The construction of meaning in advertising: A relevance theoretic approach

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Abstract

Purpose – This thesis examines advertising from the perspective of pragmatics, especially concentrating on what components of the overall message are conveyed via (a) literal text and imagery (b) explicatures (c) implicatures. It explores brands marketing conventional meat and dairy-based products in relation to brands marketing equivalent unconventional plant-based products, the objective being to determine whether these two product categories differ in their use of certain pragmatic features. Consequently, the study also considers how attributes and benefits prevail in contemporary advertising, and it outlines how the medium ultimately works as a form of social communication.

Design/methodology/approach – The message will be explored by means of pragmatic text analysis; a method drawn from Relevance Theory in which cognitive-pragmatic processes presented by Wilson and Sperber (2012) are at the centre of attention. Concurrently, notions vital to professional advertising practice will play an equally large role, where Simpson's (2001) direct-oblique continuum and Shimp's (2007) attributes and benefits are employed, the aim being to take steps towards developing a theoretical model which can account for advertising language and its context.

Findings – The study shows that the overall message in contemporary advertising is conveyed through explicatures to a much larger extent than previously thought, and studies into the pragmatics of advertising are, thus, said to have underestimated the explicature to date. It is also suggested that interaction takes place between advert and audience regardless of what product is marketed, and regardless of how likely the audience are to trust the advertiser or believe in the ideas he presents. Instead, advertising language is first and foremost a construction dependent on a number of pragmatic processes, in which determination of context and the inferences constructed by the audience are of vital importance.

Originality/value – A novel aspect of the approach in this study is that much more emphasis is given to explicatures compared to previous research. Furthermore, in contrast to most studies into advertising that consider it to be a strongly persuasive and forceful device, this study establishes a viewpoint in which advertising discourse is considered as a form of social communication whose only commitment is to construct and transfer meaning in order to interact with its audience.

Keywords: Advertising, Pragmatics, Relevance Theory, Attributes, Benefits, Explicatures,
            Implicatures, Conventional products, Unconventional products

Contents

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Thank you, Michael, for sticking by me.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Preliminary notes

Symbols:

This study presents explicatures in curly brackets { }, weak explicatures in double curly brackets {{ }}, implicatures in square brackets [ ], weak implicatures in double square brackets [[ ]], and pragmatic response in plus signs + +.

Abbreviations:

Expl. = Explicature(s)

Impl. = Implicature(s)

CA   = Contextual assumption(s)

RA   = Reference assignment

Gender:

I consistently consider the speaker (and advertiser) to be *male* and the hearers to be a group of people in form of either *hearers* or an *audience*.

Thesis introduction

When the advertiser creates his text, it never fully expresses what it means, and its context is always compatible with a range of interpretations. That is to say, the message he puts forward partly depends on self-generated inferences created by the audience as they go about making sense of the stimulus. Apart from underlining that advertising is highly context-dependent, this perspective also suggests that advertising exists as a form of social communication, where its content constantly fluctuates depending on situation, in which a culture's norms and trends can be vital influences. In contrast to most studies into advertising, which frequently consider it to be a strongly persuasive and forceful device, I aim to establish a purely linguistic approach to its discourse by suggesting that it is simply a form of social communication whose only commitment is to communicate with its audience. That is, interaction ultimately takes place between advert and audience regardless of what product (if any) is marketed, regardless of the degree of trust between the advertiser and audience, and regardless of how likely the audience are to buy or even like the promoted product. Ultimately and at the most general level, I argue that advertising depends on two central concepts: (1) the construction and (2) the transfer and interpretation of meaning. That is, the advertiser is first and foremost committed to constructing meaning, which is then transferred and interpreted by the audience.

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate how contemporary advertising uses text and imagery to communicate its messages and ideas to the audience. Focus is aimed at analysing a number of printed adverts from a relevance theoretic perspective in order to account for what they manage to convey, even if they do so indirectly. The study is divided into four chapters, with chapter one assessing the concept of *meaning* in relation to advertising. The subsections of this chapter are committed to reviewing a number of previous studies into advertising language, and to discuss the concept of *meaning construction* and *meaning transfer* and *interpretation*. In order to do so, this chapter will introduce and discuss the concepts of brand positioning presented by Shimp (2007) and the notion of 'reason' and 'tickle' advertising by Simpson (2001).

Chapter two, then, aims to expand on the ideas discussed in chapter one by defining *meaning* as a pragmatic construction depending on the inferential model of communication presented by Relevance Theory. Consequently, this chapter sets out to take steps towards developing a theoretical model that can account for advertising language and its context. By employing relevance theoretic features, I aim to establish a model that will function as the theoretical bedrock for the analysis of advertising discourse applied in the subsequent chapter

three. In particular here, the notions of explicatures, implicatures, contextual assumptions, loose talk and metaphors are discussed in relation to advertising.

With help from the terminology established in chapters one and two, chapter three will introduce the main analysis of this study, in which focus is placed on burger, milk, and ice cream adverts. The choice of these three product categories is based on the interesting observation that both dairy and beef products seem to be situated in a context in which there are distinct *contra-products*, such as non-dairy and vegetarian/vegan products. The ambition with chapter three is to analyse collected advertising stimuli from (i) a relevance theoretic perspective and (ii) from the viewpoint of being a form of social communication. Here, the idea that advertising transpires as a vessel carrying a message – a message that exists regardless of being 'good' or 'bad', but rather as a reflection of our social values – is introduced. The analysis will have four main purposes, namely, to determine (1) how we can locate attributes and benefits in advertising discourse, and to examine (2) the way in which attributes and benefits are being marketed in the advert, especially establishing what information we need in order to understand them. Further, I will analyse (3) the kind of explicatures and implicatures that are generated by the collected adverts, in particular to see whether these generate attributes and/or benefits. Subsequently, it also aims to (4) determine if adverts promoting conventional meat/dairy products differ in their use of attributes and benefits compared to those promoting plant-based products.

The study will finally introduce chapter four, in which the main findings are discussed and concluded. Here, I will above all connect with the research questions presented in chapter three, and examine the discoveries which the analysis has resulted in. Possible paths for future research are also discussed, in which I will underline the great potential of a relevance theoretic analysis of the ever-growing theme of sustainability in advertising.

1   Advertising: The construction and transfer of meaning

Imagine that you see an advert containing the text, *'Strong people get more out of life'*. Even if you know nothing about this advert, you do not struggle in understanding the utterance it presents to you. However, the utterance itself does not offer you much help in comprehending what the advertiser means by exposing it. Perhaps he wants you to buy a new gym membership, or that you should invest in a bundle of ten leadership lessons. While you may be able to find parts of the meaning based on the text alone, it is unclear what is supposed to make people 'strong', and what 'get more out of life' refers to. Such vagueness underlines the fact that advertising language, similarly to any type of human communication, is able to convey an indefinite number of different meanings, and that it depends on the audience's capability of recognising the one intended by the speaker. Ultimately, the concept and practice of advertising is highly reliant on the idea of *meaning*, both in terms of meaning construction and transfer.

But what is meant by *meaning*, and how do we determine which one is intended by the advertiser? When academics try to answer this question, it is common to begin by paying attention to the advert text itself: sometimes in relation to its context, sometimes not. Many previous studies, such as Lakoff (1982), Tanaka (1994), and Rath Foley and Karlsson (2021), have employed such a 'text-orientated' approach, in which hypothetical inferencing paths taken by the audience are at the centre of attention. While this type of analysis relies on speculation, it can nevertheless present plausible processing steps in how we interpret advertisements. However, the text-orientated approach omits to consider the advertiser's contribution, which can be of immense value since it reveals a first-hand account of his tactics and goals. Yet, to exclusively apply such a 'process-orientated' approach can also be difficult since many advertisers are in fact unaware of what inferencing paths they create, let alone plan (Foster, 2017). Applying such a process-oriented approach alone would, too, leave us with further questions, and it would make us struggle to discover the linguistic information needed in order to establish trustworthy conclusions. Instead, there is room for a collaboration between the text-orientated and process-orientated approach, since combining the theoretical strengths of a linguistic framework with the 'real-life' experience of marketing professionals can help in resolving the many advertising puzzles that are otherwise only described.

This chapter sets out to discuss the fact that advertising always involves the creation and transfer of meaning, in which it will be argued that *meaning* is an inferential process that takes as input the production of a message presented by a stimulus, together with contextual information, and yields as output an interpretation of the stimulus' intended meaning. In order

to fully account for the many complex elements used in advertising, it will be argued that there is a need for a cognitive-pragmatic framework, in which Wilson and Sperber's (2012) Relevance Theory is considered the most satisfactory option. This theory will be discussed in detail in chapter two, but before I turn my attention to the pragmatics of advertising, I will devote this first chapter to offering a general exposition of advertising language and the meaning of *meaning*. Here, advertising discourse is discussed in relation to a selection of previous linguistic studies into advertising, namely Shimp's (2007) semiotic approach and Simpson's (2001) pragmatic approach.

1.1   Shimp's approach to meaning

A very resourceful yet insufficient approach to advertising language and meaning is provided by Shimp (2007), in which the idea of meaning creation and transfer is discussed in detail with regards to marcom messages. Shimp's perspective is particularly valuable in that he is one of few advertising scholars to recognise the relationship between brand positioning, the receiver's perceptual field, and meanings collected from the culturally constituted world. However, his approach is problematic since he relies only on the system of signs and symbols, a viewpoint that has been argued to lack the principles necessary to adequately account for the language of advertising (Tanaka, 1994; Foster, 2017). Aligning with Shimp's contention, I argue that brand positioning indeed involves the creation and interpretation of meaning. However, in contrast to his viewpoint, I argue that meaning is not a semiotic process, but crucially one relying on inference and the principles of relevance (Wilson & Sperber, 2012).

When Shimp (2007) describes how consumers process information in marcom messages, he turns to a continuum based on two opposites: the *consumer processing model* (CPM) and the *hedonic experiential model* (HEM). The CPM process, Shimp argues, involves "attending to, encoding, retaining, retrieving and integrating information so that a person can achieve a suitable choice among consumer consumption alternatives" (p. 140). That is, at this end of the spectrum, we find a calculated and highly cognitive way of interpreting the attributes and benefits of an advert, in which the consumer is said to process and choose among brands using rational, cognitive, systematic, and reasoned steps. At the other end of the spectrum, Shimp argues that we find the HEM process, which is driven by "emotions in pursuit of fun, fantasies, and feelings" (p. 131). Here, consumers instead base their choices and consumption behaviour on how the marketed features make them feel, and aspects connected with the HEM process can be, for example, passion and spontaneity. However, Shimp emphasises that such an extreme model alone is not capable of describing the complex process that consumers go

through when they interpret adverts. In addition, Shimp recognises that both perspectives often work concurrently, and advert messages can therefore sit anywhere in between these two models or make use of them simultaneously.

According to Shimp (2007), consumers are "actively involved in constructing meaning from marcom messages, meaning that may or may not be equivalent to what the communicator intended to convey" (p. 120). The problem here is that he considers these construction mechanisms to be semiotic in nature when they, in reality, are pragmatic ones. In fact, Shimp does not propose any specific groups of signs or messages, which makes his study different to many other semiotic approaches (such as Barthes, 1984) that normally argue that signs are restricted to a defined set of messages. This ultimately saves Shimp from having to face the difficulty that divisions between signs can seem arbitrary, which indeed causes problems for Barthes[1] (1984) since he is unable to explain what sign is intended by the advertiser and how the audience are expected to retrieve this intended sign. In addition, Shimp (2007) repeatedly mentions the importance of memory and context that other semiotic studies usually omit, which actually makes him seem pragmatic in intent:

> This desirable outcome [to make sure that the signs used by the marketing communicator are interpreted as intended by consumers] is most likely accomplished when signs are common to both the sender's and the receiver's fields of experience. A field of experience, also called the *perceptual field*, is the sum total of a person's experiences that are stored in memory.
>
> […] Meaning can be thought of as the *perceptions (thoughts) and affective reactions (feelings)* that are evoked within a person when presented with a sign in a particular *context*. It should be clear at this point that meaning is internal, rather than external, to an individual. Meaning, in other words, is subjective and highly context dependent.
>
> (Shimp, 2007, p. 121)

Since the field of semiotics deals with meaning in terms of signs and their signifiers, it relies on the presumption that communication is accomplished by the encoding and decoding of messages. Such a 'code' model of communication will be argued as unsatisfactory by the following chapters, especially since it omits to consider both context and the audience's memory. In contrast to Shimp's semiotic perspective to the nature of meaning, I will take on a relevance theoretic approach in which focus is aimed at cognitive mechanisms such as reference assignment, enrichment, and determination of context. But before I fully turn my

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[1] For a thorough analysis of Barthes (1984), see Tanaka (1994, pp. 1-6).

attention to this approach, I want to discuss some of Shimp's ideas further, in particular his notions of (1) *brand positioning* and (2) *attributes* and *benefits*.

1.2   Brand positioning á la Shimp

According to Shimp (2007), a brand's positioning represents the "key feature, benefit, or image that it stands for in the target audience's collective mind" (p. 120). What you think of when I say, for example, *McDonald's* or *Greenpeace* will most likely sit in parallel with the individual brand's positioning, in which the central ideas emphasise what the brand represents.

Advertisers are therefore fundamentally working to construct *meaning* when positioning a brand, and particularly apt is that Shimp (2007) not only demonstrates what brand positioning consists of, but he also addresses it in relation to the idea of meaning creation and the meaning of meaning. He suggests that meaning is a constructive process in that it is "determined both by the message source's choice of communication elements and, just as importantly, by the receiver's unique social-cultural background and mind-set at the time he or she is exposed to a message" (p. 120). That is, the audience and the stimulus are equally important in the world of advertising, and "consumers are actively involved in constructing meaning from marcom messages, meaning that may or may not be equivalent to what the communicator intended to convey" (Shimp, 2007, p. 120).

Vital to Shimp's (2007) idea of brand positioning are the notions of *attributes* and *benefits*, which are considered by him to be types of brand associations (1):

(1)
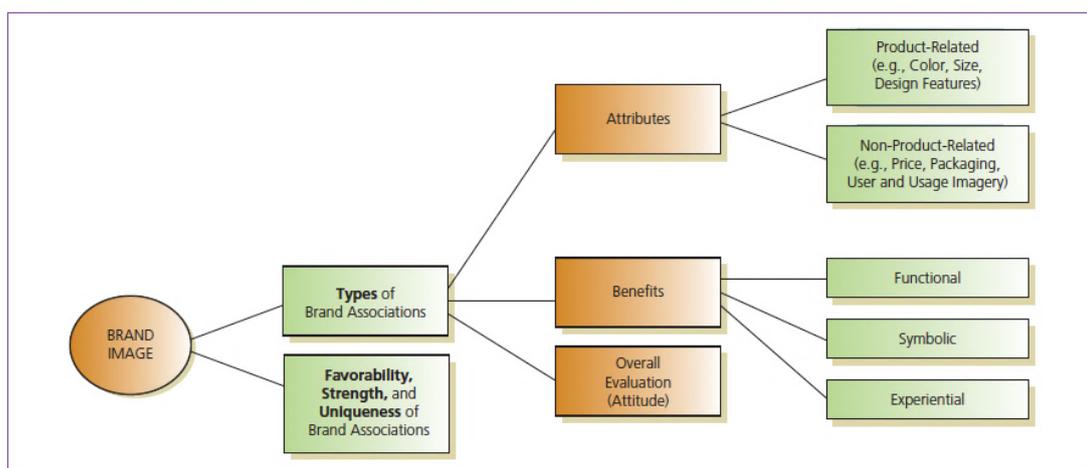
Source: Adapted from Kevin Lane Keller, "Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Managing Customer-Based Brand Equity." *Journal of Marketing* 57 (January 1993), 7.

(Shimp, 2007, p. 124)

These types, Shimp (2007) argues, are situated within a brand's *image*, which in turn is closely related, if not interchangeable, to the brand's positioning. That is, a brand can be positioned by its products' attributes and/or benefits, in which both are used to provide customers with reasons for selecting a specific brand in slightly different ways.

1.3 Shimp's attributes and benefits

According to Shimp (2007), a brand can be positioned in terms of "a particular attribute or feature, provided that the attribute represents a competitive advantage and can motivate customers to purchase that brand rather than a competitive offering" (p. 127). For example, you might be looking to purchase some cheese for a French wine and cheese party you have arranged. When browsing the cheese selection in your local supermarket, you might see words such as 'extra mature', 'creamy texture' or 'mild flavour'. Using Shimp's (2007) terminology, such propositions are part of a brand's *product-related attributes* since they describe anything from a product's colour to its size, material, or, in this case, flavour and texture. The second part of Shimp's attribute positioning is that of *non-product-related attributes,* which refers to the brand's unique usage symbolism (*usage imagery*) and the kinds of people who use it (*user imagery*). Usage imagery, Shimp (2007) argues, "depicts the brand in terms of specific, and presumably unique, usages that become associated with it" while user imagery "becomes the brand's hallmark; the brand and the people who are portrayed as using it become virtually synonymous" (p. 129). In my cheese example we can think of usage imagery as the unique symbolism such cheese brings, for example the assumption that French cheese is more authentic and flavoursome than other types of cheese, while user imagery is something that represents who we are by purchasing such cheese, based on social assumptions. For example, if sophisticated, cultured, and popular people arrange French wine and cheese parties, then we must be sophisticated, cultured, and popular when we buy this specific French cheese.

Broadly speaking, consumers are assumed to have needs that can be satisfied, and a fundamental concept within the world of advertising is that *benefits* exist as a way of providing customers with means that can satisfy these needs. According to Shimp's diagram (1), there are three categories of benefits that appeal to basic consumer needs: *functional*, *symbolic*, or *experiential*. Since benefits engage with our internal needs, they differ from attributes in the sense that attributes relate to the product itself. Further, the idea of benefits differs from that of attributes in the sense that "benefits provide B2C *(business to consumer)* consumers and B2B *(business to business)* consumers with more compelling reasons for selecting a particular brand than do product attributes per se" (Shimp, 2007, p. 125, author's italics). Although Shimp

(2007) makes a distinction between attributes and benefits, it is clear that the two can work together. For example, product-related attributes, such as, say, a *chilled* drink *tasting of pear*, may lead to the conclusion that the promoted product will benefit me as a consumer, given that I regard these attributes as beneficial (in this case, given that I enjoy chilled drinks tasting of pear). Such conclusions do not only rely on the presented attributes alone, however, but on context and the audience's encyclopaedic knowledge, or, as Shimp calls it, perceptual field, in the sense that our social-cultural background and mind-set at the time will normally determine what we perceive as beneficial. For example, I may not consider a chilled drink beneficial to the same degree if I am at a winter ski resort in the north of Sweden compared to if I am at a beach resort in the south of Spain in the middle of summer, simply based on the personal preference that I do not enjoy drinking chilled beverages when I am in cold environments.

It is not only the notion of benefit that depends on context and the audience's encyclopaedic knowledge since attributes, too, may need some form of pragmatic inference in order to be fully understood. When adverts involve indirect language, they require the audience to construct self-generated inferences, and there are indeed cases where promoted attributes and/or benefits are communicated indirectly or weakly. For example, the utterances 'Strong people get more out of life' and 'Milk products, a source of protein' in the Dairy Farmers of Canada advert (2017) will require the audience to locate and determine the intended attribute, namely that milk products, as result of being a source of protein, are portrayed to have strengthening powers. Without encyclopaedic knowledge about, inter alia, food protein and the human body, the audience would struggle to construct such an intended attribute, which points to the fact that pragmatic inference processes can be of vital importance in the interpretation of attributes in advertising. In turn, 'strengthening powers' as attribute will be accepted as beneficial if and only if the audience perceive it to align with their personal classification of *benefit* at the time and in the context of the advert.

In conclusion, Shimp (2007) argues that positioning, in theory, is a matter of creating meaning by making use of different types of attributes and benefits. That is, the main purpose of advertising is to construct meaning that, somehow, should occur to serve the consumer. However, Shimp uses a theoretical framework that does not assist him appropriately even though he nearly stumbles across the fact that advertising interpretation is not only a matter of encoding and decoding. Based on Shimp's work, I want to agree that brand positioning alongside the notion of attributes and benefits can support the research into advertising, but we need to consider both advertising and brand positioning from a purely pragmatic perspective since the importance of context and self-generated inferences constructed by the audience are

vital in both cases. Based on my suggestion that the uncovering of both attributes and benefits can be highly dependent on the construction of linguistically encoded meanings together with background knowledge, it will be particularly helpful to employ the relevance-theoretic concepts of explicatures and implicatures in the analysis of advertisements. For that reason, I will attempt to establish a theoretical model based on Relevance Theory that can account for these concepts in relation to advertising language and interpretation. Firstly, however, I want to complete the general exposition of advertising language offered by this chapter by devoting the following subsection to discussing a study that takes on a pragmatic approach to advertising discourse, namely Simpson's (2001) theory of 'reason' and 'tickle'.
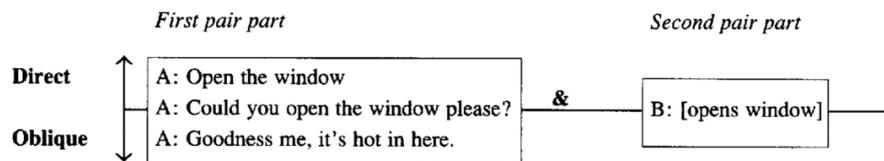
1.4   Simpson's 'reason' and 'tickle'

In a way similar to Shimp (2007) but with a pragmatic perspective, Simpson (2001) establishes a continuum consisting of two polar opposites, in which attention is paid to the notion of 'reason' and 'tickle' advertising. Although he calls his methodology merely "process-orientated" (p. 590), Simpson's focus is really twofold since he considers both the marketing tactics by a chosen advertiser and a number of plausible cognitive steps in the interpretation of advertisement texts. To combine the theoretical strengths of pragmatics and the 'real-life' experience of marketing professionals can help resolve the many advertising puzzles, which is why Simpson's work is undeniably interesting and well worth further development.

Simpson (2001, pp. 590-591) begins his account on pragmatic constructs in advertising discourse by recognising and recasting key statements relating to the distinction between 'reason' and 'tickle' advertising initially presented by the professional advertiser David Bernstein (1974). One of the most noticeable distinctions Simpson (2001) encounters is that Bernstein presents reason advertising as both 'direct' and 'factual' whilst tickle advertising rather has indirectness as its most salient characteristics (p. 591). Simpson acknowledges that advertising language exists in a degree of directness, and to fully comprehend this degree, he argues that we need to not only deal with the syntax, phonology, and semantics of a language, but the contextualisation carried out by the audience. Essential here, Simpson argues, is to attend to the field of pragmatics, and in developing Bernstein's reason-tickle distinction, he presents a pragmatic diagram built on his earlier work (Simpson, 1997, p. 130-179) in which discourse analysis is organised along two intersecting axes: *structure* and *strategy*. In Simpson (2001), the structural axis is omitted, and emphasis is placed on the strategic (paradigmatic) plane of discourse (p. 592). With assistance from this strategic axis, he presents the following schema, which is called the *direct-oblique continuum* (2):

(2)

Schema 1

First pair part   *Second pair part*

Direct — A: Open the window / A: Could you open the window please? / **Oblique** — A: Goodness me, it's hot in here. **&** B: [opens window] →

(adapted from Simpson, 1997: 130–178)

(Simpson, 2001, p. 592)

According to Simpson (2001), tickle advertising signals a marked shift downwards on the continuum, "pushing it strongly towards the oblique/tickle pole" (p. 600). Essentially, he suggests that tickle advertisements always present some form of propositional non-informativeness, which will open several possible inferencing pathways for the audience. In relevance theoretic terms, Simpson suggests that the audience will attempt to access some sort of implicature for the advertisement and that tickle advertising thus "requires greater participation by the interlocutor and greater expenditure of processing effort" (p. 601).

