both Swedish and Russian commercials employed a similar amount of silent covert inferences, contrary to Hypothesis 2, they also employed a similar amount of flouting inferences. The generalization from both results is that there are fewer differences between Swedish and Russian commercials on the global quantitative level than expected.

But just as we saw qualitative differences in the silent covert inferences in the two countries as shown in the previous subsection, there are qualitative differences with respect to flouting inferences as well. The differences appear to involve the **degree of blatancy** of the flouting message, defined as a blatant violation of (a maxim of) the cooperative principle, and the presence of **irony and self-irony** in the message, which were both considerably higher in the

Swedish commercials than in the Russian ones. With respect to degree of blatancy, compare the flouting messages (41) and (42), where the first is much more absurd, and more supported by the rest of the commercial, than the second, which could easily go unnoticed by an unattentive audience.

- (41) Costume-dressed people climb scaffolds just to see your office. (Quality, Relevance, Manner)
- (42) Zlato cooking oil is as good as gold. (Quality) (Rus. *zlato*: ‘gold’, archaic)

With respect to irony, nearly every Swedish flouting message in the 13 commercials that had such, could be described as ironic, thus distancing the advertiser not only from the flouting message, e.g. (29), (32), (41) or for an even clearer example (43), but from the inferences that could be drawn from it.

- (43) Vim (a brand of household wipes) is good for your sex life.

Ironic flouting thus seems to introduce a “double distancing”, and the Swedish copywriters appear to use this tool much more proficiently than their Russian colleagues. From the 15 Russian commercials with flouting inferences, there only two cases which could be seen as ironic (Appendix B, #15 and #19).

5. Conclusions

The empirical study of inferences in Swedish and Russian TV commercials showed more similarities than expected. Both Swedish and Russian commercials employ a greater number of silent inferences in comparison to the conventional and flouting types of inferences – not only for the overt cases as expected, but also for the covert ones. The interpretation was that silent inferences are favoured in advertising due to their relatively high determinacy and at the same time cancelability, which are convenient for communicating misleading inferences. It was also found that both Russian and Swedish commercials employ an approximately similar amount of flouting inferences in both overt and covert communication, often concerning “taboo” subjects such as sex and inequality.

However, the study has also shown some differences between Russian and Swedish commercials with respect to inferences. However, these differences seem to be qualitative rather than quantitative. Swedish silent covert inferences conveyed a rather vaguer message such as “we are best”, while the Russian covert silent inferences were more specific and thus more deceptive. This is probably because of the stricter legislation concerning advertising in Sweden compared to Russia.

The other difference between Russian and Swedish inferences concerned the higher degree of blatancy and the presence of irony in the Swedish flouting messages. As stated in Section 1, this is a characteristic of Stage 3 Advertising, according to the classification of Myers and was interpreted by him as a means of “addressing the jaded consumer in order to overcome consumer saturation” (Myers 1994: 199). However, our study shows another reason for the high use of these devices in “advanced” Western advertising: the ability to “double distance” oneself not only from the ironic statement, but from the ensuing covert inferences as well.

On the other hand, the flouting inferences in Russian commercials were often based on metaphorical and ambiguous meanings of the product names, cf. (42). Appealing to Myers’ classification, the purpose of such flouting can be related to “creating brands and getting attention” (Stage 1) and “creating an image for consumption” (Stage 2) (Myers 1994: 199). But even if the Russian flouting messages were in general less blatant and ironic than the Swedish ones, on closer inspection they were nevertheless seen to involve covert communication in approximately half of the cases. Russian advertising does indeed combine features from all three stages mentioned by Myers, very much as could be expected. It can furthermore be predicted that with the establishment of brands and of stricter consumer control over advertising in Russia during the coming years, the degree of similarity to the Swedish commercials in terms of inferences will increase.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

This thesis presented a study of advertising discourse, focusing on inferences, and in particular on the distinction between overt and covert forms of communication. The theoretical basis was derived from the work of Grice (1957, 1975), as further developed above all by Sperber and Wilson (1986). This combination of theoretical approach and empirical domain seems to be surprisingly uncommon.⁶

The first aim of this thesis was to work out a typology of the inferences employed in advertising. On the basis of the inherent semantic properties of different inference types, combined with the distinction overt/covert, it was proposed that there are six major types of inferences in advertising: overt vs. covert conventional, overt vs. covert non-conventional silent, and overt vs. covert non-conventional flouting inference-types.

From the standpoint of cooperative communication it could be argued that the advertiser is responsible not only for the explicitly asserted claims, but also for the implicitly conveyed information and the inferences it gives rise to, if not legally, then at least ethically. However, in real life, where advertisers aim to “get away with it” as much as possible, what is necessary is a means of showing that certain inferences are nearly as much a part of the message as what is explicitly stated. In this respect, the presented typology implies that the advertiser can be more easily held responsible for misleading inferences when these are conventional, and to a degree silent, but less so in the case of flouting inferences.

This typology was applied to the empirical data of 20 Russian and 20 Swedish TV commercials. The major result was that, in general, there were fewer differences between Russian and Swedish commercials in respect to inferences than expected. More specifically, it was found that both Swedish and Russian advertisers employ a heavy use of non-conventional silent inferences, probably because they are more cancellable than the conventional ones, and more determinate than the flouting inferences. Flouting inferences were commonly used,

⁶ An exception to this observation is the work of Tanaka (1994), which unfortunately was brought to my attention only recently, and therefore is not discussed in this thesis.

again by both Russian and Swedish advertisers, when manipulating with socially loaded issues in order to draw the audience's attention and to promise "something more": happiness, beauty, sexual pleasures, self-respect, confidence, exclusiveness and status.

In the case of covert (misleading) inferences, a difference was nevertheless noticed between Swedish and Russian commercials: with the more determinate "silent" inferences the Swedish involve vaguer claims than the Russian, and the flouting messages in Swedish commercials are more blatant and more ironic, introducing a greater distance to the claims made, and making it easier to avoid responsibility.

It is, however, important to distinguish between covert and overt inferences, since it is often assumed that all advertising inferences are misleading, and the only way to "protect" the audience from them is by instructing them to "stick to what it said" (Langrehr 2000; Harris and Monaco 1978a). The present study shows that overt implicatures and the inferences they give rise to are at least as common, as covert inferences in advertising. Since inference is indispensable for communication, the goal for the audience should therefore be to try to distinguish between inferences which are misleading and those which are not, and not to throw away the baby with the bath water.

