Chapter 3

Workings of Language and Ideology in CDA: An Eclectic Research Framework

This chapter discusses the framework for analysis of some advertisements taken from various Indian magazines and television. An eclectic framework has been used that combines Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (Discourse and Social Change; Language and Power) model with other discourse analysis models discussed in Chapter 2. The framework entails a convergence of analytical methods developed within critical and non-critical linguistics, semiotics and discourse analysis. In other words, the chapter outlines the necessary means and tools by which an analysis can develop much beyond the obvious characteristics of advertising. The basic model to be adopted for all advertisements, however, will be Fairclough’s CDA model. Janks advocates the use of Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis as a tool for critical analysis when she points:

Why Fairclough's approach to CDA is so useful is that it provides multiple points of analytic entry. It does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with, as long as they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. It is in the interconnections that the analyst finds interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained. (329)

The use of eclectic framework is in line with Fairclough’s model. He observes:

For CDA, analysis of course includes analysis of texts. Many methods have been developed in linguistics (phonetics, phonology, grammar, semantics, lexicology), pragmatics, stylistics, sociolinguistics, argumentation analysis, literary criticism, anthropology, conversation analysis, and so forth. In principle any such methods might be recontextualised within CDA, though note that this implies that they may need to be adapted to fit in with CDA’s principles and purposes. (Critical Discourse Analysis 6 –7)

The use of an eclectic model, therefore, will lend more depth and strength to the analysis as it will make the scope of analysis wider. However, different advertisements may have different analytical focus because of which advertisements under scanner may employ different analytic methods. In this connection, Fairclough also explains that selection of a particular analytical tool for a particular project depends upon the object of research. He believes that
every text brings in different worldview and therefore requires a distinct critical tool for analysis. He states:

Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people. (*Analysing Discourse* 123)

Weiss and Wodak also point out:

CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory and one specific methodology is not characteristic of research in CDA. On the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds and oriented towards very different data and methodologies. (12)

It follows that CDA cannot be classified as a single method but it may rather be viewed as an approach, which involves different viewpoints and methods for studying (and also establishing) the relationship between the language use and social context.

### 3.1. Language, Ideology and CDA

The focus of present study is to discover the links between language, power and ideology through the analysis of advertisements. Fairclough in his *Language and Power* discusses the connection between the use of language and unequal relations of power. He posits that “the significance of language in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power” (1) is generally underestimated and for this reason “consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others” (1) needs to be increased. He believes that “nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society can afford to ignore language” (3). Power may not just be taken as a matter of language as there are other more forceful ways in which power exists, for example the physical force. Since this study looks at the language of advertisements as a vehicle of ideology, it will mainly focus on how ideology manufactures consent of people with the help of language and how the seemingly innocent common sense assumptions are shaped ideologically by relations of power. In other words it will study how advertisements work ideologically to influence people and persuade them into buying things.
Ideology is considered to be a problematic concept. However, it is not a dirty word anymore and has become the notion that stands for a perspective for social subjects to perceive and interact with their immediate social environment. The term was first used by a French scholar Destutt de Tracy in the eighteenth century who described it as the ‘science of ideas’ and hoped that ideology as a discipline would help people to recognize their prejudices and biases. Over the years, though, the term has been overused and over defined. For Bourdieu, the concept has been over used and abused and for this reason it does not work anymore. Eagleton defines it as “the ways of thinking and behaving within a given society, which make the ways of that society seem natural or unquestioned to its members” (20). Like Eagleton, Wenden also terms ideologies as ways to control how people perform and understand their social actions which also include the way they speak and the words they choose to express themselves but they are not generally aware that the choices they are making to express themselves originate from their social consciousness. This makes ideologies part of people’s unconscious behaviour and therefore they get naturalized as common sense and are rarely questioned. Wenden perceives ideology as “organized sets of fundamental and often normative ideas and attitudes about some aspect of social reality shared by members of a group, society or culture” (93). She considers ideology as an instrument “used to frame, legitimate, or validate opinions and actions in the domain to which they are applicable” (93) Ideology for Heywood “brings about two kinds of synthesis: between understanding and commitment and between thought and action” (12). Similarly, Thiele also points out:

The term ideology pertains only to those beliefs and values systematically connected to each other within some coherent scheme that reinforces and is reinforced by relations of power in society. (17)

Thiele delineates four characteristics that ideologies must demonstrate to become powerful social forces. For him, ideologies should be comprehensive, consistent, plausible and useful (218). Arendt connects ideologies with human agency and political action. Ideologies, for her, are associated with powerful people such as Hitler and Stalin. She defines ideologies to be a very recent phenomenon and as “– isms which to the satisfaction of their adherents can explain everything and every occurrence by deducing it from a single premise” (555). Heywood also connects ideologies with politics and points out that ideologies are clearly related to politics and they offer “a perspective through which the world is understood and explained... [and] set goals that inspire political activity” (3-4).
The notion of ideology was developed as a concept by Marx to explore how ideas are diffused through and imposed on society by the controlling power. However, Althusser redefined Marx in order to understand the functions and uses of ideologies. Fiske points out that “ideology then becomes the category of illusions and false consciousness by which the ruling class maintains its dominance over the working class” (166). Marx defined ideology as the means by which ideas of the ruling classes became accepted throughout society as natural and normal. He was of the opinion that ideology of the bourgeoisie kept them in a state of false consciousness. For him, the society determines peoples’ consciousness of who they are and how they relate to the society and the sense they make of their social experience rather than nature or biology. False consciousness denotes people's inability to recognize inequality, oppression, and exploitation in a capitalist society due to its adoption of the views that naturalize and legitimize the existence of social classes in capitalism.

Fiske comments that “Althusser developed a more sophisticated theory of ideology that freed it from such a close cause and effect relationship with economic base of society, and redefined it as an ongoing and all pervasive set of practices in which all classes participate, rather than a set of ideas imposed by one class upon the other. The fact that all classes participate in these practices does not mean that practices themselves no longer serve the interests of the dominant, for they most certainly do” (Communication Studies 174). He goes on to explain that ideology is much more effective than Marx presumed because ideology works from within and is obvious in how people think and live. Fiske gives an example of a woman wearing a pair of high heeled shoes. According to him:

A pair of high heel shoes does not impose upon women from outside the ideas of the ruling gender (men), but wearing them is an ideological practice of patriarchy in which women participate, possibly even more than the ideology would require. Wearing them accentuates the parts of the female body that patriarchy has trained us into thinking of as attractive to men – the buttocks, thighs and breasts. The woman thus participates in constructing herself as an attractive object for the male look, and therefore puts herself under the male power (of granting or withholding approval). Wearing them also limits her physical activity and strength – they hobble her and make her move precariously; so wearing them is practicing the subordination of women in patriarchy. A woman in high heels is active in reproducing and percolating the patriarchal meanings of gender that propose masculinity as stronger and more active, and femininity as weaker and more passive. (174-175)
Althusser’s interpretation of ideology as practice may be considered as a development of Marx’s theory of ideology as false consciousness. However, it, at the same time, underscores the role of ideology in maintaining the supremacy of the minority over the majority by non-coercive means which Antonio Gramsci describes as ‘hegemony’. Fiske explains the term very succinctly and says, “Hegemony involves the constant winning and receiving the consent of the majority to the system that subordinates them” (176). Gramsci considers ideology as struggle and therefore emphasises the importance of resistance and instability. Fiske explains this:

Hegemony is necessary and has to work so hard, because the social experience of subordinate groups (whether class, gender, race, age, or any other factor) constantly, contradicts the picture that the dominant ideology paints for them of themselves and their social relations. In other words, the dominant ideology constantly meets resistance that it has to overcome in order to win people’s consent to the social order that it is promoting. These resistances may be overcome, but they are never eliminated. So any hegemonic victory and consent that it wins, is necessarily unstable, it can never be taken for granted, so it has to be constantly recovered and struggled over. (176)

Ideology as a term is used in different ways by different writers and stretches over to infinite contexts. Fairclough, however, believes that hegemony is more than just a means of dominating subordinate classes. He gives a comprehensive explanation of the term in his *Discourse and Social Change*. For him, hegemony is as much a kind of leadership as it is “domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society” (92). He asserts:

Hegemony is the power over society as a whole or one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an ‘unstable equilibrium’. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent. (*Discourse and Social Change* 92)

In hegemony, Fairclough points out, there is constant struggle between classes and blocs “to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination, which take economic, political and ideological forms” (*Discourse and Social Change* 92). Such a struggle includes the social institutions such as education, trade unions and family.
Another insidious ideological practice is what, Althusser calls ‘interpellation’ or hailing. It can be seen as one of the most significant practices of ideology in the context of communication. All communications have senders and receivers and the messages or communication is addressed to the receiver. The process of addressing the receiver establishes a social relationship between the two. Fiske exemplifies the concept of interpellation:

In recognizing ourselves as the addressee and in responding to the communication we participate in our own social, and therefore ideological, construction. If you hear in the street a shout ‘Hey you!’, you can either turn in the belief that you are being addressed or you can ignore it because you know that ‘nobody, but nobody’ speaks to you like that: you thus reject the relationship implicit in the call. All communication interpellates or hails us in some way: a pair of high heel shoes, for examples hails the woman (or men) who ‘answer’ them by liking or wearing them as patriarchal subject. The woman who recognizing ‘herself’ as their addressee by wearing them positions herself submissively within gender relations; the man who likes to see her wearing them is equally but differently positioned – he is hailed as one with power.

Interpellation is quite a significant part of communication as ideological practice as it generally positions the hailed in an ideological world that is different from his/her social position. We all have multi-faceted roles to play in society but interpellation as an ideological practice aims at hailing that role which is required in that particular context of communication. For example the anxious mother in a woman can be hailed by a particular communication because no other roles of women are important in that situation. If the woman recognizes the anxious mother in her, she will respond to the interpellation by subjecting herself to a ‘position’ which may be advantageous to the addresser whether it is a person or an organization. Fairclough, discussing Pecheux’s point of view, writes:

…ideology works through constituting (‘interpellating’) persons as social subjects, fixing them in subject ‘positions’ while at the same time giving them the illusion of being free agents. (Discourse and Social Change 30)

Paraphrasing Althusser’s notion of Ideology, Stuart Hall defines ideology as “systems of representation – composed of concepts, ideas, myths, or images in which men and women…live their imaginary relations to the real conditions of existence” (20). For Althusser, ideas are “systems of representation or signifying practices that exist in their semiotic or linguistic forms”. It is through these systems that we relate to the world and to one another.
There are many number of such systems due to which different ideologies like Marxism, capitalism, imperialism, patriarchal, feminism, consumerism, etc. are formed and then practiced. Stuart Hall explains the use of the word ‘live’ in the above definition. He says that ‘live’ here does not refer to “a blind biological or genetic life, but the life of experiencing (within a culture) meaning and representation. It connotes the domain of experience. By ‘live’ he [Althusser] means that men and women use a variety of systems of representations to experience, interpret and make sense of the conditions of their real existence” (21).

Another key phrase used in the definition is ‘imaginary relations’. These relations are imaginary as there is no direct relationship between the conditions of our social existence and the manner in which we experience them. In other words, the concept of ideology means structures of signification or world views which constitute social relations and mark the attempt to fix the fluid and relational quality of meaning in ways which legitimize the interests of the dominant. For Althusser, the subject formed in ideology is not a unified subject but a fragmented one. It is possible for a class to share some common existential conditions but they may be crosscut by conflicting interests. For example, two neighbours may not share similar working conditions. If they do, they may not share a similar working class identity as one may be male and other may be female, one may be black, the other white, one may vote for one party, the other may align himself with another.

Althusser gave this definition of ideology while trying to differentiate between state power and state control. He calls systems such as law courts, army, police, prison as ‘repressive’ structures as they operate by external force. The power of the state is maintained and legitimized more subtly, by securing the internal consent of the citizens using ‘ideological structures’ and ideological state apparatuses (ISA).

Through ISAs, the state functions and maintains the existing (unequal) power relations by manufacturing and diffusing ideologies. Manufacturing ideologies indirectly also leads to manufacturing the consent of the citizens as the manufactured ideologies operate from within and external coercion has no place in this. It therefore makes these ideologies natural and common sense. Repressive State Apparatuses or RSAs also serve similar functions for state but they operate externally. Both ISAs and RSAs have the social function of consistently and continuously reproducing the social inequality as ‘law’ or ‘rules’. These social institutions are the sites where ideology exists and is practiced. These institutions have their own rules, customs, rituals, behavioural patterns, thought processes, manners of action, etc. The ISAs are such groups, which covertly propagate the inherent ideologies as ‘natural’ and ‘common sense’. These groups could be political parties, schools, classrooms, textbooks, religion,
media, family, clubs or any such society that floats a set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes which support the objectives of the state in maintaining the political, social and economic status quo by covering the society with an official blanket. They have an important role, therefore, in maintaining and legitimizing existing power relations between the dominant and the dominated class. Playing in the hands of the dominant class, they become channels through which the state operates and communicates its ‘rules’ or code of conduct to society as guardians of their cultural norms and values, thereby, empowering the powerful. These ISAs safeguard the interests of the dominant class and ensure that the common people see, perceive, act and consume in line with the dominant ideologies. State agencies also have support of private enterprise such as the banking systems, manufacturers, advertisers, media as they are also benefited by the ideological and attitudinal practice in the society and succeed in their aims by backing ideologies that have hegemonic consent of society. The dominant ideology works towards making ideological views appear natural – the way things are and should be – rather than appear like views that serve the interests of the powerful.

The role of RSA becomes important when ISAs cease to be effective enough. RSAs are institutions like the constitution, law courts, police, army and prison. ISAs operate through consent but RSAs operate through coercion. Ideology is disseminated when ISAs are effective socially and for this they address or hail particular groups. As already discussed, Althusser calls these groups ‘subjects’ and the process of addressing or hailing as ‘interpellation’.

Raymond Williams also discusses ideology and talks about its three main uses:

i. A system of beliefs characteristics of a particular class or group.

ii. A system of illusory beliefs, false ideas contrasted with true or scientific knowledge.

iii. The general process of the production of meaning and ideas.

(qtd. in Fiske 165)

The first use is like the psychologists use of the other word. For psychologists, ideology refers to the way in which attitudes are organized into coherent patterns. Brockreide says that “attitudes have homes in ideologies” (5). Certain psychologists argue that ideology is determined by socially collective experience rather than an individual’s attitudes and experience. Ideology, therefore, could be considered as class attitude or socially collective attitude. As Teun van Dijk says:

…ideologies have something to do with the system of ideas and especially with the social, political or religious ideas shared by a social group or movement. Communism as well as anti-communism, socialism and liberalism, feminism
and sexism, racism and antiracism, pacifism and militarism are examples of widespread ideologies – which may be more or less positive or negative depending on our point of view or group membership. Group members who share such ideologies stand for a number of very general more specific beliefs about the world, guide their interpretation of events, and monitor their social practices … Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members. 

(Ideology and Discourse 6 - 7)

He asserts that these beliefs have an order and that ideologies are not arbitrarily organised. He also argues that it is possible that people may sometimes fail to understand its system or organization but it does not mean that ideologies are arbitrary. Ideologies, rather, comprise conventional categories which allow the members of the ideological organization to build, modify or reject them. These categories have ‘schema-like’ nature which is the basic nature of a social group from which the categories that define ideological schema originate. Teun van Dijk (2003) gives us the following categories of ideology schemas:

i. Membership criteria: Who does (not) belong?
ii. Typical activities: What do we do?
iii. Overall aims: What do we want? Why do we do it?
iv. Norms and values: What is good or bad for us?
v. Position: What are the relationships with others?
vi. Resources: Who has access to our group resources?

