

DISCOURSE WITHIN DISCOURSE? A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF SLOGANS IN BRITISH TELEVISION COMMERCIALS¹

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RESUMEN

Al trazar los ilustrativos datos de los comerciales televisivos británicos, el artículo propone un estudio multidisciplinar que abarque los hechos pragmáticos, prosódicos y semióticos que nos proporcionen la caracterización del eslogan, bien como una sección dentro de los comerciales televisivos, bien como un tipo de discurso. Los resultados preliminares sugieren que el eslogan oral o escrito y la pantalla en el que aparece muestran una gran complejidad de mecanismos lingüísticos y extralingüísticos que nos ponen al acecho de los sistemas de persuasión para que los espectadores adquieran los productos.

ABSTRACT

Drawing on illustrative data from British TV commercials, this paper outlines a multidisciplinary study in terms of the pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic features which guide us towards the characterisation of the slogan as either a section in the TV commercial, or as a type of discourse. Preliminary results suggest that the oral or written slogan and the screen on which they appear show great complexity, to the extent that the interaction of various features found in the slogans lead to both these characterisations. This highlights the rich set of linguistic and non-linguistic strategies which advertisers resort to with the aim of persuading viewers to purchase their products.

1. INTRODUCTION

There is some evidence pointing at the fact that slogans may constitute a type of discourse which stands independently from the commercial in which they occur. A piece of impressionistic evidence which is rather notable among the TV audience is the fact that slogans can be easily remembered and understood by viewers with disregard to the commercial in which they are inserted. This type of evidence is supported further by some of our findings in our linguistic and semiotic analyses. For instance, in terms of their intonation structure, they very frequently stand as an independent intonation unit showing a resetting of key which differs drastically from that of the preceding utterances. As far as their syntactic structure is concerned, in many circumstances slogans may show patterns clearly different from the rest of the commercial. In relation to their semiotics, the meaning of the icons displayed on the screen corresponding to the slogan is retrievable regardless from any preceding screens in the commercial. Thus, they show specific characteristics which contribute to a certain degree of internal unity and independence from the rest of the commercial.

However, these characteristics are not sufficient to justify fully the slogan's status as an autonomous text or discourse. This becomes clearer when we analyse even further the above linguistic and non-linguistic evidence, and more specifically, when we briefly consider the case of their pragmatic meaning. As we shall see in §5.1, in order to grasp the slogan's pragmatic meaning, viewers may need to resort to the rest of the commercial, thus establishing a strong contextual bond between them, which prevents us from defending unconditionally its independent status.

In view of this and other evidence which we shall present in the rest of the paper, we propose that despite the impression that slogans may count as a type of discourse, their linguistic and non linguistic features do not help us to either confirm or reject such an impression. Instead, they lead us to suggest that the slogans own a rather complex linguistic and non-linguistic nature. Thus, we shall offer proof pointing both to the fact that they are part of a larger discourse –which is that of the TV commercial–

and to the fact that they show the typical features found in a discourse which can stand independently from the rest of the TV commercial².

All in all then, the question we want to address in this paper is the following: assuming that a TV commercial is a type of discourse³, is a *slogan* also a type of discourse, or is *slogan* a term used to refer to a particular section within a TV commercial, or both.

Our procedure to address this question is as follows: first we offer a description of Ochoa's (1997) and Rey's (1996) view of the slogan in TV commercials, and second, we put forward Van Dijk's (1997) proposal of what constitutes a discourse. After that, in §3 we present a description of our commercials followed by a detailed description of our slogans. Given that the pragmatic meaning, the intonational meaning and the semiotic meaning are the points of departure for the identification and subsequent description of our slogans as potential discourses, in §4, we turn to a brief description of the main tenets of the frameworks we shall adopt in our investigation. The approaches we introduce the following: Sperber and Wilson (1986) for a pragmatic account, Wichmann (2000) and references therein for a set of guidelines for the study of intonation, and Kress et al (1997) for a semiotic approach. The main reason for adopting the views included in this group of works consists in their well-established status, and in their degree of compatibility for our data study. In §5 we put forward our analysis of the slogans in terms of these approaches, and after that, in §6 we draw the main conclusions of our study. Finally, in the Appendix we include a detailed description of all the commercial, which are organised alphabetically.

2. THE CONCEPTS OF *SLOGAN* AND *DISCOURSE*

In this section, we show a rough sketch of the concepts of *slogan* and *discourse* which provides us with a landmark for our subsequent analysis.

2.1. Slogan

According to Ochoa (1997) and Rey (1996), a slogan shows a set of external and internal features which may help us in their identification,

and discrimination from other sections in an advertisement. More specifically, Ochoa (1997) claims that the external appearance of the slogan shows a creative sentence that is easy to remember, it accompanies the brand name, and normally appears at the end of the advertisement.

Rey (1996, 111-118) offers a detailed description of internal features, which include the following:

- (1) a. short: it expresses much information in a few words,
- b. simple: it emphasizes just one idea,
- c. concise: it shows precise and concise wording,
- d. attractive: it displays a clever use of rhetorical devices,
- e. easy to remember,
- f. the brand name and the product category are present,
- g. only the brand name is included,
- h. only the product category is present,
- i. neither the brand name or the product category are present.

Together with these internal features there are also some characteristics which define the slogans content, and which depend –to some extent– on the function assigned to the slogan. Thus, slogans can be used for the following general purposes:

- (2) a. to express especially the main advantage of the product,
- b. to identify clearly the advertised product,
- c. to attract the addressee's attention.

In those instances in which functions (a) and (b) are involved, then the intention pursued by the slogan's creators is for the viewers to focus on the product. In these circumstances, the content is of the following type:

- (3) a. description of the company's activity,
- b. description of the product's advantage,
- c. recommendation of the product's use,
- d. slogans whose brand name is highlighted.

If the slogan's function consists in attracting the addressee's attention, the content is of the following type:

- a. informative: to provide the reader with information related to the product or the company;
- b. promising: to offer solutions to problems;
- c. selective: to address a specific audience;
- d. intriguing: to present a question or a problem that apparently has little in common with the product;
- e. laudatory: to highlight the consumer's personality, intelligence, or any other characteristic that makes him unique and distinguished;
- f. imperative: to encourage the addressees to act in a certain way.

The description of the slogan's content and function just outlined, must be taken with some caution. Notice that, in order to identify the slogan's function, we run the risk of embarking ourselves in the process of interpretation of the covert meaning of its contents. This may involve having to resort to the context, especially to the information belonging to the rest of the commercial. Obviously, this leads onto a rather enriched interpretation of the slogan's function, which is highly undesirable, since it may obscure the slogan's intended function or functions. In view of this difficulty, in §3.3 and §3.4, we proceed by describing the slogans in terms of the features included in (1) above, which do not require any process of interpretation, since they are straightforward. After that, we point out those other features from (2) to (4) which are manifested explicitly. Any act of eliciting the slogan's meaning is left for §5.1 and §5.3 where we include an analysis of its pragmatic and semiotic meanings respectively.

2.2. Discourse

There is an ongoing debate as to which are the fundamental features in the definition of *discourse*, and whether such a term includes both written and oral texts –and, indeed, whether the term *text* stands as a synonym of *discourse* (Brown and Yule 1983, Bernárdez 1982⁴). In this paper, we do not intend to examine such a debate, but rather we wish to offer a working definition of *discourse* which can serve as a point of departure for our purposes in the analysis of slogans.

Following van Dijk (1997), we understand *discourse* as an act of language performance, which includes, for example, linguistic, semiotic, social, cultural and cognitive characteristics, all of which contribute to a degree of unity in the act of communication.

2.3. Methodology

As stated in the Introduction, in the specific case of our investigation, we depart from the assumption that a TV commercial is a type of discourse, and we concentrate in the identification of the pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic features which may help us to establish which of the following proposals best accounts for the nature of slogans:

- (5) a. slogans stand as a section of TV commercials since the meaning they convey relies on the rest of the commercial;
- b. the meaning of slogans is retrievable from the screen in which it is inserted (including the sound effects), and regardless the context offered in the rest of the commercial; in these circumstances, slogans may constitute a type of discourse in themselves;
- c. a given slogan shows a mixed nature according to different features within or across the pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic components; thus, the slogan's nature is rather more complex than initially expected, and deserves further study.