The line of research begun in this study can be continued in a number of different ways. A natural continuation is to complement the more hermeneutic approach adopted here with a more empirical study using methods such as questionnaires for the audience and interviews with advertisers. The issue of memorability of the different types of advertising inferences is also of interest for further psycholinguistic research. Furthermore, it can be hoped that the typology of inferences developed in this thesis can be applied to other domains such as political discourse.

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Appendix A

Transcriptions of Swedish commercials

Abbreviations:

>> : conventional inference

S> : silent inference

F> : flouting inference

+ : background premise (bridging inference), which has no direct relation to the product

(O) : overt inference

(C) : covert inference

#1

Name: Kellog's All-Bran

Product: Cornflakes

Context: A clumsy man brushing his teeth "after 2 days" of eating AllBran. A cooler man getting dressed and dancing "after 8 days".

Female voice: *AllBran ger inre välbefinnande.*

Context: A man full of energy wearing skis, a hat and a scarf in the house "after 10 days".

Female voice: *Efter 14 dagar kan du själv märka skillnaden.*

Context: A healthy looking, handsome man eating AllBran at the breakfast table.

Female voice: *Fiber för inre välbefinnande.*

Female voice: *Precis som min Carl (karl) gjorde.*

Female voice: *Till den du tycker om.*

Context: a heart is drawn near "min Carl" on the screen.

Inferences:

1. + Fiber is good for you.
S> AllBran is good for you, since it contains fiber. (O)
2. + One should give good things to the loved ones.
S> One should treat the loved ones with AllBran. (O)
3. S> Allbran you will make you fitter and more full of energy... (O)

Flouting: After 14 days you will be more cool and attractive (for men). (Quality)

4. F> After 14 days you will be much more fit. (C)
5. F> You should buy at least 2 packs of Allbran (enough for 14 days). (C)

Flouting: Men are like boys and women must take care of them. (Quality)

6. F> AllBran is especially good for men. (C)

#2

Name: Always

Product: Panty-shields

Context: A young woman is posing in front of exaggerating mirrors, laughing at her reflection.

Female voice: *Ingen dag är den andra lik när det är mens.*

Context: Her reflection is first big, then very small, she is laughing.

Female voice: *Ibland är det mycket, ibland lite mindre.*

Female voice: *Därför finns det Always bindor för alla tillfällen.*

Female voice: *Från de mest absorberande till de nya Always Light – en mjukare, tunnare binda som ger dig precis rätt skydd för dagarna när det är lite mindre.*

Female voice: *Så nu finns det alltid rätt skydd som passar precis dina behov.*

Context: A young man is watching her through a hole, and smiles. The woman is embarrassed and then laughs.

Female voice: *Always talar din kropps språk.*

Inferences:

1. +S> All women have different needs in protection.
>> There is "Always" for all occasions. (O)
2. +>> Just right ("precis rätt") is better than right.
+S> Anything less than "precis rätt" is "wrong".
S> Only Always has the "precis rätt". (C)
3. S> Always Light gives you the best protection. (C)

Flouting: Always makes a woman more attractive for men. (Quality)

4. F> Always makes you more confident. (O)

Flouting: Always speaks to you. (Quality)

5. F> Always is like a "good and supportive friend". (O)

#3

Name: Always

Product: Tampons

Context: a woman is critically looking at a small tampon.

Female voice:

Kan en sådan liten tampong ger dig ett superbra skydd?

Context:

Utmana oss!

Fullt skydd eller pengarna tillbaka.

Inferences:

1. >> Always tampons are small. (O)
2. + Small does not mean “bad”.
S> Small tampon can give a good protection. (O)
3. +>> In order to be able to challenge Always, you need to try one.
S> You need to try Always tampons. (O)

Flouting: If you are not satisfied with your tampon, you will have your money back. (Quality)

4. F> We are sure you that you will have full protection with Always. (O)

#4

Name: Ariel

Product: Washing-powder

Context: Two T-shirts are hanging on the same rope after washing, on one of them it says “*inget blekmedel*”, and it looks more colourful in comparison with the other T-shirt.

Female voice: *Ariel Color innehåller inget blekmedel, utan endast milda och effektiva tvätt ingredienser.*

Därför rekommenderar KappAhl Ariel Color.

Köp ett kampanjpaket Ariel Color och få 50 kronor rabatt på KappAhl!

Inferences:

1. +S> Clothes looks colourless after washing because of whitening components.
S> Ariel Color is better than other brands which have whitening components.(C)
2. >> Ariel Color’s effective components are mild at the same time. (O)
3. S> KappAhl is a reliable source of information about washing the clothes. (C)

#5

Name: Bosch

Product: Refrigerator

Female voice: *Under rätt förhållanden kan färskvaror hålla sig fräscha längre.*

Det gäller din mat också.

Context: Picture of fresh vegetables in refrigerator.

Female voice: *Med hjälp av Agion ger Bosch maten en unik kylförvaring.*

Agion är ett ytiskt av silverjoner som naturligt hämmar bakterier och ger en fräschare kylmiljö.

Så håll utsikt efter Agion och Bosch.

Inferences:

1. +>> Food stays fresh longer under the right conditions.
S> Only Bosch with it “unique system” gives the right conditions. (C)
2. S > Only Bosch has Agion. (O)
3. S> Other brands (without Agion) do not provide as natural and fresh conditions. (C)
4. + One keeps an eye out for valuable things.
S> Agion and Bosch are valuable things. (O)

#6

Name: Colgate

Product: Toothpaste

Context: A man is painting a picture, he takes Colgate toothpaste and splashes on it, then does the same with mouthwash. The painting is an abstract spot of white and blue. The man looks at his painting with satisfaction.

Male voice: *Blanda effekten från tandkräm med friskheten från munskölj.*

Vad får du då?

Helt nya 2 in 1 från Colgate – en flyttande och lätt skummande gel som rengör där det är svårt att komma åt och håller din mun fräsch längre.

Context: a woman is approaching the man and hugs him.

Male voice: *Nya Colgate 2 in 1 – tandkräm och munskölj i ett.*
Slogan: *En fräsch ide.*

Inferences:

1. S> Colgate keeps your mouth fresh longer than other toothpastes (C)
2. +>> There are places in the mouth which are difficult to reach.
S> Only gel can clean in the places which are difficult to reach (C)

Flouting: Colage 2-1 is like a piece of art. (Quality, Manner)

3. F> Colgate 2-1 gives you satisfaction. (O)
4. F> Colgate 2-1 is superior to other less “artistic” brands. (C)

Flouting: A fresh idea. (Metaphor)

5. F> Colgate is an intelligent product that give you freshness. (O)

#7

Name: *Dove*

Product: deodorant

Female voice: *Rengör, fräscha upp, återfukta.*

Context: a woman is washing her face

Female voice: *A, varför inte återfukta huden under armarna, det är ju också viktigt.*

Context: the film is rewind, and she is looking at her armpits

Female voice: *Dove deodorant innehåller en fjärdedel av fuktens kräm som aktivt förbättrar hudens välbefinnande.*

Context: A cream is poured and it turns into deodorant; a woman is smiling, she is glad.

