

UDC 811.111'42:659.1=111 Original scientific article Received on 04.02. 2016 Accepted for publication on 02.11. 2016

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The social aspect of the discourse-semantic appraisal model in British advertisements: The category of attitude

The paper examines the language of attitudinal appraisal and its occurrence in the texts of 200 randomly selected contemporary print advertisements from British magazines with a predominantly female readership. For the purposes of this analysis, the discourse-semantic appraisal model by Martin and White (2005) is applied, which categorises attitude as one of three main resources for making interpersonal meanings into affect, judgement and appreciation. The paper presents the results on the frequency of occurrence of directly and indirectly expressed attitude in advertisements and discusses the characteristics of some attitudinal choices, including their manifestation, categorisation, status and social effect. The interest is thus not only in the language that encodes attitudes explicitly but also in the linguistic potential for triggering attitudes. The results show that the multi-establishment of attitudes and the enormous potential of advertising language to evoke them, with the often creative use of language, may be characterised as a typical feature of advertising language. I argue that both explicit and implicit attitudes are one of the key elements in establishing the participants' values, norms and relationships, hence making the language of attitudes socially significant. Within the discussion of the characteristics of some attitudinal choices, I also attempt to justify the coding of attitudes on the basis of context and co-text. According to systemic functional grammar, context plays an important role in the interpretation of texts, and since appraisals fulfil the interpersonal function of language, the acknowledgment of the context in the interpretation of appraisals is crucial.

Key words: appraisal model; appraisal; advertisements; attitude; social aspect.

1. Introduction

Advertisements play an important role in modern society, as they both address the masses and intrude upon potential consumers' private lives. In pragmatic terms, they are defined as forms for promoting ideas, products and services (Dyer 1982; Kotler and Armstrong 2001; Durant and Lambrou 2009). However, alongside their pragmatic function, advertisements also function interactively by targeting the potential consumer's feelings, behaviour and value system, rendering them socially relevant, even though they do not require any immediate feedback. Since, according to Barthes (1979: 74), a text is a "methodological field" within which the reader becomes active by exploring, playing, and making meanings, advertising texts cannot be an exception. As a potential consumer is assumed to be the reader of an advertisement, the rejection of the reader's passivity in advertisements is signalled in particular through a variety of features, for instance, assumptions about the potential consumer's desires, needs, behaviour and lifestyle and about the common/mutual knowledge of the manufacturer and potential consumer; expectations regarding their emotional responses; establishment of roles for the participants; changes or maintenance of beliefs and values; and calls for identification with others. These features of social context are created through careful language choice in order to stimulate a buying mood, while the importance of social context can be perceived in attempts to address the potential consumer effectively.

The social aspect of advertising is emphasised, for instance, by Giddens (1984: 35) in his definition of an advertisement as "a medium and an outcome of social practice." For Fairclough (1992: 57), "practice" encompasses real examples of people's deeds and of what people say or write. Advertising thus also both transmits and creates ideologies, often in a disguised form, in order to serve consumerism. In cosmetics advertising, for example, the formation of women as feminine subjects ("consumer/commodified/power femininity") is promoted via sustained consumerism of beautifying products, which enables women to become selfactualised and liberated (Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Talbot 2010; Ringrow 2016). Lazar (2006) critically observes this approach as a shift in the presentation of women from mere passive objects, typical of past advertisements, to active and powerful subjects in the disguised form of re-sexualised bodies. Similarly, masculinity is being reframed as metrosexuality for the purposes of consumerism in cosmetics advertising (Hall 2015). Social context in the interpretation of texts also plays an important role in systemic functional theory (e.g. Halliday 1994), of which the main principle is that language performs three metafunctions in each clause and text: ideational, interpersonal and textual, whereby appraisal is one of three resources construing interpersonal meaning, alongside involvement and negotiation

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(Martin and White 2005). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 30), interpersonal function is described as "language in action", i.e. the language which informs, questions, gives orders, makes offers, expresses attitudes, feelings and beliefs, and shows the writers' interferences in messages. It is thus mainly the context that defines texts as a discourse. As context is also crucial in advertising texts, the advertisements under scrutiny are analysed as discourse rather than mere texts. For Cook (1992: 4), a discourse means text and context together. Similarly, McCarthy (1991: 10) explains that discourse analysis is about the relationship between language and the context of its use. In Fairclough's (1992: 64) explanation of discourse as contributing to the construction of "social identities" and "subject positions", helping construct social relationships, and contributing to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief, the social effect of discourse is obviously foregrounded.

Since advertisements have been primarily studied as a genre, often simultaneously focusing on a variety of features such as the stylistic, linguistic and visual (e.g. Cook 1992; Myers 1994; Goddard 1998), the analysis in this paper attempts to explain how the language in the discourse of advertisements creates attitudinal meanings, as one of the main domains of appraisal, with social effect.

