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Press Advertising Language 1800s–1950s
a linguistic study in the Australian context

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Declaration

This thesis is an original work of my research and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Publications during enrolment

Book chapter

'The Comic-Strip in Advertising: Persuasion, Gender, Sexuality'

Interrogating Restrictive Frames, chapter 4,

The Routledge Companion to Gender and Sexuality in Comic Book Studies

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Journal articles

'Where Truth Lies in Advertising: Collateral Bundling of Hidden Meanings'

Warwick University research journal *Exchanges*, June 2018

<https://exchanges.warwick.ac.uk/issue/view/17>

'The psychological Western: gaze, gender, melodrama in *Johnny Guitar*'

Monash University *Peephole Journal*, May 2018

<http://www.peepholejournal.tv/issue/10/04-desilva/>

'Leigh's *Sleeping Beauty*: money to burn'

Monash University *Peephole Journal*, March 2017

<http://www.peepholejournal.tv/issue/07/03-de-silva/>

Abstract

The thesis is a descriptive survey of promotional language in Australia, drawing on press artefacts from the 1800s to the 1950s. This period bridges two historical events relevant to the research – namely the Australian debut of print publication in 1803 and, on the global canvas some 150 years later, the nascency of brilliant new technologies permitting novelties such as televised commercials (which integrated moving images, music, voice and colour). The pre-multimedia research timeframe offers material to discover foundational principles and features of advertisements. The investigation answers to three research questions: what are the meaning-making devices of advertisements, how do these operate to create meanings, and how have advertisements changed over time?

The thesis analyses the roles of linguistic forms and symbolic references in advertisements to show a set of correspondences between functions and pragmatics elements. To this end, internal constructions are studied, and comparisons made between and within advertisement categories. The theoretical framework is pragmatically oriented. It derives from two related sources of linguistic theory: namely, the communicative model of Leech ([1974] 1981), which identifies the five social language functions (Expressive, Informative, Directive, Phatic, Aesthetic); and the idea of cohesion in English (Halliday & Hasan 1976). Two notions are proposed in the thesis for empirical validation. The first holds that contextual exploitation of cohesive devices (thematic information, presupposition and implicature in particular) is integral to advertisement composition, and that ‘hidden meanings’ are bundled in attention-getters to generate persuasive propositions. The second notion is that copywriter choices of linguistic register are driven by target audience and play a role in market segmentation.

With regard to scholarly works in the research field, three sources provide a strong methodological foundation to structure the thesis and answer the research questions: these are the frontier study of Geoffrey Leech (1966); the works of Guy Cook (published between 1992 and 2008); and Greg Myers (1994, 1998). Ultimately, the thesis is a contextual inquiry positioned at the nexus of linguistics and the commodification of socio-cultural belief systems in pursuit of commercial gain. This research constitutes a contribution to a relatively under-researched topic, covering new ground in the areas of English language research in Australia and the social history of the land.

DEDICATION

In Memory of

Jessy de Silva.

Mathew Xavier de Silva.

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As tradition will have it, each candidate must nod to our thesis supervisors and acknowledge their contribution to shaping the excellence of our research product. It is no exaggeration to claim that my efforts would not have come to fruition without the encouragement and expert linguistic knowledge of Professor Kate Burridge. This is especially true of my final year under the spectre of COVID19. Thank you Kate for your patient reviews of my drafts and data analysis over the years. I have greatly benefitted from your consistently constructive feedback, and your advice on how to write an abstract for journal article and conference submission. Also, your counsel has cured my obsession with the semi-colon, and rogue ones have been driven from the thesis.

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1.0 Thesis Overview

1.1 Introduction to thesis structure and rationale

The thesis overview introduces the concepts salient in advertisement research, and provides an understanding of what is advertising language. It outlines theoretical issues; and presents the research rationale, the research questions, and a literature-review-in-brief. It introduces also the Australian socio-economic setting that characterises the 1800s–1950s research timeframe. Illustrative examples demonstrate the spectrum of promotional categories, and their attendant features. The analysis at hand indicates that, regardless of item type, the language of advertising follows the stylistic path of natural language (Cook [1992] 2001; Leech 1966; Myers 1994), calling the addressee in socially convincing guises that mirror the times.

The discussion is organised thus:

- 1.0 Thesis Overview
- 2.0 Literature Review
- 3.0 Research Approach and Methodology
- 4.0 Research Dataset: Historical Context and Preliminary Analysis
- 5.0 Investigative Studies
- 6.0 Discoveries and Conclusions
- 7.0 References.

Advertising touches all domains of human engagement: accordingly, all nature of industry and vocabulary (generalist, specialist and technical) is afforded for linguistic scrutiny. Given the interdisciplinary face of this work and its wide-ranging resources, non-linguistic and key advertising-related concepts are defined in the progressive narrative of the thesis. In view of the multiple citations for online repositories (like encyclopedias, industry websites and newspaper archives), these appear footnoted in the running text pages (to improve narrative readability). The thesis dataset is drawn from the online Trove newspaper database,¹ sponsored by the National Library of Australia. The dataset provides the range of meaning-making devices of print advertisements, permitting investigation of how language is employed to satisfy advertiser persuasive objectives. Given the virtual galaxy of visually different advertisement types and the globally shared advertiser goal of transformation from addressee to consumer, the overarching question here is whether advertisements share an underlying persuasive mechanism that can be

¹ trove.nla.gov.au

linguistically articulated. Accordingly, three research preoccupations arise: what are the meaning-making devices, how are these devices configured to create intended meanings, and how do advertisements change over time? Answering to these preoccupations constitutes the goals of the thesis.

The research goals are achieved by undertaking the following:

- An interdisciplinary literature review to glean relevant research-based findings that support observations and conclusions (see 2.0 Literature Review).
- In-depth investigation of two press data sources, namely *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, published 1803–1842, and *The Argus*, published 1846–1957. The 150-year timeframe enables discovery of the history, language and socio-economic settings of the research (see 4.1 Advertising in Australia: the beginnings of commerce).
- A broad survey of product-and-services advertisements to enable identification of communicative devices and content patterns over time. This obtains a diachronic behavioural profile of consumer categories that isolates the meaning-making staples of the advertising world.
- Four empirical forays (in 5.0 Investigative Studies) that collectively extend knowledge in the field, and validate principal notions associated with the research. The first notion is that pragmatic devices are strategically configured in attention-getting features to deliver intended persuasive meanings (de Silva 2018); and the second is that copywriter choices of linguistic register are driven by target addressee, and play a role in market segmentation.²

Three points underpin the research direction and breadth:

- Advertisements (as evident in scholarly findings) are recognised as a communication type characterised by covert or ‘hidden’ (implied) meanings. The dataset indicates that the relay of ‘hidden’ meanings is a phenomenon that germinated in the 1850s, and is based on the principle of assumed knowledge.
- Cross-disciplinary publications in the field of advertising discourse provide critical findings relevant to a linguistic approach (see 2.0 Literature Review).

² Market segmentation is the advertiser strategy of dividing human populations into potential consumer groups based on identification of shared characteristics – such as age, culture, disposition, income, interests, needs (Law 2018).

- The descriptive labels that reference the communicative act of advertising are positioned in a semantic timeline of advertising-language development (see 4.0 Research Dataset: Historical Context and Preliminary Analysis). Among these are ‘advertising-speak’ or ‘ad-speak’, ‘advertising discourse’, ‘language of commerce’, ‘language of persuasion’ and ‘promotional language’. The terminological family includes ‘advertorial’, ‘classifieds’ and ‘notices’.

On an historical note, the earliest use of ‘to advertise’ – dated in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* at 1426³ – has the meaning of ‘to call the attention of (a person) to something: to notify, warn or inform, esp. in a formal or earnest manner’:

advertise, v.

1. a. transitive. To call the attention of (a person) to something; to notify, warn, or inform, esp. in a formal or earnest manner. Now *rare* (*poetic* in later use).

Early advertising commonly called the attention of ‘the Public at large’ – as seen below in ‘Dentist and Corn Operator’ from 1818 – in a manner both formal and earnest. The practitioner, who provides his street address, alleviates troubles of the feet and teeth:

Dentist and Corn Operator, 1818

SIMON LEAR, Dentist and Corn Operator, No. 7, Castlereagh-street, respectfully informs the Public at large, that he makes a perfect Cure of Corns without Pain. N.B. – Artificial Teeth made in a most perfect manner, and the Teeth cleansed from the Scurvy and other Disorders, and brought to a beautiful white.

Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser,
13 May 1818, p. 4.

The expressive formality of ‘respectfully informs the Public’ is prosaic in early marketplace notices: functionally, this verb phrase operates as does today’s conversational ‘May I tell you ...’ The politeness of this helps establish interparty friendly social relations, called ‘phatic communion’ – which is among the social language functions of English (Leech ([1974] 1981).

³ The *OED* is sourced at <https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/>, cited in the thesis as oed.com (the public URL).

Language exchanges in natural social settings are expressions by users who know what are the appropriate choices in time and place (Austin 1975): natural-language usage is adopted as the model for advertisement composition.

The investigation at hand shows that up to the 1850s, sellers of goods and services employed expressions and compositional style compatible to other kinds of notices in the press – calling out to the population at large. Nevertheless, one distinct difference through time between natural language and advertising language is evident above in the third person ‘he’ used to refer to self: ‘he makes a perfect Cure of Corns’. As will be seen, while advertisers employ direct address into the 1900s, first person is not the pronoun choice – instead reported speech is the norm.

1.2 Advertisements-as-research and thesis questions

Advertising today is the industry that serves the business of promotions and sales. An ambassador of this industry is the advertisement, which lends itself as a research artefact to be studied as a socio-cultural text of persuasive motive. Texts are composed for receivers with the intent that they interpret constructions in the particular way intended by the addressor. In this blanket view of texts as driven by addressor intention, it can be argued that all texts are persuasive. However, modern advertisements are flagged by two traits which make them unique (Cook [1992] 2001; Leech 1966; Myers 1994, 1998; Tanaka 1994):

- their meaning-making configuration is designed to create propositions that trigger buying behaviour
- socio-culturally dependant meanings are embedded, with intent to simulate and evoke the real worlds of human society.

The meaning-making system that facilitates the relay of embedded persuasive propositions is a topic shared by advertisement researchers. The hidden-meaning device is central to advertisement creation; but while intended meanings are potentially available in the advertisement ecology, successful relay to addressees depends on simultaneous activation of receiver experiences, knowledge of the world, and knowledge of language itself. A familiar example to illustrate this point is the pun, often found in advertisements; and common in jokes, as evident in these three examples:⁴

⁴ *Reader's Digest* rd.com/funny-stuff/short-jokes/ Accessed 18/11/2018.

JOKE 1

Helvetica and Times New Roman walk into a bar.
'Get out of here', shouts the bartender. 'We don't serve your type!'

JOKE 2

A woman in labour suddenly shouted, 'Shouldn't! Wouldn't! Couldn't! Didn't! Can't!'
'Don't worry', said the Doc. 'Those are just contractions.'

JOKE 3

'Why did the chicken go to the séance?'
'To get to the other side.'

Each of the three jokes employs a pun; and, further, each calls for a different kind of knowledge for the receiver to access the comic meanings:

- JOKE 1 plays on the two meanings of 'type' in the senses of type of person and design typography; and requires knowledge of the terminology of typography ('Helvetica and Times New Roman').
- JOKE 2 plays on the two meanings of 'contraction' in the senses of contractions during maternal birth and grammatical contractions; and requires knowledge of the terminology of English grammar.
- JOKE 3 plays on the two meanings of 'the other side', which are the physical sense of location, and the spiritual sense; and requires knowledge of another joke: 'Why did the chicken cross the road?' 'To get to the other side!'

While the joke-teller pursues a laugh, the advertiser employs the pun as a device to stimulate consumerism (Leech 1966). The charter of the modern copywriter is to compositionally embed implicit meanings that render the advertiser offering as attractive and/ or essential. Logically, for hidden meanings to be realised, those meanings must already be in the receiver's knowledge bank: that is, shared assumptions and known facts are the foundation of effective communication (Stubbs 2002). With this in mind, advertisement elements are carefully selected and configured to create commercially motivated propositions: this is a complex transaction necessary to establish a psychological and emotional bond with power to transform person to consumer (Jim Aitchison 2012; Berger 2015; Godin 2009; Marshall & Morreale 2018).

Marketing professionals rely on commercially funded research-based evidence to construct selling messages that are socio-culturally appropriate for their target markets. The distinguishing feature of a marketplace is that it is a site of competition. The race among sellers is one of speed to transform addressee to buyer, and to build a loyal following. Every element of an advertisement is thoughtfully admitted to maximise audience interpretations that align with intended advertiser meanings (Jim Aitchison 2012; Moriarty et al. 2014). This underpinning of advertisement creation validates inquiry beyond linguistic forms into the realm of possible interpretations available in the greater contexts of world experiences.

In the words of Michael Stubbs:

We may interpret things quite differently, depending on when and where and by whom the language was produced ... And some meanings are brought to the text by readers or listeners: according to their specialist knowledge, their cultural assumptions, or their familiarity with other related texts. Readers and listeners also have different points of view, and respond to texts in different ways.

Stubbs 1996, pp. 3–4.

A critical factor, then, that challenges linguistic (and metalinguistic) analysis of how advertisements work is the complex phenomenon of socio-culturally dependant meanings situated in the text (Cook [1992] 2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d; Leech 1966; Myers 1994, 1998). In talking about how advertising language operates, the conversation brings in the whole range of linguistic and pragmatics elements (like pronoun referencing and discourse markers), pictures, and typography.

At the metalinguistic level, discursive analysis of how language is being used to relay intended meanings (for example, discussing pronouns or pictures employed as persuasive devices) brings in a set of terms not usually used in the field of linguistics – like ‘intertextuality’.⁵ Understanding how advertisements operate is tied equally to what the words mean, and the socio-economic, cultural, literary and other complexities of how meanings are made. Thus, advertisement analysis benefits from a knowledge-driven perspective that intercepts fields peripheral to what is conventionally regarded as relevant to the linguist; and this may include anthropology, cultural studies, economics, history, legislation, bio-medicine, the social sciences, and semiotics.

Another research consideration is the breadth of advertising as a human activity. Historically, advertising dates to the ancient cities of Babylon, Athens

⁵ See section 1.4.4.

and Rome (Sampson 1874). Over time, its practice has diversified, and the advertisement has changed. Tackling the question of ‘what is an advertisement’ – as opposed to ‘what is advertising language’ – is complicated by the reality of multiple modes of presentations (which include signboards, flyers, posters, press advertisements, product catalogues, giant billboards, television commercials, online marketplaces, digital pop-ups, and multimedia⁶ forms); and by the typological and industry-based divisions that differentiate the marketing and/or selling of products, services, events, and ideas.

The print medium is the oldest form of mass communication, and the press has a history of centuries. Therefore, press periodicals are an ideal resource, providing a substantial diachronic record of what advertising language is like, and revealing changes over time. Further, as an instrument of mass communication, the press functions as a premier channel to disseminate neologisms and specialist vocabulary into the public domain. Thus, the linguist finds a trustworthy informant in the press to provide language and register development. The thesis investigates Australian black-and-white press content as its data, sourced primarily from *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (NSW: 1803–1842), and *The Argus* (Vic: 1846–1957). Three research questions drive the investigation:

1. What are the meaning-making devices?
2. How are these devices configured to create intended meanings?
3. How do advertisements change over time?

The following two sub-sections introduce cross-disciplinary research perspectives (1.2.1), and detail the three research questions (in 1.2.2).

1.2.1 Cross-disciplinary research

Advertisements, as social firmament in consumer societies, provide a trove of multidisciplinary investigative and reporting possibilities. Since the 1950s, with the onset of significant globalisation and advances in technology, advertisements have garnered interest from the humanities, and social and bio-medical sciences, resulting in a flow of publications that offer distinctly different analytical approaches. This diversity is testament to the multifariousness and strategic depth of advertisement construction: it allows investigation of compositional technique at the greater discourse level, and also the specialised study of specific rhetorical and linguistic features. The literature-review-in-brief below (section 1.8), and 2.0 Literature Review,

⁶ The term ‘multimedia’ means a combination of media forms – such as animation which may employ sound, colour and electronic technology.

provide summaries and critical reflection of relevant readings that help answer the thesis questions.

A shared ground of the various investigative approaches and research foci is the intriguing puzzle of how advertisement content is configured to relay messages, and the socio-cultural and psychological relationships contextually embedded there. Despite the mixed bag of promotional materials and delivery channels, print advertisements can be identified by the two above-mentioned unique character traits of intent to trigger consumerism and socio-culturally embedded meanings (see section 1.2, above), and visually by their attention-getting (standout) features. These attention-getters may be:

- the traditional written word
- images
- creative typography (in cooperation with white space).

Researchers in the humanities may favour linguistic elements (like Bruthiaux 1996; Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001; Simpson 2001; Wyckham 1986), or analysis of images (Goffman 1979; Williamson 1978), or matters of language translation (Adab & Valdes 2004, Cruz-Garcia 2011). Others, however, like Cook ([1992] 2001), Goddard (2015) and Myers (1994, 1998) adopt a more encompassing investigative mindset – examining the roles of pictures, creative typography, intertextuality, and words. The research at hand leans to a holistic approach; but, the analysis adopts a linguistic framework – focusing on attention-getters as principal carriers of meanings.

1.2.2 Research questions

This thesis examines the content and internal configurations of advertisements. The research subject is the advertisement discourse system: one that is designed to engage the target addressee with a promotional message that implicitly urges to buy. Cook ([1992] 2001) emphasises context of communication, and the conventions of culture as critical in advertisement analysis:

... who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation; through what medium; how different types and acts of communication evolve, and their relationship to each other.

Cook [1992] 2001, p. 1.

This observation from Cook is consistent with the approach of Simpson (2001) who highlights the advertiser's marketing plan as the key to understanding the process of meaning-making. Accordingly, the advertiser perspective (namely

the persuasive motive) informs the analysis here. To answer the research questions, both words and other elements are studied, with focus on standout features. In the analysis, the concept of ‘language’ includes the other-than-words (non-linguistic) phenomena essential to meaning-making in human communication (Bolinger 1980; Bolinger & Sears 1981; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Huang 2007, 2016; Jakobson [1976] 1978; Leech [1974] 1981, 1983; Stubbs 1996, 2002; Williamson 1978; Yule 1996, 2020).

The thesis holds that the primary carriers of meanings are the attention-getters. These are the eye-catching elements, such as bolded words and images – as evident in Figure 1.1 (overleaf), which is a snapshot of advertisements from 1956. Standout elements are configured to create impressions of essential and/or urgently needed benefits available in the advertised item. It is beyond the scope of the current work to measure effectiveness of advertisement messaging (as done by Corkindale & Kennedy 1973); nor to evaluate receiver interpretation of content (Forceville 1996), or perceived impacts on society (Geis 1982); however, it is noted that to be effectively persuasive, the intended meanings must be realised by and credible to the receiver.

The following three sub-sections clarify the scope of the three research questions, which define the thesis content.

1.2.2.1 What are the meaning-making devices?

Press advertisements employ a range of devices, and are visually diverse. They come in various layouts, shapes and sizes; and some are minimalist, with little for the analyst to study. Nevertheless, even the smallest offer to sell presents with evidence of a persuasive device; and the ultimate objective of such devices is to solicit the receiver to buy. However, before digging into advertisements to excavate their meaning-making tools, and expose the foundation of their covert operations, an apparent anomaly in labelling advertisements as ‘persuasive texts’ should be addressed. This concerns the perception that classifieds lack persuasive elements: classifieds are small notices set in a block apart from other content, usually identified by subject headings (like ‘ACCOMMODATION’, ‘LOST’, ‘MEDICAL’).

Persuasion is ostensibly an accepted function of texts created with a view to promote and beget sale. Vestergaard and Schröder (1985), however, posit that not all advertisements contain persuasive elements. The authors draw attention to classified advertising, where ‘nothing or very little is done to persuade prospective buyers to *read* the advert’, or even to get the receiver’s attention (p. 3). This challenges the pervasive idea of the advertisement as a text of persuasion, and deserves to be probed. The following discussion examines a

block of seven classifieds from the year 1956 (Figure 1.1) to discover their persuasive elements.

The classified, usually, is the voice of an individual or a small business. It is influenced by transactional purpose, cost of advertising, and the prescribed column width of the publication medium (Bruthiaux 1996). Typically, classifieds contain only essential information and are nondescript. However, three notices in Figure 1.1 – for LOCARNO SCHOOL OF DANCING, LEARN TO DANCE and VENEZIA RESTAURANT – are eye-catching. These show that classifieds vary between a diminutive words-only type and a visually striking kind that employs innovative typography and pictures. If eye-catching features are meaning-making devices of persuasion then the design variation seen in Figure 1.1 suggests persuasive power as a commensurate traveller along the continuum of variation.

Figure 1.1 Classifieds-1956. Source: The Argus, 26 October 1956, p. 24.

Classifieds, 1956

LOCARNO SCHOOL OF DANCING
(A. Hearnden)
247 Collins St., Melbourne, Newspaper House - C.604
Classes Nightly, 8.15. Private Lessons Daily by Appointment.
WANTED - STUDENT STAFF TO TRAIN AS TEACHERS.
YOU SIGN NO CONTRACTS.

VENEZIA RESTAURANT
Right behind Comedy Theatre.
for Best Continental Food and Wines.
Very Comprehensive A La Carte Menu.
35 Lonsdale St., Melb. - Phone FB2255
CHEF: G. CIPOLATO MINE HOST: JON NICOTRA

LEARN TO DANCE
WHY PAY MORE WHEN YOU CAN LEARN FROM MELB'S HIGHEST QUALIFIED TEACHERS.
Ballroom, L.A., O.T., and Jive. Private Lessons 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. 12 s. lesson. 6 for £12-6, 10 for £13-15.
MODERN CLASS TONIGHT
IMPERIA DANCING SCHOOL.
Cent. 228, 2nd Fl., Money Ct., 234 Collins St.
Norma Peruzia (Principal)

● FURN. REMOVERS, &c.
A. ALBURY ADELAIDE. B. BRISBANE. PERTH. Twice Weekly. SYDNEY. TRARALGON. Daily. DARWIN. ECHUCA. HAMILTON. TOWNSVILLE. Weekly. EMPTY VANS GOING. Wanganui. 1st to 10th November. EMPTY VANS RETURNING: Kerang and Colona. 26th. Albury. Corryong. 3rd. Kerang and Swan Hill. 17th Nov. AMPLE STORAGE SPACE AVAILABLE. WHIDGWAY BROS. (AUBURN) PTY. LTD. 2-18 Canterbury Road, AUBURN.

● FURN. REMOVERS, &c.
LOADING required to Albury or towns en route, Monday, 29th. LW1744.

● MONEY, SHARES
LOANS - £10. Upwards. W. E. WATKINS. 317 Collins St. MU4322.
WANTED. £5000, or way of registered discount on unencumbered assets of prosperous manufacturing company. Plant alone net £23,000. Balance sheets available for prospective investor. Phone BK2609, evenings or week-

● HOTELS, RESORTS
● QUEENSLAND
SURFERS' PARADISE - Limited. Vacancies available, hotel accommodation, for Xmas period. Apply Stanhill Travel Bureau, 100/1, Chevron Hotel, 519 St. Kilda Rd. LAM93. Or Scott's Hotel, 444 Collins St. MV1901.

● MEDICAL
F. S. GOON, Herbalist, 3 Peel St., Balaclava. Consult 128 Exhibition Street, op. Eastern Market, Melbourne Oct. 22 to Nov. 3.
S. QUONG, leading Chinese Herbalist, practice over 40 years. Free consultations. 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. every Thursday and Friday. 274 Lonsdale St., Melb. FB2263.

In other words, it can be said that the number of standout features point to the number of persuasive meanings available. For example, LEARN TO DANCE has three standout features: the heading, the image of the dancers, and the centred words MODERN CLASS TONIGHT:

LEARN TO DANCE (*imperative*) urges action.

MODERN CLASS TONIGHT (*NP + adverb*) suggests that urgent action is needed.



(*picture*) Here you are! In the arms of your partner on the dancefloor!

Collectively, the three messages urge the addressee to accept the offer; and if successful, the reader will be persuaded to investigate the small-print information in the notice and then possibly accept the offer.

In Figure 1.1, the four other notices (namely HOTELS, RESORTS; MEDICAL; MONEY, SHARES; FURN. REMOVERS) are comparatively nondescript. Each of these bears an initial single letter that is bolded and set in expanded drop font. This eye-catching feature functions to beckon attention, and to introduce the advertisement content: it means ‘Read this!’ Thus, it can be seen that font (size and style) is an advertiser device. Typographical innovation is an attraction tools used to bring over (persuade) the addressee to explore content. In this view, analysis of persuasive devices in advertisements is moderated equally by observation of linguistic and non-linguistic features, including:

- the relativity of font dimensions (size and style), and white space, within the advertisement space
- images (such as pictures and symbols)
- pragmatic complexity (discussed below) at the greater discourse level.

Returning to Vestergaard and Schröder’s (1985) view that nothing may be done ‘to persuade prospective buyers to *read* the advert’, it can be said that this position overlooks the function of typographical innovation. In fact, non-linguistic elements, like arrows and innovative typography, are capable of functioning in discourse-marker-like ways to manage addressee engagement and help communicate meanings (de Silva 2020). Nevertheless, promotional material may simply be informative – that is, operate only to provide information about a product, service, idea, or event – with minimal persuasive elements. This, then, could be read as a departure from the generally accepted view of advertisements as persuasive; but it can be counter-argued that advertisements are persuasive texts by virtue of their social intention: that is, intent to bring over the receiver in order to satisfy seller ambition. In fact, ‘persuade’ in its Latin origin *persuadere* means ‘to bring over by talking’ (oed.com).

At this point, a closer look at typography as an advertiser tool is warranted. Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851 (Figure 1.2) shows how typographical properties and phraseology choices cooperate to create meanings. Persuasive elements are recoverable both typographically and linguistically. The attention-getters are headline and catchline (NPs), italicised and centred above textmatter chunks:

<i>NP (headline)</i>	<i>Coughs. Coughs. Coughs.</i>
<i>NP (catchline)</i>	<i>Lewis' Anodyne Expectorant Cough Lozenges</i>

Figure 1.2 Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851. Source: *The Argus*, 26 September 1851, p. 1.

Anodyne Expectorant Cough Lozenges, 1851



These NPs are examples of grammatical fragments called ‘disjunctive syntax’. This phenomenon is characterised by ‘junctural separation’ from the syntactic units required for sentence completion, thus rendering fragments, commonly seen in advertisements (Leech 1963). The headings of Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851 are set apart – thus isolating the respiratory problem of ‘coughs’ in the headline (main heading) from the problem-solving solution (product name) in the catchline (second heading). Despite the absence of verbs,

the receiver can extrapolate from the NPs that a solution is available for the respiratory problem of coughs:

NP *Coughs. Coughs. Coughs.*
 [Coughs are happening]

NP *Lewis' Anodyne Expectorant Cough Lozenges.*
 [Here is the solution to the cough problem]

The repetition of 'Cough' in the headline simulates the rhythmic involuntary persistence of this kind of ailment. The full stops of both headline and catchline may be a meaning-making device: in the headline, it separates each occurrence to simulate the staccato-like abrupt explosives of a racking cough; in the catchline, it acts to signal completion (that is, 'the end'), suggesting that this product can end the problem.

Then, phraseology choices in the body text of Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851, such as:

- 'immediately relieved'
- 'entirely removed'
- 'very excellent'
- 'far superior'
- 'may with safety be taken'

raise addressee expectation of a thoroughly reliable and safe curative: in this way the persuasive strength of the narrative is heightened.

Advertisements have access to the entire range of natural-language devices: these include the broadband of linguistic elements (Leech 1966), as well as the language of non-linguistic signs. Williamson (1978), Goddard (2015) and Cook ([1992] 2001) underscore the semiotic codes of the advertisement – describing the mechanisms of metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche in language communication. Kovecses (2002, p. 57) – drawing on frontier work such as Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) – observes that there is a 'major manifestation' of a particular kind of metaphor in advertisements, namely the 'conceptual metaphor'. The conceptual metaphor is a category of metaphor classification (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Simply put, it refers to understanding the meaning of an idea by relating to the meaning of another idea. For example, 'Time is money' uses the concept of MONEY to express the idea of time: both time and money are valuable, and should not be wasted. Kovecses highlights the importance of metaphor in modern advertising as a device in communicating meaning:

Part of the selling power of an advertisement depends on how well-chosen the conceptual metaphor is that the picture and/or the words used in the advertisement attempt to evoke in people.

Kovecses 2002, p. 57.

Metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche are among the meaning-makers employed in advertisements – along with other devices such as cohesion, direct/ indirect address, disjunctive syntax, ellipsis, and repetition. These are variously deployed by the copywriter to compose a system of parts that cooperate to hold latent meanings. If retrieved, the meanings render the advertised item as attractive and desirable. The thesis explores the range of meaning-making devices, and identifies how these cooperate to create intended advertiser meanings.

1.2.2.2 How do meaning-making devices operate?

The sub-section above illustrated the notion of meaning-making devices in advertisements. For example, a single letter bolded and enlarged can effectively catch the eye and function (like a morpheme) to mean ‘Read me!’; and natural-language features (like punctuation and repetition) are evident as meaning makers. Discovery of multiple devices indicates there is no simple answer to satisfy the question of how meanings are created in the ecology of promotional materials; and suggestion of ad hoc advertisement construction is refuted by the reality of research investment into consumer behaviour and brand-name recall (Clow & James 2014; Majeed 2019; Packard 1957).

Advertising market research delivers demographic, geographic and psychographic⁷ profiles for the purposes of customising advertisement content: the identification of population characteristics and specific needs determines marketing strategy. Historically, the knowledge advertisers accrue about consumer preferences, and dislikes, is a critical determiner of promotional content. The modern advertising industry conducts in-depth cross-generational research to hone effectiveness of marketing plans (Clow & James 2014, pp. 25–60). As will be discussed, consumer market-specific periods are identifiable over the decades that reflect stages in the development of advertising discourse: particular shifts in advertising language are evident within these periods (Myers 1994, pp. 19–26).

For the linguist, the puzzle is in how language and human-behaviour information are coupled to compose item-specific messages that attract attention and transform addressee to consumer. This enigma provokes the notion of a mechanism to infrastructure the advertisement design that

⁷ Classifying people in terms of psychological criteria such as attitudes and desires.

maximises persuasive power. The thesis, by way of practical examples, validates an underlying configuration designed to generate advertiser meanings via attention-getters. As will be seen, this mechanism is a trifecta of thematic information, presupposition and implicature that works flexibly across categories (de Silva 2018, 2020). However, this mechanism (as evident in the dataset) emerges after the 1870s, and was refined over time.

Of note is that the meaning-making devices of advertisements originate from natural language. In the words of Dwight Bolinger (1972, p. 21), natural language functionally serves the purpose of coding ‘a whole universe’; accordingly, natural-language features are strategically deployed to code ‘a whole universe’ of consumerism to create selling messages. Drawing from the world of human experiences, advertising language is continually honed to target market segments. In this way, advertisements are organic, accommodating a socio-cultural ecology. This simulated ecology in itself is a device, mimicking human life to make the contrived advertisement scenario seem normal; or, at least, the advertisement is infused with an essence of normality so as to render a fictional world as authentic and achievable.

Linguistic structures in advertisements may behave in curious ways that yet are socially accepted, and these may amuse and entertain (as will be seen in the thesis). Odd expressions (such as idiomatic curiosities and grammatical violations) are not unusual, and in modern advertising may be the norm. These oddities work alongside non-linguistic elements to make socially acceptable meanings. The thesis focuses on behaviours of and relationships between attention-getters (words and images). Linguistically, these are the headlines and catchlines – such those in Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851 (above). In linguistic attention-getters, the following structures may appear, and are functionally analysed:

- noun phrases (NP) and verb phrases (VP)
- adjective phrases and adverbials
- clauses, including the mood clauses of declaratives, imperatives and interrogatives
- negatives
- full sentences.