Female voice: *Dove deodorant – gör huden mjuk, håller den torr.*

Inferences:

1. +>> To moisturize skin under the arms is important.
2. +>>Moisturizing cream actively makes the skin better.
S> Dove makes the skin better. (C)
3. S> Dove makes the skin better. (C)
4. S> Dove makes the skin better than other brands. (C)

#8

Name: Duoactive

Product: WC cleaner

Toilet chair talking: *Alltid bara doft, men renhet då?*

Male voice: *Nyhet! WC Duck Duo-active, dubbel effekt tack vare separata behållare.*

Hygienisk renhet och fantastisk doft.

Toilet chair: *Inte bara jag är ren, är jag riktigt fräsch!*

Male voice: *WC Duck Duo-active – uppfräschande WC-block.*

Inferences:

1. S> Good smell and cleanness can only be achieved by separate containers of Duoactive. (C)
+ Other WC cleaners provide only good smell.

Flouting: Toilet seats want to be both clean and fragrant. (Quality)

2. F> People should aim for both clean and good-smelling toilets. (O)
3. + The user knows best.
F> WC Duck Duo-active is best for your toilet seat. (O)

#9

Name: Duracell

Product: Batteries

Context: two pink toy rabbits are running in a contest.

Male voice (like a sport commentator): *Den stora maraton tävlingen för batterier!*

Och där är de iväg!

Duracell sätter tempo på en gång, Duracell verkar oslagbara!

Tävlingen är över, men Duracell fortsätter att springa!

Context: One rabbit with a name Duracell on it continues to run.

Male voice: *Duracell – batterier som går och går och går....*

Inferences:

Flouting: Robot rabbits engage in tournaments. (Quality)

1. F> Duracell are full of energy. (O)
2. F> Duracell last longer than other types. (O)

3. F> Duracell are unbeatable. (C)
4. F> Duracell never stops. (C)

#10

Name: Findus Feeling Great

Product: frozen soups

Female voice:

Jag behöver nog lite...

Är det inte dags att tänka om?

Findus Feeling Great frysta soppor har redan allt.

Färdiga att njuta, läckert hälsosamma och fulla av härlig smak.

Context: Pieces of fresh vegetables are falling into the pack of Findus.

Findus Feeling Great – lika gott som nyttigt.

Så klart!

Inferences:

1. + While cooking you often miss some ingredients.
+ It is annoying when you need the ingredients you don't have at home.
+ It is time consuming to cook.
2. S> It is easier to prepare Findus than to cook. (O)
3. >> You will enjoy Findus. (O)
4. S> Findus is at least as tasty as home-cooked food. (C)
5. S> Findus is at least as nutritious as home-cooked food. (C)
6. S> It is obvious that Findus is better than home-made food. (C)

#11

Name: Garnier Fructis

Product: Shampoo

Female voice:

Nu kommer Garnier Fructis med ny förbättrad formula som gör ditt hår ännu starkare.

Context: picture of fresh juicy fruit and splashing water.

Känn skillnaden!

Dubbelt så starkt, tjockare.

Context: a woman is pulling her hair, it looks strong and shiny, she is happy, she is surrounded by men.

Håret glänsar med förnyad styrka.

Ny styrka med aktivt fruktkoncentrat.

Garnier.

Inferences:

1. >> The old type of Fructis made your hair stronger. (O)
2. S> New Fructis is better than old one. (O)
3. S> Fructis makes your hair two times thicker than the old shampoo. (C)
4. S> Fructis make syour hair dubble as strong as before. (C)
5. + Fruit concentrates make hair shiny and strong.
+ Fructis contains fruit concentrates.
S> Your hair will be strong and shiny because of Fructis. (C)
6. + Garnier is a famous hair care company.
S> All Garnier products are good. (O)

#12

Name: Jysk

Product: furniture

Context: A man ridiculous-looking man showing slides with furniture on an old-fashioned slide projector to a funny-looking couple. A husband and wife look happily surprised.

Male voice:

Ja, man kan nästan bli för galen i möblerna på Jysk, till exempel ett fint video/TV bord i massiv furu. Nu endast 750 kronor.

Och det är massor av andra fantastiska erbjudanden du kommer att gilla i den nya möbelkatalogen som kommer med posten.

På återseende hos Jysk.

Alltid bra erbjudanden!

Inferences:

1. >> People go crazy about furniture from Jysk. (O)
2. >> A TV table for 750 kronor is a fantastic offer. (O)
3. >> A TV table for 750 kronor is cheap. (O)
4. >> You have already been at Jysk and you will definitely return. (O)
5. S > All furniture at Jysk is cheap.(C)

Flouting: Jysk has funny-looking sellers using old-fashioned projectors. (Quality)

6. F> Jysk is for “ordinary people”. (O)

#13

Name: Kinnarp

Product: office furniture

Context: Close-ups of a few faces of wide-eyed, well-dressed people.

Female voice:

Klart är det lite jobbigt att klättra upp hit.

Trans: Of course it is a little difficult to climb up here.

De bästa platserna går åt direkt.

Trans: The best seats (places) finish quickly.

Jag hade hört talas om det, så tänkte jag det bara måste jag se.

Trans: I had heard about it, so I thought: I just have to see it!

Context: a crowd of astonished people looks through the big window of an office with admiration. They seem to have climbed up a scaffold to get there. The people in the office don't notice anything strange, they continue to work.

Nu kommer jag hit varje dag.

Trans: Now I come here everyday.

Text on the screen: *Kinnarp – en bra dag på jobbet!*

Trans: Kinnarp – a good day at the office.

Inferences:

Flouting: Costume-dressed people climb scaffolds just to see your office! (Manner, Quality)

1. F> You will be envied with an office from designed Kinnarp (O)
2. F> Kinnaps is something special. (O)
3. F> The people inside using Kinnarps are more worth than those outside. (C)
4. + The people working inside look cool and relaxed, in contrast to those looking at them.
S > Kinnaprns makes people cool and relaxed. (C)
5. + The people inside are probably rich.
S> The prices or Kinnarps are high, but it is worth it! (O)
6. + The people inside can get the best furniture money can buy.
S> Kinnarp is the best furniture money can buy. (C)

#14

Name: Milda Mat

Product: butter and cream

Female voice: *Nu finns det något nytt i gräddhyllan, som lyfter fram den goda smaken i grytor, soppor och såser.*

Milda Mat med låg fetthalt och nyttig vegetabilisk fett.