2. The appraisal model

Appraisals are concerned with evaluation in texts. According to Hunston and Thompson (1999: 6), evaluation performs the function of expressing the speaker's/writer's opinion, hence reflecting the value system of the speaker/writer and his/her community, constructing and maintaining relations between the speaker/writer and hearer/reader, as well as organising the discourse. Martin and White (2005) use the term APPRAISAL to distinguish it from the broader term EVALUATION in order to emphasise its discourse-semantic aspect. Attitude is one of three categories in the appraisal model by Martin and White (2005), which is used as an analytical tool for the exploration of attitude in this paper, and which organises the semantically evaluative resources into a system. The other two categories in the model are graduation (the intensity of attitudes) and engagement (writer's intersubjective positioning). I argue that directly and indirectly expressed attitudes are not only evaluative but are also socially active by carrying values. Attitude is further categorised as affect, judgement and appreciation. Affect deals with sets of emotions, such as inclination (e.g. we need love), happiness (e.g. I'm thrilled), satisfaction (e.g. I'm fascinated) and security (e.g. he seemed confident). It may also be construed as a surge of behaviour (e.g. he laughed). The source of emotions is the

emoter. Judgement is a resource for constructing evaluations of people's behaviour and character in terms of normality (e.g. *they are fortunate*), capacity (e.g. *clever boy*), tenacity (e.g. *loyal employee*), veracity (e.g. *honest person*) and propriety (e.g. *his fair approach*). Appreciation is concerned with the aesthetic evaluation of things, objects, events, performances, products, and the like. Its sub-categories include reaction (e.g. *this place is <u>beautiful</u>*), composition (e.g. *distorted face*) and valuation (e.g. *healthy lifestyle*). In functional grammar terms, attitude can be grammatically realised, for instance, with a process (e.g. *relief you <u>want from pills</u>*), a (comment) adjunct (e.g. *they lived happily*), an attribute in a relational clause (e.g. *car is unique*) and a thing (e.g. *honesty she shows*).

In systemic functional grammar, language, as a complex semiotic system, has various strata, whereby each level is linked with another, i.e. each stratum is realised with another stratum (Halliday and Mathiessen 2004: 24). It emerges from this that attitude is realised by lexico-grammar. In other words, lexico-grammatical elements realise the semantics of attitudes, which in turn are realised by lexico-grammatical elements. For instance, the direct attitude of appreciation identified in the instance *help* in the proposition *helps make your skin look smooth* is realised by the material process, whereas the attitudes of appreciation identified in *even* and *brightness* in the proposition *a notably <u>even</u> complexion with a <u>brightness</u> are realised grammatically as the epithet and thing respectively.*

Attitudes can have a positive or negative status (e.g. *happy/sad*), be graded, and be expressed directly¹ or indirectly.² Direct attitudes are encoded primarily in attitudinal lexis, whereas indirect attitudes may be triggered via other elements (e.g. graders, enagagement markers), may reside in ideational meanings of instances, or may be evoked via associations or the context (e.g. common knowledge, culture, existing value system). The identification of indirect attitudes is usually dependent on the co-text and context, whereby the context encompasses "such categories as the overall definition of the situation, setting (time, place), ongoing actions (including discourses and discourse genres), participants in various communicative, social, or institutional roles, as well as their mental representations: goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes and ideologies" (Van Dijk 2008: 90), whereas the co-text means the vicinity/presence of other linguistic elements in the same clause or near clauses (linguistic environment).

Martin and White (2005) also allow for the coding of two separate attitudinal categories with some border-line attitudinal lexis. For instance, *proud* and *ashamed*

¹ Direct attitudes are also referred to as inscriptions or explicit attitudes.

² Indirect attitudes are also referred to as evoked attitudes, tokens or implicit attitudes.

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inscribe both affect and judgement. However, the analysis of attitudes in advertisements has also revealed that because of the creative nature of advertising language, which often uses metaphors, puns, omissions and short sentences, doublecoding of attitudes does not occur only at the lexico-grammatical level but also at the clause level. For instance, when it is claimed that the product is *made with more calcium than other probiotic drinks*, the amount grader *more* signals a) the manufacturer's wise decision to use more calcium in the product for improved health, hence evoking positive judgement targeting the manufacturer, b) the product's superior efficiency through the higher level of calcium, hence evoking positive appreciation targeting the product, and c) the insufficient amount of valuable calcium in the competing products, hence evoking negative appreciation targeting other products. From this it emerges that such identification of attitudes may help facilitate the identification of values in the advertising texts.

It has to be noted that in order to identify and analyse attitudes in advertisements as accurately as possible, the use of concise and creative advertising language often forces the analyst to anticipate various possible interpretations, often resulting in the multiple coding of attitudes, as in (1).

(1) Cystitis Relief? It's as simple as Cymalon.

