TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

«STEREOTYPICAL GENDER IMAGES IN ADVERTISING: A RELEVANCE-THEORETIC APPROACH »

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1. Abstract and keywords

Advertising is nowadays everywhere in this consumer society. We are constantly being persuaded and manipulated without even noticing it. This work aims to study advertising from a relevance-theoretic perspective to prove that this theory can be applied to advertising and to analyse how advertisers adapt their persuasive strategies to the audience the advertisement is addressed to. Therefore, I have considered two different advertisements, one addressed to men and another one addressed to women, to explain how addressees process and understand speaker’s meaning. The results of this analysis prove that the aforementioned theory is able to successfully analyse advertisements by means of overt and covert communication, implicatures and explicatures, intentions and the extension of the context, achieving thus some cognitive effects that offset the processing effort. Moreover, the present work shows that the persuasive strategies used in advertising vary depending on the potential customer and on the manipulated cultural stereotypes. Nevertheless, this analysis has been applied to two advertisements from the same culture, so future studies should be carried out dealing with advertisements from different cultures.

Keywords: Implicatures and explicatures, extension of the context, Relevance Theory, overt and covert communication, persuasion.

1.1 Resumen y palabras clave

La sociedad consumista de hoy en día está rodeada de o inmersa en anuncios publicitarios de todo tipo. Somos constantemente persuadidos y manipulados por la publicidad sin ni siquiera ser conscientes de ello. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo estudiar la publicidad desde la perspectiva de la teoría de la relevancia para demostrar que esta teoría se puede aplicar al estudio de la publicidad y para analizar cómo los anunciantes adaptan sus estrategias persuasivas según la audiencia a la que está dirigida el anuncio. Para ello, he escogido dos anuncios diferentes, uno dirigido a mujeres y otro dirigido a hombres, para explicar cómo los receptores procesan y entienden el significado del hablante. Los resultados del análisis demuestran que esta teoría es capaz de analizar con éxito los anuncios mediante la comunicación abierta y encubierta, las implicaturas y explicaturas, las intenciones y el contexto, consiguiendo de esta forma una serie de efectos cognitivos que compensan el esfuerzo procesador llevado a cabo por el receptor. Además, el análisis demuestra que las estrategias persuasivas varían en función del cliente potencial y de la manipulación de los estereotipos culturales. No obstante, dicho análisis se ha aplicado a dos anuncios de la misma cultura, por lo que sería aconsejable realizar futuros estudios analizando anuncios de diferentes culturas.

Palabras clave: Implicaturas y explicaturas, extensión del contexto, Teoría de la Relevancia, comunicación abierta y encubierta, persuasión.
2. Introduction

According to the BOUCA 158 of May 2013, the “Trabajo de Fin de Grado”:

supone un trabajo individual del estudiante para la elaboración de un proyecto, un análisis, una memoria o un estudio original, que le permita mostrar, de forma integrada, los contenidos formativos, las capacidades, las habilidades y las competencias adquiridos durante la realización de los estudios del título de Grado.

(BOUCA 158, May 2013: 1)

More specifically, by writing this work I have acquired the following general competences:

a) being able to search, deal with, synthesize and transmit information of any source in a structured and systematic way, using the different skills of my discipline;
b) being able to plan and manage time when doing research, presentations and other kinds of written and oral projects;
c) being able to handle the new information and communication technology as a tool for learning, researching and transmitting information;
d) being able to bring together data from texts, and relate them with the theoretical and practical apparatus;
e) being able to put into practice the knowledge acquired during the degree;
f) being able to solve problems and make decisions with a critical and self-critical spirit;
g) being able to generate proposals and innovative ideas, competitive in the research and in the professional activity, elaborating them in projects, and adapting them to new situations;
h) being able to know other foreign languages and cultures from the English global dimension, and appreciate the diversity and multiculturalism.

The choice of the topic was determined by my academic and personal interest in the pragmatic aspects of communication. Namely, I have been primarily interested in the process by which people derive things implicitly, and how ironic or ambiguous
utterances are understood and interpreted by the hearer. Besides, I have been intrigued by how persuasion works, how one can influence on the attitude of someone else by using certain communicative strategies. This is the reason why I have chosen to focus my analysis on advertising, because it is one of the most persuasive types of communication, if not the most. Moreover, it represents, in my opinion, a very important and influential field with many different forms reaching everybody in one or another way. Hence, it is a powerful tool to analyse the mechanisms and strategies from which advertisers draw to achieve their goals. Furthermore, it is also remarkable how they adapt the advertisements to the audience they are addressed to.

Therefore and as a complement for my academic background, I decided to study advertising from Sperber and Wilson´s Relevance Theory, because it is the most suitable pragmatic framework to apply to communication in general, and advertisements in particular. This has allowed me to determine the role that Pragmatics play, especially the theory mentioned above, in advertising and to analyse advertising as a cultural product.

From the enormous corpus of existing advertisements, I have chosen two because my aim has been to analyse how sexism is dealt with in advertising when addressed to men or women. The first one I have chosen is from the hygienic products’ brand “Axe”, and the second one from the insurance company “Brokers”. I have chosen these two because they both play with sexist stereotypes from Western societies.

The main hypothesis is that advertisement processing and understanding, as well as the persuasive strategies used in them could be analysed from a relevance-theoretic perspective in terms of communicative and informative intentions, implicatures and covert communication. I aim to prove that persuasion in advertising is achieved through a cognitive process, involving mainly the derivation of contextual implications, implicatures and covert communication, being the latter essential in advertisements as an attempt to persuade the addressee to buy the product.

The second hypothesis of this study is that advertisers adapt their persuasive strategies used in advertising depending on the audience it is addressed to and manipulate the audience’s stereotypes and cultural schemas to persuade them to buy the advertised product. More specifically, my aim is to show that these strategies change depending on whether the advertisement is addressed to men or to women, and that sexist aspects based on cultural stereotypes, can be explained by image schemas.
The present work starts with a state-of-the-art section, in which Relevance theory and its tenets are discussed in Section 3. In particular, Section 3.1 presents an overview the explicature-implicature distinction. The informative and the communicative intentions are dealt with in Section 3.2. Overt and covert communication are described in Section 3.3. In Section 3.4, persuasion is introduced. This section ends with a brief insight into sexism in advertising and a useful tool to analyse it, the image schemas, in Section 3.5. Section 4 focuses on the analysis of two advertisements in Sections 4.1. and 4.2., respectively, divided each into two different parts. Section 4.1.1. deals with the description of the *Axe* advertisement. Section 4.1.2. analyses how the potential addressees of the advertisement process and understand it. The same structure is used for the second advertisement, where Section 4.2.1. describes the *Brokers insurance company* advertisement and its analysis is provided in Section 4.2.2.