The methodology we adopt in order to confirm or reject the above options is summarised in (6).

- (6) a. If in the process of describing the pragmatic meaning there is a need to refer to the rest of the commercial, then the slogan is not a discourse, but rather, it constitutes a section in the TV commercial which counts as a part of the unified act of communication.
- b. If the analysis of the prosodic structure of the slogan shows disjuncture from the chunk immediately preceding, then the slogan is a discourse or an independent unit of communication. If, on the other hand, the prosodic pattern shows cohesion with the rest of the commercial, then the slogan is not a discourse, but instead, it is a section of the TV commercial⁵.

- c. If in the process of describing the semiotic meaning of the icons shown on the screen containing the slogan there is a need to refer to the rest of the commercial, then the slogan is not a discourse. If, by contrast, this situation is not encountered, then the slogan is, indeed, a discourse⁶.

3. CORPUS DESCRIPTION

Our corpus consists of 149 British TV commercials, nearly five hours of speech. It represents a range of English accents from Estuary English to Northern accents, General American and Australian. They were recorded at various times during the 24-day, so that no restrictions were imposed on the age of the audience who could potentially view them. The items advertised go from washing products, to motor vehicles, food, drinks, a variety of companies and department stores, and computer equipment. For the present study we have used only a selection of the commercials which we describe in the next section.

3.1. The selection of TV commercials

The extensive amount of recorded advertisements forced us to limit to 10 the number of commercials for our analysis in the present investigation, approximately 10 minutes of speech, since their average duration was of 1 minute. In order to avoid a biased selection which could have a particular effect on the results obtained from this study, we opted for choosing randomly a group of commercials, in this case, products which contribute to human hygiene, resulting in 10.

3.2 Description of the TV commercials

Given that the commercials are video recorded and that we cannot incorporate the video or the audio signal to this paper, in the Appendix we offer a description⁷ of the TV commercials used for this piece of research. We add some information that we consider relevant for the reader's understanding of the advertisement, like for instance, the sequential

order of the speech together with a brief description of the situation. In addition to this, we follow the system of showing in italics the utterances spoken by the actors, or by the off-voices, and in those cases in which there is more than one speaker, their utterances are typed in bold (for the second speaker), and underlined (for the third speaker). We also include the number of shots⁸ or screens taken by the video camera throughout the commercial. In the specific case of the slogan description, we include the following information: first, a brief description; then, some indication as to whether or not it is shown on an independent screen; and third, a specification as to whether it appears in written form, or orally, or both. In the following sub-section we offer an overview of the text before the slogan, and after that, we move onto a detailed characterisation of our slogans.

3.2.1. The text in the rest of the commercial

The complexity of the syntactic structures of the text before the slogan is greater than in the slogans themselves. Such complexity is manifested in terms of relative clauses, adverbial clauses of time and adverbial clauses of reason, and also of the omission of some fundamental syntactic components such as the verb phrase.

The presence of relative clauses and adverbial clauses of time may be due to the fact that the text is highly descriptive. As an example, consider the set of clauses in (7) below, which are an extract from commercials:

- (7) a. *So I brushed with Sensodyne and the pain would go away. Then I used my regular toothpaste and the pain would come back (for Sensodyne).*
 b. *It was a nightmare when the washing machine broke down (for Calgon).*
 c. *I've got the freshly washed feeling that lasts longer (for L'oreal Elvive).*

(7a) and (7b) illustrate the use of adverbial clauses of time which are introduced by *then* and *when*. These particles also participate in the description of the process whereby the speakers come to the conclusion that *Sensodyne* and *Calgon* can solve their problems, and consequently, that they are more reliable than their former products. As for the relative clauses found in (7a) and (7c) and which are introduced by a zero particle and

that, respectively, their function consists in the introduction of some qualities found in the advertised product.

In addition to the particular language use imposed by the descriptive nature of the text, its communicative function also constrains the use of adverbial sentences to a single type. Thus, the communicative intention of convincing the audience of the product's excellence leads advertisers to include adverbial clauses of reason, together with infinitives of purpose, as seen in (8).

- (8) a. *I had sensitive teeth so I'd brush with Sensodyne and the pain would go away (for Sensodyne).*
 b. *L'oreal amazing Citrus CR Technology is designed to cleanse and smooth each hair to help lock out impurities (for L'oreal Elvive).*
 c. *To help prevent the building-up of lime scale just add a tablet of Calgon to everyday wash (for Calgon).*

In the previous examples, there is an adverbial clause of reason introduced by *so* (8a), and a set of infinitives of purpose, such as *to cleanse*, *(to) smooth*, *to help*,—all in (8b)—, and *to help*, *(to) prevent*, in (8c). The presence of the adverbial clause introduced by *so* in (8a) may follow from two purposes: either to describe a step in a process,—as in the case of the adverbial clauses of time illustrated in (7a) and (7b) above—, or to add information regarding the product's advantages, all of which contribute to persuade the audience to purchase the product.

Along with complexity in syntactic structure, there are also omissions of syntactic components. For example, in the commercial for *Fairy*, the verb phrase is omitted, possibly for the purposes of achieving structural parallelism across a set of sentences. This is illustrated in (9) below.

- (9) a. *Shoulders and eyes. A sensitive nose. Every part of everybody loves Fairy clean clothes.*
 b. *Fingers and thumbs. All arms and elbows. Every part of everybody loves Fairy clean clothes.*

The information excluded can be easily retrieved by the listener from the context, and this might be the following: *your shoulders, eyes and nose love Fairy clean clothes* for the string in (9a) and *your finger, thumbs, arms and elbows love Fairy clean clothes* for the string in (9b).

3.3. Description of slogans

We have identified the slogan by applying, first, Ochoa's (1997) external features which we described in §2.1 above, and then by taking into account Rey's (1996) description of its internal features. Following this, we notice that they consist of a creative utterance that is easy to remember, they include the brand name –either orally or in written form, as in the case of the commercial for *Huggies*– and they tend to appear at the end of the commercial⁹.

In relation to Rey's (1996) description of the slogan's internal features, all slogans are short, simple and concise. The fact that they are attractive and easy to remember relies on these features and also on their sound qualities, both prosodic and segmental. For instance, the slogan¹⁰ *Every part of every body loves Fairy Clean Clothes* shows a very marked rhythm, which we illustrate in the following phonemic transcription (the symbol (ˈ) indicates a rhythmically stressed syllable, and the upright slash (|) indicates a word-group boundary):

(10) ˈevri ˈpɑ:t | əv ˈevri ˈbɒdi | ˈlʌvz | ˈfeəri ˈkli:ŋ | ˈkləʊðz || /

The rhythmic beats occur at very short intervals: either two beats stand next to each other (for example, /ˈkli:ŋ/ and /ˈkləʊðz/), or there is only one intervening unstressed syllable (for example, /-ri-/ between /-ˈev-/, /and/ and /ˈpɑ:t/). As far as the segmental characteristics are concerned, notice in the phonemic transcription the repetitive pattern of the initial and medial consonant clusters (/vr-/ in *every*, and /kl-/ in *clean* and *clothes*).

Rey (1996) also refers to the presence/absence of the brand name, the product category, and any specific characteristics of the product. The general tendency among our slogans is for the off-voice to mention the brand name. However, there is one case –the slogan for *Huggies*– in which the brand name appears in written form only, and the off-voice introduces the main advantage offered by the product (*Now a better way to play*)¹¹. As far as the product category and its characteristics are concerned, the former is absent, and the latter can be present in terms of one, two, or even three adjectives. For example, *new, stronger* and *double*¹² in *New stronger Double*

Velvet. In those instances in which the product's characteristics are absent like, for example, *L'oreal? Because I'm worth it!* we notice a direct address to the viewer's pride, if we assume that the actress is playing the role of any single viewer herself.