Koka ihop något enkelt och gott.

Milda hjälper dig att lyckas i köket.

Inferences:

1. +>> There hasn't existed anything that underlined the good taste before.
S > Milda mat underlines the good taste.(O)
2. + Vegetable fat is healthy.
3. S > Milda mat is healthy. (C)
4. S> Milda Mat makes your food tasty. (C)
5. S> It is easy to make tasty food with Milda Mat.(C)

#15

Name: Nicotinell

Product: Chewing gum for giving up smoking

Context: a picture of camel chewing something.

Male voice:

Ny finns Nicotinell nikotin tuggummi med lakritssmak,

*ett mycket gott alternativ för dig som vill ta kontroll över begäret.
Gratis smakprov utan nikotin kan du få på apoteket och nicotinell.com.*

Inferences:

Flouting: The big dumb camel is like you under the power of nicotine (cf. "Camel"). (Relevance, Manner)

1. +F> Your bad habit of smoking is like a big dumb animal.
+F> Do you want to be under control of an animal or to control it?
F> You should stop smoking and use Nicotinell. (O)
2. S> Nicotinell is also tasty. (O)
3. S> It both easy and pleasant to stop smoking with Nicotinell. (C)

#16

Name: Nivea

Product: deodorant

Context: A young woman is getting dressed for a date, a man is already downstairs. To have more time to get ready she puts her shoe in the elevator door, so that the man will have to walk upstairs.

Female voice:

Fungerar varje gång!

Nivea deodorant – mildare, mer effektiv, mer Nivea.

Nya Nivea Deo Fresh är effektiv och håller dig naturligt fräsch hela dagen.

Prova nya Nivea Deo Fresh.

Inferences:

Flouting: Works every time – the shoe trick or Nivea. (Manner)

1. F> Nivea is as reliable as an old trick. (O)
2. >>Nivea is the essence of mildness and effectiveness. (O)
3. S> There are other less natural ways to feel fresh, which are worse. (C)

#17

Name: Nivea

Product: shower gel

Context: a woman is taking a shower.

Female voice: *Nya Nivea Wellness Shower hjälper huden återfuktas och gör den mjuk och smidig.*

Prova Nivea Wellness Shower.

Inferences:

1. +>> It is important to re-moisturize your skin.
S> Nivea is necessary for your skin. (C)
2. + To try you need to buy.
S> Buy Nivea. (O)

#18

Name: Sova

Product: beds

Female voice: *Jag har fått min drömsäng.*

Det kände jag när jag handlade hos Sova.

Song: *Sköna stunder i livet.*

Female voice: *Sova.*

Inferences:

Flouting: A dreambed is a bed you dream of, or dream in? (Manner)

1. F> Sova bed is a bed to dream about. (O)
2. F> Sova bed will give you good dreams. (C)
3. S> Sova is a comfortable bed. (O)
4. + Sleeping is nice and pleasant.
S> Sleeping on Sova bed is even more nice and pleasant. (O)
5. S> Sova bed brings you nice moments in life.(O)

#19

Name: Vim

Product: household wipes

Context: a woman and a man are lying on the kitchen table and hugging, they are laughing and playing with the dough. A woman takes a Vim wipe and wipes the dirty spots of the table.

Female voice:

*Med nya Vim kan du torka rent med glans, så i hem med Vim kan man stöka som man vill.
Nya Dubble Action wipes från Vim.
För ett rent hem att trivas i.*

Inferences:

1. S> One should not make a mess in the house where there are no Vim wipes. (C)
2. S> Vim helps you feel good at home. (O)

Flouting: Vim is good for you sex life! (Quality)

3. F> If you use Vim you will have pleasant moments with the loved ones.(C)

#20

Name: Vileda

Product: supermop

Context: two women walk around a huge house, one is explaining the advantages of Vileda Supermop.

Female actor 1: *Nya Vileda Supermop med 20% mer rengörings XXX som rengör svåraste smutsen.*

Female actor 2: *Kan man verkligen ta bort den här?*

Female actor 1: *Ja, tack vare Vileda Microfiber plast – lycka till!*

Nu kan du utnyttja tiden maximalt.

Med nya Vileda Supermop med teleskopskaft kan du få golven rena och det syns.

Vileda Supermop – ny med teleskopskaft och XXX.

Inferences:

Flouting: Vileda Supermop is a tool for female Super agents. (Quality)

1. F> Vileda is for the modern executive woman. (O)
2. + Microfiber plast takes away spots on the floors.
S > New Vileda has 20% more XXX than other mops. (C)
3. S > You save a lot of time cleaning floors with Vileda.(O)
4. S > It takes little time to clean any house. (C)
5. S > It is easy to clean the house with Vileda.(O)

Appendix B

Transcript of Russian commercials

Abbreviations:

Trans. : translation of the author.

>> : conventional inference

S> : non-conventional silent inference

F> : non-conventional flouting inference

+ : additional background premise (bridging inference), which has no direct relation to the product

(O) : overt inference

(C) : covert inference

#1

Product name: Ambassador Coffee

Product: Coffee

Context: Thunder storm behind the window.

Male voice: *Vam znakoma stikhiia strasti?*

Trans: Do you know the storm of passion?

Context: A woman is approached by a man dressed in black coat and hat.

Male voice: *Etot vodovorot zhelanii, uragan iskushenii.*

Trans: This whirlpool of desire, the hurricane of seduction.

Context: It looks like the man is about to kiss the woman.

Male voice: *I vse eto sobiraetsja v odno strastnoe chuvstvo, kogda vashix губ kasaetsja Ambassador.*

Trans: And all this is gathered together into one passionate feeling, when your lips are touched by Ambassador.

Male voice: *Kofe Ambassador – stikhiia strasti.*

Trans: Ambassador Coffee – the storm of passion.

