



Linnæus University
Sweden

Bachelor Thesis

Advertising as Discourse

A study of print advertisements published in The New Yorker



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Date: June 9, 2015
Subject: English Linguistics
Credits: 15

Abstract

In this thesis, I am concerned with the language of advertising. By analyzing advertising from a discourse perspective, this paper further examines the context of communication and the participants' roles in the context. This study focuses on commercial advertising, based on the assumption that the intended meaning of the advertiser is to persuade the viewer to perform a purchase. Therefore this study observes persuasive messages and how they are presented in advertising. To analyze and compare real texts from a discourse perspective present an opportunity to examine social changes that might have taken place in a society due to different temporal settings. The social changes are examined by comparing assigned gender roles in advertisements published in 1956 and advertisements published in 2014. The material consists of a total of eleven transcripts description of printed advertisements collected from *The New Yorker*. The examples used for this study have been handpicked to illustrate theories described in the background, such as those provided by Leech (1966), Hermerén (1999), Romaine (1999), Cronin (2000) and Hillier (2004). The framework for the analysis is based on Leech's (1966) concept of primary and secondary situations with corresponding primary and secondary participants. The findings suggest that advertisers can persuade the viewer by addressing the viewer directly and using exophoric references, or by inserting secondary participants to convey the message. In addition, the assigned role of women seems to have changed more than the assigned role of men in advertising discourse.

Keywords: Advertising, assigned gender roles, chronological comparison, discourse-analysis, persuasive messages

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1. Introduction

“Advertisements are selling us something else besides consumer goods: in providing us with a structure in which we, and those goods, are interchangeable, they are selling us ourselves”

Judith Williamson

In today's society it is nearly impossible to avoid being exposed to advertising, as it tends to occur in many casual situations regardless if it is a sign on a bus passing by, a television commercial or the food packages in the grocery store. The purpose of this study is to analyze advertisements as discourse, and although the main focus of a discourse analysis is on language, it also examines the context of communication (Cook 2001:3). Therefore this study is also concerned with the participants in the discourse: who is communicating with whom and for what purpose.

At the root of the word 'advertisement' is the Latin verb 'advertere' meaning 'to turn towards' (Goddard 1998:6). Advertising is not necessarily easy to define, but in general the concept of advertising can be decided as either commercial or non-commercial. This study focuses on commercial advertising, based on the knowledge that the intended meaning of the advertiser is not only to communicate the concept of a product or service, but also to persuade the viewer to perform a purchase. Therefore this paper observes persuasive messages and how they are presented in advertising.

The society and the context are of importance in a discourse analysis, which presents an opportunity to observe social changes in a society from a chronological perspective. In this paper, the society is examined in terms of temporal settings and the social changes that might have taken place in the United States of America in the intervening of 60 years. The social changes examined are changes in the role of women, reflected in how gender roles are assigned in advertising.

This study uses a small sample of data as a basis for the comparison between American printed advertisements published in 1956 and in 2014. Each printed advertisement analyzed in this study has been collected from the American magazine 'The New Yorker'. The New Yorker is a weekly magazine based in New York City which reports on various subjects from popular culture, science and politics. Since the magazine has been published since 1925, The New Yorker has been kept alive for decades in a multicultural, fast changing, English speaking society which makes it a suitable basis for a discourse analysis.

1.1 Aim, Scope and Research Questions

The aim of this paper is to examine advertising as discourse; how advertisements are presented to persuade a viewer to buy a particular product or to present that product in as desirable way as possible. In addition, this paper attempts to describe the relationship between the advertiser and the received role of women in a society by comparing different chronological periods. In order to obtain the aim, real printed advertisements from the American magazine 'The New Yorker' published in 1956 are analyzed and compared with real printed advertisement from the same magazine published in 2014. In the circumstances, the following research questions will be covered in the paper:

1. How do persuasive messages appear to be presented in advertising?
2. What do the findings suggest about the viewer being addressed?
3. How are gender roles assigned in advertising?
4. What appear to be the differences in gender roles assigned in advertising today compared with 60 years ago?

As the small amount of data used in this paper, the method adopted for the analysis is likewise limited. Firstly, there are valuable areas of advertising discourse which is not covered in this paper such as the areas of functional grammar and semiotics. Secondly, the framework adopted for this study could be further categorized into Indirect Address Monologues and Indirect Address Dialogues as done in previous research by Hillier (2004) and Leech (1966). Indeed, the examples are limited and this paper uses only a small amount of data for the comparison of printed advertisements published in the 1950s and the current decade. Given the limitations of the material, the analysis section can only serve for qualitative purposes and the results cannot be generalized. The analysis of the materials aims to identify and examine linguistic features presented in the theoretical background in order to provide answers to the research questions. The area of advertising is interesting to a discourse analyst because advertising texts have are produced for a specific purpose; to persuade the viewer to perform a purchase or to present a product in as desirable way as possible. The following section presents the area of advertising as discourse; who is communicating with whom in advertising and for what purpose.

2. Theoretical background/Previous research

2.1 Advertising as discourse

The analysis of discourse is the analysis of language in use. While some linguistics may concentrate on determining the formal properties of a language, the discourse analyst is committed to an investigation on what the language is used for (Brown 1983:1). The discourse of advertising is based on the assumption that the text is produced with the intentions of persuading the viewer to buy a product or a service, or to present that product or service as desirable as possible to the viewer.

Hermerén (1999: 35) discusses the persuasive effect of commercial advertising, comparing advertising with the process of persuasion, which can be divided into four components: comprehension, acceptance, attitude change and retention of the message (Sandell 1977:73-74 cited in Hermerén 1999:35). A text produced with the intention of selling a product or service will likely intend to guide the viewer through the process of persuasion. That is, in order for a message to have a persuasive function on the receiver, the receiver first has to comprehend the message and accept it as well as being ready to develop a positive attitude towards what is being promoted.

Even though it might seem like purchasing or reacting to an advertisement is a personal choice, research shows that the way we process information lies outside of our conscious control of awareness (Sedivy & Carlson 2011:577). This gives advertisers great advantage when attempting to persuade with an advertisement; whether or not the advertisement is noticed as an advertisement or not it will still be processed in the receiver's mind as information.