On the other side of the spectrum, we find reason advertising, which Simpson argues is characterised by "(i) conspicuous product placement with brand name and (if available) company logo visually prominent and (ii) a clear and unambiguous statement of the principal reason to buy the product" (p. 594). Here, he only considers its relevance theoretic aspects very briefly:

> […] in reason advertising it is easy to reach an interpretation that is consistent with the principle of relevance, such that a satisfactory range of contextual effects can be accessed for no unjustifiable processing effort.

(Simpson, 2001, p. 599)

Instead, Simpson's classification of reason advertising makes use of Halliday's (1994) systemic-functional framework. Here, reason advertising is examined with respect to its use of certain semantic connectives, which Simpson (2001), in parallel with Halliday's terminology, calls *conjunctive adjuncts* (p. 595). Especially important to Simpson are the *conditional*, *causal,* and *purposive* conjunctive adjuncts, which, he argues, constitute important connective types in reason advertising. For example, adverts with causal conjunctive adjuncts such as *so*, *then*, *because* and *as a result* display "a basic *reason-plus-result* argument" (Simpson, 2001, p. 597). However, Rath Foley and Karlsson (2021) show that a reason advertisement may not strongly communicate conjunctive adjuncts even though it is relying on them in the persuasion

process (p. 118). In other words, it is common that advertisers bypass conjunctive adjuncts and instead structure their language in a manner such as (4) rather than (3):

(3)   These children are desperate for your help, so call Plan now.

(4)   These children are desperate for your help. Call Plan now.

To claim that (4) is not a reason advertisement because it omits a restricted set of connectives is arguably false, which poses some difficulties for Simpson's classification, especially since he does not discuss what applies to such reason adverts lacking explicit conjunctive adjuncts. To make sense of this dilemma, I want to argue that adverts such as (4) do indeed contain conjunctive adjuncts, but they are embedded and thus need inference. This argument points to the fact that the audience do not only decode and infer *implicatures*, but *explicatures* as well.

So far in the context of advertising, the explicature and the implicature have been considered contrasting components, in which the explicature is defined by Tanaka (1994) as "an assumption obtained by the development of the logical forms encoded by an utterance" while implicatures are seen as "assumptions which are derivable from the proposition expressed by the utterance together with the context" (pp. 26-27). However, since Tanaka's study, Relevance Theory has progressed a great deal, and it is now argued that "what is explicitly communicated by an utterance typically goes beyond what is said or literally meant, and may be vaguer and less determinate than generally assumed" (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 11). For example, consider question (5) alongside its meanings and responses (6a) – (6b):

(5)   Can you pass the salt?

(6a)   Possible meaning 1: The speaker wonders if the hearer is physically able to move
                            the salt cellar.
           Explicature: {The speaker is asking the hearer} Can you pass the salt{cellar}
                               {over there}{right now}?
           Implicature: [Are you physically able to pass the salt cellar?]
           Response 1:   Yes, I am.

(6b)   Possible meaning 2: The speaker wonders if the hearer would be so kind to pass the
                            salt cellar to him.
           Explicature: {The speaker is asking the hearer} Can you pass the salt {cellar}
                               {over there}{right now}?
           Implicature: [I want you to pass me the salt cellar.]
           Response 2:   +The hearer physically passes the salt to the speaker+

The explicatures in (6a) and (6b) show that, as interlocutors, we are generally always required to derive conclusions from the actual stimulus (such as utterances, texts, or, as in the case of this study, adverts). Explicatures are therefore not assumptions solely obtained by the development of the logical forms encoded by an utterance since they, too, require us to consider the context in which the utterance is situated so that we can infer the speaker's intended meaning. This updated concept will be considered in further detail in subsection 2.2, but first, there is one aspect of Simpson's reason-tickle continuum that needs closer attention, namely that he has designed his continuum so that the following concepts correspond:

(7)   a.   Reason advertising – Direct language

         b.   Tickle advertising – Oblique language

This arrangement is based on Bernstein's (1974) initial account, where tickle advertising is said to equal "emotion, imagination, poetic truth, desires" (p. 119). For example, an advertiser may aim to address the audience's sense of happiness, such as in the case of Coca-Cola's (2015) campaign which orbits around the slogan 'Choose happiness', or to address the feeling of guilt, such as in the case of Greenpeace's (2018) advert where a polar bear is depicted as starving due to global warming, which in turn can be linked to the ways in which we live. In line with this, Simpson (2001) refers to tickle adverts as "those which appeal to humour, emotion and mood" (p. 589). However, (7) is disputable from a linguistic point of view since it ultimately indicates that only oblique language is devoted to presenting such 'tickle' elements (for example, emotion and desires), while direct language exclusively deals with elements based on providing clear motives and reasons for purchase. In reality, this is clearly not the case since both direct language (8a) and oblique language (8b) can include 'tickle' elements such as emotional content, and both direct language (8c) and oblique language (8d) can include reasons and motives:

(8)   a. *These children are desperate for your help, so call Plan now.* (Simpson, 2001, p. 596)
         b. *I'm a child. Not a threat.* (UNICEF, 2017)
         c. *Great organic taste at a fair price. We milk cows, not people.* (Yeo Valley, 2008)
         d. *Only milk tastes like milk.* (Arla, 2019)

Thus, Simpson (2001) has created a continuum in which he compares two sets of concepts that are incapable of comparison. It is of course the case that tickle advertising *can* involve oblique language and emotional elements, and reason advertising *can* supply direct language. But this does not prevent reason advertising from being oblique or from tapping into the emotional

spectrum of its audience, nor does it mean that tickle advertising always lacks direct language and reasons. Further, Cook (2001) argues that cigarette adverts are by necessity ticklers, since, he questions, "what reasons could they give?" (p. 15). Cook's argument embodies the difficulty with Simpson's reason-tickle continuum since cigarette adverts are not by necessity ticklers at all. Some *can* be, such as in (9a), but some can give very clear motives, such as (9b):

(9)   a. *You know you want it.*

       b. *Choose our cigarettes. They are the lowest priced cigarettes in the world.*

That is to say, cigarette adverts can give a number of reasons for purchase, and even if the reason is considered irrational or stupid, it nevertheless exists. Consequently, I take the opportunity to present a new claim: oblique language does not require more emotion, desire, or any other element than direct language. Instead, the direct-oblique continuum exclusively depends on the degree of inference required by the audience. If we accept this claim, then Simpson's study must, in fact, be based on two separate continuums: (i) the direct-oblique continuum on the one hand, and (ii) the reason-tickle continuum on the other, and these two shall not be considered equivalents. Ultimately, (i) depends on the degree of cognitive effort required by the audience rather than anything else, while (ii) is capable of being considered with regard to Simpson's (2001) initial account in which its communication is constricted to the specific elements he describes. Furthermore, Simpson's direct-oblique continuum connects with the relevance theoretic concept of explicitness and implicitness, while his reason-tickle continuum does not. Direct and oblique language are, in other words, devices generating explicatures and implicatures to varying degrees, and such advertisements may, or may not, involve both reason and tickle elements. As a result, the reason-tickle continuum rather orbits in the sphere of social studies while the direct-oblique continuum is strictly linguistic. I will therefore, in everything that follows, exclude the reason-tickle continuum, and instead focus on the distinction between direct and oblique language.

In terms of the direct-oblique continuum, the example 'Strong people get more out of life' in the chapter introduction above arguably sits somewhere close to the oblique pole. If the advert instead had uttered 'Mentally strong people get more out of life', or 'Physically strong people get more out of life', it would have moved slightly closer to the direct pole since the audience, then, are given additional pieces of evidence with which they can build the intended meaning. But why is this direct-oblique continuum important to advertising? One vital decision Simpson (2001) makes which assists in answering this question is the fact that he acknowledges the relation between his and other studies within pragmatics and discourse analysis (10):

(10)

Schema 2

		Grice	Brown and Levinson	Sperber and Wilson
Reason	**Direct**	'maximal' efficiency	bald-on-record	strong relevance
Tickle	**Oblique**	implicature	off-record	weak relevance

(Simpson, 2001, p. 593)

Particularly important is that Simpson (2001) connects his methodology with Sperber and Wilson's (1986) Relevance Theory. Without the cognitive and psychological orientation offered by this theory, Simpson (2001) would most likely struggle in giving sufficient explanations of some of Bernstein's ideas, such as the claim that "tickle ads are more difficult to comprehend, a tactic which, Bernstein contends, may make them more successful" (p. 591). When he involves Relevance Theory, Simpson is able to not only discuss the direct-oblique continuum in relation to advertising, but, more importantly, in relation to the mind of the only living creatures to whom advertising matters: human beings. This connection allows for aspects of human interpretation processes to be outlined, which in turn help to underline the relation between advertising and our interpretation of direct and oblique communication. Here, Simpson is able to discuss advertising language in terms of the "cognitive 'cost-benefit' payoffs" used by the audience in the interpretation process (p. 593). However, only once does he mention the role of memory and the audience's mental storage of encyclopaedic knowledge, which suggests that Simpson's study is lacking some pragmatic backing, especially such backing that has to do with elements depending on extra-linguistic contextual information and the audience's inferential abilities.

1.5   Chapter conclusion

This chapter has considered advertising discourse from the perspective of two previous linguistic approaches: one semiotic (Shimp, 2007) and one pragmatic (Simpson, 2001). It has been concluded that, while these approaches lack some specific theoretical backing, they still offer a number of vital ideas. Firstly, Shimp (2007) helps us understand that advertising is ultimately a matter of constructing meaning that, somehow, should occur to benefit the consumer. Secondly, Simpson (2001) provides us with the crucial concept that advertising language exists on a scale from oblique to direct, which the advertiser may use in order to

engage with the audience in different ways. With help from these two studies, I will now go on to examine meaning from a pragmatic perspective in which determination of context and the notion of enrichment are vital components. In order to contribute to the wider debate on advertising language and its interpretation, I will dedicate the following chapter and its subsections to a general outlining of advertising in relation to (i) the concept of meaning from a pragmatic perspective, (ii) Relevance Theory and the inferential model of communication and (iii) a selection of relevance theoretic features. In subsections 2.1–2.3, I will discuss a number of adverts in relation to chosen relevance theoretic features, namely the inferential model of communication, explicatures, implicatures, contextual assumptions, and the idea of loose talk and metaphors as category extensions. The central aim with these subsections is to establish a theoretical model based on Relevance Theory which will, then, be used as the foundation for the analysis presented in subsequent chapter three.

2   Meaning: A pragmatic construction

This chapter is committed to expanding chapter one by defining *meaning* as a pragmatic construction depending on the inferential model of communication presented by Relevance Theory. According to this model, understanding speaker's meaning is "an inferential process for which the premises are, on the one hand, the fact that the speaker has uttered a certain sentence with semantic properties assigned to it by the grammar of the language, and, on the other, contextual information" (Sperber & Origgi, 2012, p. 332). Since many studies into advertising, such as Barthes (1984), Williamson (1984), and Shimp (2007), have bypassed this model of communication, and therefore failed to adequately describe the role of self-generated inferences and context, this section sets out to provide a theoretical model fully based on the inferential approach. The aim here is thus partly to establish a model that will function as the theoretical bedrock for the analysis of features in advertising discourse examined in the following chapters, but also to provide reasons as to why Relevance Theory and the inferential model of communication are satisfactory in the analysis of advertising.

2.1   Relevance Theory & the 'inferential' model of communication

I want to suggest that the interpretation of advertising discourse is arrived at in exactly the same way as any other type of communication, and that there are no linguistic mechanisms specific to advertising alone. This suggestion does not aim to bypass the fact that advertising frequently involves the overarching intention of, say, selling products or services; an intention of which the audience are oftentimes fully aware. As I mentioned on page 13, we do indeed take it that one fundamental goal of advertising is to offer a benefit, and the hypothesis of my suggestion is rather to say that, once this goal is recognised, we treat advertising language as regular and rational communication. In line with BBDO (1990), I want to argue that advertising is a form of rational communication, even if not all aspects of it seem rational. That is, the linguistic content of advertising messages, similarly to all other forms of human communication, vastly underdetermines their interpretation, and the language of advertising is, in that sense, not exceptional. To suggest this is to recognise that advertising language is highly context-dependent, which should lead to a reconsideration of its role. Wilson and Sperber's Relevance Theory (2012) arguably offers a solid cognitive-pragmatic framework that has the ability to account for advertising language and its interpretation, and this subsection intends to present reasons as to why this is the case. By discussing the theory in relation to a number of ad examples, it will be demonstrated that advertising relies heavily on context and the self-

generated inferences constructed by the audience, which is why the world of advertising can benefit greatly from the area of pragmatics.

According to the relevance-theoretic account of the overall comprehension process, the hearer's task is to use the schematic indication of the speaker's meaning given by an utterance's linguistically encoded meaning, together with background knowledge, to construct an interpretation of the speaker's meaning guided by expectations of relevance (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 13). Drawing on this comprehension process and its sub-tasks (11a) – (11c) below, I will begin to take some tentative steps towards the development of a theoretical model that is able to account for advertising language and its context.

(11)   a. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicatures by developing the
              linguistically encoded logical form.
          b. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions
              (*implicated premises*).
          c. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implications
              (*implicated conclusions*).

(Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 13)

Working in parallel, (11a) – (11c) will together result in comprehension against a background of expectations, which is guided by the following *relevance-theoretic comprehension heuristic*:

(12)   a. Follow a path of least effort in constructing an interpretation of the utterance
              (and in particular in resolving ambiguities and referential indeterminacies,
              in going beyond linguistic meaning, in supplying contextual assumptions,
              computing implicatures, etc.).
          b. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied.

(Sperber, Cara, & Girotto, 1995, p. 51)

The classical, or 'code', model of communication has been at the centre of many previous studies into the linguistics of advertising. According to this code model, speakers simply encode their intended meaning into a signal, which is then paired to the meaning in the specific language, and the hearer then decodes the signal back into the meaning (Sperber & Origgi, 2012, p. 332). In stark contrast to the code model of linguistic communication, the 'inferential' model of communication shows that linguistic decoding on its own falls significantly short of determining the speaker's intended meaning since it provides no more than a semantic structure from which meaning may be inferred. On the inferential view, Sperber and Wilson (2012)

argue, "utterances are not signals but pieces of evidence about the speaker's meaning, and comprehension is achieved by inferring this meaning from evidence provided not only by the utterance but also by the context" (p. 2). Relevance Theory applies the inferential model of communication and argues that the role of language is to "provide the communicator with evidence, as precise and complex as she wishes, of the content she wants the hearer to accept" (Sperber and Origgi, 2012, p. 333). In advertising, there is a clear distinction between internal and external contexts (Dybko, 2012). When we speak about the *internal context*, we refer to the advertisement's environment, for example its images, text, slogans etc. When speaking about the *external context*, on the other hand, we refer to all elements in the world outside the advert. These outside elements are commonly dependent on general and cultural knowledge relating to norm-based expectations we possess as members of different cultural communities. As Sells (2009) suggests, the concepts and insights of pragmatics can be applied to the study of advertising language and design, and it is possible to apply the same pragmatic concepts in analysing advertising with regard to the text, the images, and the relationships between the two (p. 5). In everyday conversations, we often rely on non-linguistic communication, such as body language and tone of voice, to guide us further in the overall comprehension process. When interpreting printed advertising, we instead appear to search for pieces of evidence in other ways, for example by locating meanings that are derivable from images. Sarapik (2009) suggests that advertising is one form of communication that frequently falls under the criterion *image-text*, i.e., the coexistence of picture and verbal text where both retain their meaning, but are inseparable from each other, although they can be formally distinguished (p. 289). There is, thus, the central idea that the main functions of an advertising message and its parts can be revealed in the mutual impact of written text and picture (Sarapik, 2009, p. 305). To consider how the audience interpret meaning while acknowledging both internal and external contexts is particularly important when employing the inferential model of communication since we, then, not only pay attention to the advert and its language, but also the context it is situated in.

In order to place these two models of communication in relation to advertising, and to show why the code model is incapable of adequately accounting for speaker's meaning, consider this advert by Burger King (13):

(13)
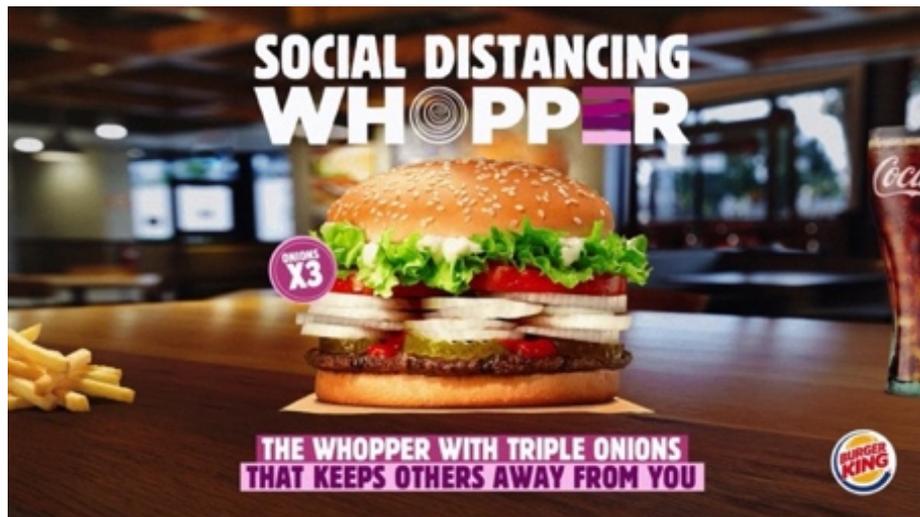
In line with Sperber and Origgi (2012, p. 331), it may be argued that 'social distancing whopper' and 'the whopper with triple onions that keeps others away from you' are two ordinary utterances. That is, similar to any other utterance, they underdetermine their interpretation in that they can have different meanings depending on the situation in which they are positioned. Based on the hamburger's prominent position in the image, it is arguably natural to assume that this is the item to which the text description relates. That is, the intended meaning of (13) depends on the coexistence of image and text, and the advert thus falls under the criterion *image-text* (Sarapik, 2009, p. 289), where the contents of the image first and foremost appear to establish reference. Yet, even after disambiguation and reference assignment, the message in (13) is incomplete, and in order to derive a complete proposition, the audience must decide, for example, reasons as to why it would be preferable to keep others away from yourself, and how this could be done. In making sense of the stimulus, the audience do not only use methods of decoding, but they also base their interpretation on the context, the advertiser, past interactions with similar adverts or companies, background knowledge, and so on. For example, the advert orbits around the main attribute of triple onions, to which the audience bring contextual assumptions such as the fact that eating onions keeps others away since it gives you bad breath. Without such contextualisation, Sperber and Origgi (2012) argue, "an utterance provides only fragments of meaning without a definite import" (p. 331). Further, since the idea of 'keeping others away from you' carries completely different implications in 2021 than before the Covid-19 pandemic, it may be questioned if advert (13) would have produced the same meaning if it was published in 2018? The answer is clearly no, which

emphasises Sperber and Origgi's (2012) main point: "contextual factors play a major role in the interpretation of every utterance, at both the explicit and implicit levels" (p. 331), and we therefore need to consider information from external contexts and apply an inferential approach when studying the language of advertising.

In the process of creating such an inferential approach to advertising, it is necessary to adequately demonstrate how inferences arise. That is, we must be able to account for the sets of self-generated conclusions constructed by the audience, and outline why they are crucial in the interpretation process. In order to do so, I will discuss a number of pragmatic features presented by Relevance Theory and apply them to advertising examples, in particular the enrichment of explicatures and implicatures, the notion of contextual assumptions and the idea of loose talk and metaphors, which is what the following subsections are devoted to do.

2.2 Explicatures, implicatures, contextual assumptions and the reformulation of Simpson's continuum

As mentioned in subsection 1.4, explicatures and implicatures have generally been considered contrasting components in previous research into utterance interpretation. However, findings presented by Relevance Theory (Wilson & Sperber, 2012) show that the two rather work in parallel, and that the audience are expected to make use of inferential methods when encountering both explicatures and implicatures (pp. 10-26). For example, consider Ashley's utterance in (14) alongside its explicatures (14a) and implicatures (14b):

(14)   *Contextual assumptions:*
        The speaker is Ashley, Eve's partner. As the couple is cleaning their flat, Eve brings
        out a bucket with hot soapy water and walks towards the kitchen window.
        Ashley looks up and says: I just cleaned that!

        a. *Explicature:*
           {Ashley is communicating that Ashley} just cleaned that
           {window} {before Eve began to clean the same window}

        b. *Implicature*:
           [You do not have to clean that window, since I already cleaned it a moment ago]
           Weak implicature:
           [[Since you cannot tell that I have cleaned that window, I must have done a bad job]]

Thus, Ashley's meaning in (14) might include the explicature that he has cleaned that particular window on the day of the utterance and the implicature that he does not want Eve to clean it

again. Explicatures are, in other words, conclusions derivable from the actual stimulus, whilst implicatures are propositions that go beyond what is said literally. However, the recovery of both explicatures and implicatures rely on pragmatic inference, which raises questions as to how the two concepts can be identified and distinguished. Research outlining the role of explicatures and implicatures in advertising is limited, and there is very little evidence to support the distinction as to whether inferred meanings of advertisements should be classed as an explicature or implicature. As a result, it is important to acknowledge that it can be difficult to clearly separate the two, but I will attempt to account for the distinction by applying a relevance-based method similar to that presented in Sperber and Wilson (2012, section 1.3) to a number of advertising stimuli. In order to describe this method, I will outline explicatures and implicatures and their differences in further detail.

At the most general level, explicatures and implicatures are classified as follows:

Explicature (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 182)
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.

Implicature (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 182)
A proposition communicated by an utterance, but not explicitly, is an *implicature.*

In the process of developing a logical form into a fully propositional form, an audience will, according to Wilson and Sperber (2012), involve different types of pragmatic enrichment (p. 12) such as reference assignment, disambiguation, and inferential enrichment. Explicatures are parts of, what Korta and Perry (2020) call, "near-side pragmatics", which includes, but is not limited to resolution of ambiguity and vagueness, the reference of proper names, indexicals and demonstratives, and anaphors, and at least some issues of involving presupposition (chapter 1; 3.2.2). On this near side, Korta and Perry (2020) argue, the explicature is the relevance theoretic replacement for 'what is said', or 'the proposition expressed' (chapter 3.2.2).

For an item to be classed as an implicature, on the other hand, it must be deducible from explicatures together with an appropriate set of contextual assumptions (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 14). In the overall comprehension process, as outlined in (11), the hearer will arrive at an implicature by constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions (implicated premises) and contextual implications (implicated conclusions). The hearer will, thus, "follow a path of least effort in developing the encoded schematic sentence meaning to a point where it combines with available contextual assumptions to warrant the

derivation of enough conclusions to make the utterance relevant in the expected way" (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 14). For example, Eve will, in (14), retrieve the premise that, together with the content of Ashley's response, allows her to deduce a conclusion that is reasonable to think Ashley intends her to make, given that it seems the most relevant. That is, Ashley's utterance 'I have just cleaned that!' should raise a question in Eve's mind as to why he is protesting against her attempt to clean the window, and she can expect his utterance to settle this question by explaining his protest. From encyclopaedic information associated with the concept of CLEANING, she should find it relatively easy to supply the contextual assumptions such as:

(15)   a. Once you have cleaned a window thoroughly once, you do not normally need to clean it again the same day.
b. The fact that someone has cleaned a window on a given day is a good reason for protesting when someone else intends to clean the same window the same day.