Inferences:

1. +>>> Passion is (like) a storm.
+>>> Desire is (like) a whirlpool.
+>>> Seduction (like) a hurricane.
2. S> The taste of Ambassador combines features of passion, desire and seduction. (O)
3. S> Ambassador is delicious. (O)
4. S> The taste of Ambassador combines features of storms, waterfalls, and hurricanes: strength, danger, power. (O)
5. S> Ambassador is a strong coffee. (O)

Flouting: Drinking this coffee is like kissing a mysterious foreign man. (Quality, Manner)

6. F> Ambassador give as strong satisfaction as sex. (C)
7. F> Ambassador is especially designed for women. (C)
8. + “Foreign things” have high quality.
F> Ambassador has high quality. (O)
9. + An ambassador is a man of class.
F> Ambassador gives you class. (O)

#2

Name: Ardo

Product: Kitchen furniture and equipment

Context: Pictures of different elements of kitchen furniture and equipment

Female voice: *Italianskaia tekhnika dlia doma Ardo – eto simvol uspekha i sobstvennogo dostoinstva.*

Trans: The Italian household equipment Ardo is a symbol of success and self-respect.

Female voice: *V Ardo est' vse: i krasota, i nadezhnost', i ekonomichnost', i razumnaia stoimost'.*

Trans: Ardo has everything: beauty, reliability, energy saving, reasonable prices.

Female voice: *Torgovii dom Tekhnoimport predostavliaet na tekhniku Ardo 2 goda garantii.*

Trans: Supermarket Tekhnoimport offers you a two-year guarantee on Ardo products.

Female voice: *Italianskaia bytovaia tekhnika Ardo v magazine "Komfort" na ulitse Cherniakhovskogo i v supermarkete "Tekhnoimport-Viktorii" na ulitse Gorkogo.*

Trans: Italian kitchen equipment Ardo in the shops “Comfort” and “Victoria” on the streets Cherniakhovskogo and Gorkogo.

Inferences:

1. >> Possessing Ardo products shows that you have success and self-respect. (C)
2. S> If you have success (i.e money) and self-respect, you should buy Ardo (else people might doubt it). (C)
3. S> Only Ardo has “everything”! (C)
4. S> Ardo is better than all other brands of kitchen furniture. (C)
5. + Italian design and quality are good.
S> Ardo has good quality and design. (O)

#3

Name: Chudo

Product: yoghurt

Context: A little girl and a woman watch miracles: mountains turn into piles of fruit and rivers become milky as in a well-known Russian fairy-tale. A woman turns to the camera and reads a poem.

A little girl: *Chudo!*

Trans: Miracle!

Female actor: *Chudo yogurt!*

Trans: Miracle yoghurt!

Female voice (reading a poem):

*Vi v strane chudes molochnykh,
Skol'ko iagod, fruktov sochnykh,
Chudesa, fruktovyi bliuz,
Vot otkuda nashe chudo, chudo-yogurt,
Divnyi vkus!*

Trans: You are in the country of milky miracles,

Lots of berries and fruit,

Miracles happen, the fruit melody,

This is where our yoghurt comes from,

Fabulous taste!

Female actor: *Chudo!*

Trans: Miracle!

Singing: *Strana chudes molochnykh.*

Trans: The country of milky miracles!

Inferences:

1. S> Chudo contains lots of fresh fruit and berries. (O)
2. + Fruit and berries very nutritious and good for your health.
S> Chudo is very nutritious and good for your health. (O)

Flouting: Chudo yoghurt is miraculous. (Quality, Relevance)

3. F> Chudo contains lots of fresh berries and fruit. (C)
4. + Children love fairytales.
F> Children love Chudo! (C)

#4

Name: Colgate Motion

Product: Toothbrush

Context: Many toothbrushes turn into one Colgate Motion toothbrush.

Background song: *Po utram i po vecheram chishchu zuby shchetkoi*

Colgate Motion, Colgate Motion.

Trans: Every morning and every evening I brush my teeth with Colgate Motion

Female voice: *Colgate Motion chistit v 25 raz intensivnee chem obychnaia zubnaia shchetka.*

Trans: Colgate Motion cleans 25 times more intensive than a usual toothbrush.

Context: The toothbrushes are dancing and singing.

Background song: *Blestiashchaia ulybka vmeste s Colgate Motion*

Trans: Shiny smile with Colgate Motion

Female voice: *I menee chem za 190 rublei.*

Trans: And for less than 190 rubles.

Inferences:

1. + It can be quite boring to brush your teeth often.
S> It is a pleasure to brush your teeth with Colgate Motion. (O)
2. S> Colgate Motion will save you time. (O)
3. S> CM cleans 25 times better than a “usual toothbrush”. (C)

4. S> CM will give you a “shiny smile”. (C)
5. S> CM does not cost much (C)

Flouting: CM toothbrushes dance and are happy. (Quality)

6. F> It is fun to brush your teeth with CM (O)
7. F> CM cleans intensively (O)

#5

Name: Domestos

Product: cleaning gel

Context: A woman comes back from a walk with a big dog, gives food to it, the dog makes a big mess in the kitchen.

Female actor (Context: she is talking to a female friend, swiping the floors with Domestos):

Nu gde ty griaz' vidish?

Trans: So do you see any dirt?

Vot gde sobaka zaryta. Domestos gel'.

Trans: This is where the dog is berried (met.: here is the answer). Domestod gel.

Female actor: *Mne kazalos' ia vse poprobovala, a teper' nemnogo Domestosa i pol sverkaet i nikakikh vrednykh mikrobov. Glavnoe, chto nichego krome Domestos gelia ne nuzhno*

Trans: I thought I tried everything, but now only a little bit of Domestos and the floors are shining, and no dangerous bacteria. The most important is that you don't need anything more but Domestos.

Context: a woman shows a bottle of Domestos.

Male voice: *Domestos – glavnyi zashchitnik v dome!*

Trans: Domestos – the main defender of your house!

Inferences:

1. +>> Usually you need more than one cleanser for kitchen.
S > You don't need to spend money on other cleansers. (C)
2. S> Domestos is enough for cleaning every kind of surface. (C)
3. S> Domestos cleans the dirt that dogs bring. (O)
4. S> Domestos is good for households with dogs.(O)

Flouting: Doestoes protects you as a guard. (Manner: ambiguity)

6. F> Domestos protects your house from dangerous bacteria (C)

#6

Name: Dove

Product: soap

Context: a relatively famous Russian TV person is talking about her impressions of Dove soap.

Female actor: *Kogda ia staraius' smyvat' kosmetiku mylom, ono vse stiagivaet, nu m-m-m skukozhivaet. Kogda ia poprobovala Dove, moia kozha stala dyshat', vse kletochki i pory na litse vziali i raskrylis'.*

Trans: When I wash off my make-up with soap, the skin, well, sort of dries out.

When I tried Dove, my skin began to breathe, all cells and pores on my face opened up.