Another point in Rey's (1996) description refers to the slogan's functions, and how these may influence its content. As we stated in §2.1 here, we shall point out only those functions that are manifested overtly in the slogan. Bearing this in mind, we observe that all slogans are informative, since they include some of the products' features (as in the case of *New, stronger, double* in *New, stronger Double Velvet*) or they specify the product's action (for example, *Febreze cleans everyday smells out of fabrics*).

There are three slogans worth referring to in more detail, as they do not include an explicit reference to the product's characteristics –something which most of them do–, but rather, two of them show a laudatory type of content, and the third contains a solution to a problem. The first two are *L'oreal? Because I'm worth it!* –which we have just mentioned above–, and *Hot Point, for everyone you'll ever be*. We assume that they both make a direct reference to the viewer's pride. The third slogan is *Now a better way to play* (in the commercial for *Huggies*), which offers the viewers a solution to babies' rash problems.

3.3.1. Syntactic features

The syntactic structures found in the slogans are simpler than those encountered in the text just before it (except in those cases where there is word repetition). Generally, they range from a single noun phrase, –as in *New stronger Double Velvet*– through a sequence of a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase, –like in the case of *The new cross action, from Oral B*– to a complete sentence structure, including a noun phrase and a verb phrase with complementation. As an example of the latter, consider the slogan for *Febreze*, which is *Febreze cleans everyday's smells out of fabrics*. The most complex structure we have come across –but which by no means turns out to be as complex as the ones found in the text of the rest of the commercial– is the one for *L'oreal: L'oreal? Because I'm worth it!* Here, there is an omission of the verb phrase before the colon, the complete

sentence being something like, *Why do I use L'oreal?* The sentence after the colon shows an adverbial clause of reason, the main clause being omitted.

This description, which shows a tendency towards simpler structures, stands in contrast with the one presented in §3.2.1 for the text in the rest of the commercial. Thus, we face the first piece of evidence in support of the option that the slogan is considered as a type of discourse, since it shows particular syntactic structures which are absent, at least, in the text of the rest of the commercial (with the exception of these cases in which there is a repetition of words).

Once we have described our data, we now present the main theoretical frameworks we shall refer to in our analysis.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, we offer a sketch of the main theoretical tenets of the frameworks we shall refer to in the next stage of our procedure to analyse the slogans. These include Sperber and Wilson (1986), Wichmann (2000), and Kress et al (1997).

4.1. The pragmatic meaning of utterances. Relevance Theory

In Relevance Theory the linguistic meaning and the ostensive stimuli endorsed to it are fundamental factors in the process of utterance interpretation, which involves varying degrees of effort on the part of the hearer in their selection of contexts. Thus, by both analysing the extensions of the initial context in which the utterance is embedded, and taking into account the encyclopaedic entries of the items in the utterance, it is possible to offer a set of multiple interpretations.

Given such an array of interpretations, and in order to arrive to the one intended by the speaker, the hearer undergoes the task of measuring the degree of the cognitive effects triggered by the context selection in the process of utterance interpretation. In this sense, the greater the cognitive effects manifested by such selection and consequent interpretation, the greater the relevance, and also, the smaller the effort needed to achieve those effects, the greater the relevance.

For the purposes of the present investigation, whether or not viewers need to resort to the information offered by the TV commercial (except the one contained in the slogan screen) in order to extract the slogan's relevant interpretation, will indicate whether or not the slogan constitutes and independent discourse. If there is no need to resort to the rest of the commercial to extract the relevant interpretation, then the slogan stands a chance of being treated as a discourse¹³.

Notice that we assume that viewers, indeed, resort to the visual information displayed on the screen containing the slogan in order to retrieve the slogan's pragmatic meaning. In other words, the information offered at the pragmatic and semiotic levels on the slogan screen complement each other in the viewer's process of interpretation (in fact, this belongs to the ostensive stimuli endorsed to the linguistic meaning manifested by the slogan).

4.2. A guideline for analysing intonation: Wichmann (2000)

In her discursual analysis, Wichmann (2000) pays attention to various intonation devices to show disjuncture between oral paragraphs¹³. For the purposes of our investigation, we shall resort to some of those devices specifically for the identification of the beginning of slogans and of a new topic, and of the ending of the chunk preceding the slogan. Let us turn to a list of the strategies for the identification of beginning points in (11) below:

(11) a. High pitch range resetting manifested in the first accented syllable.

b. The tune in the first intonation group shows the typical citation contour which, in the British tradition (O'Connor and Arnold 1973), may show the following combinations of head plus nuclear tone:

1. high head + mid fall nuclear tone
2. high head + low fall nuclear tone
3. high head + downstep followed by a falling tone.

In order to identify the ending of the chunk preceding the slogan, we watch out for the following set of events:

- (12) a. A falling tone occurs at a point in the utterance which is at least potentially complete. It shows closure or finality.
 b. A low endpoint seems to indicate some kind of closure or finality.
 c. The presence of a pause at the end of the chunk.
 d. Lengthening of the syllables preceding the break.
 e. Break in rhythmic structure.

In addition, Wichmann (2000) includes a set of features used as cohesive devices, which we resort to in order to test the whether the slogan is tightly joined to the chunk of the commercial preceding it. Such devices are the following:

- (13) a. Nucleus placement: if given¹⁵ information in the slogan is accented, then the slogan is being treated as an independent discourse.
 b. Nuclear tone type: use of L*H¹⁶ rather than H*L for given information. If given information shows H*L, then the slogan is being treated as an independent discourse.
 c. Onset depression^{xvii}: if the slogan shows onset depression, then it counts as related to the previous chunk.
 d. Tone copying: if the slogan shows tone copying, i.e. the repetition of an intonation pattern, then it is treated as belonging to the previous chunk.

In the process of analysing our data, we have taken into account a set of issues which may interfere with the straightforward prosodic analysis. For instance, Wichmann (2000) herself claims that some of the strategies just described are not always present. These circumstances, may reduce the amount of evidence in support of one view against another. She also warns the reader about the fact that some prosodic variation may be introduced by the reader's training: whether he/she is an amateur reader, an actor or a professional reader. The amount of rehearsed time also draws a difference in the reader's performance, as well as his/her own interpretation of the text. In our analysis, we assume that all voices belong to well-trained actors or professional readers who follow closely the instructions offered by the advertising companies.

In addition to all this, in our own investigation we must bear in mind those circumstances in which our data includes emotional speech, a factor

which, yet again, may introduce a certain degree of variability among the prosodic features described by Wichmann (2000). For instance, the desire of some companies to persuade the viewer to purchase their products leads them to hammer their message into the viewer's mind. In terms of prosody, this is achieved by repeating intonation patterns¹⁸, and also by resorting to falling tones. Such strategies may, in some circumstances, override the expected discursal structures. This is the case of, for example, the use of an unexpected falling tone in words containing given information.

All these difficulties reflect the well known fact that the analysis of speech is extremely complex. However, they also obviate the true nature of speech and, as long as researchers are aware of them, their studies will certainly contribute to a better understanding of information structure in an act of speech.

We shall refer back to these prosodic features in §5.2, where we offer an analysis of our slogans.

4.3. A framework for the interpretation of semiotics: Kress et al. (1997)

Our intention in this section consists in offering a description of the framework which enables us to extract the semiotic meanings manifested by the icons in the scene containing the slogan. Later (in §5.3), we shall test whether such meanings can be inferred from the screen containing the slogan exclusively, or from having to resort to other screens as well. It follows that, if the former is confirmed, then the slogan screen stands as a discourse.

Kress et al. (1997, 274) refer to three parameters which have to be borne in mind in the process of understanding the message conveyed by the signs included in a particular image: 1) the social semiotics of the visual space; 2) the social semiotics of states of affairs in the represented world; and 3) the social semiotics of the social relations of viewer and image. Let us turn to a brief description of the three semiotic components proposed by Kress et al. (1997) in the following sections.

4.3.1. The social semiotics of the visual space

Kress et al. (1997) state that a given page is divided into four domains which correspond to the intersecting cells which result from the columns named as domain of the *given*, which is to the left of the domain of the *new*, and of the rows named as domain of the *ideal* which is above the domain of the *real*. Figure 1 illustrates these domains.