1.2.2.3 How do advertisements change over time?

The preceding two sub-sections, by way of practical examples, identified some meaning-making devices, and raised the idea of an underlying mechanism capable to communicate advertiser meanings via attention-getters. Further, the demarcation of consumer market-specific periods was mentioned: these reflect

variation of advertisement content to keep in step with changes in language and society. With respect to what is meant by ‘change’ in advertising language over time, this concerns both linguistic and non-linguistic variation. At the linguistic level, these may be at word-, sentence- and discourse-level, such as:

- a shift in spelling (like ‘typiste’ → ‘typist’)
- changes in punctuation style (away from over-capitalisation)
- the disappearance of a particular word (such as ‘accouche’, meaning ‘to deliver a woman of a child’) and its derivatives
- the disappearance of a particular grammatical feature (such as the conditional ‘if’)
- change in register.

At the non-linguistic level, changes include progressive recruitment of eye-catching devices to communicate advertiser meanings. Examples are the appearance of the cartoon-strip advertisement, photographs, and technical line-drawings (like bar charts and graphs).⁸

To identify the cache of advertiser communication devices evident in the Australian context, and to map variation within the 150-year research timeframe, the thesis draws on artefacts published from settlement to the 1950s (as outlined in 3.0 Research Approach and Methodology). Press advertising in Australia commenced with the advent of newspaper publication in 1803, which marks that date as the research starting point.

1.3 Defining advertising language

Advertising is the activity of publicising information with intention to persuade addressees that they should believe in and adopt an idea, an event, a product or a service.⁹ The advertiser may be an individual, a group or a government; and an advertisement may variously promote, notify, admonish, advise or warn (oed.com). In an historical sense, any call for attention is an advertisement – like a signboard on a tavern door, beautification offer to remove unwanted hairs, patent-medicine leaflet, announcement of a merchant ship arrival, or government proclamation. Advertising then, broadly, is a communicative act to make information generally known, but excludes journalistic and other professional voices. The advertiser’s relay of messages is achieved by way of language, and usually the ambition is commercially motivated. This kind of commercially motivated communication was first identified as a discrete text variety in the 1960s (Leech 1965, 1966).

⁸ It is not claimed, however, that the devices themselves change in nature over time.

⁹ Government notices are treated as selling an idea. For example, an offer in the 1800s to lease Crown land is selling the idea of pastoral or other farming, or setting up a business.

Historically, advertisements associate with paper-based channels like newspapers. At first, press notices were interspersed ad hoc with news reporting; thus, the reader had no outstanding signal to recognise a marketplace offering. Then, in the 1850s – a time of social and intellectual advancement, and increase in newspaper extent – there emerged a classification system that separated news articles from other content (as evident in the dataset). Eventually, by 1900 an editorial system of headings and subject-oriented layout improved readability, and distinguished the various kinds of information. This introduced a heading system to highlight marketplace items: it can be said that the 1850s journalistic demarcation of content type functioned to germinate infrastructure principles in the world of advertising. This germination flags the shoots of modern advertising and its attendant tide of consumerism into the early 1900s.

With technological progress, advertising today is a virtual galaxy of forms, colours, shapes and sizes – and promotional language is frequently expressed less in words and more in images, across a spectrum of media channels. Modern advertising is an innovative and specialist form of persuasive social communication, created and used by people with something to sell or promote. On the linguistic plane, advertising language frequently deviates from standard grammar (Burridge 2018; Leech 1966; Rush 1998); and pragmatically it presents with a rigour capable to communicate complex meanings (Cook [1992] 2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d; Myers 1994, 1998, 2009). Copywriter language choices vary, moderated by the advertisement medium and/or cost factor. The dynamic content of a television commercial, for example, differs from the static of a sandwich board. All advertisements, however, have at least one standout feature intended to attract attention; and where multiple devices are employed, the content is designed to optimise relay of the intended meanings (as the thesis will show).

The preceding discussion pointed to readability and attention-getters (standout elements) as central to advertising language. Another important feature is memorability: a marketplace item that is distinctive is likely to help establish consumer loyalty. A premier memorability device is the creation of brand, which if effective constitutes the whole identity of the advertiser; and each brand typically carries a logo (a design element). Brand identity is ‘the personality of the advertising identity’, and the advertiser invites the individual to engage the brand as part of their own personality – a phenomenon known as ‘self-branding’ or branding of self (Marshall & Morreale 2018, p. 174). In adopting the brand, the consumer ostensibly becomes synonymous with the meanings (attributes) suggested by the item.

Further, an advertisement may carry a slogan, which is a short string of words designed to be memorable and identified with the brand (such as McDonald’s

‘I’m Lovin’ It’). An ambition of the advertiser is to imbue its brand identity – that is, product and/or service name, logo and slogan (if any) – with desirable attributes, and to lock this into the long-term memory of the receiver (Jim Aitchison 2012; Godin 2009; Packard 1957; Myers 1998). Some brands have apparently achieved this goal and represent their commodities by a wordless logo, such as *Playboy* magazine with its black-and-white classic rabbit-head wearing-a-bowtie image (Figure 1.3).

A brand name is a prized and protected entity, more important than the actual attributes of the advertised item. Ideally, the brand name should spring from the tongue as easily as any familiar name in the everyday world:

The importance of the name, rather than the real virtues of the commercial product, is proved by the long record of litigation over trade names like *aspirin* and *cola*. One of the great triumphs of modern advertising has been to condition the public to accept the fabricated name entitles of commerce – to ask for Clorox¹⁰ rather than sodium hypochlorite ...

Bolinger & Sears 1981, p. 146.

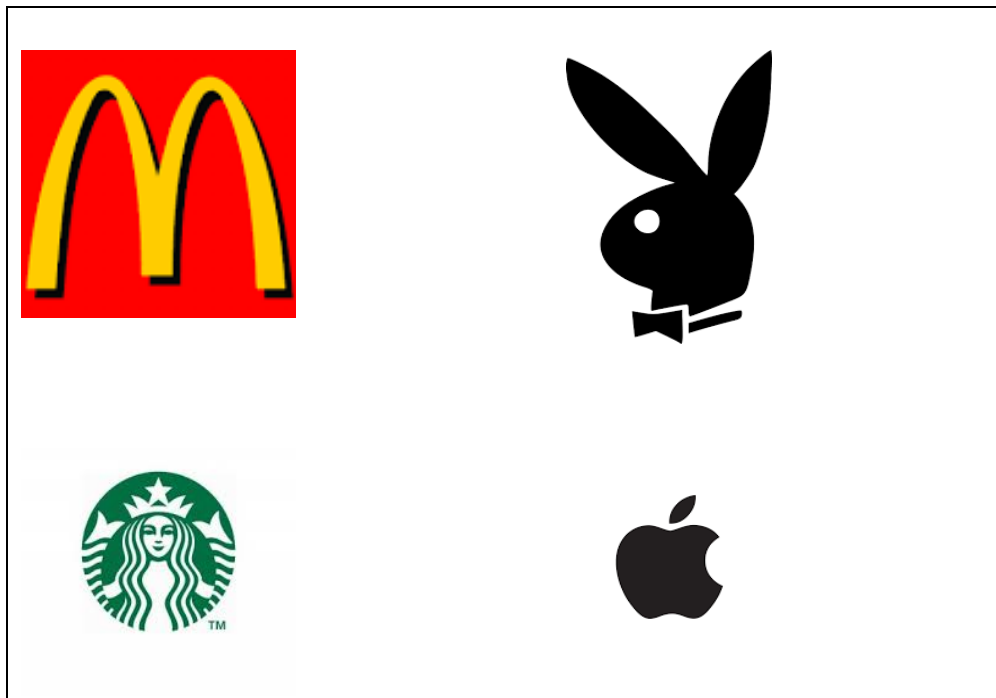
The brand name, and what it potentially means in terms of the product or service identity, is within the peripheral scope of the thesis. Some commercial enterprises have successfully produced minimalist meaning-bearing signs and symbols that evoke their brand identity; like Mercedes Benz, the car company, whose logo has endured for more than a century. Of linguistic interest are those that present without words, and yet evoke meanings – such as the iconic logo of McDonald’s, which contains only the single letter ‘M’ (shaped like a twin archway). Other examples are Apple Inc. the American multinational technology company; Starbucks, the coffee company; and *Playboy* magazine and its merchandise range (Figure 1.3).

Minimalist logos may be likened to morphemes in natural language, but they are more than the equivalent of morphemes: they are loaded with advertiser-imbued positive attributes (Jim Aitchison 2012; Berger 2015; Godin 2009; Myers 1994, 1998). This suggests that sellers such as Apple Inc. and *Playboy* are confident their wordless logo is capable of:

- communicating unique and desirable benefits and/or problem-solving solutions tied to their products
- evoking the company’s products and services in the viewer’s mind.

¹⁰ A liquid bleach suitable for household cleaning, originating in the USA.

Figure 1.3 Wordless logos: (clockwise) McDonald's, Playboy, Apple Inc., Starbucks. Source: Google search. Accessed 19 September 2018.



Minimalist and wordless advertisements challenge the linguist to explore human communication beyond the realm of words, phrases and sentences (Bolinger & Sears 1981; Bolinger 1980; Cook [1992] 2001; Leech 1966, [1974] 1981; Myers 1994, 1998, 2009; Yule 2020). For the press-advertisement scholar, the topic demands a willingness to explore the phenomenon of meaning-making beyond words; and to recognise that there are two different sign systems available to the copywriter – the world of the word, and the world of the image (Danesi 2008, 2017; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Goffman 1976; Williamson 1978). Advertising language involves both linguistic and non-linguistic features; and may harness any element of natural language communication, including poetic devices like alliteration and rhyme (Leech 1966). In its ambition to persuade, it may encapsulate vicarious experiences and sensations that offer transformation and attractive lifestyle (Klingmann 2007). In its fluidity and innovation, it is capable of creating new words and expressions (catch phrases) that find their way into the everyday, thus blurring the boundary between the real world and the world of advertising.

Finally, in defining what is advertising language, the aim of the composition is to communicate the advertiser proposition: this is the statement of advantages available in the consumable. The seller's ultimate goal is to create a text that relays a 'Buy this!' message. At the core of any promotional material (however simple) is the proposition that the offering contains a benefit, and/or will solve

a problem, thus satisfying a need or desire. To be successful, the advertisement proposition must persuade the receiver – in concrete or ideological sense – that the offering should be purchased, and that it will deliver benefits. Curiously, advertisements that lack evidence of benefits can enjoy lengthy market success, and this is a feature traceable to the early marketplace (as will be seen).

1.4 Concepts in advertisement research

This section 1.4 introduces concepts (not ranked by importance) central to advertising language. To reflect the work at hand and its engagement with research in the greater field, it is organised thus:

- 1.4.1 The architecture of advertising language
- 1.4.2 Disjunctive grammatical structures
- 1.4.3 Context of situation
- 1.4.4 Intertextuality
- 1.4.5 Pragmatics: context-based language analysis

1.4.1 The architecture of advertising language

English in Advertising: A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain (Leech 1966) is the first book-length publication to report on the architecture of advertising language. This four-year study drew its corpus from television commercials, and newspapers and magazines.¹¹ The study established advertisements as a discrete text variety (genre); thus opening a new field of linguistic and interdisciplinary inquiry. It provided an evidence-based profile that underpins a stream of exemplary works in the field (Bruthiaux 1996; Cook [1992] 2001; Dyer 1982; Geis 1982; Hermerén 1999; Myers 1994, 1998; Schmidt & Kess 1986; Tanaka 1994; Vestergaard & Schröder 1985).

Leech (1966) pointed out the four cornerstones of advertiser ambition that underpin studies of advertising language: Attention Value, Memorability, Readability, and Selling Power. He identified the standard features of advertisements (see Table 1.1) – namely the headline, body copy, signature line (brand name); standing details (utilitarian information), and illustration (if any). This labelling is used in the thesis, and is seen in other works; however, some label variation is evident – for example in Geis (1982), Dyer (1982), Rush (1998) and Gieszinger (2001).

¹¹ Leech (1966) used press advertisement data from the unpublished 1964 MA thesis of E.E.O. Winter, University College London.

Table 1.1 Standard features of an advertisement. Source: Adapted from Leech 1966, p. 59.

Headline	Appears at top in prominent position.
Illustration	[Optional]
Body copy	The main part of the advertising message. In small type, and often sectioned into blocks under subheads.
Signature line	Brand name, often accompanied by a price tag, slogan, trademark or picture of the product pack.
Standing details	Cut-out coupons, and strictly utilitarian information in small print, usually appearing unchanged on a series of different advertisements – the address of the firm, how to obtain further information, legal footnotes, etc.

In terms of grammatical analysis to discover the making of meaning, Leech (1966) employed the system of sets of classes evident in natural language – namely the set of parts of speech, and the set of clause types (Table 1.2).¹² He studied his corpus from the perspective of the five grammatical units of morpheme, word, group, clause and sentence (Table 1.2 overleaf). He discovered that in advertising language, meanings are made in the same ways as done in natural language; that is, by way of linguistic organisation and social functions. The way in which linguistic units combine with one another, and the relative position of units to one another, are functionally critical in advertisement analysis. His study included investigation of paralinguistic features (intonation, phonology, prosody, stress). Table 1.2 does not annotate this aspect for the reason that the current work draws on a print dataset, not including paralinguistic features.

The scope and depth of reporting in Leech (1966) provides the conceptual groundwork to understand three aspects of natural language as used in advertisement composition:

- register
- clause types (including the set of interrogative, imperative and affirmative structures – that is, grammatical mood)
- the behaviour of minor clauses that function as independent clauses to carry meanings.

¹² Leech drew this system from the 1950s work of his contemporary M.A.K. Halliday, whose ideas evolved into what is known today as systemic functional linguistics (SFL) – covered briefly in section 1.6.1.

Table 1.2 Overview of Leech (1966) approach to advertisement-language analysis (adapted from Leech, pp. 10–22.⁺

Leech (1966) – approach to advertisement-language analysis

UNIT Units are classified by their relative extent or size.	There are five units. In order of increasing extent, these are morpheme, word, group, clause, sentence.	*Units are assigned to CLASS on three grounds as described below in this table.
STRUCTURE Excepting the morpheme, each unit has a structure (pattern).	The structure of a unit is described in terms of the unit that is next lower in rank.	The elements of a clause structure in English are subject, verb group (predicator), complement (object), the adverbial element (adjunct).
CLASS <u>Classification</u> embodies the notion of sameness (and contrast with another class). The idea of class manifests as <u>parts of speech</u> and <u>clause types</u> .	<u>Parts of speech</u> are grammatical groups that share similarities (e.g. nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives). <u>Clause types</u> include the set of <u>interrogative</u> , imperative and affirmative (i.e. grammatical mood); and the <u>depth-ordered</u> clause.	*Units are assigned to CLASS on: (a) their function in the next largest unit, (b) their structure, (c) the way they combine with other units of the same rank.
SYSTEM <u>System</u> refers to the sets of classes: the set of <u>parts of speech</u> and the set of <u>clause types</u> (as described in this table). Classification is based on sameness and contrast; and primary classes are broken into more precise categories on finer discrimination of the same principles.	The primary (broad) <u>parts of speech</u> are subdivided into secondary ones: for <u>example</u> nouns may be personal or impersonal. <u>Clause types</u> include <u>finite/nonfinite</u> , <u>mood</u> , <u>depth-ordered</u> . The principal <u>depth-ordering</u> is the recursive structure in language.	The <u>parts of speech</u> system <u>is</u> tied to class membership (place order). But meaning is realised also by their relative position to one another: <u>depth-ordering</u> . There are three types of <u>depth-ordered</u> clause, namely coordination, dependence, embedding).

⁺ Leech's attention to the level of phonology is not included here, as sounds are not part of print advertising.

The work of Leech provides the fundamentals to discover language patterns within and across advertisement categories, and to identify how meaning-making devices operate. This then permits the current work to explore new territory in advertising-language research.

1.4.2 Disjunctive grammatical structures

A feature of advertising copy is the appearance of grammatical fragments in isolation, known as disjunctive syntax (Burridge 2018; Leech 1966; Myers 1994; Rush 1998). These structures are particularly evident in attention-getters. Leech (1963, pp. 230–235) defines disjunctive language as syntactical structures characterised by ‘junctural separation’ that represents an ellipped element. These ‘non-sentences’ are a feature of both colloquial and advertising English. While not a blanket truth, disjunctive syntax is common in headlines, signature lines and slogans that appear as minor clauses (that is, without a verb group), as seen in this example from Innoxia cosmetics:

Headline: For grown-ups only
Signature line: Innoxia for living loveliness

Leech 1966, pp. 106–109.

The two verbless phrases may be connected by ‘is’ to read ‘For grown-ups only, Innoxia is for living loveliness’

In headlines and signature lines, advertisements frequently employ the noun phrase as an independent clause (Leech 1966; Rush 1998). The independent clauses are able to deliver persuasive meanings – as apparent in the upcoming discussion of The-Baby-Shop advertisement (in 3.2.3.2). However, advertisements vary greatly in their choice of linguistic device, and there is no entrenched rule for the application of any choice. Product and personal-services advertisements, which constitute the majority of advertisements studied here, may differ visually in significant ways.

1.4.3 Context of situation

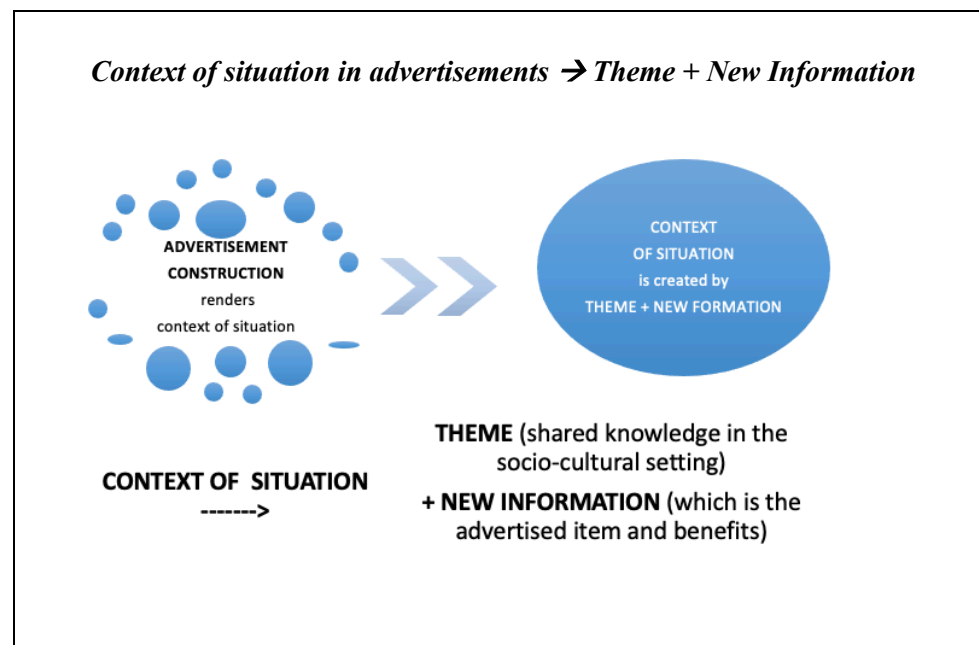
Advertising language analysis shows dual occupancy of grammatical functions and social functions. These partner in a phenomenon named context of situation.¹³ This concept refers to co-occurring components of the communication situation: ‘form and content of text, setting, participants, ends (intent and effect), key, medium, genre and interactional norms’ (Halliday & Hasan 1976, p. 22). It applies to any mode used by the addressee to effect the communication. Advertisements create contextual settings that emulate the natural-language world: the communication situation includes the ideas of new information, and theme or thematic information (what is known or accepted as true, and thus is a shared knowledge):

¹³ Formulated in 1923 by the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942).

- ‘new information’ relates to the advertiser offering
- ‘theme’ (thematic information) is the socio-cultural context that helps render the advertisement as containing something familiar to the receiver.

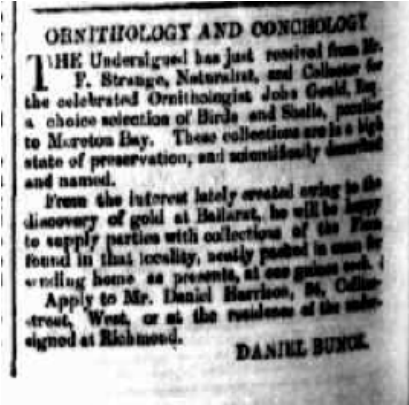
As the thesis will show, advertisement construction co-opts the parameters of theme and new information (Figure 1.4) to conceptualise a context-of-situation bubble aimed to position the receiver in the real world of people (Myers 1994; Williamson 1978). The thematic information serves to make the receiver feel connected with the new information: this is critical prerequisite to bed the claimed attributes of the advertised item in the mind of the addressee.

Figure 1.4 Advertisement construction: context of situation co-opts the parameters of theme and new information.



As a practical illustration of how context of situation is wrought, an advertisement headlined ‘Ornithology and Conchology’ from the year 1851 is examined (Figure 1.5). The active participants of the communicative act are the seller–advertiser and the target market (potential buyers). Here, a novelty item ‘Birds and Shells’ – supplied by the English ornithologist ‘John Gould Esq’ – is available for purchase ‘at one guinea each’. The seller–advertiser ‘Mr Daniel Bunor’ promotes gift-boxed specimens collected from Moreton Bay of northern Australia. The product offering of ‘collections of the Flora ... neatly packed in cases for sending home’ is the new information for potential buyers.

Figure 1.5 Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851. Source: *The Argus*, 26 October 1851, p. 3.

Ornithology and Conchology, advertisement	Transcription
<p><i>Ornithology and Conchology, 1851</i></p> 	<p>ORNITHOLOGY AND CONCHOLOGY</p> <p>The Undersigned has just received from Mr F. Strange, Naturalist, and Collector for the celebrated Ornithologist John Gould Esq. a choice selection of Birds and Shells from Moreton Bay ...</p> <p>From the interest lately created owing to the discovery of gold at Ballarat, he will be happy to supply parties with collections of the Flora found in that locality, neatly packed in cases for sending home as presents, at one guinea each.</p> <p>Apply to Mr. Daniel Harrison, 34, Collins-street, West or at the residence of the undersigned at Richmond. DANIEL BUNOR.</p>

The seller–advertiser requires a context of situation to connect the receiver with the novelty item. To achieve this, Mr Bunor calls upon theme as a device to tie to the new information: the known is a conduit to the claimed attributes of the advertised item. The prosaic theme (shared knowledge) is the greater reality of animal species (the natural world) – specifically birds and shells (see Figure 1.5). The receiver can now thematically connect with the new information of gift-boxed specimens. However, the marketplace question is why should the addressee spend a guinea¹⁴ to procure this impractical and seemingly useless object? Critically, what is the benefit for the buyer? What problem will it solve? The commercial challenge is how can small-trader Mr Daniel Bunor transform addressee to consumer – in other words, how can Selling Power be crafted into the textual function of the advertisement? To achieve the sales objective, Mr Bunor’s product should offer a benefit and/or solve a problem. Accordingly, the advertisement includes a parallel (and powerful) theme: the social setting of the time – namely, the desirability to attain high socio-economic status within a class system that distinguishes the moneyed from the working class (who represented the majority).

On an historical note, in the 1820s and 1830s, Britain escalated its shipments of convicts to the offshore prison. At this time, opportunities emerged in the penal colony for the non-indigenous population to build lifestyle and accumulate

¹⁴ The guinea is an historical unit of account equivalent to 1 pound and 1 shilling; or £1.05. Advertisements on 26 September 1851 show £1.05 bought an annual single membership at the Victorian Public Baths in Melbourne; and £65 was the annual rental (weekly £1.25) of a 5-bedroom home set on half an acre in the inner-city suburb of Richmond, with servants quarters, stables and fowl-shed.

wealth – gleaned especially from the wool and gold industries (Curthoys 1988). The creation of wealth opened a new market for exclusive and costly products, and it created also a privileged class. Only the established settlers were permitted access to engagements in administration of the wool and gold industries: this ensured socio-economic advancement and security for those already privileged (Curthoys 1988, pp. 41–42). The access restriction functioned to exclude the new-arrival convicts, and to maintain social distance between the two groups.

Given that lifestyle products symbolise affluence, the idea of financial power and social superiority drives the implicature (non-explicit meanings) of Mr Bunor's 'Birds and Shells' package. The purchase of the one-guinea specimens 'for sending home' is a posturing that reflects high socio-economic position. Of note also is that geological and scientific pursuit (such as collecting flora and fauna specimens) was the domain of the aristocrat and the educated, adding a sense of high-class membership in the owning of the 'choice selection of Birds and Shells'. The idea of attaining favourable social recognition is thus crafted as product benefit to boost Selling Power of Mr Bunor's advertisement.

To sum up, the context of situation constructed to attract buyers to the John Gould specimens (Figure 1.5) is cached in the themes of the natural world, and the social climate; but Selling Power is created primarily from the three elements of the parallel social theme:

- The first drawcard is the allusion to wealth and disposable income in the words 'From the interest lately created owing to the discovery of gold at Ballarat'. The 1950s was a time of significant wealth-making from gold-mining in western Victoria, which allowed discretionary spending, and building of exclusive lifestyle.
- Then, the idea of 'home', referenced to England, is both nostalgic and socially challenging. With the Christmas festival approaching, this September advertisement, ostensibly, is a gift suggestion evidenced by the words 'for sending home as presents'. The ability to obtain and gift the costly item suggests a position of favourable (non-convict) status.
- Finally, this is a time of scientific curiosity of the natural world that links to wealth and formal education. Expeditions, such as that of *The Beagle* in the years 1831–1836 (which carried the geologist and naturalist Charles Darwin) were the domain of the privileged. Ownership of artefacts connected with these activities suggests an exclusive membership status.

In effect, without the parallel theme (which offers the product social benefit), Selling Power would be slight. As the thesis will show, advertisements frequently contain more than one theme; and the parallel theme regularly ties to a social benefit. The socially oriented benefit is the principal consumer attraction, appealing to a ‘hidden need’ (Packard 1957): this may explain how seemingly useless items come to be sold. The discussion above illustrates how words may be used to create or evoke a social context that makes a shelf item desirable, which may in fact be both exorbitant and serve no practical purpose.

Overarchingly, the element that consistently appears as the principal cohesive agent is that of context of situation – leading to the appropriateness of a pragmatics approach as an effective discursive platform. As mentioned above, preliminary investigation evidences a meaning-making mechanism that bundles intended advertiser meanings. This system is governed by semantic interdependency of linguistic, semiotic and intertextual elements. The following section explains the notion of intertextual elements.

1.4.4 Intertextuality

Given competitive marketplaces, and the ubiquitous presence of advertisements, artful design is critical to successfully achieve two goals (Jim Aitchison 2012; Godin 2009; Maxwell & Dickman 2007):

- product distinction
- receiver understanding of the intended addressor meaning.

To this end, non-lexical devices are fixtures of the modern design studio: among these is the formative and visually invisible tool of intertextuality (Cook [1992] 2001; Goddard 2015; Kuppens 2010; Myers 1994; Regev 2007). The idea of intertextuality is that the interpretation of an element overt in a text depends on knowledge of an element of an external specific text or ‘to whole subject matters of language’ – and ‘we could not make sense of ads unless we came to them with experiences of different discourses’ (Myers 1994, p. 5). Without those experiences, intertextual meanings are locked, and resistant to interpretation as intended by the advertiser. The copywriter’s integration of intertextual elements is governed by the relevant socio-cultural nuances of the target market (Adab & Valdes 2004; Cruz-Garcia 2018).

The intertextuality tool has several copywriter advantages:

- Linking to external texts to draw on meanings reduces the actual content of an advertisement

- The intertextual link is an embedded (hidden) meaning, thus the advertiser, arguably, may not be held responsible for meanings inferred by the receiver
- It potentially inspires target-market confidence – for example, by including a graph to promote an energy-giving beverage, the advertiser provides an impression of scientific research in the health-beverage development process
- It can function as emotionally or socially engaging – for example, advertisements targeted for markets with a history of Christianity may reference biblical texts, such as the Garden of Eden creation story from the Book of Genesis, as illustrated by Berger (2016)
- It can function as a memorability aid (see Shiffrin & Nelson 2008).

Intertextuality as an advertiser device is seen in the dataset at least from the 1850s. While words remain a feature of advertising today, the tradition of the word is frequently marginalised in favour of non-lexical devices configured within a sophisticated creative design. However, to build the essential context of situation, pragmatics elements (namely, linguistic forms and their social functions) play a significant role in advertising language.

1.4.5 Pragmatics aspects

Pragmatics is the study of intended speaker meaning (Leech 1983; Yule 1996), and focuses on context-based real-world language in use (Huang 2016). It derives its philosophy of language from Halliday:

Halliday (1973) distinguished ideational meaning from interpersonal meaning and rhetorical meaning. The latter two belong in what is now gathered together under pragmatics, whose central topics include the theories of speech acts, implicature and information structure.

Hurford 2016, p. 24.

With regard to ‘ideational meaning’, ‘interpersonal meaning’ and ‘rhetorical meaning’),¹⁵ these refer respectively to:

- the ideational function: world experiences and socio-cultural knowledge that the receiver uses to interpret the message¹⁶

¹⁵ As cited above from Hurford (2016, p. 24); see also Leech (1983).

¹⁶ In the thesis, assessment of how an advertising message may be interpreted is based on looking for the possible contextual meanings.

- the interpersonal function: how a text positions people in relation to one another
- the textual function: persuasive (rhetorical) devices or techniques of the textual composition.

Detailed explanation of these three functions as an organisational principle and a property of language are afforded in Halliday ([1985] 1994), Halliday and Hasan (1976), and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). With reference to advertising-language research, the first, which centres on how messages are interpreted, straddles the broader field of linguistics, psychology and semiotics (see Geis 1985; Packard 1957; Williamson 1978). The latter two functions – interpersonal and textual – sit primarily in pragmatics, which is the investigatory platform of the current work.

Pragmatics privileges the features that render an expression meaningful in the real-world environment of the communication. A pragmatically oriented approach seeks to contextually uncover the meanings intended to be conveyed. The thesis defines pragmatics as the study of meaning-expression in situations within a communicative act, taking into consideration the social context.

Pragmatics elements include the following:

- Deictic expressions (person, place and time deixis), which mark a person in a geographical location at a particular time, and has the effect of making the text cohesive
- Information structure, or organization of text – the way information is organised by the addressor, and reveals addressor stance (position) or emotion
- Implicature – a cognitive trajectory of possible connotations, whereby meanings are inferred by the receiver, based on a cooperative principle (even where an assertion is illogical)
- Presupposition – the knowledge assumed as known to the receiver (presumably shared by addressor and receiver)
- Reference – a relationship between two entities, where an addressor uses discourse elements (e.g. pronouns) to enable receiver identification of something: copywriters can effect reference ambiguity by employing ellipsis
- Thematic information (something known) – the socio-cultural accepted knowledge that situates the communication within the scope of reality, such as a human condition (e.g. emotion, illness) or need (e.g. clothing, food safety) or desire (e.g. career success, romantic love)
- Turn-taking (mimicked by conversational advertisements) – a conductor of politeness and face-to-face involvement.

These elements are used in advertisement messaging; and thematic information, presupposition and implicature are critical instruments of the copywriter. The thesis illustrates how the ties between theme, presupposition and implicature work to deliver the advertising message. The notion of implicature (conversational and conventional) – which is part of speech act theory – was put forward, in the 1970s, by the British philosopher H.P. Grice (1913–1988):

Conversational implicature is any element of meaning implied by a speaker and inferred by an addressee which goes beyond what is said in the strict sense. It is derived from the speaker's saying of what is said by virtue of Grice's cooperative principle and its attendant maxims of conversation ... In contrast to conversational implicature, conventional implicature is a non-truth-conditional meaning that is not derived in any general, natural way from the saying of what is said, but arises solely from the conventional features attached to particular lexical items and/or linguistic constructions.

Huang 2016, p. 209.

The act of inferring (mentioned in the quote above) relies on the context of situation and the world experience of the addressee. The words, phrases and sentences of the copywriter are understood by pragmatic enrichment and the process of inference. In other words, to deliver intended meanings, the copywriter relies on a successful marriage of different types of knowledge – such as information structure, conventional features and socio-cultural knowledge (world experience) held by the receiver (Cook (1991] 2002; Crawford 2008; Leech 1966; Myers 1994, 1998, 2009). Importantly, the distinction between the 'natural informal mode' used with family and friends, and the 'more formal style' of a lecture or news report (Blake 2008, p. 198) is noted by the copywriter and appropriately used.

Individual realisations of meanings are thus subject to cultural and physical landscapes. Translators in cross-cultural adaptation of advertising copy attest to the challenge of rendering texts accessible to global audiences (Adab & Valdes 2004; Cruz-Garcia 2018). The field of receiver interpretations and target-market impact is beyond the scope of the thesis: advertisement analysis here investigates advertiser meanings as likely intended within context of situation.

