A linguistic study of print advertising

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A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF PRINT ADVERTISING

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
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San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
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Master of Arts
in
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Andreas Jostes
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ABSTRACT

My purpose in this study is to apply three specific linguistic theories to the study of print advertisement: conversational implicature, reference, and presupposition. I explore how these linguistic tools within the field of pragmatics can be applied to the study of advertising. Based on this detailed inquiry, I show how these devices can be useful to researchers to extract the powerful meanings and strong effects of print ads on the human mind. For this study, I chose three ads from the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. (widely known as AT&T).

The study demonstrates the usefulness of pragmatic analysis in understanding persuasive rhetoric. Pragmatic analysis allows us to see clearly the relationship between linguistic form and its social context of shared knowledge in provoking a particular response in the reader.
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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The question of what makes a print ad successful has occupied the minds of many researchers and advertisers (Maslow 1970, Geis 1982). Studies on this question analyze virtually every aspect of a print ad from a number of angles, and examine how the arrangement of different print styles and pictures affect the human mind. Other than Leech (1966) and Geis (1982), there have been few linguistic studies on the language of print advertising. Thus, there are still many aspects to discover concerning what makes it work, which is why I choose to apply the principles and techniques of linguistics to demonstrate how language plays an important role in advertising effectiveness.

My purpose in this study is to apply three specific linguistic theories to the study of print advertisement: conversational implicature, reference, and presupposition. I explore how these linguistic tools within the field of pragmatics can be applied to the study of advertising. Based on this detailed inquiry, I show how these devices can be useful to researchers to extract the powerful meanings and strong effects of print ads on the human mind. For this study, I chose three ads from the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. (widely known as AT&T).

In Chapter 1, I introduce the features of print and TV ads, discussing why I have chosen to study print ads rather than TV commercials. Next, I illustrate several strategies
that advertisers use in their campaigns to sell their products and services, namely persuasive psychology, assessment of consumer's basic needs and motivation, and aspects of visual images and language that appeal to the consumer.

I present in Chapter 2 an introduction to the study of pragmatics. I discuss its features and its relationship to the field of semantics, demonstrating how and why pragmatics is necessary for a deeper understanding of the language of advertising.

In Chapter 3, 4 and 5, I apply the theories of conversational implicature, reference and presupposition to print ads, focusing on three AT&T ads selected from the Los Angeles Times. In each part, I first review the research on the theory and second apply this knowledge to the print ads. Thus, Chapter 3 focuses on H.P. Grice's (1975) "cooperative principle." Here, I explore his so-called "maxims" both for cooperative conversations (which speakers will normally obey) which are violated and the kinds of implicatures that are produced by these violations.

Chapter 4 points out various features of reference. In particular, I discuss Nuernberg's (1978) idea of "sense," and his claim that reference is based on the multiplicity of kinds of uses for a term. I also discuss Green's (1989) description of "polysemy" (words which carry a multiplicity of meanings) and "homonymy" (words which are spelled and
pronounced alike, but are different in meaning). The rest of this Chapter examines how reference is involved in the advertiser's message.

In Chapter 5, I address the features of presupposition (what both speakers and hearers can expect of the content of information contained in an utterance), to show how these are used in advertising. Here, I will use Green's (1989) treatment of different types of presupposition to analyze a print ad.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I discuss issues of linguistics, strategies of advertising, effects of persuasion, and other aspects of language use in print advertising.
1.2 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRINT AND TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Although television is an extremely important advertising medium, my inquiry is exclusively focused on print advertising. My reason for choosing written analysis as opposed to visual is that I found print ads more manageable when analyzing linguistic features. Since TV ads are more dependent on visual images, their analysis requires an additional and more complicated body of analytical procedures. In other words, newspaper print ads have only two major elements: the interface is solely between the reader (audience) and the print (written message) in contrast to TV ads, which combine tools such as pictures, colors, music and intonation to influence the audience to buy. Therefore, considering the linguistic nature of my analysis, I found the study of print ads more appropriate because the text of advertising exerts such an enormous power through language, that language should be studied closely, not only for its rhetorical content but also for its discursive content.

Another important characteristic that motivated me to choose print advertising over TV ads is that a reader can peruse an ad in a magazine or newspaper; it allows for time which the reader controls, thus increasing comprehension. This is important because the reader can consider the information, aiding his discretionary process. Moreover, TV commercials employ many persuasive elements in a short time.
period which makes it difficult for the consumer to process information.

Bogart (1987) notes in his study of print ads that the more often an ad appears, the better it attracts attention, enough attention for the reader to become involved in the message of the ad (56). However, this does not mean that print advertising is more effective than television advertising; rather, it requires the use of different persuasive strategies than does TV advertising to influence consumers.

It is necessary to narrow the many features of print advertising in order to conduct a manageable and coherent discussion of its basic strategies and to discover what makes it effective.
1.3 ASPECTS OF PRINT ADVERTISING

Advertising copywriters address virtually all aspects of modern life including sex, age, and social status to target an audience because their goal is to sell. The purpose of this section is to examine these persuasive techniques of advertising and the psychological assumptions underlying their messages in order to demonstrate how advertisers win customers over to their products and services. Thus, I will discuss various principles of print advertising that are prerequisite to effective sales performances.

It is the advertiser's goal to create different kinds of motivation to stimulate the consumer to purchase a product or service. These motivational factors are basic material needs, basic social needs, emotions (e.g. guilt, self-satisfaction), and product benefits. First, copywriters create a strong appeal by focusing on basic material needs: food, clothing, shelter, and physical-well being are necessary to maintain life. Clothing, for instance, is a product group which satisfies physical needs, that is, to keep us warm and dry. In addition, social needs associated with shared attitudes, manners, and habits of consumption are also basic human needs, and these too are often demonstrated by the clothes people wear. For example, teenagers dress differently than business professionals to purposely identify themselves. Thus, the realm of persuasive language requires
an understanding of what appeals to both social and basic material needs.

A most interesting study of basic needs was developed by psychologist A. H. Maslow (1970) who showed that we are also driven by other basic "needs" e.g. cars, newspapers, cigarettes. Maslow claimed that basic human needs can be categorized into different levels of priority because people try to satisfy lower level needs first before they move to higher level needs. He says:

The urge to write poetry, the desire to acquire an automobile, the interest in American history, the desires for a new pair of shoes are, in the extreme case, forgotten or become secondary importance. For the man who is extremely and dangerously hungry, he thinks about food. He dreams food, he remembers food, he thinks about food, he emotes only about food, he perceives only food, and he wants only food. (37)

Here, Maslow not only emphasizes the basic human need for survival, he also indicates that we expand those needs in order to satisfy our desires, dreams, and habits. For instance, we often prefer goods that we feel are improved in quality and durability e.g., buying a brand-new Toyota instead of a used one.
This perspective is reinforced by psychologist H. M. Murry (1983) who constructed a full taxonomy of human needs demonstrating that people have different levels of need in their lives. For instance, people have a need to achieve as a means "to overcome obstacles and obtain a high standard" (qt. in Fowler 234). In advertising it is important to be aware of these needs because they indicate the mental forces at work in humans when they prepare to buy a product. In order to sell a product successfully then, copywriters must demonstrate how people can satisfy one or more of their basic needs by buying that product.