Teun van Dijk discusses these schemas of categories, which according to him, not only organize our collective and individual action, but also organize the ideologies of our mind. Overall, these categories, in fact, define what it means to feel a member of a group, and to jointly feel as ‘one’ group. They define a ‘group self-schema’ about how things should be because an ideology in a sense is a form of self – (and other) representation, and it summarizes the collective beliefs of the group and thereby form the criteria of identification for the group members. Though this ideological scheme seems purely theoretical, it would appear to be more practical if it is used to explain the prevailing social practices.

The second use of ideology helps the ruling class to maintain its dominance over the working class by perpetrating some illusions i.e. false consciousness. The ruling class controls the means of disseminating ideology in society which makes the dominant class view their subordination as natural and right. These ideological means include the mass media, systems of education, politics and law. Ideology propagates a divide between the ruling and the working class as the dominant ‘us’ and the dominated ‘other’ class. The ideological
operations of the dominated class make the dominated class to accept this dominance without question. In this connection, Teun van Dijk says that ideologies are inculcated by the ruling class in order to legitimize the status quo, and to conceal the real socio-economic conditions of the workers. He also discusses the negative notion of ‘ideology’, which presupposes the following polarization between ‘US’ and ‘THEM’ wherein statements with the hidden meanings such as the one given below are made to highlight the difference between ‘the beliefs of US and ‘THEM.’

WE have true knowledge, THEY have ideologies. *(Discourse and Ideology)*

Or as Geertz puts it:

I have a social philosophy; you have political opinions, he has an ideology.

(194)

This social polarization between ingroup and outgroup gets revealed only after a careful analysis of the language.

The third use of ideology illustrates social production of meaning, i.e. how meanings or connotations take shape; how social pressures give meanings to various incidents. Fiske says:

Myths and connoted values are what they are because of ideology of which they are usable manifestations. *(166)*

In the discourse of advertising, for example, adventure and alcohol are attributed to men taking it as common sense. A social example in this context is that in cocktail parties in India, women are not, generally, offered hard drinks because it is common knowledge that women do not drink. This common sense is ideological. In a hard drink advertisement, it is men who are interpellated, which shows men and women ideologically despite differences in their social category.

Besides considering these three general uses of ideologies, it is important to note that for ideological analysis of any text, these three uses if considered collectively yield better results rather than considering them individually. Paul Simpson says:

… the term normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken for granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups. And when an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, it is said to be dominant. Thus the dominant ideologies are mediated through powerful, political and social institutions like the governments, the law and the medical profession. Our perception of these institutions, moreover will
be shaped in part by the specific linguistic practices of the social groups who comprise them. (5)

It would be important to understand that we do not speak of individual languages, we do not have individual ideologies, so ideologies consist of ‘shared, social beliefs, and not of personal opinions, although they may influence our personal beliefs or episodic memory. We would perhaps be unable to understand each other, and also not able to interact with others without sharing a large amount of knowledge about all aspects of the world and everyday lives. Our ‘social memory’ has its origin in the socio-cultural knowledge or the common ground of a group or culture. This knowledge forms the base for comprehension of everyday interaction or discourse. Discourse, therefore, presupposes such beliefs or group ideology in order to be comprehensible. Hence, an important belief shared by linguists, is that language reproduces ideology. Simpson argues:

As an integrated form of social behaviour, language will be inevitably and inextricably tied up with the socio-political context in which it functions. Language is not used in a contextless vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse contexts; contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Because language operates within this social dimension it must, of necessity reflect, and some would argue, construct ideology. (5)

To explain it further it would be important to point out that it is the specific, group related, interest – defined interpretation of values that forms the building blocks of ideological beliefs. For example, ideologies can be represented by propositions such as

Men and women should have equal rights.

The proposition reflects that

i. Men and women do not have equal rights.

ii. Being an utterance of patriarchal society, it is women who do not have equal rights.

Therefore the proposition is ideologically loaded and ideologies filter down into our language too. Language used by powerful groups helps to reinforce the dominant ideology. So a linguistic analysis of texts becomes a precondition to ideological analysis. Simpson says, “Language needs to be targeted as a specific site of struggle” (5). It is very important to note that dominant ideologies become ingrained in everyday discourse and ideologies become rationalized as ‘commonsense’ assumptions of the way things are and should be. Hence according to Simpson, a process of ‘naturalization’ occurs, to the degree that individuals are
no more mindful of any striking hierarchies and frameworks which shape their social association (5). Fairclough illustrating this process of naturalization in his *Language and Power* says:

…the conventions for a traditional type of consultation between doctors and patients embody ‘common sense’ assumptions which treat authority and hierarchy as natural - the doctor knows about medicine and the patient doesn’t; the doctor is in a position to determine how a health problem should be dealt with and the patient isn’t; it is right (and ‘natural’) that the doctor should make decisions and control the course of the consultation and of the treatment and that the patient should comply and cooperate; and so on. (2)

He argues that ideology is embedded in the language used to structure this type of social encounter. Teun van Dijk says in his *Ideology and Discourse* that “Ideologies impinge on discourse” (85). He is of the opinion that these belief systems are the key convictions that structure the premise of social representations of a group and are represented in social memory as same sort of ‘group – schema’ that characterizes the identity of a group. For him:

The fundamental propositions that fill this schema monitor the acquisition of group knowledge and attitudes, as hence indirectly the personal models group member form about social events. These mental models are the representations that control social practices, including the production and comprehension of discourse. (86)

By this, Teun van Dijk recognizes that understanding of any form of discourse depends upon ideological position and the world view of the reader/analyst. The reader is able to connect ideologies as forms of social cognition with social practices and discourse, at the micro-level of situations and interactions, on the one hand and with groups, group relations, institutions, organizations, movements, power and dominance, on the other. In other words, the nature of the social practice determines the macro-processes of discursive practice, and these macro-processes are instrumental in shaping the text. Fairclough also believes that discourse is shaped by relations of power and invested with ideologies. He says:

Discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations…Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations. (*Discourse and Social Change* 67)
Fairclough says that the implication, here, is that political and ideological practice depend on each other because ideology is meaning that gets generated within power relations as a dimension of how power is wielded and struggled over. He believes that:

...discourse as a political practice is not only a site of power struggle, but also a stake in power struggle: discursive practice draws upon conventions which naturalize particular power relations and ideologies and these conventions themselves, and the ways in which they are articulated are a focus of struggle. 

(Discourse and Social Change 67)

According to Teun van Dijk (Ideology and Discourse 44), the ideological discourse has a very general strategy:

- emphasise positive things about US
- emphasise negative things about THEM

This illustrates positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation – a kind of group conflict, and also the ways we interact with other groups and how we talk about ‘us’ and ‘them’. In other words, ideological discourse would aim at:

- De-emphasizing, negative things about US
- De-emphasizing positive things about THEM

Any ideological analysis would need to use these four principles. The ideological principles form a ‘conceptual square’ or an ideological square which may be used to analyse levels and types of discourse structure. The analysis could be semantic and lexical but the use of the opposite ‘pairs ‘ emphasise’ and ‘de-emphasise’ allows for many forms of structural variation: we may talk at length or briefly about ‘our’ good and ‘their’ bad things, prominently or not, explicitly, or implicitly, with hyperboles or euphemism, with big or small headlines and so on” (Ideology and Discourse 44). It may be said that discourse has various ways of emphasizing or de-emphasizing meaning and that ideological slant can be discovered in different discourse types including advertising.

Fairclough discusses how advertisements work ideologically in a three step procedure:

i. Building relations
ii. Building images
iii. Building the consumer (Language and Power 167-168)

He explains that the discourse of advertising is ideological in its requirements of the relationship between the advertising text – producer and the audience. It is this relationship that “facilitates the main ideological work” (Language and Power 168). The second step is to
build images. In this process the audience draws upon their own ideological beliefs (MR) to establish an image for the advertised product. The third step is to build the consumer which advertisements do using the ‘images’ built by the audience. These images are generated by the audience and are exploited by the advertisers as in the course of building images, the audience think about the product and this process “constructs subject positions for ‘consumers’ as members of consumption communities” (168) which according to Fairclough is the major ideological work of advertising.

3.2. Non-critical Approaches

Fairclough in his *Discourse and Social Change* discusses CDA in comparison with some other methods of discourse analysis which are non-critical. Non-critical approaches include Sinclair and Coulthard's analysis of classroom discourse, the ethno-methodological approach to conversation analysis developed by Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson, Labov and Fanshel’s study of the discourse of psychotherapeutic interview, and Potter and Wetherell's use of discourse analysis as a method in the field of social psychology. Fairclough (*Discourse and Social Change* 13-24) reveals weaknesses inherent in these approaches stating that a common failing in them is the lack of emphasis on the notions of class, power and ideology. He claims that each method provides insights into linguistic choices made but does not provide the critical perspective into the kind of language used. Non-critical approaches, according to Fairclough, assess discourse as simply there available for description rather than discourse having been deliberately planted there as part of some ideological processes. (*Discourse and Social Change* 15).

According to Fairclough, Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson’s Conversation Analysis does not discuss descriptive categories of power-play in conversation. It presupposes that conversation is harmonious and collaborative, giving equal opportunity to the speakers to express. However, in the real life conversation, there is a clear depiction of how the speaker who has more social or economic power gets to speak more. There is also a question mark on the aspect of sequential organization in CA as the only and complete unit of discourse analysis because in a conversation, each participant needs to understand the context and make judgments about the discourse type which necessitates complicated processes of discourse interpretation and production. Therefore, doing critical analysis of discourse becomes important to gain an insight into how these processes work. Discussing Sinclair and Coulthard’s analysis of classroom discourse, Fairclough contends that their model of
discourse analysis does not have the analytical tool of inquiry into how power is wielded through use of language. He also asserts that in their teacher-pupil model, the teacher-pupil utterances are ambiguous and are open to individual interpretation.

Labov and Fanshel’s model which studies therapeutic discourse is quite exhaustive, but it also lacks the critical tool of inquiry. Fairclough cites reasons such as difficulty in interpretation of paralanguage. He observes that Labov and Fanshel’s view of heterogeneity of speech styles is static and they observe therapeutic discourse as a stable configuration of styles rather than to analyse heterogeneity dynamically as historical shifts in configuration of styles. Further, he observes that in Labov and Fanshel’s therapeutic discourse, implicit propositions that are fundamental in the discourse of patients have not been as critically dealt with as much as required and they stop short of a critical analysis.

Potter and Wetherell’s use of discourse analysis as a method of social psychology is also non-critical according to Fairclough. It leaves untouched the interpersonal dimensions of meaning in analysis and their treatment of ‘the self’ which requires more investigation and an enhanced explanation is not critical enough. Fairclough in his *Critical Discourse Analysis* asserts that approaches that have an ideational bias as that of Potter and Wetherell, Pecheux, and Teun van Dijk are “ill equipped to capture the interplay between cognition and interaction which is a crucial feature of textual practice” (6). He, however, agrees with Fowler et al on the need for change for correlational sociolinguistics since the relation between variables is examined without paying attention to its origin, or the effect it has on society.

It may, therefore, be inferred that linguistic inquiry should have a more critical viewpoint for assessing these relations which Critical Linguistics competently does. However, Critical Linguistics also has a limitation, according to Fairclough who states that critical linguistic research was limited, and it essentially incorporates the written medium that includes manifestation of ideology in discourse. He also discusses the Marxist-linguistic analysis of Pêcheux which according to him is too abstract to be critical. He believes that texts in Pêcheux’s theory are considered as products and the ideological analysis of language of the texts is carried out by doing a mere semantic analysis of certain important words.

### 3.3. Fairclough’s TODA

CDA theorists have talked about the principles of CDA as per their own comprehension (Teun van Dijk; Wodak; Fairclough and Wodak; Meyer). Generally, these
principles depict the shared characteristics of all CDA approaches though some may be controversial. The eight principles of CDA propounded by Fairclough and Wodak’s are noteworthy and will be discussed.

Fairclough shaped one of the first approaches to investigate discourse critically. His methodology deals with social practices and their diverse contexts and extends the scope of critical linguistics (*Language and Power; Discourse and Social Change; Critical Discourse Analysis; Discourse in Late Modernity* (with Lilie Chouliaraki), and *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis*).

For Fairclough (“Discourse and Text”), a detailed text based analysis reinforces discourse analysis as an approach and can also add to the variety of the current Discourse Analysis approaches. He shows inclination towards such models which incorporate ongoing social changes, such as, globalization, neoliberalism and the knowledge economy and has especially investigated in the area of how showcasing discourses and related linguistic phenomena, such as informalization and conversationalization, have crossed into other forms of everyday life. CDA propounded by Fairclough is influenced by Halliday and Bakhtin at the linguistic level and theorists such as Foucault, Gramsci, Althusser and Bourdieu at the sociological level. Fairclough’s CDA is a three-stage Model that is also called Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis or TODA (*Discourse and Social Change* 37). According to Fairclough, “Closer attention to texts sometimes helps to give firmer grounding to the conclusions arrived at without it, sometimes suggests how they might be elaborated and modified, and occasionally suggests that they are misguided” (“Discourse and Text” 194). He explains that it is not possible to “properly analyse content without simultaneously analysing form, because contents are always necessarily realized in forms, and different contents entail different forms and vice versa.” He considers that textual analysis includes two types of analyses which are complementary: linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis. He defines linguistic analysis in an extended sense. For him it covers “traditional levels of analysis within linguistics” (194), which includes phonology, grammar of sentence, vocabulary and semantics. It also incorporates analysis of textual organization above the level of a sentence, which includes intersentential cohesion and other features of the text structure that is studied by the analysts of discourse for example turn-taking which is one of the properties of dialogue.
3.3.1. Foucault and Fairclough’s Model

To discuss Fairclough’s Toda, it may be said that TODA takes into consideration how language is used to create, maintain and challenge power relationships and ideologies. In the present project, therefore, the terms CDA and TODA may be used synonymously. Fairclough’s depends mainly on Foucault for defining TODA and its concepts but TODA is different from the Foucauldian concept as it has a wider scope and is also more concrete. Foucault’s concerns are limited to a few specific types of discourses such as economics, medicine, psychiatry and grammar but Fairclough’s CDA takes all forms of discourse under its purview. While Foucault’s discourse is more notional and operates in abstractions, Fairclough includes the spoken and the written language texts as integral part of TODA as they have a concrete presence and this makes TODA a better tool to analyse the social concerns embedded in discourse.

However, the base of Fairclough’s TODA remains Foucault whose ideas give shape to his CDA. For Foucault, the object of discourse and the object of study in a particular field, are constructed and transformed by the discourse which exists under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations “between institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, modes of characterization” (qtd. in Fairclough Discourse and Social Change 42). This relationship, according to Fairclough, “constitutes the rules of formation for objects” (Discourse and Social Change 42), which helps it “to appear, to juxtapose itself with other objects, to situate itself in relation to them, to define its difference, its irreducibility, and even perhaps its heterogeneity” (Foucault, Archaeology of Knowledge 50), which also means that these relations actively promote the formation of objects. In short, objects are formed by discourse.

Coming to the next point, Foucault considers the subject of discourse as integral to discourse which is positioned by its “enunciative modalities” (Who is speaking? What institution are they affiliated to? What position are they in?). For Fairclough, “enunciative modalities” are “types of discursive activity such as describing, forming hypotheses, formulating regulations, teaching, and so forth, each of which has its own associated subject positions.” (Discourse and Social Change 43). Giving example of how teaching as a discursive activity positions both the teacher and the learner, Fairclough implies that “the rules of formation for enunciative modalities are constituted for a particular discursive formation by a complex group of relations.” It implies that the subject is viewed as
fragmented that is “constituted, reproduced and transformed in and through social practice” 
*(Discourse and Social Change 44).* It is positioned by discourse and positions others through 
enunciative modalities.