Finally, there is a bibliography including the titles that have been cited throughout it and rejecting those which, after having been consulted, were of no interest to my work.

3. State of Art

3.1 Definition of relevance: principles

Relevance Theory (hereafter, RT) is considered one of the most influential theories within the field of pragmatics. Sperber and Wilson define relevance “as a property of inputs to cognitive processes” which could be either external stimuli or internal representations (2005: 359). Relevance theory is based on the two following general claims about the role of relevance in cognition and communication:

- **Cognitive Principle of Relevance:**
  
  *Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance.*

- **Communicative Principle of Relevance:**

  *Every act of overt communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance.*

(Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 360)
These principles argue that our perceptual mechanisms spontaneously pick out potentially relevant stimuli. In order to communicate, the speaker needs her audience’s attention, so success in communication depends on the audience taking the utterance to be relevant enough to be worth their attention, and that is what the second principle states (2005: 360). Furthermore, this theory is also based on the notion of optimal relevance:

*Optimal relevance*

*An ostensive stimulus is optimally relevant to an audience iff:*

1. *It is relevant enough to be worth the audience’s processing effort;*
2. *It is the most relevant one compatible with communicator’s abilities and preferences.*

(Sperber & Wilson, 1985: 257)

The basic tenets of RT are *contextual effects* and *processing effort*. Relevance theorists (Carston, 2002; Díaz Pérez, 2000; Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 1995) explain that new information must produce some contextual effects on the addressee’s cognitive environment to be relevant. Any individual has a particular set of accessible contexts. Each context contains one or more smaller contexts, and each context is contained in one or more larger contexts. Contexts have an order of accessibility. The initial, minimal context is immediately given. Contexts which include the initial context as a sub-part can be accessed in one processing step being thus the most accessible contexts. Contexts which include the initial context and an extension of the initial context as sub-parts can be accessed in two processing steps, being the next most accessible contexts, and so on. The less accessible a context, the greater the effort involved in accessing it, and conversely. New assumptions may be relevant in some, all or none of the contexts accessible to an individual, depending on whether some, all or none of these contexts already contain or imply the new assumptions and on the relative strength of old and new information (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, 1995: 132-137).

As regards processing effort, the addressee¹ will make the effort of processing new information if he² considers it relevant; that is, if it modifies his cognitive

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¹ RT usually talks about *speaker* and *hearer*, as they apply it to communicative exchanges. But as the present work deals with the analysis of advertisements from an RT perspective and advertisements are addressed to an “implicit” audience, I will use the terms *speaker* and *addressee*, following Díaz Pérez’s terminology, rather than *speaker* and *hearer*, when referring to any communicative exchange; and the
environment. In order to achieve this, the addressee must recognize the speaker’s stimulus as intentional and directed to him; i.e., as an ostensive stimulus and the communicative exchange as ostensive inferential communication. Besides, Díaz Pérez adds that being relevant is not an intrinsic characteristic of utterances, but it is derived from the relationship between utterance and context (2000: 38-40). Hence, relevance is defined in reference to its two main clauses, establishing that “the more effort to process an utterance, the less relevance it will achieve, whereas the more effects it yields, the more relevant it will be.” (Arai, 2007: 4; Carston, 2002: 145; Corrales, 2007: 20; Durán, 2005: 83; Pop, 2007: 404; Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 359; Velasco & Cortés, 2009: 244).

### 3.2 The explicature-implicature distinction

The distinction between explicature and implicature is basically the difference between what we say and what we mean, i.e. between the abstract semantic representation of sentences and the interpretation of utterances in context. In other words, the difference lies between what is explicitly communicated and the content derivable from the expressed by the utterance together with the context (Díaz Pérez, 2000: 41).

According to Sperber and Wilson, a proposition communicated by an utterance is an explicature if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by the utterance (1986: 182). Explicatures are recovered by a combination of decoding and inference. Different utterances may convey the same explicature in different ways. What is explicitly communicated by an utterance typically goes well beyond what is said or literally meant (2005: 365).

In previous studies on this topic, Grice (1957) defended that in inferring the speaker’s intention, the addressee is guided by the expectation that utterances should meet some specific standards. The standards he proposes are the Cooperative Principle and its four maxims: of Quantity (informativeness), Quality (truthfulness), Relation (relevance) and Manner (clarity). When an utterance has several linguistically possible interpretations, the hypothesis or interpretation that the addressee chooses is the one that best satisfies the Cooperative Principle and maxims. Sometimes, in order to explain

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2 As in RT, I will consider the speaker as she, and the hearer (addressee in this work) as he.
3 For further discussion on Grice’s Maxims, cfr. Grice (1957)
why a maxim has been violated, the addressee has to assume that the speaker believed and was trying to communicate more than what was explicitly said (Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 356).

Grice considers overt violation of a maxim as *flouting* and this phenomenon indicates the speaker's intention: the speaker intends the addressee to retrieve an implicature which brings the full interpretation of the utterance (i.e. what is said plus what is implicated) as close as possible to satisfying the Cooperative Principle and maxims. In the case of tropes, the required implicature is related to what is said in one of several possible ways, each characteristic of a different trope.

However, there are two main differences between Grice’s and relevance theorists’ points of view. First, while Grice was mainly concerned with the role of pragmatic inference in implicit communication (namely interested in the role that implicatures played in communication); relevance theorists argued that the explicit side of communication is just as inferential and worthy of pragmatic attention as the implicit one (Wilson & Sperber, 1981). Grice dealt with *what is said* (i.e. explicatures) but only to the extent of assigning referents to referring expressions and disambiguating utterances. By contrast, relevance theorists consider the speaker’s meaning to go well beyond the minimal proposition arrived at by disambiguation, reference assignment, free enrichment and *ad hoc* concept construction, which include processes of decoding, and deriving explicatures and implicatures (Carston, 2004; Sperber & Wilson, 2005; Wilson & Carston, 2007). The second difference between Grice and relevance theorists is the expectations that guide the comprehension process. From Grice’s point of view, these expectations derive from principles and maxims, but for relevance theorists the very act of communicating raises expectations of relevance, as shown by the communicative principle of relevance previously discussed. These expectations raised by the utterance on their own are enough to guide the addressee through the comprehension process.