These would suggest an explanation of Ashley's protest, given that the encoded meaning of his utterance is enriched to yield an explicature along the lines of 'Ashley has already cleaned that window on the day of the utterance'. By combining this explicature and the contextual assumptions in (15), Eve can derive the implicated conclusion that Ashley is protesting against her attempt to clean the window because he has already cleaned it on the day of the utterance, thus satisfying her expectations of relevance.

In order to place the notions of explicature and implicature in relation to advertising, consider advert (16) by McDonald's:

(16)
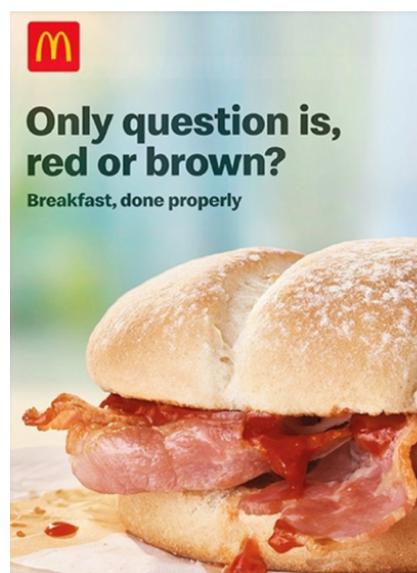
(McDonalds, 2021)

Here, the literal text and image consist of content which serves as part of the 'explicit' meaning, even though it requires to be pragmatically inferred by the audience. There is a distinct coexistence of image and text in (16), which is why the advert arguably falls under the criterion *image-text* (Sarapik, 2009, p. 289). That is, the audience will retain meaning from both its text and image, and in order to develop these two parts into a fully propositional form, there will be some extent of pragmatic inference required. Since there are no other objects in the image apart from a bacon roll and a McDonald's logotype, it is relatively easy to assume that the speaker is McDonald's, and that the intended meaning of the text must refer to the bacon roll and its properties. In a similar manner to advert (13), the contents of the image in (16) first and foremost appear to establish reference. Moreover, the audience are required to disambiguate and enrich the text. Inter alia, they must decide what 'red' and 'brown' refer to, where and in what way breakfast is done properly, and, based on the fact that the text claims that there is only one question, what other questions there might have been. That is, the audience will retrieve a premise that, together with the content of stimulus, allows them to deduce a conclusion that is reasonable to think the advertiser intends them to make, given that it seems the most relevant.

Let us take an example from advert (16). When encountering the utterance 'Only question is, red or brown?', uncertainty will arise in the audience's mind as to what 'red' and 'brown' refer to, and they can expect to settle this uncertainty by finding referents to 'red' and 'brown'. Further, based on the fact that the advert presents 'the question of red or brown' to be not only *a* question, but rather *the only* question, it appears to create a fait accompli in which the audience are left with no option but to accept that they are purchasing a bacon roll. In the context of (16), and from encyclopaedic information associated with the concept of BACON ROLLS, the audience should find it relatively easy to supply the contextual assumption (17):

(17)   a. In the UK, a bacon roll, which is a common breakfast product, is normally served with either red sauce (ketchup) or brown sauce (HP sauce).

b. If you have just purchased a bacon roll, you will not normally question yourself *whether* you want it, but rather concentrate on *how* you want it.

These contextual assumptions would suggest an explanation of the utterance 'Only question is, red or brown?' in (16), provided that its encoded meaning is enriched to yield an explicature along the lines of (18):

(18)   McDonald's are asking you which sauce you want on your purchased bacon roll.

Thus, in interpreting the explicit communication of (16), the audience construct appropriate hypotheses about explicatures while not only engaging in reference assignment, but also disambiguation and inferential enrichment, and I suggest that explicatures similar to (19) can be accepted as plausible in the case of (16):

(19)   {The} Only question {remaining that you should ask yourself right now} is, {will you choose to have} red {sauce} or brown {sauce on your purchased bacon roll}?
{We, as in McDonald's, serve} Breakfast, done properly

Without context and encyclopaedic knowledge about take-away breakfasts, the audience would struggle to construct (19), even though it only involves explicatures. This underlines the fact that the concept of explicatures goes beyond the process of decoding, and that not only implicatures rely on context since explicatures, too, are recovered by a combination of decoding and inference (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 12).

A crucial point about the relation between explicatures and implicatures is, according to Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson, 2012), that implicated conclusions must be deducible from explicatures together with an appropriate set of contextual assumptions (p. 14). The audience will, in other words, derive any possible implicatures of (16) by combining (19) and further contextual assumptions, such as (20):

(20)   a. A properly done breakfast normally involves a tasty food product.
         b. The fact that a breakfast involves a tasty food product is a good reason for calling it a properly done breakfast.

By combining appropriate explicatures (19) and available contextual assumptions, such as (20), the audience are able to derive enough implicated conclusions, such as (21), to make the advert relevant in the expected way:

(21)   a. A breakfast properly done is a tasty McDonald's bacon roll served with either red or brown sauce.
         b. McDonald's offer a benefit in the shape of a tasty breakfast option.

This inferential approach constructs explicatures and implicatures by "mutually adjusting tentative hypotheses about explicatures, implicated premises and implicated conclusions in order to satisfy the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance itself" (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 14). The implicatures that the audience will derive from adverts thus depend on the particular implicated premise they supply, and the implicature only exists if it is deducible from explicatures together with an appropriate set of contextual assumptions. Based on above

analysis of advert (16), I take the opportunity to summarise and describe the interpretation process by the following detailed steps proposed by Relevance Theory (Wilson & Sperber, p. 68):

Table 1.1   Interpretation of advertising text (16), *'Only question is, red or brown?'*

(22a) The McDonald's bacon roll ad text has said to its audience, 'Only question is, red or brown?' and 'Breakfast done properly'.	*Decoding of ad text.*
(22b) The text is optimally relevant to the audience.	*Expectation raised by the recognition of the text as a communicative act, and acceptance of the presumption of relevance it automatically conveys.*
(22c) The text will achieve relevance by explaining why McDonald's would present such utterances.	*Expectation raised by (b), together with the fact that such an explanation would be most relevant to the audience at this point.*
(22d) The fact you are purchasing a bacon roll, which is offered with a choice of two different sauce toppings, is a good reason for asking you which sauce you want. Further, a bacon roll being tasty is a good reason for you to not question yourself whether you want one, but rather concentrate on what sauce you want.	*First assumption(s) to occur to the audience which, together with other appropriate premises, might satisfy expectation (c). Accepted as an implicit premise of the text.*
(22e) Customers are presented with a fait accompli in which they are left with no option but to accept that they are purchasing a breakfast done properly, i.e., a McDonald's bacon roll. As a result, they are asked which sauce they want.	*First enriched interpretation of the ad text as decoded in (a) to occur to the audience which might combine with (d) to lead to the satisfaction of (c). Accepted as the ad's explicit meaning.*
(22f) Customers will ask themselves whether they want red or brown sauce on their bacon roll since it is clear that they are acting as if they are buying/have bought the bacon roll.	*Inferred from (d) and (e), satisfying (c) and accepted as an implicit conclusion of the ad text.*
(22g) The customer will benefit from purchasing a McDonald's breakfast bacon roll since it tastes so good.	*From (f) plus background knowledge. One of several possible weak implicatures of the ad text which, together with (f), satisfy expectation (b).*

The audience assume in (22b) that the ad text, decoded as in (22a), will be optimally relevant to them. Since what they want to know, now, is why the ad text is presented in this way, they assume in (22c) that its communication will achieve relevance by answering this question. Here, context, the ad content, the image together with the texts 'Only question is, red or brown?' and 'Breakfast done properly', provide easy access to the pieces of common background knowledge in (22d) – that people normally eat their bacon roll with either red or brown sauce, and that a really good breakfast will make you focus on *how* you would like it rather than *if* you would like it. This could be used as an implicit premise deriving the expected explanation of the utterances in the advert, as long as its utterances are communicated on the explicit side as conveying the information in (22e), namely that they are in the process of buying a McDonald's bacon roll. By combining the implicit premise in (22d) and the explicit premise in (22e), the audience arrive at the implicit conclusion in (22f), from which further

(weaker) implicatures, including (22g) and others, may be derived. This overall interpretation satisfies the audience's expectations of relevance. On this account, the intended meaning is arrived at by a process of mutual adjustment, with hypotheses about being considered in order of accessibility.

Further, contextual assumptions are vital in the mapping of both explicatures and implicatures. For example, consider the following examples (23a) and (23b):

(23)   a. *Contextual assumptions:*

The speaker is Ben, Claire's partner, who has taken full responsibility for their shared house duties all week. As Claire walks into their hallway with muddy shoes, Ben says:
I just cleaned that!

Explicature: {Ben is communicating that Ben} just cleaned
that{floor} {before Claire walked in}

b. *Contextual assumptions:*

The speaker is Ashley, Eve's partner. As the couple is cleaning their flat, Eve brings out a bucket with hot soapy water and walks towards the kitchen window. Ashley looks up and says:
I just cleaned that!

Explicature:
{Ashley is communicating that Ashley} just cleaned that
{window} {before Eve began to clean the same window}

The explicatures in (23a) and (23b) are not actually very different, but the utterances produce contrasting meanings since separate sets of plausible implicatures are generated. In the first example, Ben's implicature allows him to make Claire aware of the fact that he is upset with her thoughtless behaviour, and he might also involve weak implicatures such as the fact that he is rather fed up with taking full responsibility for their shared duties. In the second example, Ashley is implying that Eve does not have to spend time cleaning the kitchen window since Ashley already cleaned it a moment ago. Ashley might also involve weak implicatures, such as the fact that he is disappointed with his own effort since Eve cannot tell that the window is clean. (23a) and (23b) are, in other words, good examples of how important context is when we interpret what speakers have in mind. Now, let us revisit the utterances in Simpson's (2001) direct-oblique continuum, repeated here below in (24):

(24)

Schema 1
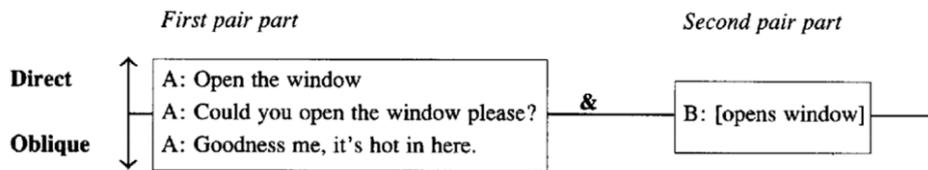
(adapted from Simpson, 1997: 130–178)

(Simpson, 2001, p. 592)

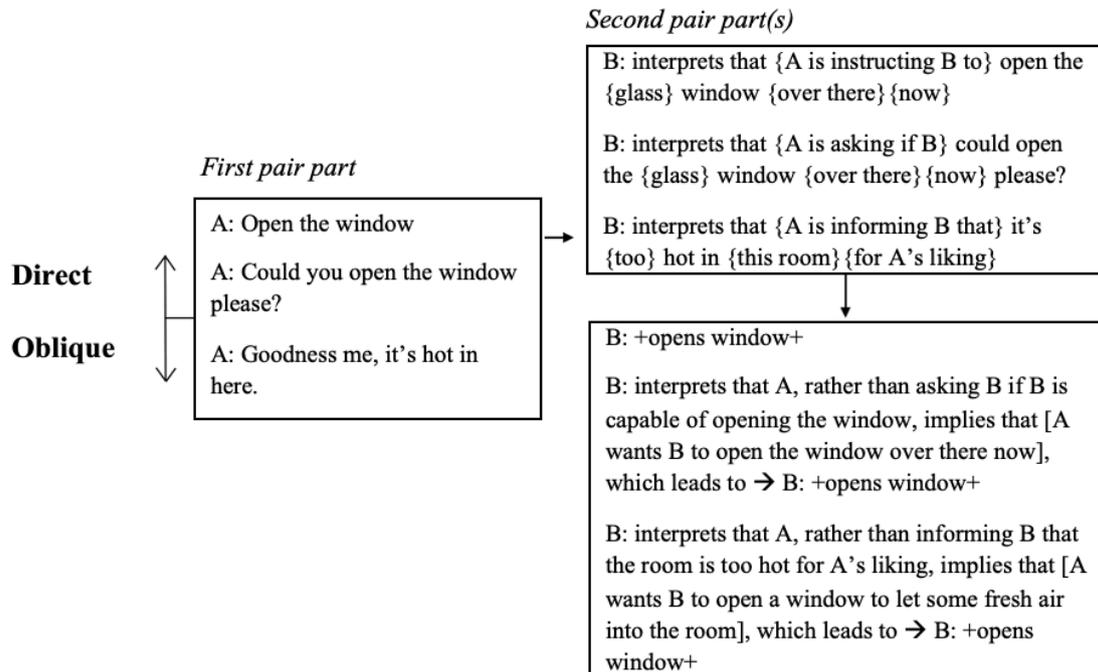According to Simpson, all three of A's utterances in the first pair part are followed by a second pair part in which hearer B understands speaker A's intended meaning and, as a result, opens the window. However, as we have seen in examples (23a) and (23b), it is important to underline that there is a range of things B needs to know before proceeding to the second pair part. These include, for example:

> (25)   Assumptions needed to be made in understanding the utterances in (24):
> a. How is B expected to know that A is speaking to B, and not to C?
> b. Which window is B expected to open?
> c. In the first and second utterances, what type of window is A asking B to open, a physical window or a browser window?
> d. In the third utterance, is A declaring an opinion or instructing B to act?
> e. What counts as hot?
> f. Where does 'here' refer to when A says that 'it's hot in here'?
> g. When should B open the window?

I want to argue that Simpson's first pair part, in reality, is followed by two pair parts rather than one: one in which hearers interpret the intended explicatures and one in which they interpret the possible implicatures. Only by determining the context in relation to what is said 'explicitly', even if this is done weakly, will hearers be able to understand the intended implicatures. Not to say that the interpretation process of explicatures precedes that of implicatures, they rather develop in parallel. But for an item to be an implicature, the hearers must be able to deduce it from explicatures based on relevant contextual assumptions, such as those in (25). Following the relevance-theoretic model of the overall comprehension process[2], I will reformulate Simpson's strategic plane of discourse so that it addresses both implicatures and explicatures (26):

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[2] See page 23

(26)   Reformulated strategic plane of discourse

Second pair part(s)

B: interprets that {A is instructing B to} open the {glass} window {over there} {now}

B: interprets that {A is asking if B} could open the {glass} window {over there} {now} please?

B: interprets that {A is informing B that} it's {too} hot in {this room} {for A's liking}

First pair part

A: Open the window

Direct

A: Could you open the window please?

Oblique

A: Goodness me, it's hot in here.

B: +opens window+

B: interprets that A, rather than asking B if B is capable of opening the window, implies that [A wants B to open the window over there now], which leads to → B: +opens window+

B: interprets that A, rather than informing B that the room is too hot for A's liking, implies that [A wants B to open a window to let some fresh air into the room], which leads to → B: +opens window+

(adapted from Simpson, 2001, p. 592)

To examine how this updated schema works in the analysis of adverts, I want to return to one of Simpson's (2001) examples where he considers a Volkswagen television advert (p. 602). In the advert, two workmen are mounting a poster on a billboard and fixing padding around a nearby lamppost. Once the men have finished and driven off, the poster is revealed: 'POLO L, only £8145'. Shortly after, a pedestrian is depicted to be walking in the direction towards the padded lamppost with his head turned and fixed towards the billboard (27):

(27)

(Volkswagen, 2011)

Simpson (2001) concludes that, in interpreting such an advert lacking the propositional chains that normally create coherence in reason advertising, the audience will rather map coherence *onto* the text. In this mapping procedure, Simpson suggests that the audience will understand that the advert intends to communicate *something,* even though they might not be sure of what this 'something' is. In turn, the recovery of this 'something' requires "bolting together of assumptions from two domains: those communicated by the text itself and those held as encyclopaedic entries" by the audience (p. 602). Here, Simpson stumbles across something essential in that the text and the outside world are connected, but his claim is somewhat incomplete since he does not consider that the first domain (the text) allows for pragmatic inference on its own: i.e., he does not consider the role of explicatures. Instead, he argues that contextual assumptions, such as that "padding is normally used from protection from injury and that pedestrians tend to risk personal injury if they do not look where they are going" (p. 602), only belong to the second domain, and that domain one plus domain two simply equals implicature. In the light of Wilson and Sperber's theory on explicatures (2012, pp. 10-16), I want to refine Simpson's method, illustrated in (28a) below, by suggesting a new method (28b) based on my Schema (26) above:

(28a)   Old method of accounting for the mapping procedure adopted by an audience:

Domain 1:   Two men are carrying out different tasks simultaneously and one man is putting padding around a lamppost.

Domain 2:   Padding is normally used for protection from injury and that pedestrians tend to risk personal injury if they do not look where they are going.

Implicature: Volkswagen's cars are surprisingly inexpensive; so much so, in fact, that shock caused to potential consumers by revealing these low prices may even endanger their personal safety.

(28b)   New method of accounting for the mapping procedure adopted by an audience:

Stimulus: Two men are carrying out different tasks simultaneously and one man is putting padding around a lamppost.

Contextual assumption: Padding is normally used for protection from injury and that pedestrians tend to risk personal injury if they do not look where they are going.

Explicature: Volkswagen's cars are surprisingly inexpensive; so much so, in fact, that shock caused to potential consumers by revealing these low prices may even endanger their personal safety.

Contextual assumption:	A surprisingly low price of a high-quality car is a good reason for buying such a car.
Implicature:	None
(Possible) Pragmatic response:	The ad makes the audience think that the Polo L is a priceworthy car. The ad makes the audience want to buy the new Polo L. The ad makes the audience tell friends about the priceworthy Polo L. The ad makes the audience like Volkswagen because it has funny ads.

In contrast to Simpson's (2001) method, I suggest that the proposition that the car is surprisingly inexpensive is embedded in the text since the word *only* in 'POLO L, only £8145' implies that the price is low. This suggestion means that the implicature presented by Simpson is, in fact, an explicature and even though the advert involves oblique language, it does not contain any implicatures. If this argument is right, then advertising may rely on explicatures to a much greater extent than previously believed. Not to say that contemporary adverts never involve implicatures, but what has been considered implicatures by previous studies may in fact be explicatures, and it is therefore necessary to reassess the role of both explicatures and implicatures in advertising.

This subsection has shown that it is not only implicatures that are decoded and inferred, but explicatures as well. As a result, I suggest that previous studies into the linguistics of advertising have underestimated the role of the explicature and that an inferential model of communication should be preferred to the code model of communication. Continuing to loosen the grip of the 'code model', I will now examine two more pragmatic features often occurring in advertising from a relevance theoretic perspective, namely the notion of *loose talk* and *metaphors*.

2.3   Loose talk and metaphors in advertising: The use of category extension

An utterance can, according to Sperber and Wilson (1986), be used either to represent a state of affairs in virtue of being a true description of that state of affairs, or to represent another utterance in virtue of some resemblance in content (pp. 228-229). The former concept, they call *descriptive use*, and the latter is termed *interpretive resemblance*. The idea of interpretive resemblance underlines that communication must not necessarily be true to be applicable or useful, in that an utterance may still work as a faithful representation of something which the speaker intends to communicate, even if it is not strictly true. Take the following adverts (29) and (30) by McDonald's, for example:

(29)   (30)

Assuming that McDonald's are not advertising a piece of art in (29) nor actual carrots in (30), a descriptive use of these adverts would undoubtedly be false. Instead, (29) and (30) are excellent examples of how the linguistically encoded meaning gives no more than schematic indication of the speaker's meaning, and that the audience need to use this indication together with background knowledge in order to construct an interpretation of the speaker's meaning. For example, when encountering advert (29), its image and utterances 'A classic. With bacon.' and 'Try the new Big Mac Bacon' will raise uncertainty in the audience's mind as to what, inter alia, 'A classic' refers to and why the advert depicts a version of the Mona Lisa painting with a slice of bacon placed on her shoulder. In line with Relevance Theory (Wilson & Sperber, 2012), this uncertainty can be expected to be settled by developing the encoded schematic sentence meaning to a point where it combines with available contextual assumptions to warrant the derivation of enough conclusions to make the utterance relevant. In the context of (29), and from encyclopaedic information associated with the concept of HAMBURGERS, the audience should find it fairly easy to supply available contextual assumptions, such as those in (31a):

(31a)   i. The Big Mac is a hamburger consisting of two beef patties, sauce, shredded
            iceberg lettuce, cheese slices, sliced dill pickles, and minced onions, served in
            a three-part sesame seed bun.

        ii. Hamburgers are sometimes served with bacon.

        iii. The Big Mac Bacon is an original Big Mac hamburger with added bacon.

Moreover, from encyclopaedic information associated with the concept of ART, the audience will supply further available contextual assumptions, such as those in (31b):

(31b)   i. In the world of art, the Mona Lisa painting is a very striking, if not the most striking member, and oftentimes considered a classic.

ii. If something has some resemblance in content to the Mona Lisa, it is possible to consider this 'something' a classic.

What appears to disclose the intended meaning in advert (29) is the connection of the concepts HAMBURGERS and ART. By illustrating the Mona Lisa with a slice of bacon on her shoulder, the advertiser allows for the concept of HAMBURGERS, in which bacon can be a potential ingredient, to be understood in relation to the concept of ART, in which the Mona Lisa painting is considered a classic. That is to say, the bacon as feature in (29) allows for the Big Mac burger to represent the Mona Lisa in virtue of some resemblance in content. Relevance Theory (Wilson & Sperber, 2012) treats utterance interpretation as a two-phase process: "a modular decoding phase is seen as providing input to a central inferential phase in which a linguistically encoded logical form is contextually enriched and used to construct a hypothesis about the speaker's informative intention" (p. 149). Based on their encoded schematic meaning in relation to available contextual assumptions, both adverts (29) and (30) appear to generate logical forms in the shape of syllogism:

(32a)   The Mona Lisa *(a)* = a classic *(b)*   The Big Mac *(c)* = The Mona Lisa *(a)*
_____
The Big Mac *(c)* = a classic *(b)*

(32b)   Carrots *(a)* = vegetables *(b)*   McDonald's burger patties *(c)* = carrots *(a)*
_____
McDonald's burger patties *(c)* = vegetables *(b)*

However, as argued in subsection 2.1, logical forms of an utterance, such as (32), and the process of decoding do not suffice in describing language interpretation on their own. Instead, Sperber and Wilson (2012) mean that the encoded concept "helps to activate contextual implications that make the utterance relevant as expected" (p. 110). The purpose of the Mona Lisa in (29) and the purpose of the carrots in (30) are not to be literal components, but rather metaphorical ones, which illustrates that a concept category can be "extended to include items that share with its members some properties which may or may not be essential, but are at least salient" (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 109). In relation to the idea of category extension, Sperber

and Wilson (2012) present the *literal-loose-metaphorical continuum*, suggesting that there is an extent to which category extensions can be graded: with limited category extensions at one end of the spectrum and more creative ones at the other (p. 109). As we can see, the category extension of (29) is not claiming that the concepts of the Mona Lisa and the Big Mac burger are inseparable, but rather that the Big Mac belongs to a broader category of which Mona Lisa is the most striking, or at least a striking, member. The metaphoric use in (29) is therefore of a more creative type and can be found at the loose end of the continuum, and it consequently creates a fait accompli in which the audience are left with no option but to accept the claims that (1) the Big Mac is a classic and (2) the Big Mac Bacon is also a classic, with an added feature. Characterised by its implications, such as (33), the concept conveyed by (29) is, thus, one of an outstanding type of *classicalness,* which together help to yield the intended explicatures and implicatures (34):

(33)   a. The Big Mac is as much a classic in the world of burgers as the Mona Lisa is a classic in the world of art.

b. The Big Mac is the Mona Lisa of burgers.

c. The Big Mac Bacon is the Mona Lisa of burgers with an added feature, namely bacon.