The brief text (question and answer), containing a pun and ellipsis, makes the identification of attitudes slightly problematic. The direct attitude (affect) in the rhetorical question can be immediately identified, as it is inscribed in the lexical relief. Additionally, the rhetorical question implies the current absence of feeling (relief) in the potential consumer, hence evoking negative affect targeting them, while at the same time inscribing affect (inclination) through the omitted element, which can only be either do you need or do you want (Cystitis relief)? The question already implies the product's beneficial performance in providing relief for the troublesome cystitis, hence inscribing positive appreciation targeting the product. The direct attitude can be further immediately identified in the lexical simple, whereby its categorisation becomes problematic because only one object (the product's name Cymalon) of comparison (as...as) is provided clearly, while the other one should be inferred from the co-text. What exactly is simple: gaining relief with the product or providing relief with the product? As an analyst, both options should be taken into consideration. Thus, the simplicity of obtaining relief with the product's use inscribes positive reaction, and the simplicity of providing relief also inscribes positive reaction. In the first case the target is the result (obtaining relief is simple), while in the latter case, the target is the product through the simple solution that it offers (Cymalon provides relief in a simple way). As shown in the paper, the identification of attitudinal targets in advertising texts is of immense importance, as one inscribed attitude may refer to various targets, often blurred via advertising language, depending on the context, co-text and rhetorical purpose, resulting in a multiple expression of attitudes. Since, according to Bednarek (2009), the issue of a target of attitude is not sufficiently emphasised in the appraisal model, she sees in the identification of both the type of attitudinal target and the type of attitudinal assessment a possible solution to some problems related to the categorisation and identification of attitudes.

3. The data and methodology

The data were gathered randomly from 200 contemporary print advertisements which appeared in various British magazines primarily addressing female readers. The analysis focuses on the textual aspect of advertisements, whereby an attempt was made to include as much as possible of the written material, often accompanied by a (larger) visual feature. The paper presents the results of the analysis on attitude and its average frequency of occurrence in advertisements. The average frequency of occurrence was calculated on the basis of the number of identified attitudes in each advertisement. By way of illustration, the coding of attitudes (data) in one advertisement is given (2). The interpretation of the statistical results is followed by a discussion of the characteristics of attitudinal choices (the attitudinal subcategories of affect, judgement and appreciation), exemplified with instances from the original advertisements. It has to be noted that the examples are not exhaustive, as they are simply too numerous; comments are therefore provided on selected typical examples, and for some attitudes whose identification was problematic or interesting.

The analytical section presents first the statistical results using a chi-square test and then the ratio of positive and negative attitudes (Chart 1), the ratio of attitudinal inscriptions and tokens (Chart 2), and the ratio of affect, judgement and appreciation categories in attitudes (Chart 3); this is accompanied by an interpretation of the results, and a discussion of individual attitudinal categories (affect, judgement and appreciation) in terms of their manifestation, categorisation, targets, status, lexicogrammatical realisation, and social purpose. The discussion of individual attitudinal categories does not focus solely on the expression of explicit attitudes but also on the expression of implicit attitudes and the identification of elements that help trigger attitudes.

The coding system of attitudes as used in the analysis:



| bold = attitude | ins = inscribed attitude | -t = attitudinal token |
|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| appr = appreciation | judg = judgement | aff = affect |
| reac = reaction | val = valuation | cap = capability |
| comp = composition | prop = propriety | incl = inclination |
| + = positive status | - = negative status | sat = satisfaction |

(2) Pure brilliance (ins/appr:reac:+) for your lips. Introducing Pure Color Gloss and Crystal Gloss (-t/appr:val:+). Tempt (-t/appr:val:+) your lips with colour and shine (-t/appr:val:+) like never before (-t/appr:reac:-). Two new (ins/appr:val:+) *formulas* (ins/appr:val:+; -t/judg:cap:+), two new (ins/appr:val:+) ways (ins/appr:val:+) to do something wonderful (ins/appr:val:+) for your lips. The Gloss is absolute luxurv (ins/appr:reac:+). Goes on creamy smooth (ins/appr:comp:+), indulges (ins/appr:val:+; -t/aff:sat:+) you in hydrating (ins/appr:val:+; -t/appr:comp:-; ins/appr:comp:+) brilliance (ins/appr:reac:+) (-t/appr:val:+). The Crystal (ins/appr:comp:+; ins/appr:val:+). Gloss is luminous (ins/appr:reac:+). Give (ins/appr:val:+) you sheer (ins/appr:comp:+) colour with depth, texture (ins/appr:val:+) and special (ins/appr:val:+) crystal (ins/appr:val:+) effects (-t/appr:val:+; -t/appr:comp:-; -t/appr:val:+). In a range (-t/judg:prop:+) of *most-wanted* (-t/appr:val:+; ins/aff:incl:+), *most-wearable* (-t/appr:val:+) *shades* (-t/judg:prop:+).

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Since inscribed attitudes are encoded directly in the lexis, I will briefly explain the rationale behind the coding of tokens in the above advertisement in Table 1.