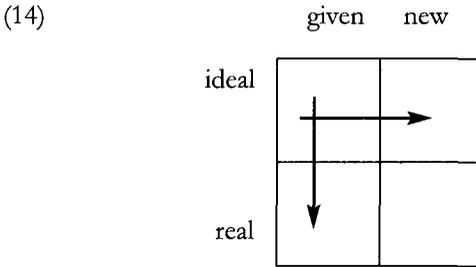


Figure 1. Visual space in Western¹⁹ visual semiotics (arrows indicate direction. From Kress et ál. 1997).

In the horizontal axis, the domain of the ideal contains icons which belong to the realm of wishes, and whose meanings refer to a distant past or future. The domain of the real shows items which are tangible, and whose meanings refer to the present. In the vertical axis, the status of information is represented in terms of given and new. The domain of the given contains icons whose meanings are taken from granted, whereas the domain of the new includes icons whose meanings are related to some kind of novelty.

4.3.1.1. The social semiotics of states of affairs in the represented world

In the case of oral communication, this category relates to the direction of movement or interaction within speakers in order to establish a hierarchy among them. In this sense, the participants and the nature of the relationships between them is manifested. In the case of images which may present movement or interaction, or simply the state of affairs, this is understood as follows. The fact that the movement or interaction is

initiated by one item (for instance, a particular character or an object), and followed by another item (another character or object) identifies them as major elements and establishes a hierarchical relation between them. In the scenes without movement, all the items, including their colour and location with respect to other items, contribute to manifest overtly the state of affairs.

4.3.1.2. The social semiotics of the social relations of viewer and image

This last category is in charge of transmitting information about the relationship between the advertised product and the viewer's social status in terms of the position of the former with respect to the latter. The fact that the product is situated in the domain of the ideal –and away from the referential position which is the bottom line– is interpreted as being an object of desire by the viewer, since it contributes to his/her social prestige.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE SLOGANS

As said previously, in the analysis of slogans, we will consider the linguistic as well as the non-linguistic components, since the latter brings about as much information as the former for our purposes. As a matter of fact, these non-linguistic elements are capable of modifying the literal meaning of the linguistic string in various ways, making it possible to infer different meanings depending on the context (either linguistic or physical) where it takes place. Given that various slogans show identical pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic patterns, we shall illustrate such features with a single slogan, and then specify which other slogans fit into the same description. In this way, we avoid repetitious descriptions.

5.1. The pragmatics of TV slogans

The evidence found in the pragmatic analysis of the slogans points in various directions: on the one hand, the interpretation of slogans like *every part of every body loves Fairy Clean Clothes* are readily inferred without

reference to the rest of the commercial, and they can be treated as a discourse. On the other hand, slogans like the one for *Oral B* fails to constitute a type of discourse, since viewers do need to resort to the information in the rest of the commercial in order to grasp its meaning. In addition to these two, our analysis yields further results which demonstrate the richness of the meanings manifested by our slogans when a closer attention is paid to the images displayed on the screen. We shall describe all this in greater detail in the following paragraphs.

5.1.1. The slogan as a type of discourse

In order to grasp the meaning of the slogan *Every part of everybody loves Fairy Clean Clothes*, the viewer makes a set of assumptions and inferences from the words in the slogan. Also, the endorsed ostensive stimuli offered by the visual display of the images participate in this process. Thus, the viewer assumes that the advertised product are washing tablets –which are clearly seen on the box containing the product– and that they keep clothes clean. He/she can also identify the fact that the tablet's name is *Fairy Clean Clothes*, and that they can be applied successfully to *every part of everybody*. At this stage, an inference is needed in order to offer an interpretation of this piece of information. By having recourse to the encyclopaedic meaning of the entries *every*, *part*, *everybody*, –and without having to take into account the rest of the commercial– the viewer can infer an association between *every part* as meaning 'all types of clothing', and *everybody* as meaning 'all creatures'. It might be argued that the inference process may require more effort from the viewer, and therefore, that this meaning moves away from the relevant meaning, that is, from the one intended by the advertisers. Even though this might be the case, it does not invalidate the fact that the slogan's meaning can be interpreted without resorting to the rest of the commercial. Thus, this slogan together with its environmental context –the image on the screen– count as an independent discourse.

There are other slogans whose meanings can be understood by following similar processes²⁰, like for instance, the ones for *Febreze*, *Huggies*, *Hot Point*, *Sensodyne*, *Calgon* and *Timotei*.

5.1.2 The slogan as a part of the TV commercial

The clearest example in which the viewer has to rely on the rest of the TV commercial in order to interpret the slogan's pragmatic meaning is the one for *Oral B*. The slogan in question is the utterance *The new cross action from Oral B* and the screen in which it is inserted only shows the *Oral B* logo. Thus, the product itself is unidentifiable, and consequently, the meaning of *cross action* is unworkable, too. Even if the viewer were to resort to the encyclopaedic meaning of *cross* and *action* in order to offer an interpretation, he/she would fail to do so, since the ostensive stimuli endorsed to the message is insufficient to derive any type of meaning.

Another interpretative process to test in order to offer a pragmatic meaning without resorting to the rest of the commercial, but which is also doomed to failure, is to assume that the *Oral B* logo is famous enough for the viewer to infer the intended message that the product is a new toothbrush. Then, the meaning of *new cross action* can be worked out by processes of inference and assumptions. But notice that, unless the viewer takes into account the rest of the commercial, he/she cannot identify the product as a toothbrush (and consequently cannot interpret the meaning of *cross action*). In fact, the viewer's knowledge of the world includes other products from *Oral B*—not just a toothbrush—such as tooth paste, dental floss, etc. Thus, given the slogan screen in isolation, the viewer can only derive the following interpretation: *Oral B* is a product for dental hygiene, and is new²¹.

There is another case in which, at a first glance, the slogan's pragmatic meaning seems to be retrievable regardless the rest of the commercial, but which, at a closer look, the relevant meaning relies heavily on the rest of the commercial. For instance, in *L'oreal? Because I'm worth it!* the viewer grasps the meaning that he/she deserves to use the products from *L'Oreal*, but he/she must refer to the rest of the TV commercial in order to identify which one of the hair products is being advertised.

Contrary to this analysis, it might be argued that, in relation to the slogan, the meaning intended by the advertising company concerns the brand name *L'oreal* which includes a set of hair products (for example, hair gel, hair conditioner, etc.), and not just the shampoo. Therefore, the slogan

could be treated as an independent discourse designed to advertise the brand name. However, this option is rejected since it requires a greater processing effort than the processing of the piece of evidence offered by the rest of the commercial, which clearly points at a shampoo as being the product of desire.

In view of these manipulations of the slogan's meanings, we may assume that here underlies a set of strategies designed and planned by advertising companies to advertise not just a single product, but much more than that, their brand name (including the set of products under such brand name) and possibly, a particular life-style²².

5.1.3. Preliminary results on the pragmatics of slogans

Following the assumption that in order to interpret the slogan's pragmatic meaning viewers should be able, a) to understand the slogan's semantic meaning, b), to identify the product which is being advertised, and c), to infer the slogan's intention/effect, we have identified 9 slogans out of 10 as standing a clear chance of being treated as a type of discourse.

The remaining slogan, the one corresponding to *Oral B* –which is excluded from this trend on the grounds that the advertised product itself is unidentifiable– points once again at the fact that advertising companies may follow more than one intention or relevant meaning in their commercials. Such intentions may consist in, for instance, advertising their brand name (by means of the slogan screen only) on the one hand, and advertising a particular product together with its brand name on the other. This latter intention would be achieved by means of the set of screens prior to the slogan and the slogan screen. Notice that, in these circumstances, if the slogan screen for *Oral B* were analysed in isolation, it could be treated potentially as an independent discourse, whose relevant meaning was to advertise the brand name.

5.2. The intonation of TV slogans

There is intonational evidence pointing in a two-way direction: first, the slogan stands as an independent discourse, and second, as an utterance

within a major discourse. We may even find both pieces of evidence in one single commercial, something which, may prevent us from the identification of the slogan's status. In the analysis we put forward below we follow Wichmann's (2000) guidelines introduced in §4.2 above²³.