(34)   {McDonald's restaurants are now offering} A {burger that is as much a} classic {in the world of burgers as the Mona Lisa is a classic in the world of art}. With {added} bacon.

{You should} Try the new Big Mac Bacon {burger}{now or at some point in the nearest future} [if you want to enjoy the [[improved]] taste that the bacon brings].

Similarly, the concept in (30) is one of an outstanding type of *vegetableness*, in which the McDonald's burger patty belongs to a broader category of which the carrot is the most striking member. Characterised by its implications, such as (35), the concept in advert (30) assists in generating the intended meaning (36):

(35)   a. McDonald's burger patties are as much plant based as carrots are plant based.

b. McDonald's veggie burger is the 'freshly picked carrot' of burgers.

(36)   {McDonald's restaurants are now offering burger patties that are as fresh / plant based as}(what is presented in the image as) carrots.

In line with the search for relevance, adverts (29) and (30) are interpreted by the overall comprehension process: the existence of 'Mona Lisa' or 'carrots' helps to trigger implications about the Big Mac, on the one hand, and the veggie patty, on the other, which make each advert relevant in the anticipated way. By mutual adjustment of both explicit content and implicatures, the explicit content is interpreted as containing an *ad hoc* concept (ART or VEGETABLES) that contextually carries these implications.

Closer to the literal end of the literal-loose-metaphorical continuum, we find more limited category extensions. This type of category extension is, according to Sperber and Wilson (2012), a "variety of loose use or broadening [which] involves applying a word [or image] with a relatively precise sense to a range of items that clearly fall outside its linguistically specified denotation" (p. 106). Consider the ice cream scoops resembling cow teats in the following Milk Maids ad (37), for example:

(37)

(Milk Maids, 2019)

Here, the differences between ice cream scoops and cow teats are inconsequential in that we say that 'these ice cream scoops *are* cow teats', which is not the case in more creative category extensions such as (29) and (30). The scoops in (37) are certainly not cow teats, but they have properties that make them a good substitute for cow teats, which further add supplementary implications about the intended meaning. In the process of arriving at a relevant overall interpretation of (37), the decoded concept ICE CREAM gives access to a range of implications that would follow from ice cream being made with milk that someone has extracted from cow teats by hand: that, rather than being a mass-scale industry produced type of ice cream, this is

a product that is freshly made and produced on a small-scale. With such limited broadening, or loose use, literalness is not preserved (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 106): ice cream scoops are not literally cow teats, and nobody will be able to actually extract milk from these objects, but we make out as if that is the case. Further, these implications work even if the advertised ice cream is not literally made by using hand milked milk, since it is generally the case that "these departures from truthfulness pass unattended and undetected in the normal flow of discourse" (Wilson & Sperber, 2012, p. 56) and we are, thus, capable of realising on reflection that such metaphorical representations are not strictly or literally true.

2.4   Chapter conclusion

This chapter has been dedicated to providing a general outlining of advertising in relation to the concept of meaning from a pragmatic perspective, in which Relevance Theory and the inferential model of communication have been at the centre of attention. It has been argued that *meaning* can be defined as a pragmatic construction that relies on the processes of decoding and inference, and the chapter has concentrated on introducing such an inferential model in relation to a number of features that commonly occur in advertising. The following chapter will lay out the main analysis of this study, in which the ambition is to connect the concept of advertising as a form of social communication with the terminology introduced in chapters one and two.

3   Advertising as social communication: A relevance theoretic analysis

Prior to this chapter, I have demonstrated that the concept of meaning is vital to the world of advertising, in which *meaning* is considered a pragmatic construction depending on the inferential model of communication presented by Relevance Theory. I will now place this concept of meaning in relation to the idea of advertising as a form of social communication, the main objective being to examine how advertisers create meaning while relating to social concepts and beliefs. Rather than being the aggressive-persuasive medium it is normally perceived as, this analysis considers advertising from the perspective of being an instrument that simply engages in exchanging information and ideas with its audience – information and ideas that always relate to some form of social beliefs and norms. Thus, this chapter orbits around the argument that interaction ultimately takes place between advert and audience regardless of what product (if any) is marketed, regardless of the degree of trust between advertiser and audience, and regardless of how likely the audience are to buy or even to like the promoted product.

With help from the terminology established in chapters one and two, this chapter will introduce the main analysis of the current study, in which focus is placed on burger, milk, and ice cream adverts. The choice of these three product categories is based on the interesting observation that conventional dairy and beef products seem to be situated in a context in which there are distinct *contra-products*, such as unconventional non-dairy and vegetarian/vegan products. Closely related to the concept of social norms and beliefs is the idea of conventionality and unconventionality. The term *conventional* refers to something that is based on, or in accordance with, what is generally done or believed, and a conventional method or product is one that is normally used or that has been in use for a long time. On the contrary, the term *unconventional* refers to something that is not based on, or conforming to, what is generally done or believed. Two examples of conventional and unconventional products from the same category are (1) conventionally grown vegetables vs. organically grown vegetables, and (2) conventional body-care products vs. body-care products free from parabens, silicones, sulphates, and perfume. Another example, which will be the focus of all that follows, is that of meat and dairy-based food products vs. their plant-based equivalents.

The analysis is divided into five subsections, all devoted to answering the following four research questions in chronological order while applying the relevance theoretic model developed in chapter two:

(38)   Research questions

     1. How can attributes and benefits be located in the advert?

     2. In what way are attributes and benefits being marketed in the advert, and what information do we need in order to understand them?

     3. What kind of explicatures and implicatures are generated by collected adverts, and do these generate attributes and/or benefits?

     4. Do adverts promoting conventional meat/dairy products differ in their use of attributes and benefits to those promoting plant-based products?

The first research question will be considered in the subsequent subsection 3.1, in which the main concern is to address, from a relevance theoretic perspective, how an advert's attributes and benefits can be located by outlining (1) *what* advertisers promote as good, and (2) *why* this is good. Subsection 3.2 will, then, address the second research question with the ambition to further extend on the perception of attributes and benefits in advertising. In particular here, I will examine how advertisers construct meaning by situating their attributes and benefits in relation to social beliefs, the central aim being to determine what information we need in order to fully understand the stimulus. Following, subsection 3.3 attends to the third research question and outlines a number of plausible interpretation paths taken by the audience in comprehending a number of adverts. In particular, this subsection focuses on determining what kind of explicatures and implicatures are generated by the stimulus, and to outline whether these appear to generate attributes and/or benefits. Finally, subsections 3.4 and 3.5 will attend to the fourth research question, with the former considering if adverts promoting conventional meat and dairy products differ in their use of attributes and benefits in comparison to those marketing equivalent unconventional plant-based products. The latter will examine how advertisers make use of overt and covert communication to situate their attributes and benefits, the central focus being to show how companies marketing either conventional or unconventional products can design such elements in order to criticise each other.

3.1   Locating attributes and benefits in advertising: A matter of asking 'what is good?' and 'why is it good?'

Addressing research question number one, this subsection examines the concepts of *'what is good?'* and *'why is it good?'* in relation to the marketing of attributes and benefits, suggesting that they are excellent tools that we as analysts can employ in our attempt to understand the main message of an advert, especially in the sense that they allow us to find the intended meaning even if it is communicated through explicatures and/or implicatures.

Suppose that you encounter the following advert (39) while you go about doing your everyday business:

(39)

Here, the advertiser ultimately provides us with a text involving a number of different attributes and benefits, which constitutes what he intends to communicate. Generally speaking, we are told by the stimulus that we should not hold back, and we are offered 'something' that will help us in not holding back. By locating this 'something', I suggest that we will naturally find the attributes presented by the advertiser, and by locating why this 'something' exists, we will find the promoted benefits.

In 2020, ice cream company Häagen-Dazs launched their global communication concept called *Don't hold back*, which, according to the responsible advertising agency Forsman & Bodenfors (2020), is a concept with several meanings. Häagen-Dazs is, for instance, known for its high-quality ingredients, and Forsman & Bodenfors emphasise that the concept relates (a) to the company's use of the best, natural ingredients you can find instead of "cheating" and stuffing the product with artificial junk, but, arguably more relevant when looking at this particular advert, the concept is also (b) a call for everyone to live life to the fullest. While the advertising agency partly intends to communicate (a), this meaning does arguably not yield enough adequate effects for no unjustifiable efforts in the particular advert in order to be interpreted as most relevant. That is to say, while meaning (a) obviously exists, it is not the one of central importance to the main message of advert (39) and is not the interpretation path most accessible to the audience based on the presented stimulus and its context. Instead, I want to suggest that we can find an advert's most relevant meaning – the main 'take-away' message – by asking the questions *'what is good?'* and *'why is it good?'*.

In relevance theoretic terms, for us to successfully interpret this most relevant proposition (the explicit and implicit conclusions), we must first expect that the utterance will be relevant, and in order to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us. In interpreting the utterance "Don't hold back", we find that the advert is explicitly aiming an imperative speech act towards the audience, in which it is *you* who should not hold back. Alongside its text, the advert's central meaning is further based on the contents of the image in relation to our previous background knowledge, in which it is plausible that we will arrive at the following meaning: *Do what this man is doing. Don't hold back*. Therefore, it would be incoherent to interpret the explicatures in (40a) as the advert's main message. Instead, this information in appears to rather function as a contextual assumption that helps the audience in constructing the intended meaning of (39). That is, only by assuming that Häagen-Dazs is a company that offers luxurious ice cream made with high-quality ingredients can the audience arrive at the more relevant interpretation (40b):

(40)   a. {We (as in Häagen-Dazs)} Don't hold back {on high-quality ingredients}

         b. {Häagen-Dazs is telling you} Don't hold back {on luxurious treats}

Based on the actual stimulus and our background knowledge about ice cream and baths, we find that the concept of LUXURIOUS TREATS, including entries such as a tub of Häagen-Dazs ice cream and a bubble bath, is the 'something' which is portrayed as good, and in particular *good for you*. To develop this structure in relation to the relevance theoretic notions of explicatures and implicatures, consider the following analyses (41) and (42a) – (42d):

(41)   Mapping procedure adopted by the audience in comprehending advert (39):

Stimulus:	Häagen-Dazs is encouraging its audience to not hold back.
Contextual assumptions:	The idea of 'not holding back' refers to the concept of 'living your life to the fullest', which includes having a balanced existence filled with variety, satisfaction, and joy.
	Enjoying high-quality ice cream and bubble baths are two of many examples of activities that can make you live your life to the fullest.
	Living your life to the fullest will make you happy.
Explicature:	Häagen-Dazs offers an ice cream product that will make you happy and feel enjoyment.

Contextual assumption:	If a specific type of ice cream has the ability to make you happy and feel enjoyment, then it offers a good reason for buying it.
Implicature:	None
(Possible) Pragmatic responses:	The audience will think that Häagen-Dazs ice cream is luxurious. The audience will want to taste/buy the Häagen-Dazs ice cream.

(42)　　a. What is portrayed as good in (39)?

　　　　It is good that it (RA: the ice cream) is a luxurious treat.

　　b. Why is this good?

　　　Because luxurious treats allow you to feel enjoyment and, in turn, live your life to the fullest.

　　c. Explicatures, which generate attributes and benefits in (39):

　　　{Häagen-Dazs is telling you} Don't hold back {on luxurious treats (attribute 1)} {because such treats will make you enjoy your life (benefit 1)}

　　　Promoted product properties: Being able to stop you from holding back.
　　　Attributes: (1) Being a luxurious treat (Expl.), (2) High-quality ingredients (CA)
　　　Benefits:　(1) This ice cream makes you enjoy your life (which is good for you) (Expl. + CA)

　　d. Main take-away message in (39):

　　　Häagen-Dazs is encouraging you to not hold back, i.e., to live your life to the fullest, which you can do by allowing yourself to enjoy high-quality ice cream and bubble baths.

When the advert tells you '*Don't hold back'*, you will, based on the search for optimal relevance, naturally question what you should not hold back on, and why this is the case. Here, you will construct the required explicatures by using your bank of encyclopaedic knowledge, and the above analyses point to the fact that attributes are located in relation to *what* is (presented as good), and benefits are located in relation to *why* something is (presented as good). That is to say, when we ask 'what is good?', we are provided with information about the attribute(s): in this case, that 'this luxurious treat is good (for you)'. In turn, when we ask 'why is it good?', we are able to arrive at the promoted benefit(s), but only if we first connect our interpretation with further relevant contextual assumptions. In the case of advert (39), we interpret the fact that it offers an experiential benefit somewhat close to 'because it makes you enjoy your life and/or it makes you feel good/happy', which requires that we already possess

the contextual assumption that 'enjoying the experience of eating high-quality ice cream is an example of an activity that can make us feel good/happy'.

To consider advertising discourse in relation to the ideas of 'what is good?' and 'why is it good?' allows us to find both its promoted attributes and benefits, and these ideas can therefore be excellent tools that we as analysts can employ in our attempt to understand the main message of an advert. However, I have not yet considered what we mean when we say that something is 'good', and the following subchapter will therefore extend on this concept by describing it as being part of the social context that we employ while interpreting a stimulus.

3.2 Attributes and benefits in advertising: Manifestness based on social beliefs

There is a general assumption that advertising is harmful to society in general, and to children in particular. For example, as Das et al. (2018) argue, advertising can cause children to create a tendency for impulse shopping, unhealthy eating, and the objectification of themselves and others. On the flipside, however, they also point out that advertising can cause us to create and maintain good habits, such as brushing our teeth, eating healthy, helping out in the house, as well as realising the importance of education (p. 94). In fact, as Shavitt et al. (1998) argue, people actually "tend to enjoy the advertisements they see, and they tend to find advertising generally informative and useful in guiding their own decision making" (p. 20). While one advert may influence us to consume, for example tobacco or alcohol, another may spread awareness about the risks that such products pose. Sometimes, an advert can even do both, such as in the case where the cigarette company Silk Cut chose to only present the warning text 'Smoking causes cancer' while promoting their cigarettes (Saatchi & Saatchi, 1990). Thus, the advert itself seems to transpire as a vessel carrying a message rather than anything else. In the light of this, the current subsection will orbit around the viewpoint that advertising exists a form of social communication with one main commitment: to communicate with its audience by constructing and transmitting meaning. This viewpoint can be developed further by Shimp's (2007) idea that advertisers generally draw meaning from an advert's external context, i.e., the *culturally constituted world*, in the process of positioning their brands, especially in the sense that they often make use of cultural values and formed beliefs which we have learnt through socialisation (p. 122). The central message carried by an advert can thus be said to commonly reflect our social values, and the purpose here is to determine whether attributes and benefits are constructed in relation to such social values. To do so, I will examine how attributes and benefits are marketed in the advert, and what information we need to understand them.

According to Tanaka (1994), communication always takes place in situations marked by varying degrees of trust and social co-operation (p. 38). If the audience trust the advertiser, they are more likely to believe in what he says compared to if they lack trust in him. In relevance theoretic terms, the advertiser aims to supply his audience with enough evidence to support the suggestion that his arguments are plausible (fairly good evidence if they trust the brand) (Clark, 2013, p. 114). However, in contrast to Tanaka's (1994) argument that advertising is a typical situation in which the audience do not trust the advertiser (p. 40), I want to suggest that the interpretation of advertising discourse takes place regardless of the level of trust, and the audience may successfully recover the sets of assumptions intended by the advertiser without actually believing in them. As I suggested above, advertising is first and foremost an instrument of meaning creation and transfer, and since it embodies a social situation very different to everyday conversations, it does indeed rely on the audience to actively bother themselves with assigning meaning to the presented stimulus. But whether they do so is not dependent on if there exists trust between the advert and the audience, but rather if the cognitive effects are worth the cognitive efforts put in by the audience. That is, successful meaning transfer generally rests on the assumption that the audience will be familiar with the concepts presented in the advert so that an interpretation close to the one intended by the advertiser can be constructed. This idea relates to the success of ostensive communication, which is defined as the audience recovering the communicator's informative intention, not as the communicator making the audience believe something: an idea which Tanaka acknowledges (p. 37).

While Tanaka (1994) examines how advertisers *persuade* their audience – a term, which is defined as "the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone's attitudes, beliefs or behaviour through the transmission of a message" (Schmidt & Kess, 1986, p. 2) – I will rather focus on how they are making their ideas *manifest* to their audience. According to Clark (2013), the notion of 'manifestness' is weaker than the notion of 'knowledge' in the sense that an assumption can be manifest to an individual without actually being entertained or fully known (pp. 114-115). According to Relevance Theory, manifestness is defined as follows:

> *Manifestness* (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, p. 39)
> An assumption is manifest to an individual at a given time if and only if he is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true.

The moment an advert is published publicly, it is automatically mutually manifest that it is intending to communicate with its audience. Why else would it exist? Naturally, the audience

will now begin by making inferences about the content of the advert's informative intention, figuring out what exactly it is trying to communicate. Based on the audience's cognitive environment, i.e., the set of assumptions that are already manifest to them, they will interpret the stimulus, and important to underline is that neither vagueness nor lack of trust prevents communication from taking place. If we accept Shimp's (2007) argument that consumers have needs and that brands have features that can satisfy those needs, we may, then, raise the question as to what these needs are based on? In relation to the notion of manifestness, I suggest that contemporary advertising (a) always makes use of concepts obtained from the culturally constituted world in order to put forward its attributes and benefits, and that (b) these concepts are a matter of manifestness based on social beliefs. That is to say, without social beliefs and norms, we would have very few needs. Advertisers repeatedly make use of such social beliefs whilst employing a varying degree of manifestness: the more manifest the social belief, the more likely the audience are to accept the benefit as relevant, and, in turn, accept that it will satisfy their needs (needs that they sometimes not even knew they had). This is arguably always the case with perfume adverts, where the main benefit (making consumers smell good, enhancing their mood, boosting their confidence, etc.) is based on the social belief that *smelling good* is preferable to *smelling bad* or *smelling of nothing*.

If we consider the attributes promoted in adverts, it appears that the audience are generally required to scan both text and imagery so that they can find these features that explain the promoted product or service. According to Shimp (2007), the attribute often represents a competitive advantage [that can] motivate customers to purchase that brand rather than a competitive offering" (p. 127). For example, consider the following advert by Cold Crush (43):

(43)

(Cold Crush, 2019)

Here, the advert is essentially offering you 'something' that is so *good that you will go toppingless*. By also taking into consideration the advert's imagery, it is fairly simple to assume that this 'something' is the 'Cold Crush old fashioned vanilla ultra premium ice cream'. Thus,

the product related attribute, which in this case is communicated through the explicature {this ice cream is so tasty that you need nothing else} is found by asking 'what is good?'. Important to underline here is that we would struggle to construct this explicature without possessing knowledge about ice cream and ice cream toppings. In turn, such background knowledge is arguably based on social beliefs and norms, such as the assumption that ice cream toppings are meant to improve the taste of our ice cream. Thus, we arrive at the following conclusion, 'if the ice cream is so good/tasty that you will eat it without adding any toppings, then it must be of the highest quality and taste', and we do so by connecting the stimulus with beliefs which we have learnt through socialisation.

To illustrate these points further, and to further determine the way in which attributes and benefits are constructed in adverts, consider the following stimuli (44a) and (44b):

(44a)   (44b)
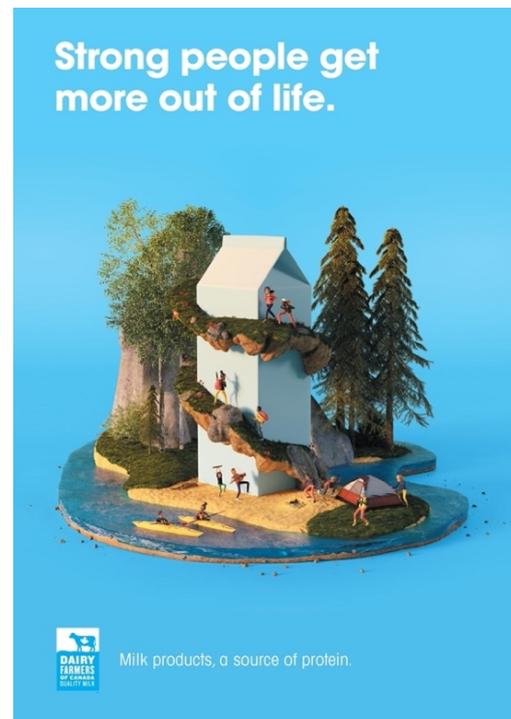
(Freddo, 2018; Dairy Farmers of Canada, 2017)

In short, the main benefit of (44a) essentially relates back to the following social beliefs (45a):

(45a)   It is necessary to eat vegetables since they are a nutritious part of our diet.
         Children can be notoriously difficult to feed vegetables.
         An incentive may be needed in order to make children eat vegetables.

Here, advert (44a) indirectly but ostensively creates the benefit that *this ice cream will encourage (your) children to eat their vegetables*, which in turn appears to be based on the

social concept of rights and obligations, where a child may be rewarded an ice cream for the effort of eating her vegetables. Now, suppose that the advert had depicted an adult, rather than a child, holding the vegetable. This would undoubtedly create a meaning fundamentally different to the meaning in (44a): one that would require us to be familiar with the social belief that (1) '*adults need to eat vegetables*'. This social belief does obviously not hold the same implications as (2) '*children need to eat vegetables*', and based on the assumption that the advertiser wants to present a product that is helpful to parents, (1) would not be as relevant nor as strongly manifest as (2). That is to say, while the audience would be likely to still understand the stimulus if it had depicted an adult, it would no longer express the benefit that *Freddo ice cream is a product that will make your life (as a parent) a little simpler*.

Similarly, advert (44b) orbits around a number of social beliefs, such as (45b):

(45b)   Food high in protein is able to make human beings physically stronger.
Being strong is preferable to being weak.
Getting more out of life is better than getting less out of life.

Based on the social belief that strength is preferable to weakness, this advert ultimately conveys the benefit that *drinking dairy milk will make you get more out of life,* with 'more' possibly referring to *more positive experiences*, such as the ability to enjoy outdoor activities. Here, it would be difficult to arrive at the intended meaning if we knew nothing about dairy milk, protein, or the life qualities and experiences that are preferable to us. Thus, it may be suggested that advert (44b), too, makes use of social beliefs that are strongly manifest to the generic audience and that advertising therefore exists as a form of communication highly dependent on meaning collected from the culturally constituted world.

If we look critically at these two adverts, it may be suggested that both (44a) and (44b) present rather vague benefits that may not be backed by any form of substantial evidence. After all, it is always possible that the ice cream in (44a) might fail to encourage children to eat vegetables, and the suggestion in (44b) may not necessarily be true since there are more personal qualities apart from physical strength that can make someone get more out of life, such as creativity, intellect, and social competence. Yet, advertisers appear to be aided in their process of introducing product attributes and benefits if they situate them in relation to strongly manifest social beliefs since this allows the audience to personally relate to the promoted ideas. In other words, oblique communication places the responsibility of interpretation on the audience, and while benefits such as those in (44a) and (44b) may not live up to their promises in reality, they are still likely to be accepted as plausible if they are implied rather than if they

are stated directly. This is partly because self-generated information is known to be more accessible and less subject to counterarguing (Lee & Olshavsky, 1995). In addition, inferred information is remembered and recalled as though it was explicitly stated (Harris, 1977): a psychological process of great value for advertisers since it allows for their communication to be comprehended as intended even though they use oblique language.

The most vital idea in this study has, so far, been that interaction takes place between advert and audience regardless of trust, product properties, etc. However, it is clear that the degree of understanding is highly dependent on whether the audience are familiar with the presented concepts. In the light of this, I want to argue that the success of the interaction between audience and advert is based on a *degree of manifestness*: the more manifest a social belief presented by an advert, the more likely an audience are to accept the promoted attributes and benefits as relevant. Ultimately, this subsection has showed that both attributes and benefits are constantly being marketed in relation to social beliefs and the information needed in order to understand the discourse is, in most cases, ideas collected from the culturally constituted world we live in. That is, it is common for advertisers to make use of social beliefs in order to anchor their product to the real world when they introduce their audience to the attributes and benefits that are meant to satisfy their needs.