As Díaz Pérez states, in advertising attracting attention is extremely important and more difficult than in an actual conversation, where the speaker is aware of the reactions of the addressee. Advertisers may, therefore, use tropes to catch the attention of the audience. Díaz Pérez studied the implicatures in advertising, which he defined as “those contextual assumptions and implications that a speaker who aims at optimal relevance
must have expected the hearer to supply”⁴ (2000: 44). Thus, in his opinion, most of the times the speaker provides some premises which work as strong implicatures, but also some which function as weak implicatures. As an example to differentiate strong and weak implicatures, Díaz Pérez provides the following:

1. Claire: Do you like The Sun also Rises?
   Peter: I love all Hemingway’s novels.⁵

In this case, a strong implicature would be the following: “Yes, Peter loves The Sun also Rises (implicated conclusion), derived from the two following implicated premises:

- *The Sun also rises* is a novel by Hemingway.
- Someone who loves all Hemingway’s novels also loves *The Sun also rises*.

Together with these implicated premises and conclusion, the addressee could further derive more weak implicatures as the following: “Peter likes other writers belonging to the Lost Generation, since Hemingway belongs to it”, “Peter likes *For whom the bell tolls*”, etc. Even though there is a little price in terms of the effort for providing weak implicatures instead of or in addition to strong ones, the implicatures reached by the addressee this way are often more persuasive because he has to make a bigger processing effort to derive them, and this fact enables him to remember the advertisement more easily (Geis, 1982).

Relating this with RT, it could be said that the extra processing effort that the addressee has to make to interpret the advertisement is offset in some way by some contextual effects brought by persuasion. As Sperber and Wilson state, by demanding extra processing effort, the speaker can encourage the addressee to look for further contextual effects in the form of additional weak or strong implicatures (1987: 19). The gradable strength of implicatures allows its use to create figurative tropes: with metaphor, the implicature is a simile based on what is said; with irony, it is the opposite of what is said; with hyperbole, it is a weaker proposition; and with understatement, a stronger one (Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 373). According to Corrales, these figurative

⁵ Example taken from Díaz Pérez, 2000: 41.
and rhetorical devices in advertising language are argumentative rather than merely ornamental (2007: 20).

Explicatures may also be stronger or weaker, depending on the degree of indeterminacy introduced by the inferential aspect of comprehension. Sperber and Wilson explain the degree of explicitness as follows:

 Degrees of explicitness

The greater the relative contribution of decoding, and the smaller the relative contribution of pragmatic inference, the more explicit an explicature will be (and inversely).

(1986: 182)

When the speaker’s meaning is quite explicit, or when each word in an utterance is used to convey one of its encoded meanings, the explicature is close to what would be described as the explicit content, what is said, or the literal meaning of the utterance. The less explicit the meaning is, the bigger responsibility the addressee must take for the interpretation he builds (Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 367). Let us consider the following example:

2. a. *Alan:* Do you want to join us for supper?
   e. *Lisa:* No, thanks. I’ve already eaten supper tonight.\(^6\)

The examples (2b-e) would have the same explicatures and the same implicatures. However, it is noticeable that (2e) is more explicit than (2b). These differences in the degree of explicitness are analyzable in terms of the proportion of decoding and inference involved for each of the premises (2b-e). For example, hearing (2b) one may doubt whether Lisa had had breakfast, lunch or supper, or maybe she is only intending that she has eaten at some point of her life before the moment when she utters (2b).

\(^6\) Example taken from Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 367.
Therefore, there are some degrees of explicitness which imply too much processing effort, while (2c-d) suppose less processing effort (Sperber & Wilson, 2005: 367). In advertising language, explicit information acts as a premise for the addressee to derive implicit conclusions the communicator expects him to derive (Corrales, 2007: 21; Durán, 2005: 86).

3.3 Ostensive inferential communication: informative and communicative intention

The speaker’s informative intention is to make the audience believe certain things, while the speaker’s communicative intention is to have her informative intention recognised. Sperber and Wilson considered the communicative ones as higher-level intentions and the informative ones as lower-level intentions (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, 1995; Taillard, 2002). As an example to differentiate them, Taillard provides the following:

*If I am a passenger in a car and find the outside scenery attractive, I may form the intention to inform my fellow passengers that I find the scenery attractive. I might choose to do so by looking out of the window with an enthusiastic facial expression. In addition, and as a means to fulfilling my informative intention, I might form a ‘communicative’ intention, i.e. an intention to let my fellow passengers know of my intention to inform them that I find the scenery attractive. It is this communicative intention that is the mark of ostensive communication. My facial expressions might have revealed my enthusiasm for the beauty of the countryside in a purely accidental way. By contrast, when I utter: ‘What beautiful scenery!’ I indicate ‘ostensively’ (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, 1995) that I intend to share my enthusiasm.’*

(2002:190)

Understanding the speaker’s meaning and accepting the proposed beliefs or attitudes are two different processes. The two-level intention framework offered by RT clearly shows how the communicative intention can be fulfilled without the informative one being achieved. Thus, the informative intention is not fulfilled for example when the audience does not believe the speaker. These two levels of intentions provide two

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7 Example taken from Taillard, 2002: 190.
types of effects on the audience: understanding and believing. Besides, they could be dealt with in different ways: a speaker could intend no more than the addressee understanding her meaning and believing the information offered, or she may intend the addressee to undertake a particular action by persuading him to do so (Taillard, 2002: 199).

According to this author, besides the speaker’s intentions, there are also the audience’s intentions (e.g. to listen, to learn, to be informed, to argue…). These intentions “may also shape their (the audience’s) inferential and practical reasoning processes, affecting comprehension and/or giving rise to further effects […]” (2002: 199-200). The speaker’s and the audience’s intentions would create an interface between them, in which the intentions of both sides could be connected, as the following example shows:

3. If I am attempting to help a foreign student improve his English accent, my intention is to focus on the phonetic level of his utterances, and to correct it accordingly. Upon hearing a large number of mistakes, for instance, I may adjust my intentions, and choose not to immediately point out finer details, while addressing gross errors immediately.⁸

In this example, the audience’s intentions of identifying and correcting a foreign student only require that I focus on the phonetic level of the speaker’s utterances, and are shaped by that very superficial form rather than by the speaker’s communicative or informative intention. Examples like this suggest that the interpersonal coordinating role of intentions works both reciprocally and reflectively (Bratman, 1987). This interface between the speaker’s and addressee’s intentions has to be taken into account when preparing an advertisement, because the addressee may allow a speaker to shape his existing intentions, sometimes intentionally, as is the case of persuasion (Taillard, 2002: 205) and, by extension, of advertisements.

⁸ Example taken from Taillard, 2002: 200. For further examples on how these audience’s intentions work, cfr. Taillard 2002: 200-201.
3.4. Overt and covert communication

Overt communication\(^9\) is a kind of communication with an intention on the part of the speaker: namely to alter the mutual cognitive environment of the speaker and the addressee (Durán 2005: 86-87). In overt communication there are no hidden intentions: the speaker wants to convey a certain message, is actively helping the addressee to recognise it, and would acknowledge it if asked (Wilson, 1994: 36).