Motivation is an important aspect of this kind of persuasive discourse; it is essential to understand the consumers' motivations and apply that knowledge of who and where consumers are. In other words, with a little insight, copywriters can focus an appeal at the precise motivational level. M.S. Bacon (1988), explored the more practical applications of advertising, indicating the following motives: "money," "health," "self-image," "pleasure," guilt," "achievement or work accomplished," "praise," "humor" and "exclusivity" or "uniqueness." He states that copywriters constantly consider these motives to reflect current trends and values of a society. For example, today, with increased life expectancy, more and more people seem to be interested in health. Therefore, there is a growing trend for advertisers to incorporate health in their persuasive
communication (125). Copywriters also appeal to our emotions in their ads. When, for instance, they ask why should you make long distance phone calls to relatives abroad, we immediately think of the last time that we told Mom we love her. Additionally, advertisers show the consumer how easy it is to select a new home with the help of a particular real estate firm we begin scrutinizing neighborhoods that are more prestigious than the ones in which we live. Here, copywriters are tapping into subjective feelings that are related to the basic needs such of shelter (families and homes). Copywriters also use an emotional appeal to establish an identification of the product by consumers who recognize services, benefits, or satisfaction of a need or want.

So far we have seen that basic needs and other motivational factors, including emotions, are what drive and influence both advertising copy and the consumers' response. The perception of the product's benefit also counts high on the scale of powerful advertising principles. Benefits are the advantages that a product gives a purchaser. Thus, the benefit of a product or service might simply be the status it gives its owner. As Bacon states, "benefits fulfill human needs and benefits sell products" (130). He emphasizes that advertisers only need to demonstrate why the consumer should buy one brand or service over another and to convince consumers to purchase a particular product. The ultimate
benefit is one that is unique. In other words, copywriters search for the product benefit which no similar product can offer (132). For instance, the installation of solar power in houses can not satisfy a need because no one has a material or psychological need for solar energy. However, people have the need to save money while heating their homes and will consider this benefit of the product. Thus, benefits can be defined as the advantages of one product over another. In particular, phone companies often indicate their unique calling programs that save the consumers money and offer quality service such as clear phone lines. Phone companies are famous for their comparative and confrontational advertising as a means of stressing their product benefits. This strategy entails comparing their product or service directly with their competitors. Successful comparison, according to the advertisers guide of Russell and Lane (1990), is accomplished when ads compare their product with products "identical in every respect except for the specific differential in the ad" (449).

The language of advertising discourse is also an important aspect for copywriters. As Bacon states, advertisers often pack the headline of the copy with words such as: "new," "introducing," "breakthrough," "only," "unique" and "exclusive." Other common headline words that create this persuasive power include: "health," "proven," "results," "easy," "safety" and "guarantee" giving the
consumer a sense of security. The copy may also include features such as "humor," "credibility," (the copywriter's goal is to overcome skepticism) "dialogue," "slice of life," (this type of copy indicates how a product is used to solve a problem or make life easier) or "free trial" (the copy features store coupons or money back guarantees often used in newspapers) to support a strong sales message (142-154).

Vestergaard and Schroder (1985) state that copies have a tendency to chop up sentences into shorter units by using full stops. This effect provides more information in smaller units and the same sequence of words will appear several times rather than once (122). On the other hand, a long copy can also be effective, but this depends on the product and the purpose of the ad. Formal or cliché-ridden language is not appropriate because it loses the consumer's attention that copywriters need to sell their product or service.

Bacon (1988) notes that the most important words in creating a copy are "You" and "Your." These two words make advertising messages personal for everyone who reads them. Thus, effective ads are based on one-on-one-communication. In other words, "You" involves the reader in the copy indicating, that he/she is a part of what the copywriter has to say. This enhances the emotional impact, and reaches the reader directly. The use of this personal pronoun also makes the writing easier to read (142).
Visual images are also common in print ads; they are considered as one of the strongest elements of advertising copy, because people are more likely to remember what they see. Thus, the relation between text and picture and the way in which they communicate are extremely important in constructing a copy. The relationship between both elements is specifically addressed within the theory of semiotic analysis. Semiotics is the study of how we communicate by means of signs and symbols and their relationships to linguistic content.

Vestergaard and Schroder (1985) demonstrated three different links between signs and objects: iconic, indexical and symbolic relations. An icon is the relationship between sign and object in which the sign is similar to its object. For example, a toy gun represents the power of a real gun. An index is a sign which can be used to represent its object because it usually occurs in close association with its referent. For example, the crown belongs to the King and can be used as a symbol of royalty. Indexical signs are often employed in advertising illustrations as a means to establish an indexical relationship between the product and something else which is considered to be favorable by the consumer. The symbol, on the other hand is a sign which makes the connection between sign and its object, based on conventions. For example, a diamond ring is associated with love, trust and security (38-41).
In addition to signs and objects, it is important to consider how verbal texts differ from images in print ads. For example, the ad has a beginning and an end and is dependent on linearity in order to communicate its message. In Vestergaard and Schroder's words:

When we read, the eye moves from the upper left corner of the page to the lower right corner, and the upper left lower right diagonal is indeed extremely important dimension in much painting, as well an in advertising lay-out. (44)

It is no wonder then that advertisers and graphic designers take meticulous care to be highly creative when they draw, paint, take photographs, or show diagrams, maps and other visual images to support the language of advertising. Even though I focus on text rather than visual images in what follows, I hope that this linguistic analysis may, in future, attribute to the semiotic analyses of the relationship between verbal and visual components of advertising.

So far, I have demonstrated that basic needs, motivational factors including emotional appeals, benefits, visual images, and various techniques such as sentence structure and key words aid successful copywriting. It is clear that advertising works and that it works on the level of conscious awareness. Even those who claim immunity to
copywriters' messages are affected subtly and subliminally by advertising. The attention is caught and communication occurs between copywriters and consumers, resulting in sales.

In what follows I will demonstrate that pragmatic principles, particularly implicature, reference, and presupposition, are also crucial factors in understanding the effectiveness of print advertising.
CHAPTER 2 - WHAT IS PRAGMATICS

In this chapter I will focus on pragmatics, its definition and scope, in order to provide an understanding of it, necessary to the comprehension of the discourse types I have chosen to examine in this study of print advertising.

In general, there exists a wide range of definitions and descriptions of pragmatics. Most of them include reference to the analysis of particular utterances, in particular situations and in various contexts. For this study, pragmatics is defined as the study of ways in which social factors influence the interpretation of language. Often, people utter sentences that mean more, or something different than what they actually say. For example, if Peter says to Maggie (in short for Mangelsdorf, a common German name), "You are driving too fast," his assertion may carry many different meanings. For example, it may be a command to slow down or to concentrate on the traffic. However, Maggie could also interpret it as a general criticism and respond, "I'm a good driver." Pragmatics, then, is at the forefront when we examine the relationship between the speaker's purpose and the speaker's utterance. The speaker's beliefs, values, desires, and intentions are very important in understanding the speaker's meaning. Pragmatics looks at a speech performance as primarily a social act ruled by various social conventions.
It is useful to distinguish pragmatics from semantics, which also concerns the analysis of the meaning of words, phrases, or sentences. One interesting study of pragmatics which describes the overlapping of pragmatic and semantic theories is Levinson's book *Pragmatics* (1983). He defines pragmatics as the interpretation of language form in context; pragmatics thus includes the study of both the linguistic form and the communicative content of an utterance. Levinson asserts that semantic theory treats meaning in a much narrower scope than does pragmatics, which looks at meaning in the context of language users. He suggests that "pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding" (21). Pragmatics focuses the conventional aspects of language that shape concepts of meaning. It incorporates social context in respect to the norms and values of a society in understanding linguistic meaning. Levinson also notes that a pragmatic theory can accommodate semantic theories because combined together they provide a wider field in which to study language (1-35).