3.3 Explicatures and implicatures in ice cream, milk, and burger adverts: The underestimated explicature

As suggested in subsection 3.1, an advert's attributes and benefits can be located by determining what is presented as *good*, and *why* this is. This concept further triggers the hypothesis that (1) explicit and implicit language is related to the notion of (2) attributes and benefits, in which one might generate the other, and vice versa. The current subsection attends to research question three and aims to examine what types of explicatures and implicatures are generated by the collected adverts. Here, it will be argued that explicatures generally lead to the inference of both attributes and benefits while implicatures are virtually non-existent in the collected adverts. To develop these arguments, consider the following advert by Oatly (46) in relation to what it promotes as good (47a), its explicatures, implicatures, attributes and benefits (47b) and its main take-away message (47c):

(46)

(Oatly, 2019a)

(47a)   What is good in (46)?

It is good that it (the ice cream) is surprisingly tasty (in fact so tasty that you now are ready to go vegan) even though it is plant-based.

(47b)   Why is this good in (46)?

Because it is good for the environment to eat plant-based food, and it is easier to eat plant-based food if it tastes good.

(47c)   Explicatures and implicatures, which generate attributes and benefits in (46):

{Oatly is saying} So, now you are ready to vegan, huh?

{Oatly is communicating that Oatly offers} Very Fancy Double Chocolate Fudge Ice Cream {that is} 100% vegan (attribute 1) {which is so good (attribute 2) that it will make you ready to go vegan}

Weak explicature:

{{you will benefit from this ice cream the sense that you will enjoy (benefit 1) its surprisingly satisfactory qualities and you will feel socially virtuous (benefit 2) from choosing ice cream that is good for the environment}}

Promoted product properties: Being surprisingly tasty and being vegan

Attributes: (1) Surprisingly good taste, (2) plant-based ingredients

Benefits: (1) It tastes good (good for you) and (2) it is vegan (good for the environment)

(47d)   Main take-away message in (46):

Oatly offers a very fancy double chocolate fudge ice cream that is vegan. Its surprisingly satisfactory qualities are what make you ready to go vegan, something which you have been planning to do for some time but not done because there haven't existed vegan products that are good enough (until now). Thus, this ice cream allows you to finally go vegan and you will enjoy its taste as much as you would enjoy the taste of traditional dairy ice cream.

Analysis (47c) shows that the advert's attributes are either communicated through its literal text and image or through its explicatures, but never through implicatures. When it comes to benefits, advert (46) arguably contains two different types: one based on the concept of TASTE, and one based on the concept of ICE CREAM. When considering the latter, there is a sub-concept in which VEGAN ICE CREAM carries slightly different contextual assumptions to that of DAIRY ICE CREAM, with VEGAN ICE CREAM not only benefiting the customer, but the environment as well. The benefit 'eating tasty chocolate ice cream is good (for you)' thus exists in parallel to the benefit 'eating vegan ice cream is good (for the environment)'. Together, these two benefits arguably establish the answer to the question why anyone would like to try such vegan ice cream. In relation to this, this advert appears to orbit around the assumption that the target audience are omnivores, and around the contrasting proposition that ice cream can be tasty *although* it is vegan. That is, Oatly is claiming that, up to this point, you have not considered yourself as 'being ready to go vegan', but now you do. Once again, to understand these two contrasting propositions, we must first assume that they are relevant, and to find their relevance, we look for pieces of evidence that can help us, in the form of contextual assumptions such as: (i) Eating plant-based ice cream is better for the environment than eating dairy (conventional) ice cream, but (ii) it is normally difficult to eat vegan ice cream because the selection of dairy products is better than that of vegan products. Thus, Oatly is basically offering something that aims to fill a gap in the market, namely, tasty vegan ice cream.

If we establish a possible interpretation (Table 1.2) of advert (46) based on Relevance Theory, we can see that its explicatures (48e) result in product related attributes, while one of the advert's weak explicatures (48g) results in the promoted benefit:

Table 1.2   Interpretation of advertising text (46), *'So, now you are ready to go vegan, huh?'*

(48a) The Oatly chocolate ice cream ad text has said to its audience, 'So, now you are ready to go vegan, huh?'.	*Decoding of ad text.*
(48b) The text is optimally relevant to the audience.	*Expectation raised by the recognition of the text as a communicative act, and acceptance of the presumption of relevance it automatically conveys.*
(48c) The text will achieve relevance by explaining why the customers would be ready to go vegan.	*Expectation raised by (b), together with the fact that such an explanation would be most relevant to the audience at this point.*
(48d) Being considerate of the environment is a good reason for going vegan.	*First assumption(s) to occur to the audience which, together with other appropriate premises, might satisfy expectation (c). Accepted as an implicit premise of the text.*
(48e) The audience are presented with a fait accompli in which they are left with no option but to accept that they are now ready to go vegan since something vegan (Oatly's very fancy double chocolate fudge ice cream) is so good that it will satisfy the criteria of being worth the purchase.	*First enriched interpretation of the ad text as decoded in (a) to occur to the audience which might combine with (d) to lead to the satisfaction of (c). Accepted as the ad's explicit meaning.*
(48f) Customers are assumed to now be interested in eating Oatly's vegan ice cream since it is clear that they have previously been thinking about going vegan.	*Inferred from (d) and (e), satisfying (c) and accepted as an implicit conclusion of the ad text.*
(48g) The audience will benefit from purchasing Oatly's vegan chocolate ice cream since they will enjoy its taste and they will feel socially virtuous for choosing ice cream that is good for the environment.	*From (f) plus background knowledge. One of several possible weak explicatures of the ad text which, together with (f), satisfy expectation (b).*
(48h) Plant-based ice cream is normally not tasty, but this one is.	*From (f) plus background knowledge. One of several possible weak explicatures of the ad text which, together with (f), satisfy expectation (b).*

In the light of these analyses, it is apparent that the attributes promoted by advert (46) are inferred from its explicatures, and that its benefits are inferred from somewhat weaker explicatures that are constructed using the first set of explicatures in relation to further contextual assumptions. This is revealed by employing the general comprehension process, in which the audience, firstly, are assumed to construct an appropriate hypothesis about the involved explicatures and, secondly, construct an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions (implicated premises) and contextual implications (implicated conclusions). That is, the audience create meaning that is implicitly communicated without arriving at any form of implicatures, but only to find explicatures. If this process applies well in the analysis of other adverts, then the explicature has been hugely underestimated by

previous studies into the pragmatics of advertising. To get closer to finding this out, let us look at another example, namely the following ice cream advert by Tip Top (49):

(49)
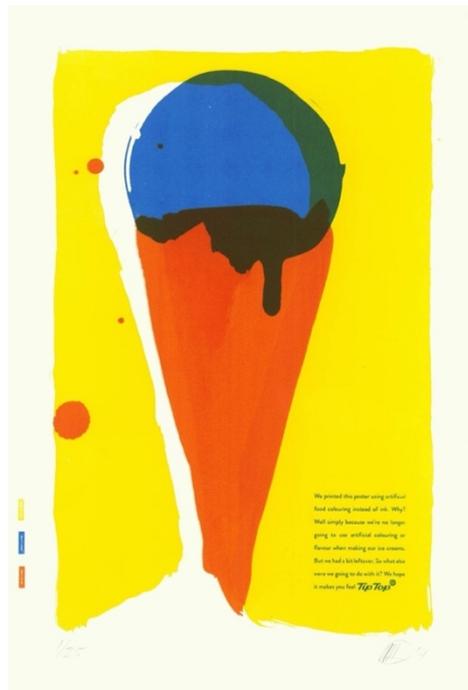
Text: *We printed this poster using artificial food colouring instead of ink. Why? Well simply because we're no longer going to use artificial colouring or flavour when making our ice creams. But we had a bit leftover. So what else were we going to do with it? We hope it makes you feel Tip Top.*

(50a)   What is good in (49)?

It is good that it (RA: the ice cream) is made with natural ingredients rather than artificial ones.

(50b)   Why is this good in (49)?

Because natural ingredients are better for your health and for the environment.

(50c)   Explicatures and implicatures, which generate attributes and benefits in (49):

{Tip Top is saying} We printed this poster using artificial food colouring instead of ink. Why? Well simply because we're no longer going to use artificial colouring or {artificial} flavour when making our ice creams (attribute 1). But we had a bit leftover. So what else were we going to do with it? We hope it makes you feel Tip Top (benefit 1) {that we have chosen to cut out artificial ingredients}.

Promoted product properties: Being free from artificial food colouring and flavour.

Attributes: (1) Natural ingredients

Benefits:　(1) Being healthier for you and being better for the environment.

(50d)　Main take-away message in (49):

Tip Top offers a type of ice cream that is made without artificial colouring and artificial flavour. This will make you feel good (feel tip top) since products free from artificial ingredients are healthier than products with artificial ingredients.

Table 1.3　Interpretation of advertising text (49), *'We hope it makes you feel Tip Top'*

(51a) The Tip top ice cream ad text has said to its audience, 'We hope it makes you feel Tip Top (good).'	*Decoding of ad text.*
(51b) The text is optimally relevant to the audience.	*Expectation raised by the recognition of the text as a communicative act, and acceptance of the presumption of relevance it automatically conveys.*
(51c) The text will achieve relevance by explaining what will make the audience feel good and why they will feel good.	*Expectation raised by (b), together with the fact that such an explanation would be most relevant to the audience at this point.*
(51d) Eating foods (such as ice cream) that have healthy ingredients is a reason for feeling good.	*First assumption(s) to occur to the audience which, together with other appropriate premises, might satisfy expectation (c). Accepted as an implicit premise of the text.*
(51e) The audience are presented with a fait accompli in which they are left with no option but to accept that the Tip Top ice cream will make them feel good since it has improved its ingredients, (changed from being bad (artificial) to being good (natural)).	*First enriched interpretation of the ad text as decoded in (a) to occur to the audience which might combine with (d) to lead to the satisfaction of (c). Accepted as the ad's explicit meaning.*
(51f) Customers are assumed to be interested in eating ice cream with natural ingredients since it is healthier than ice cream with artificial ingredients.	*Inferred from (d) and (e), satisfying (c) and accepted as an implicit conclusion of the ad text.*
(51g) The audience will benefit from purchasing Tip Top's ice cream since they will enjoy its natural ingredients.	*From (f) plus background knowledge. One of several possible weak explicatures of the ad text which, together with (f), satisfy expectation (b).*

Similarly to Oatly's advert (46), Tip Top's advert (49) presents both attributes and benefits without making use of implicatures. In fact, as the analysis (see Appendix) demonstrates, none but one[3] of the 20 adverts in this study, neither conventional nor unconventional, employ implicatures in their communication. Thus, it appears that contemporary advertising most commonly relies on explicatures and does, therefore, not involve the use of implicatures on a regular basis. This underlines that both attributes and benefits are generally established by the

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[3] The McDonald's advert 'Mona Lisa' includes the weak implicature that the new Big Mac Bacon is better than the original Big Mac.

inference of explicatures, and that the explicature therefore has been massively underestimated and bypassed by previous studies into the language of advertising. Interestingly, these findings also allow us to recognise that adverts promoting conventional products do not necessarily differ in the extent to which they use explicatures and implicatures to those promoting unconventional products. However, we are still left with the question whether they differ in their marketing of attributes and benefits, which will be the central focus of the following subsection.

3.4 Attributes and benefits in adverts promoting conventional and unconventional products

This section aims to examine whether the attributes and benefits in adverts promoting meat and dairy products differ from those in adverts promoting similar plant-based products. If we consider the conventional versions of ice cream, milk, and burger products, we can see that they all (1) share the fact that they come from the cattle industry and that they (2) exist in parallel to distinct "contra-products", such as plant-based ice cream, milk, and burger products. The main hypothesis here is that adverts promoting plant-based products are generally always presenting their attributes and benefits in relation to meat and dairy-based products, while adverts promoting conventional meat and dairy products very rarely, if ever, mention their unconventional equivalents in their text or image. Therefore, conventional product ads appear to stand completely on their own. If this is provable, it is an interesting finding in the sense that it indicates that the marketing of unconventional products only exists in connection to conventional products. For example, consider the following adverts (52) by Farm to Spoon and (53) by Leon:

(52)   (53)


(Farm to Spoon, 2019; Leon, 2019)

In (52), the audience are explicitly told to prepare for cognitive dissonance since it is a surprise that the ice cream is tasty (or tastes like you would expect ice cream to taste) even though it is made with vegetables. In constructing this appropriate hypothesis about the text's explicatures in relation to the product's attributes, the audience are assumed to possess the background knowledge that chocolate ice cream is usually not made with vegetables, but rather with something else, namely dairy milk. This implicated premise (contextual assumption) allows for the audience to find the reason as to *why* it is a surprise that the promoted product is made with vegetables. Now, compare this interpretation to if such an advert would have presented the following utterance: *Surprise! It's made with dairy milk.* Under normal circumstances, this would not be a surprise at all since we are used to the fact that conventional ice cream is made with dairy milk. That is, in the interpretation of (54), the audience will naturally arrive at the implicated conclusion that this marketed ice cream is not made conventionally (i.e., with dairy milk) but instead unconventionally (i.e., with vegetables). Further, they have to prepare for cognitive dissonance because this ice cream will taste as good as dairy ice cream, which is a surprise since ice cream made with vegetables is expected to taste bad. The attributes and benefits in (52) are, thus, situated in relation to what this thesis calls its *contra-product.*

In a similar manner, advert (53) is expressing its main message while making use of two contrasting ideas. Here, it is explicitly communicating that this 100% plant-based burger is what the world needs now. In establishing this appropriate hypothesis about the advert's explicatures, the audience are assumed to understand that the proposition 'being 100% plant-based is what the world needs now' is located in relation to its contrasting meaning 'being 0% plant-based is what the world does not need now'. Under normal circumstances in connection to the concept of BURGERS, being 0% plant-based is to be 100% meat based, and the audience are thus expected to arrive at the implicated conclusion that the main intention in (53) is to promote an unconventional (plant-based) type of burger.

Interesting in both cases is that it would be very difficult to arrive at the intended implicated conclusions if we did not know anything about conventional ice cream and burgers. This arguably gives additional support for the facts found in subsection 3.2, namely that contemporary advertising always makes use of concepts obtained from the culturally constituted world in order to put forward its attributes and benefits. Further, it also suggests that adverts marketing unconventional products only exist in relation to their *contra-products* (in this case dairy ice cream and meat-based burgers). In contrast to such adverts promoting unconventional products, the marketing of conventional products appears to stand strong on its own. Clearly, there is a historical reason behind this in the sense that conventional products, in

many cases, came first. However, it is still an interesting observation since it, in many ways, embodies the language of contemporary advertising. To understand this thought further, I will discuss the following advert (54) by Yeo Valley in contrast to advert (55) by So Delicious:
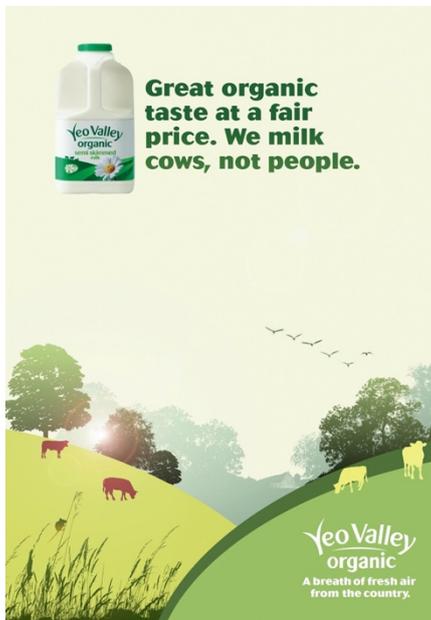
(54)   (55)

(Yeo Valley, 2008; So Delicious, 2017)

Here, Yeo Valley (54) does not once mention the existence of plant-based milk products or any other milk alternatives. Instead, it focuses on promoting its attributes of being organic, tasty, and sold at a fair price. In contrast, So Delicious (55) explicitly communicates the fact that its products are (1) dairy free and (2) alternatives {to dairy products}. The comparison of (54) and (55) strongly demonstrates that the following argument is plausible: the marketing of unconventional products depends on the existence of conventional products while advertisers are able to promote conventional products completely unaccompanied by any other product.

While the previous subsection 3.3 demonstrated that the marketing of both conventional and unconventional products first and foremost relies on the use of explicatures and contextual assumptions, it did not establish whether the use of attributes and benefits is different in these two types of advertising categories. When considering all 20 adverts[4] collected for this thesis, it has been concluded that adverts promoting conventional products generally focus on presenting their attributes and benefits in a way that directly relates to the product and/or the consumer. For example, such products are often emphasised as being tasty or being capable of improving the consumer's life. Interestingly, such adverts promoting conventional products

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[4] See Appendix

also appear to make use of humour to a much larger extent than those promoting unconventional products. In contrast, the marketing of unconventional products repeatedly addresses the idea of ethics and the value of being a consumer that does something that is good for the planet and/or the environment. This underlines that adverts promoting conventional and unconventional products do indeed appear to differ in their use of attributes and benefits. Not to say that they apply attributes and benefits to different degrees, but rather to say that the content of the promoted attributes and benefits is focused on different concepts. In relation to this, the analysis found that two of the collected adverts (one conventional and one unconventional) employ their attributes and benefits in a way that allows for both of them to criticise each other. Interesting here is that there is a contrasting use of communication techniques, in which the advert promoting a conventional milk product applies covert communication while the advert promoting an unconventional milk product makes use of overt communication. In order to consider these two cases in detail, the fourth research question will be further addressed by the subsequent subsection 3.5, which aims to extend the idea that advertisers can make use of their language differently depending on what they want to promote.

3.5   Criticism in advertising: The use of overt and covert communication

As has been suggested previously, an advert makes it mutually manifest that it is intending to communicate with its audience the moment it is published. When presenting their stimuli, advertisers are often known to apply different types of communication that can fulfil a number of different purposes. This subsection focuses on investigating how the concept of *overt* and *covert communication* can prevail in advertising, in particular when companies marketing similar products aim to criticise each other.

According to Relevance Theory (2012), the overtly intended interpretation of an utterance is "the one the speaker wants the hearer to recover, is actively helping the hearer to recover, and would acknowledge if asked" (pp. 175-176). Overt communication, thus, relies on the speaker to make clear his intention to alter the mutual cognitive environment of both the speaker and the hearer. Clark (2013) offers the following definition of overt, or as it is also called, *ostensive-inferential communication*:

> *Ostensive-inferential communication* (Clark, 2013, p. 114)
> The communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions I.

Messages which are indirectly and weakly communicated can nevertheless be *ostensively* communicated (Tanaka, 1994, p. 38, author's italics), and the audience are still able to interpret and understand presented meanings even if they do not accept them as true. One ad example where overt communication is at the centre of attention is (56), in which Oatly promotes its dairy free products using the slogan *'It's like milk, but made for humans'*:

(56)

(Oatly, 2019b)

Based on the contrasting conjunction 'but', it is fairly easy for the audience to reach the proposed assumption that dairy milk is not intended for humans. When placed in a social context, the advertiser of (56) presents a number of possible explicatures, such as those in (57), that work to create the advert's pragmatic meaning, which appears to focus on separating dairy milk from the promoted product:

(57)   a. This oat-based drink is like milk, but unlike milk it is safe for humans to consume.

b. This oat-based drink is like milk, but unlike milk it does not exploit cows.

c. This oat-based drink is like milk, but unlike milk it is humane.

Advert (56) is thus unmistakably criticising the dairy industry, and Oatly was taken to court by the Swedish dairy lobby LRF Mjölk based on the argument that "the brand's marketing disparaged cow's milk as unhealthy" (Faull, 2018). The Swedish dairy lobby won the case and Oatly was ordered to stop referring to its own product as milk and to stop implying that cow milk is either unhealthy or not fit for human consumption (Goldberg, 2019).

On the flipside, we find *covert communication*, which has been summarised by Bencherif and Tanaka (1987) as follows:

> *Covert communication* (Bencherif & Tanaka, 1987)
>
> A case of communication where the [informative] intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive environment of the hearer, i.e. to make a set of assumptions more manifest to her, without making this [informative] intention mutually manifest.

In advertising, Tanaka (1994) argues that one purpose of covert communication is for the advertiser to avoid taking responsibility for the social consequences of certain implications arising from advertisements (p. 44). One such example of a stimulus that involves covert communication is advert (58):

(58)

(Arla, 2019)

Translation: *Only milk tastes like milk.*

Based on the modifier 'only' in *'Only milk tastes like milk'*, the text suggests that there is only a single one of something, and the utterance presents a $p \rightarrow p$ structure in which no new assertion is offered, nor any argument is advanced. However, there appears to be a well-formed $p \rightarrow q$ structure encoded in the advert in form of explicatures, namely *'only {dairy} milk tastes like {real} milk'*, and the audience are expected to interpret this conceptual split between the two types of milk which the advertiser includes in his stimulus. Here, the first is held to symbolise a generalised class of beverage that is conventional dairy milk, and the second suggests a specific example of that category in which it is milk in the way you are used to. Constructing subsequent inferences, such as *dairy milk embodies the essence of milk* or *dairy*

milk is the best milk, the audience are able to recover the intended explicit meaning that 'only *this* milk is the best milk', in which the meaning of 'this' is supplied by the inclusion of the Arla milk carton in the advert's imagery.

Furthermore, the image in (58) shows a liquid that is clearly not milk being poured over a bowl of cereals, and up to this point, the advert has exclusively involved ostensive communication. However, I want to argue that one vital part of the intended meaning in (58), in fact, has very little to do with what appears to be Coca-Cola (or any other soft drink), and is, instead, an answer to Oatly's criticism towards the dairy industry. That is to say, I suggest that parts of the advert's main message are communicated covertly. Arla's advert was published in 2019 as part of a campaign launched in Sweden shortly after Oatly's communication concept *'It's like milk, but made for humans'* had started emerging. With this background knowledge, we can begin to understand the meaning fully intended by Arla in (58), in which the company is directing criticism towards Oatly without directly or intentionally publicising it. Suppose that Arla intends us to notice their criticism towards Oatly, but that we should think that they are solely illustrating a bowl of cereals being soaked in something that is clearly not (as good as) milk. In terms of *Relevance*, the advertiser intends to inform his audience about the criticism, but he wants his informative intention to be fulfilled without being recognised. If so, some form of covert (hence non-ostensive) communication is taking place. That is, Arla has indeed the intention of altering the cognitive environment of the audience, i.e., to make the set of assumptions (that Oatly's drinks are not as good as *real* milk) more manifest to them, but without making this intention mutually manifest. Of course, the advertiser of (58) deliberately chooses to utter that *only milk tastes like milk,* and therefore implying that no other drink tastes like (or as good as) milk, but this is not enough to argue that he ostensively refers to Oatly. In fact, since the advertiser does not mention any form of oat-based drink in his advert, but instead refers to it through the use of what appears to be Coca-Cola, he avoids taking responsibility for the social consequences of the implications he intends to communicate. This way, he saves himself from making the same mistake that Oatly made, and since the campaign has been described as "a slap in the face to all those who have begun to doubt the excellence of [dairy] milk and its obvious place in Swedes' everyday life" (Guldägget, 2019), the advertiser is able of succeeding in communicating his intended criticism in a way that is easily accessible to the audience.