On the other hand, covert communication was defined as a case of communication where the intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive environment of the addressee, i.e. to make a set of assumptions more manifest to him, without making this intention mutually manifest (Tanaka, 1994, 1999: 4). Covert communication makes the audience become more involved in the process of communication, inviting them to spend a certain time processing the utterance of the advertisement. Another reason for the use of covert communication is the avoidance of the social consequences derived from the communicative process: covert communication enables the speaker to avoid accepting responsibility for social consequences which might result from the overt communication of the information (Durán, 2005: 87-88; Tanaka, 1994: 42). This distinction between overt and covert communication is clearly illustrated by Pop’s statement:

Inferential communication is ostensive (overt) if it involves the extra-layer of communicative intention of informing about one’s informative intention besides the informative intention. […] And covert communication is when the communicative intention is not manifest, leaving up the audience to draw inferences that are expected to be drawn and thus taking responsibility for them is avoided. […] In the case of covert communication inferences are less controllable, the reader being exposed and vulnerable to manipulation.

(Pop, 2007: 404)

Moreover, Velasco and Cortés establish some main differences between overt and covert communication: first, overt communication reveals the informative and communicative intention, whereas covert communication hides the informative intention. Second, covert communication does not have the speaker’s guarantee of optimal relevance to guide the addressee’s interpretation, but other non-linguistic

\(^9\) Durán refers to ostensive and overt communication indistinctly.
stimuli to overcome this deficiency. And third, since the addressee has to make an effort processing the information, it must come with a reward\(^\text{10}\). This reward in overt communication consists in deriving further explicatures and implicatures from the stimuli processed, whereas in covert communication, the addressee gets a kind of pleasure beyond the processing of the aforementioned stimuli (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 1995: 124-125; Tanaka, 1994, 1999: 20; Velasco & Cortés, 2009: 245). In my opinion, this pleasure arises from the derivation of weak implicatures: this kind of implicatures depend upon every individual and are really personal; thus, and there is a kind of pleasure in inferring the meaning the speaker may have meant, considering each person’s background knowledge which also includes own personal experiences. These so-called “poetic” effects are subjective as what each person implies and the pleasurable or poetic effects they derive vary from individual to individual.

There are also cases which are in between overt and covert communication, for example the weak overt communication, such as gestures in an advertisement, which are intentional and intend to communicate things but in a really subtle way. This type of communication differs from the covert one in terms of mutual manifestness: in weak overt communication an assumption is barely made mutually manifest or the degree of mutual manifestness is extremely low (Tanaka, 1994). In the case of covert communication, the information is manifest to the speaker, but it is not mutually manifest to speaker and addressee. Here is where persuasion lies, as in persuasion the speaker wants to convince the addressee to do something without letting him know her real intentions. Therefore, these two kinds of communication (with a low degree of mutual manifestness or none at all) are frequently used in advertising (Velasco & Cortés, 2009: 239-240, 244-245), because of the additional cognitive effects which can be derived from them: the pleasurable or “poetic” effects caused by weak implicatures. These additional effects “retain the attention of the addressee for a longer time” (Díaz Pérez, 2000: 45). Moreover, as previously stated, a good reason to use covert communication in advertising is the avoidance of the social consequences derived from the communicative process: the whole responsibility lies on the addressee (Durán, 2005; Tanaka, 1994).

\(^{10}\) According to Smith and Wilson, “An utterance, on a given interpretation, is optimally relevant if and only if: (a) it achieves enough effects to be worthy of the hearer’s intention; (b) it puts the hearer to no gratuitous effort in achieving those effects” (1992:5) So following (b), a kind of reward is compulsory.
3.5 Persuasion

Velasco and Cortés defined persuasion as “the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone’s attitudes, beliefs or behavior through the transmission of a message” (Schmidt and Kess, 1986: 2; Velasco and Cortés, 2009: 240). In advertising, persuasion tries to cause the audience to buy something by using rhetorical devices, techniques and strategies. To explain how persuasion\textsuperscript{11} works and its relation with RT, let us consider the following example:

4. Some small boys are running and acting up. Their mother wants to persuade them to be quiet, so she shouts:
   a. Shut up and be quiet!
   b. Hey, Spiderman is on TV!\textsuperscript{12}

To explain this example, Arai introduces the concept of *perlocutionary force*, i.e. the force an utterance has to affect other people’s actions and attitudes. This concept belongs to the Speech Act Theory developed by Austin\textsuperscript{13}. According to this theory, utterance (4a), which is an order, should be more effective than (b), because it is more direct and implies less processing effort. However, according to RT, (4b) is more relevant to children because they get more cognitive effects with nearly the same processing effort. It could be explained by the above discussed notion of *optimal relevance*. According to this notion, (4b) is more relevant to children as it is connected to their preferences and, instead of just telling them to be quiet, it offers them a reason why it is worth being quiet; that is to say, they derive more *cognitive effects*, being thus more relevant and more persuasive. With this example, Arai makes manifest that relevance is a key issue when analysing persuasion (Arai, 2007).

Corrales, on the other hand, states that the communicator decides which information is explicitly uttered and which is left implicit, depending on the pursued effects (Garrido, 1990 quoted from Corrales, 2007: 20). Communicators who intend to

\textsuperscript{11} Even though the authors use different terminology, “Persuasion” and “Persuasiveness” refers to the same concept, which is “the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone’s attitudes, beliefs or behavior through the transmission of a message.” (Schmidt and Kess, 1986: 2) In this work, I will refer to this concept as “persuasion”, following Velasco & Cortés’ and Taillard’s terminology.

\textsuperscript{12} Example taken from Arai, 2007: 4.

\textsuperscript{13} For a further discussion on the concept of perlocutionary force, *cfr.* Austin (1962)
influence on their audience´s intentions and future actions use the interface between speaker´s and audience´s intentions (mentioned in example (3) from this work) when producing an utterance. This utterance is not only relevant enough to justify the audience´s effort to understand it (according to the communicative principle of relevance), but also to break through the audience´s intention, either by providing a solution to a means-end coherence problem, or by triggering reconsideration of such problem (Taillard, 2002: 202). To achieve this goal, there are some persuasion patterns. Let us consider the following example:

5. Car salesman: “If you buy before the end of the month, you’ll get this year´s model at last year´s price.”

The salesman reads the intention of the costumer to buy a car in the next few months and, in addition, to save money or to buy a car for the least amount of money. The salesman’s own intention is to reach his monthly sales quota by selling a car before the end of the month, and to persuade the customer to buy the car before that date. The salesman presents a solution to the customer’s means-end incoherence problem that is consistent with customer’s beliefs and attitudes (wanting to save money); namely the proposition that the customer can save money by buying the car this month. If the customer did not have a general preference for saving money, the outcome of the persuasive attempt might simply be the customer’s belief that he could have saved money by buying sooner, without this attitude altering his behaviour. In this case, the communicative act would still be successful (the salesperson’s informative intention would be not only recognised but also fulfilled), whereas the persuasive intention would remain unfulfilled: the persuasive act itself would be unsuccessful because of the failure of the salesman to properly read the customer’s intentions.