The next point is the formation of concepts. Fairclough explains that by ‘concepts’ he 
means the “battery of categories, elements and types which a discipline uses as an apparatus 
for treating its field of interest” *(Discourse and Social Change 45)* as the ‘concepts’ of 
graham would include ‘subject’, ‘predicate’, ‘noun’, ‘verb’, and ‘word’. Fairclough believes 
that the concepts in a discourse may exist within and between different texts i.e. outside the 
text or drawn from other texts and discourses. Fairclough observes that Foucault refers to 
different schemata that are instrumental in combining groups of statements in ways that 
depend on discursive formation i.e. within the text (intratextual) relationship between 
descriptions, deductions, definitions, characterizing the architecture of a text *(Discourse and 
Social Change 46).* Talking about inter-discursive relationship which refers to relationship 
between different discursive formations or different texts, Fairclough points out that inter-
discursivity in texts relates to how information can be used across discourses. He believes 
that the intertextual and interdiscursive perspectives in texts are useful in critical discourse 
analysis or TODA although they have not received much attention in Linguistics. 
Intertextuality emphasises the fluidity of meaning in discourse. In the context of advertising 
texts, which are considered to be postmodernist, intertextuality is quite obvious and a careful 
look into it can be useful. Postmodernism lays stress on consumption more than production 
(Brown “Postmodern Marketing”), which entails that examining intertextuality is important 
especially “through the consumer's eyes” (Mick and Buhl). Advertising texts are generally 
interwoven with ideas, images and conventions *(Cook (Advertising); Goldman; Wernick).* 
Further, advertisements are considered as post-modern texts and postmodern theories of 
language are mainly concerned with how texts are produced and how meaning is generated 
from the interaction of texts, contexts and the social activities of individuals *(Graddol).* 
Berger defines intertextuality as the conscious or unconscious use in one text of material from 
others. While this focuses on the encoding of messages, others define intertextuality in terms 
of decoding, and discuss how meanings generated from one text are determined partly by the 
meanings of others *(Cook (Advertising); Fiske).* The concept embraces both encoding and 
decoding processes. Texts enter each other through authors, because writers are also readers. 
Texts are permeated by past and contemporary references, quotations and influences. They 
are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures. These may be 
explicit or implicit, particular or general, and they extend to cultural and ideological norms
(Frow; Newton). Texts also enter each other through their readers, who may be seen as co-producers of texts. When a text is read, consciously or unconsciously readers place it in wider frames of reference of the previous texts.

Fairclough also discusses Foucault’s formation of strategies. For Foucault, discursive formation constitutes possibilities for creating certain theories or themes or in the words of Foucault “strategies”. These strategies are subject to interdiscursive and non-discursive constraints (Discourse and Social Change 66). According to Foucault, rules of formation of strategies are associated with materiality of statements (Fairclough, Discourse and Social Change) in discourse. Here, statement does not imply “the property of being uttered” but its status of being within “particular institutional practices” (Discourse and Social Change 49), with an implication that discourse is connected to the non-discursive institutional practices.

Lastly, Foucault conceives power as implicit in discourse and language which are central to everyday social practices and processes. For him, power makes its presence felt in everyday social practices albeit implicitly in “all domains of social life” (Fairclough, Discourse and Social Change 50). It is implicit because it can be tolerated only if it is masked under the garb of common sense and has the ability to hide its design. Power does not work negatively by forcing domination but by consent. It is not imposed from above at the macro-levels by collective agents or classes but is developed from below at the micro-levels using micro-techniques that “imply a dual relationship between power and knowledge in modern society: on the one hand, the techniques of power are developed on the basis of knowledge which is generated, for example, in the social sciences; on the other hand, the techniques are very much concerned with exercising power in the process of gathering knowledge” (50).

Discussing the Foucauldian notion of power, Mills says:

…power is dispersed throughout social relations, that it produces possible forms of behaviour as well as restricting behaviour. This productive model of power is something many theorists have found useful, particularly when looking at ways of thinking about discourse. (20)

Fairclough discusses how the insights from Foucault’s archaeological and genealogical work function in TODA. He points out that Foucault claims that the constitutive nature of discourse is social that includes ‘objects’ and ‘social subjects’. Secondly, that interdiscursivity and intertextuality are very important as discursive practices are delineated by their relations with other practices and draw upon other practices in a variety of ways. Fairclough further explains that for Foucault power, politics and social issues are integral to discourse. Fairclough says that Foucault analyses power which is discursive in nature
explaining that “the practice and techniques of modern ‘biopower’ (e.g. examination and confession) are to a significant degree discursive” (*Discourse and Social Change* 55). He also discusses the political nature of discourse which implies that power struggle is inherent in discourse and therefore “occurs both in and over discourse.” Moving further, Fairclough explains that social change also has discursive nature which reiterates that “changing discursive practices are an important element in social change” (*Discourse and Social Change* 56).

For his model of CDA, Fairclough follows Foucauldian notions that state that the nature of the ‘subject’ is discursive. Following the notion of interdiscursivity which involves relations between discourses, he believes that a discourse is connected to other discourses and he states that discourse decides its positioning and the positioning of others. For Fairclough, power and social change is mediated through discourse and it takes into account how power is exerted by way of discursive and non-discursive practices.

### 3.3.2. Althusser and Fairclough’s Model

Besides Foucault, Fairclough (*Discourse and Social Change*) borrows different concepts from different thinkers. Althusser’s concept of ideology is important in how Fairclough perceives analysis of critical discourse. To a large extent Althusser’s ideology which has a material existence is responsible in shaping Fairclough’s model of TODA. Fairclough, however, modifies it with inclusion of such reality which is responsible for production, reproduction or transformation of power relations (*Discourse and Social Change*). Fairclough argues that the work of Althusser on ideology and Gramsci on hegemony form a strong framework for investigating discourse as social practice (*Analysing Discourse*). Fairclough’s model of CDA makes three important claims about ideology. They are:

1. There is a material existence in the practice of institutions which implies that the ideological work that goes on in the name of major and most powerful stakeholders is real, not imagined.
2. Ideology “interpellates” subjects, and
3. The ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) such as education, media, bureaucracy, police (Althusser) are the sites of class struggle and have stakes in their operations and effects.
In doing so, Fairclough claims that ideology and discourse are also affected by the limitations of Althusser’s ideas, i.e. bringing down one dominant discourse may entail imposing an alternative dominance. Importantly, as Fairclough and many other critical scholars understand, ideologies are at their effective best when they become naturalized as common sense and taken for granted and this naturalization of ideologies forms the link to Gramscian theory of hegemony (*Analysing Discourse*). Though ideology is inherent in discourse or texts, Fairclough perceives ideology as constructions of reality essential to those kinds of discourse that help to maintain the power relations, reconstruct them or transform them. Fairclough believes that ideologies “are most effective when they become naturalized, and achieve the status of common sense” (*Discourse and Social Change* 87). Thus TODA considers language and discourse to be created by social practices and as the medium that perpetrate power relations and hegemonic control. TODA commits itself to the explanation of how power and ideology are mediated through discourse.

In his TODA, Fairclough stresses the need to use concrete textual examples i.e. actual instances of written or spoken language. He establishes the socio-political quality of discourse and shows that by participating in discourse, the participants position themselves and also other participants and in this process, they shape their own identity as well as that of others. Fairclough borrows and modifies Althusserian concept of ideology. Ideology for Althusser has a “material existence in the practices of institutions and it opens up the way to investigating discursive practices as material forms of ideology” (*Discourse and Social Change* 87), which interpellates subjects leading to more significant ideological effects and constitution of subjects. For Althusser, ISAs are sites of class struggle. They also have stakes in class struggle which point towards struggle in and over discourse that becomes the point of emphasis while doing an ideologically oriented discourse analysis. In this, Fairclough includes construction of reality that is a part of the multiple meanings in discourse – a reality which produces, reproduces or transforms power relations (*Discourse and Social Change* 87).

Talking about TODA, Fairclough considers that social practices constitute discourse which functions as a channel through which power relations function leading to hegemonic dominance of those in subject position. Procedure of TODA, therefore, includes explaining the functioning and mediation of power and ideology through discourse. Fairclough’s view of ideology largely stems from such ideas that are present in institutional practices that interpellate (position) and thereby create disadvantageous subject positions and advantageous superior positions for different groups.
Ideology is indicated by the meanings that a word has in the context, presuppositions in discourse (as discussed in Chapter 2), the verbal as well as the visual metaphors and how things become coherent when they are rooted in ideology and are understood as common sense. It may be observed that every piece of discourse may not be ideological but it has to be accepted that it builds social relations as it emerges from society and works like ‘social cement’ as both Fairclough and Althusser may like to believe. For this reason, according to them, some discourses are more ideological than others as it may be seen that political and media discourses are laced with ideology. The same goes for the discourse of advertising. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, ideology is linked with the concepts of power or hegemony. The two concepts are interrelated as they complement each other. Fairclough believes that hegemony is “leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural, and ideological domains of a society…of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes and alliance with other social forces…” (Discourse and Social Change 92) though never fully achieved. Hegemony, therefore, is a never-ending effort to construct, sustain and integrate relations of domination and subordination through concession or ideological means to win consent. For Fairclough (Discourse and Social Change 92), ideology is a mix of both elements, Althusser’s ‘interpellation of subjects’ and Gramsci’s ‘hegemony’. Fairclough’s notion of hegemony is structured by conflicting ideologies inherent in their socio-cultural practices. It follows that ideological beliefs are constantly being structured or restructured through hegemony and this is seen in discourse. These beliefs become naturalized and become commonsense. Hegemony is, therefore, perpetration of ideological beliefs of the dominant class that are accepted without question by people and institutions, for exerting and maintaining power relations. As Eagleton observes that it makes the ways of “society seem natural or unquestioned to its members” (qtd. in Wetherell et al 217). Fairclough believes that “the achievement of hegemony at a societal level requires a degree of integration of local and semi-autonomous institutions and power relations, so that the latter are partially shaped by hegemonic relations” (Discourse and Social Change 93). It follows that hegemony operates by exerting power across institutions and discourses. In Fairclough’s TODA, language creates social realities through coming together of discourse with ideology, power, hegemony and context. Fairclough believes that CDA interprets discourse as social practice because:

i. language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it

ii. language is a social process.
language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society. (*Language and Power* 18-19)

In short, language is integral to social phenomena, which becomes social practice on being analysed as a text or being interpreted as discourse that includes processes of how language is produced and interpreted and how the discursive practice is related to social practice. Additionally, it is concerned with how texts are produced and distributed and how they are interpreted by the people being addressed in different social contexts. The person who produces language always has a position or a stance which is revealed through the kind of language used by the producer. For example, in the language of advertising, the verbal text reveals the ideological stance of the producer which gets further corroborated through its interplay with the visual. The stance may be hidden and the view point of the producer may be opaque depending on the language used and only a careful interpretation taking into account the context and the identity of the interpreter, may reveal it. The distribution of print advertising texts is simple while the electronic advertisements are distributed at multiple planes. Consumption of these texts may be individual, as in personal communication or collective as in messages broadcast for general public. For Fairclough, the ‘text’ whether spoken or written is part of discourse that also includes the process of social interaction. He treats ‘discourse’ and ‘practice’ as action or convention as both refer to either what people are doing in a particular context or what they habitually do on a particular occasion (*Language and Power* 23). Hence, text, discourse and society are inter-related according to Fairclough’s TODA. Society determines discourse as it is the society and its norms that make people behave and act in a particular way. Fairclough says: “people are enabled through being constrained: they are able to act on condition that they act within the constraints of types of practice – or of discourse” (*Language and Power* 23). He believes that intimate discourses that occur within the family are also socially determined. It may therefore be said that an individual gets positioned by the social orders of discourse that have a “specifically discoursal perspective” (*Language and Power* 24). These social orders are institutions that make people function according to the situation or the practice associated with them. Fairclough (*Language and Power* 24) explains it as in the following figure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social order</th>
<th>Order of discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Types of practice</td>
<td>Types of discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual practices</td>
<td>Actual discourses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 3.1: Social Orders and Orders of Discourse, Language and Power, 24*
3.3.3. An Outline of Fairclough’s Three-Layer Model of CDA

As mentioned by Fairclough (Language and Power), his analysis is on the basis of three interrelated dimensions of discourse. These dimensions are shaped by the correspondence between discourse and society. They may be explained as:

i. the object of analysis (it includes verbal, visual or a combination of verbal and visual texts);

ii. the processes by which the object is fashioned and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects;

iii. the socio-historical conditions that control these processes.

Fairclough observes that each of these dimensions calls for different kinds of analyses which are:

i. text analysis (that describes a text);

ii. processing analysis (that interprets a text);

iii. social analysis (that explains a text).

Fairclough calls them - description, interpretation and explanation. In doing so, Fairclough makes an attempt to establish a systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context.

This kind of analysis is useful as it helps the analyst to focus on the signifiers that structure the text such as the specific linguistic choices, how they relate to their immediate environment or their juxtapositioning, their sequencing, and their layout. However, here it is important to recognize the historical purpose of these choices so as to understand that the linguistic selections are tied to the conditions of possibility. Another way of saying it is that texts are examples of and illustrate discourses having social control and the processes of production and reception of discourse are again socially constrained. Fairclough's approach to CDA provides multiple ways of doing analysis. All points can be taken up simultaneously and it has no import on which kind of analysis one starts with, if they are all included for analysis and facilitate explanation of the text. It is in this mutuality and interdependence that the discourse analyst finds connections, interesting patterns and disconnections that need description, interpretation and explanation. In analysing advertisements, this three dimensional model for working with a text will be very useful. However, it needs to be kept
in mind that in advertisements, analysis of the verbal account cannot be cohesively linear. It goes back and forth into the verbal text to justify the interpretation. In the figure given below,

![Figure 3.2: Fairclough’s (2010:133) Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis](image)

Fairclough tries to capture this simultaneity of his approach to CDA with the model that has three different kinds of analyses represented by three boxes, one inside the other. This positioning of boxes underlines the interdependence of the dimensions delineated in the figure and the complex and simultaneous backward and forward movements from one type of analysis to another. The boxes in the figure appear to be interrelated and interdependent. The analysis of a text under this model will also be dependent upon each other for instantiations as illustrated by Fairclough's boxes, one placed inside the other if one thinks of them threedimensionally. Janks also observes that capturing the interdependence of Fairclough's boxes is easier, “if one thinks of them three-dimensionally, as boxes nesting one inside the other rather than as concentric circles” (330). It may be noticed that the placing of emphasis on any one box must be seen as a relatively random choice of an arbitrary point from where to begin the analysis. To understand Fairclough’s dimensions of discourse, it is important to understand the terms used by him.

a. **Sociocultural Practice**: It implies that emphasis needs to be placed on immediate situation and various socio cultural practices and social discursive conditions that are
responsible for the production of discourse and provide a wider contextual relevance respectively.

b. **Discourse Practice**: It implies that emphasis should be placed on how a text is produced and also how it relates to the other similar texts, how it is disseminated and how it is received, read, interpreted and used by the target audience.

c. **Text**: A focus on text implies determining ways as to how the text positions its readers. Moving further, it is important to understand what the terms “Description”, “Interpretation” and “Explanation” denote. Description stands for a close textual microanalysis of the formal features of a text. Interpretation implies the ‘macro-sociological’ analysis of the relationship between the text and social interaction. Explanation stands for the macro-relationship between social interaction and social context i.e. how the phases of production and interpretation take place and what are their social effects. The analyses of advertisements will make use of these to seek and reveal the relationship between the advertising texts, their context and their social effects. These three terms need to be dealt with in detail.