Pragmatics is important because it is a part of linguistics which examines how discourse operates. As Deborah Schiffrin (1994) says:

What Gricean pragmatics offers to discourse analysis is a view of how participant assumptions
about what comprises a cooperative context for communication (a context that includes knowledge, text, and situation) contribute to meaning, and how those assumptions help to create sequential patterns in talk. (227)

In other words, pragmatics helps us to understand some of the characteristics of discourse, allowing us to study how we communicate with each other.

The communicative content of utterances includes but is not limited to three principles of pragmatic inferences: first, conversational implicature, which is derived from the general theory of communication called the Cooperative Principle; second, reference, when a speaker utters a linguistic expression, expecting his addressee to infer what entity, relation, or event he is talking about; and last, presupposition, inferences that represent the background assumptions of a particular utterance.

In the next three Chapters, I will review the pragmatic inferences of conversational implicature, reference, and presupposition, both discussing and applying them as principles that can be used when analyzing print advertising.
Philosopher H.P. Grice proposed a general theory of communication called the Cooperative Principle, which he expressed as follows:

Make your conversational contribution such as it required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. (45)

Under this general principle exist four maxims:

**QUANTITY**
1) Make your contribution as informative as is required.
2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

**QUALITY**
3) Do not say what you believe to be false.
4) Do not say that for which you lack evidence.

**RELATION.**
5) Be relevant.
MANNER

6) Avoid obscurity of expression.

7) Avoid ambiguity.

8) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).

9) Be orderly.

(45-46)

Grice states that people regularly violate or flout these maxims in a variety of ways, e.g., by lying or simply not providing as much information as they can in as clear a manner as possible. When this happens, conversational implicature is produced, that is, the speaker can imply, suggest, or convey something distinct from what he or she has literally said. For example, Peter asks Maggie, "Who's coming over tonight?" Maggie responds, "Some friends." By not supplying enough information, Maggie implies that he does not want to say exactly which of his friends is coming tonight. According to Grice, the amount of information expressed in Maggie's utterance violates the Maxim of Quantity, that is, the speaker (Maggie) says too little. The Maxims are not meant to be a prescriptive set of rules speakers must follow, but rather they describe what speakers do in order to communicate successfully.

In reference to Grice's theory, Levinson (1983) says that implicature "provides some explicit account of how it is possible to mean (in some general sense) more than what is
actually said" (97). He says that Grice's cooperative principle is in operation even when the maxims are violated because no one speaks consistently in accord with the maxims. He writes:

Rather, in most ordinary kinds of talk these principles are oriented to, such that when talk does not proceed according to their specifications, hearers assume that, contrary to appearances, the principles are nevertheless being adhered to at some deeper level. (102)

The maxims are criteria whereby we know when an implicature is created. Let us consider another example to understand Levinson's point.

10) Peter: "What would you like for Christmas?"
11) Maggie: "My engine is broken."

Maggie violates the maxim of Relation because his response is obscure and ambiguous. It also violates the maxim of relevance. Peter assumes though that the cooperative principle is operating and that the response is relevant. In this way he can interpret the response to mean that what Maggie actually wants is a used or new engine. In this way, Maggie and Peter are adhering to the cooperative principle.
We understand that the speaker is cooperating by recognizing when a maxim seems to have been violated. Thus, the maxims help us to make inferences about a speaker's utterance in a given context. In Levinson's words, "inferences arise to preserve the assumption of cooperation; it is only by making the assumption contrary to superficial indications that the inference arises in the first place" (102). The Cooperative Principle can explain how speakers convey more than what they actually say because if we assume that a speaker is cooperating we can infer additional meanings from the speaker's utterances.

Another discussion of Grice's theory of communication is Green's study (1989) which points out that when a speaker disregards a maxim:

The hearer assumes that the speaker is observing the Cooperative Principle - to do otherwise would be to assume that the speaker is irrational and unpredictable, and cannot be expected to participate in rational discourse. (90)

Hence, the hearer will adapt a strategy of interpreting the speaker's behavior according to the Cooperative Principles. Moreover, Green states that the hearer will consider what propositions must be known to understand the speaker within
the rules of the Cooperative Principle and the Maxims. As she puts it.

If the speaker's remark seems irrelevant, the hearer will seek to construct a sequence of inferences which make it relevant or at least cooperative. (91)

Thus, Green states, "since the speaker expects the hearer to adopt this strategy," the speaker can take advantage of his discourse in such a way that the hearer has to interpret the speakers utterance (90-91). Thus, she explains how Grice's theory of implicature works, namely within the exploitation of the maxims. The important assumption in this process is that the speaker is cooperating.

The question remains why do people use conversational implicature in order to address their intentions, meanings, and ideas? Why do they express their purposes indirectly? Basically, people use implicature presuming that everyone knows and shares certain facts about the world. We say things indirectly so as not to be offensive. Especially in advertising, we do this because we want to gain the addressee's confidence and approval.

Levinson's (1983) study of pragmatics explains conversational implicature by suggesting that conversations include both the linguistic form and the communicative
content of an utterance. He argues that conversational implicature provides some explicit account of how it is possible to mean (in some general sense) more than what is actually 'said' (i.e. more than what is literally expressed by the conventional sense of the linguistic expressions uttered). (97)

Perhaps one more example will help to clarify the issue of how an implicature is produced in common conversation.

12) Stephan: "I want to try a new recipe."
13) Peter: "Maggie, next door, works at the restaurant."

The semantics of (13) tell us that Maggie works at the restaurant; he could either be a cook, a waiter, or a maitre d'. However, Stephan assumes that Maggie is employed as a cook who has a repertoire of recipes. According to Grice, Peter violates the maxim of quantity, that is, he does not provide as much information as is required. An implicature thus arises, that is, the meaning of Peter's utterance is conveyed not only by linguistic structure but also by contextual extralinguistic information. This is the basic strategy for communication. The implication here is that Peter and Maggie are good friends and prepare meals
together. Furthermore, Peter might assume that because Maggie is a cook, he will provide Stephan with a new recipe. Based on these implications, Stephan considers Peter's response as relevant and non-ambiguous because he infers that Peter knows somebody who has access to new recipes. If not, the hearer, in this case Stephan couldn't have inferred what is being conversationally implicated from his request for advice. The meaning of Peter's response is not fully determined by semantic rules, but rather is pragmatically determined by the context and the maxim of relevance. Consequently, using Grice's framework, the recovery of information depends on the conversational maxims and on the context and is therefore more than what one literally says.