What can be observed in the above advertisement, as well as in most advertisements under scrutiny, is the strong presence of the multiplicity of attitudes in the rather brief advertising text. For instance, even in a single proposition, a combination of direct and indirect attitudes occurs frequently. Thus, in *give you sheer colour with depth, texture and special crystal effect*, 8 attitudes are expressed, from which 5 are inscribed and 3 are evoked, and also in *goes on creamy smooth, indulges you in hydrating brilliance*, 8 attitudes are identified, from which 5 are inscribed and 3 are evoked.



| Instance | Coding | Explanation |
|--|----------------|---|
| Pure Color Gloss and Crystal Gloss | -t/appr:val:+ | new products are introduced on the basis of their (new, improved) benefits, hence fore- grounding their worth |
| tempt your lips with colour and shine like never before | -t/appr:reac:- | the command coupled with the denial <i>never</i> and time quantifier <i>before</i> signals the long-lasting absence of qualities (no colour and shine) in the potential consumer's lips |
| | -t/appr:val:+ | the product's beneficial performance of tempt- ing the lips with colour and shine is implied in- directly through the command addressing the potential consumer directly; additionally, sexual appeal can be sensed via use of the lexical <i>tempt</i> (<i>your lips</i>), as woman's lips are often associated with sexuality |
| formulas | -t/judg:cap:+ | the manufacturer's scientific (innovative) approach |
| indulges | -t/aff:sat:+ | The product brings pleasue after its use |
| hydrating | -t/appr:comp:- | hydration, as one of the product's benefits, im- plies the absence of this quality in the potential consumer's lips (are dehydrated) |
| give you sheer col- our with depth, tex- ture and crystal ef- fects | -t/appr:comp:- | the product's beneficial performance in provid- ing sheer colour with depth, texture and crystal effects signals the absence of such a quality in the potential consumer's lips, while at the same |
| | -t/appr:val:+ | time introduces the importance of wearing shiny gloss and having tempting lips; hence both are introduced as norms in society through the factual statement, while, additionally, such norms are further emphasised via the repetition of <i>colour and shine</i> and their synonyms (e.g. <i>luminous, crystal</i>) |
| | -t/appr:val:+ | |
| | | the list of the product's benefits (it gives sheer colour, it gives texture and it gives crystal ef- fects) adds worth to the product |
| range (of shades) | -t/judg:prop:+ | the manufacturer's helpful and friendly attempt to meet the potential consumers' individual needs by offering a range of shades from which |

Table 1: The coding of tokens in an advertisement



| | | the potential consumer can choose |
|--------------------------------|----------------|---|
| most-wanted, most- wearable | -t/appr:val:+ | the highly intensified desire to possess product and its extensive consumption signa via the high-degree comparison <i>most</i> indic the product's quality |
| you/your | -t/judg:prop:+ | the manufacturer's concern for the potential consumer's individual needs signalled via "s thetic personalisation" (i.e. addressing a mas audience individually via the pronouns <i>you a</i> <i>your</i> , hence simulating a face-to-face interac tion with the potential consumer), whereby t concern is further reinforced via the repetitic of the pronouns <i>you</i> and <i>your</i> (e.g. Faircloug 2014, Talbot 2010) |

4. The results of the analysis: the attitude

Table 2 provides the statistical results of the chi-squared test (x^2) for the attitudinal categories. Since the results show that the *p*-value is less than the significance level $(x^2 = 7284, 3 \ p < 0,001, df = 6)$, the differences between the observed categories in advertisements are statistically significant.

| | fe | ft | x^2p |
|--------------------|-------|--------|--------|
| positive attitudes | 4727 | 2581,3 | 7284,3 |
| negative attitudes | 1296 | | 0,001 |
| inscriptions | 2881 | | |
| tokens | 3142 | | |
| affect | 414 | | |
| judgement | 888 | | |
| appreciation | 4721 | | |
| TOTAL | 18069 | | |

Table 2: Attitudinal categories

The following charts are used to show the patterns in the data.

Chart 1 shows the distribution of positive and negative status in attitudes in advertisements.



Chart 1: The ratio of positive and negative status in attitudes

As shown in Chart 1, advertisements tend to express positive attitudes (78%) more frequently than their negative counterparts (22%). This is not surprising, as the main aim of advertising is to promote products, whereby the praising of products understandably contributes to the creation of a positive selling mood. Negative attitudes are expressed primarily to outline the problem experienced by the potential consumer, or to remind the potential consumer of it, and at the same time to signal a solution in the form of the advertised product. As such, they are frequently expressed at the beginning of an advertisement, hence following the textual Problem-Solution pattern (Hoey 2001) encompassing situation, problem, and response or evaluation. In Hoey's (ibid.) refined version of his original Problem-Solution Model, the Situation is optional, which can be frequently observed in advertisements by placing the problem section at the very beginning of the advertising texts (e.g. *my eyes need moist*).

Chart 2 shows the frequency of occurrence of inscribed and tokenised attitudes in advertisements.



Chart 2: The ratio of attitudinal inscriptions and tokens



As revealed in Chart 2, despite the small difference, tokens (52%) are expressed more frequently than inscriptions (48%). This signals the underlying messages of advertisements, in which tokens play an important social role, particularly in relation to the value system, as discussed later in the paper.

Chart 3 displays the ratio of attitudinal categories of affect, judgement and appreciation in advertisements.