3.6   Chapter conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to applying a pragmatic approach to advertising, in which advertising has been considered a form of social communication. In particular, it has demonstrated that contemporary advertising relies heavily on the exposure of social norms, and that the advertiser generally includes in his stimulus beliefs that are assumed to be known to his audience. In relation to this, it has been suggested that the concepts of 'what is good?' and 'why is it good?' are excellent tools that we as analysts can employ in our attempt to understand the main message of an advert. Further, the inclusion of attributes and benefits have been considered, in which both occur in advertising to different degrees of manifestness based on social beliefs, with the following hypothesis being suggested as plausible: the more manifest the social belief, the more likely the audience are to understand and accept the advert and its ideas as relevant.

Moreover, the chapter has outlined examples of how contemporary advertising expresses its attributes and benefits through the use of explicatures and implicatures, in which it has been argued that all forms of advertising rely almost exclusively on explicatures. Following, the question as to whether adverts promoting conventional products differ in their use of attributes and benefits to those promoting unconventional products was acknowledged. Here, it was suggested that advertisers make use their language differently depending on what product is promoted, in which unconventional products are repeatedly placed in relation to conventional products in the sense that their attributes and benefits are presented as, for example, an 'alternative' to the equivalent conventional product. Finally, the analysis placed two milk adverts in contrast to each other in order to further consider the idea that advertisers communicate their attributes and benefits in a way depending on what product they market. Here, it was established that it is possible for the advertiser to design his attributes and benefits so that they overtly criticise the contra-product. This advertiser is likely to be held responsible for his criticism, arguably because it is clearly communicated. In contrast, the advertiser may also design his communication so that it covertly criticises his competitor, and it appears more likely that this advertiser will manage to escape responsibility for the social reactions arising from the audience.

4   Findings and discussion

In the present study, I have examined what components of the overall advertising message are conveyed via (a) literal text and imagery (b) explicatures (c) implicatures, and my findings show that product properties generally take the shape of propositions inferentially developed from the conceptual representations of the stimulus' literal text and imagery. In other words, attributes in contemporary advertising are commonly conveyed through explicatures. In parallel, benefits appear to be constructed through the interpretation of these explicatures in relation to further sets of contextual assumptions, i.e., through further explicatures. As a result of these findings, I suggest that the language of advertising as a whole is conveyed through explicatures to a much larger extent than previously thought. Therefore, it is argued that studies into the pragmatics of advertising have effectively underestimated the explicature to date. Before I turn my attention to this argument further, I want to offer a general discussion of what this study has found to be fundamental parts of contemporary advertising discourse.

At the most general level, all forms of advertising have two main purposes: to construct and to transfer meaning. In contrast to most studies into advertising that consider it to be a strongly persuasive and forceful device, I distance my work from such a mindset by suggesting that it is simply a form of social communication whose only commitment is to create meaning in order to communicate with its audience. That is, interaction ultimately takes place between advert and audience regardless of what product (if any) is marketed, regardless of the degree of trust between the advertiser and audience, and regardless of how likely the audience are to buy or even like the promoted product. One of the most generic findings of this study has been that adverts are able of being understood even though their language is extremely oblique, for example in the sense that they do not actually need to present the product at all, nor the full company name. I argue that this is first and foremost down to the determination of context and the enrichment of explicatures and implicatures carried out by the audience. Thus, the analysis of advertising benefits greatly from being anchored to a relevance theoretic framework since it allows us to outline the way in which our cognitive comprehension process works when we interpret adverts. When doing so, we are granted the possibility to discuss advertising in relation to the inferences that are made by the audience, which have been found to be of immense importance in both the construction and transfer of meaning.

In relation to the concept of meaning, I suggest that the ideas of 'what is good?' and 'why is it good?' are excellent tools that we can employ in the attempt to understand the messages communicated by an advert, especially since they allow us to find the intended meaning even

if the advert employs (weak) explicatures and/or implicatures. By determining *what* is portrayed as good, we will generally find the attributes of the product or service. In parallel, the information derived from these attributes will most likely be anticipated to involve some form of benefit, which is found by asking *why* this something is good. For example, in Yeo Valley's text 'Great organic taste at a fair price' (54), the product attributes 'great organic taste' and 'fair price' are found by asking *what is good*, while the following benefits are found by asking *why it is good:*

(59)   a. Because you will enjoy this product (experiential benefit) since it tastes great.

        b. Because you will feel socially virtuous (symbolic benefit) from choosing to drink organic milk.

        c. Because you will be able to afford this product (functional benefit) since it is priced fairly.

These findings underline the fact that adverts can directly or obliquely promote attributes, from which the audience are able to infer the benefit. Only in relation to the attribute (the '*what*') will the audience find the promoted benefit (the *'why'*).

The analysis then went on to consider the hypothesis that explicit and implicit language can be related to the notion of attributes and benefits. That is, I investigated the explicatures and implicatures communicated by collected adverts, the main purpose being to determine whether these generated attributes and/or benefits. Here, it was shown that attributes are generally inferred through the literal text and image, and through explicatures. Benefits, on the other hand, are most commonly inferred through the inferred attribute together with further contextual assumptions, i.e., through further explicatures. These findings leave us with the suggestion that implicatures are virtually non-existent in the collected adverts. While they do occur, as in the case of the possible *improved* taste in McDonald's advert (29), they do so very rarely. Instead, the language of contemporary advertising relies on the audience to infer information that is implicitly communicated but still part of the actual stimulus, i.e., that is part of the advert's explicit language. This points to the fact that previous studies into the linguistic of advertising have underestimated the role of the explicature, and that the explicature should be of great interest to future studies into advertising.

Finally, addressing the fourth and final research question, it was examined whether attributes and benefits in adverts promoting conventional products differ from those in adverts promoting unconventional products. This part was divided into two subsections, with the former orbiting around the hypothesis that the marketing of unconventional products generally

makes use of attributes and benefits in relation to conventional products, while adverts promoting conventional products very rarely, if ever, mention their unconventional equivalents in either text or image. Here, it was found that advertisers are able of designing their language differently depending on what product is promoted, in which unconventional products are indeed repeatedly placed in relation to conventional products in the sense that their attributes and benefits are presented as, for example, 'alternatives' to the equivalent conventional product. In stark contrast, adverts promoting conventional products were shown to never include the existence of their equivalent plant-based products. The second subsection of this part of the analysis, then, considered two adverts in particular, one promoting conventional milk and one promoting unconventional milk, that both employed attributes and benefits similarly but that appeared to construct very contrasting meanings. Here, it was established that, while advertisers are able to design their stimulus so that it criticises the contra-product, they are able to construct different meanings depending on whether they use overt or covert communication. As was discussed in the case of Oatly's advert (56), the advertiser employing overt communication is likely to be held responsible for his criticism, which, I argue, is down to the fact that his intentional criticism is clearly communicated. In contrast, the advertiser communicating his criticism covertly appears more likely to escape responsibility for the social reactions arising from the audience, which is arguably due to the fact that he makes his audience recognise the intended information without making his informative intention clear. Important to underline is that the findings of subsections 3.4 and 3.5 do not correspond to the fact that adverts promoting conventional and unconventional products make different use of explicatures and implicatures. Instead, the analysis (see Appendix) showed that all 20 adverts in fact employ explicatures and implicatures in a very similar way, regardless of being of a conventional or unconventional character. All adverts in this study predominantly involve their meaning in relation to literal text and imagery and explicatures alone, through which they communicate both their attributes and benefits. This final part of the analysis concluded that, although the advertiser may design his stimulus so that it fulfils different purposes, he does not employ explicatures and implicatures differently, regardless of promoting conventional or unconventional products. Thus, contemporary advertising relies on explicatures to the same large extent regardless of what social concept it promotes.

4.1   Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to present some key ideas of advertising and to consider its language from a pragmatic perspective. Relevance Theory has been the main theoretical

framework, on which I have based my analysis of advertising discourse. In doing so, I hope to have contributed to the wider discussion of the relation between linguistics and advertising.

In chapter one, I considered the concept of meaning in relation to two previous studies that have focused on the language of advertising. Firstly, I acknowledged Shimp's (2007) aspects of marketing communication, which assisted in linking my analysis to the notion of *meaning* and to the idea of *brand positioning*, in which my focus has been placed particularly on his concepts of *attributes* and *benefits*. Shimp's study has been particularly valuable to my current work since he recognises the relationship between advertising discourse, the audience's encyclopaedic knowledge (or, as he calls it, perceptual field) and meaning collected from the culturally constituted world. These concepts have aided my analysis in the sense that I have been able to connect my linguistic analysis with terminology found in professional advertising practice. However, Shimp (2007) employs a purely semiotic approach to advertising discourse, and since my aim was to establish a pragmatic approach, I had to proceed by considering a pragmatic study into advertising, in which Simpson's (2001) idea of 'reason' and 'tickle' was my approach of choice. Simpson's study allowed me to consider my work in the light of marketing tactics presented by a professional advertiser and in relation to a number of plausible steps of the cognitive interpretation process of adverts. However, there were parts of Simpson's work that needed revision in order to correspond with updated notions presented by Relevance Theory, and I took the opportunity to present a number of new claims, which then were discussed and developed further in chapter two.

In chapter two, I extended the concept of meaning by considering it from a pragmatic perspective. In particular, Wilson and Sperber's Relevance Theory (2012) was established as the theoretical bedrock upon which the main analysis of this study has been resting, and the inferential model of communication was outlined as a suitable option in the analysis of advertising language. Here, I discussed a number of relevance theoretic features, in which the notions of explicatures, implicatures and contextual assumptions were of vital importance, as well as the idea of loose talk and metaphors.

The theoretical anchoring to previous studies established in chapters one and two formed what I then used in my pragmatic analysis presented in chapter three. In this analysis, I showed that advertised products, information and ideas are constantly placed in relation to social norms and beliefs, and that the attributes and benefits promoted by advertisers are highly dependent on (social) context and the audience's previous encyclopaedic knowledge. It also showed that relevance theoretic notions, such as that of contextual assumptions and the process of enrichment are always needed for both explicatures and implicatures to be sufficiently

described. A novel, and very interesting, aspect of this analysis is that it found advertising to employ explicatures to a much larger degree than previously believed.

4.2   Further research: Sustainability in advertising

In the light of the great number of adverts that promote unconventional products, such as plant-based meat and dairy alternatives, it is clear that the theme of sustainability has a growing role in advertising. Further, based on the findings in this study that emphasise advertising messages as reflections of our social beliefs and norms, it is obvious that sustainability does not only prevail in adverts promoting unconventional products, but also in adverts that invite us to choose, for example, organic and locally produced dairy and meat products, not to mention those that encourage us to cut CO_2 emissions or shop second hand. These are arguably interesting observations that can open paths for future research projects, and to intertwine a relevance theoretic analysis with the ever-growing theme of sustainability in advertising has great potential to answer further questions as to how we, as humans, communicate through advertising.

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Appendix: Analysis of collected adverts

1.1. BURGER ADVERTS

Advert 1.1.1 – Max Burgers

'Nästan varje familj har en vegetarian. Vi har sex stycken.'
Max Burgers (SWE), 2016 (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.resume.se/marknadsforing/reklam/sa-ska-max-fa-fler-att-valja-vegetariskt/

Translation:

Almost every family has a vegetarian. We have six.

Available in restaurant 21 Jan.

These are not only our new burgers. It is our way of offering Sweden's tastiest burgers to everyone. Our green family includes new members like Halloumi burger, Crispy Mexican burger and Halloumi salad, as well as our BBQ Sandwich which is vegan all the way through to the mayonnaise. In addition, the classic Green burger is now available in a junior size for the littluns. Read more at max.se.

(Logotype) *Max. Sweden's tastiest burgers.*

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Max Burgers is saying that it 'has six vegetarians.' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
'Vegetarian' can refer to (1) a human family member, and (2) a vegetarian food option.

Based on our background knowledge that Max Burgers is a burger restaurant, it is more relevant to expect that it offers alternative (2) rather than (1).

If you are a person that eats vegetarian food (which, according to Max, almost one person per family does), Max is able to offer you something to eat (**Explicature)**

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A vegetarian (**Explicature***:* A vegetarian *food choice*)

Why would you want to choose such a vegetarian food option?
Eating plant-based food is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating meat-based food (= modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (Contextual assumptions)

Max offers *six different plant-based* food options (**attribute**)

Max offers Sweden's *tastiest* (**attribute**) burgers to everyone (even *vegetarians*) which is good because it satisfies our need to eat tasty plant-based food, which is a need that exists because we want to eat tasty food (**benefit**) and make choices that are good for the environment (**benefit**)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:

{Max Burgers is communicating that} Almost every {human} family has a vegetarian {family member}. We have six {vegetarian options in our family[5] of meals (attribute 1)}

{These vegetarian (attribute 2) meals are available for purchase} In {any Max} restaurant {from the} 21{st of} Jan{uary} {in the year of the advert}. {Such a large selection makes it easy for you to choose to eat meat-free (benefit 1)}, {which is good for your health (benefit 2) and for the environment (benefit 3)}

(logotype) Max {offers} Sweden's tastiest burgers.

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting the brand with good reasons: it offers many plant-based food options.

What is presented as good?
Being a burger restaurant that offers many different plant-based food options is good.

Main attribute:
Plant-based burgers and salads (having plant-based ingredients)

Why is this good?
Because it makes it easy for customers to choose between many vegetarian take-away burgers, which is good (for the customers)
Because eating plant-based food is good (for the planet)

Main benefit(s):

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[5] Metaphor = menu/range

(Functional) You will now be able to choose between not two, not three, but six different vegetarian food options at Max (which makes it easier for you to eat plant-based burgers instead of meat-based burgers)

(Symbolic) Choosing to eat plant-based food makes you feel virtuous.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel that it is *easy* to choose) from the <u>attribute</u> (Max's *many vegetarian* options)
2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel *socially virtuous*) from the <u>attribute</u> (choosing *vegetarian* meals at Max).

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   A *wide range* of vegetarian meals – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Made with *plant-based* ingredients – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   Max Burgers has just made eating vegetarian meals feel *easier* – **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   It allows you to feel healthier – **Explicature**
Benefit 3:   It allows you to feel socially virtuous – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>
There is a *wide range* (attribute 1) of *vegetarian* (attribute 2) meal options at Max restaurants, which make it is *easy* (benefit 1) for you to eat plant-based food, which is something you want to do since it allows you to feel *healthier* (benefit 2) and *socially virtuous* (benefit 3).

Advert 1.1.2 – McDonald's Mona Lisa

'A classic. With bacon.'
McDonald's (SWE), 2020 (Conventional/meat-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/mcdonalds_a_classic_with_bacon

A classic. With bacon.
Try the new Big Mac Bacon.
(logotype) *McDonald's*

Explicatures: What is said fully?

McDonald's is saying 'A classic. With bacon. Try the new Big Mac Bacon'. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
In a world of class hierarchies, we accept that classics are superior to non-classics.

In the world of art, the Mona Lisa is a very striking, if not the most striking, member.

The Mona Lisa would, in reality, not benefit from added bacon. But the painting as depicted in the advert has still been given added bacon for some reason. To understand this reason, we must again assume that there are pieces of evidence (in this case text) that can help us: it is the *advertised product* (the Big Mac) rather than *what is actually there* (the Mona Lisa) that benefits from the added bacon.

McDonald's is a burger restaurant, and it is therefore more relevant to expect that it creates a resemblance between 'something' and the Mona Lisa, rather than to directly refer to the Mona Lisa.

The Big Mac is as much a classic in the world of burgers as the Mona Lisa is a classic in the world of art. (**Explicature**)
The Big Mac is the Mona Lisa of burgers. (**Explicature**)

<u>So, what is this 'something' offered?</u>
A Big Mac bacon burger with added bacon (**Explicature***: A very tasty burger).

<u>Why would you want to choose a classic burger?</u>
Based on the background knowledge that a classic burger is likely to have attributes that are typical for a typical burger, such as good taste/texture, you are expected to enjoy the experience of eating it. (<u>Contextual assumptions</u>)

Based on the (possible) contextual assumption that a burger with bacon is better than a burger without bacon, the advert depicts a new level of the original Big Mac burger (**Weak implicature**: You should try the new Big Mac Bacon because it is *better* than the original Big Mac burger)

McDonald's offers an *extremely tasty* burger (**attribute**) which satisfies our <u>need</u> to eat tasty burgers (**benefit**).

<u>{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>
{McDonald's restaurants are now offering} A {burger that is as much a} classic {in the world of burgers as the Mona Lisa is a classic in the world of art} (attribute 1). With {added} bacon (attribute 2).

{You should} Try the new Big Mac Bacon {burger} {now or at some point in the nearest future if you want to enjoy (benefit 1) the [improved] taste (attribute 3) that the bacon brings}.

Attributes and **benefits** occur in relation to explicatures and one weak implicature.

Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting their new burger with good reasons: it is a classic and good tasting burger.

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the burger) is a classic, and that it is tasty (tastier than the original Big Mac burger).

Main attribute(s): Being a *classic* and *tasty* burger

Why is this good?
Because a tasty burger is good (for the customers) in the sense that they will experience enjoyment from eating it.

Main benefit(s):

(Symbolic) Choosing a classic burger makes you feel cool.

(Experiential) Makes you enjoy the taste.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel enjoyment) from the <u>attribute</u> (the burger's good taste)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures and one (weak) implicature</u>

The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   Being a *classic* burger – **Explicature**

Attribute 2:   Made with *added bacon* – **Explicature**

Attribute 3:   *Better taste* than the classic Big Mac (product-related attribute) **Implicature**

Benefit 1:   McDonald's has just offered you enjoyment through this burger's good *taste* – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>

McDonald's is offering a classic (attribute 1) Big Mac burger with added bacon (attribute 2), which tastes better (attribute 3) than the original. Buying this burger enables you to enjoy (benefit 1) the taste of it.
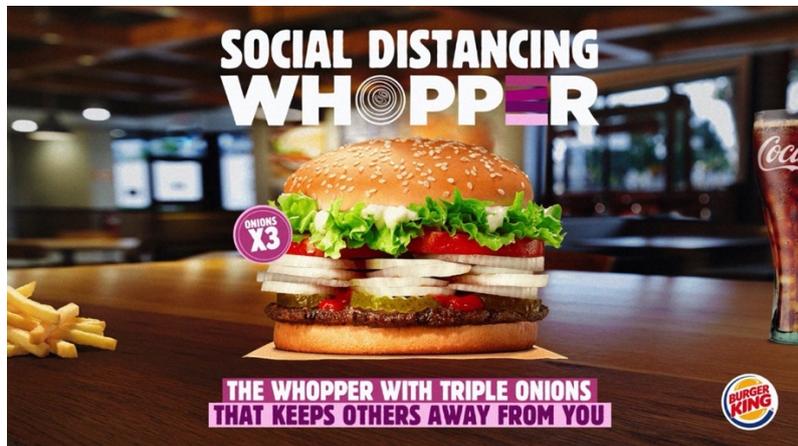
Advert 1.1.3 – Burger King Social Distancing Whopper

'Social Distancing Whopper'
Burger King (Italy), 2020 (Conventional/meat-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/integrated/burger_king_the_social_distancing_whopper

Social Distancing Whopper
Onions x3
The Whopper with triple onions that keeps others away from you
(logotype) *Burger King*

Explicatures: What is said fully?
Burger King is saying 'Social Distancing Whopper. The Whopper with triple onions that keeps others away from you'. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
Eating raw onions gives you bad breath, which will make people keep away from you.
Keeping away from each other is something that is preferable in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Explicatures: Burger King offers a burger that keeps others at a safe distance (**Explicature**), which is good because it satisfies the need to keep safe during the Covid-19 pandemic (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A Social Distancing Whopper (**Explicature**: A burger that gives you bad breath).

Why would you want to choose a social distancing burger?
Based on the background knowledge that you want others to keep away from you to stop the coronavirus from spreading, eating such a burger would help you in doing this. (Contextual assumptions):

Burger King offers a burger that gives you bad breath (**attribute**), which satisfies our <u>need</u> to keep others at a safe distance during the Covid-19 pandemic (**benefit**).

<u>{Explicatures}</u> and <u>[implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>
{Burger King is communicating that Burger King restaurants are now offering the} Social Distance Whopper {burger}.

{This is} The Whopper {burger} with triple {layers of raw} onions (attribute 1) that keeps others away from you (benefit 1) {since it gives you bad breath (attribute 2)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to explicatures.

Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting their new burger with good reasons: it keeps others away (does not say anything about taste)

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the burger) is able to keep others away from you.

Main attribute(s): Being made with ingredients that give you bad breath.

Why is this good?
Because others staying away is good (for the customers) in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) Keeping you away from being infected with the Covid-19 virus.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (keep others at a COVID-19 safe distance) from the <u>attribute</u> (bad breath caused by eating onions)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from the <u>explicature(s)</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1: Triple onions (smell inducing ingredients) – **Explicature**
Attribute 2: Bad breath – **Explicature**
Benefit 1: Keeps others away from you – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>
Burger King is offering a Whopper burger with added onions (attribute 1), which causes others to keep away from you (benefit 1) since it gives you bad breath (attribute 2).

Advert 1.1.4 – Meatless Farm M… F… Burger

'Now that's a M… F… Burger!'
Meatless Farm (UK), 2020 (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.meatlessfarm.com/2020/08/03/meatless-farm-launches-m-f-campaign/

Now that's a M… F… burger!
Change tastes great!
Meatless Farm

Explicatures: What is said fully?
Meatless Farm are saying that their burger is a *M… F… burger* and that *change tastes great*. To understand these propositions (the intended meanings), we first assume that they must be relevant, and to find their relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
The quality of burgers (taste, texture, etc.) exists on a scale from bad to good. If a burger is a '*mother fucking burger*', then it is better than good.

Elderly ladies such as the one depicted in the ad can be stereotyped as 'conservative' people (people with 'traditional' preferences/opinions: *people who don't swear* or *eat vegetarian food*). This specific lady, however, is not scared of swearing or swapping her 'traditional' meat-based burger for a plant-based burger from Meatless Farm.

Meatless Farm offers a plant-based burger that is as *good as a traditional (meat-based) burger is expected to be - so good that even the most conservative person will enjoy it*. (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A M… F… Burger (**Explicature:** An extremely good burger)
Change (**Explicature**: To change from eating meat-based food to eating plant-based food)

<u>Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?</u>
Eating plant-based food is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating meat-based food (= modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (<u>Contextual assumptions</u>)

Meatless Farm offers an extremely good/tasty (**attribute**) burger which is <u>good</u> because it satisfies our <u>need</u> to eat tasty plant-based food, which is a need that exists because we want to eat tasty food (**benefit**) and make choices that are good for the environment (**benefit**)

<u>{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>
{Meatless Farm is communicating that Meatless Farm is now offering a burger} that is a {Mother Fucking / Meatless Farm (attribute 1)} {plant-based} (attribute 2) burger!

{To change from eating meat burgers to eating plant-based burgers is a} change {that} tastes great {since our plant-based burgers taste as good as meat burgers (benefit 1), and they will make you feel socially virtuous (benefit 2)}!

(logotype) Meatless Farm

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting their burger with good reasons: it tastes good even though it is plant-based.

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the burger) is tasty although it is plant-based (<u>explicature</u>)
Main attribute: Having *plant-based* ingredients

Why is this good?
Because eating plant-based food is good (for the planet)
Because it is easier to eat plant-based food if it is tasty (good for the costumers) (**Explicature**: plant-based burgers are normally not tasty)

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) You will now be able to enjoy plant-based burgers as much as you would normally enjoy meat-based burgers
(Symbolic) Choosing to eat plant-based food makes you feel virtuous.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (*enjoy*) from the <u>attribute</u> (the good taste/texture)
2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel *socially virtuous*) from the <u>attribute</u> (eating *plant-based* food).