Male voice: *Dove na chetvert' sostoit iz uvlazhniaushego krema i sodержit smiagchaiushie natural'nye komponenty.*

Trans: _ of Dove is a hydrating cream and it also contains softening components.

Context: cream pouring down onto the bar of soap.

Female actor: *Kozha moia stanovitsia neznoi, uprugoi, gladkoi.*

Blagodaria Dove ia chuvstvuiu sebia ukhozhennoi i elegantnoi zhenshchinoi.

Trans: My skin becomes soft and smooth.

Thanks to Dove I feel elegant and beautiful.

Inferences:

1. +S> Soaps make the skin dry.
S> Dove is not a soap. (C)
2. S> Only Dove contains real cream and softening ingredients. (C)
3. + A famous actress is a trustworthy person, she knows what cosmetics is the best.
S> Famous people choose Dove, because it is good. (O)
S > If you use Dove, you will be as beautiful as a famous actress. (C)
4. S> Dove is best for washing your face (C).
5. S> If Dove is good even for a face with especially delicate skin, it is good for hands. (O)

#7

Name: Duracell

Product: batteries

Background male voice: *Kto iz nikh proderzhitsia dol'she?*

Duracell ili eti obychnye solevye batareiki?

V takikh ispytaniakh obychnye solevye batareiki vydykhaiutsia ran'she, chto by oni ne delali.

Moshchnost' batareiki Duracell do 10 raz bol'she, poetomu Duracell pobezhdaet vseгда.

Duracell – rabotaet do 10 raz dol'she!

Trans: Who will stand it longer?

Duracell or those ordinary batteries?

In such contests the ordinary batteries give up earlier, no matter what they do.

The capacity of Duracell is up to 10 times bigger, that's why Duracell always wins.

Duracell – works up to 10 times longer!

Inferences:

1. +>> Other batteries never win.
S> Duracell is much better than other batteries. (C)

Flouting message: Toy rabbits engage in tournaments. (Quality)

2. S> Duracell functions 10 times longer than all other batteries. (C)
3. F> Duracell are full of energy. (O)
4. F> All electrical appliances function longer with Duracell (C)

#8

Name: “Kedrovyy bal'zam”(Cedar balm)

Product: Toothpaste

Context: cartoon characters, animals are given a lesson on how to take care of their teeth.

Beaver-doctor: *Chtoby zuby bili zdorovymi pol'zuites' zubnoi pastoi “Kedrovyy bal'zam”*

Trans: If you want your teeth to be healthy, use toothpaste “Cedar balm”.

Context: a beaver-doctor shows pictures on the wooden blackboard in the forest

Beaver: *A ona zuby khorosho ochishchaet?*

Trans: Does it clean the teeth well?

Beaver-doctor: *Da, s “Kedrovym bal'zamom” vashi zuby budut krepche, belee i krasivee.*

Trans: Yes, with “Cedar balm” your teeth will be stronger, more white and beautiful.

Male voice: *V lechebnyi kompleks pasty vkhodit kedrovoe maslo i lavanda. “Kedrovyy bal'zam obladaet sil'nym profilakticheskim efektom, berezhet vashi zuby i desna.*

Trans: The curing complex of the toothpaste contains cedar oil and lavender.

“Cedar balm” has a strong effect and takes care of your teeth and gums.

Beaver: *Zdorovo!*

Trans: Cool!

Rabbit: *Otlichno penitsia i na vkus priiatnaia.*

Trans: It produces a lot of foam and tastes nice.

Beaver-doctor: *I dlia bobriat podkhiashaia.*

Trans: It is good for little beavers too.

Beaver: *Bobrikha budet dovol'na!*

Trans: Beaver's wife will be glad.

Male voice: *“Kedrovyy bal'zam” – zdorobyte zuby i desna.*

Trans: “Cedar balm” – healthy teeth and gum.

Inferences:

1. S> If you don't use “Cedar balm” your teeth will not be healthy and white.(C)
2. + Lavender and cedar oil are good for teeth.
S> “Cedar balm” is good because it contains lavender and cedar oil. (O)

Flouting: Beaver families use toothpaste Cedar balm, recommended by Beaver doctors. (Quality, Relevance)

3. + Beavers have strong teeth.
F> “Cedar balm” is good for children. (O)
4. F> “Cedar balm” is not expensive (O)

#9

Name: “Kladovye prirody” (Treasures of nature)

Product: Shampoo and cosmetic products

Context: in the middle of the flower field emerge the bottles of cosmetic products.

Male voice: *Novaia seria kremov, shampunei i myla s ekstraktami zelebnykh trav i rastenii.*

Otkroite tainu estestvennoi krasoty. “Kladovye prirody” ot Nevskoi kosmetiki.

Trans: New series of creams, shampoos and soaps with extracts of curing herbs and flowers.

Find out the secret of natural beauty: “Treasures of nature” from Nevskaia cosmetics.

Inferences:

1. + >> A natural beauty is a mystery, secret.
S> Only with these products you can find out the secret. (O)
2. + True beauty is natural.
S> You can become trully beautiful with KP. (C)

#10

Name: Königsberg

Product: Beer

Context: The pictures of old Königsberg, farmers, fields, wheat, huge cans of beer are shown.

Male voice: *Drevnii Königsberg, serdtse staroi dobroj Evropy.*

Trans: Old Königsberg, the heart of old good Europe.

Male voice: *Eti mesta vseгда slavilis’ pivovarami znaiushchimi svoe delo, umeiushchimi liubit’, umeiushchimi khranit’ traditsii.*

Trans: This place has always been famous for its beer producers, who know their job, who know how to love, who know how to keep traditions.

Male voice: *Pivo “Königsberg”- drevnee, dobroe kak Evropa, svareno dornymi rukami ot chistogo serdtsa.*

Trans: Beer “Königsberg” – old and good like Europe, made by good hands from the kind hearts.

Inferences:

1. +>>> Königsberg used to be a heart of old Europe.
+>>> Europe is old and good.
+>>> There has always been the best beer in Königsberg.
S> Since the traditions are well-kept, the beer is still very good. (C)
2. S> The beer producers are skillfull and kind. (O)
3. S > The beer is made according to old receipts. (C)

#11

Name: Lenor

Product: Soft washing powder

Context: a woman packing a suitcase for going to vacation, putting in sweaters

Female voice: *Nakonets-to otpusk.*

Trans: Finally vacation.

Female voice: *Khochetsia chtoby veshchi byli uiutnymi i miagkimi.*

Trans: It’s nice when your clothes is cosy and soft.