The effect of a persuasive message is shown in the viewer's assessment of the information given in the message. While the reaction to a miss-assessment is that of correction, *impositions* are normally accepted by the viewer who adjusts his or her perspective on the matter. Whether or not it is appropriate to impose one's own concern on the viewer depends on the interpersonal relationship between the participants in a speech event (Egorova 2014:2). Advertisers, of course, have no interpersonal relationship with the viewer and depend on linguistic sources to create one.

Hermerén (1999:40) states that in a mass-communication, it is understandable if the receiver of a message often finds the message irrelevant knowing that thousands, perhaps millions of other people get the same message. It is therefore important to create the impression that what is being promoted is important to the viewer. According to Hermerén (1999:40), attempts at personalization can take different forms. One is to address the receiver as if he was an old friend; another is to have a celebrity or a stereotype that the viewer will recognize engage with the viewer (Hermerén 1999:40). Other researchers have observed the importance of the address situation and participants in advertising discourse, as will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 The Address situation and participants

In 1966, Leech presented a framework for a linguistic description of the advertising situation (Hillier 2004:185). Leech's framework for a linguistic description of 'the advertising situation', as described in Hillier (2004:185-86), was adopted for this study since it has proved to be powerful tool for analyzing a range of advertisements (Hillier 2004:185). The foundation of Leech's approach is in his concept of primary and secondary situations and their corresponding primary and secondary participants (Hillier 2004:186). In a primary address situation, the advertiser may appear to be addressing the viewer directly. This is characterized by Leech as *Direct Address* advertising (Hillier 2004:186).

Sometimes a secondary situation is created within the primary situation, and such an advertisement will introduce secondary participants to convey the message. This is further characterized by Leech as *Indirect Address* advertising (1966:34-35). In this situation, the consumer may be addressed via a range of secondary participants such as celebrities, ordinary house wives or fictional characters (Hillier 2004:186). Many advertisers in fact use a mixture of Indirect and Direct Address (Leech 1966; Hillier 2004:186).

Hillier (2004:176-206) used a small amount of data as a basis for the comparison of British television advertisements broadcasted in the 1950s and in the 1990s-2000s. Her findings suggest that there was a tendency towards lesser usage of Direct Address advertising in the 1990s-2000s compared with the 1950s. Hillier further mentions that the preference for forms of Indirect Address may represent a movement away from the more obvious hard-sell approach (Hillier 2004:202). Hillier (2004:187) further points out that one valuable aspect of this type of study, is that it presents an opportunity to explore how far Leech's framework from 1966 continues to account for today's advertising texts.

Cohesion is the term referring to the linguistic devices by which the speaker can signal the coherence of the text. It is used to create continuity and fluency of the text. English sentences can be linked in various ways, among which repetition of an element and reference by means of pronouns are among the most important (Halliday 1976). In addition, Cook (2001:157) also points out that the most distinctive features of advertising is its usage of pronouns. In discourse in general, the third person pronoun might be either *endophoric* (referring to a noun phrase within the text) or *exophoric* (referring to something or someone familiar mutual knowledge). The first and the second pronouns are, other than in quoted speech, most usually exophoric (Cook 2001:157).

I means the addresser and *you* is the addressee. Furthermore, Cook (2001:158) argues that the *you* of advertising has a kind of *double exophora* referring to someone in the advertisement and to the receiver's own self. The dual identity of *you* is matched by the mysterious identity of the sender, which is not revealed, through sometimes referred to as *we* (Cook 2001:159). The presence

of another participant distract from this absence, creating an illusion that the dialogue is between the character and the viewer.

Our ability to interpret exophoric references is based on our pre-existing knowledge structure which functions as familiar patterns for previous experiences (Yule 1996:84). When attempting to create a persuasive message, the writer has to assume that the receiver is currently concerned with the matter that the message expresses. In advertising discourse, the markers strongly rely on the common associative knowledge of the audience (Egorova 2014:32). The notion of interlocutor distance is closely related to the notion of relevance and referential portraits (Egorova 2014:93); meaning the advertisers advantageously relies on references already existing in the viewer's set of knowledge.

The advertiser might wish to refer to someone or something which the advertiser assumes is familiar to the viewer. The viewer will then decide that he or she is a member of the group to whom the rule applies or an outsider to whom the rule does not apply (Yule 1996:12). For example, an advertisement for razorblades claiming to "make you feel like a goddess" will most likely not attract many men because "goddess" might not apply to their self-concern. By further involving the viewer in the process of meaning decoding by making them pick out some knowledge out of their knowledge set, advertisers leave the viewer with the impression that they, the viewers themselves, came up with the idea on their own (Egorova 2014:90).

Williamson (1978:20-28) argues that advertising sets up connections between certain types of people and certain products. She illustrates this with a piece of perfume advertisements from a manufacturer making a connection using exophoric referencing, namely a name drawn from outside the ad world (Williamson 1978:25). In this illustration Catherine Deneuve's name and face are shown together with the scent Chanel No. 5, and Williamson argues that what Catherine Deneuve's face means to the viewer (from films or magazines) also comes to mean in the world of consumer goods. She further argues that "the work of the advertiser is not to invent a meaning for No. 5, but to translate meaning for it by means of a system we already know"(Williamson 1978:25). It is Deneuve's position in a system of signs where she represents flawless French beauty, which makes it useful as a piece of linguistic currency to sell Chanel (Williamson 1987:26).

Goddard (1998:5) supports this claim by stating that "for adverts to work, they must use our commonly shared resources of language in ways that affect us and mean something to us". Her position is that advertisements are forms of discourse which make powerful contribution to how we construct our identities (Goddard 1998:4), and that advertising texts can be seen as potentially involving notions of audience, where readers have to work hard to decode messages and understand different address relationships (Goddard 1998:10).

Goddard likewise discusses the roles of the participants in advertising, stating that the advertisements are likely to indicate a kind of person that is presumed to exist, and that he or she might be someone that the viewer will be likely to identify himself or herself with (Goddard 1998:32).

2.3 Representation of gender roles in advertising

Cook (2001:6) argues that a society is its senders, receivers, discourses and situations. A participant is identified by his or her language, position in society and knowledge of other discourses (Cook 2001:6). With this statement in mind, it can be discussed that the position of women and men in a society can be reflected in how the advertiser chooses to address the viewer. Researchers such as Romaine (1999:251-290), Cronin (2000:55-81) and Hillier (2004:175-207) have observed assigned gender roles in the context of advertising, and their work is presented in this section as basis for the analysis.