Chart 3: The ratio of affect, judgement and appreciation

Chart 3 shows that attitudinal appreciation (78%) strongly prevails over attitudinal judgement (15%) and affect (7%). Since appreciation is concerned with aesthetic evaluation, and since advertisements mainly advertise beauty, health and domestic products, the high occurrence of appreciation values is not surprising. What is perhaps interesting is that feelings (affect) are least frequently expressed, as these might be expected to be at the core of advertising, in particular as triggers of feelings in the potential consumer resulting in the purchasing response. As discussed in the following sections, the frequent occurrence of appreciation and the presence of judgement point to their social relevance in advertising texts.

4.1. Affect

In advertisements, affect is primarily expressed via instances conveying pleasure, enjoyment, relief and pride, hence introducing these as positive values. While the emoter of pleasure and enjoyment, as the beneficiary of the product, is the potential consumer, the emoter of pride is the manufacturer through their innovative nature and resulting rewards. Pride is mainly evoked through the use of the exclusive pronoun *our*, frequently placed in the thematic position at the beginning of a statement (e.g. *our gold label*). The graders *first* and *only* are used to emphasise the innovative nature and value of exclusivity further (e.g. *we have the distinction of being the*



<u>only</u> brand in the world to include DAB). The value of pride may be emphasised through the repetition of the pronoun *our*, additionally adding worth to the product.

Affect is usually expressed as satisfaction felt after the product's use, whereby the benefit may be secured with command or modality (e.g. trust and enjoy, it will ensure you enjoy). In such cases, assurance of positive feelings can only be based on the manufacturer's familiarity with the potential consumer's needs and wishes, as well as on the manufacturer's keen awareness of the product's quality, hence indirectly evaluating it positively. Additionally, such cases emphasise the significance of the creation of the "Imagined Reader" in written communication (familiarity with the potential reader in advertisements) in order to successfully textualize both the interpersonal and ideational meanings (Coulthard 1994: 4). Familiarity with the potential consumer's needs is also obvious in the proposition in which the need for the product is expressed directly, thus coded as affect (inclination), and realised grammatically as a process, as illustrated in (3), whereby the solution to the problem in the form of the product (Lipcote) simultaneously evokes positive appreciation (valuation). A similar observation is made by Lemke (1998), who states that the evaluative colouring of particular words can be enhanced by the explicit attitude in the same clause or across clause boundaries, and that more evaluations can appear in the same proposition.

(3) you need Lipcote

inscribed affect: inclination; target: potential consumer (needs the solution: product)

evoked appreciation: valuation; target: product (solves the problem)

Affect is further typically encoded directly or indirectly via instances conveying an assurance of the product's quality and benefits (e.g. *your guarantee of the potency and purity of every*), whereby the responsible doer is often hidden in a nominalised or passive form, via lexis conveying confidence. This is mainly presented as a value lacking in many women (e.g. *helped thousands of women feel more <u>confident</u>), and via counter-expectancy elements, which writers use to reject some contrary position, thereby creating a surprise effect (e.g. <u>yet this tasty dish is easy to prepare in only 15 minutes</u>). Zeevat (2009) terms such counter-expectancy markers as "mirativity markers". Mirativity is defined as exceeded expectation or surprise encoded in language (Rett and Murray 2013: 454). As observed in advertisements, the role of counter-expectancy markers is not only to evoke affect but also to help identify appreciation and judgement in propositions which, for instance, inform the potential consumer about important issues of which they are ignorant (e.g.<i>you may*

have not realised it, <u>but</u> 70% of your immune system is in your gut) and about the product's unexpected additional benefits that competitors may lack (e.g. *skin appears smoothed – the appearance of <u>even</u> deep wrinkles is reduced). The analysis shows that values, such as, for instance, fast results, easy handling, efficiency and environmental awareness are foregrounded through counter-expectancy markers.*

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Direct and indirect negative affect features mainly at the beginning of advertisements, often in rhetorical questions, to introduce a problem with instances and phrases conveying dissatisfaction and unhappiness, usually resulting from unpleasant and painful physical symptoms (e.g. *the <u>knocked about feeling</u> after* a *course of antibiotics, stress or erratic dieting*), as anger (e.g. *guess what he's brought home from school*), annoyance (e.g. *without any of the <u>annoying</u> elbow grease*) and disatisfaction with one's body (e.g. *considering cosmetic surgery*).

4.2. Judgement

As the results show, judgement is expressed more frequently than affect. As an inscription, it features mainly as positive capability via instances conveying the manufacturer's expertise and professionalism, reflected in the knowledge and skills involved in the product's production (e.g. expert, professional). These instances are occasionally coupled with other instances inscribing positive capability to emphasise this value (e.g. *Clinique guiding dermatologist*). Similarly, the value of capability is further emphasised through a list of skills (e.g. we can lift, tuck and tight). In cases where the holder of expertise is an external reliable source, his/her recommendations add even more credibility to the advertised product. Further, I argue that instances conveying the ability to discover new products and new information (e.g. know), which help resolve the potential consumer's problem, may become evaluative in the context of advertisements, hence inscribing the capability value. In such cases, advertisements also place the manufacturer in the role of a helpful friend willing to share secrets and important information, which additionally evokes the value of positive propriety. The set of attitudes established with the instance know, realised as a process and coupled with the time grader now (comparison between the present and past knowledge), is illustrated in (4). The overlapping and layering 'problem' of attitudes is, for example, described as the "Russian doll" syndrome (e.g. an inscription of one category functioning as a token of another category) by Thompson (2014: 59).