1.4.6 Summarising remarks

The above sub-section 1.4 introduced concepts relevant to advertising-language research. As exemplified in the Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851 discussion (Figure 1.5), and noted by Simpson (2001), the advertising text is

not an autonomous and freestanding unit: it contains ‘particular paths planned by the copywriter’ (p. 590), which represent the advertiser’s marketing remit of Selling Power. Linguistic and non-linguistic features merge to work as a unit. Therefore, it is crucial that an investigative survey is holistic in discovery of how advertisements are designed to relay intended messages. As pointed out by Myers (2009, p. 49). images carry associated meanings, and can function iconically to link ‘a whole cluster of meanings’. Accordingly, analysis of both linguistic and non-linguistic devices are within the scope of the thesis.

1.5 Diachronic aspects of press advertisements

With the onset of globalisation and advances in technology, the tradition of advertising copy as written text has spiralled into a vortex of multimedia forms that proliferate consumer societies. Realistically then, the thesis draws data only from press advertisements. The traditional elements of press advertisements (like the headline) are identifiable to the present day; but diachronic evaluation shows compositional and stylistic shifts. The principal discourse-level change is the integration of visually stimulating attention-getters, namely images and typographical exploitation. Inclusion of pictures (which began with simple woodcuts)¹⁷ include drawings, photographs and logos. Creative design experimentation became the norm from the 1930s, as apparent in the dataset.

The three sub-sections below introduce:

- historical periods in advertisement history (1.5.1)
- the notion of words-only advertisements (1.5.2)
- the notion of word-and-image advertisements (1.5.3).

1.5.1 Advertisement change: historical periods

Advertisements reflect the society that they seek to influence, and their content can be related to socio-economic variation (Clow & James 2014; Myers 1994, 1998). Distinct discourse strategies can be identified within three consumer society periods in the northern hemisphere (Myers 1994, pp. 17–27) – first, the 1890s and the period before World War One; then 1920s to 1960s; and, finally, the post-1960s. This thesis, given the Australian context of a new settlement in the late 1700s adds a unique pre-1890s period of ‘early 1800s–1880s’. This pre-1890s period, which represents the settlement era, marks both the time of

¹⁷ A woodcut is a block of wood where an image has been carved into one surface. The raised surface is inked to impose the image on paper.

the beginnings of organised commerce; and the establishment of print media in the colony.

The four identifiable consumer periods of Australia are described below, showing a progression from the simplicity of information-type early 1800s advertising to the complexity of modern advertisements that emphasise brand. The boundaries between the time periods are dynamic, reflecting transition overlap. As an illustrative example, Figure 1.6 (overleaf) shows four tea advertisements (clockwise) representing the four consumer periods of advertising history in Australia. The four advertisements are Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881, Mutual-Tea-1930, Lipton-Tea-1948, Bushells-Tea-1957.

1.5.1.1 Colonial Australia: early 1800s to 1880s

The pre-1890s period represents the settlement era of Australia, when goods arrived at ports in bulk; and, accordingly, port arrival notifications in the press were frequently itemised like a bill of lading (in list form). In this period, advertising notices were an uncategorised jumble, and tended to provide facts, reflecting the circumstances and needs of an infant consumer society. The Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881 advertisement (Figure 1.6) is stylistically typical through the 1800s. It is informative in content, and the typography is conservative (employing bold type and capitalisation to attract reader attention). The key information is contained in the standout features – which are the supplier name THE CALCUTTA TEA SYNDICATE and the product information PURE INDIAN TEAS. While this example is representative, in the 1880s there emerged stylistic shifts that included innovative typography and images (as will be seen later in the thesis).

1.5.1.2 Brand creation: 1890s to early 1900s

The period of the 1890s to the 1920s is an era of visible brand creation. Brand provided the key to advertiser prominence in a world burgeoning with things to buy – many of which were indistinguishable within their categories. With the advent of communication technologies and mushrooming of global trade, advertisers were pressed to establish the claimed superior properties of their products and services, and to offer competitive retail prices, and easy availability of items. Brand as an instrument to attract and maintain consumer attention became critical. The four marketing pillars of Attention Value, Readability, Memorability and Selling Power (Leech 1966, pp. 27–31) are remarkably evident in advertisements of the 1890s onward.

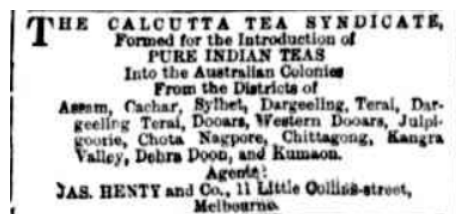
Advertisers accomplished their goals by way of creative licence with language, images and typography; and rhyme and repetition were popular. By 1890, a bustling marketplace had been established, and the supply chain was largely

characterised by the individual artisan or trader, or the product/service provider, who personally associated with their commercial offerings. The 1930 MUTUAL TEA advertisement of Figure 1.6 is an example of early brand creation, showing signs of innovation with font variation and the hairline rules around the words GREEN BRAND.

Figure 1.6 Tea advertisements: pre-1890s–1950s (clockwise) Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881, Mutual-Tea-1930, Lipton-Tea-1948, Bushells-Tea-1957, The Argus (respectively) 1881, p. 3; 26 September 1930, p. 1; 3 December 1948, p. 9; 19 November 1957, p. 9.

Tea advertisements: pre-1890s–1950s

THE CALCUTTA TEA SYNDICATE,
1881



Bushells Tea, 1957



MUTUAL TEA, 1930



Lipton Tea, 1948



1.5.1.3 Modern advertising: 1930s–1950s

Into the 1920s and 1930s, the foundation of modern advertising is seen: there was a shift – from individual suppliers and small companies like MUTUAL TEA (in Figure 1.6) – to establishment of chain stores. The concept of image-making to attract the consumer manifested as the primary goal of the copywriter. Advertisers associated symbolic and social meanings with their brands. The format of advertisements changed remarkably – as can be seen in Figure 1.6, where there is a striking visual transition from the MUTUAL TEA advertisement of 1930 to Lipton Tea in 1948, and then to the striking Bushells advertisement in 1957. By the 1950s advertisers commonly deploy conversation and storytelling (narrative) formats, and associative language.

1.5.1.4 Technological sophistication: post-1960s

The post-1960s marks the onset of technological sophistication, multimedia channels and intense global market activity in a fast-changing world. Here the consumer is likely to be educated, skeptical and oversaturated with marketing (Myers 1994). On the matter of consumer skepticism, while this state of mind is reportedly marked post-1960s, the thesis dataset indicates that consumer mistrust of advertiser claims had surfaced by the early 1900s (as will be later shown). The post-1960s is not covered here, but the thesis does touch on technology as a meaning-making instrument of the advertising professional. The following two sub-sections provide an introduction to the transition from words-only advertisements (1.5.2) to the word-and-image type (1.5.3). It can be said that in print advertising these are the two major categories.

1.5.2 Words-only advertisements

Early press promotions were words-only, as in Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851 (Figure 1.5). Analysis showed the content to be product-specific in creation of Selling Power: it was composed to create an atmosphere of exclusivity and to offer desirable social-positioning within context of situation. The purported benefit rendered the product attractive to the moneyed settler, which otherwise would simply be an expensive item of no practical use. Compositionally, the register of the advertisement is formal, and the names of the people involved in the business venture offer a personalisation of the product. The features of the 1851 artefact are:

- the standout headline, a verbless NP, in bolded capitals
- the body copy is a narrative in full sentences

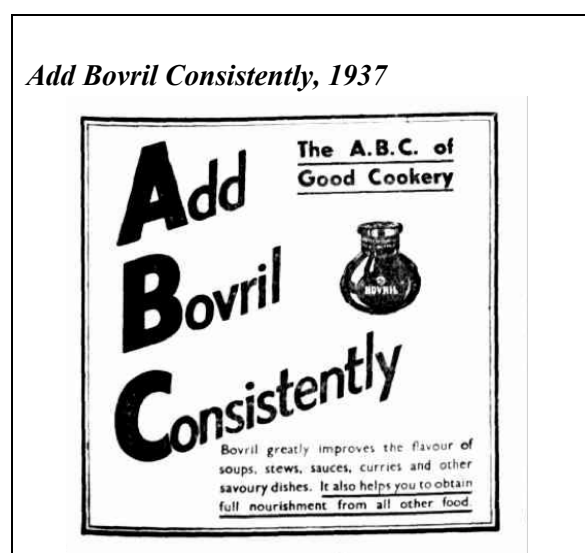
- the product information includes the brand name ‘John Gould Esq.’, and price ‘one guinea’
- the utilitarian information appears at base.

Lexis and syntactic structures in advertising copy are prudently chosen to advance the advertiser cause. Choices vary from single words and phrases to full sentences; any word class may serve the purpose; and adjectives often abound to describe item qualities. Formality diminished into the 1900s, and personal pronouns – like ‘you’ – are used in direct address to involve the receiver as participant.

1.5.3 Word-and-image advertisements

Words-only style advertising was typical of the settlement era. Then, in the 1930s images became popular, as shown in Add-Bovril-Consistently-1937 (Figure 1.7).¹⁸ This is an example of an early modern advertisement, and also of display advertising.¹⁹ The Bovril artefact is typical of the brand-building era, which uses both pictures and words to express meanings favourable to the product and attractive to the receiver. The thesis analyses word-and-image artefacts in a manner similar to the analysis below for Bovril to show correspondences between linguistic form, typographical features and functional aspects.

Figure 1.7 Add-Bovril-Consistently-1937. Source: *The Argus*, 25 September 1937, p. 17.



¹⁸ Bovril is thick meat extract paste to be diluted and consumed as a health beverage.

¹⁹ Newspaper display advertisements appear alongside editorial content. They may span several columns, and even fill a whole page. The earlier Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges (Figure 1.2) is an example of display advertising.

Bovril presents the standard advertisement features, with utilitarian information at base. The attention-getters, and functional aspects, are:

- The headline ‘Add Bovril Consistently’ in enlarged bold font, graphetically slants upward. It is in imperative mood (a full sentence) ordering an action, and the graphetic ascension suggests that Bovril is something that uplifts or boosts.
- The headline employs enlarged extra-bold font to emphasise the initial letters A, B, C. This highlights the letter sequence ABC, the well-known reference to the alphabet, suggesting that preparing the beverage is ‘as easy as ABC’ (that is, effortless).
- The slogan (also the catchline) ‘The A.B.C. of Good Cookery’ is bolded and underlined. This claims that Bovril is the foundation or basic principle of the master chef or competent cook.
- The distinctive bulbous product jar, with brand name, helps the consumer identify Bovril on the shelf.

Advertisements today commonly deploy images to convey meanings: this constitutes a reliance on what is called ‘visual syntax’, where pictures are competent to convey meanings (Danesi 2017; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996; Messaris 1996).

1.6 Theoretical perspectives

To answer the thesis questions, the approach and methodology here is holistic. Advertisements are studied as socially oriented texts in linguistic detail, and with attention to discourse level features. The thesis draws on two related sources of linguistic theory: that is, the communicative model of Leech ([1974] 1981), which identifies the five social language functions (Expressive, Informative, Directive, Phatic, Aesthetic), and the idea of cohesion in English (Halliday & Hasan 1976). The methodology is an analytical taxonomy that ably satisfies textual explication of all elements in their meaning-making roles – both linguistic and non-linguistic. The following section introduces three theoretical matters, salient in advertising-language research, which underpin the thesis analytical process:

- textual, interpersonal, ideational functions (1.6.1)
- paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes (1.6.2)
- thematic information, presupposition, implicature (1.6.3).

1.6.1 Language functions: textual, interpersonal, ideational

The basis to construct an interpretive methodology that is holistic and pragmatically oriented lies in systemic functional linguistics (SFL) theory. Frequently referred to in the wider literature as ‘language as social semiotic’, or ‘language as a semiotic system’, it is a theory of language that offers tools to analyse both the formal aspects of grammar and language as a social instrument. While SFL is not the theoretical framework of the thesis, the analytical taxonomy here is informed by its tenets. SFL offers an analytical competency in its identification of textual, interpersonal and ideational metafunctions²⁰ – as a way of talking about how language works.

Leech ([1974] 1981; 1983) in his theory of pragmatics drew from Halliday; and uses the idea of language functions to inform his theoretical model.²¹ The operational tenet of metafunctions is that encoded meanings are systematically identifiable (in any context and any language). The identification process begins with labelling sentence constituents – but then uses ‘the initial constituency analysis to investigate the function of each of these parts, and therefore the meanings encoded in these chunks of language’ (Butt et al. 2012, p. 3). Conceptually, the metafunction system treats human communication as an edifice of cultural meanings inseparable from linguistic forms. These language functions, which occur simultaneously in a text, have a pragmatic purpose in communication (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001; Halliday 1973, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Simpson 2000). Language functions, compatible with the principles of cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976), usefully explain how advertising language works to communicate meanings. The idea of language as a resource offering socially driven choices, and the concept of text as an entity imbued with cultural meanings, strongly resonates with advertisement analysis. Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001) – who employ the Jakobson model of communication²² – argue that both textual organisation and interpersonal language choices are vital to engage audiences.

At the greater discourse level, the advertisement enshrines the stance (attitude) of the advertiser via the textual function and the interpersonal function (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001). These functions combine to form the persuasive quality of the message. As discussed earlier in relation to minimalist classifieds (Figure 1.1) and Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851 (Figure 1.2), persuasive quality varies depending on the devices employed. Persuasive

²⁰ Halliday’s term is ‘metafunctions’: the thesis uses ‘language functions’ to mean the same.

²¹ The lineage of the ideas of Halliday and Leech are traceable to the writings of social anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942), and Russian–American linguist and literary theorist Roman Jakobson (1896–1982).

²² From which Leech derives his ([1974] 1981) communicative model. Used also by Forceville (1996) in analysis of metaphors in advertisements.

quality is moderated by ‘elements which are closely linked to produce a desired effect on the addressee’ (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, p. 1296). The way that elements are linked to make meanings can be seen in Bovril-1937 (Figure 1.7), and also in Conchology-and-Ornithology-1851 (Figure 1.5). The following is noted in functional analysis of Conchology-and-Ornithology:

- the text is composed appropriately for its privileged-class target audience (the textual function)
- the pronoun ‘he’ refers to the already-introduced John Gould Esq. – who then becomes someone the reader is familiar with (the interpersonal function)
- the ideational is realisable in analytical articulation of the intended effects on the receiver.

1.6.2 Paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes

Jakobson (1896–1982) held that any system of language offers meaning-making choices to the user:²³ these choices, it is claimed, reside in the ‘domain of paradigms’ – at the paradigmatic (selectional) vertical axis of language (Bolinger & Sears 1981, pp. 12, 81–2; Leech [1974] 1981, p. 11). The selectional axis is complemented by the syntagmatic (combinatory) horizontal axis that presents the syntactic composition of the addressor, which encodes the intended message – and the receiver then accesses the text by decoding the syntactic composition (Leech [1974] 1981, p. 11). The relationship between the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic is illustrated in Figure 1.8.

Figure 1.8 Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of language. Source: Bolinger & Sears 1981, p. 12.

‘Language is horizontal and vertical’

	Small		Leaped	
	Tiny		Jumped	
The	Miniature	dog	Hopped	into my lap.
	Toy		Flew	
	etc.		etc.	

Paradigmatic – on vertical axis
Syntagmatic – on horizontal axis

²³ This concept, originally proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), is also evident in the semiotics insights of American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914).

The intended message, however, may not be effectively communicated. The receiver – an active participant in the communication process – ‘assigns meanings’ and brings a set of personal interpretations (Halliday & Hasan 1976, p. 299; Myers 1994) drawn from their world experience. For the advertiser, relay of intended meanings is critical to achieve Selling Power; thus, the receiver’s personal interpretive assignment is the primary consideration of consumer advertising. Accordingly, advertisements are designed to maximise interpretation of intended meanings. To this end, the semantic associations latent in the text are important.

Studies indicate that a person’s interpretation, memory and semantic associations can be intentionally modified by varying choices on the paradigmatic plane. For example, in a leading-question laboratory experiment by psychologists Loftus and Palmer (1974), the use of a particular verb over another from the same semantic continuum impacted on the receiver’s reporting of a memory. This suggests that language choices influence memory and retention; and, if so, paradigmatic manipulation of word choices provides potential to engineer memorability of elements in an advertisement. While reporting on neural networking and word associations is not within the scope of the thesis, the subject of paradigmatic manipulation serves to validate Jakobson’s ‘domain of paradigms’ mentioned above, and highlights the usefulness of this as a copywriter device.

The findings of Leech (1966) indicate that advertisement copywriters – particularly in producing attention-getters such as headlines and slogans – exploit the possibilities (choices) afforded by the paradigmatic, and often minimise linguistic composition at the syntagmatic. This exploitation is frequently realised by purposefully employing devices that afford ambiguity (a many-to-one relationship) or hidden meanings. One example of this is the pun (as mentioned earlier), a popular tool in advertisements and useful as a memorability device in brand name creation:

You’ll go nuts for the nuts you get with Nux²⁴
It fills you up and gives you lots of go.

Leech 1966, p. 185.

Here, there are two different meanings of *nuts*: the first being ‘crazy’, and the second the primary (denotative) meaning of the physical edible object. Then, ‘nuts’ as rhyming pun effectively connects to the brand name ‘Nux’. The effect of this repetition is to tie (cohesively connect) brand name and consumer item:

nuts [crazy] + nuts [edible object] + Nux [brand name]

²⁴ A caramel and chocolate nut bar – no longer available.

The paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes, and semantic association, are copywriter tools used with textual and interpersonal meaning-making elements to communicate intended persuasive meanings. These tools are combined with cohesive devices that help relay the advertiser propositions. The thesis dataset suggests that the cohesive devices most useful to the copywriter are thematic information, presupposition and implicature.

1.6.3 Thematic information, presupposition, implicature

Advertisement meanings are expressed both denotatively and implicitly. As mentioned in section 1.4.5 above, pragmatics devices play an important role in message creation, and are creatively exploited by copywriters (Bouso 2012; Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001; Simpson 2001). In particular, thematic information, presupposition and implicature surface as consistent in advertisement composition. The Nux caramel-bar example illustrates how linguistic and social-function elements work together. In Nux, the world-experience shared knowledge (thematic information) is that humans need energy-giving foods as body fuel; and the presupposition is that ‘nuts’ give energy. The new information (couched in the implicature) of this example is both the brand name Nux, and the proposition that Nux will physically satisfy and provide considerable energy.

The meaning-making summary and proposition is given below:

Summary analysis: Nux

<i>Theme</i>	Energy-giving foods as body fuel are needed
<i>Presupposition</i>	Nuts are an energy-giving food
<i>Implicature</i>	Nux will physically satisfy and provide considerable energy
<i>Proposition</i>	Nux is filling and gives energy! So buy this product!

Nux employs direct address (‘you’), which establishes a personal bond with the receiver (Leech 1966, p. 185; Myers 1994, pp. 85–87); and text cohesion is achieved in part by the back-referencing (the anaphoric ‘It’); and in part the rhyming and repetition.²⁵ The meanings of the text are relayed by these syntactic referential devices – together with presupposition and implicature at the semantic level (see Halliday & Hasan 1976, pp. 144–45, 288–89).

²⁵ Halliday and Hasan identify two types of cohesion – lexical (such as the repetition of ‘nuts’ in the Nux example); and grammatical (namely reference, substitution, ellipsis). But they state that the distinction between the two may be ‘only one of degree’ (1976, p. 6).

In the thesis, the devices of thematic information, presupposition and implicature are paramount in discovery of how the advertiser proposition is generated, and how potential meanings are created.

1.7 Research scope and rationale

Advertisements lay claim to an ancient history (Nevett 1982; Presbrey 1929; Sampson 1874), but their legacy in Australia dates to no earlier than the first decade of the 1800s at European settlement. The words ‘European settlement’ refer to a timeline of events extending from 1788, marking the arrival of new settlers from Britain to the south-eastern shores of the continent (Bassett 1994). This historical event marks the introduction of spoken English and the written word, and a new socio-cultural and economic era. The thesis acknowledges that prior to colonialism and commercial exploitation, the native peoples of the land had trading connections with maritime visitors from the Indonesian Archipelago, and participated in early regional development of commercial possibilities (Schwalfenberg & Ferse 2010). There is but no documented evidence of advertising, nor of a demand-supply chain in the modern sense.

There are a number of book-length publications connected with the Australian advertising industry, the most notable being Robert Crawford’s (2008) scholarly overview of the industry, with focus on the advertising agency. There is, however, no published account of a linguistic study of press advertising in Australia. This thesis undertakes to investigate a representative corpus of press artefacts, drawn primarily from *The Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1846–1957) – an historic newspaper with 111 years of continuous publication. Media researcher David Dunstan (2003, p. 3) describes this periodical as ‘once a Melbourne institution’ – signifying *The Argus* as a daily reporter established in the early years of Melbourne, which now offers a cultural, social and political resource on the history of Victoria – and, arguably, of Australia.

The thesis extends to include how meanings are couched in the building of brand via the attributes associated with brand name. Meanings reside not only in the configuration of the design and content of the advertisement, but also in the advertisement brand image which can be a powerful meaning-maker (Myers 1994, 1998; Piller 1999). Thus, pragmatics, as a theoretical and analytical driver, is the appropriate approach to uncover the ‘invisible’ inner workings of advertisements:

In many ways, pragmatics is the study of ‘invisible’ meaning, or how we recognize what is meant even when it isn’t actually said (or written). In order for that to happen, speakers (and writers)

must be able to depend on a lot of shared assumptions and expectations. The investigation of those assumptions and expectations provides us with some insights into how more gets communicated than is said.

Yule 2020, p. 127.

1.8 Literature-review-in-brief

The thesis scope unites the fields of linguistics, communications and cultural studies, and history – under the umbrella of the advertising world. In 2.0, the Literature Review provides an overview of advertisement research dating from the 1800s, and a discussion of book-length works from linguistics and cross-disciplinary studies dating from the 1950s. As an outline, the statement below highlights significant contributions, and points to the vast published resources that collectively inform the thesis. The global research community is multi-disciplinary, and advertising-language studies diverge in terms of individual research focus; nevertheless, there is a shared awareness that the orientation of text to audience within context of situation is critically important.

The analysis at hand is broadly supported by scholarship from the greater humanities, the law, and the social and biomedical sciences (see Cook 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d). These include seminal works from cultural studies, namely the contributions of Roland Barthes (1915–1980), and Vance Packard (1914–1996); and from semiotics Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914).²⁶ Advertisement analysis was originally the domain of cultural theorists, beginning with analytical and descriptive essays in 1952 by Barthes ([1957] 1977); followed by the book-length publications of Packard (1957) and Williams (1962). These foundational forays into the role that advertisements play in human society emphasise the significance of culture in the meaning-creation processes of language communication, and the critical role of non-linguistic elements (such as imagery and colours) in the flux of advertisement phenomena. The methodology of cultural-studies research typically adopts a semiotic analysis, focusing on the dynamism of the non-linguistic form (such as icons and symbols) in delivering meanings.

Linguistics research in advertising language surfaced in the 1960s in the works of Geoffrey Leech (1964, 1966), and in an unpublished thesis (on press advertisements) by E.E.O. Winter in 1964. The influence of culture on meaning-making, and the way in which advertisements exploit natural-language forms and functions, to create persuasive texts can be seen in a

²⁶ In Pierce and Hoopes 1991

number of linguistics publications – such as Bolinger and Sears ([1968] 1981) *Aspects of Language*, and Leech ([1974] 1981) *Semantics*. This linguistic interest in socio-cultural influences on language was followed – mostly onwards from the 1980s – by a flow of studies from other disciplines: these included education, the bio-medical sciences and translation studies.

Within linguistics, researchers explore a range that includes advertising as a site of language contact, borrowings and loanwords (Piller 2003); the role of conjunctive adjuncts in marketing tactics (Simpson 2000); disjunctive syntax (Rush 1999); the role of textual and interpersonal discourse markers (Dafouz-Milne et al. 2008); puns (Tanaka 1992; van Mulken, van Enschoot-van Dijk & Hoeken 2005); pictorial metaphor (Forceville 1994); and tri-stratal examination at the levels of context, semantics and lexicogrammar (Patpong 2008). Frequently, noteworthy works employ discourse analysis methods (Bruthiaux 1996; Cook [1992] 2001; Dyer 1982; Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001; Geis 1982; Goddard 2015; Simpson 2001; Tanaka 1994; Vestergaard and Schröder 1985; Williamson 1978).

There is a vast collection of small but specialist studies that investigate a particular aspect of advertising discourse. These may focus on linguistic features (Patpong 2008; Rush 1998; van Mulken, van Eschoot-van Dijk & Koeken 2005), or rhetorical aspects (El-daly 2011; Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001); or studies may come from areas adjunct to but conceptually intersecting linguistics – such as anthropology (Goffman 1979); education (Thomas 2004; Wyckham 1986); translation studies (Adab & Valdes 2004); and world Englishes (Bhatia 1992). Since the 1990s, cognitive linguists have increasingly contributed to advertisement analysis (de la Rosa 2009; Forceville 1996; Koller 2009). At the core of cognitive semantic theory is the concepts of metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; see also Leech 1966). Cognitive linguists focus on functional interplay of metaphor and metonym in terms of an analogous relationship between pictures and/or verbal elements and external objects that endow meanings.

Newcomers to the discussion are medical groups: these approach advertising from the angle of the influence of advertising on health – for example, on the effects of direct-to-consumer advertising, and on regulatory issues connected with medically unendorsed dietary supplements and drug advertising (Almasi et al. 2006; Holtz 1998). Given the inclusion of health-related promotions in the thesis dataset, readings are included from the field of health and nutrition; and also historical perspectives that recount the development of the medical community. This enables understanding how health-related terminology found its way into health-related promotions.

1.9 Concluding remarks

The above discussion overviewed the content, theoretical aspects and approach of the thesis. It clarified the concepts found in studies of advertising language. It included a literature-review-in brief, which illustrated the cross-disciplinary broadband of scholarly works that inform the research at hand. The discussion also provided description of what is advertising language, and gave practical examples. Further, it familiarised the reader with the complexity of advertisement design in their charter to communicate persuasive messages. Next, 2.0 Literature Review provides summaries and reflections of the relevant and influential readings.

2.0 Literature Review

The Literature Review supports the thesis in answering the questions of:

1. What are the meaning-making devices of advertisements?
2. How do these operate to create meanings?
3. How have advertisements changed over time?

Research output to date shows cross-disciplinary global engagement with these questions. Accordingly, a substantial number of book-length and other publications is at hand to inform the thesis. As evident in the literature-review-in-brief (in 1.8 earlier), much has already been done to explore the substance and rhetoric of promotional language: thus, an extensive body of work is available to ground ongoing research. While the citations of the thesis reflect the greater literature at hand, this Review focuses on book-length publications. In the broadband of linguistics, advertising-language research (with some overlap) can be divided into the three areas of studies that are pragmatically oriented; investigation of syntactic structures; and cognitive linguistics (focused on metaphoric meanings). The thesis draws primarily on works that adopt a pragmatics mindset, and that report on syntactic structures.

While the theoretical approach and methodology here is linguistic, forays into advertising discourse encompass other perspectives. Accordingly, to reflect the range of scholarship, the Literature Review is divided into three parts:

- history and social setting of advertisement research (2.1)
- linguistic approaches to advertisement analysis (2.2)
- theoretical aspects in advertising research (2.3).

2.1 History and social setting of advertisement research

This section first summarises the history of signboarding and advertising, and acknowledges seminal studies of advertisements as cultural and historical works of linguistic interest; and then the discussion introduces the beginnings of selling-and-buying behaviour in Australia. Commerce is a relatively recent phenomenon of the land, given that the indigenous peoples did not have an organised demand–supply chain, though they did engage in trading (as mentioned in 1.0). To complete the local backdrop is a brief account of the establishment of the press and advertising activity in Australia, including overview of *The Argus* 1846–1957, from which the thesis data is primarily drawn.

2.1.1 Early research into advertisements

The work of Henry Sampson published in 1874 is among the earliest on the history of advertising in the English-speaking world, providing detail of promotional activity as it developed from the era of Ancient Athens. The contents list of *Sampson's History of Advertising from the Earliest Times* includes an intriguing range of topics (such as 'Swindles and Hoaxes', and 'Quacks and Imposters') that draw attention to deceptive practices. Sampson recounts memorable purported therapies, like 'Graham and His Celestial Bed' at the 'Temple of Health' in London. The 'Temple' was a healing centre established by James Graham (1745–1794), a medical doctor pioneering in sex therapy.²⁷ The extraordinary powers of Graham's bedroom furniture (made by a local talent) is a fine example of the kind of audacious trickery that emptied pockets in the days before consumer awareness and advertising control. Graham called the bed 'magnetico-electric', and declared it to be 'of the most indefatigable zeal' (Sampson 1874, p. 419). The benefit of the 'most marvellous celestial bed' is that it offered a fertility treatment:

... supported by twenty-eight glass pillars,
married couples without children might have
heirs by sleeping in the bed.

Sampson 1874, p. 418.

Sampson's historical account is testament to the long-standing scholarly interest in the advertising industry:

... a study of so important a branch of our
present system of commerce as advertising, with
its rise and growth, cannot fail to be of interest.

Sampson 1874, p. 1.

Further, it signals the tendency of advertising to change; and the perceived inclination of advertisers to make 'untrustworthy statements'. It evidences also the existence of 'large advertising firms' dating from at least 150 years ago:

Advertising has ... within the last 50 years,
developed entirely new courses.

... better to be silent than to make untrustworthy
statements; and this statement will apply to the
amount of annual outlay generally published in
connection with the names of large advertising
firms.

Sampson 1874, p. 1.

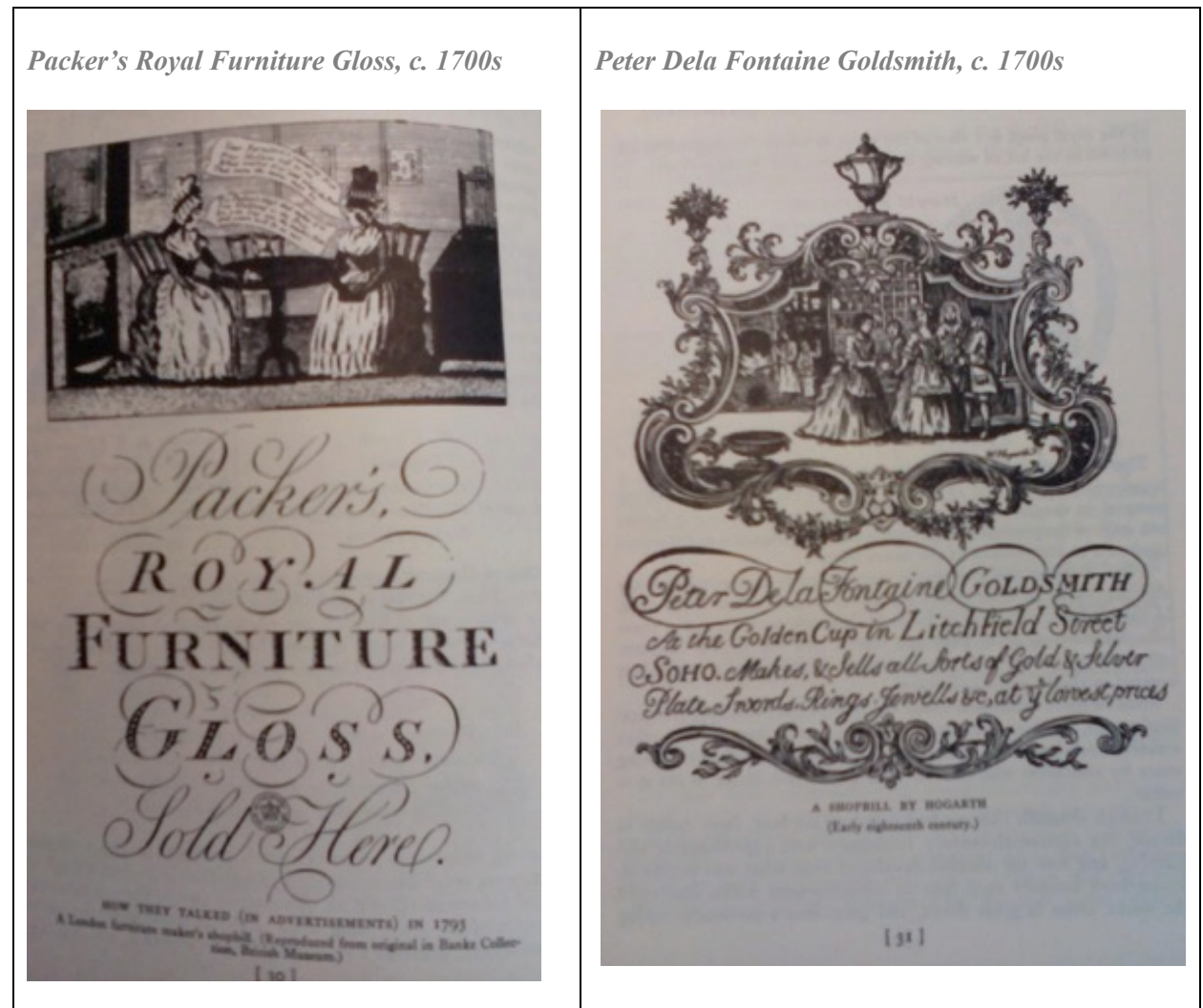
²⁷ *The Lancet*, [https://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736\(09\)61137-5.pdf](https://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/lancet/PIIS0140-6736(09)61137-5.pdf)

Sampson's 1874 tome is a valuable resource for the researcher – historian, social scientist and linguist alike. Other than the vintage artefacts and the historical documentation, numerous details of advertising language from Sampson's time can be related to advertising discourse today. For example, the words 'magnético-electric' (used to describe the miracle fertility 'Celestial Bed') mirrors the pattern of health-related advertisements to employ scientific-sounding labels – as the thesis will show.