5.2.1. Intonation devices showing disjuncture: the slogan as a type of discourse

In a slogan such as *Every part of everybody loves Fairy Clean Clothes* the nucleus is placed on the last content word, *Clothes* which is already given information, since it is mentioned at the beginning of the commercial. This signals the fact that the complete utterance is being treated as new information by the speaker. Consequently, the speaker assumes the slogan to be an independent piece of discourse. A very similar case is found in the slogan for *Huggies, Now a better way to play*, in which the nucleus is placed on *play*, also the last content word, and given information. Yet, it's being treated as new information.

Other slogans which show this tendency are *Febreze cleans everyday's smells out of fabrics* for *Febreze*, and *It does work*, for *Calgon*. Here, the words which contain given information are accented. In addition to this, every single content word bears a nuclear tone, thus, breaking the slogan into a set of intonation groups.

But let us prone on these findings a bit longer, as there might be further motivation for this type of nucleus placement. The speaker's performance may follow from his/her intention of making the hearer understand that part of the message as new, and thus of triggering a particular effect. We assume that such effect consists on the intention to hammer an idea which has been previously presented. In this sense, note that we already establish a link between this chunk of information and another chunk which is mentioned elsewhere in the commercial. In this sense, the slogan is no longer and independent discourse. These interpretations stand an equal chance of being possible, and consequently, they force us to postpone any conclusive results.

Another prosodic strategy which may help us to determine the slogans' nature consists of the nuclear tone type assigned to words which refer to given information. Recall from §4.2 above, that such words show L*H as

a signal to indicate cohesion, and hence, we may assume that the reverse tone order, H*L, is a signal to indicate disjuncture. The latter is found in the slogans for *Huggies* and *Oral B*, for instance, where *play* and *action* respectively are given information, and yet they are associated to H*L.

We must react cautiously in view of these findings, since the following issues related to nucleus placement and nuclear tone type must be borne in mind. In relation to the former (which we have referred to already), we must take into account the fact that the advertisers' intention might be that of persuading the viewer to purchase eventually their product. A powerful and subtle strategy to resort to in order to achieve this, is to present given information as new by means of nucleus placement, and consequently, increasing the number of intonation groups. As far as nuclear tone type is concerned, the use of H*L instead of the expected L*H for given information may follow from the speaker's intention to convey the idea of finality and completeness, which overrides the strategy to signal given/new information. Even this being so, the alternative views do not count as an obstacle in our pursuit of analysing the slogan's linguistic nature since the discursual features are still at work, only that they are being manipulated by the commercial's creators for specific purposes.

High pitch resetting is another strategy to signal the slogan's status as an independent piece of discourse. Such strategy is present also in the slogan *Every part of everybody loves Fairy Clean Clothes*, and in *Experience the power of nature* for *Timotei*. In the first one, the syllable *Ev-* in *Every* is higher in pitch if compared to the pitch height of the preceding syllable, *else*. In the second one, the syllable *-per-* in *Experience* shows exactly the same behaviour as *Ev-*, but this time with reference to the syllable *cot-* in *cotton*. This resetting triggers the effect of sounding as a unit independent from any other part of the commercial.

The absence of onset depression at the beginning of intonation units counts as another clue pointing in the same direction. This is found in *Now a better way to play* (for *Huggies*) and in *L'oreal? Because I'm worth it*.

Finally, a break in the rhythmic structure just before the beginning of, for example, the slogan for *Huggies* and also for *Timotei* is another factor in favour of this view.

5.2.2. Intonation devices showing cohesion: the slogan as part of the commercial

In the commercial for *New stronger Double Velvet*, the speaker takes *Double* and *Velvet* as given information, which they are, indeed, as they have already been mentioned elsewhere in the commercial. Thus, these words are deaccented, and consequently, the nuclear tone is placed on the preceding content word showing new information, i.e. *stronger*. In view of this description, the speaker assumes the information in the slogan to be tightly linked to the point in the commercial where that information is manifested. Therefore, the slogan is presented as a section of the discourse, and not as a new discourse.

Nuclear tone type can be used to signal cohesion, too, as in the case of L*H associated to given information. A first approximation to the analysis of the slogan *L'oreal? Because I'm worth it!* seems to confirm this observation. L*H is associated to *L'oreal* which has been mentioned previously in the commercial. However, a closer study of the slogan reveals a different purpose. We suggest that this intonational form is used for the purposes of showing a short monological structure in the following way. The female off-voice uses a wide pitch interpretation of the sequence L*H, which is typical of echo questions, as if she were asking herself for a reason to justify her use of the product. After that, she offers herself a reply: *Because I'm worth it!* Thus, in view of these other circumstances, we could also assume that the slogan is a short independent discourse with an internal monological structure.

Tone copying is another cohesive factor mentioned by Wichmann, and we have found it at work in the commercials for *Hot Point* and for *Sensodyne*. In the former, the words *Hot Point* are said just before the slogan, and they are repeated at the beginning of the slogan. Obviously, the intonation pattern (relatively high pitch over *Hot* and high falling pitch over *Point*) is copied. However, this example prompts the following observation: there is a high chance that the reason for tone copying follows from the fact that the words are also repeated. Even though this is perfectly reasonable, note that in the commercial for *Sensodyne* there is no repetition of words, and yet there is tone copying. Let's turn to the description of this particular case in the following paragraph.

The chunk preceding the slogan is *it's all I need* and shows an identical intonation pattern as the utterance *for Sensitive teeth* included in the slogan. Pitch begins relatively high (shown by the symbol $_$ in (15)) for *it's* and *for*, and then drops. It starts rising again (shown by $\}$) at *all* and *sen-* from *sensitive* and continues this trend up to *I* and the end of *-tive* in *sensitive*. From this relatively high point, pitch drops over *need* and *teeth* (this is shown by \grave{e}). We illustrate this in (15a) and (15b) below:

- (15) a. $_$ It's } all I \grave{e} need
 b. $_$ for } sensitive \grave{e} teeth

In view of this other piece of evidence, we are forced to claim that the slogan is part of the commercial.

Finally, if the rhythmic structure follows from the one set in preceding utterances, then it constitutes another cohesive factor. For instance, in the commercials for *Fairy Clean Clothes* and *Sensodyne* the rhythmic pattern clearly carries on from the one marked at the very beginning of the commercial, there being not even the smallest indication of a break.

5.2.3. Preliminary results on the intonation of slogans

In view of the above analysis and discussion, the preliminary results are inconclusive for most of the slogans, although the prosodic strategies in the slogan *Now a better way to play* for Huggies point towards an independent nature. But the reader must bear in mind the set of objections we presented in §5.2.1 and §5.2.2, and also the fact that prosodic features are prone to suffer all sorts of manipulations at the expense of achieving a particular dramatic or emotional effect which may override the discursive characteristics of the text²⁴.

5.3. The semiotics of TV slogans

The analysis of the icons and their relations to other signs included in the shot corresponding to the slogan results in two opposing views. For one, there is the possibility to understand the message only by resorting to the information conveyed by the use of space, colours and other symbols.

This leads us to assume that the slogan owns an independent status. For the other, the chances are that the message conveyed by the screen showing the slogan cannot be understood unless the rest of the commercial is taken into account, and hence, we are forced to question the discursive nature of the slogan. The implication of all this for our study is that the slogan shows an inconsistent behaviour as far as its discursive characteristics are concerned. Fortunately, from the point of view of their semiotics, the number of slogans which show this last tendency is very low, since most of the texts can be fully understood if analysed in detail.

Let us move on to the results drawn from the study of the screens containing the slogans following the proposal by Kress et al (1997) and which we introduced above in §4.3. Here, we shall refer in general terms to those commercials which illustrate clearly our findings.

5.3.1. The social semiotics of the visual space

As regards the visual space, some advertisements (for instance, *Febreze*, *Fairy* and *Hot Point*) present the product on the left side of the screen— which is the domain of the given —and the written slogan stands on the right side. In this sense, the advertisers rely on the fact that the product is perfectly known by the viewers. The slogan counts as a new item, and for that reason it stands on the right side. This slogan's location leads us on to assume that it stands as an item independent from the rest of the commercial.