(4) You need Lipcote. Lipcote is the original, long lasting lipstick sealer. Have the confidence that wherever you are, wherever you've been, you'll know your lipstick still looks freshly applied. Lipcote is a totally clear sealer that is quick to apply and gives your lipstick smudge and water resistance all day. You can also be sure that Lipcote will give you great looking lipstick when you are out for the evening. Whatever colour you use, Lipcote still lets you remove your lipstick easily at the end of the day. How do top make up artists and celebrities get long lasting lipstick with impact? Now you know.

token of negative judgement: capability; target: potential consumer's previous lack of knowledge

inscription of positive judgement: capability; target: potential consumer's acquisition of new knowledge

token of positive judgement: propriety; target: manufacturer sharing of information

Judgement is also frequently evoked as positive capability via instances of scientific innovation in relation to the advertised product. Such coding is based on the high value that is attributed to science in developed Western society, whereby the scientific approach does not only mean progress but also attributes the values of safety and trust to the product. The value of capability is primarily reflected in the specific technology, substances and ingredients used in the product (e.g. *soya protein Omega 3 and 6, twin strategy, biomarine collagen complex*). According to Coupland (2007), advertisers use 'scientific' language in advertisements on antiageing products in order to reinforce their authenticity.

Moreover, judgement is manifested as veracity and propriety in instances conveying the manufacturer's honest approach and credibility, which are simultaneously coded as affect, as discussed above, as well as the manufacturer's helpful approach, understanding and compassion (e.g. *we know how important it is to*). The multi- set of attitudes identified in/via a lexical item is illustrated in (5).

(5) quality and design that are guaranteed to impress

token of positive judgement: veracity; target: the manufacturer's credibility based on guarantee

token of positive appreciation: valuation; target: the product (the product's quality implied through the guarantee)

token of positive affect: security; target: the potential consumer (trust via the gurantee)

The manufacturer's care and concern, as judgement values, for the potential consumer's (individual) needs are frequently signalled with instances conveying fulfilment and goals realised as processes and coupled with the marker of purpose to (e.g. <u>designed/created</u> to help protect), the specificity graders specially and pure-ly (e.g. specially made to) and amount quantifiers conveying the number of available products, colours and flavours (e.g. 4 mouth-watering flavours, range of over 450 products, collection).

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The manufacturer's helpful, generous and concerned attitude is reflected in several other cases, hence categorised as judgement propriety. Some of these cases include the manufacturer's range of choices (e.g. choose from) and the possibility of self-decision (e.g. we'll let you decide); the manufacturer's preservation of a traditional approach to the production of meat (e.g. our skilled butchers joint the lamb by hand using traditional techniques); free services offered by the manufacturer (e.g. we invite you to celebrate our cosmo with a free haircut); the manufacturer's attempt to facilitate the fulfilment of the desired (e.g. we'll find the nearest selected salon to you); the manufacturer's professional selection of the best treatments for the potential consumer (e.g. we have chosen to offer you 5 expert treatments); demands for the potential consumer's careful behaviour in order to benefit their health (e.g. think carefully); the use of the best ingredients (e.g. the purest essence of ginger); the manufacturer's useful web pages (e.g. check our web-side). The powerful command directing the potential consumer to more information (e.g. webpages) is frequently mitigated with the courtesy phrase *please*, additionally evoking propriety targeting the manufacturer in terms of polite attitude.

Negative judgement is mainly evoked in propositions which imply a less honest approach by competitors through the use of amount quantifiers, counter-expectancy markers and denials (e.g. *not all cereals do, even give your money back*).

4.3. Appreciation

Positive appreciation is expressed abundantly, particularly via instances directly conveying reaction towards the potential consumer's appearance (e.g. *not only does my skin look <u>smoother</u> and <u>younger</u>, but it's positively <u>radiant</u>), via instances conveying the product's beneficial characteristics, such as simple use and effective problem-solving (e.g. <i>Lipcote still lets you remove your lipstick <u>easily</u>), rapid effect (e.g. <i>nothing works faster than Zovirax*), tastiness (e.g. *with six <u>delicious fruit flavours</u>*) and beneficial performance and excellence (e.g. *perfectionist*). With these benefits, positive values of, for instance, good looks, fast results and simplicity are

simultaneously emphasised. To emphasise the benefits, many appreciation values are intensified through infusion, comparison and repetition (e.g. *fantastic*, *outstanding*). Moreover, since positive appreciation is frequently encoded in instances conveying the product's naturalness (e.g. <u>natural plant extracts</u>), health (e.g. <u>healthy</u> soya protein), safety (e.g. <u>clinically</u> proven to relieve skin), efficiency (e.g. ultraeffective), innovation (e.g. with this <u>revolutionary</u> massaging rollerball), and solution and fulfilment (e.g. secret to, way), these concepts are emphasised as positive values.