### 3.3.3.1. Description

The stage of description includes a number of formal or linguistic properties such as vocabulary, transitivity, modality and textual features such as sentence structure, voice, nominalization, complexity of sentence, cohesion, etc.

#### 3.3.3.1.1. Vocabulary

Vocabulary includes values appended to the words used in texts. Analysis of vocabulary would take account of experiential values, relational values and expressive values. Experiential value of words refers to the manner in which the text producer’s experience of natural and social world is represented using his/her contents, beliefs and knowledge. For this, the following need to be investigated:

i. how discourse takes shape and the classificatory schemes used in the process

ii. words and their meaning and ways in which they are ideological in essence

iii. relations between antonyms, synonyms and hyponyms used

iv. cases of rewording (according to Fairclough (*Discourse and Social change* 194), it is a useful label for the intertextual and dialogic character of wording) and over-wording (Halliday’s relexicalization i.e. generating new words which are set up as alternatives
to and in opposition to existing ones) which point towards an agenda or the purpose to bring to light or reveal something particular in society. For example, advertisements for personal grooming may use a large number words related to it such as style, beautiful, care, confidence etc. to point at its ideological nature.

v. relational vocabulary is indicative of how texts affect social relations through euphemisms and formal/informal styles that work towards establishing relations between the person producing the text and the audience

vi. expressive values which demonstrate how the text producer evaluates social world and social identities

vii. use of metaphor

3.3.3.1.2. Metaphor

Metaphor is also one of the features of vocabulary which is mainly found in literary discourse but is commonly used in advertisements too because “metaphors can create realities for us. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action.” (Lakoff and Johnson 156). Fairclough observes that “different metaphors have different ideological attachments… and imply different ways of dealing with things” (Language and Power 100). The identification and analysis of metaphors is often used in the descriptive stage of CDA as a way of revealing ideologies. As it has an ideological significance, metaphors are significant to the CDA analysis. These values as discussed in 3.6.1.1. may be diagrammatically represented as under.

![Figure 3.3: Features of Text](image)

Figure 3.3: Features of Text
3.3.3.1.3. Grammar

Fairclough (Discourse and Social Change; Language and Power) asserts that grammatical features in TODA includes transitivity, modality, sentence type and nominalization which are part of Halliday’s functional grammar (1994) which in his own words is a theory of interrelated chunks that create meaning in language.

3.3.3.1.3.1. Transitivity and Modality

Functional grammar, for Halliday, is a theory of meaning wherein the speaker can exercise linguistic choice of words or phrases to be used in speech. These choices so made reveal how the speaker exercises power and what kind of ideology s/he subscribes to. It is also, therefore, referred to as the choice of intentionality. On analysing the language of advertising also, it becomes clear how linguistic choices work towards persuading people to buy the advertised product and the linguistic choices in the advertisement correlate with power that advertisements have over the consumers through use of persuasive language. Halliday says that it is a theory “about language as a resource for making meaning. Each system in the network represents a choice: not a conscious decision made in real time but a set of possible alternatives, like ‘statement/question’ or ‘singular/plural’ or ‘falling tone/level tone/rising tone’” (Functional Grammar xiv - xxvi).

3.3.3.1.3.1.1. Transitivity

Transitivity is a fundamental and powerful semantic concept in Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics. In Functional grammar, the transitive verb system is part of a broader, semantic network of relations working processes (VP), participant roles (NP) and circumstances (ADVERBIALS). The different patterns of transitivity are the prime means of expressing our external and internal experiences, which is a part of the ideational function of language. Halliday asserts that language has three metafunctions: ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function. Explaining the notion of transitivity as an essential property of language, Halliday states that language in its ideational function represents patterns of experience of world and it “enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them” (Functional Grammar 106). He considers the concept of reality the most powerful because it discusses what is going on or happening (Functional Grammar 101). Halliday also
observes in this context that transitivity aids in explaining our experience of objects, events and persons as

…it consists of ‘goings-on’ – happening, doing sensing, meaning, and being and becoming … Thus as well as being a mode of action, of giving and demanding goods and services and information, the clause is also a mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events.

*(Functional Grammar 106)*

Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language and the structures by which they are expressed (*Functional Grammar* 101). The actor and goal are central to the transitivity model, and the concentration is more on whether the actor directs the process towards a goal or not. In other words, transitivity configuration may be described in terms of agency i.e. agent + process + goal and it signifies such function of language that expresses the speaker’s experience of the external world or his own internal world. Basically transitivity is such domain of the linguistic system that expresses who (or what) does what to whom (or what) i.e. it is concerned with mapping the reality of the world around. The transitive verb system is part of a broader, semantic network of relational working processes (Verbs), participant roles (subject and object) and circumstances (Adverbials and Prepositional Phrases). A transitivity view (who/what/when/why) of verbs is ideologically significant as it makes option available for the users to represent the world in accordance with their hidden agendas. Toolan says:

> By means of choices from among the limited sets of processes and participant roles, expressed in the grammar of the clause and, in particular its verb, we characterize our view of reality. (112)

In the advertising scenario, for example, the action of cleaning house, dishes, toilet, etc. is always attributed to women by showing them as using and verbally endorsing the product and the material processes in such advertisements are ascribed to women. Men are, generally, not shown as agents of the activity of cleaning. Such a representation is highly ideological.

Halliday's grammar proposes six different processes or kinds of transitivity which are material, mental, verbal, relational, behavioural and existential. For analysing transitivity, Janks observes that it is essential “to identify every verb and its associated process. It is then necessary to identify patterns in the use of these processes.” She further cites Luke who analysed child characters Dick and Jane and finds a pattern that they are given material and verbal processes only which makes him conclude “that children are represented as allowed
only to do and to say; they are not allowed to think (mental processes) and to be (relational processes)” (336).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process type</th>
<th>Category Meaning &amp; Verb examples</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Types of Doing</td>
<td>Actor + Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Doing (active and Passive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers sometimes hit students.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(active)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students should not be hit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(passive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Happening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental</td>
<td>Sensing</td>
<td>Senser + Phenomenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception</td>
<td>Perceiving: Saw, noticed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>Feeling: I love that flower. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feel angry.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinking: Think, know, understand, interpret</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>Type of Being</td>
<td>Token + Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>Attributing: Having – x has y—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That child has a toy.</td>
<td>Career + attributer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Identifying - x is y— Child</td>
<td>Identified+ Identifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abuse is a bad thing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>Types of Behaving</td>
<td>Behaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physiological: breathe, dream,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sleep.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psychological: smile, laugh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>Saying</td>
<td>Sayer + what is said + Receiver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raghu suggested that I try</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freshly brewed coffee.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>Things that exist or happen</td>
<td>Existent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Existing:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The moon is earth’s satellite.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There was a dog in the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>restaurant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.4: System of Transitivity in the Clause, Adapted from Janks 336
Transitivity explores the experiential value of grammatical forms. Transitivity includes various types of processes (verbs) and participants (nouns) and, functional relation between them. The figure above discusses these processes with examples. The relationship between subjects or agent (S), objects, (O), complement (C) and verbs (V) and the circumstantial about the process (adverbials and prepositional phrases) are investigated in transitivity analysis. The following figure explains the transitive processes.

There are six types of processes: (1) material processes, (2) mental processes, (3) relational processes, (4) behavioural processes, (5) verbal processes, and (6) existential processes. Material processes are processes of doing or happening which involves an Actor and sometimes a Goal. The Actor is the one who does the act, and the Goal stands for the act done. Mental processes imply the act of sensing which has two possible participants, i.e. the Sensor and the Phenomenon. Sensor is a conscious being capable of feeling or thinking or seeing. What is sensed, thought, felt or seen by the sensor is called the phenomenon. Mental processes may be further classified into three subtypes, i.e. perception, affection and cognition. Relational processes are those processes that discuss phenomenon of being or becoming. There are three types of relational processes (1) intensive which expresses “x = y”, (2) circumstantial which expresses “x is at y” and possessive “x has y”. It shows two types of relationship between x and y which may be characterized as

- y is an attribute of x
- y is the identity of x

To discuss behavioural processes, it may be said that they are physiological and psychological which are defined by behaviour such as smiling, dreaming, sulking, etc. which typically have one participant, the Behaver who displays certain behaviour. Verbal processes are processes of speaking such as saying, suggesting and it has three participants, the Sayer, the Receiver and the Verbiage. The Sayer is one who says, the Receiver is one who is addressed and receives and the Verbiage is the matter of the message. Existential processes represent that something exists or happens and such clauses usually begin by ‘there’-construction.

Transitivity principally shows the process of how the world is perceived in three dimensions: the material world, the world of consciousness or the mental world, and the world of relations. It also categorizes the semantic role(s) given to the participants according to the nature of the verbs used that represent the processes.

There is, however, one typical aspect of advertisements that they, usually, do not have complete sentences. They have single content words or phrases which are nominal clauses.
The transitivity analysis would also need to recover the elliptic language which may also include the missing verbs. For the analysis, this limitation will have to be kept in mind so that the discourse is analysed critically – the discourse which is present and the discourse which is recoverable but absent. CDA thrives on analysing what is implicit rather than what is explicitly said. Doing CDA of advertising language therefore entails inclusion of how the readers may fill the gaps themselves. Readers, as discussed in Chapter 2, make meaning of the text according to their own context and world-view which generally works in favour of the advertisers. Such an analysis, according to Teun van Dijk, “attempts to relate structures of discourse with structures of society” (Ideological Discourse Analysis 135) among other things. He goes on to explain that social properties or relations of, e.g., class, gender or ethnicity, are thus systematically associated with the structural units, levels, or strategies of talk and text embedded in their social, political and cultural contexts. He believes that it is also true for the relations between social organizations, institutions, groups, roles, situations, power, or political decision making, on one hand, and discourse structures, on the other.

3.3.3.1.3.1.2. Modality

Discussion of modality is done in various disciplines such as stylistics, text linguistics and semantics as a result of increasing interest in discourse and interpersonal relations between the author and the reader and also because of the issue of point of view in texts. Modality is concerned with speaker or writer authority. It is expressed by modal auxiliary verbs such as, can, should, may, must and through adverbs and tense markers. Modal adverbs include perhaps, probably, necessarily, inevitably. Halliday (1994) talks about four types of modality which are, probability (of an action), usuality (frequency of an action), obligation (compulsion of an action) and inclination (willingness to perform an action). Fairclough (Language and Power 105) asserts that there are two dimensions to modality: relational and expressive. If it is the matter of authority of one participant in relation to others, it is relational and if the matter is about the writer’s or speaker’s authority with respect to truth, reality or authenticity, it is expressive. Aspects of modality are generally focused upon in CDA as modal verbs highlight power, inequalities or ideology. In discourse it reveals authority and obligation, and power asymmetry.
3.3.3.1.3.2. Relational Values

Any text will have relational values of grammatical categories. Kress and Hodge observe that “the grammar of a language is its theory of reality” (6). They regard language as consisting of a related set of models which describe the relation of objects and events. Relational values are therefore concerned with how the text relates to society. In a text, relational values include the types of sentences; modality and use of pronouns. The sentence-types – declarative, imperative and interrogative – are typically associated with statements, commands/requests and questions in that order. However, these sentence types can be used to produce different speech acts and help to expose unequal power relations as speech acts are used for different purposes in different contexts and according to the producer’s position in society or in a particular event. Analysis of relational values in a text reveals how ideologies are camouflaged and how they are evaluated as per the reader’s context and beliefs. The mood of the sentence is equally important as many times the mood and the sentence-type may not match. For example a sentence like, ‘I hate you!’ may not only be an exclamation but also an expression of extreme hurt or anger depending on the situation and who the recipient is. At times it may not even mean what it exclaims. Relational values therefore may ascertain the social relationship between the producer of the text and the recipient.

Pronouns in English have a relational value. The use of pronouns such as ‘we’ and ‘you’ indicate degrees of inclusion and exclusion of the interpreter. ‘We’ for example can be inclusive and may include the reader and can also exclude the reader when using ‘we’ for a group that claims authority such as when substituting for ‘the government’. These are therefore attempts at personalization or impersonalization, hence they are significant. In this context, Fairclough (Language and Power 106) also talks about the pronoun ‘you’ and how it becomes particularly significant to advertising wherein it is common to find simulated personal address, as in ‘housework on your mind’; ‘set yourself Free with IFB.’

3.3.3.1.3.3. Expressive Values

While Relational value is concerned with relations and social relationships, the expressive value of grammatical features provides an insight into “the producer’s evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to” (Language and Power 93).
Expressive values are concerned with subjects and social identity. Fairclough records that expressive and relational modality features overlap. Hence it may be said that it is not possible to separate the two. Fairclough observes that expressive modality is a categorical commitment of the producer to the truth of the proposition. The modality forms provide evidence to the claims to knowledge or authenticity. However, it also becomes important for the reader to question such represented knowledge as this knowledge is often a disguised opinion or viewpoint of the producer or an ideological position rather than a fact that is projected as unquestionably positive though it may not essentially be so. It may be stated that contingent to the possibility or certainty of an action, depending on the modal verb used which may display a definite or a tentative commitment to reality, the text producer’s claim to transparency and authenticity needs to be examined with caution as the text would generally carry ideological leanings.

3.3.3.1.3.4. Nominalization

Nominalization refers to an aspect of word formation process whereby sentences become nominal/nominal group. It is a transformation process of reducing a complete clause to its nucleus (verb) and then turning it into a noun or nominal. Kress and Hodge call it a process of syntactic reduction. When a clause is nominalized, some of the sentential elements get deleted, e.g. modality, agency, tense, etc. This syntactic reduction presents extensive structural consequences and ideological opportunities. In the words of Fowler (1985) nominalizations have two ideologically practical consequences:

i. They are sources of new norms, codings of experience that can be transmitted to the appropriate social groups by propaganda or education.

ii. They also permit deletion of agency, tense and modality, thus, making mysterious the participants, obligations, time and the responsibilities. For example: the word ‘immigration’ is a nominalized form of the word ‘immigrate’ in a sentence like ‘Canada is getting strict about immigration’. The nominalized form ‘immigration’ here does not need to necessarily specify who immigrates. (71)

Fairclough in his *Discourse and Social Change* observes that scientific texts use nominalization to appear objective which may also mean that the use of nominalization helps to appear objective, or to obscure blame, hide ideologies and get freedom from responsibility which is why it is relevant to CDA (179). According to Batstone,“Nominalization is said to
be particularly well suited to the expression of power through the mystification of time and participants” (206). Discussing its ideological implications, Kress and Hodge observe that showing less means that someone else is seeing less and seeing less means thinking less which is important in maintaining the status quo. Here, it needs mention that ‘voice’, ‘positive/negative’ sentences are also part of descriptive value.

3.3.3.1.3.5. Complexity of sentences

Complexity of sentences is also an important textual feature for analysis. Subordinate clauses in complex sentences carry presuppositions while coordinate clauses have equal information. Sentences use connectors for cohesion in form and meaning. Cohesive devices such as substitution, reference, repetition, discourse markers function to link simple sentences with each other to lend complexity. These cohesive devices characteristically are temporal, spatial and logical and they also provide cues about ideologies or commonsense assumptions. The use of pronouns and especially the definite article for making reference to content of the text also attest the existence of presuppositions that sustain the prevalent ideologies.

3.3.3.1.3.5.1. Sentences

There are four types of sentences which are (a) action type, (b) the event type (c) relational type and (d) mental type (using mental verbs such as think, know, perceive, hear, smell, feeling, enjoy) depending on the verb used (also discussed under ‘transitivity’). The action type (SVO) sentences have an animate subject (doing agency) and an animate or inanimate object (receiving action) for example:

Radha plays chess.