Another aspect of Grice's framework of implicature is the way in which implicatures are calculated, that is, the way in which the speaker or hearer can predict something from what is actually said. Levinson's (1983) view of the properties of Grice's implicature are: cancelability, non-detachability, calculability, and non-conventionality. Cancelability refers to the fact that implicature can be canceled by "adding some additional premises to the original ones" (114). Non-detachability refers to the fact that implicature is "attached to the semantic content of what is said, not to a linguistic form, and therefore implicatures cannot be detached" (116). Calculability means that implicatures can be worked out by the hearer. In Levinson's
words, "from the literal meaning or the sense on the one hand, and the cooperative principle and the maxims on the other, it follows that an addressee would make the inference in question to preserve the assumption of co-operation."

Lastly, non-conventionally means that implicatures are "not part of the conventional meaning of linguistic expression" (117).

Grice did not intend for the cooperative principle to be understood as universal phenomenon, however linguists such as Green (1989, 1990) and Levinson (1983) extend its applicability. This is especially true of Green, who suggests that:

The value of the cooperative principle and the maxim explaining linguistic phenomena is much greater if they are universal (and hence potentially a consequence of some property of human nature or human society) than if they are not.

(95-96)

In her study, she refers to Keenan's (1976) research on Malagasy claiming that Malagasy speakers regularly withhold information in common conversations, e.g., in answering questions. Although Keenan's study is often cited as controversial (Prince 1982), Green argues that Grice's Cooperative Principle and maxims are applicable in all
cultures but they are observed to different degrees. She states, "Malagasy speakers are just like western Europeans in abiding by the cooperative principle and observing even the questioned first maxim of quantity" (96).

Conversational implicature then is an important aspect of communication. It focuses on our intentions in communication with others. Now, let us consider the conversational implicatures in a print advertisement.
MCI's saving plans may sound great over the phone.

Unfortunately, it's how they look on your bill that counts.

Maybe that's why over half the people who switch from AT&T to MCI switch back to AT&T within 6 months.

When you first get your MCI bill, you may find yourself looking at numbers that are higher than you expected. That's because when you hear MCI's sales pitch over the phone, you could miss some important details. Like anytime you call a number you didn't give MCI in advance, you don't save anything at all. Or how MCI's monthly fees can decrease your savings.

So it's no wonder most people switch back to AT&T.

With AT&T True USA Savings, all you have to do is spend $25 a month on long distance and we'll subtract 20% off your AT&T bill. That's 20% off on calls to anyone, anywhere, in the USA, anytime. Guaranteed. With no calling circles, and no fee.

So when MCI comes a-calling, why not save yourself some trouble? Just say politely, "no thanks." And stick with AT&T. For information, call 1-800-673-3770.

AT&T. Your True Voice.
The construction consists of four parts. The headline is divided into two major sections covering more than half the page. A subheadline follows the headline which presents the middle part of the advertiser's message. Third, we see the elaboration of the ad, which is displayed at the lower left and right of the page. Finally, the second subheadline closes the copy.1

In the following discussion, I will first analyze each part of the ad, demonstrating how conversational implicature can be extracted from the copywriter's message. This will show how implicature is an important part of understanding the copywriter's claim.

The headline violates two of the maxims of Grice's theory of conversational implicature: Quality and Quantity. First, the maxim of quality is violated because of AT&T's questionable evidence for their claim that MCI's promotions are untrue. Secondly, the maxim of quantity is violated, that is, the headline does not provide any detailed information about MCI's saving plans over the phone, nor does it provide any evidence that supports this claim.

Moreover, the second half of the headline "Unfortunately, it's how they look on your bill that counts." violates the maxim of quality again, since it makes an unsubstantiated claim that MCI customers are not saving

1 Los Angeles Times December 15, 1994 Page A17
money. We know this claim is unsubstantiated because AT&T has no access to the phone bill of MCI. In support of this claim the copywriters use the adverb "Unfortunately" to indicate that MCI customers do not benefit from MCI saving plans. In addition, the maxim of quality is violated because the reader seeks to construct

From those violations of the maxims arise several implicatures of the copywriter's message. Cooperative readers may notice these violations and as Green says, seeks "to construct a sequence of inferences," enabling him or her to construe the message as cooperative. The reader must either infer that the writer is using sarcasm or that possibly the message is true. Some combination of these two options forms the readers interpretation of the copy, leading to the following implicatures: First, the suggestion of not trusting MCI because they promise you great savings that in the long run are more expensive than one thinks violates the maxim of quality. Secondly, the idea that MCI manipulates people by inaccurate promotions over the phone, again violates the maxim of quality. In other words 'you were deceived,' because you trusted a company other than AT&T. Third, the idea that phone users have to pay a higher rate on their phone bills because MCI does not keep promises of great savings is implied. Lastly, the violation of quantity produces the following implicature, namely, that MCI's saving plans are so bogus that any additional information about them
would be absurd. Lastly, the notion that MCI is unreliable and can't be trusted further violates the maxim of quality.

The subheadline also violates the maxim of quality indicated by the adverb "maybe," which implies both skepticism and that the reader should switch back to AT&T. The maxim of manner is also violated because "over half" is ambiguous, since we do not know what this number indicates. The implicatures here suggest that it's okay to make a mistake and that many other people have also been seduced by MCI's misleading promotions, yet still like 'the prodigal son,' customers can always come back home to AT&T. Moreover, smart phone users recognize MCI's inaccurate savings plan and will not hesitate to switch back to AT&T. These implicatures arise from the violations of both the maxims of quality and manner because AT&T's adds lack evidence and make ambiguous claims.

Similar violations occur in the left half of the copy. The maxim of quality is violated because the copywriters lack evidence for their claim about savings stating, "... you may find yourselves looking at numbers that are higher than you expected." They claim this happens to everybody who is not familiar with the details of MCI's savings plan. The modal verb "may" violates the maxim of manner because it is ambiguous; AT&T implies that no one really saves any money by choosing MCI. The next claim "... when you hear MCI's sales pitch over the phone, you could miss some important details."
again violates the maxim of quality because "pitch" implies that the utterance is not true and "details" implies important information was purposely left out of MCI's sales pitch. Both words imply that the utterance was merely stated by MCI to gain the consumer's confidence. The last claim of the left half of the copy "... no wonder most people switch back to AT&T," again violates both maxims of quality and manner: quality is violated because AT&T lacks evidence about customers switching back and manner is violated because "most" is ambiguous.

Thus, the following implicatures arise from the violation of the maxims: each phone user can be trapped by an intricate and dishonest net of MCI's promotions; customers have to pay an unexpectedly high phone bill at the end of the month; many phone users eventually cancel MCI's complicated calling system and switch back to AT&T.

The right half of the copy seems more personal because of the tone of the copywriter's language in the first two sentences, that is, the copywriters use a short sentence and a second person pronoun to address the consumer. The copywriters emphasize AT&T's savings plan focusing on "... True USA Savings." The second half of the sentence however, qualifies what the consumer has to spend "... 25$ a month on long distance" in order to save 20% off the phone bill. The maxim of quantity is violated because the copywriters do not state if this includes international long distance calls. In
addition, the maxim of relation is violated because if the consumer has no reason to make long distance phone calls, he saves nothing. Here, the company implies that the consumer either does or will have a need for international long distance service.