In 1929, Frank Presbrey's *The History and Development of Advertising* appeared. It covers the development of publicity in the societies of Babylon, Ancient Athens and Ancient Rome; and England and the United States. Presbrey's account (1929, pp. 19–34) – of 'the great pictorial signboard era' in England – tells the story of the evolutionary journey of pictures that signposted the tavern and other commercial doors. These pictures progressed from the bucolic bush or bunch of grapes and 'coats-of-arms and other heraldic devices in colours' to painted animals and angels; and then on to ornate, outlandish pictorial novelties that increased in physical size. The ongoing competitiveness of signage prominence was prompted by the desire to be noticed (attract attention) in a new landscape of business enterprise. A practical compunction fuelling pictorial variety to the 1600s was that street numbers had not yet been invented – at least not until the early 1770s.

Street numbers were evident by 1773, and the advent was accompanied by a ban on hanging signage – for the reason that these increasingly large and heavy signs were the documented cause of injurious accidents (landing on the unwary passer-by). The ban on hanging signage (while usefully saving life and limb) curbed a significant form of publicity and inconvenienced the entrepreneur. It did, however, as reported by Presbrey (1929, p. 25) bring to the fore 'a realization of the wider ability to read among the masses', and 'impetus was given to printed advertising' as a counter to the ban. The new emphasis on print advertising coincided with the acceleration of illustrated handbills. Visually, the shop handbill suggests itself as the archetype of the modern newspaper display advertisement – at least in England, the United States and Australia. It was 'an advertisement which illustrated the wares, often in great detail, and grew into a persuasive selling message' (Presbrey 1929, pp. 32–33). It is essentially also the prototype of the modern business card. Two handbill examples are given overleaf in Figure 2.1 Packer's-Royal-Furniture-Gloss, and Peter-Dela-Fontaine-Goldsmith.

Figure 2.1 Shop handbills: *Packer's-Royal-Furniture-Gloss* (left); (right) *Peter-Dela-Fontaine-Goldsmith*. Source: (respectively) Presbrey 1929, p. 30, 31.



2.1.2 The first newspaper advertisements

The first press promotion in English concerned publicity for a book, and appeared on the back page of *The Continuation of Our Weekly News*, 1 February 1645. The book told the story of ‘the match betweene’ the Prince of Wales and his bethrothed (Presbrey 1929, p. 40). But it was another 200 years before advertising began to proliferate in newspapers – this coincides with the 1855 abolition of the tax imposed on English newspapers (Conboy 2010). The tax relief realised the birth of the penny paper, and ‘people could afford a newspaper who before could not’ (Presbrey 1929, p. 92). This produced a new avenue for print advertising that subdued the then ever-present umbrage of billposting (which is the practice of plastering advertisements on walls and doors at will, especially under the cloak of night).

Presbrey (1929, p. 93) sheds light on two phenomena of post-1850s English newspapers:

- one, the diversity of advertisement categories (where previously patent medicines and investment schemes outnumbered ‘household goods, wearing apparel or other necessities’ by 20 to 1)
- two, the practice of iteration copy.

In the early 1800s when the press was established in Australia, both these features – of advertisement diversity and the iterative as visual – are seen. The practice of iteration copy is the persistent repetition of a line in an advertisement – that is, a short string of words is repeated verbatim on consecutive lines. This device of repetition is functionally comparable to the eye-catching woodcut. In the 1860s, illustrative woodcuts were used to visually boost the advertisement, and became a common sight in the English provincial papers; but were not permitted in the city press. London society of the time was conservative and abhorred the sight of illustrations littering their newspapers, which were a symbol of their literacy and status. A writer to the *Once a Week* periodical, in 1863, expressed his indignant concerns of the illustrative garnish in terms of ‘assault’ of ‘spasmodic typography’ upon county papers.

The writer compassionately petitioned the aging and cashed-up compositor to retire from the industry:

The rapacity of advertisers respects nothing, and the virtue of newspaper proprietors will not be proof against the assault waged upon it. Already spasmodic typography has appeared in county papers. The most respectable county papers will allow engraving of tea caddies and ploughs and Worcestor Sauce bottles to be inserted in prominent positions in the regular midst of old-fashioned advertisements. It is very sad, and I would recommend any old compositor who has saved a little money, to retire from his profession. (Extract from *Once a Week* periodical, 1863)

Presbrey 1929, p. 93.

This opinion piece – in the words ‘spasmodic typography’ and ‘engraving of tea caddies and ploughs and Worcestor Sauce bottles’ dates the debut of graphetics and pictures in advertisements to at least the mid-1850s. Pictures, however small, functioned as attention-getters with the message ‘Look at me’:

The advertisement carrying even a small illustration had an advantage which often amounted to dominance of the page.

Presbrey 1929, p. 93.

This dates the prototype of the semiotic in promotional texts. Wily advertisers resorted to verbatim repetition line after line (often in capitals) as a graphetic to gain prominence, and thus defeat the restriction on illustrative material in newspapers. Using letters and words, the advertiser creatively exploited typeface (within the limitation of the permitted 10-point) to create pyramid or other shapes that functioned like an eye-catching visual. This flags advertiser awareness of pictures as a tool to grab reader attention.

A notable twentieth-century work is T.R. Nevett's (1982) *Advertising in Britain: A History*. This chronicler, like Henry Sampson and Frank Presbrey, begins with the ancients of Babylon, Athens and Rome – but delves into the broader gamut of compositional activity: the writing, designing, planning and production. Nevett explores the socio-economic roles of advertising, and is among the first to evaluate the effects of advertising on people. The account also provides the legislative backdrop to the advertising industry in Britain, including the British Code of Advertising Practice (which began its life in 1961); and integrates discussion of the common law rights in connection with retail trade practices (such as libel, slander of goods and slander of title). Of linguistic interest is Nevett's evidence that advertisers in nineteenth-century Britain were subject to legal control and case law. A range of advertiser offences was established in that era (Nevett 1982, pp. 110–144), and advertising language subsequently was moderated by the law – a thread found also in the works of Michael Geis and Greg Myers. Legal caveats prompt the question of how such restraint affects language choices: this is peripherally covered in the thesis, as relevant in data analysis.

Nevett's work indicates that certain legal precedents in advertising-related law accompanied the statutes and statutory instruments of Britain that formed the legal system imposed in the 1788 settlement of Australia. This control setting very likely accounts for the absence of some kinds of hyperbole and offers in early Australian promotions. An example provided by Nevett (1982, pp. 134–136) of an advertisement litigation before the British court is the landmark case of *Carlill v. The Carbolic Smoke Ball Company* [1892]. The Carbolic Smoke Ball Company had advertised a smoke ball as a cure for respiratory ailments, including influenza, during the influenza epidemic of 1889–92. Carbolic went so far as to offer a £100 reward 'to any person who contracts the Increasing Epidemic' (p. 134). Mrs Carlill, the plaintiff, despite having dutifully

administered a purchased smoke ball as directed, contracted the epidemic ailment. Upon applying for the reward, Mrs Carlill was rebuffed; and, a writ subsequently being issued, her case was heard in the High Court and resolved in her favour. Consequently, the use of financial guarantees in advertising was curbed. This case illustrates that, certainly, legislation has imposed restrictions on the linguistic content of promotions. Claims of efficacy in modern advertising tend to operate connotatively by way of a range of communicative devices – as the thesis will show.

2.1.3 The inner world of advertising

The persuasive mechanism of advertising language operates on associating everyday ideas and feelings with the promotional item; and may endow the item with human-like qualities (Geis 1982; Myers 1994; 1998). Packard's (1957) *The Hidden Persuaders* is a penetrating analysis of merchandising strategies in the United States: these strategies are designed to trigger different kinds of consumer behaviour (such as impulse, status symbol or comfort buying). The book is an exposé of advertising's psycho-sell techniques. It claims that the marketing industry employs a deliberate strategy to create big business by exploiting 'depth' research, drawn from motivational psychology, to manipulate the potential consumer. Essentially, 'depth' research is in-depth qualitative research, based on interviews.

A prominent figure of Packard's (1957) research era is James Vicary,²⁸ who intensively studied impulse buying. Another is Ernest Dichter, PhD, director of the then Institute for Motivational Research. Packard flags Dichter as the most famed of 'depth probers', sometimes referred to as 'Mr Mass Motivation Himself' (p. 32). Packard suggests that the advertising industry is morally corrupt, and that 'depth' marketing strategies are effective and successful in coercing the public at large:

These depth manipulators are, in their operations, beneath the surface of conscious life, starting to acquire a power of persuasion that is becoming a matter of justifiable public scrutiny and concern.

Packard 1957, p. 16.

He contends that advertising is a tour de force that creates a consumer where they otherwise may not choose to be one. He proposes what he calls the 'Eight Hidden Needs' of humans that he claims advertisers principally target. These needs are 'beneath the surface of conscious life' – like Reassurance of Worth, Roots, and Love Objects (see Table 2.1).

²⁸ James Vicary (1915–1977) was an American market researcher: he pioneered the art of subliminal advertising.

Table 2.1 Principles of Packard's Hidden Needs. Source: Based on Packard 1957.

	Packard's Hidden Needs	The Hidden Need relates to
1	Roots	identity, heritage, family, nation, team
2	Emotional Security	comfort, happiness, security
3	Reassurance of Worth	sense of self-worth, self-esteem
4	Ego Gratification	praise for actions
5	Creative Outlets	opportunity to build and create by self
6	Love Objects	love and be loved
7	Sense of Power	control, ability to choose, social mobility
8	Immortality	seek meaning to life, live beyond death, age-defying products, youth culture

These needs are independently alluded to by Kovecses (2002), who observes that products are imbued in advertisements with symbolic qualities that are human-like:

Cars are often shown as one's lovers, and people in the ads or commercials behave toward them as if they really were: they hug them, they kiss them, they whisper to them, etc.

Kovecses 2002, p. 59.

Packard provides case examples of failed modern advertising campaigns; and explains the failure from the perspective of motivational psychology, which operates on the principle of embedded meanings that rely on transmission to the addressee. Unsuccessful advertising is attributed to transmission failure of the intended metaphoric meanings – that is, the positive values failed to be relayed and the desired effect was not achieved. In other words, the semiotic content was not associated by receivers with positive ideas, but instead tied to negative concepts. Consequently, the message triggers 'hidden resistance' to the product (Packard 1957, pp. 116–119). An example of this is the failed marketing of the California prune as an effective laxative in the early 1950s, but later positively transformed by Dr Dichter 'Mr Mass Motivation Himself'.

In the prune story, citing from Packard, 'the doctors of commerce' – that is, the motivational psychologists – were summoned to diagnose why this healthy product simply would not sell. The roots of the problem clearly resided in consumer prejudice against the product, and the expert Dr Dichter was solicited to 'prescribe corrective measures'. Word-association tests revealed that people linked the wrinkly prune to 'dried-up', 'old maid', 'constipation' and 'laxative'. That is – in the minds of American consumers surveyed – conceptualisations of ageing, spinsterhood and bowel movement (or lack of) bubbled to the fore. For them, the prune was value-laden with a range of

distasteful connotations, including ‘decrepitude and devitalisation’, parental authority, parsimony, the ‘joyless puritan’, and even witches (due to its black colour).

The hapless prune, despite its healing property, was diagnosed by Dr Dichter to suffer an inferiority complex and serious psychological limitation – requiring ‘top-to-bottom surgery’ in order to rid its harmful symbolic representations. Further, to cover all variables, and reflecting the marketing research mandate to fully understand the consumer mind, a market research study was conducted by the above-mentioned Vicary to profile the constipated individual (the prime sales target). The constipated target was found to be of ‘ungiving’ personality (that is, a person who finds it hard to give a gift.²⁹ Vicary’s findings served to help strategise the ‘top-to-bottom surgery’ in conceptual restructure of the prune’s public image.

A fresh vision launched the previously old-maid prune as ‘a wonder fruit’. Prunes were presented on attractive platters in juicy, melt-in-the-mouth, glistening clusters nestled against the purity of cottage cheese. The picturesque settings of the campaign were youthful, dynamic and vividly colourful. Pretty girls figure-skated and played tennis. The laxative angle appeared unobtrusively at the base of the advertisements as ‘a gentle aid to regularity’; and thus ‘Overnight, the prune became a delightful sweet fruit, almost a candy’ (Packard 1957, pp. 118–19). The face-lifted remodelled prune was successfully conveyed to the shopping basket. Some years after the psychologically adjusted prune graduated from Dr Dichter’s couch, in 1955 consumption and price of this commodity rose, and projected a sharp competitive edge over other food crops of the United States (p. 119).

Since Packard’s (1957) investigative tapping into subliminal strategies (which today has evolved into neuro-marketing), advertising has burgeoned into a multimillion-dollar industry, and is considered the lifeline of demand–supply economic chains globally. Packard’s analysis, though widely accepted, has however its objectors. This is evident in the words of Chris Hackley, a marketing academic. Hackley disputes that marketing techniques of manipulation on the individual can be validated as effective. His position is that ‘research that looks inside our heads for marketing’s effects only finds half the answer’:

Marketing techniques are blamed for rising
childhood obesity and alcohol misuse, not to
mention cigarette-related disease, the decline

²⁹ While this may seem incidental, the tie between ungiving personality and ungiving of bowel movement is fodder for rumination in the world of subliminal advertising. Every detail of marketing research is valuable.

in public manners and countless other social ills from avarice to anorexia. The subtext of this criticism is that marketing's effect is psychological because it influences people to do things that harm themselves and others ...
... Yet for me Packard's vision of marketing manipulation isn't plausible on an individual level. The science of consumer control simply isn't advanced enough to have such an effect. Perhaps research that looks inside our heads for marketing's effects only finds half the answer.

Hackley 2007, pp. 488–91.

While the effects of advertising on the individual and on society at large are beyond the scope of the thesis, findings point to 'what is inside our heads' as the very thing that influences consumer behaviour (as suggested by Williamson 1978; and cultural theorists and cognitive linguistics). What can be said is that the psychological effect of advertising is achieved by devices used in advertisement composition – both linguistic and non-lexical devices – over time; and, as the thesis will show, the human belief system plays a role in motivation to buy, and in shaping consumer inclination (trust) to be persuaded by advertiser rhetoric.

The key to the effective advertisement resides in finding the appropriate configuration to convey intended messages: some propositions rely more on words as device, while others on pictures. The copywriter decision is made 'based on the product, the market, *and* the proposition' (Jim Aitchison 2012, p. 198). In modern advertising, according to Aitchison (p. 330), in terms of choosing linguistic content and lexical choices, two basic principles apply:

- one is simplicity of the language ('adverbs are the enemies of verbs, and adjectives are the enemies of nouns')
- the other governs the density of text (namely long copy v short copy).

The volume of words depends on the market category and the advertisement medium. Magazines are more likely to carry text-dense advertisements (as the magazine reader has time-commitment); and advertisements in finance and banking are 'intentionally made to look difficult to read' (p. 360).

Robert Crawford's (2008) *But Wait, There's More: A History of Australian Advertising 1900–2000* appears to be the first detailed history of the advertising agency in Australia. Crawford's perspective is essentially that

advertising is the backbone of capitalism, and the advertising industry through its activities has built the economic infrastructure of the nation. He weaves his story with accounts of industry development in the major cities; the construction of consumerism and the preoccupation to convert viewer to consumer; and the variables that affect advertising. He points to the realisation by advertisers of two challenges:

- there is a cultural system to be integrated into advertising strategy
- in the mind of the potential consumer there resides a notion of trust (a psychological element) that needs to be engaged by the publicist.

As the thesis will show, there is consistently an element of truth in advertisement content (in its thematic underpinning), which helps create an atmosphere of trust to draw in the addressee.

Crawford's account includes overview of Australian advertising legislation and ethics; and various political and global events (such as war) that influenced the growth of the advertising industry. This work with its emphasis on social, cultural and economic aspects of public communication – like that of Nevett (1982) – shows a leaning toward an all-encompassing approach to explain social phenomena. This resonates with the words of Kress, Leite-Garcia & van Leeuwen (1997, p. 257): in order to achieve full understanding of communicative texts, the 'cognitive, cultural and political potentials of different modes will need to be understood, as will the economic and technological potentials'.

At this point, it is appropriate to introduce a profile of the community who produce the language of publicity: a group overshadowed by analytical reports of their attention-getting creations. These people may be the individual communications professionals (such as copywriters, designers, editors, finance managers, illustrators, market analysts, researchers and photographers), or the advertising agency or corporate marketing department at large. The sole preoccupation uniting this diverse contingent is the ambition to maximize the sale of a product, a service, an idea or an event. The vehicle of modern marketing is the 'communication process', which comprises a number of operative keys including 'messages, communication, response models, attitudes and semiotics' (Belch et al 2014, pp. 111–138). These keys combine to form the sophisticated machinery called the Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) program. This strategy evolved from the 'realisation that niche or relationship marketing' is the most effective way to reach the

consumer today; and it deems to uphold ‘what customers need’ (Belch et al. 2014, pp. 31–47).

The essence of the IMC is customisation and cultural awareness – which links to the linguistic notion of context of situation (see 1.4.3 earlier). The IMC suggests a strong awareness of individual social stereotypes, rather than the broader ethno-cultural marketing techniques of old (see Bhatia 1992; O’Barr 1993, 1994). The IMC concept mobilises in tandem with the traditional ‘Ps’ of the marketing mix approach (Belch et al. 2014), which is an established industry matrix. The marketing mix started its life with focus on the 4Ps of Product, Price, Place (distribution points), and Promotion (marketing communication). This extended into the 7Ps to include People (customer service), Processes (activities to deliver the service), and Physical Evidence (tangible presentation by the process workers) (p. 31). The outstanding element that does the legwork to leap from the traditional concept of the Ps to the IMC is the emphasis on the semiotic.

Wisdom of semiotics is the heart of advertising strategy today, and it signals astute psychological insight into how information is stored and neurally activated (neuro-marketing). Focus on the semiotic by advertisers provides the reason why linguistic investigation must probe non-lexical meaning-making devices to uncover how advertising language is designed to work. Styles of communication have broadened in the last 50 years or so, and text production is rarely only the written word on paper. The written word is ‘only one representational element’ and words need to ‘be read with all the other semiotic modes of that text’:

Producers of texts are making greater and more deliberate use of *a range of representational and communicational modes*, which co-occur within the one text. One effect of this change is that it has become impossible to read texts reliably by paying attention to written language alone: it exists as one representational element in a text which is always multi-modal, and it has to be read with all the other semiotic modes of that text.

Kress, Leite-Garcia & van Leeuwen, 1997,
p. 257.

It should be noted that semiotic codes are a feature of the modern advertisement, the advent of which is dated in the thesis at the 1890s onward. The dataset at hand shows that early advertisements tend to deliver facts, and to be characterised by text density. However, the eye-catching woodcut and

iteration devices (mentioned in 1.0) are a semiotic – carrying the message ‘Look at me’. Given the dataset here is drawn from the 1800s to the 1950s, this spans both vintage advertisements and the modern; thus, the discussion includes both words and pictures – but excludes analysis of colour (which came to the press in the late 1950s).

The above discussion provides the background and setting of advertisement research from historical and industry perspectives. The greatest volume of publications is from Britain and the United States, reflecting the longer history of organised economic activity there.

2.2 Linguistic approaches to advertisement analysis

This sub-section overviews the theories and methodology seen in the field of linguistics. The discussion is presented in three parts:

- structure and stylistics (2.2.1)
- discourse functions and social semiotics, an approach pragmatically grounded in discursive structures and socio-cultural contexts (2.2.2)
- cognitive linguistics, an approach grounded in metaphor theory (2.2.3).

These partitions are not content-exclusive. The topical overlaps are attributable to the cross-disciplinary nature of contemporary research; and to the nature of advertising itself – that is, advertising-language research is tenable via several planes of understanding.

2.2.1 Structure and stylistics

Two book-length publications that report on the structure and stylistics of advertising language are Leech (1996), and Gieszinger (2001). A third corpus-based study in a similar vein is that of Myers (1994) *Words In Ads*: this work explores advertisements contextually from a linguistic perspective, but investigates also the meaning-making role of pictures, and includes three studies in areas of social concern – namely the advertising of soaps, cigarettes, and AIDS awareness. Additionally, two theses are relevant to include here: Koteyko (2012a), and Winter (1964). It is worth noting that the Winter thesis was influenced methodologically by an earlier thesis by Leech completed in 1963 entitled ‘The Language of Commercial Television Advertising’. The 1963 work was published as a book in 1966, which in turn used data from

Winter's 1964 thesis. These research efforts of 1963 and 1964 are the first of the English-speaking community.

Leech (1966) *The Language of Commercial Television Advertising* has been instrumental in locating advertisement analysis within linguistics. He established advertisements as a unique type of socially constructed text that are socio-culturally significant, and that derive from and respond to the flux of consumer societies. Thus, the words, symbols, pictures and other content of advertisements over time provide a resource to gather evidence for societal change. His analysis drew upon Halliday who focused on developing a context-based theory of language. Halliday's works (namely those published between the early 1960s and the late 1970s) established what is known today as the systemic functional model of analysis, a social-semiotic approach. Halliday illuminated how mechanisms of grammar operate to serve effective communication. In this view, social context and social purpose are primary determinants of language choices in communication. These tenets underpin the principles of advertisement creation (Leech 1966, [1974] 1981, 1983).

A prescient feature of Leech's research conducted in the 1960s is its analytic shift away from sole focus on grammatical structures (see Bolinger & Sears 1981, pp. 78–101). Such a focus is characteristic of transformational-generative grammar, where surface structures (syntactic forms) are central. Leech maintains a view of language as acts of meaning born of a social system, while retaining the tradition of recognising sentence constituents (see also Martin 2016). This view is compatible with research orientation towards discourse analysis methods, where context is paramount in text interpretation; and the study of language is targeted at the greater linguistic organisation that characterises a genre (see Gee 1999; Paltridge 1999; Stubbs 1983).

Halliday's (1978; 1985) metafunctions, introduced earlier in 1.0, aptly explain how language serves to facilitate communication. In brief, the interpersonal function refers to the encoding of attitudes, relationships and interactions; the ideational refers to the encoding of experiences in terms of individual reality; and the textual function is used to organise the interpersonal and ideational into a whole. The concept of language metafunctions appears in text-analysis approaches across the spectrum, including multi-modal entities: Kress, Leite-Garcia and van Leeuwen (1997) contend that 'all systems of human communication must serve three requirements' (p. 261), namely:

1. to communicate and represent relevant aspects of social communication (interpersonal)

2. to communicate and represent what the ‘communicator wishes to communicate’ (ideational)
3. to enable coherent message production both internally and externally within the semiotic environment (textual).

This view validates the notion that the social functions of English are critical to advertisement composition, and that the idea of cohesion as a principle of meaning creation can be applied across all types of advertisements in any channel of communication.

The Leech (1966) corpus included 617 British television commercials broadcast between December 1960 and May 1961; and, over the following four years, included press artefacts from newspapers (such as *The Observer*) and magazines (such as *Women’s Own*) (Leech 1966, pp. 194–200). The six-year study leans to a neutrality of description that affords linguistic precision within a communicative language framework that evaluates language data contextually – that is, in ‘observable social settings’ and in the relationship ‘between linguistic patterns and situational patterns’ (1966, p. 9). Based on his data analysis, Leech provided an account of ‘standard advertising language’ (see Table 1.1 earlier). His standard elements are not a neat fit to every advertisement, but are representative and allow systematic labelling. The standard elements are the headline; the body copy; the standing details; the signature line (including brand name and slogan); and illustration, if it appears (Leech 1966, pp. 106–107).

The 1966 seminal work achieves three main linguistic objectives: first, it distinguishes advertising English from other types of English; then, it describes the normative structures as they appear in his dataset, and acknowledges the less usual features; and, finally, it describes the creative elements that characterise advertising copy – such as the use of rule-breakers, figurative language, and ambiguity:

- The rule-breaking behaviour of advertising copy is the ‘copywriter’s licence’ (p. 176): it occurs at the levels of orthography, grammar, lexical, semantic and contextual
- Figurative use essentially concerns semantic incompatibility or absurdity (p. 182). This is effected via devices such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, personification, and suggestion/fantasy
- Ambiguity manifests via homonymy and multiple meanings. Like poetic texts, the advertisement uses ambiguity to enrich ‘the communicative resources’ of the text by ‘superimposition or juxtaposition of alternative interpretation’ (p. 184). Puns are a

favoured option in advertising copy. These are used on a lexical level and in brand names.

The abstract features of advertising language are that it has a well-defined social purpose; it is frequently disjunctive (truncated and ungrammatical) in nature, yet pragmatically skilful; it operates at a psychological level; and it is colloquial not formal (consistently containing figurative language). With regards to denotative and connotative meanings, linguistic forms may function in unconventional ways to refer to ‘entities and events in the world’ (Leech 1966, p. 9). Receivers interpret the ‘seeming incompatibility of meaning’ by finding a tie that will reconcile the infringement with something in ‘the normal communicative function’ – which then renders the advertiser message meaningful (p. 178). In this referent sense, Leech (1966) and Williamson (1978) share ground in recognising the critical role of external meanings in advertisement message communication. Figurative language (such as metaphors) serve to establish ‘symbolic connections’ between words and meanings (1966, p. 176).

Leech also covered advertising language in its historical development; and the place of this language in the bigger picture of discourse, register and creative writing. He does not attempt to categorise advertisements in terms of target consumers (as done by Myers 1994, 1998). He does, however, associate linguistic patterns and semantic principles with product information categories (that is, to identify forms used most frequently with a particular product category): this patterning is evident also in the thesis dataset, as will be seen. He explores the advertiser–audience dynamic; and visits the notion of how brand strength is created. These considerations are reflected in the thesis, which adopts a contextually oriented approach. The research design here is guided by Leech’s (1966, pp. 6–7) principle of conducting evidence-based linguistic research. This principle states that operational knowledge (the pragmatic knowing of how to use something or how it works) is distinct from analytic knowledge (which entails the generalisations applied in describing a dataset).

Gieszinger’s (2001) *The History of Advertising Language: the Advertisements in The Times from 1788 to 1996* is a quantitative investigation that studies stylistic, formal, functional and semantic aspects of advertisements. Gieszinger conducts a diachronic analysis of a corpus of 540 artefacts – excluding medical advertisements, for the reason that she considers them offensive and hyperbolic in their claims (2001, p. 6). She acknowledges the several approaches possible in advertising-language research, but is faithful to her scope and methods – which is a statistical analysis of features (such as word density) to establish patterns of divergence or convergence as evident in her corpus. She touches

upon what she considers extra-linguistic – ‘social, economic, psychological, legal or technical factors’ (2001, p. 3) – as necessary.

One of Gieszinger’s findings is that patterns are often attributable to obvious factors, such as brevity relates to advertising rates (p. 41); however, some variations of word density appear to be inexplicable. An example of puzzling variation manifests in her analysis of a sample from 1937 where she acknowledges ‘the number of words varied in all types of advertisements’ (p. 41) for no apparent reason. Gieszinger’s methodology and organisation offer a useful model for statistical analysis. Her work is distinguished by its exemplary literature review, which includes a range of relevant texts from both the English and German languages, and she offers unique insights into the different senses that dominate definitions of terminology and approaches. Further, Gieszinger’s work is one of the few that take a corpus-based approach.

Two other works, accessed on-site at University College London in July 2018,³⁰ overviewed in this section. These are the unpublished theses of:

- E.E.O. Winter, ‘The Language of Contemporary Newspaper Advertisements in English’, MA thesis (unpub.), University of London, April 1964
- I. Koteyko, ‘The Language of Modern British Advertising’, PhD thesis (unpub.), University College London, 2012.

Winter’s corpus was patent-medicine advertising – but he did not reproduce any artefacts so no advertisements in whole appear reproduced in his work. He focused on grammatical structures, examining the entire linguistic content of each item in analysis. He investigated the distribution of lexemes (the set of all forms with the same meaning, e.g. pure, pureness, purity) – in terms of the word class (nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs). This work provides a guide on how grammatical categories can be investigated systematically. Winter reports on the distributive pattern of grammatical categories over the corpus; but the link between grammatical category and any particular patent-medicine type is analytically unclear, and not explicitly stated.

Koteyko (2012a) drew 364 advertisements from 24 newspapers. This is a comparative study between:

- commercial advertising of various types of goods and services
- non-commercial advertising from charity and government.

³⁰ At the Languages and Speech Science Library, Chandler House, London.

The 364 texts are systematically sampled to discover linguistic co-occurrence patterns. She identified through a factor analysis several mechanisms of persuasion. She then used her factor-analysis finding to analyse gender-specific strategies – focusing on one product type. Koteyko found that advertising language is target-market specific. Her significant report (later published, 2012b) is that the female target is offered elaborate descriptions, and a scientific element is embedded; conversely, the male target is offered succinct product description characterised by disjunctive syntax – put simply, when females are targeted, the ideas are compositionally ‘spelled out’ word for word. Koteyko’s discovery of target-market difference is similarly indicated in the Australian dataset at hand – that is, advertisements for the female target tend to be compositionally grammatical and likely to contain full sentences, as will be discussed in the Investigative Studies in section 5.0.

2.2.2 Discourse functions and social semiotics

Guy Cook’s *The Discourse of Advertising* first edition (1992) has received some criticism as lacking a defined corpus, and as appealing primarily to intuition as a driver of analysis (Stubbs 1996); however, it should be noted that it was published in the wake of the 1970s and 1980s engagement with revisionist approaches that recognise the importance of socio-cultural contexts in studying communication. Cook’s discussion is an exploration reflecting new-wave multimodal analytical models that seek to contextually understand concepts in relation to human cognition. This 1992 work is a precursor of Cook’s ongoing non-corpus-based research into advertising language, and is an early example of the growing stream of academic interest in the social function of advertisements and the communicative character of promotional messages. Given the complex analytical task (which was relatively new at the time), he overviewed the multiple facets of advertisements.

Cook covered stylistics, linguistics and semiotics; and examined advertising language in its interactive relationship with connected entities. These entities are (other) texts, sounds/ music, pictures, people. He demonstrated how entities come together as a whole in an advertisement to communicate messages. He holistically analysed the different modes of verbal and non-verbal language (gestures, facial expressions, voice quality); and the choice of typeface and letter sizes in written advertisements. The book is organized in three sections:

1. Part I Materials – the substance (content) and surroundings (situations) of advertisements, and the roles of language and paralanguage.

2. Part II Texts – analysis and evaluation of linguistic parallelism of advertisements and literary texts (connotation, prosodic features, cohesion, pragmatics).
3. Part III People (individuals and parties in the world of advertising), which encompasses creator, sender and receiver); and the character of advertising language as a type of discourse (with a social and psychological function).