Another semiotic parameter we resort to in order to analyse the slogan's alleged discursive nature consists in the study of its relation to the domains of the ideal and the real —as we introduced them in §4.3—. More specifically, we must bear in mind whether such a study can be performed by relying exclusively on the shot including the slogan, or whether the rest of the commercial has to be taken into account.

In the majority of the commercials, the message conveyed by their creators stands both in the domain of the ideal —something of the type 'this wonderful product is in the land of fantasy'— and of the real, —something of the type 'this product is accessible to the audience'. Although this piece of information is portrayed throughout the commercial, most

importantly, it can also be easily retrieved exclusively from the screen containing the slogan. Thus, it follows, that the slogan stands as an independent unit.

However, there is one case in which the slogan screen only does not allow for a semiotic interpretation, in the sense that the information portrayed is not enough for a complete understanding of the advertiser's intention. *Oral B* is the case in point. First of all, the slogan *New cross action from Oral B* is not shown up on screen. Besides, a huge *Oral B* logo stands in the centre of the image, which, apart from indicating the prestige and value of the product, offers no more information as regards to the identity of the product, which is a toothbrush. In such conditions, the slogan cannot be claimed to have an independent status at all, since we would have to resort to the rest of the commercial in order to identify the toothbrush (but recall our discussion about the pragmatic meaning of this slogan which could be interpreted as the advertisement of the brand name).

5.3.2. The social semiotics of the state of affairs in the represented world

Six of the shots containing slogans are frozen images on the screen (in the commercials for *New Double Velvet*, *Huggies*, *Hot Point*, *Calgon* and *Sensodyne*), and four of them present some type of movement (like in the case of *Febze*, *Fairy*, *L'oreal* and *Timotei*). Of the latter, we shall comment on, for example, the commercial for *Fairy*. Here, the product in a box occupies the left side of the screen, and an animated picture of a baby bending its knees slightly and stretching down its arms is placed on the right. By means of this gesture it directs the viewer's attention to the product, to which it shows respect and reverence, thus establishing a hierarchy between them. So far, this information alone does not clarify the slogan's nature as a potential text-type, since the state of affairs remains incomplete. However, it complements the partial information we obtain from other signs found on this final screen which we describe in the following paragraph.

Other signs include the use of colours. Let's turn to their description, so that, by the end of this section we can put forward our results.

In the particular case of advertisements for human-hygiene products we can observe two tendencies or strategies departing from the selection

of the colours included in the screen containing the slogan. One strategy consists in the use of colours such as white, blue and/or green²⁵, all of which appeal to the senses of freshness and purity (this is the case of *Oral B*, *Calgon*, *L'oreal*, *Sensodyne*, and *Timotei*). The other strategy consists in using darker colours like grey or brown, which are closely associated to the ideas of homeliness and warmth. The slogan screen for *New Double Velvet*, *Hot Point*, *Huggies* and *Fairy* are all cases in which its creators have adopted this last option. For instance, in the one for *Fairy*, the product is placed on a brown surface illuminated by a soft light. In addition, two objects – a French window located behind the product and a doll on the box – contribute, with their presence, to the idea of tenderness, warmth and softness, already manifested in terms of the colour. In other words, both the interaction between the object and the baby, and the particular use of colours, contribute to offer a complete understanding of the state of affairs in the world they represent, so that there is no need to refer to the rest of the commercial for a complete understanding of the message that the creators want to convey. Thus, the slogan *Every part of every body loves Fairy clean clothes* counts as an independent discourse.

5.3.3. The social semiotics of the social relation of the viewer and the image

As expected, no products are positioned in the bottom line, but rather, the majority of them are situated in the middle of the screen, or even further up, showing more distance between the product and the viewer, and consequently, creating a stronger desire towards their purchase. As an illustration consider the specific case of the slogan-screen for *Hot Point*. Here, the desired object is the washing machine, which is positioned above the central line of the screen. The message conveyed is clearly that the ownership of this machine is the key to social respect and prestige in the social community. Notice that the semiotic meaning manifested by the icons in the slogan-screen can be inferred without any reference to the rest of the commercial (in fact, the meaning conveyed by the icons on the slogan-screen insist on the meanings manifested by the same or other icons in the rest of the commercial). Thus, this points to the fact that the slogan and its screen may be treated as a type of discourse.

5.3.4. Preliminary results on the semiotic meaning of slogans

From the above description, we assume that the slogan owns an independent status with respect to previous text in all the TV commercials we have analysed. Only one slogan (*Oral B*) stands out of this claim, since the decodification of the semiotics of the screen only allows for a partial understanding of the message, the brand name, but not the toothbrush.

6. RESULTS DERIVED FROM THE PRAGMATIC, PROSODIC AND SEMIOTIC MEANINGS

In the following validation table, we offer an overview of the results yielded by our study.

(16)

<i>Key:</i> <i>Yes</i> → discourse <i>No</i> → part of TV commercial <i>WR</i> → with reservations	<i>Pragmatic features</i>	<i>Intonation features</i>	<i>Semiotic features</i>
1. New Double Velvet	YES	NO	YES
2. Febreze	YES	YES (WR)	YES
3. Oral B	YES (WR)	YES (WR)	NO
4. Fairy	YES	YES (WR)	YES
5. Huggies	YES	YES (WR)	YES
6. Hot Point	YES	NO (WR)	YES
7. Calgon	YES	YES (WR)	YES
8. L'oreal	YES (WR)	YES (WR)	YES
9. Sensodyne	YES	NO (WR)	YES
10. Timotei	YES	YES	YES

Throughout the analysis and discussion of the pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic strategies— all of them taken as a means to orchestrate a discourse— we have come across pieces of evidence which show that such strategies can be resort to in order to either, a) integrate the slogan into the commercial (shown as *NO* in the above table), or b) separate the slogan from the rest of the commercial (shown as *YES*).

In addition to these two options, the most striking result (shown as YES/NO (*WR*) in the above table) points at the complex nature of slogans, in the sense that some features, –like for instance the pragmatic and prosodic ones–, lead us to suggest that the slogan can be understood both as a section in the commercial or as an independent discourse. Thus, the option which best accounts for the nature of our slogans is the one proposed in (5c) above, and which we repeat here:

- (17) a given slogan shows a mixed nature according to different features within or across the pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic components; thus, the slogan's nature is rather more complex than initially expected, and deserves further study.

We propose that one of the reasons underlying this fact is related to the advertising company's intention of maximising the time they are allocated to show their commercial on television by conveying more than one message in a few seconds. Recall that in §5.1.2 and §5.1.3 we suggested that the slogans for *L'oreal Elvive* and *Oral B* respectively, resulted from the advertising company's purposes to advertise their brand name, and consequently, the set of products under their brand name. This would account for the finding that some slogans convey more than one meaning if taken independently, or in the context of the rest of the commercial.

Another plausible justification consists in the company's objective to hammer a particular idea into the viewer's mind, and to persuade him/her of the benefits that can be obtained from their product. This would justify the manipulations of prosodic features such as nucleus placement, tone copying and rhythmic structures.

From these preliminary results, the following points may be extracted:

1. The slogan description proposed by Rey (1996) offers only a limited view of their rich linguistic and semiotic nature.
2. A description of TV slogans greatly benefits from a study which takes into account the set of contexts in which they occur. For instance, the analysis of various slogan forms (oral and written forms), together with their simultaneous images shown on the screen, and with or without the context established by the rest of the commercial, contribute to manifest more than one possible meaning, and not just a single idea.

3. There is an extremely effective manipulation of intonation devices –which may turn out to remain unnoticed by non-experts– to persuade the viewer to purchase their product. They may override discoursal strategies in favour of other effects.
4. The understanding of the semiotic devices confirms the degree of complexity underlying the visual construction of a slogan screen.
5. The set of pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic features constitute a powerful tool for the transmission of an array of meanings, most of which are not made explicit, but have to be inferred by the viewer through a process of interpretation and selection of contexts.
6. The interaction of various pragmatic, prosodic and semiotic factors which point to different behaviours for the slogan in a single commercial, far from being contradictory, reflects the complexity of the human cognitive processing of linguistic and semiotic information.
7. Further research into a wider set of TV commercials is required in order to either confirm or reject the preliminary results included here.