The next sentence violates the maxim of quality because the copywriters lack evidence that MCI's "calling circles" do not work. Another violation of quality occurs when we analyze the claim "... save yourself some trouble" which indicates the copywriter's assumption that MCI's plan is "trouble" for the consumer. The next utterance, "... say politely, no thanks" violates the maxim of quantity because the copywriters tell the consumer what they should say if they are confronted with MCI's promotions over the phone. In other words, they provide too much information, since consumers know how to respond.

From these violations several implicatures arise: AT&T's calling plan is simple and lacks problems for the consumer; their phone system can be trusted; the word "Guaranteed" indicates the company is reputable and reassures the customer. In addition, by using the word "polite," it is implied that AT&T is fair and congenial.

Finally, the last claim of the copy, namely "AT&T. Your True Voice" at the bottom of the page, violates the maxim of manner. This maxim is violated since AT&T cannot literally be somebody's "True voice." The implicatures are then that
AT&T is capable of giving the consumer the experience of truth verses false "voice." Here, the suggestion of "True Voice" is ambiguous: one being AT&T speaks the truth for you and the other is AT&T allows the consumers to speak the truth for themselves. Thus, AT&T establishes an image of a truthful, believable, and reliable company. Moreover, the possessive pronoun "Your" supports this implication by creating a familiar relationship with the consumer.

Violations of Grice's maxims of quality, quantity and manner overlap throughout the entire copy. These violations produce various implicatures as useful and strong messages to the reader. Through these conversational implicatures, copywriting can strongly appeal to the potential customer's needs, wants, and desires, stimulating the reader's satisfaction and their ability to discern between phone companies. Thus, through analysis of conversational implicature, we can see how the message of copywriters can influence the consumer to purchase a product or service. As described by Levinson, it is possible to infer extralinguistic meanings from utterances when we assume that the speaker is cooperating according to the maxims. It is obvious then that copywriters do not always focus on direct messages in their print ads because it is to their advantage to choose utterances that carry several simultaneous implications. In other words, this particular copy reveals how advertisers indirectly attack the reputation of MCI by
implying doubt about MCI's savings plan, and referring the customer to the lack of savings on their phone bill. They accomplish these manipulations through language; words and phrases such as "may," "Unfortunately," "maybe," "expected," "sales pitch," "No wonder" and "save yourself some trouble" promulgate a bad reputation.
CHAPTER 4 - ASPECTS OF REFERENCE

In this chapter I will discuss the linguistic and philosophic uses of the term "reference," and then demonstrate how reference is used in print advertising.

Traditionally, reference belongs within the fields of semantics and philosophy. It delineates the relationship that holds between expressions in a text or discourse and entities in the world. John Lyons (1977), a well known scholar of semantic theory, claims that reference is what the speaker refers to, i.e., the speaker makes a reference by expressing an utterance about a particular thing. For instance, Peter says, "John is tall," making a specific reference to a particular person, "John."

The philosopher Gottlieb Frege (1952) distinguishes between the reference of an expression, "'that to which the sign refers', and its sense, an interpretation of the sign, provided by the grammar of the language, 'wherein the mode of presentation is contained'". He notes, for instance, that the expression "the Morning Star" indicates the referent, the second planet from the sun. The sense of the expression includes the fact that this is a star that can be seen in the morning. However, Venus is another expression with the same referent yet it has a different sense. In other words, it is possible to have more than one expression for a particular referent. For linguists, meaning includes sense while for logicians, meaning is restricted to reference.
Another related point about reference was made by Nuernberg (1978) who claims there are no standard "senses" (kinds of uses) for referring terms, rather, successful reference is made based on our ability to derive an additional meaning from a given meaning. He states that we frequently succeed in referring by using a description that has a specific relation to the intended referent. He describes several principles which speakers must use to narrow down the set of referring functions that might be applicable in a given situation. First, reference expresses what is physically pointed out, for instance, the speaker indicates a book on the table, saying, "There is a book." Second, there are similar values of a referent which are part of the shared knowledge among the addressee and addresser. For instance, the speaker knows what "book" and "table" indicate. Third, it is possible to distinguish the referent from something else, therefore the referent also carries different values. For example, the distinction between the novel on the table and the phone directory on the table should be obvious to the addressee. Lastly, when the "first function" is the referent, it must only be this referent and no other referent. For example, when the speaker says, "There is a book," it must be that book and not any other book (51-52).
Nuernberg, however states that these principles often are an oversimplification for many descriptive terms or referring expressions. For instance, nouns, as well as, verbs are used to relate to intended descriptions in a variety of ways; the verb 'run' relates to activities in sports as well as to the draining or pouring of water. Both senses of the verb can indicate quick or slow movements of bodies. Every word may also be subject to a multiplicity of references of this sort (53-58).

Nuernberg's theory of reference postulates a solid base in shared knowledge, because the speaker must assume that his addressee will consider the rational use of the speaker's utterance. Even if the addressee does not have all the same assumptions that are shared by the speech community, he or she will at least be able to figure out what is relevant and what the speaker intended to say. Expressions such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives have extensive uses, or intended senses, that the addressee can extract by drawing from the shared knowledge of the speech community.

Green's (1989) pragmatic approach also asserts that reference involves mutual knowledge shared by hearer and speaker. According to Green:

The speaker must suppose that the addressee knows some proposition P and assumes that the speaker knows that
the addressee not only knows P but will use that
information in inferring the intended referent. (47)

In other words, the speaker is able to convey an
understandable utterance, insofar as the addressee can make
sense of its meaning.

Because there are so many inferences that a hearer could
make, Green distinguishes between words which carry a
multiplicity of meanings, called "polysemy," and words which
are spelled and pronounced alike, but are different in
meaning, called "homonymy." For instance, a polysemous word
like 'cut' can refer to 'cut with a knife,' 'cut in a film'
or 'cut in line'. On the other hand, 'bank' meaning the
'shore of a river,' is homonymous with 'bank' meaning 'a
financial institution'; these two 'banks' are separate words,
unrelated semantically and etymologically. Green notes that
the distinction between polysemy and homonymy can be
psychological as well as syntactic. It is a psychological
distinction, because speakers may differ on whether "two
senses of some phonologically unique form are senses of the
same polysemous word, or two different homonymous words."
For instance, the word 'bank' can be polysemous for some
people with two related meanings 'the shore of a river' or
'the turn of an airplane's wings' (48).

It's not clear whether these are separate unrelated
meanings or homonyms, or whether one meaning can be taken as
a metaphorical extension of another when the two meanings, or in Green's word "senses" are polysemously related. Green states that many ordinary nouns have the ability to refer to a variety of distinct kinds of referents, and that many common and proper nouns have a multiplicity of senses of this sort (49). For example, we can say, 'The house needs new paint,' or 'the house has to be full before the performance can began.' It is possible to demonstrate that every noun is polysemous. This idea, Green says, is problematic because we cannot learn every distinct sense of a word. Moreover, new meanings are constantly being created for words. We may use a nouns to refer to a concrete object, and then that meaning can be extended to refer to special activities as the following example illustrates,

14) Peter is in the house.
15) Peter is into house.