Cook (1992) emphasises salient points which inform current research in the field, namely that advertisements – in their overarching function of providing promotional literature for goods and services – reflect societal, economic and technological changes, and are an index of socio-cultural identity. Using illustrative examples, Cook analyses advertisements as a discourse type in contrast with the discourse of literary texts. He points out that the similarities between the two are, first, that both employ similar devices (such as alliteration, rhyme, wordplay) in the creative construction of text – but do so with different functions; and, second, that both are capable of carrying socio-cultural and psychological insights into human behaviour. The 2001 edition is similar in structure and content – and, again draws mainly from British sources with a clutch from the United States – but updated to include advertisements from other cultures; and explores translation and copy adaptation. Artefacts are sourced from a range of print and non-print sources, as well as billboards.

Cook's analysis of print advertisements provides a practical model for the thesis: one example is Maxwell-House-Coffee shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Maxwell-House-Coffee. Source: Cook 2001, p. 85.



Cook illustrates how pictures (which he calls ‘paralanguage’) are used with words (‘language’) to complete the advertiser message. In Maxwell-House-Coffee, the ‘photographic image merges into a stylised drawing’ where the ‘imitation of the roof by the letters is iconic’: that is, the headline – IS YOURS A MAXWELL HOUSE? – graphetically forms a rooftop gable, suggesting a house (and a coffee) which is classic; and, possibly, this introduces a prestige factor (Cook 2001, p. 85). Further, ‘Maxwell House’, the brand name, is seemingly ‘also the name of the house in the picture’: that is, the name has two interchangeable meanings. Cook suggests that through association, the coffee gains positive attributes of the house – namely ‘secure’, ‘reliable’, ‘homely’ and ‘restful’; and is ‘linked to the visual image of the roof’. Given the function of a roof to protect and warm, it signifies the qualities of warmth and protection ‘symbolically and metonymically’. Thus ‘Maxwell House comes to mean protection and warmth’.

Another example of the discourse-analysis non-corpus-based approach is Goddard’s (2015)³¹ *The Language of Advertising: Written Texts*. It examines historic artefacts, and cultural variations; and health and beauty products. Advertisements are drawn from only British sources, and the text excludes analysis of colour. It focuses on the interrelation of language, image and layout; and on advertiser–addressee discourse. Goddard offers a strategy for methodical analysis of print advertising, drawing on both linguistic and literary theory. The final chapter ‘Language on the Move’ on internet advertising phenomena usefully compares digital with print promotion. The strength of Goddard’s work lies in its conceptual clarity, and the adept way analytic aspects are brought together. Linguistic and non-lexical features are studied with emphasis on identifying patterns in relation to social context and the people (participants) involved. She focuses on the addressor–addressee relationship, exploring the idea of active engagement between parties. Her contention is that the modern print advertisement is not static and unidirectional; and she points to how advertisements function to draw in the receiver as participant in a kind of role-play scenario. The receiver is not passive, but engages with the advertisement: her argument is that advertisements are ‘forms of discourse’, which make a powerful contribution to how we construct our identities.

Goddard contends that although advertisements are ephemeral, their effects are cumulative: ‘they leave traces of themselves behind, which combine to form a body of messages about the culture that produced them’. These messages then have potential to function as reflections of cultural values, and to construct

³¹ This is a satellite text, part of a series that complements a core text by linguist Ronald Carter (2001), *Working with Text: A Core Book for Language Analysis*, published by Routledge.

values. Ideologically, advertisements represent the values of the powerful groups instrumental in producing promotional texts – and these values can become the behavioural touchstone for society at large. This aspect plays an important role in determining language choices in promotions targeted at niche markets (a point raised also by Myers 1994, 1998).

Words in Ads (1994) and *Ad Worlds: Brands, Media, Audiences* (1998) – together with the publications of Leech and of Cook – provide the conceptual and methodological foundation of the current work. Given that Myers works are frequently cited to support the practical analysis throughout, the review here is succinct. Within linguistic parameters, Myers employs a cultural-studies approach (but without overly emphasising image analysis as a primary concern). He analyses conversations, grammatical structures, direct and indirect address forms, figurative language, and wordplay; as well as the continuum of non-lexical aspects – such as intertextuality, parody and semiotic devices. Further, he provides an historical perspective of advertiser meaning-making devices over time; and provides a series of case studies of advertising campaigns. He also provides insight into the organisational structure of the world of marketing.

In the big picture of analysis and overview of industry operation, Myers contends that advertisements seek to reduce the social agency of the individual – that is, the advertiser agenda is not to compartmentalise the person within a category (for example by ethnicity or gender) – but to reduce our individuality as complex human beings, ostensibly to maximise market power of any consumable. He puts forward the idea that the advertiser is not attempting to stereotype the individual – but rather to make us ambiguous in our social self, so that we cannot be critical thinkers. Ultimately then, the individual becomes open to adopt any marketplace item. This flexibility of individual identity raises the complex question of how language is deployed to create consumer identity – and how language is linked to target market. What can be said is that identity construction is evident in the thesis dataset, and that compositionally the language directed at the male audience appears to be less emotive.

2.2.3 Cognitive linguistics

The basic tenet of cognitive linguistics is that metaphor is a matter of embodied thought, as a series of mappings – rather than a matter of linguistic form. In principle, it shares a similarity of analytical approach with discourse analysis and social semiotic approaches (discussed above) with respect to understanding language within social contexts; however, analysis of advertisements in cognitive linguistics may not draw holistically on context in correspondence to linguistic form. Further, analysis tends to focus on non-lexical aspects and

metaphor, not linguistic form. The field of cognitive linguistics gained prominence with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. However, the idea of the metaphor as tool of cognition has a much longer history. The earliest reflections on the use of metaphor as a communication device are centuries old, and have their origins in literary and creative expression (Eco 1976, 1984; Fahey 1995; Ortony 1993). These early reflections remain influential today.

The ancient philosopher Aristotle contemplated the 'relationship of metaphor to language, and the role of metaphor in communication', and 'believed metaphors to be implicit comparisons, based on the principles of analogy' (Ortony 1993, p. 3). Aristotle's view that 'Nothing is found in the intellect that was not first found in the senses' is emphasised by the rhetorician and philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), who maintained that all language has its origin in metaphor:

For Vico, *all* language, whether mute or spoken, is myth, and all myths are metaphors: signs and expressions through which human beings bring forth into the public domain mental images drawn from empirical experience.

Fahey 1995, p. 1.

Judith Williamson's *Decoding Advertisements* (1978), which appeared over a decade after Leech (1966), represents a frontier work of semiotic and ideological analysis. Williamson calls advertisements 'one of the most important cultural factors moulding and reflecting our life today' (p. 11), operating at a 'vast meta-system level' where 'values from different areas of our life are interchangeable' (p. 25). Essentially, there are four analytical principles evident in *Decoding Advertisements*. In brief, these are:

- transmission to the receiver of embedded meanings via a referent system of signs
- interpellation, which is the operation of the ideological force calling the receiver to participate
- identification or unification, which is the feeling of the receiver (when connecting emotionally or symbolically)
- social differentiation, which effects consumer-based groupings that create a social index (that is, categories of people defined by what they consume); and, conversely, a brand-identity differentiation index to establish brand exclusivity.

To explain the values-transfer dynamic of the advertisement, Williamson borrows from Saussure's dichotomous referent system. The referent (signifier)

is external to the sign and is the vehicle that carries the target meaning (which is to be associated with the product); and the signified is the internal element (source) that can be meaningfully realised once the referent is unlocked:

... the signifier of the overt meaning of the advertisement has a function of its own, a place in the process of creating another, less obvious meaning.

Williamson 1978, p. 19.

The example Williamson gives to illustrate this principle (1978, pp. 18–19) is an advertisement for car tyre sales (Figure 2.3), picturing an aerial shot of a sedan at the head of a large jetty, water swirling around – with the superimposed headline:

Goodyear G800 Supersteels

and under that is the breakout attention-getter, declared by the figure standing at the open passenger door:

‘After a 36,000 mile run-up, I hit the brakes at fifty’

Figure 2.3 Goodyear-G800-Supersteels. Source: Williamson 1978, p. 18.



The body copy is in small print under the image; and under that (flushed right) the slogan appears:

G800 Supersteels for performance’

Then, the company logo is positioned at baseline.

The principle of interchangeability (and reversal) is intrinsic to Williamson's concept of how embedded meanings are associated and relayed from the advertisement to the receiver. This principle can be applied to any pictorial advertisement: the receiver upon seeing an advertised consumable (such as the Maxwell-House-Coffee example above) may be drawn to associate the item with known values in the everyday world. In other words, the advertisement content – via a referent system – ties to pre-existing meaning/s that potentially can be understood by the receiver. However, as seen in the California prune example above from Packard (1957), the addressee may not connect with positive meanings as intended by the advertiser.

Williamson refers to this transmission of unconscious but shared codes as 'anterior knowledge' (p. 100):

The assumption of pre-existing bodies of knowledge allows reference to take the place of description ... this reference must inevitably take place on the formal level, by pointing at another *structure*, since the 'content' or substance of the reference is the product itself.

...

There is a cognitive outline in which the product is inserted: *we exchange because we know*.

Williamson 1978, p. 100.

It appears that Williamson laid the foundations of advertisement analysis as seen in cognitive linguistics today. The notions of 'referent system', 'interchangeability', 'anterior knowledge' and 'cognitive outline' are similar in meaning to terms used by cognitive linguists to explain the concepts of metaphor analysis. Charles Forceville judges Williamson's analysis as accurate, and he aligns her argument with conceptual metaphor theory (which formally emerged shortly after her 1978 publication):

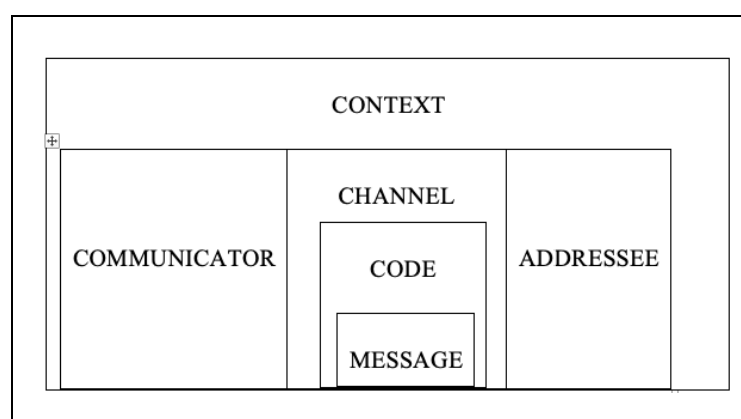
Williamson's discussion of 'referent systems' in advertising can be unproblematically rephrased in terms of metaphor. Williamson argues that advertising borrows characteristics and affective values from ready-made more or less structured domains of human experience and transposes these to the product advertised. These she terms 'referent systems' ... Examples of referent systems that Williamson discusses at length, analysing a multitude of advertisements to explain this notion are 'Nature', Science, Magic, and the world of film-star glamour.

Forceville 1996, p. 69.

Returning to Williamson's (1978, pp. 18–19) analysis of the Goodyear car tyre advertisement, her observations are comprehensive (in the holistic sense of Cook's approach nearly two decades later). She observes the inter-connectedness of the linguistic and paralinguistic elements that coalesce to create meaning in a cycle of connotation, repetition and juxtaposition. For example, the way in which the breakout attention-getter text (under the headline) draws attention to the safety performance of the tyre, and the shape of the tyre is mirrored in the rounded curve of the jetty head which represents durability and protection from the swirling waters below. Williamson (1978) provides a practical model in terms of analysing advertising as a system of referent meanings.

Forceville's (1996) *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising* is an important contribution to understanding how images operate as meaning-makers in advertisements. His analysis employs a communicative-type framework, which he attributes to both Jakobson (1960) and Leech (1974). In his adopted model (reproduced in Figure 2.4), CONTEXT is the element that underpins the other elements of COMMUNICATOR, ADDRESSEE, CHANNEL, CODE and MESSAGE. This suffices the needs of Forceville's pictorial analysis, but key terms are not clearly defined. Further, Forceville may collapse elements for theoretical discussion (for example, pp. 203-204, 'code/channel') without explaining why: it would improve reader understanding to have the traditional terminology defined to render the sense used by the writer. The sense of 'channel' is conventionally the medium (as in spoken or written); and the 'message' is mediated through the 'code' (such as words, pictures, music). Since the 1960s, the ideas of code (see Bolinger & Sears 1981) and context (see Fawcett et al. 1984) have broadened with reference to the role of culture in concept formation, and this perspective is critical in analysis of promotional literature – as evident in Forceville.

Figure 2.4 Jakobson's (1960) communication model. Source: Forceville 1996, p. 70.



Forceville's theory of pictorial metaphor is founded on Max Black's 1960s interaction theory of verbal metaphor, with insights from Sperber and Wilson's (1986) Relevance Theory; and is grounded on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) cognitive theory of metaphor (that is, metaphor as primarily a matter of concept formation based in thought rather than deriving from language forms). Forceville's chapters are sequenced as building blocks to progress from the basic defining characteristics of metaphor (as referent interaction between two different conceptual domains, one being understood in terms of the other), on to a critical review of earlier works on metaphor analysis, and of previous studies on the pictorial metaphor.

Then, based on a corpus of thirty Dutch, French, British and German advertisements and billboards, he goes on to identify metaphor, metonym and pictorial simile. He describes how these mechanisms work (by identifying relaying and anchoring actions as they function to project associated semantic properties); and he identifies metaphors found in his corpus. For example, in a billboard for a leading Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant*, the top part of an old-fashioned alarm clock is displayed – but, incongruously, a steel pen nib is substituted for the hammer. The pen nib metonymises writing, and this anchors the newspaper – calling the metaphor NIB IS HAMMER (pp. 120–21).

The connotations are relayed via a structurally non-linear 'bridge' of associated socio-cultural everyday meanings:

nib → writing → the press → *de Volkskrant* → clock
→ wake up [from your dream to reality/facts/information]
→ old-fashioned [in the positive sense of] reliability/ tradition

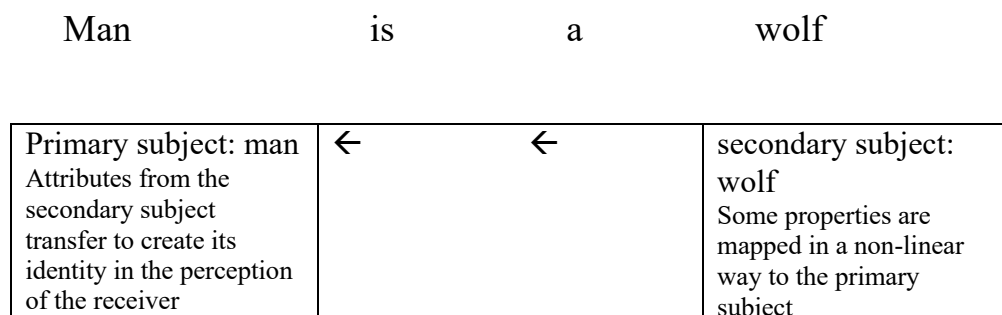
The process of cognitive relaying and anchoring represents the mapping from pen nib to evoke *de Volkskrant*. Forceville does not highlight the physical presence of the newspaper's signature branding (which is depicted in the billboard) as being critical to motivating consumer identification of the product – as his analytical focus is the metaphor.

Forceville emphasises the importance of context and the partnership of text-internal and text-external (culture-based) factors in the interpretation of pictorial metaphors. His text-external factors, in definition, bear resemblance to Williamson's (1978, p. 100) 'anterior knowledge', which endows the advertisement with meaning. He draws from Sperber and Wilson's (1986) Relevance Theory to apply and argue the principle that the receiver discriminates strong and weak aspects of a message (pp. 204–206); and he combines this with Black's interaction theory to substantiate his grounds for his theory of interpreting pictorial metaphor.

Before moving on to an evaluation of Forceville’s analysis, the principles of Black’s interaction theory (Ortony 1993, pp. 27–28), are informally stated here:

1. A metaphorical statement [an entity involving concepts] has two subjects: primary [text-internal] and secondary [text-external]. The ‘duality of reference’ is marked by the ‘contrast between the metaphorical statement’s focus [metaphorical concept] and the ‘surrounding literal frame’ [the salient word or expression].
2. The secondary subject is regarded as a system (not an individual thing)
3. The metaphor works in this way: the secondary subject contains a set of associations that project upon the primary subject.
4. The receiver draws mappable features (properties) from the secondary subject to interpret the primary subject.
5. The projection (mapping) is unidirectional from secondary subject to primary subject.

Diagrammatically, this can be represented thus, using Black’s example ‘Man is a wolf’ (Forceville 1996, p. 7):



Here, the primary subject is ‘man’, and the secondary subject is ‘wolf’. However, the secondary subject is not the wolf itself as an object or thing – but ‘wolf’ is akin to conceptual system. Here, ‘wolf’ is the metaphorical concept that projects upon ‘man’ to form an association. Clearly, the metaphoric association must be understood by the receiver in order for intended meaning to be ‘readily and freely evoked’ (Black 1979, p. 40).

An example of Forceville’s application of pictorial metaphor theory to a television commercial sponsored by the Dutch government (‘Postbus 51’) is reproduced here:

... one first sees three young tough guys, unshaven, grim-looking, in leather jackets, jeans, heavy boots – in short, three prototypical ‘hooligans’ – destroying public property. In the last shot, when they are walking away, something has changed: now all three are wearing diapers. Together with other contextual clues (such as the baby music played, and the final textual reinforcement that, translated, runs ‘Hooliganism is *so* childish’), we can conceptualise the metaphor HOOLIGANS ARE BABIES with the projected feature ‘childish behaviour’. The point is that here the second term of the metaphor, babies, is suggested after the first term.

Forceville 1996, p. 204.

There are, seemingly, two shortcomings in Forceville’s analysis of this ‘hooligans’ advertisement:

- one is a contextual reference issue, in terms of the relationship between the text-internal and text-external
- the other concerns the logical intent of the advertiser and the matter of positive and negative values.

In terms of projection, Forceville maps the diaper to ‘babies’, nicely anchored to the verbal text. He calls the metaphor HOOLIGANS ARE BABIES, tying ‘babies’ to the baby music and the attention-grabbing article of baby clothing (diaper). However, the synonymous link assumed in the analysis between ‘babies’ and ‘childish behaviour’ is questionable. The properties (attributes) of ‘baby’ and ‘child’ are not the same – while acknowledging there is a fuzziness inherent in naming the attributes of an item (see Lakoff 1973; Leech [1974] 1981). A baby has no learned nor conditioned behaviours (such as intentional property destruction); and, in terms of Relevance Theory, the strong associations with ‘baby’ are likely positive; whereas the values in the advertisement are negative.

Further, in effect Forceville separates the core article of clothing (diaper) from its wearer; and in this separation he divorces the diaper from the context (which fractures the context). Clothing and accessories are considered a cultural extension of our body (see McLuhan 1964, 2001; Williamson 1978): objects in the world connect with us and help to build our identity (Goddard 2015). Thus, it seems that Forceville breaks the premise of the Jakobson/ Leech communication model – which is context of situation. In terms of advertiser logical intent in the ‘hooligans’ commercial, it is unlikely that the advertisement is linking babies to the negative value of property destruction (which is the theme of the message).

It is likely that the diaper-wearing youths symbolise diminished social status and humiliation – properties associated with adult males in diapers. The diapers possibly are a referent for shame. The ‘hooligans’ advertiser sells the idea of deterrence by linking the negative value of property destruction via associations with immature (or ignorant) behaviour. The proposition may be the caution ‘Perpetrators of property destruction be informed this is shameful behaviour’. This proposition is derived from the diaper-wearing male adults, and interpreted in the sense of a contextual social system of meaning – not an individual symbolic thing in the form of a diaper being baby apparel. While the metaphor-based approach of Forceville is not appropriate for the thesis, it validates the application of the Jakobson/ Leech communication model as appropriate for advertisement analysis.

2.3 Theoretical aspects in advertising research

Semantics laid the foundations for describing word meanings and meaning-based relationships between sentence elements. In the 1930s – following J.R. Firth – semantics turned to the idea of studying meaning ‘in terms of situation’ (Leech ([1974] 1983). Saeed (2016) identifies the development of two broad research paradigms in semantics. The first is essentially philosophical (stemming from the works of mathematician Alfred Tarski), where ‘notions of truth and compositionality are crucial in meaning’; and the other is psychologically oriented, exploring ‘the cognitive status of processes and representations employed by speakers in communication’ (p. 153). The first is associated with Discourse Representation Theory (see Kamp 1981); and the second with lexical semantics and cognitive semantics.

Both paradigms seek to discover contextual meanings and form-meaning correlations: that is, how syntactic elements work together to create meaning. Saeed (2016) identifies three ideas central to answering this question:

The first is that the semantic content of statement can be characterized as a proposition. The second is the proposal that a speaker’s ability to understand the meaning of a statement in their language might be relatable to their ability to evaluate the truth of the associated proposition. The third is that a useful way to express propositions is by means of a formal, essentially logical notation.

Saeed 2016, p. 157.

These three ideas resonate with a pragmatics approach; however, pragmatics highlights context of situation and social settings as critical to the study of natural-language communication. Pragmatics has its genesis in the philosophy of language and semiotics (Green 2011; Leech 1983; Morris 1938), and it still contains a philosophical underpinning; however, in recent times it has found practical applications. Its topics include the following, which are in the scope of the thesis:

- ambiguity
- deixis, implicature, presupposition and propositions, drawn from Speech Act Theory (Searle 1969, 1979)
- the Cooperative Principle, namely the four Gricean maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner (Grice 1975).

The relevant literature shows that contemporary pragmatics theorists have a range of interdisciplinary research areas, including cognitive psychology (see Sperber & Wilson 1981); education (for example, Hardin 1999); and linguistics (Huang 2016; Leech 1983; Levinson 1983; Yule 2020). Within the broadband of linguistics, discernible sub-branches of pragmatics application have developed, for example, in advertising-language research (Bhatia 1992; Bouso 2012; Dafouz-Milne 2008; Hardin 1999; Simpson 2001); cross-cultural pragmatics (Wierzbicka 1991); lexical pragmatics (Allan 2012; Huang 2007, 2016; Levinson 2000); and translation studies (Setton 1997).

Leech (1983) *Principles of Pragmatics* and Levinson (1983) *Pragmatics* – two seminal works – argue the proofs of a pragmatics (functional) approach, and identify the arguable boundaries between semantics and pragmatics. Both these writers share a common ground in rejecting the ‘performative verbs’ postulate of Speech Act Theory (SAT). Leech (1983) is concerned primarily with textual and interpersonal aspects of implicature and speech acts, with emphasis on illocutionary acts and Grice’s (1975) Cooperative Principle and Politeness Principle. In contrast, Levinson (1983) – also following the ideas of Searle and of Grice – adopts a somewhat cognitive and referential pragmatics lens. His focus is conversational implicature (which, put simply, is meaning implied by a speaker and inferred by the hearer).

Leech (1983, pp. 10–12) divides pragmatics into two areas, the first of which is his research orientation:

1. The first is ‘General Pragmatics’, dealing with ‘the general conditions of the communicative use of language’ (p. 10).

2. The second is in two parts: ‘Socio-Pragmatics’, the study of ‘how language operates at a local conditions’ level ‘in different cultures or language communities, in different social situations, among different social classes’; and the like (p. 10); and ‘Pragmalinguistics’, related to the study of grammar, dealing with ‘the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying illocutions’ (p. 11).

In Chapter 5 ‘The Tact Maxim’, Leech (1983, pp. 104–130) discusses the pragmatics scales of Searle’s Illocutionary Acts and the varieties of illocutionary function. At the heart of this is the aim to establish the politeness link between the Cooperative Principle and sense–force relationship. In consideration of polite and impolite behaviour, four types of illocutionary function – namely competitive (negative value), convivial (positive value), collaborative (positive value), and conflictive (negative value) are identified and functionally linked with Searle’s Illocutionary Acts. The relevance of this chapter to the thesis is found in the idea of the Cooperative Principle; that is, how the advertising copywriter applies the nuances of everyday conversation as an effective instrument to construct credible social situations in an advertisement.

Chapter 7 ‘Communicative Grammar: an example’ (pp. 152–73) presents an argument to analyse language by working from syntax to pragmatics (that is, form to function), and concludes that ‘there are different kinds of regularities to be observed’ at each of the levels of syntax, semantics and pragmatics (p. 171). Leech states that at the semantic level, rules account for logical relations at the syntactic level; while pragmatics generalisations can be formulated to describe how the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle determine linguistic forms in relation to communicative function (p. 171). He also remarks upon pragmatics metalanguage, rejecting the notion of performative (illocutionary) verbs – which he explicates in Chapter 8. The illocutionary force of an expression, he contends, is captured not by reference to ‘such categories of offers, suggestions and statements’ but ‘in the sense of the role’ that an expression has ‘in a means-end analysis’ (p. 156). The salient point here is that analytic synthesis through pragmatics strategies reveal how syntactically similar structures may differ pragmatically in meaning.

Chapter 9 ‘Speech-act verbs in English’ (pp. 198–228) contends that there ‘is no speech-act verb in English’, but that the verbs (also called ‘action verbs’) used to describe acts – ‘one per proposition or clause’ – imply ‘a whole set of coordinated actions’ (p. 202). Leech stresses that ‘language makes fuzzy category distinctions, whereas the realities to which these categories apply are often scalar or indeterminate (p. 225). Nevertheless, despite having disputed

Searle's 1969 postulate of the speech-act verb, Leech's exposition of the Locutionary Act (LA), Illocutionary Act (IA) and Perlocutionary Act (PA) as members of the communication situation chain (p. 201) is consistent with Searle's (1979) taxonomy presented in *Expression and Meaning* (a collection of essays following his *Speech Acts* (1969)). These writings present a classification of illocutionary acts (including a critique of Austin's 1961 categories); and discussions of metaphor, and literal, referential and attributive meanings). He identifies three categories of acts in utterances:

- LA which is performing the act of saying something
S says to H that x
- IA which is performing the act in saying something
In saying x, S ASSERTS that P
- PA which is performing an act by saying something
By saying x, S CONVINCES H that P

These categories resonate with the way conversations are constructed in advertisements, however Speech Act Theory is not the framework for data analysis here. The thesis dataset requires a linguistically more holistic approach able to account for both words and pictures contextually in the advertisement ecology.

Levinson (1983) is more wide-ranging than Leech (1983) in his coverage, as he deals also with psychological and sociolinguistics matters. He devotes chapters to each of deixis, implicature, presupposition, speech acts and, finally, conversational structure. He provides at inception an evaluative showcase of the various definitions of pragmatics: this detailed discussion of definition attempts to distinguish the importance of truth-conditions in the field of semantics from, arguably, the comparable incongruity of that in pragmatics analysis. Levinson's chapters on Presupposition (pp. 167–225) and on Speech Acts (pp. 226–283) are illuminating. He identifies conversational implicature and presupposition as both being types of pragmatic inference, distinguishing presupposition as being based on linguistic structure. He distils the various discussions on presuppositional phenomena; and via what is essentially a cognitive means, he evaluates three kinds of pragmatic theory (pp. 199–225). He concludes that presupposition is only partially understood and requires further study on how semantics and pragmatics interact. His chapter on Speech Acts argues the need for a more complex pragmatics approach to understand the functions of language.

Levinson emphasises implicature as ‘one of the single most important mechanisms’ where language usage feeds back and affects language structure (p. 166). He firmly contends the significant role of presupposition in creating meaning; but he rejects ‘orthodox Speech Act Theory’, as inadequate to understand language in use. He does not, however, offer solutions to the highlighted problematic issues. While the final chapter on conversational structure is convincing, it would be stronger had he included real examples – and in fact his text does not offer any real language examples (that is, the examples are all constructed). Thus, Levinson offers a discussion of language phenomena removed from the real world, which makes it difficult to relate to the language of advertising. He does not include examples from advertisement texts: in this way Levinson does not provide practical support for the thesis.

2.4 Summarising remarks

This research is informed by a wide range of scholarly works, as indicated above and in the literature-review-in-brief (section 1.8). The thesis holds that analysis of language in real-world situations is best achieved by bringing together knowledge of grammatical system, semantics and pragmatics. Given that copywriters and graphic designers attempt to create scenarios and imagery to mirror or evoke real-world situations, the analysis relies on studying cohesive devices (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1985); and employs the communicative model of Leech ([1974] 1981), which identifies the five social language functions (Expressive, Informative, Phatic, Aesthetic and Directive).

Primarily, this research – in answer to the thesis questions – is grounded in contextual analysis that seeks to establish the conceptual links available in advertisement content, including intertextual ones. The core texts that influence the mindset of the research at hand are the works of Myer (1994, 1998) and Leech (1996). The next part of the thesis 3.0 Research Approach and Methodology presents the theoretical framework and introduces the data source (namely the press dataset from the Trove digital archive). It also provides an historical context and preliminary data analysis.

3.0 Research Approach and Methodology

The theoretical framework is pragmatically oriented. As clarified earlier, it derives from two related sources of linguistic theory: that is, the communicative model of Leech ([1974] 1981), which identifies the five social language functions (Expressive, Informational, Phatic, Aesthetic, Directive); and the idea of cohesion in English (Halliday & Hasan 1976).

The following discussion is structured thus:

- research aim and scope (3.1)
- theoretical underpinnings of the analysis (3.2)
- sourcing of appropriate research data, analytic process, and research direction (3.3).

3.1 Research aim and scope

The thesis, within a specified timeframe, surveys the internal constructions of Australian print advertisement texts to describe what the language is like, and how promotional language has developed and changed over time. Three questions, as already mentioned, guide the research:

- What are the meaning-making devices?
- How are these devices configured to create intended meanings?
- How do advertisements change over time?

This work, in its 150-year timeframe, broadly explores how meaning-making elements are employed in promotional material to relay messages to the public. The focus of the study is to discover how language is used to communicate consumer benefits for commercial gain of the advertiser. The investigative timespan covers the transition from an early 1800s variety of English to the form recognised today as Australian English, within scenarios of demographic, economic and linguistic expansion. The development of language then, in its practical function, is inseparable from its human environment. Accordingly – while the dataset is a corpus of advertisements – the greater press context of news reporting, letters to the Editor, opinion pieces, reporting of socio-economic and legislative systems, and government edicts inform the discussion. This pragmatic mindset lends semantic value in the process of evaluating the possible meanings as intended by advertisers.

Fundamental to the research approach are concepts from Leech (1966, 1981, 1983), Cook [1992] 2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d), and Myers (1990,

1994, 1998) – as earlier stated. Functionally, advertisements incorporate themes and socio-cultural settings as communication instruments to engage target audiences: thus, the ideas of context of situation and real-world settings provide an appropriate analytic foundation to discover rhetorical formulae. As mentioned (in 1.2.2.1), a range of meaning-making cohesive devices are available as persuasive devices in language production: the thesis holds that the three most valuable ones to the modern copywriter are thematic information, presupposition and implicature (de Silva 2018, 2020). The thesis uncovers how advertising communication deploys linguistic elements and non-linguistic helpers, and tracks the development of promotional language over the decades.

The cornerstones of advertiser ambition are Attention Value, Memorability, Readability and Selling Power (Leech 1966) – as already raised in 1.0 Thesis Overview. The thesis will show how these four virtual pillars, operating as the foundation of advertising language, draw on the natural world to achieve receiver engagement via a network of meaning-maker devices. By way of an evidence-based methodology, illustrative practical examples, and a set of investigative studies, the thesis points out the instruments employed to make advertiser meanings and how they work together, and how advertisements change over time. The sub-section below outlines the components of the Leech communicative model (3.2.1) and the five social functions of language (3.2.2), and the pragmatics elements most useful to the advertising copywriter (3.2.3).

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 The Leech communicative model

The Leech ([1974] 1981) communicative model accounts for the workflow cycle of natural-language communication. This model is used also by Forceville (1996) and Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001) in their analysis of advertisements. Five components function as the mandatory facilitators of information flow (see Figure 3.1):

- the ADDRESSOR
- the MESSAGE (or code)
- the CHANNEL (or medium)
- the REALITY OF SUBJECT MATTER (information)
- the AUDIENCE (addressee, receiver, consumer).

The five components can be called vector transition points of the information flow that permit message creation, happening in contexts of situation. In other words, a message in its meaning-making communication journey is a traveller passing through figurative gateways and vestibules where meanings can be realised. The available meanings are variously derived from beliefs,

knowledge, ignorance, scepticism, suspicion and trust. In this way, the ecology of the addressor–addressee environment is dynamic, and inferential outcomes may be unpredictable. It cannot be assured that intended meanings are the ones that will be realised by the target audience in the context of situation – that is, the proposition as desired by the addressor may not reach the receiver.