Cronin (2000:55-82) compared the forms of textual address found in female-target advertisement and in male-target advertisement. In order to do so she selected print advertisements in French and British popular magazines with different target audience, more specifically a glossy women's magazine, a popular culture magazine and a business magazine (Cronin 2000:55-81). From an initial analysis, the author noted the presence of ironic and self-conscious forms of address in advertisement (Cronin 2000: 57). She refers to these types of advertisements as *reflexive*, meaning that they are explicit about their position and offer the viewers a complicity in this knowledge (Cronin 2000:57). In addition, a reflexive address actively incorporates an assumption of the viewer's knowledge (Cronin 2000:57).

In her results, she found that the advertisements targeted ad women were overwhelmingly *unreflexive* in the way that they did not display this form of explicit distancing and self-conscious presentation of the advertiser's relation to the viewer (Cronin 2000:65). *Unreflexive* advertisement use spatial and sequential devices to produce meaning, while *reflexive* advertisements do not mobilize textual associations in literal ways (Cronin 2000:81).

Cronin further analyses the textual address of one male-targeted reflexive advertisement and one female-targeted unreflexive advertisement. In a men-targeted Becks beer advertisement from 1990 she demonstrates how irony operates as a textual strategy. The advert is framed by a black line at the top of the advert with the text "Brewed in Germany. Drunk all over the world" continuing with a tagline stating "On the jungle juice again" (Cronin 2000:74). Cronin argues that this humorous tagline makes an ironic interpretation of the advertisement available.

In opposition, the female-targeted advertisement from Cronin's analysis is *unreflexive*. Guerlain produced the advertisement in 1995 for the perfume Un Air the Samsara. Here the text

reads “..not quite the same, not quite another” together with the brand name and an image of the perfume and a white woman sitting on a rock (Cronin 200:80). Typically of the *unreflexive* advertisements is that they draw together codes of difference and functions through the assumption that viewers will recognize and situate these codes (Cronin 2000:80). Cronin argues that through the tagline the advertisement aims to produce sign of feminine exotism and beauty mediated through the surroundings and product name.

Romaine (1999:252) likewise examines how women are portrayed in advertising and points out that, for a long time, advertisers seemed to believe that women were more easily persuaded and influenced than men. In addition, collocations between the word intelligent and words for females were much less frequent than between words for intelligent and words for males at the end of the 20th century (Romaine 1999:258). According to Romaine, women are also more likely to be portrayed as purchasers of household products and cosmetics, and men as buyers of large items like cars (1999:254).

She illustrates one of the textual strategies used by cosmetic brands targeted as women by analyzing an advertisement for Max Factor foundation. The advertisement is showing a life-size model’s face with a text asking “Is her skin really this beautiful?” with the reply “Not without a little help, it isn't ... Don’t you love being a woman? Max Factor”. By offering the product name instead of ‘yes’ as the reply, the ad implies that wanting to be a beautiful woman is the same as putting on Max Factor makeup (Romaine 1999:258).

Romaine argues that looking at the face of such advertisements is like looking into a mirror at a glamorous version of the self as the viewer wish it would interpreted, and claims that such features appeal to a fantasy of that superficial alterations can transform a woman’s personality and even her whole life. She further claims that a huge variety of magazine advertisements aimed at women hold out the prospect of being a better mother, wife, lover and so on through following the right advice and, of course, by buying the right products (Romaine 1999:258). This is illustrated in an example for dishwashing liquid stating “Dishes so shiny you can see yourself in them .. and that’s a nice reflection of you”(Romaine 1999:273).

In many examples of advertisements from the 50s up until the end of the 20th century, advertising texts discussed how a woman should be concerned about her partner’s health by looking after his diet (Romaine 1999:275). According to Romaine, there are fewer advertisements in which the man is portrayed as being responsible for his wife’s physical well-being. Instead, men are occasionally cast in the role of family protector in advertisements for life-insurance and investment products (Romaine 1999:276).

However, there are reasons to believe that advertisements these days portray women in less stereotypical roles. Studies show that women with their own financial resources are among the most

resistant to being persuaded to buy products through advertising (Romaine 1999:278). The best argument for persuading advertisers to change their tactics are after all economic, and when it is in their economic interest, advertisers will also exploit a kind of reverse-gender stereotyping or try to reform our images of masculinity and femininity and their associations with particular products (Romaine 1999:283). Williamson (2002:1) likewise claims that advertisements reflect social developments and it has become commonplace to assume that modern advertisements have become more sophisticated, since its audience is more knowing than those of the 1950s.

Hillier (2004:202-06) found in her comparison between British television advertisements from the 1950s and from the 1990s-2000s that there has been a noticeable change in the treatment of both male and female secondary participants in advertising discourse (Hillier 2004:204). Men are no longer being treated as authorial figures that require care by others, principally women (Hillier 2004:204). Hillier (2004:204) also found that men in present texts may manage to feed themselves, an interesting comparison with the tendencies discussed above by Romaine (1999:275).

The observations described in this section are important because they illustrate how gender roles can be assigned in advertising. Therefore the materials for this study, which are presented in the following section, have been hand-picked to illustrate the observations and findings described above.

3. Material and Method

3.1 Material

The material for this study is collected from the American magazine “The New Yorker”; one issue from 1956 is compared with an issue from 2014. Each advertisement collected for this research was handpicked in order to illustrate theories presented in the background. Six print advertisements were collected to present advertisements published in 1956, whereas five advertisements were collected to present advertisements published in 2014. Since a qualitative analysis is used in this paper it is the content of the texts that is of importance, which is why the modern issue provides five examples.

The advertisements collected from 1956 consist of one male-targeted lipstick advertisement published by the former cosmetic company Coty and one female-targeted face wash advertisement published by the former cosmetic company Charles of the Ritz. The advertisements collected from 1956 further consist of one male-targeted cigarette advertisement published by Parliaments, one male-targeted clothing advertisement published by Alligator and one female-targeted clothing advertisement published by B.H. Wragge. The last advertisement from 1956 is a soup advertisement published by Crosse & Blackwell.