The noun 'house' in sentence (14) refers to the concrete object used for habitation, whereas the same noun in sentence (15) refers to a type of dance music initially used at house parties in Chicago.

A noun can also be used to refer to things associated with it. This is called metonymy. As Green noted, "a member of a woodwind ensemble might identify another member by her instrument," as in,
16) The clarinet had to go to the powder room.

or in (17) where "Newspaper" can refer to a company or a publisher.

17) The newspaper fired John.

Here, the hearer's knowledge of this relation between "Newspaper" and publisher is assumed. Green asserts that there are an indefinite number of reference uses for a particular term. Human beings are unable to memorize all the "senses," or again using Green's terminology, "the kinds of uses," to interpret definitions and terms, identify characters and properties, or make inferences and statements (60).

Green proposes a pragmatic foundation of reference, whereby the features of homonymy and polysemy perform only a supporting role for the concept of reference, demonstrating how our inferencing mechanisms might work. In other words, we make inferences based on the references we know and understand, and based on shared mutual knowledge.

Both Nuernberg's theory of referring function and Green's study of reference as having many meanings indicates that between speaker and hearer exists a specific relation that enables them to make successful reference based on shared mutual knowledge. Analysis of the following ad from
AT&T demonstrates how reference can be used to persuade to create persuasive rhetoric.
3.1 REFERENCE IN PRINT ADVERTISING

It's True

It’s true, there’s a new spirit at AT&T, listening to you more and trying to give you more of what you are asking for. We responded and you responded. Thank you. We will continue to give you the simplicity, value, quality and service you want and deserve.

Simplicity

It’s true, our AT&T True USA Savings offer is simple, and simply the best value in long distance today. And our AT&T TrueWorld Savings is the only international calling plan without limits.

Value

It's true, 13 million are enjoying AT&T True Rewards, giving you points good for free AT&T minutes, free frequent flyer miles, even rewards from Disney. It's our way of thanking you, just for calling AT&T.

Quality

It's true, millions of you are experiencing long distance calls that sound clearer and closer than ever. Our amazing new sound quality breakthrough, AT&T True Voice, is now available nationwide, free, but only if you're wish AT&T.
Service

It's true, we answered the phone when 50 million of you called us this year. Wanting information, joining our programs, asking questions. And we answered you, in 140 languages, 24 hours a day, 365 days.

We're here for you. Just call 1 800-544-3544.

AT&T. Your True Voice.

The structure of the ad\(^2\) is built on five consecutive statements, each of which includes different subtitles "Simplicity," "Value," "Quality," and "Service" relating to the copywriter's message. The headline "It's True" appears repeatedly as the first phrase of each paragraph, describing various points of the ad.

I will begin my analysis by focusing on the headline and subheadlines, exploring their relationships in regard to reference. Then, I will demonstrate how reference is involved in the elaborations of the copy.

As noted above, Nuernberg argues that there are no standard meanings, or in his words "senses," for referring terms. Rather, reference is based on pragmatic theory, in this case the principles of referring functions that relate one meaning to another. Nuernberg's second function, which involves shared knowledge between addresser and addressee,
appears most applicable in analyzing this ad, since the message involves assumptions of values of the referent. In other words, we can assume that words like those in the headline and subheadlines carry meanings which are shared by the copywriter and the reader.

Thus, the headline expresses those "senses" of the phrase "It's True," as a means to convey that AT&T is an honest and reliable company. In addition, the reference may also include the "sense" that other phone companies lie to and misuse their customers. The references of the following subheadlines of the ad also act in accord with the second principle of Nuernberg's theory of referring functions. They invoke shared knowledge regarding. "Simplicity" of service refers to ease, "value" refers to saving money, "quality" refers to the best product, and "service" refers to trying to please the customer (which I will demonstrate later within the framework of Green's study of reference). The subheadlines carry many more references that serve to indicate the excellent reputation of AT&T. They also relate to each other. For example, "value" may relate to money, benefits, or quality. They also relate to each other, insofar as they explain what the company (AT&T) claims to offer its customers. It is important to copywriters that the message carries as many referents as possible to indicate the product or service of the copy. The references are effective when the reader is influenced by the intended reference.
Each headline carries a multiplicity of meanings, and is therefore polysemous. "True" can mean truthful, honest, and loyal. The headline "It's true" refers to a phone company that provides accurate and real assistance, and deals legitimately with all of its customers. In other words, the headline indicates to the reader that everything associated with this phone company and its phone service is genuine.

"Simplicity" can mean pure, easy or uncompounded. The noun "Value" can mean as something of worth or strength, and "Quality" can exemplify characteristics such as reliability and longevity of a product or service. Thus, the headline and subheadlines are polysemous words capable of different meanings. The question then is why the copywriters employ these particular words rather than others. For instance, 'ease' instead of "simplicity," 'worth' instead of "value," 'good features' instead of "quality," and 'repair and maintenance' instead of "service"?

The first subheadline, "simplicity," relates to a variety of associations or references. It is simple to make a long distance call, to clearly understand the other party, to share the savings with other phone users, and to avoid any trouble with other phone company's complicated calling systems. "Simplicity" then is more effective and a stronger than 'easy' because 'easy' is associated with references such as 'facile' or 'effortless,' that which causes or involves little difficulty or causes little discomfort. 'Easy,' then,
raises associations with 'difficulty' and 'discomfort' that "simplicity" doesn't.

The second subheadline, "value," refers to special phone rewards, monetary and otherwise. The reader is rewarded if he or she decides to select this phone company. 'Worth,' on the other hand, would be more closely associated with the equivalent of a specific amount or figure, rather than "value" which refers both to money and savings, and also to less tangible benefits such as "True Rewards."

The third subheadline, "quality," conveys specific properties and distinctive characteristics belonging to the phone company, that is, a phone system based on modern technology and advanced computer networks achieving for every phone user quality such as clarity of sound. If the copywriters had selected 'good features,' as the subheadline, it would refer more directly to the specific characteristics of AT&T's products and service rather than indicate the more abstract special qualities of their products.

The fourth subheadline, "service," indicates through its associations the phone company's good faith by making us think of attentive employees who will make it possible to satisfy any customer's wishes or requests. 'Repair' or 'Maintain' would not be appropriate, since both words refer to the process of repairing, replacing, and preserving some product or service. Even though my suggested substitute words could convey similar meanings and interpretations, the
copywriter's words are stronger and more effective because they are associated with particular references indicating more general positive notions and greater security for the consumer.

The headline as well the subheadline also aid the idea of truthfulness in the copywriter's message. Another reason for this ad's effectiveness is that the subheadlines themselves are strongly associated with each other since they carry similar references and interpretations.

Considering the references of the ad, we can conclude that the copywriters focus on those needs and benefits that consumers look for, namely, a service that is useful, economical, and efficient. For instance, a consumer reading the subheadline "Service" might think of AT&T's commitment to their customers, or the reader might perceive "Service" only as AT&T's reputation of repairing and providing service for phone lines. Thus, the readers produce different inferences based on the kind of reference they have made. These inferences are supported by the copywriter's claim "It's True," which is used repetitively for emphasis as the first claim in each elaboration of the copy. The purpose of this claim is to refer to AT&T's honest reputation. First, "It's true" refers to the elaborations within the subheadline Secondly, "It's true" refers to a lack of deception concerning AT&T's service; only AT&T establishes a confidential relationship with the consumer based on truth.
Moreover, AT&T symbolizes accuracy and perfection. As a result, of this repetitive phrasing, the copywriters establish a wide range of references that highlight AT&T's proclamation of being the best. And being 'the best' means they satisfy their customer's needs.