Figure 3.1 Language communication model: components – modified from Leech [1974] 1981, p. 42.

CONTEXT OF SITUATION		
	CHANNEL (medium) Written/ Spoken/ Digital	
ADDRESSOR Speaker/ Writer Advertiser Metaphorical Being Product/ Service/ Idea	MESSAGE mediated through the codes of advertising language – such as words, pictures, music, sound, typography, ellipsis, prosody, gaze, stance	AUDIENCE Receiver Addressee Consumer
	REALITY OF SUBJECT-MATTER Information about the Product/ Service Event or Idea	
CONTEXT OF SITUATION		

In advertising language, extensions of scope are seen to occur in relation to the components of the communicative model:

- The addressor may be the advertised item speaking, be imaginary, be adult or infant, or be metaphorical. Further, the addressee may picture themselves as protagonist. In this way, the copywriter exploits the addressor and addressee components to become meaning-making devices with flexibility to form a continuum of social relationships.
- The message is mediated via the code, which is the range of signs that may be employed to communicate meanings. Signs may be words; or non-lexical – like pictures, music, sounds, typography, ellipsis, prosody, gaze, stance.
- The idea of ‘reality of subject matter’ extends beyond evidence-based recognised facts. Advertiser information

about the subject matter (namely the consumable) may be overt or covert; and item attributes may be implied without truth verification. Subject-matter information may simultaneously embed both a truth and unverifiable claims.

The five components of language communication (shown in Figure 3.1) are useful to the copywriter as a workflow production line to embed the five social functions of language (see Figure 3.2 below). In other words, the social functions of language permit advertisement content to materialise as meaningful within the real-world information flow of the context-of-situation communicative infrastructure. Thus, as will be seen in the practical examples of the thesis, the meaning-making elements of advertisements are discoverable by investigating the functional roles of linguistic forms and symbolic references to show a set of correspondences between functions and pragmatics elements.

3.2.2 Social functions of language

Social settings are an essential underpinning of advertisement message creation. Advertiser intended meanings are executed via the advertisement channel (medium) – which may be written, spoken, or digital (facilitated by electronic technology). The modern advertiser's 'reality of subject matter' is a construct of social contexts that mimic everyday real-life experiences. These staged re-enactments are enabled by the five social functions of language, namely the Expressive, Informative, Directive, Phatic, and Aesthetic functions – which allow messages to be communicated meaningfully. Put simply, advertising copywriters use the information flow phenomena of natural-language settings to recreate everyday life in advertisement composition, and in this way intended messages are available to addressees.

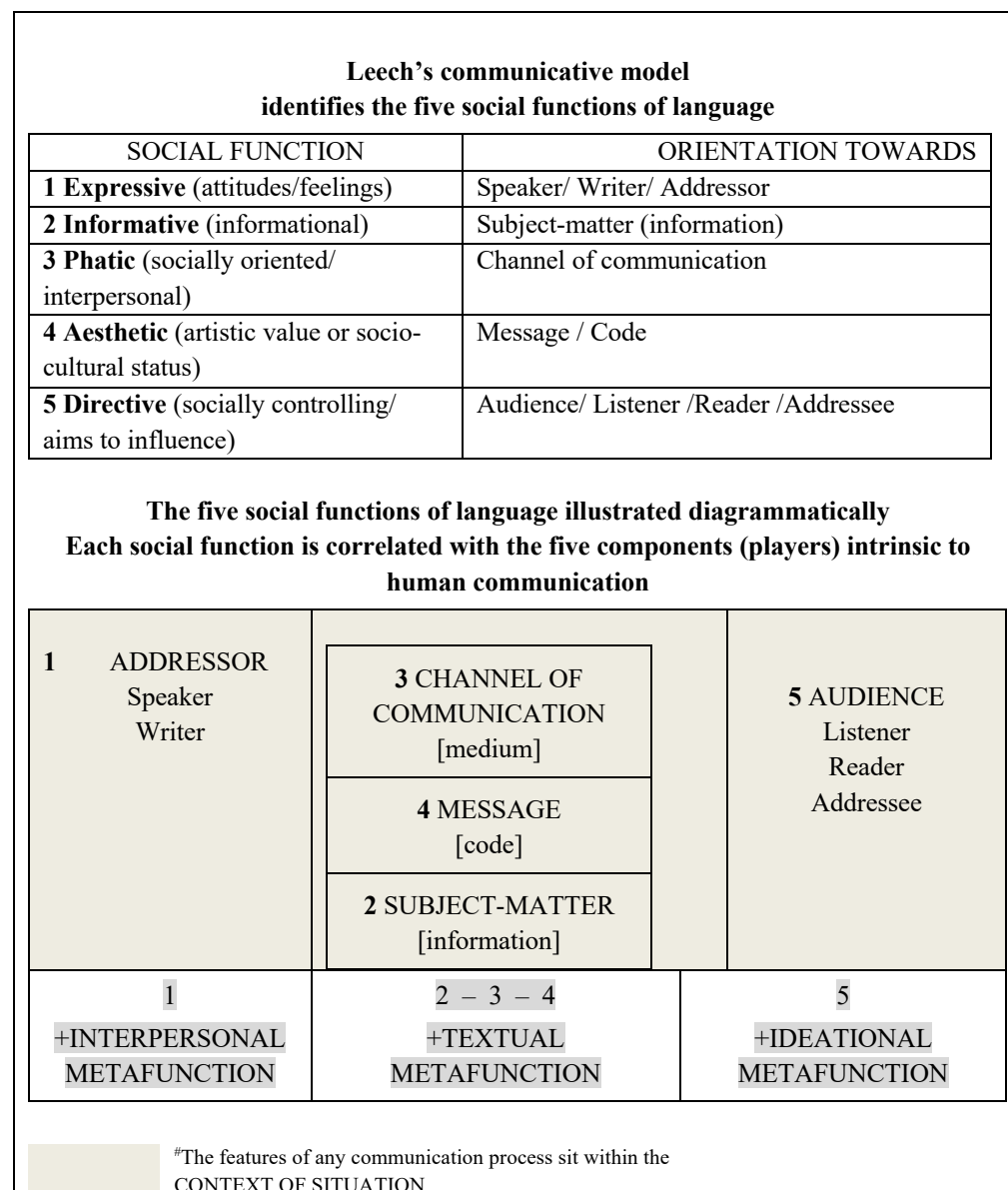
Figure 3.2 (overleaf) represents the communication process of the advertisement. It identifies the five social functions of language:

1. the Expressive function relays the advertiser stance (that is, attitudes and feelings of the addressor)
2. the Informative relays the message, both what is known and new information
3. the Directive is socially controlling and aims to influence attitude or behaviour of the receiver
4. the Phatic function is socially oriented, and aims to keep open the interpersonal lines of communication
5. the Aesthetic function is focused on the artistic, and socio-cultural value or status.

The five social functions are numbered in Figure 3.2 to correspond with the five components of the communication process. The numbering helps to conceptualise the way in which the copywriter uses language to render the advertisement meaningful and familiar to the receiver. In the communication process, there is a correlation also between social functions and the three language metafunctions.

Figure 3.2 The five* social functions of language in the communicative model.

- *The five social functions are numbered to correspond to the components of the communication process.
- + The three language metafunctions, to indicate semantic and pragmatic correlation with the components of the communicative model, are integrated in this diagram.
- #The shading indicates that any communication occurs within context of situation (which adds to pragmatic enrichment).



Following Halliday and Hasan (1976, pp. 36–37):

- INTERPERSONAL The interpersonal component is concerned with the addressor's 'angle' ... 'attitudes and judgements' and ... 'encoding of the role relationships of the situation' ... and 'motive'.
- TEXTUAL The textual component incorporates 'patterns of meaning' realised in the information structure, organising units of information into given (theme) information and new information, and enables cohesion of elements that make the message meaningful
- IDEATIONAL The ideational component is concerned with 'the expression of content', and what that content means socio-culturally, within the experience of the receiver.

In Figure 3.2, the three language metafunctions are integrated to indicate semantic and pragmatic correlation with the components of the communication model. As mentioned in section 1.6, the three language metafunctions are realised simultaneously in a text. Broadly speaking, in terms of correlation between the components of the communication model and the metafunctions (indicated in Figure 3.2):

- the interpersonal relates to the addressee
- the textual relates to medium, message and subject matter
- the ideational relates to what the content means to the individual receiver.

The ideational – as the interpretative face available to the receiver – is the target of the advertising copywriter. In the creation of advertisement content, the interpersonal and the textual functions are the formative drivers of the ideational. The advertiser key to contrive intended meanings is to skilfully integrate pragmatics elements into the advertisement message at the interpersonal and textual faces. It should be noted that the ideational is within the scope of the thesis to acknowledge the realm of advertiser intended meanings, but receiver interpretations are not evaluated.

3.2.3 Focus on pragmatics elements

Earlier in the thesis (in 1.0), five concepts relevant to press-advertisement research were introduced:

- the architecture of advertising language (1.4.1)
- disjunctive grammatical structures (1.4.2)
- context of situation (1.4.3)
- intertextuality (1.4.4)
- pragmatics elements (1.4.5).

These concepts point to the marketplace as a competitive site of traders determined to win over the population, and to build and maintain a consumer following. The winners are those who successfully imbue their offerings with positive attributes that survive the test of time. A pragmatically orientated investigatory platform allows exposition of how multiple meanings, as intended by the advertiser, can be created and facilitated by engaging the different settings of human exchange. Meanings may be either denoted or connoted, and are derivable from the overt expressions and the social situations created in the advertisement. To systematically investigate how pragmatics devices are networked to deliver intended meanings, the thesis employs a three-way system of theme, presupposition and implicature (see Figure 3.3). These cohesive devices are explained as follows:

- presupposition is something assumed to be true, but may be unverifiable
- theme is shared knowledge, something known and verifiable
- implicature is the connotative element (hidden meaning), which if inferred as intended presents benefits available to the addressee.

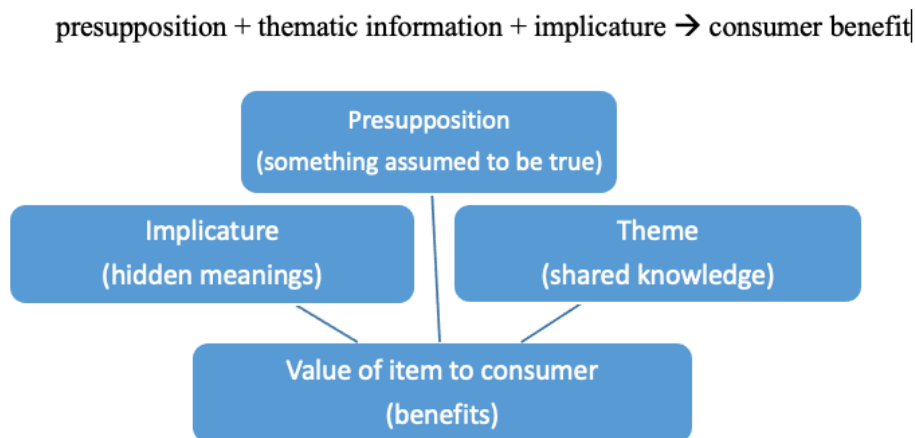
This trifecta of pragmatics elements segues to the value of the item on sale – which in effect is the advertiser proposition: ‘Buy this and you will get these benefits!’ Thematic information is essential to bring over (persuade) the receiver that there is something authentic about the offer – given that the theme operates to establish social reality in the advertisement ecology. The value of the consumable is the benefit, which purportedly will satisfy a need or desire, or provide a problem-solving solution. The thesis puts forward the idea that this bundle of three pragmatics elements operates to cache meanings in a balance of presupposition (something assumed); thematic information (shared knowledge); and implicature (hidden meanings):

presupposition + thematic information + implicature → consumer benefit

This three-way system explains how socially constructed meanings cooperate to deliver the advertiser’s proposition (which expresses the consumer benefit/s): that is, the Selling Power of an advertisement is moderated by a strategic combination of theme, presupposition and implicature in a controlled

environment organised on a principle of cohesion. This is part of the taxonomic scheme of analysis in the thesis, and answers the question of how meaning-making devices work together to deliver meanings.

Figure 3.3 Advertisement structure: hidden meanings segue to the potential consumer benefit.



The thesis argues that advertiser primary meanings are recoverable exclusively from attention-getters (words and non-lexical items) that aptly generate persuasive propositions: additional meanings are frequently available in narrative blocks (often telling a story, as will be seen). By way of practical examples, the investigation at hand shows how devices are configured as a three-way system to generate advertiser meanings. This mechanic, called collateral bundling (de Silva 2018), demonstrates how devices network to create the advertiser proposition in a flux of connoted and denoted meanings. The following discussion explicates the natural-language dualism of denoted and connoted meanings (3.2.3.1), and two advertisements are analysed as illustrative examples (3.2.3.2 and 3.2.3.3).

3.2.3.1 Denotation and connotation

Words and images alike can simultaneously possess multiple meanings at the levels of denotation (the surface or dictionary meaning); and connotation (the underlying ‘hidden’ or implicit meanings potentially available). These are defined as follows:

- the idea of known information relates to denotative meaning, usually indisputable, containing truth value (such as a human physical condition like perspiration, or the notion of an edible nut as nutritious)

- connotation, however, is frequently culture-specific (for example, the ‘Laughing Buddha’ icon³² – which pictures a smiling fat man with protruding stomach – is a symbol of happiness in Chinese culture); or is a matter of social perception related to norms and expected behaviours (such as the roles of ‘husband’ or ‘wife’).

Two practical examples below illustrate denoted and connoted meanings in advertisements, and expound the principle of collateral bundling. The first is a contemporary advertisement for baby apparel The-Baby-Shop; and the second draws on the lifestyle advertisement for John Gould’s Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851 (Figure 1.5 earlier, which explained the concept of context of situation). The first demonstrates that the idea of collateral bundling can be applied today; the second provides historical authentication of the claim that collateral bundling is a fixture of press advertising.

3.2.3.2 Pragmatics elements: The-Baby-Shop-2016 practical example

Advertisements use denotative meanings along with connotative associations in context of situation. Yule (2020, pp. 150–51) illustrates this by way of interpreting the ‘invisible’ meanings of a pictorial advertisement, which employs a grammatical fragment (NP) as headline:

BABY & TODDLER SALE

The headline is skirted by a mural-like cartoon of four infants dressed in various attire: a horizontal line is evident at base, behind the cartoon. This words-plus-image content is the advertisement text. The headline and the picture function as attention-getters, with SALE highlighted as the standout element. The word ‘clothes’ is absent, but the viewer in a modern consumer society – seeing the NP and the picture – can infer that the advertiser is offering infant apparel (not babies and toddlers) for sale. In interpretation, the reader can work out the advertiser intended meanings. This example suggests that advertiser intended meanings:

- can be cached in both words and pictures
- can be communicated via grammatical fragments and pictures that cooperate to form a meaningful text
- can be embedded in attention-getters in the absence of narrative text.

³² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hotei>

Similarly, in the advertisement below, in Figure 3.4 The-Baby-Shop-2016, there is a picture, and words – namely, two NPs in apposition (headline and catchline):

NP (headline) THE BABY SHOP
NP (catchline) NEWBORN TO 24 MONTHS

Figure 3.4 The-Baby-Shop-2016. Source: shop.nordstrom.com/c/baby. Accessed 25 May 2016.



The message relayed appears to be:

The Baby Shop is offering clothing for newborns to age 24 months.

The receiver knows the commodity is clothing. The idea of clothing is the thematic information – that is, something existing in the world (a verifiable truth). There are, however, connotations inferable from the words-and-picture combination. Advertisements communicate via meanings coded in linguistic and non-lexical elements to create a promotional text. Here, The-Baby-Shop proposes (puts the idea forward) that baby clothes are available for purchase. An offer to sell is couched via the NPs in apposition, and promoted with an image of a smiling toddler safely seated in a baby chair – pictorially suggesting feelings of satisfaction, comfort and happiness. Thus, the addressee may infer that the consumer item offers more than the physical product – and additionally associates the advertised item with favourable properties (Myers 1994, p. 20). The favourable properties are unverifiable; however, if advertiser intended meanings are inferred, then the advertiser proposition is relayed.

The tie between presupposition and implicature resides in the interpersonal function implicit in the smiling baby image – which represents any of the deitic *my* baby, *our* baby, *your* baby, *their* baby – and therefore appeals to any person

wishing to purchase baby clothing (either for their own child or as a gift). As will be illustrated, a cohesive connection between presupposition and implicature is a critical mechanic of advertisements; and relay of the new information (about the item) to the receiver relies on the effectiveness of the tie. In The-Baby-Shop (Figure 3.4), the smiling baby image (a non-lexical element) is critical in the creation of the proposition – given below with the summary analysis:

Summary analysis: The-Baby-Shop-2016

Thematic information + Presupposition + Implicature → Proposition

<i>Theme</i>	Clothing
<i>Presupposition</i>	Babies and toddlers need clothes
<i>Implicature</i>	Clothing determines comfort, happiness and security
<i>Proposition</i>	The Baby Shop has baby and toddler clothing that brings comfort, joy and safety! So, buy this benefit!

Understanding the advertisement proposition lies in accurately inferring intended meanings in the given context – a psychological process (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Sperber & Wilson 1995). Psychological processing is one approach to advertisement analysis, and is not ignored here; but this work takes its analytical gauge from Leech (1963, 1966, 1981 [1974], 1983) and the idea of cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976). The thesis holistically investigates the advertiser message-creation process, where every part of the creative design is intended to communicate meanings that advantage the seller. For example, in The-Baby-Shop example (Figure 3.4), a harness-like pair of straps is visible on the seated toddler. Thus, a harness safety feature, associated thematically with security, can be linked with the brand; and, if so, this imbues the product with a positive quality (namely ‘safe for baby’). Holistically, The-Baby-Shop can be interpreted as follows:

- the communication offers clothing items physically suitable for infants and toddlers (denotative value – factually true, most likely will be understood by the receiver)
- the language implies that the items are comfortable, will satisfy the wearer, and be safe (connotative value – which may not be understood by the receiver).

This example serves to illustrate that, in advertisement research, linguistics crosses borders with semiotics (the language of signs) – bringing to textual analysis the recognition that contextual interpretation of pictures and culturally

specific symbols should be considered in the venture of understanding how advertisement work (Goddard 2015; Goffman 1976; Kovecses 2010; Tanaka 1994; Williamson 1978).

3.2.3.3 Pragmatics elements: Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851 practical example

Returning now to the Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851 lifestyle artefact discussed earlier (Figure 1.5), thematic information, presupposition and implicature are summarised below to show how they are used to make meanings. Advertisements such as this from the settlement era are evidence of a society transforming into a marketplace that differentiates people by their income and status. This example shows how words are used to create social identity.

Summary analysis: Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851

Thematic information + Presupposition + Implicature → Proposition

<i>Theme</i>	Animal world
<i>Presupposition</i>	Gifts are needed
<i>Implicature</i>	The gift-boxed birds and shells are a symbol of wealth and position in the penal colony
<i>Proposition</i>	Objects are available that can be offered as gifts, and signify high social status! So, buy this!

The two practical examples of The-Baby-Shop-2016 and Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851 illustrated the idea of the three-way system of collateral bundling that delivers persuasive propositions (de Silva 2018). This principle is applied later to analyse a collection of health-and-beauty products (in 5.0 Investigative Studies).

3.3 Data source, data sample and dataset

This section 3.3 provides information on the data source, the data sample and the target language of the research: these considerations govern the research foci. Given the 150-year timeframe and the virtual universe of advertisements available for study, there are several research possibilities and investigative angles in advertising-language research. The thesis seeks to explore new ground from a linguistic perspective, with intent to extend current knowledge in the greater field. This aim is achieved by the innovative research approach of

the thesis, and by drawing on findings already available. As a first step, a broad literature review established the cross-disciplinary seminal works and the spectrum of research approaches (as reported in 2.0). Then an exploratory sweep of the data source was executed (reported below), which facilitated to hone investigative foci. In turn, this permitted a set of discoveries, and led to identification of areas for further study – as will be seen.

This section shows how a methodical approach and in-depth survey enable answering the research questions. The following criteria underpin the decision-making of the research process and artefact selection:

- that the research artefacts are varied to dispel notions of bias, and yet are classifiable into categories to allow comparative evaluation of meaning-making behaviour
- that the artefacts are quantitatively capable of providing adequate information to make descriptive statements about patterns of meaning-making within categories
- that the timeframe of the research artefacts is adequately extensive to provide information about change over time
- that discovery statements are made taking into consideration the socio-economic context of advertising; that is, the study at hand includes material other than advertisements (such as news reports, opinion pieces and letters to the Editor).

The advertisements, given their historical and cultural value, are frequently referred to here as artefacts; and labelled with their date of publication. Artefacts are transcribed as necessary – bearing in mind that, overarchingly, the attention-getters are the investigative focus. Other material taken from the data source (such as a letter to the Editor) is tagged with year of publication to pinpoint chronological position in the dataset. Given the contextual basis of the research approach, a mandatory investigative principle to explore the greater content of the data source – that is, the investigation is not limited to advertising by a seller. In this way, the thesis delivers a pragmatically oriented report of advertising language within the 1800s–1950s timeframe.

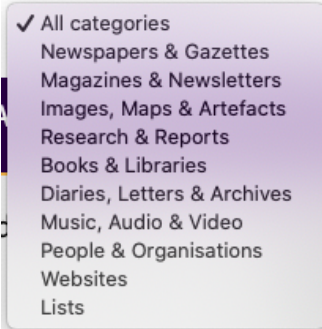
3.3.1 Data source 1803–1957: Trove Newspapers and Gazettes

Digital copies of press publications Australia-wide are available as downloadable PDFs from the Trove database:³³ these date from the earliest days of colonisation. Copyright legislation prohibits digitisation of papers published after 1955 unless permission is obtained from the publisher: thus,

³³ National Library of Australia, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/>

searches that extend beyond 1955 are unlikely to yield results as desired. The archive does however serve the advertisement-research timeframe of the thesis. Trove affords some 24 million newspaper pages, and over 2 million from gazettes, making it a vast information resource. Searches may be conducted by selecting categories and filtered by place, title, date range and illustration type³⁴ (see Figure 3.5). A search outcome is triggered by a keyword or phrase (for example, ‘medicine chest’, used for the illustrative purpose of Figure 3.5) entered into the online search cell. The search outcome delivers results arranged by relevance, which can be reordered to output by date – as ‘earliest’ or ‘latest’ – via a ‘Sort by’ toggle key.

Figure 3.5 The Trove database: categories and search options. Source: trove.nla.com.au. Accessed 11 August 2020.

<p><i>Trove database categories</i></p>  <p>✓ All categories Newspapers & Gazettes Magazines & Newsletters Images, Maps & Artefacts Research & Reports Books & Libraries Diaries, Letters & Archives Music, Audio & Video People & Organisations Websites Lists</p>	<p><i>Search by place</i></p> <p>Place</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Victoria (364k) <input type="checkbox"/> New South Wales (351k) <input type="checkbox"/> Queensland (182k) <input type="checkbox"/> South Australia (142k) <input type="checkbox"/> Western Australia (75k) <input type="checkbox"/> Tasmania (68k) <p>Show more ▾</p>	<p><i>Search by title</i></p> <p>Title</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> The Telegraph (Brisban... (30k) <input type="checkbox"/> The Age (Melbourne, Vi... (29k) <input type="checkbox"/> The Sydney Morning Her... (29k) <input type="checkbox"/> Mount Alexander Mail (... (26k) <input type="checkbox"/> Morning Bulletin (Rock... (25k) <input type="checkbox"/> Bendigo Advertiser (Vi... (23k) <p>Show more ▾</p>
<p><i>Search by category</i></p> <p>Category</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising (1m) <input type="checkbox"/> Article (107k) <input type="checkbox"/> Detailed Lists, Results, Guides (4k) <input type="checkbox"/> Family Notices (691) <input type="checkbox"/> Literature (407) <input type="checkbox"/> Government Gazette Notices (305) <p>Show more ▾</p>	<p><i>Search by date range</i></p> <p>Date range</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> 2010-2019 (6) <input type="checkbox"/> 2000-2009 (58) <input type="checkbox"/> 1990-1999 (334) <input type="checkbox"/> 1980-1989 (542) <input type="checkbox"/> 1970-1979 (548) <input type="checkbox"/> 1960-1969 (557) <p>Show more ▾</p>	<p><i>Search by illustration type</i></p> <p>Illustration Type</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Illustration (5k) <input type="checkbox"/> Photo (3k) <input type="checkbox"/> Cartoon (211) <input type="checkbox"/> Map (52) <input type="checkbox"/> Graph (15) <input type="checkbox"/> Cartoons (3) <p>Show more ▾</p>

³⁴ Another search option in Trove is by word count.

To linguistically narrow search results, the Advanced Search option permits specifics (like a collocation) to be mined, and limits results quantitatively: for example, a search for ‘medicine chest’ as compound noun yields 75,000 items – while the unfiltered output exceeds 1 million (including ‘medicine’ and ‘chest’ as lone nouns, and ‘chest medicine’). The Trove date range option permits chronological overview of usage by number: for example, ‘medicine chest’ in an unfiltered search is evident six times in the years 2010–2019 but 548 times in the years 1970–1979. Accessing the ‘Search more’ option for unfiltered results of ‘medicine chest’ in the date range menu showed that usage peaked in the decade 1900–1909 (at 288 million items, see Figure 3.6). More accurately, the compound-noun filter when applied showed use of ‘medicine chest’ peaked in the period 1910–1929. Unfiltered data is useful to the current work for the reason that it includes the greater set of information (such as editorial commentary and news articles); thus reflecting usage across the dataset. The thesis draws on both unfiltered searches, and filter options to mine specifics.

The Trove site capability to refine search output permits customisation to access particular sets of data (see Figure 3.6). As an example, a search for ‘medicine chest’ can be customised by date range; and by selecting either ‘Advertising’ or ‘Classified Advertisements and Notices’, which are distinguished by word count (the latter category being limited to approximately 1000 words). The Advanced Search option is capable to determine the history of a lexical item. Taking ‘medicine chest’ as a compound noun, and using search options to access individual artefacts, the dataset shows that medicine chests were available in colonial Australia by 1804 for purchase by both the health provider (apothecary or doctor) and the family or individual. Further, it can be seen that healing via the medicine chest was a way of life into the 1900s. Also, there is indication that women were responsible for health matters in the home: an example of this is the occurrence of the phrase ‘mother’s medicine box’ in the dataset. Further, an article of 1900 penned by a ‘trained nurse’ advised that ‘a mother should keep within easy reach a store of simple remedies’ as this could mean ‘saving a child’s life’.³⁵

³⁵ ‘The Mother’s Medicine Box’, *The Dawn*, 1 January 1900, p. 17.

Figure 3.6 Trove search results for ‘medicine chest’. Source: trove.nla.com.au. Accessed 11 August 2020.

<i>‘medicine chest’ search unfiltered search</i>	<i>‘medicine chest’ search filtered by ‘Advertising’</i>	<i>‘medicine chest’ search filtered by ‘Classified Advertisements and Notices’</i>	<i>‘medicine chest’ search as compound noun</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> 1950-1959 (11k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1950-1959 (9k)		<input type="checkbox"/> 1990-1999 (28)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1940-1949 (31k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1940-1949 (27k)		<input type="checkbox"/> 1980-1989 (68)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1930-1939 (41k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1930-1939 (33k)		<input type="checkbox"/> 1970-1979 (86)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1920-1929 (65k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1920-1929 (58k)		<input type="checkbox"/> 1960-1969 (148)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1910-1919 (197k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1910-1919 (180k)		<input type="checkbox"/> 1950-1959 (2k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-1909 (288k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-1909 (261k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1930-1939 (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1940-1949 (6k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1890-1899 (208k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1890-1899 (181k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1910-1919 (7)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1930-1939 (7k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1880-1889 (160k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1880-1889 (152k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-1909 (9)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1920-1929 (10k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1870-1879 (93k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1870-1879 (89k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1890-1899 (7)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1910-1919 (8k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1860-1869 (59k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1860-1869 (56k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1880-1889 (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-1909 (9k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1850-1859 (22k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1850-1859 (21k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1870-1879 (6)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1890-1899 (4k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1840-1849 (6k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1840-1849 (5k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1860-1869 (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1880-1889 (8k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1830-1839 (3k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1830-1839 (2k)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1840-1849 (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1870-1879 (9k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1820-1829 (612)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1820-1829 (554)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1830-1839 (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1860-1869 (5k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1810-1819 (57)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1810-1819 (55)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1820-1829 (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1850-1859 (3k)
<input type="checkbox"/> 1800-1809 (6)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1800-1809 (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1810-1819 (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1840-1849 (2k)
			<input type="checkbox"/> 1830-1839 (851)
			<input type="checkbox"/> 1820-1829 (271)
			<input type="checkbox"/> 1810-1819 (11)
			<input type="checkbox"/> 1800-1809 (4)

In comparing the four sets of Trove search results for ‘medicine chest’ shown in Figure 3.6, what can be seen is that usage peaked in the early 1900s. This suggests that any kind of search results – either filtered or unfiltered – can reliably point to linguistic usage data for study. This data is able to broadly inform on the entry of a term, and its exit, whether in advertising or in other kinds of material. Accordingly, the search tool in Trove is used in the thesis to discover the life history of terms of interest – such as, for example, ‘elixir’; or brand names like ‘Dr Williams Pink Pills for Pale People’ (a patent medicine that appeared in the 1880s). The unfiltered keyword search is valuable in that it produces the spectrum of publications for investigation – including for example, letters to the Editor and extracts reproduced from scholarly journals. The greater scope of press content informs on the social attitudes and beliefs of a varied population, not limited to the journalist and advertiser – for example a search of ‘female weakness’ brings up content from both the medical profession as well as the patent-medicine advertiser, and in this way explains how the meanings of ‘female weakness’ available from medical reporting in the press usefully assist the advertiser to promote purported curatives to

remedy this and a range of ailments (as will be seen in 5.0 Investigative Studies).

A limitation of the Trove database should be noted: both the automated translator and the human may introduce misspellings and classification mistakes (such as to tag an advertorial as ‘news article’ or an advertiser testimonial as ‘letter’). There also is a margin of error in the transcription from print to the digitised versions available. Further, the same press item may appear multiple times in a search result: this is unsurprising, given the multitude of press publications – that is, the hundreds of newspapers across regions reproduced the same content from a particular source. Therefore, the statistics available from searches may be misleading. In other words, statistical reporting may not be an accurate reflection of the dataset, and should not be relied on as a research finding in language-based research – but rather as mere profiling that assists in the research task – especially in historical and linguistic studies, where etymology, lexical variation and spelling change are important factors in keyword and filtered searches. Filtered searches may exclude important linguistic information.

3.3.2 Data sample and dataset

As earlier indicated, the primary sources of the thesis dataset are:

- *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (1803–1842)
- *The Argus* (1846–1957), titled *The Melbourne Argus* in the years 1846–1848.

Two limitations of these periodicals should be addressed: one is the continuity gap between the two of 1843 to 1845, and the other is that these are both conservative voices in the press. These problems are satisfied by including a range of other press sources. *The Australian*, with its publication span of 1824–1848 fills the continuity gap; and a host of regional newspapers available in the Trove archive provide supplementary information.

A data sample activity was conducted at inception to get a ‘taster’ of what the print dataset is like, and what it may offer in terms of answering the research questions. Getting to know the character of press resources was the first step toward making appropriate choices to enable a credible research outcome. Given the 111-year continuous publication record of *The Argus*, this newspaper was selected for overview. From Trove, 12 issues were downloaded – at the random date of 26 September – one from every decade of *The Argus* lifespan to 1956; and, additionally, the final edition of 19 January 1957. Where no

publication is available on the search date, the closest date before or after was chosen. In 1848, only one September issue (15 September) appears in Trove. Earliest issues were of 4-page extent, and some contained few selling notices. On investigation of the 12 issues, some offered a poor yield of advertisements for consumables. A second date of 25 January was selected for each decade from 1850, adding 10 issues to the preliminary overview collection. The appraisal at inception entailed a visual sweep of every page of each periodical selected for examination, and recordkeeping by decade.