The advertisements collected from 2014 consist of one male-targeted car advertisement published by Lexus and another male-targeted advertisement published by iShares (2014). In addition, the advertisements collected from 2014 further consist of an advertisement for headphones published by Bose and an energy advertisement published by Chevron. Fidelity Investment published the final advertisement collected from the issue of 2014. The material therefore consists of transcript descriptions of a total of eleven printed advertisements represented in the table below:

Table 1 - Collected advertisement for the analysis section

The New Yorker, April 28, 1956	The New Yorker, June 16, 2014
(1) <i>A lipstick ad for men only, Coty</i>	(7) <i>Visionaries see the world their own way, Lexus</i>
(2) <i>Velvet foam, Charles of the Ritz</i>	(8) <i>Shared Funds can help you keep more of what you earn, iShares</i>
(3) <i>You'll want everyone to know, Parliaments</i>	(9) <i>All I need to hear is that song, Bose</i>
(4) <i>Raincoat Number One, Alligator</i>	(10) <i>Protecting the planet is everyone's job, Chevron</i>
(5) <i>K.K;s wife wears B.H. Wragge, B.H. Wragge</i>	(11) <i>More to appreciate , Fidelity Investment</i>
(6) <i>Reading the male mind, Crosse & Blackwell</i>	

The materials collected for this analysis differ in their temporal setting, since each was produced and expected to be received in different chronological periods. This was done in order to observe perceived gender roles in a society and the social changes which might have taken place in the United States of America in the intervening of 60 years. This timespan was considered suitable since there has been a well-known change in many parts of the world regarding the role of women in society.

3.2 Method

A qualitative method was used for this study, with the ultimate goal to examine the language used for persuasive purpose in advertising discourse. Leech's framework, based on his concept of primary and secondary situations with corresponding primary and secondary participants as described in Hillier (2004:185-86), was adopted for this study. The research examines a limited set of material, which has been handpicked to illustrate the observations presented in section 2. In addition, the analysis is carried out in two broad stages. Each advertisement is analyzed according to the situational framework and designated in terms of Address situation (Direct and Indirect Address advertisements) as well as the different participants and their roles. Each advertisement is presented with a commentary text, identifying what seems to be the most significant linguistic

feature in the presentation of the particular message. The situational analysis is based only on the linguistic contributions in each text (Hillier 2004:191) and relates to the claims and insight to previous researches such as Hillier (2004) and Cook (2001).

Each text was examined against this framework and the Address situation, as well as the relevant participant roles, was identified. Furthermore, a commentary text was prepared for each text, identifying what seemed to be the most significant linguistic features of the message. Hillier (2004:191) refers to this as *the situational analysis* which is based only on the linguistic contributions in each text. Since this is a limited study, the analysis treats Indirect Advertisement as one categorization. Instead other aspects of the presentation of persuasive messages in advertising are examined in the situational analysis, such as Cronin's (2000:55-82) framework for examining *reflexive* and *unreflexive* advertisements.

4. Analysis and discussion

4.1 Advertisements published in 1956

Coty (1956) published an advertisement promoting their new lipstick 'Coty 24'. What is particularly interesting about this advertisement is that even though the lipstick was intended to be used by women, the target audience was men. The reason for this is likely because men were expected to possess higher financial resources than their wives in 1956. The headline ironically reads "A lipstick ad for men only!" in example (1):

(1.1) Your wife is a wizard - what she does in a day would tire four strong men. Still she manages to look charming across the dinner table.

This is a Direct Address advertisement where the advertiser chooses to address the viewer directly by using the second person possessive pronoun *your* (wife). Another exophoric reference is quickly introduced in the text, namely the viewer's wife. This reference is exophoric because it refers to someone that the viewer is assumed to have knowledge about. Given that the viewer is someone belonging to the target audience (a married man with a wife), he will read the reference and think about his wife. While the viewer has his wife in mind, an imposition is used as the viewer is introduced to 'the problem' which he may or may not yet know exists:

(1.2) But by dawn's early light, it's a different story. Gone are last night's rosy lips. The pale, washed-out lips that greet you are something less than devastating.

By using this imposition, the viewer is persuaded to associate his wife with pale, washed-out morning lips and is also informed by the advertisement that those lips are a problem. If the viewer has already accepted the reference about his wife, this association will be made outside his conscious control of awareness. Of course, the following text provides a ‘suggestion’ to this ‘problem’:

- (1.3) Naturally, you don't expect your wife to wear lipstick to bed. But Coty has news for you - good news. There is a lipstick - called Coty 24 - that is utterly different from any other. At bedtime, she can wash it off, cleanse it off, even scrub it off - and still keep the colour on all night! And then comes the morning miracle. Your wife wakes up beautiful - with clean, radiant colour glowing on her lips.

If the viewer is persuaded successfully, he will comprehend the message and develop a positive attitude towards the lipstick because it provides a solution to his wife's pale lips. Perhaps he will wake up the next day and notice his wife's pale lips with the lipstick in mind.

The headline of this advertisement is also interesting because it is using irony as a textual strategy. “A lipstick ad for men only” can be interpreted as rather humorous and ironic. The headline can also be described as self-conscious because it describes itself as an advertisement, and is therefore explicit about its position as an advertisement and offer the viewer complicity in this knowledge. As described in section 2.3, Cronin (2000:55-82) refers to these types of adverts as *reflexive* and found that they are typical for men-targeted advertisements, and this example illustrates that theory.

In order to discuss Cronin's theory further, another cosmetic commercial was collected for the analysis. Charles of the Ritz, a former cosmetic brand produced an advertisement to promote their new face wash Velvet foam which was published in the same issue of 1956. This example is a Direct Address advertisement since the advertiser addresses the viewer directly by using the second person possessive pronoun *your*. Example (2) reads:

- (2) (A picture of the product) .. a new face wash that supplants soap-and-water washing. Velvet foam gives your face an exhilarating feeling of scrubbed cleanliness, yet leaves it silken soft. Non-alkaline, non-drying, its luxurious lather cleans gently and thoroughly without washing away the natural oils that keep your skin looking young.

Typically of the female-targeted unreflexive advertisements is that they draw together codes of functions from their surroundings with the text. In this example, a picture of the promoted product (Velvet foam) is inserted in the beginning of the first sentence instead of the name *Velvet foam*. By doing so the advertiser assumes that the viewer will recognize and situate these codes.

The reason why advertisers, according to Cronin (2000:55-82) and these examples, tend to use unreflexive adverts for women could be, as stated by Romaine (1999:252) because advertisers seemed to believe for a long time that women were more easily persuaded and influenced than men. By using reflexive adverts for the male audience the advertiser incorporates an assumption of the viewer's knowledge. The previous headline "A lipstick ad for men only!" might be used because the targeted men are assumed to know that the text is an advertisement, but are expected to read the following text because the headline catches their attention by using irony.