Appreciation is frequently manifested in the listing of a product's benefits, beneficial performance and characteristics in order to intensify the appreciation value and emphasise the product's worth, as exemplified in (6), (7) and (8):

- (6) skin is brighter, fresher and retextured
- (7) nothing is more effective at cooling and soothing the pain
- (8) notably even complexion with a brightness

The analysis further reveals that tokens of appreciation, identified particularly as valuation, are expressed extremely frequently in advertisements, mainly because of the creative advertising language and the dependence on context, and as such are recognised as important tools for transmitting values onto society. According to Firth (1935: 37), "the complete meaning of a word is always contextual". Thus, the complete evaluative meaning of an appraisal should be found contextually.

The potential for evoking tokens of appreciation is identified primarily in the repetition of experiential meanings, the catenative process *help*, resulting processes, the material processes *improve*, *keep* and *introduce*, inclination, demanding *try*, and comparison.

The repetition of experiential meanings in the same advertisement is responsible for the disclosure of values. For instance, the values of protection, health, expertise and skin hydration are revealed through the repetition of lexical instances which convey the same experiential meanings, as in (9) and (10):

(9) the value of protection

lexico-grammatical realisation: process (protecting, protect)

Don't let your eyes reveal your age. Because eyes speak volumes, make sure they say all the right things. Clarins new Advanced Extra-Firming Eye Care promises a more youthful appearance while gently **protecting** the fragile eye contour. Eyes are the first thing we look at on someone's face. Make sure your eyes are smoother, fresher, more beautiful. New Advanced Extra-Firming Eye Contour Serum and Cream with revitalizing plant extracts. Hibiscus, Agrimony and Brown Algae in new Advanced Extra-Firming Eye Contour Serum lift, **protect**, reduce dark circles and puffiness for day-long beauty. At night, Euphrasia, Ispaghul and Gingko Biloba in new Advanced Extra-Firming Eye Contour Cream soothe, hydrate and smooth lines.

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(10) the values of health, expertise and hydration/moisturisation

lexico-grammatical realisation: epithet (healthy) and adjunct (healthily), thing (experts), process (rehydrate, moisturise), thing (water, moisturisation)

Healthy skin starts here. Most of us suffer from dry skin at some point, which can lead to it feeling flaky, itchy or tight. This is a problem that Vaseline skin experts say can affect our mood as well as our looks. In fact, research by Vaseline Intensive Care found that 60 per cent of us suffer from 'chronically dehydrated skin'. No wonder skin experts are calling this the year of the skin drought. So how can we rehydrate and care for our bodies to achieve beautiful, **healthy** skin that looks and feels its best? According to the skincare *experts* at Vaseline Intensive Care, it's a simple combination of water intake and moisturisation. Oh, and looking after ourselves a little better. Here's how.... 1 You can lose up to half a pint of water every day through your skin, so you need to drink plenty of water to maintain healthy skin. Only 10 per cent of people drink enough water, when the ideal amount is four pints a day. But you may also need to $\dots 2$ Moisturise every day. Only 30 per cent of us do - the ones of us with great skin! 3 Avoid spending too long in air-conditioned environments, or if you do, frequently moisturise- why not keep a bottle of Vaseline Intensive Care on your desk? 4 Exfoliate once a week using a scrub or loofah. This encourages cell renewal and makes your skin look and feel much better. 5 Eat *healthily* and avoid drinking too much caffeine or alcohol.

Even though, according to Kannan and Tyagi (2013: 5), help does not really mean to stop or cure, the extensive use of the catenative process help usually signals a positive reading of the following items, hence presenting them as positive values, as exemplified in (11):

(11) *it instantly helps you look younger* (value: young looks)

The demanding try usually appears at the beginning of advertisements, preced-

ing the product's name (12). With its use, the manufacturer does not only demand that the potential consumer try the product but also implies the product's positive value. The reason for trying the product is then usually provided in the following sentences via instances conveying positive attitudes. Besides the process *try*, processes such as *take, ask for* and *say yes* perform the same function.

(12) try Vicks First Defence

The greater amount of a particular ingredient signalled through comparisons adds to the product's value, hence evoking positive appreciation targeting the product, as in (13).

(13) 50% more fibre

Negative appreciation is mainly expressed directly or indirectly via ideational meanings of instances conveying diseases and their symptoms, imbalance and visual distortion of a body part, pain, difficulty, and sensitivity (e.g. *cystitis, imperfections, muscle ache, wrinkles, cellulite, head feels too small, painful, dull skin, isn't easy to detect*). Negative values are also often signalled via instances that convey an end to the problematic process, remove triggers of imbalance and improve problems, primarily realised as processes (e.g. *triumph over, correct, reduce, rid of*). In such cases, the negative value of the following notion is stimulated onwardly, resulting in the establishment of two attitudes around the process, as shown in (14), where the demand to conquer wrinkles (*triumph over*) evaluates wrinkles indirectly negatively and presents them as unwelcome in society.