Thus, reference is a powerful means to convey an advertiser's message. The copywriter's strategy is to construct a relationship between language and context, as a means for the consumer to both understand and identify the linguistic message. Reference then, becomes successful because the copywriter's goal is to manipulate the consumer to buy their product or service. Understanding polysemy allow us to make sense either of extensive (multiple) or particular (specific) references.

Green's and Nuernberg's theories take as fundamental the idea of multiplicity of meanings. However, their theories depend on two different aspects; Green claims by using polysemous words a message can be established, while Nuernberg claims that by adding particular referents a meaning can be inferred. According to both theories then, headlines and subheadlines are successful references because copywriters can use them to convey both multiple and specific meanings. The reader's ability to understand the advertiser's claims depends on shared knowledge. These references produce an enormous persuasive effect, supporting the various features that AT&T offers to their customers, and to
prospective consumers. Thus, a pragmatically-based analysis of lexical choice in these ads allows us to better understand their persuasive effects on the consumer.
In this chapter, I will discuss the pragmatic principle of presupposition. My purpose is not to discuss the differences between semantic and pragmatic accounts of presupposition; rather it is to examine how one theory of presupposition, namely Green's approach, can be applied to print ads in order to demonstrate one way that ads manipulate and persuade an audience.

A general definition of presupposition is: what the speaker and the hearer can expect about the content of the information included in an utterance; both suppose prior knowledge before the utterance is presented. For example, if Peter says to Maggie, "The cat is on the mat," this presupposes there is a cat and there is a mat. On the other hand, the mat could have a picture of a cat on it which changes the meaning of the utterance from a live animal to a design. Thus, context and shared knowledge allows us to make presuppositions.

Green (1989) defines presupposition as a "proposition whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a linguistic expression, a proposition without which the utterance cannot be evaluated" (71). She further presents different types of presuppositions, claiming that presuppositions are pragmatic properties of an utterance in context. First she describes existence presupposition, where
the existence of something is presupposed (71). For instance,

18) John says to Donna, "The snow in the mountains melted last week."

In this utterance, John presupposes there was snow in the mountains.

Second, Green identifies factive presuppositions which are produced by the linguistic form, rather than by pragmatic or contextual information. Consider the following utterances,

19) Peter knows that Bill was sentenced to death.
20) Peter regrets that Bill was sentenced to death.
21) It is obvious that Bill is going to die.
22) That Bill was sentenced to death, surprises Peter.

Sentences (19-22) presuppose that Bill will die by the death penalty. Green states that factive presupposition includes factive verbs such as "know," "realize," "mean," "prove," and "be obvious." These factive verbs presuppose the truth in the proposition they precede. Similar to these words are emotive factives such as "regret," "be glad," "be surprised" and "amazed." Furthermore, Green notes that WH questions are also common constructions with factive presuppositions; these
sentences feature adverbial and relative clauses introduced by the corresponding subordinating particles (73). They appear in the following sentences.

23) Why did Germany lose against Bulgaria in the World Cup final soccer game 1994?

24) When the Germans lost against Bulgaria in the World Cup final soccer game in 1994, a black cloud hovered over Germany.

Both sentences presuppose that Germany lost against Bulgaria in the World Cup final of soccer games in 1994.

Some common properties of factive presupposition are necessary to the discussion of Green's theory. First, unlike implicature, once the speaker makes a presupposition it cannot be denied as shown in the following examples.

*25) Peter knows that Bill is sentenced to death, but Bill is not sentenced to death.

*26) The snow melted but there was no snow.

The latter part of the sentences does not make sense. Clearly, the presupposition cannot be denied without self-contradiction, although it can be suspended. Additionally, factive presupposition is constant whether the construction is negated or questioned as in the following,
27) Peter does not know that Bill was sentenced to death.
28) Does Peter know that Bill was sentenced to death?

In both (27) and (28) the presupposition "Bill was sentenced to death" holds constant (77).

As Green points out, like reference and implicature, presuppositions can also relate to common knowledge that we share about the world. That means we assume certain facts, things, opinions, or characteristics, because we relate our knowledge to others who share information about the same world (77). Thus, common knowledge is an additional factor that establishes the groundwork for an analysis of presuppositions.

It is very easy to misjudge the function of presupposition when one does not know the audience well, or when one thinks one knows them all too well. Presupposition, therefore, always requires a great deal of understanding between two speakers to ensure what the speaker and audience assumes or knows is really the same. Let us consider a print ad from AT&T to decode what is really going on as we speak or read.
Since basic rates for long distance calling are all about the same, why not choose the company with the most to offer?

The end of the international busy signal.
When you hear "all circuits" don't worry. AT&T has just introduced AT&T International Relief - only for AT&T customers. Just dial *234, if you have trouble getting through and AT&T will continue to call for you for up to 30 minutes.
When your party is contacted, AT&T will call you back with the connection. Unlimited usage, only $3 a month.

Rewards for you
Only AT&T offers True Rewards, which gives you points good for AT&T minutes, frequent flyer miles and other great offers - just for being with AT&T.

Clearest, closest sound ever:
Only AT&T offers AT&T True Voice, our patented breakthrough in long distance sound quality. Digital voice reproduction makes the people you call sound clearer closer, no matter how far away they may be. In fact, 4 out 5 competitors' customers prefer it.
Help in 140 languages

If you call AT&T for help, we'll always be there for you. Answering 140 languages. 24 hours a day. 365 days a year.

Big international savings to everyone

AT&T True World Savings offers a world without limits: savings on calls to everyone, everywhere, in every country. Competitive prices without calling circles, without picking people. It's the simplest calling plan in the world.

Call 1 800-272-World

AT&T. Your True Voice.

The structure of the copy targets the reader's focus with a single headline and five consecutive elaborations. Each of these statements is introduced by a subheadline. At the end of the copy the writers advertise the company's phone number similar to the previous copies.

The first part of the headline presupposes that phone users are familiar with basic phone rates by using the word "since," which implies common knowledge and indicates that there is only a small difference between company's phone rates. With the initial presupposition, the copywriters establish a message that also presupposes the second part of the sentence. The headline continues with a question presupposing that readers know AT&T provides the largest and best service. Another presupposition is that every customer
has a choice. The overall effect of these presuppositions is to bolster the persuasive import of the copy. Syntactically, the second part of the headline is a subordinate clause which asks a WH question, conveying a factive presupposition. This part of the sentence presupposes that customers want to get the most for their money. Moreover, one company (AT&T) has, in truth, "the most to offer."