Taillard argues in this sense:

A successful act of persuasion depends on the communicators’ ability to read the target’s intentions, to find a proper strategy to affect the target’s intentions, and then to communicate accordingly by sharing the intended attitude with the target.

(2002: 202-203)

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15 Target meaning in this case the addressee, the audience.
Thus, this author considers that in persuasion, besides the communicative and informative intention, there is also the persuasive intention. According to Corrales, persuasion is an effect that the speaker tries to achieve; although it is not absolutely controllable, it is not an inevitable consequence reached when watching an advertisement. For persuasion to succeed, the addressee must at least process the information and understand it (Corrales, 2007: 18; Taillard, 2002: 203). Taillard maintains that, even though the informative and the communicative intentions were fulfilled and communication was achieved in a persuasion attempt, persuasion could not be achieved either because the communicator failed to read the audience’s intentions properly, or because the audience rejected the persuasive attempt, since there is no presumption of intention relevance. In Taillard’s opinion, this is a particular type of relevance, as it applies specifically to the domain of intentions (2002: 203). From this assumption I deduce that this kind of intention could work on any type of communication where persuasion is involved. As in RT, intentions are also measured in terms of cognitive effects and processing effort. In the case of intentions, processing effort can be construed as both the effort necessary to infer the applicability of the proposed solution to the means-end incoherence problem and the cost involved in recovering one’s existing intention structure and/or belief consistency. Cognitive effects may be measured in the case of intentions in terms of both added coherence between the means and the end involved, and of consistency with the existing beliefs (Taillard 2002: 203-204).

3.6. Image schemas and sexism

Velasco and Cortés claim that our knowledge is not static, according to Cognitive Semantics, but structured by some patterns of perceptual interactions, bodily actions, etc. These patterns are called image schemas (Gibbs and Colston, 2006: 239) and are considered important for persuasion, since they motivate aspects of how we think, reason and imagine. Moreover, they state that

*image schemas are communicative devices that can give rise to sexist interpretations. They are often used to introduce a value system on gender that often imposes “negative” values by means of mostly covert and weakly overt communicated assumptions.*

(Velasco and Cortés, 2009: 245)
Image schemas are said to be abstract representations of recurring dynamic patterns of bodily interactions that structure the way we understand the world. Moreover, they exist beneath our conscious awareness. Many linguistic analyses have argued that image schemas can serve as source domains of countless metaphors, metonymies and metaphors-metonymy interaction cases (Evans & Green, 2006; Gibbs & Colston, 2006; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Pauwels & Simon-Vandenbergen, 1993; Ungerer, 2000).

Velasco and Cortés applied the image schema approach to sexism in advertising, claiming that sexism is mostly introduced by the image schemas of space, force, multiplicity and attribute. These authors further argued that many advertisements are found to be offensive to women and to depict men as powerful and violent over women (2009: 264-265). However, nowadays there are many advertisements trying to eradicate or change the stereotypical gender images traditionally offered in many advertisements, as I will try to show in my analysis of two advertisements.

4. Advertisement Analysis

The two advertisements studied in this work focus on the attempt to connect with their potential customer; unlike most of the advertisements, which focus on the characteristics and the advantages of the product they intend the customer to buy. Let us analyse how potential customers may process the information in these advertisements: information that may lead them in the end to buy the advertised product, which was in the first place the speaker’s intention.

4.1 Advertisement addressed to men

4.1.1. Description of the advertisement

The first advertisement I will analyse is one from the deodorant’s brand Axe, released in 2004 called “Men”. It advertises a new range of antiperspirant products for men; namely, it seems to be addressed to young men. The advertisement starts with a young man on a football field, taking off his shirt while he is running and screaming; he is probably celebrating a goal that he has scored. Then the rest of the team approach and
hug him. In the following scene, a fat man goes into a sauna which is full of other men wearing just a white towel, and the fat man takes a sit in the middle of the rest of men. After that, the scene changes again; it looks like a party in a pub, there is a group of men again hugging each other, as they seem to be celebrating something. The following scene is on a submarine. A man is pulling a rope towards him and suddenly three men go to help him, embracing the man they have in front of them. Later on, we can see a party in a luxurious place and there are many men wearing smart clothes, so it seems to be a formal event according to the place and the clothes they wear. They are jumping and dancing when the slogan is displayed: “Men’s sweat only attracts other men. Is that all that you want?” Shortly afterwards, the party scene continues and one of the men invites a young woman to join them by offering his hand, but she shows her disdain for him by putting a disdainful face and leaves. Then, another man turns up and hugs the one who has invited the girl. Besides the images, the music of the advertisement is a song which is continuously repeating “girls, girls, girls”.

4.1.2 Analysis of the Axe advertisement

We start by assuming that the notion of optimal relevance applies to every advertisement, since the addressees watching them consider them relevant enough to be worth their processing. Furthermore, with the advertisement the communicator presents the most compatible stimulus with her preferences, expecting the addressees to derive as many cognitive effects as possible, and being thus the most relevant stimulus she could have used for the particular product to be sold.

Once we have decided that the advertisement is worth processing, we need to establish the immediate initial context in which the slogan will be processed. Assimakopoulos states that

At the outset of the interpretation process there is always an initial context present to the hearer before the utterance is produced. This is a set of propositions that are not tested for cognitive effects with respect to this utterance up to the point when the first lexical item is uttered.

(2006: 8)
Since in this case there is no utterance so far, this previous context is based on the advertisement images and the music displayed before the slogan. In addition, it is also based on the expectations rose by the images displayed of what the goal of the advertisement or what the advertised product may be.