Female voice: *No kak etogo dobitsia?*

Trans: But how to achieve it?

Male voice: *Poprobuite magiiu, magiiu Lenora.*

Trans: Try magic, the magic of Lenor.

Male voice: *Dobavlennyi pri poloskanii on delaet volokna tkani ob’emnee i miagche.*

Trans: When you add it while washing, it gives the fabric more volume and makes it softer.

Male voice: *Pobaluite vashi veshchi Lenorom i oni podariat vam miagkost’ i uiut.*

Lenor – pust’ kazhdaia veshch stanet liubimoi.

Trans: Treat your clothes with Lenor and they will treat you back with softness and comfort.

Lenor – let every thing become favorite!

Inferences:

1. S> Lenor makes things soft.(O)
2. + Favourite clothes are comfortable clothes.
S> Lenor makes things comfortable (C)

Flouting: Lenor makes things come to life. (Quality)

3. F> Lenor is special. (O)

#12

Name: LG

Product: Vacuum cleaner

Context: a woman is dressed into a silver tight overall, has fashionable sunglasses. She is cleaning the room with vacuum cleaner.

Female voice: *Novyi, stilnyi, elegantnyi, s tsifrovoy avtomaticheskoy regulirovkoj moshchnosti, so s gibaiushchimsia kolenom i unikal'noi shchettkoj Turbomaster.*

Trans: New, stylish, elegant, with automatic regulation of power, with an easy to bend XXX and unique brush Turbomaster.

Female voice: *Pylesos LG Turbomax – vernyi pomoshnik v vashem dome.*

Trans: Vacuum cleaner LG Turbomax – reliable assistant in your house.

Female voice: *Pylesos LG Turbomax sozdan dlia pobedy nad pyliu.*

Trans: Vacuum cleaner LG – made for a victory over dust.

Inferences:

1. S> It takes little time to clean the house. (C)
2. S> It is easy to clean the house. (O)
3. S> Other vacuum cleaners are not reliable. (C)

Flouting: A woman looks like a superstar with LG. (Quality)

4. F> With LG you will be a winner. (C)
5. F> LG makes a woman elegant, cool, sexy when she cleans the house. (C)

#13

Name: Zlato

Product: Sunflower oil

Context: a young woman comes home and sees her mother-in-law making pancakes on the butter; she is terrified because it contains a lot of cholesterol.

Female actor: *Mama, vy opiat' za staroe!*

Trans: Mother, you are doing it again!

Mother-in-law: *Chto ne tak?*

Trans: What is wrong?

Female actor: *Nu na kakom masle vy eto delaete?*

Trans: Which oil are you using?

Mother-in-law: *Slivochnoe.*

Trans: It is butter.

Female actor: *No tam zhe sploshnoi kholesterin! Vredno ochen'!*

Trans: But it contains so much cholesterol! It is very unhealthy!

Mother-in-law (angry): *Umnye vse stali! Vam ne ugodish...*

Trans: Oh, these young people think they are so smart! You are never satisfied!

Context: Mother-in-law stops making pancakes, is about to leave.

Female actor (kindly): *Ugodish, ugodish...*

Trans: Satisfied, satisfied...

Context: a woman gives her a bottle of Zlato oil and smiles in a sly way.

Background female voice: *Chistoe maslo Zlato ne sodержit kholesterina i gotovit' na nem vkusno i polezno.*

Trans: Pure oil “Zlato” does not contain cholesterol and it makes you dishes tasty and healthy.

Female actor: *My vas tak ljubim, mama!*

Trans: We love you so much, mother!

Mother-in-law: *Oi, lisa!*

Trans: What a fox!

Background female voice: *Zlato- maslo vysshei proby!*

Trans: “Zlato” – the oil of highest quality.

Inferences:

1. S> Oil Zlato is the only oil which does not contain cholesterol.(C)
2. S> Other kinds of oil do not make your dishes tasty and healthy.(C)

Flouting: Zlato cooking oil is as good as gold. (Quality)

3. F> Zlato is the best of all cooking oils (C)

#14

Name: O.b.

Product: Tampons

Context: a young woman is at a rock-concert. The crowd lifts her up and carry.

Female voice: *To chto ona tak uverena v sebe segodia ne sluchaino. Predstavte, chto ona by vybrala prokladku, a ne O.b.*

Trans: It is not by chance that she is so confident today. Imagine if she would have chosen ordinary tampons, and not O.b.

Context: the film is rewind to the beginning of the day, when the woman is in her bathroom choosing between tampons.

Female voice: *Zhelobki na novykh tamponakh O.b. teper' raspolozheny po spirali, vpityvaia zhidkost' eshe bolee effektivno*

Trans: New O.b. have a special shape, which makes them absorb liquid more effectively.

Context: a woman chooses O.b.

Female voice: *Novye O.b. – neprevzoidennaia zashchita!*

Trans: New O.b. – unsurpassed protection.

Inferences:

1. S> O.b. makes a woman feel self-confident. (C)
2. + Other tampons do not have the shape.
S> It is due to the shape of O.b. that they are more effective. (O)
3. S> Other tampons are less effective. (C)
4. S> The special shape of O.b. guarantees the best protection. (C)

#15

Name: Tsar-batushka

Product: Russian pel'meni

Context: cartoon, a Russian tsar is tasting traditional Russian food 'pel'meni' and approves it.

Male voice: *Russkie, po-nashemu, znatno!*

Trans: Russian, our tradition, great,

Tsar character: *Da, m-m, tsar-batushka, ochen' priiatno!*

Trans: Yes, m-m, father-tsar, very pleased!

Context: a line from a well-known Russian comedy film is used.

Inferences:

1. S> Pelmeni are made according to traditional receipts. (O)
2. + Everything made according to traditional receipts is good.
S> Pelmeni are tasty (O)

Flouting: Tsars eat Tsar-batushka! (Quality, Relevance)

3. + Kings eat the best food.
F> Pelmeni are the best possible food. (C)

#16

Name: Fa

Product: Shower gel

Context: a half-dressed woman on the tropical island.

Female voice: *Eto zhiznennaia sila.*

Trans: This is a strength for living.

Female voice: *Tol'ko novyi gel' dlia dusha Fa vinograd i papaya pridast vam novykh sil i podarit oshchushchenie svezhesti blagodaria deistviu unikal'noi gidro-formuly i ekzoticheskomu aromatu Fa vinograd i papaya.*

Trans: Only new shower gel "Fa grape and papaya" will give you new strength and a feeling of freshness, because of the unique hydro formula and exotic scent of "Fa grape and papaya".