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APPENDIX

1. Calgon

Product:	Protecting tablets
Number of shots:	5
Dominating colours, light and location:	White and blue. All shots indoors.
Characters:	A young woman and an expert (Phil Dunn, domestic appliance engineer, from Swindon).
Speech organisation:	Dialogical structure between young woman and expert.
Description of situation:	The young woman presents the problem in one shot, and then, in a different set of shots, the expert describes the problem and offers the solution.
Problem presentation:	<i>It was a nightmare when the washing machine broke down.</i>
Problem identification:	To help prevent the building-up of lime scale,
Problem solution & product presentation:	Just add a tablet of Calgon to every wash.
Expert's persuasive utterance:	And it does work.
Slogan:	New shot. Written form and sang: <i>Calgon helps your washing machine live longer.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	A large box showing the product and its name is placed on a white horizontal surface. To its left, and in a horizontal position, there is a spare part of the washing machine full of limescale. Below, the slogan text is blue.
Music:	Lively pop music with lyrics shown with the slogan only.

2. Fairy Clean Clothes

Product:	Washing tablets
Number of shots:	23 scenes organised in 8 topics corresponding to different families and ethnicities.
Dominating colours, light and location:	Wide variety of colours, with no clear predominance of any of them throughout the commercial. Bright light. All outdoors.
Characters:	Various families and groups of people from different ethnicities.
Speech organisation:	Off-middle aged male voice throughout.
Description of situation & brief product description:	The narration is supported by images of people either showing or wearing the items included in the script. <i>Shoulders and eyes. A sensitive nose ...</i>
Product introduction:	<i>Everyday part of everybody loves Fairy Clean Clothes.</i>
Brief description:	<i>Fingers and thumbs, all arms and elbows.</i>
Repetition of product introduction:	<i>Every part of every body loves Fairy Clean Clothes.</i>
Further information:	<i>And your tablets clean like no (unintelligible) else</i>
Slogan:	New shot. Oral and written form. <i>Every part of everybody loves Fairy Clean Clothes.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	The product in its box is placed on a horizontal surface. The box shows an image of some tablets, and the product's name is clearly seen. An animated drawing of a toddler is located to the right of the box. Sitting on the box, there is a female naked (<i>Barbie</i>) doll. In the background, the doll's clothes are clearly seen through a window. The slogan is located to the right of the doll, and above the toddler. The words <i>every, everybody, Fairy</i> and <i>clean</i> show a font size larger than the rest of the words.
Music:	Lively pop and choral music.

3. Febreze

Product:	Cleaning fragrance for fabrics.
Number of shots:	14. Most of them shown in fast motion.
Dominating colours, light and location:	Red and white from the beginning upto the scene just before the slogan. Fucsia and blue for the scene showing the slogan. Dull light changes into bright light. All indoors.
Characters:	A large group of people which might represent a family.
Speech organisation:	Off-middle aged female voice throughout.
Description of situation & problem presentation:	People in fast motion go in and out of a sitting-room before and after Febreze has been used. The dull and dirty atmosphere becomes clean, fresh and bright. <i>Everyday life creates everyday's smells. Odours which build up in fabrics you can't wash easily.</i>
Solution & product presentation:	<i>Time to clean those smells away with Febreze.</i>
Result after product's effect:	<i>To keep your home harmonious.</i>
Slogan:	New shot. Written form: Cleans smells out of fabrics. Oral form: <i>Febreze cleans everyday's smells out of fabrics.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	A bottle-sprayer showing the word <i>Febreze</i> contains the product. The background resembles that of a closing curtain with a flowery pattern and fucsia colouring. The slogan appears in handwriting and is located to the right of the product, which occupies all the screen from the top to the bottom line. The oral slogan is accompanied by music.
Music:	Lively minuet type of classical music with strongly marked repetitious rhythm.

4. Hot Point

Product:	Washing machine
Number of shots:	31 shots organised in 4 sets divided by a black screen. Each set represents the story of a different family or group of people sharing a house.
Dominating colours, light and location:	No colour stands out. Dark atmosphere. Not much light. All indoors.
Description of situation:	Views of different groups of people satisfied by their use of the washing machine for their own needs in everyday life.
Speech organisation:	Young female off-voice.
Problem presentation:	<i>As life changes, needs change.</i>
Problem solution & description of product's qualities:	<i>With the one button perfect to single items, our biggest drum, and our best performance ever. And the time saver button,</i>
Problem introduction:	<i>When you're short of time</i>
Product further qualities:	<i>The most advanced</i>
Product introduction:	<i>Washing-machine ever from Hot Point.</i>
Slogan:	Shot independent from previous scene. Oral and written form. <i>Hot Point, for everyon you'll ever be.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	A washing machine is seen in the distance, but it is located under a bright light. There are panels surrounding the washing machine, and they are brown. In the foreground, there is a blurred image. Above it, there is the logo for <i>Hotpoint</i> , which is written in blue against an elliptical background. Below it is the slogan and a website.
Music:	Pop music with lyrics sang by a possibly a famous singer.

5. Huggies

Product:	Nappies
Number of shots:	26
Dominating colours, light and location:	Green, red and white. Very bright light. All outdoors
Characters:	Toddlers
Speech organisation:	Off-young-male voice throughout.
Description of situation:	Toddlers playing on the grass wearing a tea-shirt and a nappy.
Problem presentation:	(unintelligible) <i>the nappy rash.</i>
Product presentation:	<i>She's wearing new Huggies.</i>
Problem solution & extra information:	<i>The new babies soft line has improved Huggies protection against nappy rash by an average of 40%.</i>
Further description:	<i>Huggies babies are so soft and dry.</i>
Recommendation:	<i>If you'd like to play with nothing on, tackle nappy rash with Huggies.</i>
Further description:	<i>Easy move the new Huggies</i>
Slogan:	New shot. Written slogan: Healthy, Happy Huggies. Oral slogan: <i>Now a better way to play.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	A toddler holds up in his arms the box containing the product. The term <i>Huggies</i> and another toddler sitting down holding his feet and wearing a nappy are seen on the box. The background is black. The written slogan is above the box, in the top line.
Music:	Lively pop music throughout, and noises from football matches in the background.

6. L'oreal Elvive

Product:	Shampoo
Number of shots:	16
Dominating colours, light and location:	Blue and some bright green. Brightness is concentrated on her hair. Some shot indoors, and some outdoors.
Characters:	A famous woman, Virginie Ledoyen, young and glamorous, and an off-male voice.
Speech organisation:	Dialogical structure between woman's voice shown in and off-male's voice.
Description of situation:	She shows her hair and a computerised diagram displays the shampoo's action on its surface.
Problem presentation:	<i>Love your hair in the morning? Hate it when the fresh feeling fades?</i>
Problem solution & product presentation:	Not any more. New L'oreal Elvive Citrus CR shampoo for normal to occasionally greasy hair.
Woman's experience:	<i>I've got the freshly washed feeling that lasts for longer.</i>
Extra information:	L'oreal's amazing Citrus CR Technology is designed to cleanse and smooth each hair to help lock out impurities.
Woman's experience:	<i>Cleaner, lighter, for longer. It's like it's just been washed.</i>
Persuasive utterance:	Keep that freshly washed feeling.
Woman's experience:	<i>For longer.</i>
Product presentation (2):	New L'oreal Elvive Citrus CR shampoo.
Slogan:	New shot. Oral form. <i>L'oreal? Because I'm worth it!</i>
Description of slogan screen:	Seductively, the actress smiles at and moves with the camera the camera. Then the image slows down until it stops. Her face is clearly away from the bottom line.
Music:	Lively pop music throughout

7. New Double Velvet

Product:	Toilet paper
Number of shots:	6
Dominating colours, light and location ²⁶ :	Yellow; artificial light. All indoors
Characters:	A middle-aged lady who is dubbed by a famous British comical actress, and two builders
Speech organisation:	Female off-voice throughout
Description of situation:	Inside a tiny toilet. Movement is restricted by presence of two builders who are redecorating it, and the lady herself. <i>The builders are creating the perfect setting [...]</i>
Presentation of the product:	<i>[...]for my New Double Velvet</i>
Extra information:	<i>that is even stronger Oh! One might almost say robust</i>
Slogan:	New shot. Oral and written form. <i>New Stronger Double Velvet.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	The product wrapped in its paper is placed on a horizontal surface covered by a silky and velvety blue cloth. An image of toilet paper is visible. The slogan is placed above the product which stands in the middle of the screen.
Music:	Soft classical music played in the background.