We have seen just men in the advertisement, doing activities such as playing football, in a sauna or partying. In the ship scene they are working, but also having fun. When doing all these activities, men sweat. The advertisement gives a stereotypical image of men. Men are depicted as people who only care about having fun, to whom strength, company and camaraderie are important qualities (as in the ship scene). There is no scene in the advertisement in which a man appears alone. The music gives in this add an ironic overtone, since we only see images of men but we are constantly listening to “girls, girls, girls”. Some of the assumptions that could be derived from these images and the music, and that will constitute the initial or immediate previous context would be the following:

6. a. Men like to spend time with other men.
   b. If men like to spend time with other men, they do not like to be alone.
   c. Men do not like to be alone.
   d. Men like each other’s company.
   e. Men seem to have fun only with other men.
   f. If men have fun only with other men, they do not need women to have fun.
   g. Men do not need women to have fun.
   h. The music seems to be a reminder of something which is missing in the advertisement and that men care much about, girls.

(6a) combined with assumption (6b) yields contextual implications (6c-d); in the same way as (6e) with (6f) yields (6g). The degree of strength of the aforementioned assumptions depends on their degree of accessibility in the context of the images. Wilson and Sperber stated:
A proposition may be more or less strongly implicated by an utterance. It is STRONGLY IMPLICATED (or is a STRONG IMPLICATURE) if its recovery is essential in order to arrive at an interpretation that satisfies the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance itself. It is WEAKLY IMPLICATED if its recovery helps with the construction of an interpretation that is relevant in the expected way, but is not itself essential because the utterance suggests a range of similar possible implicatures, any one of which would do.

(2002, 269)

These assumptions are just accessed by observing the scenes from the advertisement. We could implicate many more assumptions. Although the more assumptions we derive, the more effort we will make and the more weakly implicated these assumptions will be (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, 1995). As addressees, we could extend this initial context by adding to it more encyclopedic information, for instance:

7. a. Encyclopedic information about the stereotypical image of men such as being heterosexual, strong, powerful, egotistic, etc.
   b. Encyclopedic information about ways to have fun.
   c. Encyclopedic information about sports.

(7a-c) are accessible in one step from the initial context. Each of these possible extensions make further extensions accessible in turn. For instance, information about the stereotypical image of men makes assumptions (8a-c) accessible:

8. a. Stereotypical men like to be attracted to women.
   b. Stereotypical men consider women as their objects of desire.
   c. Stereotypical men do not like to be attracted to other men.
   d. Stereotypical men like practising team sports.

Information about having fun with men could include assumptions (9a-b):

   b. Men like getting drinking as part of having fun.

Information about sports may make accessible what follows:
10. a. Men like winning games.
   b. Men like contact sports.
   c. Men like sweating.

The information of the stereotypical image of men together with the music from the advertisement makes (11a) accessible in one further step:

11. a. Up to this point, there is no woman in the advertisement.

(11a) works as a reminder of something which is missing in the advertisement and that men care much about, girls. Thus, it acquires relevance in this accessible context but not in the initial one. A third processing step makes accessible (12a-c):

12. a. The song seems to be criticizing the absence of women and the attitude of men.
   b. Stereotypical men do not like to be attracted to other men.
   c. Stereotypical men like to look attractive to attract women.

The stereotypical image of men together with a fourth processing step would make available (13a):

13. a. Looking attractive to women implies smelling good, being clean, etc.

This is the way in which the initial context is extended. However, not everybody will extend the context in the same way; depending on the encyclopedic information they add to the initial context and on which elements each addressee focuses his attention on they may access other assumptions; some will be similar, some will be different.

Once we have analysed the previous context, the slogan is displayed, “Men’s sweat only attract other men. Is that all that you want?” The addressee first needs to disambiguate, enrich and assign referents; that is, to find out what “that”, “all” and “you” are referring to in the question. “That”, in this case, refers to the fact that men’s
sweat attracts only other men, “all” will be enriched to something similar like “everything”, and “you” is referring to every individual who might be identified as potential audience. After disambiguating, enriching and assigning reference to the slogan, the explication will be:

14. a. Men’s sweat attracts no one but other men. Is attracting other men everything you, addressee, want?

In my opinion, the advertisement is addressed to men, mostly heterosexual ones, because the answer implied by the question “Is that all that you want?” is intended to be “no”, since the communicator wants the audience to use the antiperspirant product in order not to sweat. According to the explication, homosexual men would be likely to answer “yes” to the question of whether they want to attract other men; therefore they may not be interested in buying these products. Hence, the advertisement shows a stereotypical image of men, who are considered to be only attracted to women and scared of other men being attracted to them. Moreover, other stereotypical views shown in the advertisement as the importance of the strength, the need of being big (for example, the obese man in the sauna), and the need to be always in a group are closely linked to the image schemes of force, space, and multiplicity which Velasco & Cortés claimed to be present in most sexist advertisements (2009: 264-265). This stereotypical depiction of men is important because these advertisement images are making a contrast with the upcoming explicit content of the slogan, which is implicitly a critique to these men’s stereotypical attitudes.

Concerning the informative and communicative intention, the former is fulfilled, since the communicator wants to make manifest a piece of information. In the case of this advertisement, the informative intention consists of the stereotypical male image being offered and all the contextual implications the audience will derive from them such as (6a-h). The communicative intention, by contrast, is not fulfilled, because the information given by the communicator is not mutually manifest, i.e. it is manifest only to the communicator but not to the audience. The communicator uses covert communication (stating implicitly that men like sweat and women don’t) for the addressees to derive their own implicatures, leaving them the responsibility of how many and what type of implicatures they interpret, as well as the pleasure of deriving
them by themselves. In this way, the communicator is more persuasive than if she had presented all information explicitly. In this advertisement, there is also weak overt communication, when a sweating man invites a girl to join them dancing, the invitation is not uttered but made through gestures by offering his hand.

As previously stated, the slogan and the question (“Men´s sweat only attracts other men. Is that all that you want?”) are the only explicit information in this advertisement. From the first part, “men´s sweat only attracts other men”, addressees derive the implicature “men like sweating”, strengthening the contextual implication (10c). From this implicature and the word “only” of “only attracts other men”, we further derive the following one: “women do not like sweating men”. The second part of the explicit content, “Is that all that you want?”, may refer to “attract other men” or “to sweat and consequently to do not attract women”. The answer to the question, by contrast, is left unanswered for the addressee to infer it in the form of the strong implicature “no” to persuade men to buy the product. This is how persuasion is achieved.