Context: a woman is taking a shower, a bottle of Fa is shown

Female voice: *Zariadis' svezhestiu Fa!*

Trans: Charge yourself with freshness from Fa!

Context: fresh pure water is splashing around a woman.

Male voice: *Ot Shvartskopf i Henkel.*

Trans: From Schwarzkopf and Henkel.

Inferences:

1. S> Fa is the only shower gel which has a unique hydro-formula.(O)
2. S> No other shower gels make one feel fresh.(C)

3. S> With Fa a woman will be sexy and beautiful.(C)

Flouting: People can charge themselves with freshness as batteries are charged. (Quality, Manner)

4. F> Freshness from Fa will last long (O)

#17

Name: Sila leta (Summer Power)

Product: Mayonnaise

Context: different people in the super-market stand near the shelf with maionese, they are interviewed.

Female actor 1: *Maiones Sila leta – eto chto-to!*

Trans: Mayonnaise “Summer Power” is something great!

Female actor 2: *Nizkokaloriinyi i ochen’ vkusnyi, ia ego lozhkami em*

Trans: Low fat and very tasty, I eat it just like this with spoon!

Context: a woman says it quietly as though it is a secret

Male actor: *V etom nasha sila!*

Trans: This is our power!

Female actor 3: *Kak sila leta?*

Trans: Just like summer power?

Context: a man is hugging his wife and smiling.

Male actor: *Ty chudo, Sveta!*

Trans: You are fantastic, Sveta! (Met: you are the wonder of the world).

Female actor 3: *Menia i vpravdu zovut Sveta...*

Trans: My name is really Sveta...

Background male voice: *Maionez “Sila leta”!*

Trans: Mayonnaise “Summer Power”.

Inferences:

1. S> Women can eat Sila Leta without being afraid to get weight. (C)
2. S> This mayonnaise makes every dish tasty.(C)

Flouting: Sila leta is like a wonder of the world. (Manner, Quality)

3. F> Sila leta is special. (O)

#18

Name: Sunsilk

Product: Shampoo

Context: a woman sees her friend’s husband in a café in a company of a beautiful lady; she dials her female friend’s mobile phone and asks if she knows where her husband is right now; it turns out that the beautiful lady is this female friend; she was not recognised because she has such a gorgeous hair.

Female actor 1 (dialing her friend’s number and talking to her on the mobile): *Allo, Sveta?*

Female actor 2: *Da, Lena, privet!*

Trans: Hello Sveta! Yes, Lena, hello!

Female actor 1: *A ty znaesh gde seichas tvoi muzh?*

Trans: Do you know where your husband is right now?

Female actor 2: *Konechno!*

Trans: Of course.

Context: a woman looks at her husband and touches his leg with her feet under the table.

Female actor 1: *Stranno, a ia vizhu ego v kafe s kakoi-to pyshnovolosei devitsej...*

Trans: Strange, because I see him in a café in a company of a woman with a great hair.

Female actor 2: *Spasibo za kompliment, Lenchka!*

Trans: Thanks for a compliment, Lena!

Context: a woman turns around and her friend recognizes her, she embarrassingly hangs up the phone and walks towards them

Context: The same actors some time ago, standing in front of the mirror.

Female actor 1: *A tebe by poshlo s raspushchennymi.*

Trans: You would look great with loose hair.

Female actor 2: *Ty dumaesh? Oni takie zhirnye, a na konzakh sukhie.*

Trans: You think? But my hair is so greasy and dry at the ends.

Female actor 1: *A ty poprobui Sunsilk!*

Trans: Then try Sunsilk!

Background female voice: *Novyi balansiruiushchii Sunsilk vosstanavlivaet zdorobyi balans volos smeshannogo tipa.*

Trans: New Sunsilk restores a healthy balance of combined type hair.

Female actor 2: *Teper' meia mozhno ne uznat', no trudno ne zametit'!*

Trans: Now it is hard to recognize me, but easy to notice!

Background female voice: *Sunsilk – balans zdorovia I krasoty!*

Trans: Sunsilk – a balance of health and beauty.

Inferences:

1. S> Sunsilk changes woman's appearance (O)
2. S> A woman can not have loose hair if it is greasy and dry at the ends.(O)
3. +S> Beautiful hair is part of being sexy and attractive.
S > Using Sunsilk a woman becomes sexy and beautiful.(C)
4. S> Using Sunsilk a woman will be noticed by all men. (C)
5. S> With Sunsilk hair turns from flat and grey into hair with volume and shine. (O)

#19

Name: Tera

Product: Furniture

Context: Two women drinking tea, suddenly the sofa breaks and one of them falls down it.

Female actor1: *Sakhar?*

Trans: Some sugar?

Female actor 2: *Oi, net, spasibo.*

Trans: Oh, no, thanks.

Female actor1: *Zamenitel' mozhnet byt'?*

Trans: Maybe some sugar substitute?

Female actor 2: *Spasibo...Oi...(falling from the sofa)*

Trans: Yes, thank you.... Oh...

Context: a sofa breaks and a woman falls down.

Background male voice: *Nashi divanchiki ne tol'ko veselye, no i nadezhnye! Tera-luks, Moskovskii prospect, 101.*

Trans: Our sofas are not only funny, but also reliable. Tera-lux, Moscow street, 101.

Context: the pictures of different models of sofas and beds are shown on the screen.

Inferences:

1. >> These sofas and funny.(O)
2. S> These sofas are very reliable. (O)

Flouting: Our sofas have a sense of humor. (Relevance, Quality)

Flouting: Fat women break down furniture when they drink tea. (Relevance)

3. F> Tera sofas are colourful. (O)
4. F> Tera sofas can stand big weights without breaking down. (O)

#20

Name: Zanussi

Product: washing-machine

Male voice: *Vsiakii predmet, podbroshennyi vverkh, upadet na zemliu. Dokazano Niutonom.*

Trans: Every object thrown upwards will always fall down on the ground. Proved by Newton.

Context: a cartoon picture of a falling object is shown; then a picture of a washing Machine Zanussi is shown.

Male voice: *Nadezhnaia bytovaia tekhnika sushchestvuet. Dokazano Zanussi.*

Trans: Reliable household equipment exists. Proved by Zanussi.

Inferences:

1. S> Simple truths are self-obvious. (O)

Flouting: Newton discovered the law of gravity! (Quantity, Relevance)

2. F> It is as obvious as gravity that Zanusi is reliable (O)
3. F> Every piece of Zanussi equipment is 100% reliable. (C)