The recordkeeping involved printing of *Argus* issues, and observational notetaking annotated by date and page number. Individual hard copies were filed (each in a plastic sleeve, with a hand-annotated observational cover note) in ring-binder folders labelled by decade, and artefact screenshots filed by greater category (like ‘female pills’, ‘lifestyle’ or ‘soap’) and by individual name and date (like ‘Brazilian-Pebble-Spectacles-1870’). This system was effected across the 150-year thesis timeframe.

In the overview task, these identification principles guided the examination:

- consumables by category
- categories that manifest as prolific
- advertiser meaning-making devices
- categories that appear to use multiple devices
- change over time.

The preliminary overview suggested that the following categories, being consistent over time and quantitatively significant, would be ideal for close study:

- Tea
- Careers
- Health-related and Beauty.³⁶

Accordingly, these categories structure the organisation of the Investigative Studies (in 5.0). Following the preliminary overview of the initial 22 *Argus* issues, a further set was downloaded from the *Argus* archive, again on the date of 26 September, to make a thesis repository of at least one issue from every year of the digital *Argus*. Additionally, 10 issues from the weekly *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* were investigated on the dates of 19 January and 26 July, at 10-year intervals from 1804. Further, the Trove archive was searched to source regional publications to support keyword searches. Some 270 periodicals constitute the data source of the thesis.

³⁶ While clothing and accessories also are appropriate categories, the limitation of the thesis length and turnaround time restrict investigative scope.

The preliminary overview was instrumental in determining the categories for analysis; and it also raised the possibility that linguistic register and grammatical mood (interrogatives, imperatives and declaratives) play a role in market segmentation. As already mentioned, the standout elements, both linguistic and non-lexical, present as primary carriers of advertiser meanings. These considerations underpin the direction of the study.

3.3.3 Direction of the study

The language target, as already mentioned, is attention-getters – namely headlines, catchlines, breakout text, and non-lexical eye-catching features. On the linguistic plane, attention-getters may be either full sentences or grammatical fragments. The disjunctive language of advertising copy, identified by Leech (1966), is a feature of natural language, corresponding with what is called block language (Quirk et al. 1985). This is a phenomenon of phrases and sentence fragments that violate the rules of grammar (omitting main verb for example). In conjunction with other elements – such as typography, pictures and punctuation – disjunctive language is effective in advertising message communication. Given that the relevant literature is largely oriented to the view that advertising discourse is ‘loaded language’ and that it ‘aims to change the will, opinions, or attitudes of its audience’ (Leech 1966, p. 26), the question arises as to whether grammatical fragments are more powerful ‘bricks’ to build the advertiser’s case.

The data analysis is organised in the following two parts of the thesis, namely 4.0 Research Dataset: Historical Context and Preliminary Analysis; and 5.0 Investigative Studies, which comprise four category-based forays:

- Study One: Careers analyses individual features of grammar, lexis and pictorial elements
- Study Two: Tea shows diachronic change in the discourse system by way of examining four advertisements from 1881, 1930, 1948 and 1957
- Study Three: Health and Beauty Products and Services 1940, which examines a collection of 25 artefacts. It employs the collateral bundling mechanic to show how pragmatics devices work together to create intended advertiser meanings. This validates the notion that advertiser meanings are recoverable exclusively from attention-getters that aptly generate persuasive propositions
- Study Four: Patent Medicines 1800s–1950s.

4.0 Research Dataset: Historical Context and Preliminary Analysis

Section 4.0 fulfils the following purposes:

- it introduces the greater dataset of the thesis in its historical setting (spanning some 150 years), and points out key features of promotional discourse
- it marks out the transformational turning points of advertising language from the 1800s into the 1950s
- it validates as appropriate the artefact selection that defines the corpus of the four Investigative Studies (in 5.0)
- it touches on how local and global events impact on natural language, and, accordingly, on advertising language.

In other words, the content here affords a pragmatic evaluation of the greater dataset, and together with the findings of the Investigative Studies (in 5.0), helps answer the research questions. The exploration here provides a measured sketch of the evolution of promotional language as it developed from settlement into the twentieth century. The thesis follows a chronological timeline, and it draws on illustrative examples to report on how advertising language works – alternating between analysis at sentence and discourse levels. As mentioned (in 1.0), natural-language elements are deployed across advertisement categories to create intended meanings, but some advertiser devices are a variable of time. Cartoon-strip advertising, for example, was popular in the 1930s and 1940s, and then disappeared (Berry 2014; de Silva 2020; Nyberg 1998). Conversely, other devices (like testimonials) have endured over centuries (Segrave 2005; Spence & Van Heekeren 2005; Turner 1922) taking on socio-culturally sophisticated roles.

Functionally, 4.0 refines the research foci and determines the content of the Investigative Studies. The following is organised thus:

- overview of the beginnings of commercial activity and socio-economic setting at settlement (4.1)
- advertisements from the 1800s that illustrate the nature of advertising language as it developed over that century (4.2)
- overview of *The Argus* (1846–1957) as a primary data source, and preliminary sketch of changes over time (4.3)
- comparative analysis sample (4.4).

4.1 Advertising in Australia: the beginnings of commerce

As an economic activity in service of human needs and desires, advertising has developed its commercial pedigree by nurturing itself on socio-cultural norms through the centuries. Tracking the formative transition of advertising language in the Australian context is achieved here by investigating a press dataset of the 1800s–1950s. Overarchingly, two periodicals, whose publication life together covers 154 years, inform the thesis (see Figure 4.1 Early-Newspapers-1803-and-1848, overleaf): these reflect the civic, commercial and political activities of over 15 decades in Sydney and Melbourne, and include reports from foreign correspondents:

- *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (NSW:1803–1842), informally referred to as *The Sydney Gazette*
- *The Argus* (Vic.: 1846–1957), titled *The Melbourne Argus* in the first two years of its life.

These record the events and effects of the industrial revolution through to the economic expansion of the twentieth century – yielding both utilitarian and quixotic perspectives of what life was like from settlement into the 1950s. Further, these newspapers are indelible witnesses of usage: they document the formative shifts that transformed the English language of the Victorian era into the Australian English of today. Thus, *The Sydney Gazette* and *The Argus* are ideal sources of data. The former has its origin as the voice of the colonial government, and *The Argus* is modelled on *The Times* of London. Both are prestigious publications, inclined to be conservative: this calls into question the representativeness of linguistic register. To mitigate this apparent shortcoming, examples from other newspapers also are examined.

As a contextual statement to position the 150-year investigative report at hand, it should be foregrounded that the language of press content from settlement through to the 1870s is marked by formality, and not remarkably variant in terms of register – that is, language choices and expression across notices and reporting are linguistically compatible.³⁷ Written register at this time was a form socially appropriate for the English-speaking population at large. A developmental language of commerce is discernible from the 1830s (see 4.2.2). A distinct language of competitive marketplace selling surfaces from the 1870s onward, which from the 1880s is more clearly recognisable the language of persuasion recognised today. As such, the thesis uses the expression ‘modern advertising language’ to mean the kind of compositional content evident from

³⁷ As discussed in 4.1.1–4.1.3 below.

the 1880s: a style more pronounced as a language skilful in persuasive marketing.

Figure 4.1 Early-newspapers-1803-and-1848: front pages 5 March 1803, Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser (left); and (right) 15 March 1848, The Argus. Source: trove.nla.gov.au. Accessed 19 January 2015.



4.1.1 The register of early newspapers

Given the pragmatic and diachronic standpoints of the thesis in its Australian setting, the analysis takes into account the socio-economic climate of the building of a new nation through the 1800s. While the thesis captures influences that formatively mould advertising language, and recognises the importance of pictures, the main discovery pathway is linguistic. It is fitting then to focus on words and phrases (including brand names), and register. With respect to the concept of register, the thesis defines this broadly (while acknowledging the large body of scholarly publications on the subject and its complexity) as the ‘language items associated with any discrete occupational or social groups’ (Wardhaugh 2006, p. 52):³⁸ the key identifiers, then, are ‘occupational’ and ‘social’.

In the thesis, linguistic register is evaluated and identified primarily by way of three attributes (as seen in Börjars & Burridge 2019; Trudgill 1983, 1992; Yule 2020) within the baselines of Wardhaugh’s (2006) ‘occupational’ and ‘social’ descriptors:

³⁸ Also Wardhaugh & Fuller 2015.

- the particular kind of language used within a profession or workplace (labelled ‘occupational register’)
- topic, which may be specialist subject matter (like banking and finance, bio-medical, hospitality and tourism, real estate) or social exchanges of everyday nature (like salutations)
- the style of expression (such as level of formality) appropriate to social circumstances.

The first and second identification attributes (workplace language and topic) are closely related in that an occupation generates topics relevant to its business, and both occupation and topic share recognition value in terms of vocabulary. The third focuses on social situation – including socio-economic elements (like class hierarchy) and linguistic features (like colloquialisms and phonology, salient in studies of spoken expression). Collectively, these are of critical interest to the advertiser; however, given the print dataset at hand, the first and second attributes are given more attention. The thesis reports on register as an instrument of print advertising language in its development from settlement into the mid-1950s, and touches on how formal education contributed to the rise of occupational register and its vocabulary (Heath 1979).

The linguistic range within each of the three identification attributes of register, logically, is a variable that rises exponentially in relation to the expansion of the English language within its historical socio-economic situations. This expansion is attributable in part to the occupational diversification and population growth that emerged as a corollary of economic, scientific and technological advancements in the 1800s – which coincide with the spread of colonialism. Eventually, into the 1900s, human advancement resulted in definitive career and educational specialisations, which created sets of occupational and subject-specific registers and subsidiary varieties (sub-registers).³⁹ Occupational register, an affiliate of the professional classes, shows itself to serve as a useful device of the advertising copywriter, as will be seen.

Insights into the rise of occupational register in colonial America have been provided by Shirley Brice Heath (1979) in her historical perspective of what she calls the ‘special language’ of the professions (discussed below): her study identifies occupational register as a discrete linguistic phenomenon that accompanied the economic and nationalistic history of the United States. At this point, it is useful to define what is meant by ‘the professions’ and ‘professional occupations’. The term ‘professional’ in the sense ‘Engaged in a profession, esp. one requiring special skill or training; belonging to the

³⁹ The language of accountancy and book-keeping, or stockbroking, for example, can be said to be sub-registers within the world of banking and finance.

professional classes’ is dated at 1784 (oed.com) – and its illustrative example is sourced from a medical journal:

professional, *n.*

1784 *Med. Observ. & Inq.* VI. 281 To form a solid judgment about the birth of a new-born child, from the examination of its body, a professional man should have seen many new-born children.

In the 1784 example, it is contextually apparent that ‘professional man’ means a medical doctor – locating this sense as first in usage in the medical community. The two illustrative examples that follow the 1784 one are from 1793 and 1805:

professional, *n.*

1793 J. SMEATON *Narr. Eddystone Lighthouse* (ed. 2)
§73 Called upon, not only as a professional man, but as a man of veracity.

1805 *Med. & Physical Jnl.* 14 381 The College invites all professional men, who had an opportunity of treating the yellow fever, to communicate their observations.

The 1805 example is taken from a medical journal (as was the earliest recorded 1784 usage): the contextual meaning of ‘professional men’ is again medical doctors. The 1793 example, however (upon investigation of its source), shows itself to be situated in civil engineering (ostensibly in the context of saving lives):⁴⁰ the linguistic point of interest here is that the phrase ‘as a man of veracity’ stands in apposition to ‘as a professional man’ – thus semantically equating the two. The construction – with ‘as’ to indicate resemblance – suggests that a professional is one who can be trusted, making trustworthiness an attribute of persons with special skills or training. As will be seen in the thesis, the title ‘Dr’ and symbols of the health-related profession (such as the collar of a dentist’s tunic) are visual devices that covertly communicate the idea of veracity.

With respect to the emergence in parallel of industry specialisation and occupational register in the English language, Heath (1979) provides an overview of professional language development in the United States by investigating ‘human services delivery systems’, with focus on health-related providers. She found the ‘development of a special language for professionals intimately related to the development of a middle class’ (p. 103). Heath

⁴⁰ John Smeaton (1724–1792) is recognised as the founder of civil engineering as a profession. His all-masonry lighthouse construction at Eddystone Rocks (at south Devon, England) stood 127 years, and was the navigational safeguard that guided vessels to shore.

identified this as a phenomenon of the 1850s: she situates the emergent vanguard of formally educated workers as ‘somewhere between aristocrat and labouring class’. This ‘closed group of intimates’ had secured an upper-class status vulnerable to poaching by ‘the amateur’. Put simply, in the 1800s, the formally educated class took systematic action to purge the self-schooled from the newly created elite circle of professionals:

Because amateurism and a belief in advancement outside the formal educational system were still highly valued by some portions of society, professionals felt the need to introduce order into certain areas of their professional life. They established formal associations, rules of conduct, criteria for recruitment and training, and generally developed means of protecting their positions from challenge by amateurs. Professionals purposefully designed methods of becoming closed groups of intimates engaged in science-based crafts.

Heath 1979, p. 103.

The introduction of ‘order into certain areas’ to create ‘closed groups’⁴¹ included the establishment of professional associations – whose mission, broadly speaking, was educational. Examples of such associations are the London Institute for the Diffusion of Science, Medicine and the Arts founded in 1809, and the Glasgow Mechanics’ Institute in 1823.⁴² These institutions created vocabularies of professional language for their communities (and, unwittingly, made this specialist language available to the advertising copywriter via the press).

Two activity broadbands of early professional associations are identifiable: setting up training protocols and public lecture series; and foundation of libraries and museums. Ancillaries of these activities were the publication of vocation-specific pamphlets, and verbatim reproduction of lectures in newspapers. Thus, the occupational register of these institutes was a stylistic resource for advertisement composition – and also helpful in brand building. The term ‘institute’ itself is adopted to form trading names, in preference to ‘guild’, which while similar in meaning (in terms of shared pursuits) is not distinguished by the attribute of being connected with the sciences. Similarly, ‘academy’ (associated with higher education and research) is frequently seen in patent-medicine advertising (as evident in the dataset at hand) – functioning to link positive values with commercially available items.

⁴¹ That is, recognition of ‘insiders’ (Yule 2020, p. 301) to exclude ‘outsiders’ from a professional group regarded as qualified individuals validated by expertise.

⁴² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

Returning now to the formation of ‘closed groups’ that enabled a demarcation between the formally educated and the ‘amateur’ (Heath 1979, p. 103), the 1870s into the 1900s was a period of significant expansion in the American health industry (p. 104):

... between 1870 and 1900, the number of trained nurses increased eleven times, veterinarians eight times, and dentists four.

This growth in the number of health professionals between 1870 and 1900 validates the notion of development of occupational register in those decades (Heath 1979). The thesis dataset locates the rise of professional register from the 1850s onward (see section 4.2.3). Advertising language into the 1880s increasingly mirrors language choices socially appropriate to the topic and the target market, thus flagging the rise of modern advertising. Given that register variation in natural language reflects a diverse set of social and occupational groups (Wardhaugh & Fuller 2015; Yule 2020), this singles out register as a barometric tool to demarcate potential market segments. Register diversification shows itself to be a principal copywriter device of modern advertising – useful in target market segmentation.

The register of advertising language – both social and occupational – diversifies through time, situationally mimicking the registers of natural language that emerged as a corollary of human social diversification and industrial advancement. This gives credence to tracking the evolution of the English language, and its register varieties, through the lens of economic, scientific and technological progress. In following this evolutionary path, it can be said that the cache of terms applied to reference advertising language itself – such as ‘promotional language’, ‘language of commerce’, ‘marketing language’, ‘language of persuasion’ and ‘adspeak’ – reflect progression in the world of business transaction. These expressions, among other advertising-related matter, locate semantically within particular decades of socio-economic development (as identified by Myers 1994, 1998): this developmental chronology is formatively mapped out in the thesis.

4.1.2 Settlement in 1788: establishing a marketplace

British settlement at Port Jackson (Sydney Harbour) in 1788 created the Crown Colony of New South Wales, and this marks the introduction of English to the land – namely an eighteenth-century variety. Other than a foreign language, the settlers brought numerous effects of the material and non-material kind – including the seeds of consumerism and a small hand-press, whose partnership constitutes the early foundation of advertising potential in Australia. In 1795, a settler with (ostensibly self-taught) typesetting skills, George Hughes, began to

operate the hand-press.⁴³ He produced official orders and regulations for Governor John Hunter.⁴⁴ This was the first paper-based information, generated by the newly formed colonial government. Shortly after, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* was published in 1803. This marks the establishment of the newspaper industry in Australia; the first province of formal advertising; and the seedlings of advertising language.

Colonial expansion of the 1700s into the early 1800s coincides with the dawn of modern living in Great Britain – an era characterised by a shift away from an agrarian lifestyle to economic, socio-cultural and technological advancements. This transition is attributed by some scholars to the effects of the Gutenberg press, a movable-type printing apparatus.⁴⁵ As an instrument of mass communications, printing enabled the spread of knowledge and the maturation of beliefs and politics; and, seemingly, it engendered emancipatory challenges to religious orthodoxy (monopolised by the Catholic Church): these phenomena are associated with laying the foundations of the European Renaissance (Dittmar 2019; Füßel 2005) and its attendant interest in ‘worldly goods’ (Jardine 1998). Reading material was disseminated more quickly and cheaply than ever before; and for various reasons (including the advent of public schooling) literacy levels rose. Printing technology permitted transmission of ideas, and information about products and services, into the greater population regardless of social class – which contributed to a more materialistic world.

Alongside economic growth and the availability of mass-produced goods, the printing press popularised consumerism; and also assisted with the spread of English via newspapers, and of popular literary works – like that of Geoffrey Chaucer (1343–1400) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616). British colonisation imposed adoption of the English language and brought it into contact with other languages – at a time when its vocabulary was expanding in discipline-specific domains (like that of bio-medicine and technology). At this time, the discipline-specific periodical (such as in philosophy or science) was rare. Human knowledge was spread by way of lectures in institutes and society gatherings; and developments and discoveries were frequently self-published in pamphlets and in press periodicals publicly disseminated. Newspapers were the carriers of intellectual and scientific progress; and lectures from knowledge-seekers, reformers and scientists were often reproduced in entirety (sometimes in serial form). The press of the 1800s helped the spread of neologisms and specialist terminology into general knowledge.

⁴³ Museum of Printing, NSW, neram.com.au

⁴⁴ Hunter, who assumed office in September 1795, succeeded Governor Arthur Phillip, who held office 1788–1792 (*Australian Dictionary of Biography* <http://adb.anu.edu.au/>).

⁴⁵ An invention of a German goldsmith Johannes Gutenberg, dated to the 1440s, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

For the nineteenth-century advertiser who wished to emulate discipline-specific registers, the gamut of press publications – that is, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets and circulars from institutions and independent researchers – functioned as a resource for the advertiser’s copybook of writing styles. Copywriter styles (general and market-specific) developed over time, and evolved into the advertising language of today’s multimedia world. Modern promotional language, dedicated to the marketing of consumables⁴⁶ is sometimes called advertising-speak (or ‘adspeak’, coined in the 1960s) – hallmark of the television commercial. Over centuries, the press sponsored both a mass-communication channel for the advertiser and served as a stylistic resource. Accordingly, the newspaper archive is the ideal resource to discover the development of advertising language.

4.1.3 The first newspapers: an information resource to advance the colony

Early press periodicals in Australia – unlike the modern newspaper filled with news stories – were dominated by government notices and proclamations; a mixed bag of classifieds and personals; ship-related notices (arrivals, departures, dock deliveries of cargo); and products-and-services advertisements. Classification and category headings are notably absent (see Figure 4.1 Early-Newspapers-1803-and-1848). For the first 50 years of press publication, readability principles as known today were absent. With respect to bulk supplies, including consumables, notices were arbitrarily positioned alongside the provision of information that advanced the interests of government and settler population.

Collectively, the jumble of early newspaper content is information-giving – including that related to commercial activity: in other words, notices offered all kinds of information. Early notices can altogether be identified as promotions in the context of the colonial settlement – given the definition of ‘promote’ as furthering advancement or actively supporting actions for change (oed.com):

2.a. *promote*, v.

to further the growth, development, progress, or establishment of (a thing); to advance or actively support (a process, cause, result, etc.); to encourage.

With respect to the linguistic units that reference advertisements, the thesis detects the labels ‘promotional language’ and ‘advertising language’ as

⁴⁶ A consumable is any tangible or intangible that can be purchased. It may be a good, a service or an event. The thesis focuses on goods and services.

enduring and interchangeable in a broad sense from the time of settlement. However, the phrase ‘language of commerce’ shows itself to be a newer sense,⁴⁷ referring to the notices and reporting that concern situations of competitive selling at set prices – that is, it references (isolates) the language of business and marketplaces within the greater sphere of advertising discourse. The language of commerce is located in the context of trade transactions, describing activities of commercial value, with a lineage to the definition of ‘business’ evident in the late fifteenth century (oed.com):

business, n.

14. a Trade and all activity relating to it, esp. considered in terms of volume or profitability; commercial transactions, engagements, and undertakings regarded collectively; an instance of this. Hence more generally: the world of trade and commerce.

Here, ‘business’ refers to activities occurring in ‘the world of trade and commerce’ in terms of intention to financially profit, apart from the world of personals (such as a notice of marriage or lost property), or a call by government to vaccinate against smallpox).

In the 1700s, coinciding with the advent of the industrial revolution, the idea of business took on the meaning of a commercial company, which gained currency in the next century:

business, n.

14. b A commercial company, firm, or enterprise conducting such activity.

It can be said that (in the English-speaking world) the sense of advertising language as a language of business (commerce) emerged in line with industrialisation and the establishment of enterprises conducting commercial activity. The currency of this sense coincides with the onset of a classification system in the press, breaking with the jumble-of-notices style. That is, the 1800s is a period of two co-occurring phenomena relevant to the evolution of advertising language:

- the development of a language that specifically served the business community (referred to in the thesis as the language of commerce)
- the appearance of a classification system.

These phenomena accompanied the economic realities of population growth and the sprouting of diverse employments – which induced the emergence of occupational register (as mentioned above).

⁴⁷ At least in the Australian context, see section 4.2.2.

The classification system (the norm today) is clearly visible after the 1850s. This organisationally employs headings as a readability tool to identify content, serving to highlight press categories by subject matter – including marketplace offerings. It functioned as a step toward a definitive ‘language of commerce’, enabling identification of seller activity. Thus, in the 1850s the label ‘language of commerce’ in its sense of advancing commercial business emerges: this label is not linguistically justifiable at early settlement, which was a time of uncategorised information dissemination. Neither can advertising language of early settlement be regarded as marketing language,⁴⁸ given that ‘marketing’ is a concept associated with establishing a product by way of ‘distribution and promotion strategies’; and its extended use in the sense ‘to promote the public image of’, a usage dated to 1922 (oed.com):

market, v.

1. b. *transitive.* Of a manufacturer, advertiser, etc.: to place or establish (a product) on the market; *esp.* to seek to increase sales of (a product) by means of distribution and promotion strategies. Also (in extended use): to promote the public image of (a person, organization, etc.).

Promotional (advertising) language – as it nurtured its sub-registers of ‘language of commerce’ and, later, modern-day marketing register varieties like ‘adspeak’ – is evidently the direct result of events of social and economic advancement of the late 1800s into the 1900s. At least, it can be said that the evolutionary path of advertising language was influenced by socio-economic changes at local and global levels. The idea of marketing with its meanings of placing a consumable on the market ‘by means of distribution and promotion strategies’ and creating a ‘public image’ are senses that stem from the phenomena of a competitive consumer world and the impetus for market distinction. Market competition and socio-economic change are drivers that compel the advertiser to exploit natural language in creative ways. Competitive marketplaces are thus sites of language change for linguistic expedition.

4.1.4 Societies as sites of language change

The socio-economic history of Australia is also a linguistic one. Societies as they pass through time are sites of language change that cradle significant turning points (Jean Aitchison 2013; Damousi 2010; Fischer 2001; Hughes 1988). These transitions are noted to coincide with key events (such as the industrial revolution, invention and innovation, migration, and military conflict). This, then, flags as useful the study of promotional discourse in

⁴⁸ There are, however, earlier emergent signs – as pointed out in the 1855 ‘Holloway’s Pills’ example of Figures 4.6 and 4.7 below; and marketing strategy shows itself in the 1600s and 1700s (Burridge 2018; Porter 1986).

keeping with identifiable socio-economic time periods. This helps demarcate the transition belts of advertising language as it changed over the decades. As already mentioned, the time periods that represent stages in the evolution of advertising language in Australia – compatible with that identified by Myers (1994) – are early settlement at 1800s–1880s, and then 1890s–1920s transitioning to the 1930s–1960s.

Socio-economic intelligence gathered over the history of consumerism is a factoid⁴⁹ frequently understood only in retrospect, with the benefit of data collection and socio-anthropological hindsight. The thesis (taking into consideration socio-economic underpinnings) derives from its dataset a picture of how a small colony, established by way of a maritime delivery system, developed its commercial infrastructure and its advertising discourse. Among the linguistic goals here is to illustrate how press-advertising language morphed, in its societal context, from an early-1800s information-giving maze of promotional notices to realise a form deserving the label ‘language of commerce’ after the 1850s; and, later, ‘marketing language’ – often referred to as a language of persuasion (Dyer 1982; Schmidt & Kess 1985, 1986).

The thesis, in its 1800s–1950s timeframe, complements the discoveries of previous works; and gives attention to health-related promotions, which manifest as prolific in the dataset. Scholarly works to date evidence significant forays into aspects of advertising discourse; however, largely, promotional-language studies have relied on corpora of the twentieth century and later, and none focus on diachronic investigation of health-related advertising.⁵⁰ The thesis explores a range of categories by employing as investigative tools the social functions of language and the idea of cohesion. As a preliminary statement, it can be said that advertising convincingly employs appropriate registers to satisfy addressee expectations, and that a notable change over time is the transition from being predominantly information-giving towards being more pronounced from the 1930s onward in its social intention to engage addressees with consumables.

4.1.5 Early advertising: social intention and writing style

Notices of the 1800s aimed to provide information, in the interests of building a nation. Unsurprisingly, being acts of communication, they contain elements of social intention. These are identifiable as subtle persuasion – to bring over the addressee. In their pragmatic function, the social elements seemingly

⁴⁹ In research that involves human behaviours, empirical synthesis is based partly on facts and partly on suppositions.

⁵⁰ Useful to the current work are the historical insights provided by Lewis (2014); Bynum & Porter (1987); Porter (2000); and Burridge (2018) into the advertising language in the era of Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), lexicographer and man of letters.

authenticate the advertiser and/ or subject matter as attractive and respectable. These authentications may be:

- the name of a vendor, or a maritime delivery vessel, or a colonial office
- a claim to honourable, commendatory or aristocratic titles
- the declaration of an association with England or Europe
- a testimonial.

These authentication elements are an attempt to establish good reputation in the eyes of the addressee and to associate the advertiser offering with positive qualities, and thus raise the advertiser to a position of high regard and marketplace excellence. These elements, as will be seen, are an integral and visible part of the register of early advertising.

The press was the primary channel of mass communication available in the eighteenth into the nineteenth century, and narrative style – regardless of different intentions – is fairly invariant up to the 1850s, with signs of register changes emerging by the 1820s. In the first decades of settlement, written language across notices (as evident in *The Sydney Gazette*) was similar in tone and construction, seemingly unmarked by stylistic variation. It can be called an inclusive language where everyone, if literate, is an ‘insider’: this is not unexpected given that the new arrivals were a cargo of the British government, and *The Sydney Gazette* was the authoritative voice of the Governor. The intention of written communication in the colony was to advance (promote) the matters relating to the building of the colonial nation – whether a government notice or a trader selling wares. Within the dataset, occupational register is not evident as a feature until after the 1850s.

As mentioned, classification of subject matter was absent in early newspapers; however, given these were of no more than four (and later 8–10) pages, the low extent mitigated the accessibility challenge of an uncategorised layout. Commensurate with the mixed bag of newspaper notices at settlement, commercial activity was largely ad hoc. Settlement market scenarios were largely at the will of the vendor – offering products (including perishables) and services at a set price or by auction. The earliest press notice in regulation of price and quality assurance appears on 19 February 1804⁵¹ – under the heading ‘Ordinance’ – with reference to wheat and the production of bread (‘Assize of Bread’):

⁵¹ As gleaned from a search of the Trove newspaper database.

Ordinance – Price and Assize of Bread, 1804

Ordinance.

In Consequence of the Reduction made in the Price of WHEAT, His EXCELLENCY, by and with the Advice of a full Bench of Magistrates, directs that the following REGULATION be made in the Price and Assize of Bread, viz.

Two Pounds One Ounce of Bread, made according to the Ordinance of the 8th of May, 1801, which directs that 24lbs. of Bran be taken from 100lbs. of Wheat ground into Meal, for Four-Pence Sterling, or Two Pounds and a Half of Wheat.

The Courts of Judicature and Magistrates are not to sanction any Suit or Demand from Grinding Wheat into Flour at more than One Shilling a Bushel.

The above Ordinance to be in force from and after the 24th Instant.

The Sydney Gazette, 19 February 1804, p. 1.

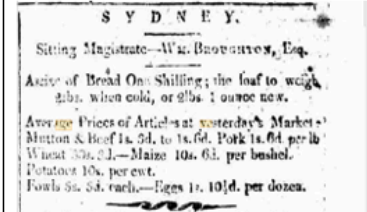
This ordinance was issued by order of the Governor to ensure quality of bread and prescribe the volume of the loaf in relation to a set price. This notice evidently is an early example of the language of commerce – but, in terms of linguistic register appropriate to its social situation, it is similar in tone and composition to other notices of its time. This example raises the question of how sellers advertised prices of commodities in a situation where there was no pricing system. Examination of advertisements for consumables and bulk sales shows that at first these were available by bidding at auction, and buyers may be permitted to purchase in kind (for instance with barley or wheat).

4.1.6 Selling at a price: advertising language as a language of commerce

In the absence of a pricing system, sales were effected as auction events. Frequently, sellers used the phrase ‘may be purchased at reasonable prices’ – suggesting affordability. Actual market prices were available the day after market day, published by government authority – this gave the shopper a price-guide reference for the near future. An example is shown in Figure 4.2a *Assize-of-Bread-and-Average-Prices-of-Articles-1809* (overleaf). This artefact has three (centred) headings that stand out. Respectively, these identify place (Sydney); the authority (sitting magistrate); and topic (Assize of Bread).

At this time, headings are not the norm in the press, tending to appear only in government-related notices. The noun phrase ‘Assize of Bread’⁵² – which appears in the third heading – functions as the price-guide marker for the reader. This term is seen in the dataset from 1804, appearing first embedded in body text; but later ascends to be a sub-heading of note – evident from 1807 to 1826. In its sub-heading role, ‘Assize of Bread’ functions in a morpheme-like way to mean ‘market prices are listed here’.

Figure 4.2a Assize-of-Bread-and-Average-Prices-of-Articles-1809. Source: The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 12 November 1809, p. 1.

Assize of Bread and Average Prices of Articles, 1809	Transcription
	<p>SYDNEY</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Sitting Magistrate-Wm. Broughton, Esq.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Assize of Bread One Shilling; the loaf to weigh 2lbs. when cold, or 2lbs. 1 ounce new.</p> <p>Average Prices of Articles at yesterday's Markets: Mutton & Beef 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. Pork 1s. 6d. per lb Wheat 30s. 3d. -- Maize 10s. 6d. per bushel. Potatoes 10s. per cwt. Fowls 5s. 8d. each. -- Eggs 1s. 10½d. per dozen</p>

By 1826, the ‘Assize of Bread’ heading is no longer evident. To inform the public of market prices, the heading SYDNEY MARKETS appears (with the date of the market event) – as shown in Figure 4.2b Sydney-Markets-1828. It can be said that this heading – with the FEB 7 date foregrounded – is semantically more direct and accessible than its earlier counterpart of 1809 (in Figure 4.2a).

⁵² In this context, ‘assize’ holds the meaning ‘rule of trade’ (oed.com): it functions to regulate weights and measures, and prices of consumables, by ordinance.

Figure 4.2b Sydney-Markets-1828. Source: *The Australian*, 8 February 1828, p. 3.