Here Radha is the animate subject or the agent and chess is the inanimate object or the receiver of the agent’s action. Event type sentences have the grammatical pattern SV. Such sentences have only one agent who may be an animate or inanimate agent. For example, look at the following sentence:

The cat jumped.

Here ‘the cat’ is the agent of the action done and answers the question, ‘What (event) happened?’ At the same time, it answers the question, ‘What did the Subject (S) do?’ or ‘What is the Subject doing?’. In such a context, it becomes a non-directed question. Another
important sentence pattern is SVC which is relational in character. It also has only one agent and is related to the complement or an attribute that is both possessive and non-possessive. For example:

- Ram has a pen. (Possessive with the verb ‘have’)
- The pen is beautiful. (Non – possessive with the adjective beautiful and use of be-verb)
- The pen looks expensive. (Non – possessive with use of mental (transitivity) verb ‘look’ and use of adjective ‘expensive’)

The type of sentence, therefore, chosen and used by the person who produces language exposes their ideologies and real intentions whether positive or negative and also how their ideologies have influenced their choices of words in the text. It divulges how people manipulate language to suit their own interests and how manipulating language to maintain the existing order of things reveals their ideological inclinations. Besides agency, it is also important to analyse why passives have been used and for what purpose the agent has been obscured, and why a particular kind of sentence construction has been chosen whether the active or the passive, the positive or the negative and to what effect transitivity processes and nominalization have been used as in the phrase: ‘the advertising company’.

3.3.3.2. Interpretation

Fairclough perceives interpretation to be “concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation” (Language and Power 21). Rodgers et al observe:

- Fairclough’s second dimension, discursive practice, involves the analysis of the process of production, interpretation, and consumption. This dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts. He uses term for the interactional process as well as for the stage of analysis. (372)
- Fairclough does this to stress the essential similarity between what the analyst does and what participants do. The process of interpretation implies activation of members’ resources (MR) that may be referred to as interpretative procedures and may also be taken as the background knowledge which generally includes interpretative tools such as situational context and discourse types; intertextual contexts and presupposition; speech acts; and
schemata. Fairclough (Language and Power 119), with the help of the given table (figure 3.5), demonstrates the level of interpretation and the process involved therein.

It follows that interpretation is possible at different levels that are interdependent and relate to one another individually and also collectively. It refers to “what is in the text and what is ‘in’ the interpreter in terms of member resources that the latter brings to interpretation” (Language and Power 118).

There are six domains of interpretation listed in the diagram and they seem to be related to the boxes that stand for the 'contents' of each box as a combination of the 'inputs' which feed into it. Each box is linked with the domain of interpretation as indicated by the double-headed arrow. It means that the interpretation of a text, at a particular point, requires prior interpretations from important part of the ‘resources’ for interpretation of a new text. This is true for all domains of interpretation. The boxes in the second part of the figure are also linked as indicated by the double-headed arrows. It follows that each sphere of interpretation is dependent on the interpretations in the other spheres which also form its member resources or background knowledge.
The six domains of interpretation are further divided into two levels – the context and the text. The upper section relates to the interpretation of the context and the lower relates to levels of interpretation of text. The first level in the interpretation of the text i.e. the level surface of utterance implies that the interpreter needs to decipher the spoken and written symbols on page at the surface level whether they are words, phrases or sentences by depending on understanding of their own MR or the background knowledge of phonology, grammar and vocabulary.

The second level is the meaning of utterance. It refers to their ability to assigning holistic meanings to those words, phrases and sentences (utterances) relying upon their pragmatic understanding of the situation and the semantic conceptual knowledge such as speech acts which hint at the power rooted in how direct and how polite the utterances are. The utterances may also point at the social distance between speakers implied in the way speech acts of interrogation, replies, requests, and commands are specified. According to Fairclough, “Interpreters here draw upon semantic aspects of their MR – representations of the meanings of words, their ability to combine word meanings and grammatical information and work out implicit meanings to arrive at meanings for whole propositions” (*Language and Power* 120).

At the third level, it is needed that the utterances produce a logical and a coherent structure using the cohesive discourse markers to underscore subordination, coordination, substitution, ellipsis, etc. It is both the presence and the absence of these devices which leads to the interpretation of texts taking into account the assumptions which are embedded in the process of interaction and interactional conventions.

The next stage is coherence at the holistic level and is comprehended as the text interacts with schemata of the text and the thematic or the topic summary. This entails that the text be matched with schemata, or representations of characteristic patterns of organization associated with different types of discourse. Being interdependent concepts, schemata, frames and scripts may be interpreted as mental structures of our social reality. The interdependence of these concepts can be observed in that schemata concerns social behaviour; frames are the topic, content or subject matter; and scripts have concerns of subjects and how they relate to each other. This interdependence implies that for interpretation of text, they should be taken together. In doing so, the interpretation of the implicit assumptions regarding a text about people, objects, ideas and processes are possible. The topic includes the central argument with its relational and expressive aspects for which Fairclough (*Language and Power* 120) uses the term ‘point’, which is an outline interpretation.
of the text as a whole that interpreters arrive at, and which tends to be stored in the long-term memory and readily available for recall at will. The experiential aspect of the point of a text is its topic taken as a whole.

The upper levels in the diagram relates to the interpretation of both the situational and the intertextual contexts. Interpretation is done keeping in mind the external cues related to the physical situation, participants, what has been said before and their MR. All these have an impact on the interpretation of cues, especially their representation of “the societal and institutional social orders which allow them to ascribe as the situations they are actually in to particular situation types” (Language and Power 121), which according to Fairclough:

… can be thought of partly in terms of a discourse type, which is a conventionalized combination of values for the four dimensions of discourse types (Language and Power 125-126).

It follows that an institutional setting will have some situation types, each of which will have a discourse type. An interpretation of discourse would, therefore, account for experiential, expressive and relational meanings for which knowledge of the context; background knowledge and tools of interpretative procedures as mentioned in Figure (3.5) such as phonology, vocabulary, grammar, pragmatics, semantics, cohesion, schemata, etc. are necessary. Each situation type therefore has its own discourse type.

Fairclough (Language and Power 122) discusses situations and associated discourse type. The components of the discourse types associated with the situation types.

The figure can be explained as under:

1. What’s going on? The content and terms of an activity, its topic and focus of interaction and the reasons of interaction determine a discourse type.

Who is involved? This question is also connected to the question, “In what relations?” However under this, come the subjects positioned by the discourse? These positions are multi-dimensional and keep changing according to the subjects involved and the situation. These positions may be of a “speaker, listener, over hearer, spokesperson, and so forth” (Language and Power 123). To apply it to the domain of advertising, it may be said that the reader and the audience (in the case of TV advertisements) first absorb the advertising discourse to interpret the discourse and make meaning of it as per their assumed position in the process. They may respond to it by interpreting the meaning without thinking about it critically. The subject position that is given to the weaker sections of society is ideological but it is accepted as natural or common sense. Another response to the advertisement could be that the consumers of the
advertisement whether they are dominant or dominated, may behave in stereotypical ways or maintaining the existing order of things without having any concerns regarding social change. Buying the advertised product as required by the ad-makers is also a type of response that is stimulated by the interpretation of the advertisement.

Figure 3.6: Situations and Discourse Types, Language and Power 122
2. In what relations? The relations among the subjects in a situation like that of power and social distance need to be looked into for interpretation. As may be observed in advertising, power is often perceived as given to a particular section of society while the other section is at the receiving end of the powerful. This happens without getting into conflict with the norms of the socio-cultural constructs.

3. What is the role of the language? Interaction is controlled by the institutional and social scenarios with language as its medium. Language connects the text to the outside setting as well as with the components within the text. For instance, the advertising discourse is created by the advertisers through models to entice and persuade the common people to make the purchase. The common people are hailed as targets, which renders their positions as weaker compared to the advertisers, who tell them to do certain things in certain ways to achieve certain things that they desire. Advertisers use such persuasive language that conditions them to perceive things in exactly the way that advertisers want them to. They fail to recognize the patterns of hegemony in this process and they find themselves believing what is said through the medium of language and thereby buying without coercion.

3.3.3.2.1. Other elements in Interpretation

Another element in interpretation is the interactional history which is understood through the intertextual context and presuppositions. Fairclough considers presuppositions as features of intertextuality in that they constitute something taken for granted by the text producer which can be interpreted in terms of intertextual relations with previous texts of the text producer. Fairclough observes:

Presuppositions are not properties of texts, they are an aspect of text producers’ interpretations of intertextual texts. *(Language and Power 127)*

Presuppositions include textual features such as the definite article, comparisons, counterfactuals, wh-questions, possessives, that-clauses, etc. Presuppositions are manipulative language tools that text writers employ to perpetuate a preconceived ideology as natural commonsense which may be both straightforward and pretentious. Presuppositions
make a text ‘dialogic’ as does intertextuality, “though of less dynamic sort” (Language and Power 129). Julia Kristeva remodelled Bakhtin’s (1986) ‘dialogic’ property wherein what speakers say are related to what has been said before and after. Kristeva’s intertextuality refers to the relationship between texts either of the same author i.e. the other texts or with texts of other authors. She also refers to intertextual texts as the ones that remind of earlier texts or the present ones. Intertextual texts therefore are modified texts from the past created to suit one’s present communicative need. For example, advertisements often use a jingle which is modeled on an old or a current popular song. This association, besides augmenting communicative function, also has a hegemonic slant in the way older texts remodel the present texts for the advertising purpose and in the process the older texts get priority over the present text.

Fairclough discusses two types of intertextuality i.e. manifest and constitutive intertextuality. He discusses manifest intertextuality in relation to discourse representation, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse and irony (Discourse and Social Change 118). Manifest intertextuality refers to “explicit presence of the other texts in a text” (Discourse and Social Change 10). Constitutive intertextuality is also called interdiscursivity. It may be explained in “that orders of discourse have primacy over particular types of discourse” (Discourse and Social Change 124) and how a particular discourse type is constituted using the diverse elements of orders of discourse. In simpler words, the ‘elements’ refer to diverse genres, discourses, or styles and interdiscursivity is how these elements come together and get associated with institutional and social meanings in a single text. Intertextuality, therefore, is a linguistic phenomenon that permeates through language use, especially in contemporary institutional settings. It is useful as it may be used to change discursive social structures. In TODA, intertextuality has social utility due to its ability to reconstruct discourse and the socio-institutional setting of their origin leading to subject formation in how the text is taken up and consumed by individuals. In the discourse of advertising, intertextual texts are quite common as different discourse types and styles work in tandem to produce a text for promoting the product.

3.3.3.3. Explanation

The third dimension of TODA, ‘explanation’ perceives discourse as social struggle. It is “concerned with the relationship between relationship interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social
effects” (*Language and Power* 22). He goes on to explain that stage is concerned with how discourse becomes social practice and what effects these discourses produced anew can have on social structures, whether in maintaining or transforming them. Fairclough points out that “…any discourse is therefore shaped by institutional and societal relations, and contributes (if minutely) to institutional and societal struggles” (*Language and Power* 136). It raises issues regarding the role of power in establishing discourse and the extent to which the background knowledge (MR) works as ideological platform and what their effect is on discourse. When this background knowledge is used for interpretation of a text, this background knowledge or structures are constantly reproduced again in discourse and practice, which may remain the same or they may be reproduced in modified forms i.e. it is either “conservative, sustaining continuity or is transformatory, effecting changes” (*Language and Power* 32). Transformed discourse displays a creative relation between the text producer and the text while the conservative discourse suggests a normal and simple relationship.

This stage functions at the macro-level as the issues pertaining to power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are generally part of macro-level of analysis while language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication function at the micro-level of the social order. In everyday interaction the macro and micro levels come together to form a composite entity. The role of a critical discourse analyst, therefore, is to understand these stages objectively and dispassionately and use them to reveal the connection between power, ideology, and social context and practices through the text/discourse. Rodgers et al observe:

> The third dimension, sociocultural practice, is concerned with issues of power. Analysis of this dimension includes exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society. (372)

Therefore by studying the forms of the language, the social processes get discovered along with the specific ideology entrenched in them, which leads to the investigation of existing power relations. Fairclough believes that discourse has a ‘hidden agenda’ which needs to be explored. The present study attempts to examine the discursive nature of language, ideology and power relations in the advertisements and how the positioning of individuals occurs through the medium of advertising discourse inflected with ideology and power.

### 3.4. CDA Tools and Advertising

The advertising text/texts under consideration need an eclectic framework for analysis which may include various theoretical perspectives. Most tools for doing CDA have already
been discussed earlier in this chapter and in the previous chapter. However, it is important to make mention of those in the framework. These tools include concepts such as studying vocabulary, transitivity, modality, and textual features such as sentence type, mood, cohesion, nominalization, turn-taking, speech acts, presuppositions, schemas and intertextuality.

The first theoretical perspective would be ideological wherein concepts like semiotics (signs, symbols), paradigms and syntagms, verbal and non-verbal code, levels of discourse, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, and the hermeneutic function would be used. Grice’s implicature and force of utterance, Bakhtin’s polysemic socially produced sign, Kristeva’s intertextuality would also find place in the first level of analysis. Besides these, Teun van Dijk’s notions that discuss how ideology is perpetuated would also be used e.g. actor description, counterfactual, euphemisms, implication, self-glorification and negative other-presentation. In addition, Taflinger also talks of genetic fallacy, guilt by association, etc. that give an ideological slant to a text.

The linguistic perspective is also very important. For this purpose, various grammatical forms, word sounds and semantic content will be explored to allow an effective linguistic/textual analysis. Halliday and Hasan give analytical tools like cohesion, coherence, modality, transitivity, backgrounding. Schiffrin’s Discourse markers; speech acts, performatives, illocution, perlocution from Austin and Searle; nominalization from Kress and Hodge, and transformation from Chomsky will be used for analysis. Mixing of concrete and fuzzy words, code switching and mixing, weasel words, Buzz words from Taflinger would also be considered for analysis. Another category i.e. the rhetorical devices like simile, metaphor, euphemism, personification, ambiguity hyperbole etc. are also quite useful in analysing text. The devices can be included in both the perspectives, ideological and linguistic.

These concepts would be discussed in special relation to English advertisements in the Indian media. Hence, it is not feasible to explain each every concept in detail due to the limited scope of the present study. Apparently, it seems vast as there are a number of tools and of different forms of discourse analysis whether critical or non-critical, but to expect that each tool may be used in the analysis of advertisements may not be possible. Most analytical tools have already been discussed either in chapter 2 or 3. However, a few more tools need explanation. As has already been discussed in the earlier chapters, ideology may in principle show up anywhere in discourse. Whether it is deciphering meaning or giving arguments, ideology is at work. For example in advertisements, model/actor is important for making things sell, which makes it important to describe the actor. The semantics of ideological
discourse of advertisements demands proper actor description. All discourse on people and action involves various types of actor description. The actors may be individuals or members of groups represented by their actions or attributes, by their position or relation to other people and so on. The overall ideological strategy is that of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This is often represented by ‘US’ and ‘THEM’ polarization. In the advertisements, the model is shown to consume the product. All those who consume the product become part of the US group and those who do not are ‘others’ or ‘THEM’.