As Romaine (1999:258) stated, collocations between words for intelligent and words for men were far more frequent than collocations between words for intelligent and words for women. Parliaments (1956) promoted their cigarettes with the headline "You'll want everyone to know .. You're so smart to smoke Parliaments". Example (3) is similarly a Direct Address advertisement, but in this case, the 'you' has the kind of double exophoric function mentioned in section 2.2 because it is referring to the hunter in the text as well as the receiver's own self. This is illustrated in example (3):

- (3) Stalking wild game with Parliaments? A risky bit, Sahib. Even with the new 85- millimetre King Size! Yet some smokers go surprisingly far to let everyone know there is something special about Parliaments. And you, too, will appreciate the crush-proof cigarette case.. the suburb tobaccos ... the luxurious flavuor .. and above all, the exclusive Mouthpiece that keeps the filter deeply recessed away from your lips. With Parliaments, only the flavour touches your lips!

The *you* in the text appears to be referring to an exotic hunter by beginning the text with "Stalking wild game with Parliaments? A bit risky, Sahib¹". By referring to *you* (the viewer) and the exotic hunter (Sahib), the advertiser relies on the hunting man being someone that the viewers would like to identify themselves with.

It can be argued that this advertisement is rather *reflexive* (in the sense of Cronin) which is not surprising considered the fact that this is a male-targeted advertisement. The opening line; "Stalking wild game with Parliaments? A risky bit, Sahib", makes a humorous interpretation

¹ 'Sahib' is a polite title or form of address for a man according to the Oxford Dictionary of English.

available and the text is explicit about its position as an advertisement, which is typical for reflexive advertisements.

Another advertising from 1956 that is using the word *smart* in the opening line is the clothing company Alligator in their advert published to promote their new raincoat at the time. The headline reads “Raincoat number one” in example (4):

- (4) You’ll look so smart in your alligator travelweight, come rain, wind or chill. You’ll enjoy the exclusive fabric .. the way it looks, protects, wears. Extra high count fine cotton yarns, tightly interlocked, so strong, yet so luxurious soft and smoothly draped.

This is another example of Direct Address advertising because the advertiser is using the second person pronoun *you* to address the viewer directly and no secondary participants are inserted to convey the message. The text is inserted with a picture demonstrating the masculine raincoat, and the exophoric reference *you* in the opening line makes a statement about the viewer’s identity when claiming “You’ll look smart in your alligator travelweight”. The assumption that the male-targeted audience would be concerned about looking smart in 1956 reflects the pattern later discovered by Romaine (1999:258). If the advertiser is right about the viewer’s wish to identify himself as smart, the viewer is expected to develop a positive attitude towards the raincoat because it is portrayed as expressing what he wishes to identify himself as.

Another, here female-targeted advertisement, attempts to personalize their text by using a stereotype that the target audience is likely to recognize. The headline from B.H Wragge (1956) states “K.K’s wife wears B.H. Wragge” in example (5):

- (5) Dynamic clothes for outdoor living that never seem high-pressured. Like these examples: A. Sheath of sea-cove silk with shoestring straps. Over a striped coat can double as a dress with its jeweled buttons closed.

This is an example of Indirect Address advertising. *K.K’s wife* can be identified by the photos picturing a beautiful, well-dressed wife. As discussed in section 2.3 many advertisement hold out the prospect of being a better wife as achievable by buying the right products (Romaine 1999:273). Goddard (1998:10) further discusses how advertisements are forms of discourse which make powerful contributions to how we construct our identity. The advertisers are likely to indicate a person that is presumed to exist, and that she is someone that the viewer would like to identify themselves with (Goddard 1998:32). Example (5) illustrates *K.K.’s wife* as a stereotype of the

perfect housewife in the 1950s, and by reading the reference *K.K.'s wife* and looking at the pictures of the beautiful well-dressed housewife, the meaning of what the perfect housewife is to the viewer comes to mean in the world of consumer goods. The perfect housewife is represented in her clothes, which are described in the advertising text.

Unreflexive advertisements, which according to Cronin (2000:55-82) are overwhelmingly used in female-targeted advertising, use spatial devices to produce meaning, which is illustrated in these photos picturing K.K.'s wife. The viewer has to draw together codes of function to create meaning of K.K.'s wife, and it can be argued that this is another example of an unreflexive female-targeted advertisement.

As described in the background, Romaine (1999:275) found that in many examples of advertisements from the 50s up until the end of the 20th century, advertising texts discussed how women should be concerned with their partner's health by looking after their diet. An example illustrating Romaine's finding is an advertisement promoting 'French Style Onion Soup' published by 'Crosse & Blackwell' 1956. The headline states "Reading the male mind....it's French style onion soup by Crosse & Blackwell". Example (6) reads:

- (6) The husband who drags his feet past the soup display has but one thing on his mind: French Style Onion Soup, by Crosse & Blackwell. Shopping bag and store fade away, as thoughts of rich beef stock, savoury onions, delicate seasoning swim before his eyes. Quickest way to get him home is to buy a can.

This example illustrates another Direct Address advertisement. The target-audience seems to be the stereotypical housewife who is concerned about her husband's diet rather than her own. As discussed by Romaine (1999) and Hillier (2004), there are many examples of these types of representation of women from the 1950s. Example (6) likewise illustrates how advertisers indicate that the prospect of being a better wife is available by buying the right products by stating "Quickest way to get him home is to buy a can".

4.2 Advertisements published in 2014

"Visionaries see the world their own way" is the headline of an advertisement produced by Lexus in 2014, with the following tagline "the visionary Lexus LS". Example (7) reads:

- (7) Seeing beyond the obvious. Revealing the hidden. Anticipating the future. These are all the qualities of a visionary, as evident in the extraordinary

LS. A showcase of Lexus innovation, offering technologies designed to help keep you safe, informed and in command. Learn more about Lexus visionary technologies at lexus.com.

In this example by Lexus, the advertiser has chosen to address the viewer directly which makes example (7) a Direct Address advertisement. However, this text also relies on the usage of another reference, namely the visionary. *Visionaries* are the subject of the headline, and the advertising text begins with describing the qualities of visionary as someone who can see beyond the obvious, reveal the hidden and anticipate the future.