The processing of the stimuli provided by the explicit content (i.e. the slogan and the question) together with the assumptions from the initial context may involve the derivation of further implicatures, and the strengthening, weakening or elimination of some of the contextual implications. For example, (6g) is eliminated, since with the new information from the slogan we see that men are indeed interested in women; whereas (8a-c) become stronger, as with the new information from the explication and the initial context women have been considered to be the motto of men´s acts and their objects of desire. In this way, (12a-c) and (13a) are strengthened because of the new information implied about women. At the same time (9a-b) and (10a-c) are weakened after the extension of the context, because with the new information provided they are not so relevant. The subtle ironic lyrics of the song become meaningful and give rise to further cognitive effects, because the audience is watching one thing (men showing their stereotypical attitudes) and listening to another (“girls, girls, girls”). So they realize the existing contradiction between the images and the music. Hence, some new implicatures that the addressees could derive would be the following:

15. a. Sweat does not attract women.
b. The antiperspirant advertised will make you smell nice and thus help you attract women.
c. Men would use everything to attract women.
d. This advertisement is addressed to heterosexual men.

As regards sexism, this advertisement is sexist in the sense that it implies that the main reason to use deodorant products is to attract women, because of the implicature derived from the question “Is that all that you want?” This advertisement reflects a stereotypical image and attitude of men, who are just all the time thinking about women. In a covertly communicated way, it is stating that women are their reason why they do or do not what they do. It can also be considered a little homophobic, as the main idea of the advertisement may imply that men do not want to be attracted by other men. However, all those are just conjectures and nobody could accuse communicators of any of those things, because these facts are derived from the addressee’s own implicatures, even though they might just have implied them in a covert way.

The persuasive intention is to make potential customer buy and use these products, as stated two paragraphs before. By playing with the stereotypical image of men, the communicator is manipulating the addressees, trying to convince them to buy her product. Therefore, she plays with stereotypes turning them upside-down to establish a critique and to get her persuasive intention fulfilled. It is really difficult to state if this persuasive intention is fulfilled or not, since it depends upon every individual. Another difficult issue in advertising is to take into account the audience’s intention, as most of the advertisements come to the audience accidentally without the audience expecting them, so it is difficult to label an audience’s intention further than being merely passive spectators. As Díaz Pérez points out:

*In the modern capitalist society people are being constantly bombarded with hundreds of advertisements on TV, on the written press, on the radio, etc. Many of those advertisements run the risk of being unnoticed by the potential consumer. [...] When somebody is watching a TV programme or reading a magazine, it is in the programme or the magazine itself that the viewer/reader is interested in, and not all the advertisements that find their way into the main focus of attention and become very often a real nuisance.*

(2000: 43)
4.2 Advertisement addressed to women

4.2.1 Description of the advertisement

The second advertisement from Brokers Insurance Company is called “That’s how a man drives!” It is advertising that it is the first company to insure only women. So the advertisement is addressed to women regardless of appearances. At the beginning of the advertisement, there is a group of three men peeing on a mountain or cliff, and a car waiting on the road shoulder. They are dressed as if they came back from a party or wedding, wearing smart clothes. Then, two of the men take a picture of the third one, who is still peeing, with a mobile phone, run towards the car and get on it while laughing. They wait for the third man inside and beep, wanting him to hurry up. Nevertheless, when he is about to open the door of the car, the car moves and leaves him behind. The men inside the car laugh and encourage the man outside to try again, but when he does, the car moves forward again. They laugh again and the car moves backwards as if they were going to pick the man up at last. They invite him to get on the car and when the man is opening the door, they drive forward once more. Again, they drive forward for a longer time and the car falls off a cliff, leaving the man outside the car alone on the road, completely puzzled and wondering what has happened. Finally, the slogan is displayed: “Why we insure women only”.

4.2.2 Analysis of the advertisement

The presumption of optimal relevance is observed in this advertisement as well as in the first one, because it is relevant enough to be worth the audience’s processing effort; otherwise, addressees would not watch it. Besides, according to the communicator is the most compatible one she could have used considering her preferences, which is trying the audience to get as many cognitive effects as possible for the smallest possible effort. So the communicator uses the strategy which would arise in the audience the cognitive effects she intends to.

The immediate previous context which will help us process the slogan´s utterance can be established along the following terms. The advertisement presents
again a stereotypical image of men fooling around, being irresponsible with their friends, peeing outside, taking embarrassing pictures of one another, driving irresponsibly and making fun of one another. They also seem to be coming back from a party and being still drunk, as they needed to stop to urinate. Up to this point, all these contextual assumptions that we can implicate from the images of the advertisement relate to the image scheme of multiplicity, because men are always presented in a group. So far, the advertisement seems to be an advice for not driving if you have drunk alcohol. But then there is a sudden twist and the advertisement presents a harmful consequence of this typical attitude: the car falls off a cliff with the men inside. Taking this information as the immediate previous context, addressees could access the following contextual implications:

16. a. This advertisement is addressed to men.
   b. Men drive irresponsibly.
   c. If men drive irresponsibly they may have a serious accident
   d. Men have serious accidents.
   e. Driving drunk is dangerous.
   f. Men drive when they are drunk.
   g. If they drive when they are drunk they may have accidents.
   h. It is dangerous to fool around with a car.
   i. Men drive if they come back from a party.
   j. This is an advertisement to prevent people from driving drunk.
   k. Men take the piss out of each other when they are drunk.
   l. Men take photos of themselves peeing when they are drunk.

From (16b-c) we derive contextual implication (16d); from (16e-f), we access contextual implication (16g); and from (16d), together with (16 g-i), we implicate(16j). From the images in the advertisement, we can access further contextual implications (16k-l). The extension of the context from the encyclopedic information about men’s stereotypical behavior together with assumptions (16a-l) could give access to (17a-c) in one processing step:
17. a. Men behave childishly or foolishly when they are drunk or together with their mates.
   b. Men may regret their irresponsible behavior when driving drunk.
   c. Men may kill themselves when driving irresponsibly.
   d. Men ignore the risks of driving irresponsibly.
   e. The men in the advertisement have killed themselves or seriously injured.

The slogan “Why we insure women only” makes the addressee strengthen, weaken or eliminate some of the previously mentioned assumptions. In order to derive the explicature, we have to disambiguate and enrich the utterance, and assign a reference to “we”, which is referring to Brokers Insurance Company. The advertisement is addressed to women, because they will be the ones profiting from the services of the company. So, after the process of disambiguation, enrichment and reference assignment, the explicature of the slogan would be the following:

18. a. Why Brokers Insurance Company insures no other than women.

This advertisement functions as a garden path utterance, that is, “an utterance on which hearers quite systematically get the wrong interpretation first, and have to correct it” (Wilson, 1994: 38). In this case, the advertisement starts showing just men and their typical attitudes to find out at the end that the advertisement was addressed to women. The slogan “Why we insure women only” requires some processing effort from the addressee, since there is no woman in the advertisement and it makes the audience wonder the reasons why they only insure women. Even though it requires some processing effort, it is the best stimulus that the communicator could have used because when the audience realizes that the previous context (what happened to the men in the advertisement; i.e. falling off a cliff) was the reason why this company only insures women. This fact gives rise to many cognitive effects, some of which with humorous overtones, such as the silly accident (or one could even consider it punishment) that men have for driving irresponsibly and making fun of another one.