3.4.1. Semiotics

The word semiotics was used by Pierce and Saussure uses the word semiology. Both the terms refer to the study of signs. Saussure describes language as a system of signs which have meaning by virtue of their relationship to each other. Semiotics, as a linguistic approach brings out the internal relationships that lend form and function. It studies the meaning-potential system of signs whether it is verbal, visual or a complex mixture of both Roland Barthes has talked of myths, folk tales, consumer items books and comics, news items including advertisements etc. as signs. Saussure believes that each sign has meaning by virtue of its place in the system and the fact that this system is known and shared by its users and that a language is a ‘social fact’ or a convention. While Saussure emphasises the social function of sign over the individual, Pierce emphasises it logical function. Saussure says that words and other signs used in a particular social context construct our perceptions and understanding of reality. The implication here is that signs shape our perceptions rather than reflecting an existing reality, thus, language and other communication systems provide the framework in and through which reality is conceived and expressed. Fiske says that there are three main areas of semiotic study:

i. The sign itself

ii. The codes or systems into which signs are organized and

iii. The culture within which these codes and signs operate.

Therefore a semiotic study entails analysis of the sign, the language in which it is used and common culture experience, attitudes and emotions.

Thus language is quite symbolic and so is the language used in advertisements. This symbolism in advertisements foregrounds their ideological position. Pierce for whom every thought is an origin and a process says:
A sign is something which stands for something to somebody in respect or capacity. It addresses somebody. That is, it creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps more developed sign. The sign which it creates I call the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for something, *its object*. (qtd. in Fiske 42)

The interpretant does not use the sign rather the sign has an effect in the user’s mind as Pierce terms it as “the proper significant effect, that is, it is a mental concept produced both by sign and by the user’s experience of the object” (Fiske 42).

A sign for Saussure is two dimensional. It is coming together of a signifier and a signified. The signifier is the sign’s ‘image’ perceived on paper or orally and the signified is the ‘mental concept’ referred to by the signifier. Fiske gives us the following model on Saussure’s elements of meaning. He explains this with the help of two marks on the paper ‘ox’. The signifier, if read as a word, refers to image of the word, ‘ox’ and the ‘signified’ refers to the ‘mental concept’ (oxness) that the user visualizes on the basis of his prior understanding of the object ‘ox’. Both the signifier (OX) and the signified (Oxness) one are fused into a meaningful ‘sign’. Fiske comments:

The relationship between my concept of oxness and the physical realities of the oxen is signification. (44)

According to Saussure, connection between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary i.e. there is no necessary or natural bond between a signified and its signifier. Saussure and others have assumed that due to arbitrariness of signs, different cultures divide the world into unpredictably conceptual categories. For them the semiotic arbitrariness presupposes differences in the word. In language meanings are not natural. They emerge as per the experience and needs of a particular group that speaks that language. The sign OX is also arbitrary with no relation whatsoever with its size or shape. It assumes meaning purely by virtue of convention or usage.

The non-verbal signs as Barthes perceives is a fusion of ‘expression’ and ‘content’. In this, expression is the non-verbal signifier and the content is the signified. The picture of a flower with dew-drops on its petals is an expression and the ‘flower’ represents the content. The two have an iconic relationship at the level of denotation. But at the connotative level of signification the relation becomes arbitrary. The picture of a flower may not be a ‘content’ flower but may stand for the content of, colour, delicacy, love fragrance, beauty, freshness, morning, etc. In short, the correlation between the expression and the content can also be made in abstraction. This connotative arbitrariness of signs signifies that things/thoughts get
an expression in various ways i.e. that suit the personal ideological, political and commercial objectives of people.

But the practitioners of CL, CDA and social Semiotics argue that the relation between the signified and the signifier is transparent, for example, the words, ‘hero’ and ‘villain’ are contrasting representations of signifier and signified and the contrast between them is ideologically motivated. Volosinov states that “the form of the sign is conditioned above all by social organization of the participants involved in also by the immediate conditions of their interaction” (21). Kress says that in the process of explaining the drawing of a car made by a three and a half year-old child, “signifieds are as much a product of a particular culture and the user as are signifiers” (“Against Arbitrariness” 174). For a child as small as that the signified of the signifier car is a circle wheel. Because of the child’s height, Kress says that it could be assumed that when he looked at his parents’ car, the wheels were the most obvious features. He states:

This sign (wheel) therefore is not the product of an arbitrary association of a signifier and a signified, either from the point of view of the producer, or from a consideration of characteristics of the object. It is ‘interest’ which determines the characteristics that are to be selected and to be represented … the relation of signifier to signified in all human semiotic systems, is always motivated, and is never arbitrary (“Against Arbitrariness” 173).

Value is another concept promoted by Saussure. For example, the sign ‘OX’ may be an animal used in the farms in one part of the world, and meat or beef by another culture and sacred to devotees of ‘Shiv’ (Nandi) in yet another part. Besides being culture specific, every sign in language gets its meaning in terms of how it is different from other signs. Thus the meaning of ‘ox’ is determined by how it is differentiated from the other signs. The meaning of ‘ox’ may therefore be seen in terms of not human, not wild animal, not beast, not female, not cow. Meaning is therefore better defined by the relationship of one sign to another, than by the relationship of that sign to the external reality. This relationship of the sign to another sign in its structural relationship is what Saussure calls ‘value’. And for Saussure ‘value’ is what mainly determines meaning. Fiske (46) says that meaning is not absolute or static to be found in reality parcellled up in the message. He argues that it is an active process: result of the dynamic interaction between sign, interpretant and object.

In the discourse of advertisements also, brand names are used in a highly motivated way. Advertisements often indulge in a lexical morphological deviation - ‘neologism’ for relating the product to its brand name. For example the products - Margo or Fem or Bru
have been coined by way of neologism from the existing vocabulary - Margo from Margosa (meaning Neem), Fem from Feminine, Bru from brew, Kwality from quality, etc. Consumer goods as signs can never be sold as mere physical products. Consumer products are understood only in terms of sets of worldviews called ideologies which are dexterously motivated or encultured around its name. In some of the advertisements for Dabur and Cadburys, Amitabh Bachchan endorsed the products; Kapil Dev and Sachin Tendulkar endorsed Boost. On seeing these products in the market, one is reminded of Amitabh Bachchan, Kapil Dev or Sachin Tendulkar endorsing all these products. Amitabh, Kapil and Sachin are symbols of glamour, vitality, staying power or everything positive. Hence they motivate the people to consume these products. The sale of ‘Reid and Taylor’ went up the year Amitabh Bachchan started advertising for it. A few years ago, Fanta was associated with the bubbliness and youth of Rani Mukherji and ‘Perk’ got its publicity because of attractive Preity Zinta. Soft drinks for that matter get linked to youth and their culture as Salman Khan and Akshay Kumar become the brand ambassadors of Thums Up.

It may be argued that signs (words, images) are not innocent and hence all the signs are subject to critical reading. The vocabulary of a language could be considered a kind of a lexical map of the preoccupations of that culture. Its use manifests the priorities of the users. Using them in social interactions keeps the ideas current in the community’s consciousness and helps transmit them from group to group and generation to generation. The famous slogan of lifebuoy ‘lifebuoy hai jahan tandrusti hai vahan’ has been there for more than fifty years. In this way ideology is reproduced and circulated within society.

Fiske quotes Pierce and Saussure who explain ways in which signs express meaning. Pierce observes three categories of signs and each category shows a different relationship between the signs and its object. The categories are: icon, index and symbol. Pierce explains these categories as follows:

Every sign is determined by its object, either first, by partaking in the character of the object, when I call the sign an ‘icon’, secondly, by being really in its individual existence concerned with the individual object, when I call the sign an ‘index’. Thirdly, by more or less approximate certainty that it will be interpreted as denoting the object in consequence of a habit … when I call the sign a ‘Symbol’. (qtd. in Fiske, 47)
3.4.1.1. Iconic sign

In the ‘icon’, the relation between the signifier and the signified manifests what Terence Hawkes terms as (77) ‘a community in quality’, similarity of resemblance proposed by the sign. It is often the most apparent in visual signs, e.g. the common visual signs denoting ladies and men’s washrooms are icons. Vestergaard (43) points out that this relation between sign and the object is motivated rather than natural, which implies that in some culturally relevant aspect the sign appears as similar to its object. The similarity may be in terms of shared physical properties or even very remote. The simplest form of an advertising image is iconic: a picture of the product against a suggestive background.

This concept, however, seems quite removed from Saussure’s arbitrary relationship between the signifier and the signified; the relationship between the icon and the object it stands for is not arbitrary. The icon and what it represents is identical if not exact in shape, size, colour etc. In advertising events also, icons are quite exaggerated in terms of using various photographic tricks performing a ‘make believe’ rhetorical function.

Iconic signs primarily have an imagic character as they are part of the non-verbal code. In language also, it is possible to have verbal icons. Using ‘onomatopoeia’ for instance is an attempt to make language iconic. The caption of one of the first Tajmahal tea bags advertisement read as ‘dip dip dip …’ sounding like dipping the tea bags in some hot liquid which also advised the consumer the way to use the product.

3.4.1.2. Indexical Sign

An index is a sign that has direct existential connection with its object. In other words, an index is a sign which can be used to represent its object because it usually occurs in close association with it. Merrel (31) also explains index as a sign which interconnects index with its semiotic object through a real or physical or imagined causal connection. Some examples of index are ‘the crown for the king’, ‘smoke’ for ‘fire’, ‘red flowers’ for ‘love’, ‘fallen leaves’ for ‘autumn’ and ‘a human foot print’ for ‘the presence of a human being’.

The indexical images are quite common in advertising. Many advertisements make an attempt to establish an indexical relationship between the product and an image of a person or a thing is connotative of positivity through use of images. An advertisement in a magazine itself is an index of the existence and availability of a product or a service. To convey the
idea of heat an advertisement can show a picture of mercury rising in a thermometer, a person sweating, fields drying up, or a desert just as the cold drink advertisements do. As mentioned in Chapter 1, women are often shown as separate body parts for the purpose of commodification of women. But a body part, be it a waxed leg or a made up eye or long flowing hair, also indicates that a woman as a whole is being symbolized by an eye or a leg apart from signifying a commodity. It follows that women in advertisements are often presented indexically by parts of her body and at the same time this phenomenon “reflects the commercial ideology in which women are pieces of decorative objects” (124).

3.4.1.3. The Symbol

In a symbol there is no relation between the signifier and the signified; a symbol has neither iconic nor indirect links but there is a natural bond between signifiers and signified in most symbols. In other words, the signifier neither resembles nor causes the signified but is related to it by some convention, agreement or role. This conventional sign has been referred to as a symbol by Pierce and later by Barthes. Symbols are arbitrary in the beginning but through practice they become part of our semantic repertoire to the extent that they become part of our common sense. For instance, a dove being an international symbol for peace is now common sense. Fiske (91) says that an object becomes a symbol when through convention and through use it acquires a meaning that helps it to stand for something else. Numbers and letters are also symbols. Their meaningfulness as signs exists through common consent and their use if governed by convention such as mathematical or linguistic conventions. A red rose is a symbol of love or passion but a yellow rose is a symbol of friendship because of agreed conventions. Generally, the discourse of advertisements projects the product symbolically. In addition to using the established symbols, advertisements also motivate new ones. Sometimes they distort the established signs to meet a specific need. For instance, chameleon is generally used as a symbol in the negative sense. When it is metaphorically said that someone is a chameleon, it is understood that reference is being made to his/her deception. However, an old Onida television advertisement symbolically emphasised the ‘chameleonicness’ of their product. The advertisement did not carry the established negative symbolic connotation but a positive one; but in that advertisement, the implication was that Onida television was unique and its colours natural like that of a chameleon. Dove, the soap, carries all the connotations of purity, softness, tranquility that the bird has. ‘Breeze’ symbolizes freshness of air around people who use it. However the iconic and indexical signs and the symbols are not separate and distinct. All these sign categories invariably overlap in most advertisements. A sign can be simultaneously iconic, indexical
iconic, indexical and symbolic. The colour green resembles (iconic) nature, which indicates (indexical) freshness and symbolizes (symbolic) regeneration and fertility in life. A sign is dynamic and can pass from one category to another according to time and circumstance.

3.4.1.4. Paradigms

A Paradigm is a set of various options that a choice can be made to form a syntagm. An example of a paradigm is the English alphabet of 26 letters from which the syntagm – whether a word or a sentence can be made, by choosing from the set i.e. alphabet. Similarly, numbers are also paradigms. According to Fiske, all paradigms illustrate two basic characteristics:

i. All the units in a paradigm must have something in common; they must share characteristics that determine their membership of the paradigms. We must know that M is letter and thus a member of the alphabetic paradigm. We must recognize equally that digit ‘5’ is not, and neither is ÷.

ii. Each unit must be clearly distinguished from all the others in the paradigm. We must be able to tell the difference between signs in a paradigm in terms of both their signifiers and signified. The means by which we distinguish one signifier from another are called distinctive features of a sign: this is a concept of considerable analytical importance… In our current example we need to say that bad handwriting is handwriting that blurs the distinctive features of the letters.

(57)

For this Jakobson’s feature specification theory becomes important. To distinguish ‘M’ from ‘5’ or mare, goat etc. at a higher level, we form headings ‘alphabetic paradigm’ and ‘mathematical paradigm’. Then each of the paradigms can further be distinguished by applying its distinctive features. For instance, in the alphabetic paradigm ‘M’ is ‘+letter’ ‘+consonant)’, ‘+voiced’ ‘–vowel’ ‘–number’ whereas ‘5’ is ‘+number’ ‘–letter’ and so on.

Fiske is of the opinion where there is choice there is meaning, and the meaning of what was chosen is determined by the meaning of what was not (Communication Studies 58).

Applying it to advertising language, it may be said that the words and sentences used in an advertisement are selected with care and it is this selection that not only gives it a meaning but also carries the point of view of the advertisers, their ideology, their effort to maintain the prevalent stereotypes to enhance the sale of their products.
3.4.1.5. Syntagms

Fiske explains syntagms saying that once a unit has been chosen from a paradigm it is normally combined with other paradigmatic units. This combination of paradigmatic units is called a ‘syntagm’. Dyer says, “Syntagmatic relations are the permissible ways in which elements chosen from a paradigm succeed each other in a chain of discourse” (126). It follows that syntagmatic relationship is reflected in the syntax or grammar of language that makes language meaningful just as in society we may perceive syntagms in the social order. Guy Cook in his Discourse of Advertising observes that syntagms create meaning by their relationship to the sign before or after them – by their order so that I see what I eat is not the same as I eat what I see (65).

As mentioned above, these notions of paradigms and syntagms get extended to the advertisements also. To recognize the paradigms and how the advertisements participate in the discourse, syntax has to be broken up into distinct verbal and non-verbal signs-paradigms. For example in the advertisement of ‘Thums up’ soft drink the signs are: ‘the man-model’ (Salman Khan), ‘the vast expanse of sky’ ‘a helicopter’ and ‘a truck of thums up’ being air lifted from a traffic jam (accompanied by the verbal ‘aaj kuch toofani Karte hain’) and the product gets semiotically associated with an adventure of a different kind. Once they are broken from their chain, their paradigmatic relations should be explained. The syntagmatic order of this visual code could be the model, the helicopter, the sky, the truck and thums up. Paradigmatically each of these signs spreads its associative and connotative value on to the co-text both present and non-present in the syntagm (chain). This textual reading is possible not at the literal level of the signified but at a deeper paradigmatic level: the connotative and the mythical. Such a deeper reading relies exclusively on the readers’ prior knowledge. Salman Khan’s actions connote fearlessness and adventure. He gets apparently associated with the product and advertisement, thus contributing to naturalise the conventional concept of a man.