These qualities are thereafter given the car that is being promoted. The car is further pictured together with a male silhouette. The text seems to rely on the fact that the qualities of a visionary are qualities that the target-audience would like to possess, and by giving the promoted car these qualities as an imposition, the viewers might identify themselves with the promoted car. Suddenly, *the visionary* of the text is replaced with the second person pronoun *you* (to help keep you safe). The fact that the *you* is inserted instead of *the visionary* in the latter part of the text indicates that there is what Cook (2001:159) refers to as *double exophora*. The *you* of this text is referring to the visionary as well as the viewer's own self.

As mentioned in section 2.3, Romaine (1999:276) found that men are occasionally cast in the role of family protector in ads for life-insurance advertisements or investment advertisements. iShares describes themselves as 'the world largest investment manager' in their advertisement from 2014 and is further using a mix between Direct Address and Indirect Address situation to convey their message.

The headline in this example reads "I'm investigating for the long run. I want to keep more of what I earn" together with a picture of a middle aged man wearing workout clothes in a park. The first sentences are using Indirect Address advertising by using a secondary participant is to convey the message. It can be discussed that since he is a middle aged man wearing workout clothes, he is likely inserted to represent the target audience. If the target audience consists of middle aged men who earn money, they might recognize themselves in this secondary participant.

If the targeted viewer has, subconsciously, identified himself with the middle aged man who earns money and wants to keep more of what he earns, he has already accepted the message.

Example (8) reads:

- (8) iShares Funds can help you keep more of what you earn. iShare Funds are diversified, low cost and tax efficient. They cost 1/3 as much as the typical mutual found. To find out more, ask your financial advisor or visit iShares.com.

The exophoric reference *your* is used in the text. As in the previous example from Lexus, the usage of ‘you’ has the double exophoric function discussed by Cook (2001). The ‘you’ in this case, is addressing the viewer as well as the secondary participant, presented in the first part of the advertisement, by suggesting a solution to the middle aged man who wants to keep more of what he earns. If the viewer has accepted the message by identifying himself with the secondary participant, his wish of keeping more of what he earns is answered by presenting the “iShare Funds” as an imposition.

The usage of Indirect Address advertising within the Direct Address advertisement invites the viewer to participate in the conversation through the secondary participant. As mentioned in section 2.1, it is only appropriate to impose one’s own concern on the viewer if there is a personal relationship in the speech event (Egorova 2014:2). By inviting the viewer to participate through the secondary participant role that he is likely to identify himself with, the advertiser has created an imagined interpersonal relationship with the viewer which is improving the chances of persuading the viewer to buy the service.

Another advertisement that is making use of a secondary participant to convey the message is the company Bose, promoting their new headphones QuietComfort20. The secondary participant in this advertisement is the professional golfer Rory McIlroy. Example (9.1) reads:

- (9.1) When I won my first major, I listened to the same song every day on the way to the tournament. It played in my head over and over all the way around the course. So whenever I want to remember that winning feeling, all I need to hear is that song.

Like the example presented in section 2.3 by Williamson (1978:20-28), advertising sets up connections between certain types of people and certain types of products. In this case, the professional golfer McIlroy participates in conveying the message, which means that this text is using Indirect Address advertising. However, he does not seem to be promoting the product openly, instead he speaks about ‘the winning feeling’ and how a song can be associated with that particular feeling. The viewers does not have to be familiar with McIlroy or wishing to identify themselves as golfers, but they might want to relate to ‘the winning feeling’ that he describes and how that feeling can be associated with a particular song. There is also a Direct Address situation inserted because beneath the message conveyed by McIlroy, see example (9.2):

- (9.2) Our first in-ear noise cancelling headphones - for better sound every day, everywhere you go. Ask how you can make easy payments with no interest charges from Bose. And lose yourself in your music.

The latter part is using Direct Address advertising, and the exophoric *you* is once again inserted and in the same way as in the two examples described above. When the viewer has accepted the message conveyed by McIlroy that a particular song can be associated with ‘the winning feeling’, the noise cancelling headphones are inserted as an imposition.

As discussed by Cook (2001) and Hillier (2004) the *we* of advertisement can be rather mysterious. In advertisements collected from 2014, secondary participants are often inserted to convey the message and this can be done in various ways. Example (10) is an advertisement collected from Chevron, an energy company involved in the oil industry that published an advertisement in 2014 with the headline “Protecting the planet is everyone’s job. We agree”. What is interesting about this particular text is that there are two signatures beneath the headline. One of the signatures belongs to the ‘Environmental Manager’ Russel Lagdon and the other belongs to Dr. Harry Butler, an ‘Australian Naturalist’.

Chevron is a company which have been accused of environmental damage in the past (Chevron 2014) and it can be assumed that they, for that fact, are eager to present themselves as reliable. By using the opening line “Protecting the planet is everyone’s job” (which is something that many people can be assumed to agree with), and thereafter adding “We agree.” together with the signatures of two people portrayed as reliable sources by their titles, they are taking advantage of two secondary participants.

One of these secondary participants is given the title “Australian Naturalist” it appears to have nothing to do with the company, and the other one is the company’s ‘Environment Manager’. Example (10) reads:

- (10) We go to extraordinary lengths to protect the integrity of the places where we operate. Places all over the world, like Australia’s Barrow Island. It’s home to hundreds of native species of wildlife, including wallabies, ospreys, and perenties. We’ve been producing energy on the island for more than 40 years, and it remains a Class A Nature Reserve. Proving that with the right management, industry and the environment can co-exist. Learn more at chevron.com.

The “we agree” signed by the ‘Australian Naturalist’ and the ‘Environmental Manager’ of the company is matched by the *we* presented in the text. There is no exophoric second or third person

pronouns used in this case, but notice how more than 10% of the words somehow relates to nature or animal species in the text. It seems as these words are inserted to induce mental references to nature together with the *we*, representing Chevron together with the secondary participants.

There were no advertisements in the issue of 2014 that were openly female-targeted and therefore no advertisements with portrayed as responsible for their husband's or children's well-being. Similarly, there were no advertisements published in the issue of 2014 that used irony as a textual strategy.

A few advertisements published in 2014 used Direct Address advertising without using other participants or stereotypes. In this Direct Address advertisement published by Fidelity Investment it seems like the *we* is more present than the *you*. The headline reads "More to appreciate. We'll help you build the retirement you want" introducing themselves directly. Thereafter they present themselves by describing what they offer, see example (11):

(11)

- Free help from our investment professionals.
- A wide range of investment choices for growth, income or both.
- Ways to manage taxes and help keep your money working efficiently.