8. Oral B

Product:	Toothbrush
Number of shots:	6 shown in slow motion
Dominating colours, light:	Blue, green and white. Bright illumination.
Speech organisation:	Male off-voice.
Description of situation:	Computerised view of toothbrush from different angles illustrating its cleaning qualities against dental dirt
Product introduction:	<i>Introducing a revolution in oral care. The new Oral B cross action.</i>
Qualities' description:	<i>Its optimally angled criss cross bristles penetrate to leap out and sweep away more plaque than any other manual toothbrush.</i>
Further information:	<i>Tests prove it.</i>
Direct address to viewer:	<i>Now you can too!</i>
Slogan:	Shot clearly generates from previous scene. Oral form. <i>The new cross action, from Oral B.</i>
Description of slogan screen:	Only the <i>Oral B</i> logo is shown on the screen. The background is white, and the logo itself shows white letters on a blue background. It is placed 2/3 away from the baseline.
Music:	Lively classical orchestral and piano music throughout.

9. Sensodyne

Product:	Toothpaste
Number of shots:	6 shown in very slow motion
Dominating colours, light and location:	Dark bright blue dominating over red and white. Bright light illuminates product.
Speech organisation:	Young female off-voice.
Description of situation:	Views of toothpaste in contact with teeth and this creates pain, shown by picture of a nerve connection in red colour. Use of Sensodyne on teeth and pain disappears.
Problem presentation:	<i>I had sensitive teeth</i> , Pain is shown in terms of a red figure which resembles a nerve connection.
Problem solution & product introduction:	<i>So I brushed with Sensodyne and the pain would go away.</i> Views in slow motion of the toothpaste.
Further problem description:	<i>Then I'd use my regular toothpaste, and the pain would come back.</i> View of pain.
Further product introduction:	<i>I didn't know about Sensodyne total care.</i>
Product's effectiveness:	<i>The Sensodyne helps stop the pain;</i>
Product's performance against other products:	<i>the total care does everything my regular toothpaste did.</i>
Product's recommendation:	<i>It's all I need.</i>
Slogan:	Shot independent from previous scene. Oral and written form. <i>Sensodyne. Total care, for sensitive teeth!</i>
Description of slogan screen:	There are two boxes on top of each other placed on a horizontal dark blue and shiny surface. Both boxes show the product's name. The one on top also shows the word <i>Gel</i> . The one below is reflected on the horizontal surface. The background is blue fading into black. The boxes occupy the space between the middle of the screen and the top. The slogan is on the bottom line, written in white, and its background is the dark surface on which the boxes are placed.
Music:	Slow galactic type of orchestral music throughout

10. Timotei

Product:	Shampoo
Number of shots:	6 (extremely brief)
Dominating colours, light and location:	Green, and soft blurred red and white colours. All indoors.
Characters:	A young woman, and a young off-female voice.
Speech organisation:	Female off voice heard throughout.
Description of situation:	Various views of the product are combined with views of her hair.
Recommendation:	<i>Strengthen and protect your coloured treated hair.</i>
Product presentation and brief description:	<i>New Timotei Cotton with cotton oil</i>
Slogan:	Shot independent from previous scene. Oral form: <i>Experience the power of nature</i> Written form: New Timotei Cotton shampoo.
Description of slogan screen:	5 white bottles with different coloured decorations (yellow, orange, red, green and blue) are shown on the screen. The product's name is clearly seen on each one of them. The camera zooms-out of the bottle with red decorations which is located in the centre of the screen. The slogan is located on the bottom line.
Music:	Soft relaxing music with lyrics throughout

NOTAS

- 1 We are grateful to Francisco Vizcaíno for his insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
- 2 The reader must bear in mind that this is a first approximation to the topic, and that, it obviously deserves further investigation with a larger set of data.
- 3 Following the text typology put forward in Bernárdez (1982), we assume that the text found in advertisements counts as a type of discourse.
- 4 Bernárdez (1982) offers a detailed and argued analysis of the definitions of *text* and *discourse* and points out the difficulties encountered in such an analysis.
- 5 As we shall see below in §5.2, the prosodic criterion for testing the slogans's status offers inconclusive results. This may be due to the fact that the prosodic devices

- showing cohesion or disjuncture are manipulated for dramatic or emotional effects, rather than as a purely discorsual tool.
- 6 Other logical situations we may encounter are ones in which different levels of analysis, –like for instance the pragmatic level and the prosodic level, or the pragmatic and semiotic levels, or the prosodic and semiotic levels– yield apparently opposing results. In such circumstances, our intention to identify the slogan's nature as a section or as a discourse will require further research.
 - 7 A more detailed description of the advertisements is out of the scope of this paper, since here we concentrate mainly in their slogans.
 - 8 By *shots* we refer to an image represented on the screen without any clear interruption or break. In some circumstances, like in the case of the comercial for *Hot Point*, a set of images is followed by a black screen in order to show a break between sets whose images are related in terms of the story they depict. In other occasions, we resort to camera changes as a means to identify the breaks.
 - 9 This observation must be taken cautiously, since further research into a wider set of TV commercials might show that slogans are also located elsewhere in the commercial, or that there might be more than one utterance showing the typical features of a slogan.
 - 10 The other slogans show a similar tendency.
 - 11 Notice that a single commercial may show more than one slogan.
 - 12 *Double* can be treated both as an adjective, and as part of the brand name.
 - 13 But see §5.1.2 and §5.1.3.
 - 14 In her study of the Southern English Corpus (SEC), Wichmann (2000) offers an analysis of the prosodic features manifested in the oral performance of a read script, and suggests that readers may reorganise written paragraphs marked by punctuation into oral paragraphs whose structures follow a prosodic organisation.
 - 15 By *given* information intonationalists refer to the information which is old or already shared by the participants of a verbal exchange.
 - 16 Notation used by Wichmann (2000) following the tradition set by Pierrehumbert (1980), where L stands for relatively low pitch, H stands for relatively high pitch, and a starred tone indicates that the syllable it is associated to is accented.
 - 17 By *onset depression* intonationalists refer to the pitch features of the first accented syllable, which are lower than expected.
 - 18 Obviously, this is favoured by the repetition of words, and hence, of segmental sound qualities.
 - 19 Note that in the Eastern world, the specific domain location may vary.
 - 20 Some of the processes may require the viewer to rely on the information manifested by another slogan, or by the information visible on the screen. For instance, in the case of *Huggies*, there are two slogans which complement each other, *Healthy, Happy Huggies* and *Now a better way to play*. In addition to this, the screen

shows a toddler raising a box in which another toddler wearing a nappy is clearly seen. Thus, the product and its qualities are clearly identified. All this information certainly contributes to the slogan's interpretation.

- 21 But see an alternative proposal below in §5.1.3.
- 22 This is clearly stated by Dyer (1982, 14), and Pavit (2000, 40).
- 23 We have excluded the prosodic analysis of *Calgon* since the slogan is sang. Nevertheless, the fact that it is uttered following a musical style which is different from the rest of the commercial may be treated as a piece of evidence in favour of its independent discursual status.
- 24 Future research will also take into account the background music, since we have observed that it may follow a pattern similar to the oral rhythmic structure.
- 25 Only in the advertisement for *Febreze*, the background colour is fucsia.
- 26 By *location* we make reference to whether the scenery is located outdoors (for instance, on the grass in the case of *Huggies*), or indoors (for instance, inside a decorated studio, as in the case of *Febreze*).