3.4.2. Denotation, Connotation and Myth

For Barthes, (Image, Music, Text) the signs signify in three different ways: denotation, connotation and myth. According to him, two orders of signification emanate from any text: denotation and connotation. Saussure worked on the first order of signification that describes
the relationship between the signifier and signified within the sign, and of the sign with its representation in external reality. Barthes considers this as denotation. He says that the denoted message is both evictive and sufficient, “it will be understood that from an aesthetic point of view the denoted message can appear as a kind of Edenic state of the image; cleared utopianically, of its connotations, the image would become radically objective or in the last analysis innocent” (42).

Barthes understands denotation as objective and with non-extraneous, cultural or ideological locations. It would refer to the dictionary level meaning or having a referential value – a common sense, obvious or literal meaning of the sign. For example, two differently angled photographic images of the same setting may have the same denotation but will have different connotations, world view, sex, class, etc. Fiske explains these Barthesean concepts in his own words. Taking the same example of photography, he says:

Denotation is the mechanical reproduction on film of the object at which the camera is pointed. Connotation is the human part of the process: it is the selection of what to include in the frame, of focus, aperture, camera angle, quality of film and so no. Denotation is what is photographed; connotation is how it is photographed. (Communication Studies 86)

Barthes says:

The variation in readings is not, however, anarchic; it depends on the different kinds of knowledge – practical, national, cultural, aesthetic – invested in the image… (Images, Music, Text 46)

The base, therefore, of connotation is the denotation. Connotation uses the building block provided by denotation. It is quite evident in the field of advertising that the various signs (images) used whether verbal or non-verbal do not merely inform or denote the presence of a consumer product in the market, but also trigger a range of meanings, connotations, myths associated with the sign (image). The reader infers all the connotations and mythical meanings in the discourse of advertisements. Connotation, therefore, provides advertising with immense possibilities for ideological shades to the meaning. Myth normally refers to ideas that are false. Barthes (Mythologies) perceives myths as a chain of related concepts that refer to any real or fictional story by which a culture explains or understands some aspect of reality or nature. He explains it as a culture’s way of thinking, a way of conceptualising or understanding something. For Barthes, myths have a recurring theme or a character or anything that appeals to the collective consciousness of a group by embodying its cultural values and commonly felt emotions. Myths evoke feelings of dominance and
subservience in a group that have the ulterior motives of the dominant class and make those ideas natural. Barthes equates myths to ideologies and explains that ideologies are born when myths come together with coherent philosophies and are politically endorsed by the culture. Myth has the task of giving historical intention a natural justification and making contingency appear natural (*Mythologies* 142).

Like ideologies, myths also function to legitimatize and maintain the existing power relations by linking them to nature and sometimes religion rather than to contingent human action. Myths render truth as too natural and commonsensical to be challenged. In the field of advertising also myths are important. For example, an advertisement for jeans that carries an image of someone riding a bike not only has the basic meanings for the product whether the jeans or the bike, but also carries connotations of freedom, youth, speed, informality, etc. besides the group that the consumer can belong to through signs or images such as that of the bike and the jeans. It also has a mythical meaning that jeans are part of youth and informality.

Besides, myth is an apparatus used to exercise power that also upholds the ideological, political, social and commercial interests of its users. For instance Amul, the taste of India, invokes pride in the Indian dairy products; ‘Hamara Bajaj’ invokes the ideology – patriotic pride and the mythic meaning of ‘Be Indian, Buy Indian’. Advertisements most often exploit the myths of masculinity (Adonis, for the man of substance) femininity (all the advertisements of cosmetics), luxury (meri tarah life jiyoge – Aish), adventure (Wills, real taste of adventure), health (Tandrusti ki raksha karta hai, lifebuoy), family, childhood, youth, success, nature, etc. Being culture specific and dynamic, myths keep changing. Every society creates and disseminates its own myths depending upon its needs. Myths function by naturalising history to serve its interest. Its way of operation, however, rejects its historical origin and presents it as natural. For instance, the creation of the myth of Rama, the ‘Maryada Purushottam’ was a historical contingent to project that rulers are honest and truthful for the ruling class to exercise power. But today the myth of Rama has been mystified, divinised and is presented as natural and unavoidable. The Rama myth, now, does not throw up social and political dimensions. In the same fashion, advertising discourse represents women as loving wives and caring mothers to be in line with the myth of femininity, which carries ideology of patriarchy and also of industrialisation. Kaplan discusses that images of mothers, in the popular culture as in magazines and advertising, in the 1980s were presented as either career-oriented women or as mothers but rarely as both. According to Kaplan female sexuality and work are still considered as unrelated to motherhood. Advertisements champion the cause of capitalism, through repetition of
ideological representations of such myths and hence legitimize them as natural. In the analysis of the IFB advertisement (Chapter 5), a working woman is shown to be worrying about the pending household work, neglecting her professional work as it is natural for women to look after the house. Myths, therefore, are handy in the process of naturalization which in turn regulates social behaviour of people in socially desirable ways. These social roles of women and men are presented as natural and the related consumer products as relevant to their social roles and therefore considered necessary.

3.4.3. The Non-Verbal

This section discusses non-verbal texts and how the verbal and the non-verbal come together to produce the intended meaning. As discussed earlier, non-verbal signs are iconic at the denotative level. The connotative and the mythic levels of meaning of a non-verbal sign bring out the ideological content. Although Barthes says that the associative total of the expression and the content constitute the non-verbal sign, but definitely, there is much more to it. For example in the ‘Nestle’ products, we see a picture of a ‘nest’ with young birds signifying the protection that parents can offer to their young ones by making use of ‘nestle’ products. It also signifies safety (it is safe for children). Whenever we watch the nestle advertisements we associate them with positive attributes of safety, care, protection, goodness, reliability and therefore quality. The image of nest is an expression and protection is the content. The relation between the ‘associative total’ produces another sign i.e. ‘nestle’. Nestle, also a verb, suggests an action resulting in the safety of home signifying that home is safe and Nestle products are as good as home made things and consuming nestle products will offer the consumer the protection that home provides. As a sign, it is important to understand that nestle is quite a different thing from the image of a nest as an expression. As an expression it is empty, but as a sign it is full and rich.

The non-verbal text adds richness to the verbal while reinforcing or sometimes replacing the power laden verbal elements. People, their dress, their body language, expressions, feelings, postures, colours, graphics, lighting focus, the setting, cultural artifacts, objects, layout, emphasis, fonts, often found in advertisements constitute the non-verbal. Barthes says that images being ‘polysemic’ give us a cluster of meanings in an unordered way. They exhibit a multitude of possible interpretations. The verbal text helps to reduce the semantic multiplicity of meanings that exists between the sign and its signification. The verbal text in the company of the non-verbal text has the purpose of helping the reader to
select the intended meaning out of various possible meanings. Barthes terms such a phenomenon, anchorage, which stands for the selection of the one message from the collection of messages available in the visual text. Barthes explains:

…all images are polysemous; they imply, underlying their signifiers, a ‘floating chain’ of signifieds, the reader able to choose some and ignore others. (Images, Music, Text 39)

It follows that the verbal text serves as the anchorage or connects the image with its context which may not be possible solely through the non-verbal. The verbal texts put in order the floating chain of the indistinguishable signifieds of the non-verbal signifiers. However, in the advertising discourse wherein the interplay of the verbal and the non-verbal has a very important role, the opposite is also possible – some advertisements have the non-verbal signifiers providing the anchorage to trace the meaning of the verbal text. For example the ‘Zeroone’ advertisement, the non-verbal is very important to impart meaning to the minimal verbal text (two words only). It may be said that in the discourse of advertising, the verbal text ‘relays’ the signification of the non-verbal text and vice-versa; and that both the verbal and the non-verbal make their contribution to the overall message. Barthes observes that the primary function of anchorage is ideological in advertising and that “the text directs the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; …it remote-controls them towards a meaning chosen in advance” (Image, Music, Text 40).

For an advertiser, meaning chosen by the reader is very important because the advertisers cannot afford the reader to infer any other meaning except the one chosen by them. Therefore using the verbal support they discourage alternative meanings of the image.

The verbal text lacks an emotive and therefore ideological force, when the advertisement lacks the support of the visual. It is the pictorial reinforcement which provides more clarity to the message when both the codes are present and there is a discrepancy between what is said and how it is said. Discussing the clarity that comes from the visual element in discourse of advertising, Fairclough writes:

What advertisers gain from visual images is their evocative capacity in the simulation of lifestyle, which is generally more powerful and immediate than that of language. A visual image can, if it works, instantaneously create a world which potential consumer, producer and product can jointly inhabit before the reader gets to read (or a viewer to hear) the language of advertisement. (Discourse and Social Change 211)
3.5. Grammatical Form and Semantic Function

Grammatical forms or syntax are expressed in phrases, clauses and sentences. A phrase comprises of a grammatical surface form and a semantic content. There are three categories of utterance or phrase. They are declarative, imperative and interrogative. These surface forms have three respective semantic equivalents – the statement, command and question, respectively.

In the world of advertisements, the semantic emphasis is provided by the images or other text that the phrase shares. A phrase such as ‘Why put up with stretch marks?’ is categorized grammatically as an interrogative yet a response is not required (as it is supplied by the advertisement), thus the phrase moves into the semantic category of an interrogative statement, often termed as a rhetorical question. In a scooty advertisement, the question ‘Why should boys have all the fun?’ falls in the category of rhetorical question as it is not asked to elicit an informational answer but to elicit the kind of response one wants to get from the audience and also to make a point.

Declaratives are very often posed as statements while their ulterior semantic function is that of a command. A declarative in an advertisement appears as a detached objective yet its necessary function as part of an advertisement can only serve to invoke a thought that implies the necessity to buy something; and in this way may be seen as commanding behaviour. The phrase ‘surprise yourself with New Collection (Lalique)’ functions as a declarative sentence – ‘You will surprise yourself with new collection’; while simultaneously functioning as an imperative command – ‘Surprise yourself with new collection’. The grammatical constructions present a surface form as well as a versatile semantic content by which they can function through a covert ambiguity that allows diversity in communicative strategy.

Another important area in grammar for analysing advertisements is order of adjectives. Brogger points out that “the syntax of a language inevitably designates a manner of ordering the world in specific ways” (51). If we look at the world order of more than one adjective qualifying a noun in a phrase, we discover that the adjectives that are assumed to be more objectively classificatory ones are placed closest to the noun, whereas more subjectively descriptive adjectives are placed further removed from them. The word order, thus sometimes, serves as an index of basic cultural assumptions and ‘valuations’. Brogger (51) gives an example of the English word-order. He explains that normally, one would say a
black female doctor and not a female black doctor, because gender in grammatical ideological terms takes precedence over colour. However, such a construction might be possible for the purpose of reflecting a racist attitude in a particular context. The advertising discourse thrives on adjectives and more so in case of travel promotions. The more adjectives used, the more attractive the idea of travel to a particular place becomes. For example, a travel flyer generally has adjectives about the place it advertises. A flyer advertising Antigua and Barbuda in the Google Images uses the following language:

*Dream of a perfect beach! Miles of powdery, brilliant, white sand and azure water gently lapping the shore. This is no dream, this is Antigua and Barbuda.*

The order of adjectives—powdery, brilliant, white for the noun ‘sand’ tries to persuade the reader to travel to this perfect beach.

Passivization is another important area in the field of advertising. The shift of emphasis from agent to the goal or affected happens with the change of active sentence to passive. The process of passivization expresses the relative significance assigned by the language user to the respective entities. Brogger says that choosing a grammatical construction is not an innocent activity and reflects certain goals and purposes which may be ideologically significant (51). It is a calculated move in a subtle way as may be observed that the use of passives mystifies relations by omitting agents.

### 3.6. Functions of Language

Halliday’s concept of ‘systemic grammar’ perceives language as a medium that serves different social functions as it is an internally organized system of several sub-systems. Halliday says in his *Language and Social Man*:

… we are taking a functional view of language, in the sense that we are interested in what language can do, or rather in what the speaker, child or adult can do with it and that we try to explain the nature of language, its internal organizations and patterning terms of the functions that it has evolved to serve.

(13)

Halliday recognizes three major functions performed by language in society. These three functions are the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. Halliday terms it as ‘socio-semiotic process’ because:

…it appears that each of these different components of meaning/ideational, interpersonal and textual/is typically activated by a corresponding component
in the semiotic structure of the situation. Thus the field is associated with the ideational component, the tenor with the interpersonal component, and the mode with the textual component (*Learning how to Mean* 132).

The field, tenor and mode are the ‘environmental determinants of the text’. In other words, they collectively define the context of situation of a text. Halliday and Hasan define these three terms as follows:

1. The Field of Discourse refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?
2. The Tenor of Discourse refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?
3. The Mode of Discourse refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its functions in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like. (Halliday and Hasan, 12).

Figure 3.6 (p. 132 of thesis) well explains these concepts. In the figure, discourse Types-Contents, Subjects, Relations and Connections correspond to the features of the situation which are reworkings of field, tenor and mode.

This figure becomes relevant in the field of advertisements also as there are different types of advertisements in which we find different activities, topics and purpose and their context gets determined accordingly. It is also important to determine who the actors are in the ad and what their interpersonal relations are; how they behave with each other. The role of language – both verbal and nonverbal – is also important for establishing the connection of the text with the situation (advertisement). All these things together constitute the social context of the advertisement and bring out the ideological shades in the advertisement. The field tenor and mode in the context of advertising function as described below.

**Field:** Economic, buying and selling; description and recommendation of product as persuasion to buy/information-gathering and decision making about purchases.
**Tenor:** Company/advertising agency to reader; hierarchic: advertiser as less powerful than potential buyers who are reassured, perhaps reluctant addressees; social distance maximum but extremely synthetic, personalization, (often the ad promises that buying admits reader to a social group).

**Mode:** Language role: ancillary to selling (but often read as constitutive); channel: visual; medium: print with heavy reliance on graphics/visuals and phonological patterning often reflective of spoken discourse); mass; addressee processing time disproportionately greater than addressee processing time, though possibility of (accidental) repeated processing; read/looked at selectively; rhetorically persuasive.

### 3.7. Cohesion and Coherence

Halliday and Hasan perceive the concept of cohesion as a semantic one and that it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text. Cohesion hangs the co-text together. According to Halliday and Hasan, there are five types of cohesion in English:


1. Reference is anaphoric and cataphoric and the use of personal pronouns, possessives, adverbs, articles, demonstratives and comparatives bring about referential cohesion.
2. Substitution can be logical, phonological or clausal.
3. Conjunction is additive adversative/contrastive, causal and temporal.
4. Lexical cohesion is achieved through repetition and collocation. (Cohesion 4)

Coherence, when compared to cohesion is a complex phenomenon. Etymologically, both cohesion and coherence show the same verb (cohere) therefore they are difficult to distinguish from one another. Cohesion is the base on which coherence stands. Both cohesion and coherence are important terms to understand the advertisement and its different shades of meaning.