Moreover, as already stated by Arai in example (4) in section 3.5, the slogan is relevant because it does not only provide the information that just women are to be insured, but it also provides a reason for that information. In this way, the
communicator establishes some complicity between her and her potential customers (that is, women), by implicitly praising women’s behavior as responsible and mature and depicting men as irresponsible and childish. In this way, the communicator persuades women to hire her car insurance with the Brokers Insurance Company. After this shift brought by the slogan’s utterance (i.e. the explicature of the advertisement), the implicatures that addressees may derive do change from the contextual implications accessed in (16a-l), being thus interpreted as a garden path:

19. a. Women drive more responsibly than men.
   b. Women don’t behave childishly or foolishly when driving with other women.
   c. Women don’t drive if they have drunk.
   d. Women are more aware of the risks of driving irresponsibly
   e. If men drive irresponsibly, then they are likely to have more accidents.
   f. If they are likely to have more accidents, it is more expensive for a company to insure men.
   g. Women have less car accidents.
   h. It is better and safer for a company to insure women only.
   i. This advertisement is addressed to women.
   j. This advertisement is from an insurance company.

So from the initial context, (16a) and (16j) are eliminated, while the rest (16b-l) become strengthened. Something similar happens with the assumptions in the accessible contexts: (17a) and (17d) become stronger and thus more relevant, while (17b, (17c) and (17e) are weakened as they lose relevance after the explicature-implicature derivation.

The informative intention would be fulfilled, since the communicator gives us some information of the stereotypical image of men, its consequence. The implicatures we imply from the images are also part of the communicator’s informative intention. By contrast, the communicative intention is not fulfilled because the explicit information given acts as a premise for the audience to derive implicit conclusions the communicator expects him to derive (Corrales, 2007; Durán, 2005). The communicative intention presents in a covert way the image of men as non-profitable customers for an insurance company, since they drive irresponsibly. Thus, the (humorous) effects are
achieved by means of covert communication. In this advertisement, weak overt communication is present at the end of the advertisement, when the man outside the car is left alone on the road and his expression shows how puzzled he is, wondering where his friends are or what has happened. By means of this weak covert communication, we can imply that they all were very or quite drunk. As with the previous advertisement, addressees do not have an intention when watching the advertisement, as it comes to them “accidentally” without them looking for it (Díaz Pérez, 2000).

The persuasive intention is to make women take on their insurance in this company. Trying to empathize with women, the advertisement presents a stereotypical view of men as always drunk, fooling around, making fun of their friends and being irresponsible and childish. Then the communicator shows “funny” consequence of their acts and presents it as the reason why this company only insures women. It is a critique of the stereotypical men attitude, they are ridiculing them. This works as a vote of confidence to women, who are considered to be more responsible when driving. This is a good technique to attract the female public, because women have traditionally been said by men to drive worse than them, and for the first time someone states that they deserve the insurance services more than men as the opposite.

5. Conclusions

As stated in the introduction and analysis of this work, the main hypothesis was that the processing of advertisements and the persuasive strategies used in them could be analysed from a relevance-theoretic perspective in terms of the communicative and informative intentions, implicatures and covert communication; that is to say, persuasion in advertising involves the derivation of contextual implications, implicatures and covert communication. The second hypothesis was that advertisers adapt their persuasive strategies to the potential customer the advertisement is addressed to, manipulating their stereotypes and cultural schemas to make them buy the advertised product. More specifically, I tried to show that the strategies change in advertising depending on whether the advertisement is addressed to men or to women, and that these cultural stereotypes can be explained by some image schemas.

The first hypothesis has been proved, as I have analysed the interpretation process of both advertisements from an RT approach. Hence, we have seen that the images and scenes from the advertisements serve as the initial context and give access
to the most accessible contexts in which the slogan (that is to say, the explicit content of the advertisement) will be processed to derive the explicature and the implicatures. The extension of the context, by means of covert communication, gives rise to many contextual implications. The parallel processing of the explicature and the great amount of strong and weak implicatures gives rise to many cognitive effects of a humorous or pleasurable type depending on the advertisement. These cognitive effects achieved mostly implicitly are the tools used by the communicator to manipulate her potential addressees and persuade them to buy her product. Thus, it is also shown that covert communication is essential for persuasion, since it supposes the derivation of many weakly implied cognitive effects. In addition, it has been shown that the informative and communicative intention play an important role in the analysis of advertisements. The informative intention was fulfilled in both cases, but the communicative one was not, as its non-fulfillment is a persuasive strategy.

The second hypothesis has also been confirmed, as I have demonstrated that the advertisement addressed to men focused on what stereotypical men were interested in as well as on the way to achieve what they wanted (to attract women using antiperspirant products). On the other hand, the advertisement addressed to women focused on a critique of men, to justify and prove that it is better to insure women because of the risky behavior men portray when driving. Thus, it is shown that depending on the intended audience and on the potential customers the advertisement is addressed to, the persuasive strategies used in advertisements do vary. Besides, it has been also shown that the image schemas of force, strength and multiplicity underlay the stereotypical images of men depicted in both advertisements.

As noteworthy aspects found in the advertisements, we have seen that even though the advertisements were addressed to men and women, respectively, both reflected an stereotypical view of men to connect with them (through a subtle critique of their attitudes) in the deodorant advertisement, and to ridicule them in the car insurance one. Besides, it has been shown that music can be a key element in the interpretation of an advertisement. In the deodorant advertisement, music contrasts with the images displayed in the advertising, causing addressees to interpret it ironically and so to derive ironic effects. I think it is remarkable because many advertisements have music and it tends to go unnoticed but in this case, it helps us get more weakly implied cognitive effects, being thus a subtle and important device for advertising.
Finally, throughout the work I have proved that the images of the genres depicted in the advertisements are based on cultural stereotypes, although I have only analysed two advertisements from the same Western culture. Hence, from my point of view it would be necessary for future works to study how these images change from one culture to another and, consequently, how advertising strategies change, since they seem to adapt to the culture they are used in. Besides, it would be interesting to see if the perception of addressees from different cultures varied as well. Moreover, in these two advertisements there were some ironic and humorous effects; and for future studies it would be interesting to determinate the impact of some of these devices creating additional poetic, ironic and/or humorous effects (such as puns or wordplays) on advertisements, and how they are analysed.

6. References