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   M… F… burger

        (Pun option 1)

M… F… - **Explicature**
Mother Fucking burger = Extremely good/tasty burger

(Pun option 2)
M… F… - **Explicature**
Meatless Farm burger = High-quality burger

Attribute 2:   Made with *plant-based* ingredients – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   You will *enjoy* the taste/quality Meatless Farm burger – **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   It allows you to feel socially virtuous – **Explicature**

<u>Main message</u>:
Meatless Farm's plant-based (attribute 1) burgers are as tasty/good (attribute 1) as meat-based burgers, so you can enjoy (benefit 1) eating plant-based food, which is something you want to do since it allows you to feel *socially virtuous* (benefit 2).

Advert 1.1.5 – McDonald's Veggie

'Veggie'
McDonald's (Austria), 2019 (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/mcdonalds_veggie

(logotype) *M (McDonald's)*

Explicatures: What is said fully?
McDonald's is offering 'something' which, in one way or another, is equal to a carrot. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
The use of 'carrot' is used loosely and builds on the concept VEGETABLES in the sense that we accept that McDonald's veggie burger is not literally a carrot – it is rather *somewhat similar* to a carrot/vegetable, or as 'something' as a carrot/vegetable. In this case, it could mean that the McDonald's veggie burger is 'as packed with vegetables as an actual vegetable', 'as fresh as if it came straight from a vegetable field', or 'as meat-free as a vegetable' (**Explicature**)

The concept VEGETABLES can involve the encyclopaedic entry that vegetables and products made of vegetables, such as vegetarian/vegan burgers, are good for your health/good for the environment, which create higher-level explicatures, such as the following:

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Something that is equal to a carrot (**Explicature***: A vegetarian food choice)
A plant-based burger patty (**explicature**)

<u>Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?</u>
Eating plant-based food is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating meat-based food (+ modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (<u>Contextual assumptions</u>)

McDonald's offers a burger patty that is as meat-free as a carrot (**attribute**) → McDonald's offers *vegetarian* burgers, which is <u>good</u> because it satisfies the <u>need</u> to eat plant-based fast food, which is good for the environment (**benefit**)

<u>{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>

{McDonald's is communicating that McDonald's is now offering} a plant-based burger (attribute 1) {in their restaurants} {which is as fresh/packed with vegetables as an actual vegetable} (attribute 2).

{To offer such a plant-based alternative allows you to choose a plant-based alternative at McDonald's (benefit 1)} {which is good for the environment and for your health (benefit 2)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting their burger patty with good reasons: it is a fresh and plant-based burger patty.

What is presented as good?
Being a burger restaurant that offers a plant-based food option is good.

Main attribute:
Plant-based burger patty (having plant-based ingredients)

Why is this good?
Because it makes it available for customers to eat vegetarian take-away burgers, which is good (for the customers)
Because eating plant-based food is good (for the planet)

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) You will now be able to choose a vegetarian food option at McDonald's (which makes it easier for you to eat plant-based burgers instead of meat-based burgers)
(Symbolic) Choosing to eat plant-based food makes you feel virtuous.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel that it is *easier* to eat plant-based food) from the <u>attribute</u> (McDonald's *vegetarian* option)
2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel *socially virtuous* and feel *healthy*) from the <u>attribute</u> (choosing *vegetarian* meals at McDonald's).

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   *Plant-based* burger - **Explicature**

Attribute 2:   *As fresh/packed with vegetables as an actual vegetable* – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   *Allowing* the choice of eating meat-free – **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   To eat plant-based meals makes you feel *socially virtuous* – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>

McDonald's is offering a plant-based (attribute 1) burger that is as fresh/packed with vegetables as an actual vegetable (attribute 2). This burger enables you to choose a vegetarian option when you eat at McDonald's (benefit 1), which is good for the environment and for your health (benefit 2).
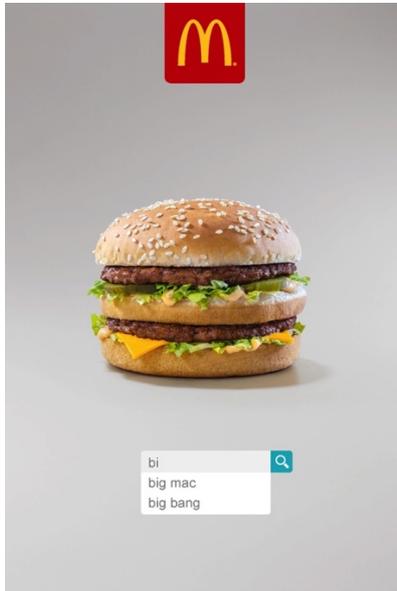
Advert 1.1.6 – McDonald's Big Bang

'Big bang'
McDonald's (UK), 2016 (Conventional/Meat-based)

Information and image:
https://adsoftheworld.com/media/outdoor/mcdonalds_big_mac_0

(logotype) *M (McDonald's)*
bi
big mac
big bang

Explicatures: <u>What is said fully?</u>

McDonald's is saying that, when you start typing the letters '*bi*' into a search engine, the result *'big mac'* will come before the result *'big bang'*. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us:

<u>Contextual assumption:</u>
Results brought forward by search engines are normally sorted by what is most popular, important, or relevant - with 'most important' at the top and 'less important' further down.

The Big Mac is *more 'something' than the big bang* (**explicature**).

<u>Contextual assumption:</u>
'The big bang' theory presents a cosmological model of the universe from its earliest known periods, which can be seen as very important/big – especially in relation to small things (like burgers). However, the Big Mac burger is more 'something'. We understand that it is not a comparison of taste since it would be irrelevant to say that the Big Mac burger is *tastier* than the big bang. It's rather a question of, say, *meaningfulness* or *importance*. There is, in other words, a loose connection between the idea of the *Big Mac burger* and the idea of *big bang*, in

which these two ideas interconnect with regard to their shared property: both are *meaningful/big/important*, but Big Mac is *more* meaningful than big bang.

We might, therefore, reach the conclusion that *there is a burger called Big Mac that is bigger/more important/meaningful than big bang,* and that this burger is offered by McDonald's (**explicature**).

Contextual assumption(s):

A burger that is as bigger/more important than the big bang is a burger that is really good, which is good because it satisfies the need to eat tasty fast food (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A Big Mac burger (**Explicature***: A very good/tasty burger).

Why would you want to choose such an important burger?

Based on our background knowledge about burgers, a burger more important than the big bang is likely to have attributes that are typical for a very good burger, such as good taste/texture, and you are thus expected to enjoy the experience of eating it (Contextual assumptions)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:

{McDonald's is communicating that McDonald's is now offering a burger called} big mac {in their restaurants}{that has qualities more important/meaningful than the} big bang (attribute 1), {which you are likely to enjoy (benefit 1)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting their burger with good reasons: it is extremely great.

What is presented as good?
The big mac burger is good (better than the big bang)

Main attribute:
Good overall burger-qualities (such as taste and texture)

Why is this good?
Because a good burger is good (for the customers) in the sense that they will enjoy its qualities.

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) Makes you enjoy its qualities.

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (the burger's good taste/texture)

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

Attribute 1:   Being a burger of *high importance* – **Explicature**
Benefit 1:   You will enjoy eating such an important burger - **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>

McDonald's is offering a Big Mac burger which is better/more important (attribute 1) than the theory of big bang, which you will enjoy (benefit 1) eating.

Advert 1.1.7 – Leon's Love Burger

'What the world needs now'
Leon (UK), 2019 (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.facebook.com/LEONrestaurants/posts/were-so-very-excited-to-introduce-our-new-love-burger-here-it-is-in-all-leons-fr/10156043911835334/

100% Plants
Love Burger
What the world needs now

(No logotype – But based on that the ad was posted on Leon burgers' Facebook page, we can assume that the audience understand that it is advertised by Leon)

Explicatures: What is said fully?
Leon is offering something that is '100% plants' and something that is 'what the world needs now'. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
Eating plant-based food is good for the environment, and healthy for your body.

To understand Leon's proposition (the intended meaning) that their burger is *what the world needs now*, we again assume that there are further pieces of evidence that can help us (in this case contextual assumptions about what effects a plant-based burger can have on the world):

It is the *advertised product* (the burger) that "embodies" something that the world needs: *fewer CO_2 emissions as a result of eating vegan instead of meat* (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Leon's 100% plant-based burger (**Explicature***: A plant-based *food choice*)

<u>Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?</u>
Because eating plant-based food is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating meat-based food (= modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (<u>Contextual assumption</u>):

Leon offers a 100% plant-based burger (**attribute**) that is what the world needs (**attribute**), which is <u>good</u> because it satisfies the <u>need</u> to eat more plant-based food instead of meat, which is good for the environment (**benefit**)

{<u>Explicatures</u>} <u>and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>
{Leon is communicating that Leon now offers a burger made with} 100% plants (attribute 1){in their restaurants} {which is called} LOVE burger

{This LOVE burger is} what the world needs now (attribute 2) {since humans should eat more plant-based food} {because it is good for the environment and for your health (benefit 1)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting their burger with good reasons: it is a world saving burger.

What is presented as good?
Being a burger restaurant that offers plant-based food options is good.

Main attribute:
Plant-based burger (having plant-based ingredients)

Why is this good?
Because eating plant-based food is good (for the world)

Main benefit(s):
(Symbolic) Choosing to eat plant-based food makes you feel socially virtuous.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel socially virtuous) from the <u>attribute</u> (eating Leon's *vegetarian* burger)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   *100% plant-based* burger – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   *Being what the world needs now* – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   Eating plant-based burgers makes you feel socially virtuous - **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>
There is a 100% plant-based (attribute 1) burger offered by Leon, which is what the world needs now (attribute 2) because the world needs more plant-based food since it is good for the environment (benefit 1).

1.2. ICE CREAM ADVERTS

Advert 1.2.1 – Milk Maids' Maid Fresh

'Maid fresh on our farm'
Milk Maids (UK), 2019, (Conventional/dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/milk_maids_maid_fresh

Maid fresh on our farm
Find us at milk-maids.co.uk
(product packaging) *Milk Maids Strawberry*

Explicatures: What is said fully?
Milk Maids is offering something that is made fresh on its farm, which, in one way or another, is related to a cow's udder. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):

Who's likely to be milking? A milk maid (working for the company Milk Maids) (**Explicature**)

What's likely to be offered? Freshly (hand-)made strawberry ice cream (**Explicature**)

The pun 'Maid' embodies that it is '*made',* but also the information that it is not only *made fresh and made by hand*, but that it is made *by a milk maid* (**explicature**).

Milk will, in reality, not be extracted from spoons but from cow teats. But the advert still conveys two spoons being held as if they were milked, and the audience will normally be aware of the fact that it is uncommon to milk cows by hand in today's dairy industry, even if a farm

produces milk on a small scale. So, the image of two hands holding ice cream scoops can therefore be said to make use of <u>loose language</u> which emphasises the metaphorical 'teat resemblance' and the ice cream's *freshness* rather than to be of strictly literal meaning.

<u>So, what is this 'something' offered?</u>
Milk Maids' dairy ice cream with taste of strawberry (**explicature**)

<u>Why would you want to choose such a food option?</u>
In a world of hierarchies, we accept that 'fresh' ice cream is superior to 'unfresh' ice cream. We also value 'local' (**explicature**: hand-made) produce higher than 'mass-scale industry' produced products. This ice cream is, thus, depicted as better than other ice creams. (Contextual assumptions)

<u>{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>
{Milk Maids is communicating that Milk Maids is now offering} Milk Maids Strawberry {dairy ice cream} (attribute 1)

{Milk Maids Strawberry dairy ice cream is} maid[6] fresh (attribute 2) {by hand[7] using cow's milk} (attribute 3) on our farm {which means that it is made locally on a small scale (attribute 4)}, which are qualities that you will enjoy (benefit 1) and you will feel socially virtuous from choosing such ice cream (benefit 2)

Find {information about} us at {the website} milk-maids.co.uk

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting their ice cream with good reasons: it is super fresh and locally produced.

What is presented as good?
Milk Maid's strawberry ice cream is good.

Why is this good?
Because it is made locally using fresh/high-quality ingredients, which is good (for the planet and for the costumers)

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) You will enjoy the good taste/qualities of Milk Maid's strawberry ice cream.
(Symbolic) You will feel socially virtuous from choosing locally produced ice cream.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel enjoyment) from the <u>attribute</u> (the ice cream's good qualities)
2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel socially virtuous) from the <u>attribute</u> (the ice cream being locally produced)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   *Strawberry dairy* ice cream - **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Maid (made) *fresh* – **Explicature**

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[6] Pun: *Made*
[7] Loose use of *handmade*

Attribute 3:   *Hand-made* using *cow's milk* – **Explicature**
Attribute 4:   Made *locally* on a *small scale* – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   You will enjoy its qualities – **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   It allows you to feel socially virtuous – **Explicature**

Main message:

Milk Maids is offering a strawberry dairy ice cream (attribute 1) that is made fresh (attribute 2), by hand using cow's milk (attribute 3), locally and on a small scale (attribute 4). These attributes make this ice cream superior to other ice creams, and you will benefit from its quality (benefit 1), and its production techniques will make you feel socially virtuous (benefit 2).

Advert 1.2.2 – Farm to Spoon's Prepare for cognitive dissonance

'Prepare for cognitive dissonance'
Farm to Spoon (US), 2019, (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/outdoor/wells_cold_crush_kingston_fruit_bars_farm_to_spoo
n_billboards

Prepare for cognitive dissonance.
Surprise! It's made with vegetables.
(Logotype) *Farm to spoon*
Chocolate
Made with cauliflower & other veggies

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Farm to Spoon is saying that it is offering 'something' that is surprising and confusing. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
The qualities (such as taste and texture) of plant-based ice creams do not normally live up to the expected qualities of dairy ice cream.

Farm to Spoon offers chocolate ice cream made with vegetables (**Explicature**)

Thus, it is the advertised product (the ice cream) that will create cognitive dissonance because it has *surprising properties*: it tastes good although it is made with vegetables (**Explicature**)

Eating plant-based ice cream is *better than dairy ice cream* for the environment. This ice cream is thus better (for the environment) than other (dairy) ice creams.

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Chocolate ice cream made with vegetables (**Explicature**: Which is surprisingly tasty)

Why would you want to choose a vegetarian ice cream option?
Eating plant-based food is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating meat-based food (= modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (Contextual assumptions)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:
{Farm to Spoon is communicating that you should} Prepare {yourself} for cognitive dissonance {right now}.

{Since it is a} Surprise {that this product is tasty although} It[8] is made with vegetables (attribute 1) {instead of dairy milk}

Farm to Spoon {now offers a type of} chocolate {ice cream} made with cauliflower & other veggies{that is as tasty as dairy ice cream (attribute 2)}, {which you will find surprisingly enjoyable (benefit 1}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting the ice cream with good reasons: it tastes good even though it is plant based.

What is presented as good?
An ice cream being tasty and being made with vegetables is good.

Main attribute:
Being tasty although it only has *plant-based* ingredients.

Why is this good?
Because it allows for customers to enjoy the plant-based ice cream, which is good (for the customers)
Because eating plant-based ice cream is good (for the planet)

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) Enjoying the taste.
(Symbolic) Makes you feel socially virtuous for choosing plant-based food products.

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (the good qualities of the ice cream)
2. You will benefit (feel socially virtuous) from the attribute (choosing *plant-based* ice cream).

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

Attribute 1:   Plant-based ingredients – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Surprisingly good qualities (such as taste/texture) – **Explicature**

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[8] Reference assignment (explicature): This chocolate ice cream

Benefit 1:   You will find it surprisingly enjoyable to eat this plant-based ice cream – **Explicature**

Main message:

Farm to Spoon offers a plant-based chocolate ice cream (attribute 1) that is surprisingly tasty/good/dairy ice-cream like (attribute 2). You will enjoy (benefit 1) this ice cream in the sense that it is tasty, and you will feel socially virtuous for choosing a plant-based ice cream option.

Advert 1.2.3 – Oatly's Ready to go vegan

'Ready to go vegan'
Oatly (SWE), 2019, (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://guldagget.se/vinnare/from-oatly-with-love-handles/

(Product packaging)
Wow no cow!
Very Fancy Double Chocolate Fudge Ice Cream
100% vegan
Oatly!

(Text) *So, now you are ready to go vegan, huh?*

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Oatly is saying that it 'So, now you are ready to go vegan, huh?' Basically, the company is saying that, up to this point, you have not been *ready to go vegan*, but now you are. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):

It can be difficult to become a vegan because the selection of dairy products is normally better than that of vegan products. Here, Oatly is offering something that fills a gap in the market: good/tasty vegan ice cream (**Explicature**)

Thus, Oatly offers Plant-based chocolate ice cream so *good* that you are willing to go vegan (**Explicature**).

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Oatly's Very fancy double chocolate fudge ice cream that is 100% vegan (**Explicature:** vegan ice cream that is very tasty)

Why would you want to choose such a vegetarian food option?
Eating plant-based food is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating meat-based food (= modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (Contextual assumptions)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:
{Oatly is saying} So, now you are ready to vegan, huh?

{Oatly is communicating that Oatly offers} Very Fancy Double Chocolate Fudge Ice Cream (attribute 1) {that is} 100% vegan (attribute 2) {which is so good/tasty (benefit) that it will make you ready to go vegan, which is something you have wanted to do for some time because it makes you feel socially virtuous (benefit 2)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting their ice cream with good reason: it tastes good even though it is plant based (so good that you are ready to go vegan)

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the ice cream) is surprisingly tasty (in fact so tasty that it will make you ready to go vegan)

Main attribute(s):
Surprisingly good taste
Made with plant-based ingredients

Why is this good?
Because it is good (for the environment) to eat plant-based food, and it is easier to eat plant-based food if it tastes good. (Explicature: Plant-based ice cream is normally not tasty, but this one is).
Because it is good (for you) that the taste/texture is enjoyable.

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) Makes you enjoy its qualities (taste/texture)
(Symbolic) Makes it easier for you to go vegan, which is something you want to do in order to be socially virtuous.

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (the ice cream's taste/texture)
2. You will benefit (feel socially virtuous) from the attribute (choosing *plant-based ice cream*)

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.
Attribute 1:   Very Fancy Double Chocolate Fudge ice cream – **Explicature**

Attribute 2:   100% vegan – **Explicature**

Attribute 3:   So good that it will make you ready to go vegan – **Explicature**

Attribute 4:   Surprisingly satisfactory qualities for being vegan – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   You can now enjoy plant-based ice cream since this vegan ice cream is super tasty - **Explicature**

Benefit 2:   You can finally go vegan, which makes you feel socially virtuous – **Explicature**

Main message:

Oatly offers a very fancy double chocolate fudge ice cream (attribute 1) that is completely vegan (attribute 2) which is so good that it will make you ready to go vegan (attribute 3). You will enjoy (benefit 1) its surprisingly satisfactory qualities (attribute 4) and since it is so good you can finally go vegan, which is something that makes you feel socially virtuous (benefit 2)

Advert 1.2.4 – Tip Top's Artificial food colouring

'Artificial food colouring'
Tip Top (New Zealand), 2014, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/outdoor/tip_top_ice_cream_2
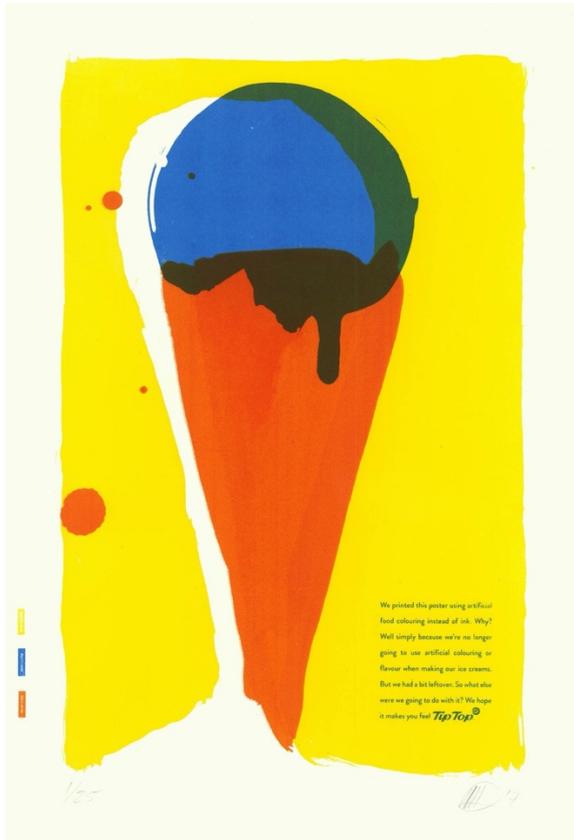
We printed this poster using artificial food colouring instead of ink. Why? Well simply because we're no longer going to use artificial colouring or flavour when making our ice creams. But we had a bit leftover. So what else were we going to do with it? We hope it makes you feel TIP TOP.

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Tip Top is offering 'something' which, they hope, will make you feel tip top. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption:
Natural food ingredients are the alternative to artificial food ingredients, and they are often considered *better/healthier* than artificial food ingredients.

Instead of artificial colouring/flavour, Tip Top will use *natural* colouring and *natural* flavour (**Explicature**).

Tip Top offer a new/updated ice cream that is *better* than their old ice cream (**Explicature**)

Changing from artificial ingredients to natural ingredients will, hopefully, make you as a consumer of the product feel tip top (good) (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Ice cream made *without* artificial colouring and artificial flavour (**explicature**)

Why would you want to choose a food option free from artificial colouring/flavour?
To change from eating products made with artificial ingredients to products made with natural ingredients is good for our health and for the environment (Contextual assumptions)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:
{Tip Top are communicating that} We printed this poster using artificial food colouring instead of ink. Why {did we do that}?
Well simply because we're no longer going to use artificial colouring or {artificial} flavour when making our ice creams (attribute 1). But we had a bit {artificial food colouring} leftover. So what else were we going to do with it[9]? We hope it makes you feel TIP TOP {good} (benefit 1) {that we have stopped using artificial food colouring and artificial flavour and, instead, use natural colouring and natural flavour} {since this is better for the environment and for your health} (benefit 2)

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting the ice cream with good reasons: it is made with ingredients that are good (better) for the environment and for your health.

What is presented as good?
The natural ingredients in Tip Top ice creams are good (for you)
Natural ingredients instead of artificial ingredients is good (for the planet)

Why is this good?
Because natural ingredients are healthier than artificial ones.
Because natural ingredients are not as harmful to the environment.

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) The product is healthier for you and better for the environment.

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (ice cream with safe ingredients)
2. You will benefit (feel socially virtuous) from the attribute (choosing ice cream with natural ingredients).

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

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[9] Reference assignment: *The artificial food colouring*

Attribute 1:   Ice cream *free from artificial colouring and artificial flavour* (<u>product related</u> attribute) – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   *Feeling tip top* (good) from eating Tip Top's ice cream (<u>experiential</u> benefit) – **Explicature**

Benefit 2:   *Safer* and *healthier* to eat ice cream made with natural ingredients

<u>Main message</u>:

The updated natural ingredients (attribute 1) of Tip Top ice cream are better than their previous artificial ingredients, so you will feel good (benefit 1) and safer/healthier (benefit 2) by eating Tip Top ice creams.