There is nothing indicating that example (11) is either male or female-targeted, text is short and consistent and focuses on the company's services. In "We'll help you build the retirement you want" the advertiser is addressing the viewer directly, presenting themselves as *we*.

4.3 Discussion on persuasive messages presented in advertising

As discussed in section 2.1, the process of persuasion can be divided into four components (Sandell 1977:73-74 cited in Hermerén 1999:35), namely comprehension, acceptance, attitude change and retention of the message. One of the ways of which the viewer can be guided through the comprehension and acceptance of the message is by the usage of exophoric references. This is illustrated in many of the examples presented in the analysis of advertisements published in 1956.

Example (1) from Coty (1956) uses two exophoric references, firstly the exophoric *you* and secondly the exophoric reference *your wife*. The advertiser then imposes the idea of the wife (from outside the advertisement world) as needing more colorful lips by using the lipstick 'Coty24'. As pointed out by Egorova (2014:2), it is usually only socially appropriate to impose one's own concern on another if participants in a speech event have an interpersonal relationship. In order for the viewer to accept the message and change his attitude towards what is being promoted, the advertisers have to create an imagined interpersonal relationship with the viewers.

According to Hermerén (1999:40) advertisers can create an imagined interpersonal relationship with the viewer by addressing the viewer as if he or she was an old friend, perhaps by using exophoric references indicating a sort of mutual knowledge about the viewer's life. Such mutual knowledge might be 'the wife' in advertisement (1) published by Coty in 1956 or 'the husband' in the advertisement (6) published by Crosse & Blackwell the same year. The advertiser might also have a celebrity engage with the viewer, such as professional golfer in advertisement (9) published by Bose in 2014.

Hillier (2004) and Leech (1966) illustrate the same idea, but choose to refer to these as two advertising situations: Direct Address advertising and Indirect Address advertising. As noted, only one of the advertisements collected from 1956 were *Indirect Address* advertisements. The truth is that it was difficult to find examples of printed advertisements in the issue of *The New Yorker* from 1956 that used Indirect Address advertising.

This supports the previous findings by Hillier (2004: 176-206) that there was a tendency towards lesser use of Direct Address situations in the 1990s-2000s in television advertisements. It can be argued that this pattern occurs also in printed advertising, as the majority of examples from 1956 were Direct Address advertisements. As claimed by Williamson (2002:1) advertisements reflect social developments and it has become more commonplace to assume that advertisement has changed to become more sophisticated since its audience has become more knowing than those of the 1950s.

This is illustrated in the arguable creative approach that advertisements from the present decade use to convey persuasive messages. Example (8) by iShares, (9) by Bose and (10) Chevron, all published in 2014 are all examples of advertisements using a mix of Direct and Indirect Address advertisement. iShare is using the typical middle aged man living in New York as a participant to convey the their message while Bose is using the professional golfer McIlroy.

Chevron (2014) takes involving secondary participants to convey the message a step further by using the signatures of the company's 'Environmental Manager' together with a signature of an 'Australian Naturalist'. By using a commonly shared statement "Protecting the environment is everyone's job" together with "We agree" it can be argued that the advertisement is inviting the audience and themselves to agree to this and therefore making the viewer participate in the interaction.

Hillier (2004:187) mentions that one valuable aspect of adopting Leech's framework from 1966 is too see whether it continues to account for today's advertising text. The blurred distinctions between secondary participants and the company in this advertisement suggest that Leech's framework does not account as well for today's advertising text, since advertisers seem to use new textual strategies (such as the signatures) to convey their message. Likewise, the high percentage of

words somehow relating to nature in the advertisement published in by Chevron in 2014 suggest that advertisers today appear to induce mental references to nature together with the 'we' which really refers to the company together with the viewer, if the viewer agrees.

In order for an advertisement to have a persuasive effect on the viewer, it has to make sure that the viewer comprehends the message in order to impose his or her own concern on the viewer. This can only be done if there is an imagined interpersonal relationship with the viewer, and the advertisers can create one by addressing the viewer directly using the exophoric reference *you* or using other exophoric references that the viewer is expected to make sense of. The advertiser might also use secondary participants that the viewer might either identify themselves with or recognize from outside the advertisement world to convey the message. In present day's advertising, secondary participants are portrayed in more sophisticated ways, such as 'the visionary' by Lexus 2014.

Even though present day's advertisement might be more creative and present their message in a more sophisticated way, the basic purpose of advertising is still the same. Goddard (1998), Williamson (1987), Egorova (2014) have all touched upon the fact that advertisers intend to create our identities, and present their product or service in a way that makes them seem necessary in order to maintain that identity. Several example in this illustrates this claim, such as example (3) published by Parliament (1956) stating that "you'll want everyone to know you're smart to smoke parliament", or example (7) creating the visionary who drives a visionary's car. The wife who buy's French onion soup which makes her a better wife in advertisement (6) by Crosse & Blackwell (1956) and the winning golfer in advertisement (9) from Bose (2014), listening to a song that he associates with being successful, are two more examples.

4.3 Discussion on assigned gender roles in advertising

If a participant in a discourse is identified by his or her language and his or her position in a society, as argued by Cook (2001:6), the discourse of advertising is a suitable basis for the discussion of assigned gender roles in different chronological periods. This study illustrates Cronin's (2000:55-82) theory about reflexive and unreflexive advertisements, as in example (1) from Coty and (3) from Parliaments which can both be interpreted as reflexive. Reflexive advertisements are explicit about their position as advertisements, and are often ironic and self-conscious in their representation (Cronin 2000:57). This irony is illustrated in the headline "A lipstick ad for men only" published by Coty (1956) as well as in the headline "Stalking wild game with Parliament? A risky bit, Sahib" published by Parliaments (1956). In Cronin's (2000:55-81) findings, reflexive advertisement were

more common among male-targeted advertisement which is represented in the fact that the advertisements from Coty (1956) and Parliaments (1956) were undoubtedly male-targeted.

Unreflexive advertisements, in the sense of Cronin, use spatial and sequential devices to produce meaning and do not display this form of explicit distancing and self-conscious representation of the advertiser's relation to the viewer (Cronin 2000:65). This study illustrates unreflexive advertisements in example (2) published by Charles of the Ritz (1956) and in example (5) published by B.H. Wragge (1956). In both examples, the advertisers draw together codes of functions and are not as explicit in their representation of the advertiser's relation to the viewer. The fact that both example (2) and (5) are female-targeted, supports Cronin's (2000:55-81) theory further.