(14) triumph over <u>wrinkles</u> without toxins

inscribed appreciation; target: product's beneficial performance

token of negative appreciation; target: wrinkles

The demand for a youthful and attractive appearance is often strengthened with the imperative, which acts as a strong regulator of behaviour. The constant call for improvements to our appearance in advertisements has virtually naturalised the negative status of imbalanced skin (wrinkles, fine lines, dark patches), hence strongly emphasising youth and beauty as positive and highly desired values in society.

Finally, negative appreciation is frequently evoked through comparison, whereby the multiple attitudes identified around it again support the claim about attitudinal double/multi-coding as a typical feature of advertisements, as illustrated in (15):

(15) make it easier for you to lose weight



- a *make it easier* = inscription of positive appreciation: valuation; target: the product (beneficial performance; producing beneficial result)
- b easier = inscription of positive appreciation: reaction; target: the potential consumer losing weight (easy solution = it is easy to lose weight with the product)
- c *easier* = token of negative appreciation: reaction; target: other products (losing weight with other products is easy, but is still insufficient; inadequate solution).

5. Conclusion

The analysis of attitude and the related results provide an important insight into the complex nature of attitude and its social role in advertising texts, whereby advertisements are often characterised by the creative language they use and as a "hybrid" genre, disguising itself in an attempt to conceal their primary function of selling (Hackley 2010: 12).

The analysis shows that the difference in the amount of expressed attitudinal inscriptions and tokens in advertisements under scrutiny is minor, which points to the significance of the indirectly expressed attitudes construed around the messages relating to the advertised product, and which be easily overlooked by the actual reader. The disclosure of these underlying attitudes, and consequently of values, was made possible with the application of the Martin and White discourse-semantic appraisal model (2005), in which attitude is one of the three main categories and which acknowledges the ability of language to evoke attitudes. The paper demonstrates that with these attitudes the advertisements control their credibility and influence society. The category of attitude is discussed in terms of its main subcategories of affect, judgement and appreciation, and within the context and in relation to the co-text. The focus is placed on some typical examples of attitudinal choices, their coding, targets, grammatical realisations and social effect in the form of the values and norms. Moreover, several linguistic elements are identified as triggers of attitudes, such as graders, counter-expectancy markers, inclination, experiential meanings, catenative verb *help*, resulting processes, material processes improve, keep and introduce, demanding try, repetition, and comparison. Additionally, the analysis illustrates a chain of attitudes frequently formed around/by one linguistic element or in one proposition, seeking explanation for this in the context and co-text. Similarly, Thompson (2014) and Bednarek (2014) observe that evaluation in a discourse is not single-layered and its identification seldom a matter of



one category only. However, even though the analysis of appraisals in advertisements is somewhat pioneering work, encountering many obstacles in terms of attitudinal identification and categorisation (mainly due to the creative language, brief texts, lack of co-text, and interplay between textual and visual elements), the analytical application of the appraisal model and the results in this paper show that there is more going on in advertising texts than mere description and direct evaluation of the product or service, thereby confirming the strong social load of advertisements.

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DRUŠTVENI ASPEKT DISKURSNO-SEMANTIČKOG MODELA PROCJENE U BRITANSKIM REKLAMNIM OGLASIMA: KATEGORIJA STAVOVA

Rad se bavi jezikom procjene stavova i njegovim pojavljivanjem u tekstovima 200 nasumično odabranih suvremenih tiskanih oglasa iz britanskih časopisa pretežno usmjerenih prema ženskom čitateljstvu. U svrhu ove analize, primjenjen je diskursno-semantički model procjene Martina i Whitea (2005), koji raščlanjuje stav kao jedan od tri glavna glavna sredstva stvaranja značenja na afekt, procjenu i poštovanje. U radu se predstavljaju rezultati čestote pojavljivanja izravno i neizravno iznesenih stavova u reklamnim oglasima i raspravlja se o osobinama nekih odabira pri iznošenju stavova, uključujući način njihova odražavanja, kategorizaciju im status i društveni učinak. Ne zanima nas samo jezik kojim se eksplicitno kodiraju stavovi, nego i jezični potencijal za poticanje stavova. Rezultati pokazuju da se višestruko stvaranje stavova i ogroman potencijal jezika reklamiranja da ih potakne, često kreativnom uporabom jezika, može okarakterizirati kao tipična osobina jezika reklamiranja. Tvrdim da su i eksplicitni i implicitni stavovi jedan od ključnih elemenata za uspostavljanje vrijednosti, normi i veza sudionika u komunikaciji, što čini jezik izricanja stavova društveno važnim. Također pokušavam opravdati kodiranje stavova na temelju konteksta i ko-teksta. Po sistemsko-funkcionalnoj gramatici, kontekst igra važnu ulogu pri



interpretaciji teksta te je, budući da procjena ispunjava interpersonalnu funkciju jezika, priznavanje konteksta pri interpretaciji procjena od ključne važnosti.

Ključne riječi: model procjene; procjena; reklamni oglasi; stav; društveni aspekt.