In the first subheadline, the copywriters focus on the claim that AT&T has the technical ability to abolish a "busy signal." Here, the utterance presupposes several messages: the reader may presuppose that there is a busy signal, that it takes time to get through the line, and the other party can only be reached through continuous re-dialing. This message can be considered as existence presupposition. The phrase, "When you hear 'all circuits' don't worry" in the first elaboration of the copy, presupposes that a "busy signal" makes a customer anxious. Thus, this presupposition posits that customers should be concerned about a company's ability to provide adequate service. In addition, the next phrase "... International Relief" presupposes that customers are suffering from busy signals, and establishes AT&T as a panacea for international 'ills.'

The second subheadline offers particular "rewards" for the reader. This message presupposes merit for a particular behavior, meaning if the reader chooses AT&T rather than another company he will gain dividends. Here, the
copywriters strengthen their message by appealing to what motivates the reader: saving money, saving time, and saving them trouble with other phone companies. Therefore, "rewards" is an example of lexical presupposition involving definite proposition of the message. The following text indicates some details of the offered "rewards" and again presupposes that the customer is interested in taking advantage of such "rewards," thereby staying with or switching to AT&T.

In the third subheadline the copywriters employ the adjectives "clearest" and "closest," emphasizing the improved phone system of AT&T. In other words, by using these superlatives the copywriter's intent is that the customer may presuppose that AT&T is always concerned with their phone connection. Therefore, it can be assumed that AT&T continually improves their communication systems to provide the best service in the telephone business. By the use of the superlative "clearest," the ad presupposes that AT&T's phone lines were already clear, clearer than any others, and now they are perfectly clear. The superlative "closest" is used in a similar sense, suggesting an improvement of sound quality. Thus, the overlap meanings of both adjectives are strong presuppositions because they are built upon the implications that AT&T's communication system is one of high technology, and advanced computer networks. The adverb "ever" conveys a similar presupposition; no company to this
date has been able to accomplish this kind of quality phone system.

In the following sentence, "breakthrough" presupposes that AT&T conducts scientific research in order to be the number one competitor and provide its customers with quality service. The phrase "... 4 out 5 competitors' customers prefer it" presupposes that AT&T's phone system is the best, based solely on sound quality. Green relates these ideas and words as existence presuppositions.

Adjectives and adverbs perform like factive or existence presuppositions yielding strong messages that persuade the reader to behave in a certain manner. An interesting aspect of these strong adjectives and adverbs is that they are not included in Karttunen's list of presupposition triggers.

In the next subheadline "Help in 140 languages," AT&T asserts its ability to communicate with people in 140 languages. The presuppositions, as in the first subheadline, are existence ones because "Help in 140 languages" presupposes that help is possible and that there are speakers of 140 languages that need this kind of help. Moreover, since the ad targets makers of long distance calls all over the world, and since American society is multicultural, the subheadline assume that AT&T has experience with customers

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4 Karttunen (1973) has collected thirty constructions that have been isolated by linguists as sources of presupposition called "presupposition triggers."
who have relatives or friends around the world. In other words, it can be presupposed that AT&T can provide assistance for many people from different countries.

The last subheadline, "Big international savings to everyone," presupposes that people make many international phone calls. In this message, the copywriters do not present any facts or numbers as in the previous subheadline, rather they emphasize that these savings are possible. Therefore, this final message is ambiguous because of two presuppositions. First, it may persuade the reader to sign up with AT&T because the message presupposes that only AT&T makes these special savings possible. Additionally, it presupposes that if the reader does not sign up with AT&T, he or she will not be able to participate in AT&T's savings program, and therefore, must pay more for international calls. The superlative "simplest" in the last sentence of the fifth subheadline, presupposes that AT&T's program is the easiest method for customers to accomplish communication around the world.

Even though the analysis may seem to be repetitive, the messages show why copywriters are such strong persuasive writers: using presupposition, they construct messages that convey convenience and savings. For example, the adjective "Big" at the beginning of the message presupposes that the reader will benefit from considerable savings. Since the advertisers promise these savings and elaborate upon them in
the following elaboration, linguistically, I categorize these kinds of utterances as existence presuppositions.

It is obvious that existence, as well factive presupposition, predominates the copy, supporting and reinforcing the advertiser's claim. In my analysis I have shown how different types of presupposition can reveal one source of the copywriter's effectiveness upon the reader. Thus, copywriters use presupposition to manipulate the reader's mind and persuade them to purchase a product or service.

Considering the copy's entire message, the advertisers construct an appeal to the reader which is simple and easy to comprehend because presupposition relates to common knowledge. As readers of the copy may be familiar with the basic features of a communication system and presupposition, then, the copywriter is able to establish inferences that represent the background assumptions in a particular communicative context. Thus, a pragmatic approach reveals how persuasive discourse can manipulate the customer's choice.
CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

Many different factors are involved in the construction of the strategic focused language of advertising. Although its main goal is to sell products, advertising discourse is directed to many people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Some of the considerations of advertising are the medium, the audience, and the genre in which copywriters are writing an advertisement and not a political speech. The purpose of my study however, is to demonstrate how linguistic theory can be applied to understand the advertiser's language. Compared to other linguistic approaches (Lyons 1968, Verschueren 1985), I have conducted a more detailed study of how linguistic principles such as conversational implicature, reference, and presupposition are important in the analysis of print ads. After applying linguistic tools to decompose the language of print advertising, different conclusions emerged.

The first print ad, for example, features various implicatures that help in persuading the consumer to remain with AT&T's phone service. This persuasion involves violations of the maxims of Grice's theory of conversational implicature. Here, the tools of linguistic theory illuminate advertising discourse, showing us how the ad portrays a phone company other than AT&T as untrustworthy and unreliable. The headline uses several implicatures that achieve one particular goal; namely, demolishing the reputation of AT&T's
competitors. To accomplish this, copywriters violate the maxims constantly throughout the entire copy. From this, readers can draw inferences from the advertiser's claims, because according to Grice's theory, they can calculate the implied messages. Therefore, Grice's theory provides insight into the phenomenon of manipulation inherent in print ads which say one thing but mean another.

Secondly, this study demonstrates the powerful meanings of words that copywriters choose in order to manipulate the reader. Strong references such as "Quality" or "Rewards" are used in the second ad; their interpretation is based on words which share knowledge between copywriter and reader. Here, the intention of the copywriter is to associate the words of the headline as well as the words of the subheadlines with company attributes, such as honesty, integrity, and perfection. These associations support the company's reference to "truth," symbolizing the company's exemplary reputation.

The theory of presupposition is also valuable in revealing the effectiveness of print ads. The analysis of the third ad finds predominately factive and existence presuppositions, wherein the copywriter's messages depend on linguistic form and shared knowledge to support advertising claims. Analyzing presupposition can be a tool in understanding the effect of an ad; presupposes the copywriter's claim.
In this study, I found that by applying linguistic principles I was able to decode the meanings and hidden messages of an ad that psychologically target the consumer, persuading them to buy a product or service.

Using the tools of linguistics when analyzing discourse can also help advertisers construct persuasive claims. In other words, the study of pragmatics unveils the nature of advertising discourse which is based on communication between people who share the same ideas. Both linguistic form and shared knowledge are important in understanding the construction of persuasive discourse. Thus, my study of pragmatic inferences in print advertising contributes to our knowledge of linguistics and also to our knowledge of advertising by helping us understand how, through language, messages are communicated.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