The distinctions between reflexive and unreflexive advertisements are useful because it might say something about how gender roles are assigned in advertising. Cronin (2000:57) argues that a reflexive advertisement actively incorporates an assumption of the viewer's knowledge. Romaine (2000:252-290) further claims that for a long time, advertisers seemed to believe that women were more easily persuaded and influenced than men. With the support of these insight it can be claimed that for a long time, advertisers often assigned women the role of being more easily persuaded and unknowing than men, which is reflected in the usage of unreflexive advertising in female-targeted advertisements.

Romaine (1999:258) found that women are more likely to be portrayed as purchasers of household products and cosmetics, and men of buyers of large items like cars. According to Romaine (1999:285) many advertisements from the 50s up until the end of the 20th century discussed how women should be concerned about their partners' health by looking after their diet. Example (6) published by Crosse & Blackwell (1956) illustrates these type of advertisement in their representation of the 'ideal wife' who can read her husband's mind and therefore knows that he wants to eat the soup that is being promoted.

No examples could be found in the issue of *The New Yorker* from 2014 where women are assigned the role of being responsible for their husbands' health, which supports Romaine's (1999:276) belief that women are portrayed in less stereotypical roles after the end of the 20th century. Hillier's (2004:204) findings that men in present advertisements are portrayed as managing to feed themselves, further supports this belief. Since the best argument for persuading advertisers to change their tactics are economic, and many women in the present decade possess higher economical resources than in the 1950s, the representation of femininity and their associations with particular products might have changed (Romaine 1999:283).

Concerning male-targeted advertising, Romaine (1999:254) found that men are more likely to be portrayed as buyers of large items like cars, and assigned the role of family protectors in

advertisements for life-insurances and investment companies. There are two examples in this study demonstrating this, and they were both collected from the issue of *The New Yorker* published in 2014. Firstly, example (7) by Lexus is portraying their ‘visionary car’ together with a male silhouette. Secondly, example (8) by iShares is using an inserted secondary participant picturing a middle-aged man to convey their message. The fact that there are present examples where men are still assigned the role of buyers of cars and investment funds could indicate that the assigned role of women in advertising might have changed more than the assigned role of men in advertising. However, in the advertisement produced by Fidelity Investment (11) there is nothing indicating that the advertisement is either male-targeted or female-targeted.

From the previous research by Cronin (2000:55-82) and from the examples used in this study, it can be argued that female-targeted advertisement were overwhelmingly unreflexive compared with the male advertisements in the 1950s. Since none of the advertisements published in the issue of 2014 were openly female-targeted, the advertisements from 2014 have not been analyzed on these terms. In fact, since many advertisements from the present decade used secondary participants to convey their message and there was no usage of humor or irony as a textual strategy, many advertisements from 2014 were unreflexive and not very explicit in their position as advertisements. Example (10) from Chevron is that inexplicit about its position as an advertisement that it can be difficult for the viewer to determine whether it is a petition for putting an end to environmental damage, or an advertisement published by Chevron to promote their energy.

5. Conclusion

This study has carried out a detailed analysis of a small amount of data in its comparison between print advertisements published in 1956 and print advertisements published 2014. The aim of the study was to examine advertising as discourse: how advertisements are presented to persuade a viewer to buy a particular product or to present that product in as desirable way as possible. The relationship between the advertiser and the received role of gender in a society has also been described and compared in different chronological periods. The questions that this research aims to answer are the following:

1. How do persuasive messages appear to be presented in advertising?
2. What do the findings suggest about the viewer being addressed?
3. How are gender roles assigned in advertising?
4. What appear to be the differences in gender roles assigned in advertising today compared with 60 years ago?

It has been illustrated through previous research and in the analysis section of this paper how persuasive messages appear to be presented by guiding the viewer through the process of persuasion. The primary parts of the process of persuasion are comprehension and acceptance, and this paper has illustrated how the viewer can be guided through the comprehension and acceptance of the message by the usage of exophoric references and secondary participants. The advertiser will likely try to impose their own concern (which is to promote the product) on the viewer, but in order for the imposition to be successful, the advertiser has to create an imagined interpersonal relationship with the viewer. This can be done by addressing the viewer as if he was an old friend and by using references indicating familiar mutual knowledge about the viewer's life. It can also be done by using a secondary participant, such as a celebrity or a stereotype, to convey the message.

In this study, these attempts to create an imagined interpersonal relationship with the viewer are categorized as either Direct Address advertising or Indirect Address advertising. This framework has been adopted from previous researchers such as Hillier (2004). Her findings that Indirect Address advertising is more common today compared with in the 1950s are supported by the small amount of material analyzed in this paper. These findings suggest that it might have been more common to use Direct Address advertising in the 1950s', and that advertisement from the present decade are more sophisticated and creative in their way of addressing the viewer.

However, what all persuasive messages have in common is that they intend to create our identities, and present their product or service in a way that makes them seem necessary to maintain that identity. Sometimes the *you* in advertising refer to the viewer's own self as well as someone in the advertisement to help the viewer create this identity; this is referred to as double exophoric referencing. If the viewer has accepted textual strategies such as exophoric references and feels involved in the advertisement by the usage of Direct or Indirect Addressing, he is likely to have been persuaded to feel like he needs the product.

This study has likewise illustrated, with support of previous research by Cronin (2000) how advertisers, for a long time, assigned women the role of more easily persuaded and less knowing than men. This is supported by the overwhelming usage of unreflexive advertisement in female-targeted advertisement in Cronin's (2000) research and further illustrated in the material used for this paper. In contrast, men have often been assigned the roles as intelligent and family protectors in advertising, as illustrated in examples of advertisements published in 1956 as well as advertisements published in 2014. In addition, women have been assigned the roles of caring for their husbands' health by looking after their diet.

Present findings suggest that there appears to be several differences in gender roles assigned in advertising today compared to 60 years ago. Firstly, there were no examples of women assigned

the role of being responsible for their husband diet in present day advertisement. In addition, there were no examples at all of explicitly female-targeted advertisements at all in the issue of The New Yorker published in 2014. However, some openly male-targeted advertisements could be found, which indicates that the assigned role of women in advertising might have changed more than the assigned role of men in advertising. With the limited materials used for this study, these conclusions can only serve as speculations, but the wide and fast changing discourse of advertising is an interesting area for further research.

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