Advert 1.2.5 – Freddo Ice Cream

'She knows what's next'
Freddo (Argentina), 2018, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/freddo_kids_and_vegetables_3

She knows what's next.
Freddo Ice Cream

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Freddo Ice Cream is saying that 'She knows what's next.' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption:
In normal circumstances, we eat dinner before we eat dessert, so the child in the advert's imagery knows that if she eats her dinner, she will then eat dessert (in this case, ice cream). So, this child knows that what's next is *ice cream* (in this case, Freddo ice cream) (**Explicature**)

Freddo is saying that the smiling child in the advert *knows what's next* whilst holding a vegetable*: i.e., she knows what comes after eating vegetables* (**Explicature**)

It is the *advertised product* (Freddo ice cream) that will make your child 'happy to eat her vegetables' because she knows that she is allowed an ice cream after. (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Ice cream (**Explicature***: That will encourage (your) child(ren) to eat their vegetables)

Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?
Children can be notoriously difficult to feed vegetables, but it is necessary that they do eat them since vegetables are healthy and growing children need nutritious food (Contextual

assumption). Freddo is thus offering something that will make your life (as a parent) a little easier in the sense that (your) children will now eat their vegetables happily (Explicature)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:
{Freddo is communicating that} She[10] knows what's next {after eating vegetables}

{It is a tasty} (attribute 1) Freddo Ice Cream {that comes next} {and it will encourage your child to eat vegetables with a smile on her/his face} (benefit 1)

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting the ice cream with good reasons: it will make your life easier.

What is presented as good?
To eat vegetables is good (for (your) children)
A product that will make it easy for you to feed your children vegetables is good (for you)

Main attribute:
Being so tasty that it is able to encourage children to eat vegetables

Why is this good?
Because it satisfies your need to feed your children vegetables

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) Freddo ice cream will assist you in your everyday life, in which you, for example, are trying to feed your children vegetables without causing upset. If it means that your child(ren) will eat their vegetables happily, then it is worth offering them a tasty treat (in this case, Freddo ice cream).

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (have a happy child) from the <u>attribute</u> (Freddo's tasty ice cream)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   Ice cream that is so *good/tasty* that it will be enjoyed by children (<u>product related</u> attribute) – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   It will *make it easy* to feed your children vegetables (<u>experiential</u> benefit) – Explicature

<u>Main message</u>*:*
The existence of a tasty (attribute 1) Freddo ice cream will encourage your children eat vegetables happily (benefit 1) because they know this is what they will receive after finishing their vegetables.

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[10] The child in the image (can also be a representation for *your* child, or *children in general*)

Advert 1.2.6 – Häagen-Dazs Don't hold back

'Don't hold back'
Häagen-Dazs (SWE), 2020, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.bandt.com.au/haagen-dazs-says-dont-hold-back-this-summer-in-latest-campaign-via-forsman-bodenfor/

Also: https://forsman.co/work/haagen-dazs/dont-hold-back

Don't hold back
Häagen-Dazs

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Häagen-Dazs is saying 'Don't hold back'. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):

In normal circumstances, it is not every day we enjoy spa-days/bubble baths, do golden face treatments, and eat luxurious ice cream. So, when Häagen-Dazs tells us to not hold back, it wants us to do such things and enjoy them fully (**Explicature**)

Thus, it is *luxurious treats* you should not hold back on. I.e., don't hold back on luxurious treats such as the advertised product (Häagen-Dazs ice cream).

Häagen-Dazs is saying you should not hold back on pleasurable things such as eating ice cream and having spa-days (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Luxurious ice cream (**Explicature***: That will allow you to enjoy life fully for a moment)

Why would you want to choose such a luxurious ice cream option?
Enjoying yourself for a moment will make you feel good (Contextual assumption), and this ice cream will help you in doing so (**Explicature**)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:
{Häagen-Dazs is telling you} Don't hold back {on luxurious treats}

{Such as} Häagen-Dazs {luxurious ice cream} (attribute 1) {because it will make you feel good/live your life to the fullest} (benefit 1)

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting the ice cream with good reasons: it will make your life a bit more luxurious and enjoyable.

What is presented as good?
To treat yourself is good (for you)
To eat Häagen-Dazs ice cream is good (for you)

Main attribute(s):
Being *tasty* and *luxurious*, and being able to make you feel enjoyment

Why is this good?
Because if you are enjoying your life, you are likely to be happy, which is good (for you as the customer)

Main benefit:
(Experiential) It satisfies your need to enjoy life a little bit more

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (it's taste and luxurious feeling)

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

Attribute 1:   *Luxurious* ice cream (product related attribute) **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   Will *make you feel good* (experiential benefit) **Explicature**

Main message:
This Häagen-Dazs ice cream will make you feel good (benefit 1) because it is a luxurious treat (attribute 1).

Advert 1.2.7 – Cold Crush's Ice cream so good

'Ice cream so good you'll go toppingless'
Cold Crush (US), 2019, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/outdoor/wells_cold_crush_kingston_fruit_bars_farm_to_spoon_billboards

Ice cream so good you'll go toppingless
Old Fashioned Vanilla
Cold Crush Ultra Premium Ice Cream

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Cold Crush is saying 'ice cream so good you'll go toppingless'. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
In normal circumstances, ice cream toppings improve the taste of the ice cream. Thus, Cold Crush is saying that their ice cream is so good that you will not need to add any *ice cream toppings* to it (**Explicature**)

If an ice cream is so good that you will not need any toppings, it is of top quality/taste, i.e., to add anything to this ice cream is unnecessary because it is so good as it is (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?

Cold Crush's Old fashioned vanilla ultra premium ice cream (**Explicature**: which is perfect as it is)

Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?
Enjoying the taste of a top-quality ice cream will make you feel good (Contextual assumption), and choosing this particular ice cream will help you in doing so (**Explicature**)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:

{Cold Crush is communicating that Cold Crush is now offering} *Cold Crush Ultra Premium Ice Cream* {for sale} {with the taste of} *Old Fashioned Vanilla*

{which is} *Ice cream so good* (attribute 1) *you'll go toppingless* (benefit 1)

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting the ice cream with good reasons: it is super tasty.

What is presented as good?
The great taste of Cold Crush's ice cream is good (for you)

Main attribute:
Being tasty

Why is this good?
Because it satisfies the need to eat tasty ice cream.

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) You will enjoy eating this ice cream since it is so tasty.

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (the great qualities (such as taste/texture) of Cold Crush's ice cream)

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

Attribute 1:   Fantastic taste (product related attribute) – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   It is so good that it allows you to go toppingless = you will enjoy it as it is (experiential benefit) – **Explicature**

Main message:

This Cold Crush Ultra Premium Old Fashioned Vanilla ice cream is so good/tasty (attribute 1) that you will enjoy it (benefit 1) without any toppings.

1.2. MILK ADVERTS

Advert 1.3.1 – Oatly's It's like milk

'It's like milk, but made for humans.'
Oatly (UK), 2019, (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:

https://chooseveg.com/blog/vegan-brand-oatly-exceeds-sales-ad-campaign/

https://www.thedrum.com/news/2018/10/17/after-angering-swedish-dairy-industry-oatly-brings-controversial-ad-campaign-the-uk

https://alfredlondon.com/our-work/oatly-its-like-milk-but-made-for-humans/

It's like milk, but made for humans.

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Oatly is saying 'It's like milk, but made for humans.' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
'It' refers to the product in the advert (in this case, the Oatly oat drink)

If you are a person that chooses plant based food products, Oatly is able to offer you something to drink (**Explicature**)

Based on the contrasting conjunction 'but', it is fairly easy for the audience to reach the proposed assumption that Oatly is saying that dairy milk is not intended for humans. Instead, the company is implying that, for example:

This oat-based drink is like milk, but unlike milk it is safe for humans to consume. (**Explicature**)
This oat-based drink is like milk, but unlike milk it is good for the environment. **Explicature**)
This oat-based drink is like milk, but unlike milk it is humane. (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A plant-based drink product (**Explicature**: That is designed for humans)

<u>Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?</u>

Eating/drinking plant-based foods is more humane, healthier for your body and better for the environment than eating/drinking meat and dairy-based foods (+modern/clever/responsible people are vegetarians/vegans) (<u>Contextual assumptions</u>)

<u>{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:</u>

{Oatly is communicating that Oatly is now offering a drink that is} like {dairy} milk (attribute 1), but {unlike dairy milk, this drink is} made for humans (attribute 2) {in the sense that it is humane (attribute 3), safe for human consumption (attribute 4), and it is good for the environment (attribute 5)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on criticising the dairy industry and promoting their milk option with good reasons: it is a drink that is better suitable for humans (than dairy milk)

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the oat drink) is as good as dairy milk, but humane, safe for human consumption and good for the environment

Main attribute(s):
Being as good as dairy milk
Being made for humans

Why is this good?
Because it is better for humans to consume products that are designed for humans (<u>Contextual assumption</u>), and it is easier to consume such products if they taste like what you are used to, such as conventional dairy milk (<u>Contextual assumption</u>)

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) Choosing milk that is humane, safe for human consumption, and good for the environment will make you feel good.
(Symbolic) Choosing to drink plant-based drinks makes you feel socially virtuous.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel *good*) from the <u>attribute</u> (Oatly's humane, environmentally friendly, and human-safe oat drink)
2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel *socially virtuous*) from the <u>attribute</u> (choosing *plant-based* food products).

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   Being like (as good as) dairy milk – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Being made for humans – **Explicature**
Attribute 3:   Being humane – **Explicature**
Attribute 4:   Being safe for human consumption – **Explicature**

Attribute 5:   Being good for the environment – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   It allows you to feel good – **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   It allows you to feel socially virtuous – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>
Oatly is offering a drink product that is *similar* to dairy milk (attribute 1), but in contrast to dairy milk, it is *made for humans* (attribute 2) in the sense that it is *humane* (attribute 3), *safe for human consumption* (attribute 4) and *good for the environment* (attribute 5). To choose such a drink instead of dairy milk will make you feel *good* (benefit 1) and *socially virtuous* (benefit 2).

Advert 1.3.2 – Arla's Only milk

'Only milk tastes like milk'
Arla (SWE), 2019, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.arla.se/produkter/mjolk/bara-mjolk-smakar-mjolk/

https://guldagget.se/vinnare/bara-mjolk-smakar-mjolk/

Bara mjölk smakar mjölk
Translation: *Only milk tastes like milk*

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Arla is saying that 'Only milk tastes like milk' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
'Milk', in this case, refers to the *dairy* milk that is normally consumed by humans (based on the contents of the advert) (**Explicature**)

Based on the modifier 'only' in *'Only milk tastes like milk'*, the text suggests that there is only a single one of something, in which this only thing can be inferred to be *dairy* milk and *real* milk. (**Explicature**)

Based on the contents of the advert's imagery, we can infer the proposition that 'it is not suitable to eat cereals with anything apart from dairy milk' (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Dairy milk (**Explicature***: which is the *only* milk that tastes like *real* milk)

Why would you want to choose an authentic food option?
If you want to enjoy your cereals, then you should enjoy it in the authentic way, namely together with dairy milk.

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:

{Arla is communicating that Arla is offering a type of milk that is the} Only {type of} milk {that} tastes like {real} milk (attribute 1), {which is the only type of food product that is suitable together with your cereals (benefit 1)}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on criticising plant-based milk drinks and promoting its milk with good reasons: it is genuine (has a genuine taste)

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: dairy milk) is the only drink that is capable of tasting like conventional/real/authentic milk (explicature) because conventional milk tastes better than unconventional milk (Contextual assumption).

Main attribute:
Being able to taste like *real* milk (having the best/most recognisable/authentic taste)

Why is this good?
Because it makes it you enjoy the good/recognisable/authentic taste of milk.

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) Makes you *enjoy* the taste

1. You will benefit (feel enjoyment) from the attribute (the authentic taste of Arla's dairy milk)

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

Attribute 1:   Tastes like *real* (recognisable) milk – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Being *dairy* milk – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   Allows you to *enjoy* its (recognisable) taste – **Explicature**

Main message:
Arla is offering a type of milk that is the only milk capable of tasting and being *real* milk (attribute 1), and this milk is *dairy* milk (attribute 2). Only dairy milk will complement your cereals since it tastes the way you are used to, which is something you will enjoy (benefit 1)
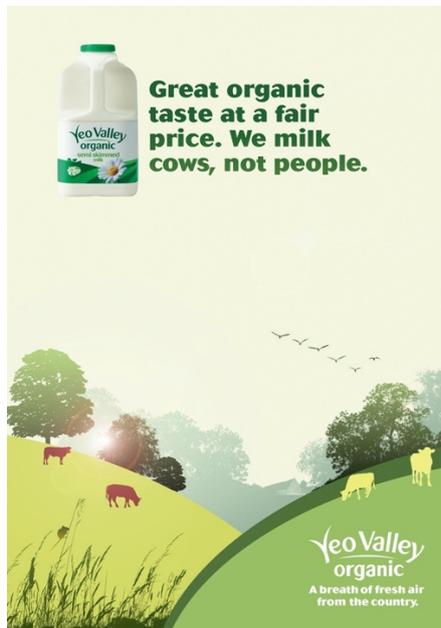
'We milk cows, not people'
Yeo Valley (UK), 2008, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adeevee.com/2008/01/yeo-valley-organic-milk-dont-milk-people-print/

Great organic taste at a fair price.
We milk cows, not people.
Yeo Valley organic
A breath of fresh air from the country.

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Yeo Valley is saying 'Great organic taste at a fair price. We milk cows, not people.' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
The verb 'milk' can mean (1) 'to draw milk from (a cow or other animal), either by hand or mechanically' and/or (2) 'to exploit or defraud by taking amounts of money over a period of time'.

Organic milk is normally more expensive than conventional milk, sometimes too expensive for people to afford.

So, when Yeo Valley says, 'We milk cows, not people', it refers to the fact that it does not price its organic products so that people cannot afford them (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Affordable organic milk (**Explicature***: A type of milk that is good for the environment and for your body)

Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?
Organic milk is better for the environment and healthier for your body than non-organic milk (Contextual assumptions)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:

{Yeo Valley is communicating that Yeo Valley is offering dairy milk with} Great organic taste (attribute 1) at a fair price (attribute 2) {which you will enjoy (benefit 1)}

We {extract milk from} cows, not {robbing} people {of their money} (benefit 2).

(Logotype) Yeo Valley organic
{Our products offer you}A breath of fresh air from the country {side} (benefit 3).

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting the milk with good reasons: it is organic YET for a good price.

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the milk) is (1) organic and (2) has a fair price

Main attribute(s):
Being organic and *being priced fairly*

Why is this good?
Because organic dairy milk is better than normal dairy milk (for the environment).
Because fairly priced milk is better than unfairly priced milk (for the customer's economy).

Main benefit(s):
(Symbolic) Choosing to drink organic milk makes you feel socially virtuous.
(Functional) You will now be able to afford to drink organic milk.

1. You will benefit (feel *socially virtuous*) from the attribute (choosing *organic* milk).
2. You will benefit (feel able to *afford*) from the attribute (the fair price)

The attribute comes from explicatures
The benefits come from further explicatures in relation to contextual assumptions.

Attribute 1:   Made with *organic* milk – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Priced *fairly* – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   You will enjoy (feel socially virtuous, and feel that you are able to afford) Yeo Valley's organic dairy milk– **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   Yeo Valley is an honest and fair company – **Explicature**

Benefit 3:   The company allows you to enjoy the freshness of the countryside – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>
Yeo Valley offers a milk product that is made with organic milk (attribute 1) and is affordable (attribute 2). This milk will allow you to enjoy (benefit 1) the fact that you can afford organic milk, which makes you feel socially virtuous. In addition, you can trust that Yeo Valley is an honest and fair company, which offers you the freshness of the British countryside.

Advert 1.3.4 – Innocent's Dairy free

'breakfast will never be boring again'
Innocent (UK), 2021, (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.facebook.com/innocent.drinks/photos/a.10150733108661204/10159224305661204

Innocent dairy free
Breakfast will never be boring again*
*unless you eat your granola whilst memorising the shipping forecasts from 1953 or
something

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Innocent is saying 'breakfast will never be boring again' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
Based on the background knowledge that dairy free drink options can be pretty tasteless and boring, Innocent is making sure that your breakfast will be enjoyable even though it involves dairy free/plant based products (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A dairy free milk option (**Explicature***: that will make your breakfast fun*)

Why would you want to choose a vegetarian food option?
Eating/drinking plant-based foods is better for the environment and healthier for your body than eating dairy-based foods (Contextual assumptions)

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:

{Innocent is communicating that Innocent is now offering a type of} dairy free {almond milk} (attribute 1)
{which is so fun/tasty (attribute 2) that it makes sure your} breakfast will never be boring again (benefit 1) *{with a condition}

*{the condition being} unless you eat your granola whilst memorising the shipping forecasts

from 1953 or something {since this will definitely make your breakfast boring}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting the almond milk with good reasons: it is dairy free (plant based) and it makes breakfast fun

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the almond milk) will make your dairy free breakfast less boring

Main attribute(s):
Dairy free breakfast drink (having plant-based ingredients)
Being able to *make breakfasts fun*

Why is this good?
Because fun breakfasts are preferable to boring breakfasts (for the consumer)
Because dairy free (plant-based) breakfast drinks are better than dairy milk (for the environment)

Main benefit(s):
(Experiential) You will now be able to enjoy your breakfast although it includes dairy free products
(Symbolic)   Choosing to drink plant-based milk makes you feel virtuous.

   1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel enjoyment) from the <u>attribute</u> (the fun the drink can create)
   2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel socially virtuous) from the <u>attribute</u> (choosing *plant-based* milk drinks)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   Being dairy free (plant based) – **Explicature**
Attribute 2:   Being fun/tasty – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   Makes you enjoy a fun/tasty breakfast – **Explicature**
Benefit 2:   Makes you feel socially virtuous for choosing plant-based milk – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>
Innocent is offering a dairy free, plant-based, almond drink (attribute 1) that is so fun/tasty (attribute 2) that you will never have a boring dairy free breakfast again (benefit 1), unless you think of extremely boring things. Further, it will allow you to feel socially virtuous for choosing a drink alternative that is better for the environment (benefit 2)

Advert 1.3.5 – So Delicious' Wake up and smell the coconuts

'Wake up and smell the coconuts'
So Delicious (US), 2017, (Unconventional/Plant-based)

Information and image:
https://www.duncanchannon.com/dc-dishes-up-so-delicious/

Wake up and smell the coconuts

*Start your day with So Delicious Dairy Free coconutmilks,
creamers and yogurt alternatives made with non-GMO, organic coconut.*

Nothing Compares.

Explicatures: What is said fully?
So Delicious is saying 'wake up and smell the coconuts'. To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s):
'Wake up' can (1) encourage someone to wake up from sleeping and (2) encourage someone to listen or become involved when they have not been listening or paying attention.

'Wake up and smell the coconuts' is a version of the phrase 'Wake up and smell the coffee', which indicates that you should become aware of the realities of a situation, however unpleasant they might be.

'GMO' (Genetically modified organism) refers to products that have been genetically modified in laboratories, which is a process that has the possibility to negatively affect human health.

Based on the background knowledge that non-organic, GMO products and conventional dairy milk (and its industry) pose some significant problems for the environment and for human health, it can be concluded that So Delicious intends with its utterance to encourage the audience to *wake up* (in the sense (2) above) *and understand the cons of conventional milk products, and the pros for switching to plant-based/organic/non-GMO (in this coconut based) milk drinks*. (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
A coconut-based drink (**Explicature***: A drink that is good for the environment and safe for human health)

Why would you want to choose a coconut-based drink option?
Because plant-based, organic, non-GMO foods are better (for the environment) and healthier (for your body) than dairy-based, non-organic, GMO foods.

{Explicatures} and [implicatures], which generate attributes and benefits:
{So Delicious is communicating that you should} Wake up and {understand the pros of} coconuts {as the main ingredient in milk/cream/yoghurt products}

{You are encouraged to} Start your day with So Delicious Dairy Free (attribute 1) coconutmilks, creamers and yogurt alternatives made with non-GMO (attribute 2), organic (attribute 3) coconut {since these are better for the environment (benefit 1) and safer for your health (benefit 2) than conventional milk products}

Nothing compares {to good plant-based milk alternatives}

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on being funny and promoting the coconut products with good reasons: they are dairy free (plant based), and they taste good.

What is presented as good?
It is good that it (RA: the coconut milk) is tasty and plant-based, organic, and non-GMO

Main attribute(s):
Being *tasty, coconut based, organic, non-GMO* milk, cream, and yoghurt alternatives

Why is this good?
Because non-GMO, organic, coconut-based milk/cream/yoghurt products are better than dairy products (for the environment) and safer (for human health), and it is easier (for the consumer) to choose such plant-based products if they taste good.

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) You will now be able to choose plant-based milk alternatives (instead of dairy-based milk) because they taste delicious.
(Symbolic) To choose plant-based milk alternatives makes you feel socially virtuous since they are good for the environment and safer for your health.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel enjoyment) from the <u>attribute</u> (So Delicious' many tasty plant-based drink options)
2. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel socially virtuous) from the <u>attribute</u> (choosing *plant-based* drinks).

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>

The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   Being *dairy free* – **Explicature**

Attribute 2:   Being made using *non-GMO* coconut – **Explicature**

Attribute 3:   Being made using *organic* coconut – **Explicature**

Benefit 1:   You will enjoy So Delicious' plant-based milk alternatives because they taste delicious – **Explicature**

Benefit 2:   You will feel socially virtuous from choosing plant-based drinks – **Explicature**

<u>Main message:</u>

So Delicious offers dairy free (attribute 1) milk alternatives made with non-GMO (attribute 2), organic (attribute 3) coconut. You will feel encouraged to switch from conventional dairy milk products to such coconut products since they are better for the environment (benefit 1) and safer for your health (benefit 2).

Advert 1.3.6 – Dairy Farmers of Canada's Strong people get more out of life

'Strong people get more out of life'
Dairy Farmers of Canada (Canada), 2017, (Conventional/Dairy-based)

Information and image:
https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/dairy_farmers_of_canada_hiking

Strong people get more out of life.
Milk products. A source of protein.
(Logotype) *Dairy Farmers of Canada, Quality Milk*

Explicatures: What is said fully?

Dairy Farmers of Canada is saying 'Strong people get more out of life' To understand this proposition (the intended meaning), we first assume that it must be *relevant*, and to find its relevance, we assume that there are pieces of evidence that can help us, which we can collect from the advert's text and imagery together with the following contextual assumptions:

Contextual assumption(s)
Consuming food products high in protein enables you to increase your muscle mass and, in turn, your general strength.

Dairy Farmers of Canada is suggesting that dairy milk products are a source of protein. Thus, dairy milk will make you stronger. (**Explicature**)

So, what is this 'something' offered?
Dairy milk products (**Explicature**: which make you strong)

Why would you want to choose such dairy milk products?
Because being strong makes you get more out of life.

{Dairy Farmers of Canada is communicating that} Strong people {are able to} get more {positive experiences, such as hiking and kayaking} out of life (benefit 1).

{Dairy} Milk products {are} a {food} source of protein (attribute 1), {which is known to make you strong}.

Attributes and **benefits** only occur in relation to the explicature(s).
Bottom line: The advert focuses on promoting the milk with good reasons: it makes you strong, and if you are strong, you will get more positive experiences/happiness out of life.

What is presented as good?
The dairy milk, as a source of protein, is good.

Main attribute:
Being a source of protein

Why is this good?
Because protein makes you strong, and strong people get more out of life.

Main benefit(s):
(Functional) You will become stronger, and in turn get more out of life, if you drink this dairy milk.

1. You will <u>benefit</u> (feel stronger) from the <u>attribute</u> (dairy milk as a source of protein)

The <u>attribute</u> comes from <u>explicatures</u>
The <u>benefits</u> come from further <u>explicatures</u> in relation to <u>contextual assumptions.</u>

Attribute 1:   Being a food source of protein – **Explicature**
Benefit 1:   You get more positive experiences out of life if you are strong – **Explicature**

Main message:
Dairy Farmers of Canada is offering dairy milk products (a source of protein) (attribute 1), which will make you strong. Being strong allows you to get more (positive experiences and/or happiness) out of life (Benefit 1).