### 3.8. Speech Acts

In the context of advertisements, this analytical tool is important as it helps in the analysis of what the advertisements do. In speech act terms all advertisements perform a single macro speech act of persuasion but it will be more interesting, for example, to find out which micro speech acts performed by individual utterances constitute a single macro act of
persuasion. Also, within the world of advertisements, the participants may inform, instruct, congratulate, complement, warn, persuade or threaten each other. This analytical tool will enable us to reveal how participants effect a change upon each other through their choice of speech acts and how they create a reality through ideological use of certain features. The notion of uttering as acting is central to critical language studies. Fairclough says that the use of speech acts in terms of power relations are influenced by social factors; the discourse type governs the conventions for speech acts, and the conventions reveal the participants’ ideology and social relationships. He says:

The conventions for speech acts which form a discourse type embody ideological representations of subjects and their social relationships. For example, asymmetries of rights and obligations between subjects (a police interviewer and a witness say) may be embedded in asymmetrical rights to ask questions, request action, complain, and asymmetrical obligations, to answer, act, and explain one’s actions. (Language and Power 131)

3.9. Implicature

Grice uses the term implicature to mean how more can be communicated than what is actually said. Levinson posits that a number of inferences can be drawn from an utterance but not all inferences may have been communicative in Grice’s sense, i.e. intended to be recognized as having been intended (Pragmatics 101). The kinds of inferences that are called implicatures are therefore the intended kind as explained by Levinson. In this theory of meaning, Levinson talks about conventional implicature and conversational implicature. The conventional implicature is what an utterance literally means, that is, relatively fixed and existing separately from addressee and addressee. The conversational implicature is the meaning beyond what the utterance literally signifies.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Grice identifies four basic maxims of conversation underlying the efficient cooperative use of language which express a general cooperative principle. Violation of one of these or all of these maxims is possible and when the maxims are violated, communication assumedly should break down. But on violation, the utterance becomes richer with inflections resulting in implicatures.
Grice’s implicature is useful in studying various types of discourse including that of advertising. This concept of implicature is significant in capturing the covert systems of power and ideology in the advertising discourse. Implicature includes both the verbal and the visual texts. Although the central message of all commercial advertisements is for the consumer to buy the product but it is quite rare for the advertisers to use the verb ‘buy’ in their advertisements flouting the maxim of manner and resulting in effective implicature. Similarly, use of women figures/models in the advertisements when there is no need to do it flouts the maxim of relevance and this helps the consumers in constructing meanings as per their own world view. The consumer may or may not buy the product at that moment but the implicature happens along with objectification of women. The Sony advertisement taken from Cosmopolitan India (April 2013) explains it. In the advertisement, the image of woman is quite unnecessary but visual’s interplay with the verbal ‘You know you want it’ brings up an implicature. Looking at it at the surface level, ‘it’ refers to the Sony Product (perhaps a camera) but the picture of the woman sends the implied message that the woman is also available if the product is bought. The use of pronoun ‘it’ is deliberate to suggest whatever an individual, who sees the advertisement, wants to interpret (or even fantasize) as per his own worldview. Another suggestion, if only the nonverbal is taken into consideration, is that the consumer has a chance of meeting such beautiful women if the product is bought. In fact the presence of other nonverbal objects in the advertisement such as the oil filling nozzle and the bottle of Coca-Cola, the dress and the posture of woman, her bare feet all have their role in helping the reader to reach an interpretation. Although the direct message is that most people including this woman like the Sony product and therefore, it should be bought; indirectly, it
objectifies the woman who is displayed as one of the commodities on the shelf. To sum up, it may be said that any unnecessary visuals of women in advertisements must be approached with suspicion. Such practices help to reinforce and maintain asymmetric power relations in the society. This status quo has ideological underpinnings and does no good to the status of women in society. Such representation of women in advertisements naturalises the [non]problems created by advertising companies so as to give rise to a need for products and thereafter the solution follows by way of consumption of the product which implies a purchase to be made.

3.10. Presupposition

Presuppositions are quite common in the discourse of advertisements also. For example in an advertisement for ‘Fair and Lovely’, the presuppositions are:

i. Women need to be beautiful;
ii. Fair complexion is beautiful;
iii. Beautiful women are successful;
iv. Fair complexion will help women not only to look beautiful but also to get them success.
v. Creams can make women fair

In an old television advertisement of ‘Fair and Lovely’, a dark woman is shown to have been mocked at by fellow competitors for the job of an air hostess. Her father sees this and takes her back home and they plan to do something about it. The solution is the use of ‘Fair and Lovely’. She uses the cream and goes back for the interview. She has a fair complexion and she gets the reward of being fair – she gets the coveted job of an air hostess.

3.11. Intertextuality

The term intertextuality was coined by Kristeva in late 1960s to understand how text and talk refer to and build on other texts and discourses. Intertextuality is similar to Bakhtin’s concept of ‘translinguistic’ wherein he talked of the 'dialogic' qualities of texts. He explains it as how multiple voices are transformed and re-used each time a new text gets created. For Bakhtin, all utterances (spoken/written) whether brief as a short utterance or long as a novel, are demarcated by a change of a speaker/ writer and are oriented retrospectively to the utterances of previous speakers and prospectively to the anticipated utterances of the next
speakers (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* 102). Therefore, each utterance functions as an individual link in the chain of spoken communication. All texts therefore are loaded and constituted by the parts of other texts that are explicit or visible. Bakhtin says:

…our speech … is filled with others’ words, varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of “our-own-ness”, varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and reaccentuate (89).

Since Kristeva coined the term, *intertextuality*, it has been a much used term. According to her, intertextuality implies “the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history” (39) Fairclough explains this concept:

By ‘the insertion of history into a text’, she means that the text absorbs and is built out of texts from the past (texts being the major artifacts that constitute history). (*Discourse and Social Change* 102)

He explains that by “insertion of the history into a text,” Kristeva understands that the text responds to, refers to, and reworks the previous texts, which helps to go back to history and recreate it. Intertextuality, therefore, functions to transform earlier texts and restructure the current conventions to make new ones. Such transformation and restructuring of texts and orders of discourse is a contemporary phenomenon and contributes to wider processes of change in the contemporary society. According to Fairclough, intertextuality implies “productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (*Discourse and Social Change* 102).

Fairclough also points at certain limitations of the notion and argues that it is “socially limited and constrained, and conditional upon relations of power… so it needs to be combined with a theory of power relations and how they shape (and are shaped by) social structures and practices” (*Discourse and Social Change* 103). He observes that the theory of hegemony should be combined with intertextuality to analyse how the intertextual processes are related to the processes of hegemonic struggle in the sphere of discourse. Intertextuality lays emphasis on of heterogeneity of texts and how contradictory components and elements constitute a text. It implies that intertextuality should be crucial to discourse analysis.

Intertextuality can be an important analytical tool in the advertising discourse as advertisements often contain traces of another text. However, for the present study, intertextuality refers to the ways in which texts refer to or incorporate aspects of other texts
within them. It may be said that a text is created as a mosaic of quotations which implies that every text is made up of snatches of prior texts which are used to build a new text. It may be in any form such as parodies, stories, retellings, etc. for which advertisements borrow from various sources i.e. films, lyrics, music, a soap opera, a literacy text, etc. But for it to work efficiently, it is important for the readers to be able to remember the original advertisement and place the reference being established. Even if they cannot, the advertisements will be enigmatic and this is also one of the covert techniques of advertising. People will talk to each other about the missing piece in the jigsaw and the purpose of advertising would be served. It also serves the function of making the ads appear more credible, as it helps to transfer the power of the original text to the advertisement texts. As it was seen in the year 2000, the success of Kaun Banega Karorepati inspired a number of ads and became a reference point for many advertisements and the genre of quizzing was adopted to advertise the product. Some of these advertisements even tried to parody the voice of the quiz master Amitabh Bachchan. The Park Avenue Beer Shampoo TV advertisement discussed in Chapter 6 is an example of how intertextual texts come together in the advertisement with the objective of persuading the audience to make the purchase. Intertextuality helps the advertisements to camouflage the sales message while at the same time work hegemonically in persuading the reader audience to buy the product.

### 3.12. The Hermeneutic Function

The hermeneutic function as a method looks at texts that require interpretation. It deals with the theory and practice of interpretation. The method, as Brown and Phillips observe is also considered critical in the sense that “it enables self-conscious reflection on the social conditions surrounding the production, dissemination, and reception of texts and on their contribution to the creation and maintenance of power differentials in and around organizations” (1547).

In the context of advertising, it may be said that in the orchestration of an advertisement, it is required to identify the relative significance of words, phrases and images and for that it is necessary to position the analysis between the subject (reader/viewer) and the object (advertisement). The reader/viewer participates in making meaning of an advertisement by reading the advertisement and going through a complex and direct process i.e. by identifying, signifying, associating and referring to all the symbols presented to uncover the underlying meaning of the advertisement. Most advertisements are designed to
be disciplined and decoded like a puzzle. In this way the reader/viewer is initiated into particular channels of thought and association which subsequently targets at the consumption of product. This kind of structure may be called hermeneutic. Modern hermeneutics includes both verbal and nonverbal communication as well as semiotics and presuppositions. The hermeneutic function is also signalled by an ‘absence’ in the explicit logical structure of an advertisement. As discussed, this function may be performed by the absence of words or phrases. Williamson says:

For although absence in ads requires us to fill something in, and jokes and puzzles require us to ‘decipher’ and ‘think’, these hermeneutic processes are clearly not free but restricted to the carefully defined channels provided by the ad for its own decipherment. A puzzle has only one solution. (72)

Advertisements present a microcosmic referent system that alludes to a macrocosmic ideological system. The fact that we are incited to explore the advertisement in order to expose or discover its concealed meaning has the effect of positioning the subject as the owner of that meaning. The reader/viewer needs to keep in mind the associations required for interpreting an advertisement. Another important point is that deciphering an advertisement also gives the reader/viewer a sense of fulfillment. There is a kind of twin satisfaction in the minds of the reader/viewer

i. having worked out the ad and
ii. discovering a possible avenue of personal satisfaction.

The sense of reward naturalizes the interpretation and, in the process, the advertisement achieves the highest ideological function i.e. clouding reader-perception of the advertisements that renders readers/viewers more vulnerable to the product.

3.13. Code-Mixing

In a country like India where a lot of languages are spoken, generally, consumers are expected to know at least three languages – English, Hindi and the mother tongue. Taking advantage of this, advertisements indulge in a lot of code-mixing i.e. using the verbal text (mainly lexical items) of different languages. The mixed code in Indian English advertisements is predominantly Hindi. The English words used in the advertisements are the ones which a common person is supposed to know – sorry, thank you, problem, smell, taste, etc.
3.14. Counterfactuals

Counterfactuals are an important event to consider in CDA. The phrase and its semantic variations, ‘what would happen if’, becomes the standard formula for counterfactuals. They play an important role in the domain of advertisements because they allow them to demonstrate absurd consequences if an alternative is considered, or precisely the compelliness of consequences (positive/ negative) that the actor (the model) experienced on using an alternative product and what would happen to the consumer if s/he is put in that position, thereby eliciting empathy and compelling the consumers to buy without overtly coercing them. For example, the catchphrase,

‘Aapke ghar me kya rehta hai – Kamar dard ya moov’

cleverly converts the ‘iodex’ consumers to ‘move’ consumers as it leaves them with no choice, if they have backache, with an additional attribute of being colourless compared to ‘iodex’. The slogan makes it clear, if they do not buy ‘moov’, they will not be cured of backache.

3.15. Use of Capitals

Use of capital letters in discourse is of interest mainly in relation to what has been capitalized in the text. Words and phrases which are capitalized are often endowed with socio-cultural importance. In advertisements, capitals or boldface is used for emphasis, lending clarity to the message and gaining attention. Using capitals not only attracts the eye but also sends a message to the readers according to how and where they are situated. It is often said that capital letters are analogous to shouting. At the same time, not everything is in capitals or bold because then nothing stands out. However, capitals may also distract attention of a person who is considering the purchase, therefore, advertisers are discreet about where and when to use the capitals.

Generally, it is seen that the information that the readers must know about the product is in capitals and in its most precise form i.e. some of the sentences used in capitals may just be incomplete phrases or very short and crisp sentences conveying something that may be of importance in the advertisement.
3.16. Appeal to the competent authority

Yet another trend these days which colours the opinion of the consumers is making an appeal to the competent authority wherein a scientist, a doctor, a dentist, a specialist is shown to be recommending things. A dentist campaigning for Sensodyne, Colgate, Oral B; a hair specialist advocating ‘Head and Shoulders’ or ‘Sunsilk’; a doctor (in a white coat) recommending Complan, Dispirin, Total cough syrup, give authenticity to the product and the consumers are left with no choice. However, the main ideological strategy that Teun van Dijk talks of is ‘positive self-presentation’ and ‘negative other presentation’. All the techniques that advertisers adopt are to achieve this aim so that the products that are in competition with the advertised product appear not as good.

3.17. Genetic Fallacy

The genetic fallacy makes a prediction about something based on where it came from or its origins. There is no reference to the individual’s personal abilities or lack thereof; there is reference only to where it came from. For example, ‘He can’t do this – he is from a good family’. In advertising, this fallacy is very often used. This is made use of especially by brand names: Britannia biscuits have to be good but you cannot say the same for any new product. It might be true to say that Britannia biscuits are good but simply because they are Britannia is no evidence of their taste and quality. Genetic fallacy as the name suggests always has an ideological slant.

3.18. Guilt by Association

Similar to genetic fallacy is guilt by association, in which certain characteristics are attributed to someone, of something, based merely on the society they keep. In advertising, however, it becomes a positive statement about the product rather than a negative one. For example, a product must be good because it is associated with good things or people. A car must be good because Michael Schumacher/ Shahrukh Khan has it; Boost must be a good health drink because Kapil Dev/ Sachin Tendulkar endorse it; Longines must be good because Aishwarya wears it; Pierce Bronsnan and Cindy Crawford say that Omega Constellation Line of watches is good. Ideologically these people who are well known invite people simultaneously to

i. use the product they endorse and
ii. share the lifestyle they boast of.
Therefore by being consumers of a certain product will take people to the heights where the stars stand. At the same time, they are also forced to think of themselves in a poor light if they are guilty of not being able to become consumers, for whatever reasons. This guilt drives them to think of ways to own the product whether they have the means to afford it or not.

3.19. Either/or Reasoning

The black/white, either/or reasoning is often used in the ad world. This again is a take-off on US/THEM polarization. Either you buy the product and come into the fold of ‘us’ or you do not buy it and are relegated to the ‘them’ status. The advertisements in the past as well as in the present have exploited this kind of reasoning and have limited the choices for the consumers. Advertisements overtly state that a particular product is important if the consumers want to be part of the ingroup (who have the product) or they will continue to be in the outgroup.

3.20. Buzz Words

Buzz words are words which are buzzing or are in vogue. They are quite provocative because of their rich rhetorical power. They sometimes also become mind-teasers since the natural instinct of a human being is to solve the puzzles they come across. These buzz words persuade the readers to accept the claims of the advertisements as they appeal to the mind of the consumer. Words like business, free market, up market, wizkid, online, browsing, surfing, LOL, net, laptops, iphone, ipad, Mac, chatting, whatsapping, facebooking, googling, fitness, health, pubs, gyms, sport, ambition, tailblazers, down-town, corporate, worldwide, ethnic, global, page 3, zoom, virtual, jockey, cutting edge, metro-sexual, comfort zone, safe-sex, new look, etc. are huge in number and they carry loaded connotations for the referent groups. At times advertising creates new buzz words or catchy phrases to sell their products. As mentioned earlier, the phrase ‘walk when you talk’ gained immense currency. The words ‘chat’ and ‘what’s up’ were used to create chatting applications like ‘WeChat’ and ‘Whatsapp’ to make them instantly popular. Similarly, gadgets like cameras, phones and tablets added a dedicated Facebook connect button with Wi-Fi which helped people to upload a picture or write a post instantaneously and these features were specially mentioned in some of the recent advertisements. Further, people owning apple products like to flaunt the brand.
They do not like to call their iPhone a mobile phone; or their iPad a tablet or their iMac a laptop. Using these buzzwords gives them a pseudo-status which people generally aspire for.

This chapter describes the framework of analysis in detail. Most of the analytical tools described in this chapter along with Fairclough’s model are part of the different approaches to discourse analysis discussed in Chapter 2. The two chapters therefore may be seen as complementing each other. The next chapter provides a detailed analysis of select advertisements taken from the Indian Print media.