<p><i>Sydney Markets, 1828</i></p> <p>SYDNEY MARKETS.---(FEB. 7.)</p> <p>Grain just now is on the rise. There appears to be no likelihood of wheat sinking in price. Maize, in the opinion of some, will not get much dearer, and at the same time it is not likely to get cheaper.</p> <p>Fruit is falling off, but vegetables are high.</p> <p>Average price of wheat, nine shillings and sixpence per bushel—do. of maize, eight shillings and sixpence do.—ditto of oats, four shillings and sixpence do.—Fine flour, twenty shillings sterling per hundred weight—seconds ditto, eighteen shillings per ditto—Pollard, two shillings per bushel—Bran, one shilling and sixpence per bushel—Butter, two shillings and ninepence—Cheese, one shilling and fourpence per pound—Eggs, two shillings and sixpence per dozen—Fowls, three shillings and sixpence per couple—Turkeys, eighteen shillings per ditto—Geese, twelve shillings per ditto—Ducks, five shillings and sixpence per ditto—Potatoes, eighteen shillings per hundred weight—Maize price of bread, fivepence per loaf—selling price, fivepence to sixpence per do.</p> <p><i>cont. in next column</i></p>	<p><i>cont. from prev. column</i></p> <p>PRICE OF MEAT.</p> <p>Beef, two shillings and threepence to two and tenpence per stone—utton, three shillings and sixpence to four shillings per ditto—Pork, four shillings and sixpence to four shillings and elevenpence per ditto.</p> <p>CATTLE MARKET.</p> <p>Some late extensive sales of stock in Sydney have caused a stagnation in the trade. Fat bullocks, for which there was a great demand not many weeks ago, are not greatly sought after—the offers to sale far exceeding the demand of customers. The same remark applies generally to other stock for slaughter.</p>
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These examples from 1809 and 1828 show that in the early 1800s, short phrases were used in the press to communicate significant meanings. The SYDNEY MARKETS article reports the market prices of 7 February 1828: it shows that commodity-related advertisements had begun to include commentary on market behaviour and market prediction. The opening line informs that the price of grain is increasing ('on the rise'). The second line ('... no likelihood of wheat sinking in price') forecasts no reduction in the price of wheat:

SYDNEY MARKETS – (FEB. 7), 1828

Grain just now is on the rise. There appears to be no likelihood of wheat sinking in price. Maize, in the opinion of some, will not get much dearer, and at the same time it is not likely to get cheaper.

Fruit is falling off, but vegetables are high.

Average price of wheat ...

The Australian, 8 February 1828, p. 1.

In lines 2–3, the writer reports that 'in the opinion of some' (market analysts) the price of maize will remain relatively stable at its current market value – but adds that (like wheat) 'it is not likely to get cheaper'. The reader may infer that wheat will rise higher in price than will maize. The writing style is less formal than a decade previous, and it tends to conversational – but still is circuitous; not crisp as expected of the journalistic staccato-like voice of today's commodity reporting. It can be said, however, that – in Sydney-Markets-1828 – here is the groundwork of the language of commerce used by reporters and stockbrokers today.

4.1.7 The separation of reporting from advertisements

As already stated, early notices focused on information relay (of facts, figures, and private appeals from individuals). There was no demarcation between marketplace offerings and other notices. Language expression was formal, and often circuitous, wordy and excessively polite. Notices appeared in an uncategorised jumble, heedless of subject matter. By the 1820s, signs of a less formal register emerge; and separation of marketplace offerings is seen: an example of which is shown overleaf in Figure 4.3 Separation-of-reporting-from-advertisements-1820s. This is a full page from an 1823 issue where the heading ADVERTISEMENTS crowns the top of the column list on the far right. The list is not alphabetised; but the layout points to editorial organisation, which both increases addressee accessibility and advantages the advertiser.

The label ADVERTISEMENTS, which operates to flag the listed items as ‘available in the marketplace’, is an incipient sign of a classification system that would become standard. Such headings mark the 1820s as an era at the cusp of the systemisation normalised later that century. Category labelling is a readability and attention-getting feature of advertising: it is among the elements that paved the way to establish advertising language as a genre in its own right. The modern-day variety – which is clearly different to its progenitor – travelled through developmental stages, collecting features from natural language that could be selectively and strategically used to build a consumerist world. Advertising language progressively earned its various near-synonymous labels that can be accorded pragmatically within a timeline that reflects the harnessing power and strategies of advertising copywriters.

After the 1870s, a system of hypernym-like headings (such as, for example, ACCOMMODATION, MEDICAL, and WINES AND SPIRITS) is visible. These behave like lexical super-ordinates to distinguish and classify the different types of products and services (grouped according to shared characteristics). The adoption of classification labels by the press is an example of how this institution reflects human progress and language trends. It should be noted that the now-widespread idea of organisational labelling by identification of shared characteristics originates from the specialist taxonomic hierarchy that arranged biological organisms by rank. The word ‘classification’ is recorded as entering the English language in 1767 (from the language of natural science), and ‘taxonomy’ (from the field of botany) in 1819 (oed.com): these dates coincide with the emergence of categorisation in the press – and, accordingly, press advertising.

Figure 4.3 Separation-of-reporting-from-advertisements-1820s. Source: *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 6 November 1823, p. 3.

The separation of reporting from advertisements: evident in the 1820s

subsequently addressed the Dutch and French Ministry on the same subject; his application to the latter was referred to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, who coldly replied, "They could not judge of countries they had not seen," and nearly 30 years after, when Captain Cook returned from circumnavigating the globe, it was left for Great Britain to add the vast acquisition of Australia to the empire; and, by the settlements in New South Wales, to confirm the position and realize the anticipations of that enterprising man.

The late Sydney Gazette has only general local intelligence, but they speak, by their appearance, activity in all the movements of the settlement. An Agricultural Society has been formed, promising much advantage to the Territory. Sir Thomas Brisbane is its Patron; and some idea may be formed of the increasing number of respectable colonists, from eighty or ninety having set down at Parramatta, at the first dinner of the Establishment in August last, when upwards of £1000 were subscribed to carry into effect the purposes of the establishment.

The new formed settlement at Macquarie Harbour, established in a secondary place of transportation for the offending convicts, had commenced to make successful progress. The coal here is found good and easy of access, and the timber both in quality and quantity, answers every expectation.

As a proof that the increase of luxuries keeps pace with the more solid improvement in all the concerns of life, an advertisement in one of the Sydney papers invites masters of vessels to pick up for their stores from the trees of a settler at 6d. per dozen. A very few years since this valuable fruit was only attainable in the Colony with great expense.

The same paper says, a house in Sydney is now being colonized tobacco fully equaling the celebrated American negro-head in its strength and peculiar sweetness.

The bee-hives taken out by Captain Wallis, of the *Isabella*, for use as a safe, and four of the thickly populated habitations are now in the neighbourhood of Sydney, where the valuable little colonies seem to have sprung from their first change of climate, but rather to increase in thrift and hardiness. The owner expected to extend his four to twenty hives in twelve months, so congenial to their property and more to their new as a quiet hand.

The cultivators of the vine who have selected proper situations have every prospect of being amply rewarded. Mr. Baxland brought over some samples of Australian wine in the *Isabella*, in which seem to be a species of *Ara*, which have been found from the other models, in reference to their proportion of its quality.

While every source of wealth is obtaining due attention in the territory at large, the particular branch that distinguishes New South Wales, more immediately as it regards the interests of this country, is the peculiar fine soil of its vineyards. The favourable success it obtains here, and the high opinion entertained of its qualities by our most experienced manufacturers, continue to stimulate the growers to increased exertion. On Colonel's Parry's principle of the faithful character of the 331 degree, the latitude of Port Jackson seems to be that in which the purest kind of delight and prosper more than in any other; for, although perseverance will ultimately improve the stocks of Van Diemen's Land, the settler on the island finds in his attention to the fine wooded lands, difficulties to contend with unknown to the more congenial climate of New South Wales.

CONSERVATION FROM CHIEF'S OUTSIDE ECONOMY.

In such a Colony as ours, the following pretty little selection is well worthy of attention. Had Mr. Cuthbert been a Botanist, he could not have more closely hit the truth:—

SALTING MUTTON AND BEEF.—*Very fat mutton* may be salted to great advantage, and also smoked and may be kept thus a long while. Not the shoulders and legs, but the *back* of the sheep. I have never made any *back* of sheep-bacon; but, I will; for, there is nothing like having a *store* of meat in a house. The *very* idea of being left, of a *family* being left, by daily supplies, has something in it perfectly *terrifying*. One-half of the time of a mistress of a house, the affairs of which are carried on in this way, is taken up in talking about what is to be got for dinner, and in negotiations with the butcher. One single moment spent at table beyond what is absolutely necessary is a moment very *disagreeably* spent; but, to offer a system of domestic economy, which unnecessarily wastes daily labour or two of the mistress's time in hunting for the provision for the next day, is a shame indeed; and, when we consider, how much time is generally spent in this

and in equally absurd ways, it is no wonder, that we see so little performed by numerous individuals as they do perform during the course of their lives.

Very fat parts of beef may be salted and smoked in like manner. Not the *lean*; for that is a great waste, and is, in short, good for nothing. Poor fellows on board of ships are compelled to eat it; but, it is a very bad thing.

FOR PENANG AND CALCUTTA.—The Ship *MARY*, Captain STANT, will sail for the above Ports on or about the 14th of November. Good Accommodation for Passengers;—For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. HARRY and WALTONSTREET.

FOR LONDON DIRECT.—The Fine Coal-burnt Ship *BERWICK*, ROBERT JEFFERY, Master, Barham, per Register 600 Tons, will leave this Port early in December, and take Wool, ready for Shipment, on the 1st of said Month, at Three-hundred per Pound, and other Goods in the same Proportion. Shippers of Wool are respectfully informed, that the same will be received, and warehoused for them, without any Expense thereon;—For Freight or Passage apply to the Captain, on board; or, JOHN and HENRY GREEN, No. 80, Pitt-street.

FOR LONDON.—The First-class Ship *ELIZABETH*, built in 400 Tons, RANGELIN DACK, Commander, Out-chill of her Cargo is already taken on board at Port Stephens; and she will be ready to receive Freight in a week. This Ship is of excellent Accommodation for Passengers, a Plan of which may be seen on Application to Messrs. RAIN and RAMSAY; or, to Mr. ROBERT BURNES.

FOR LONDON DIRECT.—The Fine First-class Ship *OCEAN*, Captain HARRISON, will leave this Port for London direct, during the ensuing Month of January, and will take Freight and Passengers on the most moderate Terms.

Captain H. has already Two-thirds of his Cargo engaged, and will be ready to receive Goods on board by the 1st of November.—Carries an experienced Surgeon.

Apple to RAIN and WALTONSTREET.

FOR BATAVIA.—The Fine Brig *FRANCIS*, Captain BENSON, will sail on or before the 14th instant;—For Freight and Passage, apply to Messrs. RAIN and RAMSAY, Pitt-street; or, to the Commander, on board.

FOR LONDON.—The remarkable Four-masted Ship *COMPETITOR* (A. D. W. ANSON), Commander; will leave this Port for the above Port in all January next, having the principal Part of her Cargo engaged.

This Vessel is elegantly fitted up with Accommodations for Passengers, and will be ready to receive Cargo in all the present Month;—For Terms of Freight or Passage, apply at the Counting-house of Mr. JERLEY.

This Vessel carries an experienced Surgeon.

FOR VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.—The Good Ship *MAGNER*, JOHN HENDER, Commander; has excellent Accommodations for Passengers, and also for Horses; and intends Sailing in about a fortnight;—For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. RAIN and RAMSAY; or, to the Commander, on board.

TO BE SOLD.—positively without Reserve, by R. COOPER, at the Stores of Messrs. RAIN and RAMSAY, Pitt-street, on Monday the 10th November, and the following Days, till the Whole of the GOODS, belonging to the Estate of JAMES NEWMAN, Bankrupt, are sold. Each Day's Sale to commence precisely at 12 o'clock (by Order of the Auctioneer). Catalogues are published for general information; and approved Bids will be taken in Payment, for all Purchases from £50 to £100, with two Names, for 3 months; and all Purchases exceeding £100, 3 and 6 months, upon the same terms, will be given.—Dollars taken at Five Shillings each.

Among the numerous Lots, the following are the principal Articles:—

- 1000 dozen bottled stout;
- 17 pipes London particular Madeira;
- 1 half table linen;
- Best slop clothing;
- Fustians;
- Gentlemen's superfine hats;
- Hosiery;
- Stollery, consisting of chaise and cart harness, saddles and bridles, &c.
- Elegant silk shawls and scarfs;
- Ladies' boots and shoes;
- Gentlemen's shirts;
- Superfine cloths and kersemeres;
- Table covers of different patterns;
- Satin jenns;
- Ladies, gentlemen, and children's gloves;
- Marcelline waistcoating;
- English furs and robes;
- Fur-trimmed cloaks of size;
- Black cambrics;
- Prints of all colours, &c. &c. &c.

SHIPS' CHANDLERS STORES, of all Descriptions, on SALE at the Stores of RAIN and RAMSAY, High-street and Pitt-street.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

JOHN ATKINSON, No 99, George-street, has just Received, some Choice *WALNUT* and *MUSHROOM KETCHUPS*, sold Old, Mustard, &c. &c.

JOHN ATKINSON is authorized to treat with any Individual desirous of purchasing that valuable ALLOTMENT of GROUND, situate opposite the King's Wharf, and fronting the Golden Lion, George-street.—A liberal Credit will be given.

TO LET, at 26 George-street, Corner of King-street, a large UPPER STORE, capable of containing 2000 bushels of wheat, enclosed by a high wall.—Enquire of MACQUEEN and FERGUSON.

ATKINSON'S COMMISSION ROOMS.—Are fitted per the Mariner, Captain Herbert, and now Open for SALE, a lot of very superior Westphalia hams; two cases, containing cart harness complete of superior web; patent medicines, consisting of bottles of Epsom salts; pint bottles of powdered Turkey rhubarb; half-pint bottles of tincture of rhubarb; calomel in bottles; Chamberlain's pills; essence of peppermint; Dalby's carminative; superior lavender water; essences; Anderson's Scott's pills; Dr. Hooper's pills; Farinaceous balsam of life; aromatic spirits of ginger; essential salt of lemon; antacid pills; &c. &c. &c.

STANLEY, KAY, & CO.—The Proprietors of the *Public*, the Coach continues to run as proposed, from Sydney to Parramatta every Morning and returns the same Evening. It starts precisely at 7 o'clock, from Mr. Ross's, the Horse and Cart, Castlereagh-street; changes horses at Mr. Underwood's, Half-way; arrives at Parramatta at half-past nine; and from Mr. Ross's, Parramatta, at 4 o'clock in the Afternoon; changing horses at the Half-way; and arrives at Sydney at half-past six.

The Proprietors better themselves, that their Care and Punctuality in delivering Parcels, and the great Exertions in so expensive an Undertaking, will be duly appreciated by the Public.

N.B.—The Proprietors will not be accountable for any Parcel above the value of £5 except entered and paid for accordingly.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.—The undersigned is willing to negotiate with Persons desirous of remitting to England, for any Sum not exceeding Five Hundred Pounds sterling, at a Premium of Ten per Cent, by B. at Sixty Days' Sight, to be drawn on Messrs. Hillier and Co., Merchants, at Liverpool, and transfer of the Ship John Bull; the Acceptance and due Payment of which will be secured by Bills of Lading on a certain Number of Loads of Coal; or, in Case of Loss, to be paid out of the Insurance on Four Hundred Loads of that Article, entered by Letters, in Duplicate, to be effected, at Ten Pounds Sterling per Lo. d.

FINE ARTS.—To CONNOISSEURS in PAINTS.—R. COOPER most respectfully begs Leave to inform the Inhabitants of New South Wales, that he has for SALE, by Private Contract, a great VARIETY of ENGRAVINGS, on various Subjects, by the first Masters, amongst which several are executed by Raphael, Heath, Meyers, Dicks, Williams, &c. &c. also, from Ackerman's, the great Repository for the Fine Arts, in London. The whole of the Prints are in good preservation, and handsome gift from.—To be seen at R. Cooper's, opposite the Old Bar at Ground George-street.

ON SALE at RAIN and RAMSAY, Pitt-street, an ASSORTMENT of BOLT ROPE, arrived per BUTTES.

ON SALE at RAIN and RAMSAY's Stores, Pitt-street, SHEEP SHEARS, SICKLES and REAP HOOKS, assorted.

FOR SALE, at RAIN and RAMSAY's Stores, Pitt-street, per FRANCIS, ALEXIS' COMPOSITION, prepared expressly for vehicles having the patent close boxes, for steam and other engines, smoke jacks, &c. An Assortment of Ironmongery, suitable for agricultural, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, millwrights, and builders' purposes. Cutlery, blacksmith's hammers, 30 and 48 inch white and yellow deals 20 x 11, and 11 x 3 & 2.

An Assortment of Glass and Earthenware; Dial Scales, to weigh from 25 to 112 lbs; Cordage, from 6 thread, radius to 31.

Man Trans.

NOTICE.—SATELLITE, an Arabian Horse, the Property of the Crown, will stand at the Carters' Barracks, from the fifteenth of the present Month to the fifteenth of December; and, for the Accommodation of Gentlemen desirous of improving their Breed of Horses, will be permitted to cover Thirty Mares, independent of those belonging to Government.—Those wishing to avail themselves of the same, will be pleased to say so by Letter, to Mr. FARR, Superintendent of Carters' Barracks.—Terms, Twenty-five Dollars, and Two Dollars the Groom.

STRAYED, from ULMER, an English Black and White NEWFOUNDLAND DOG; answers to the Name of Nelson.—Mr. BAXBY will reward any Person for bringing him back.

4.1.8 The function and impact of classification in advertising

Classification is a meaning-making feature that serves advertiser and consumer alike. Hypernym-like labels generically identify advertisement content, and play functional roles. Headings and labels are meaningful in that instant of addressee engagement with the advertisement text (as mentioned earlier⁵³ in 1.2.2.1). At the discourse level, seemingly, classification in its press debut functioned as the transformative duct that gradually enabled the transit from information-giving-type notices to modern-day advertising language. The thesis holds that the genesis of a classification system in press advertising is the turning point that facilitated the transmutation of advertising language (from being predominantly a language of information dissemination) to its modern status as the language of marketing and a language of persuasion (that is, one typified by ‘hidden meanings’ designed to trigger buying behaviour).

At this juncture, two points can be made in support of the idea that classification in the promotional world is a critical historical factor in the diachronic face of advertising language. The first is that classification acts to diminish information-type content of a narrative; and the second is that classification is the conduit that morphs new information (unknown) into what is known or assumed (as shared knowledge).

4.1.8.1 Classification as facilitator to diminish narrative content

A superordinate term can win its position only where it fulfils the function of introducing a family (as the principal of that group), and where the family comprises members associated by at least one shared characteristic. Shared characteristics are accepted traits and/or facts that are known, and need not be articulated. If not articulated but known then the shared meaning qualifies to be a covert meaning. Hidden meanings – including associated ones – (as intended or not by the addressor) can be inferred only where already salient in the mind of the addressee: with increased usage, the likelihood of an increased salient lexicon is probable. Headings and headlines are ‘economy registers’ (Bruthiaux 1996) employed as a simplification mechanism that – like nominalisation – increases noun density but reduces subordination and sentence length.

In this line of thinking, the introduction of a system of headings assisted to diminish the volume of information-type narrative, and facilitated the development of a language that operated by association and inference – functioning within conceptual boundaries that are in some way tied to one another. For example, the heading REAL ESTATE signals either land or dwelling ss available for sale and may be purchased, thus rendering as unnecessary the

⁵³ There the discussion illustrated how even the smallest of advertisements that offer something to sell employ a persuasive device whose role it is to solicit the receiver.

words ‘for sale’ and ‘may be purchased’; further the act of making a REAL ESTATE opportunity available raises the expectation of seller as lawfully permitted to enter into commercial transactions. Similarly, MEDICAL as heading suggests healing is at hand, rendering the benefits of health recovery and healing as assumed (hidden) meanings; and suggests the advertiser is qualified in the field of healing or manufacture of curatives. These unsaid (but evident or potential) meanings raise the idea of truth value and ambiguity (see 4.2.5).

4.1.8.2 Classification as facilitator of new information in transition to assumed knowledge

Classification acts as the conduit that morphs new information (unknown) to known or assumed knowledge. With the passing of time, newly introduced consumables (and their traits) shifted from a marketplace status of ‘unknown’ (new information) to be assigned the status of ‘known’ – and in this way gradually opened up for the copywriter a burgeoning reserve of presupposition and thematic information that enabled use of implicature as a persuasive device. Classification diminished the need to be descriptively explicit, and permitted fuzziness in terms of associated traits. Generic headings identified types of consumables for the addressee: this granted advertisements the opportunity to become selectively informative in narrative content. For example, the label MEDICINE today is associated with healing, and product efficacy (therapeutic benefit) and this attractive benefit is inferable without explicit statement of positive value.

Classification and the emergence of generic labels to categorise consumables posed both advantage and disadvantage for the advertiser. Generic identification offered two key market possibilities:

- on the one hand, a generic label gave opportunity to associate items with attractive traits or benefits that may be absent, and/ or to withhold unfavourable details (such as limitations) that ought to be disclosed
- on the other, as markets became filled with competing products, generic labels raised the threat of obscurity.

In response to the latter, advertisers were compelled to distinguish their offerings as especially valuable and superior: this became crucial after the mid-1850s, when competition intensified with specialisation of trade activity. This was compounded by the advent of mass production into the 1890s – signalling a period of ‘making brands and getting attention’ (Myers 1994, pp. 19–22): for the first time in history ‘it became possible to make far more of common things that anyone needed’ (p. 20).

Nevertheless, socio-economic conditions were favourable to a market flooded with consumables. The swell of economic strength (from the wool, wheat, gold

and other industries) created a class with high levels of disposable income.⁵⁴ The population estimate of the 1850s is recorded at over 200,000 – reaching four million by Federation in 1901,⁵⁵ representing a potential market of that number. Further, of benefit to the patent-medicine entrepreneur was the high incidence of illnesses and resultant mortality, lack of trained health professionals and the norm of home-based self-medication (Lewis 2014; Pearn 2012) – which provided demand for marketplace remedies.

4.1.9 Conceptual association as a marketing tool

Returning to the single page from 1823 reproduced in Figure 4.3 above, the page content is visually uniform, representing an invariability seen into the 1870s – namely, wordiness uninterrupted by creative treatment (such as pictures or innovative typography). However, the germinal organisational element seen there, in effect, represents conceptualisation by category, and helped establish the settler marketplace. Eventually into the 1930s, drawing on the power of conceptual association and technology, the spur of market competition led to the norm of creative strategies (Jim Aitchison 2012; Crawford 2008, 2011), where word-heavy narratives are not favoured. High word count is generally confined to advertorials, service agreements and warranties, and the recruitment industry (in position descriptions). The advertising message today favours branding, catchy slogans, imagery and the minimalist logo to convey ideas – with the image of a celebrity as the conventional device of prestige items. Brand distinction provides the key to prominence in a world burgeoning with things to buy – many of which are indistinguishable within their categories.

4.2 Advertisement specimens from the 1800s

The preceding sub-section 4.1 overviewed the beginnings of commercial activity that characterised the socio-economic setting at Port Jackson (Sydney Harbour). It provided a picture of the colony as it built its commercial face between 1800 and the 1850s, and afforded illustrative examples of press notices. The overview raised a profile of factors that define the language of early marketplace selling – which later developed into the complex discourse variety of competitive marketing today.⁵⁶ What can be said of the infant marketplace is that the language of selling was compositionally and pragmatically similar to other notices of that time, focusing on information

⁵⁴ In 1851, the Colony of Victoria was founded, coinciding with the discovery of gold in that state.

⁵⁵ Australian Historical Population Statistics, various documents, <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS>

⁵⁶ The legislation that follows the trajectory of commercial expansion is not ignored, but can only be acknowledged here as an influential factor impacting advertising language.

dissemination; register changes are evident from the 1820s; and a classification system is seen from the 1850s.

Following on from the exploratory discussion above, some 26 products- and-services advertisements from the 1800s are examined here to gather more information about advertising language of the nineteenth century. These specimens are typical within their publication decade, and illustrate the development of marketplace language over some 100 years. As mentioned, onwards from the 1850s, a classification system emerged, and there flourished standout headings that highlighted for the reader exclusive categories of consumables. This system, which improved readability and underscored critical advertiser information, is a primary attention-getter device able to carry significant meanings (de Silva 2018).

A visual scan of newspapers through the decades reveals that products-and-services advertisements through to the 1870s occupy a position identifiable as close to the information-delivery type on the ‘continuum of text functions’ (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, p. 1290). It can be stated that advertisements of the early 1800s tend to:

- lack headings to identify consumables
- provide appropriate and detailed information (such as point of sale, and itemisation of available products)
- employ paragraphs of full sentences
- be expressively formal, and verbose (by today’s standards)
- use third person (which distances seller from addressee)
- self-promote and project a sense of personalisation (expressed by way of using names of people associated with sale, provision or manufacture of the item)
- offer character testimonials.

These seven features are evident in the words of the three notices below:

- sale of ‘the Hop’⁵⁷ from James Squires, 1807
- auction by Mr Lord, 1820, at ‘his Auction Mart in Macquarie Place’
- variety sundries from Robert Jenkins, 1809.

⁵⁷ Flowers of the hops plant are used in beer-making to impart flavours and bittering, and function as a stability agent. Brought to Australia in 1802, it was a ‘necessary ingredient for ensuring that wholesome, cheap and nourishing drink’ of beer (as reported in *The Sydney Gazette*, 21 October 1804, p. 2).

4.2.1 Writing style: examples from 1807–1820

In 1807, a James Squires advertised bulk purchase of hops seedlings for the agriculturist. The advertisement – in grammatical third person – identified the vendor as ‘settler at Kissing Point’⁵⁸ (thus providing point-of-sale utilitarian information). By employing third person, James Squires distances himself from the vendor (who likely he is), advising that ‘he has now from 12 to 1500 Plants to spare’. He ‘begs leave to acquaint those who are desirous of cultivating the Hop’ with the relevant facts. He identifies quantity available, item price, condition of the living plants as being ‘the whole in a healthy state’, and the ideal season to bed the seedlings.⁵⁹ By declaring ‘the present is the proper season for planting’, he coaxes addressees to take immediate action to buy and plant ‘in the proper season’. It appears the persons ‘desirous’ of cultivation may satisfy their hops-plant needs at any time of day or night at Kissing Point, as no trading time is given.

Some 15 years later, a Mr Lord – in grammatical third person – advertises SALES BY AUCTION at ‘his Auction Mart in Macquarie Place’. Mr Lord promotes a range of commodities, and additionally he offers residential property (‘dwelling houses’). He provides the auction date and time as ‘on Tuesday next, the 26th, and on Thursday the 28th Instant, at 11 o'clock precisely on each Day’. This is followed by naming (in a running list) some 33 commodities of foodstuffs, personal care, clothing and accessories, fabrics, household items and furniture, carpentry tools and materials, paints and oils, empty bottles, horse-riding paraphernalia, and ‘well-dressed’ animal skins:

*Advertisement from Mr Lord for his Auction Mart in
Macquarie Place, 1820*

SALES BY AUCTION.
BY MR. LORD,
At his Auction Mart, in Macquarie Place, on Tuesday
next, the 26th, and on Thursday the 28th Instant,
at 11 o'clock precisely on each Day,
ENGLISH Hams, Butter, Loaf Sugar, Bengal Soap,
Fig Blue, English Starch, Earthen and Glass Ware,
white Counterpanes, Mull Mull Muslin, English and
Bengal Chintz, Calico, a few Ladies' Dresses, Bonnets,
Caps, Shoes, &c. Work Boxes, Ginger, a Choice As-
sortment of Cutlery, Carpenters' Tools, Sheet Iron and
Tin, Pig Lead, Paints and Oils, Damma, a few Dozen

⁵⁸ James Squires was among the first settlers at Kissing Point on the Parramatta River, which is a tributary of Sydney Harbour.

⁵⁹ In this era, buyers relied on the trustworthiness of the seller as warranty, aligning with the *caveat emptor* (‘let the buyer beware’) principle.

of empty Bottles, Furniture, Saddles and bridles, elegant Chaise Harness, a few Bags of fine white Sugar, some well dressed Kangaroo and other Skins, and numerous other Articles.

Immediately after the above, three commodious and substantial DWELLING HOUSES, on one Allotment of Ground, having an excellent Well, situate in Gloucester street, Rocks. The Premises are new, contiguous to Charlotte-place, and Well worth the Attention of any one wishing to become an Inhabitant of Sydney. Terms, prompt Payment.

The Sydney Gazette, 23 September 1820, p. 3.

In Mr Lord's SALES BY AUCTION 1820 advertisement (following the running list of 'Articles') is a real-estate notice offering 'three commodious and substantial DWELLING HOUSES, on one Allotment of Ground, having an excellent Well': the use of descriptive adjectives remains a signature of real-estate advertising today (though the vocabulary choices are dated). This notice positions Mr Lord as an early realtor. The language of this realty notice is an example of subject-specific terminology in evolution. The label 'dwelling house' pragmatically distinguishes places of residence from buildings where business may be conducted: the term shows as current in the Australian press to the 1940s.⁶⁰ From Mr Lord's description, the houses – in today's terminology – may be townhouses (or units), bound by shared gardens and utilities (such as the well mentioned by Mr Lord).

Mr Lord's 1820 SALES BY AUCTION realty notice brings to mind the term 'real estate'. While the label did appear in newspapers of the 1830s, it gained currency from the 1850s onward (as evident in a search of the Trove database) – perhaps aided by the passing of the Real Estate Bill (Figure 4.4) that took effect on 1 December 1843. This draws attention to the influence of legislation on language use.

⁶⁰ However, the most recent illustrative example of 'dwelling house' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is dated at 1893, oed.com

Figure 4.4 The-Real-Estate-Bill-1843. Source: The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 18 November 1843, p. 8.

The Real Estate Bill, 1843

THE REAL ESTATE BILL.
The standing orders of the Council were set aside on Monday last that this Bill might be advanced through its several stages at one sitting. On Tuesday the 14th the Bill was further considered in Committee, read a third time, and passed. The date of its operation was fixed for the 1st of December.

In the 1850s, notions of commercial and residential real estate – such as property ownership, land titles and land transfers – became defined in the law. This is evidenced late in that decade by reports concerning the law of real estate, the Real Estate Descent Bill, and the Torrens Real Property Bill. The rising currency in newspapers of the term ‘real estate’ that followed disclosures of parliamentary bills raised in the 1850s (and their associated press reports) points to the role of newspapers as disseminators of subject-specific terminology into general readership. This facet is evidenced in the relay of subject-specific terms from the biomedical worlds into the public domain (as will be seen in the thesis).

Soon after Mr Lord’s 1820 Auction Mart notice – which appended three dwelling houses for sale – a small step toward classification is visible (as shown Figure 4.3 earlier, an example from 1823). While auction sales of the mixed-bag type continue, into the 1850s there appear headings to demarcate categories – like TOWN PROPERTIES and MEDICAL; and hairline rules are used to separate categories, thus improving readability (and offering potential to reduce word count). The classification headings are designed to stand out – as evident in Figure 4.6 Medical-Advertisement-List from 1855: here is seen a miscellany of health-related products, a number of services, and random offerings (like free medical advice). The significance of this 1855 artefact is discussed shortly.

Returning to the notices above – from James Squires in 1807 and Mr Lord in 1820 – these represent the earliest decades of commercial activity, and show narrative style and mode of address. The 1807 one is for a single commodity (the hops plant); and the 1820 notice is a jumble of personal items and household wares, tailed by a realty offering. Both focus on information delivery, and employ a formal tone and third person to position the vendor at a distance from the reader (an enduring quality of the marketer, as will be seen).

Similar to Mr Lord’s SALES BY AUCTION 1820 notice is that of Robert Jenkins (below) from 1809. This identifies the maritime delivery vessel as ‘Atalanta’, and advises that the items are available from ‘the House of Mr. William Blake, in the Town’ (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Robert-Jenkins-1809. Source: *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 6 August 1809, p. 2.

Advertisement from Robert Jenkins, 1809

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Inhabitants of this Colony are informed, that a Selection from the Cargo of the *Atalanta*, composed of Articles adapted to their wants, is now ready for general inspection, at the House of Mr. William Blake, in this Town.—It will at present be necessary that all Payments should be made in hard Cash, Government Bills, or consolidated Paper.—The Consignee, being a stranger, relies, that until time shall render him more conversant with the Trade of the Settlement, its Inhabitants will kindly refrain from asking credit of him:—On his part, he offers Goods which in their respective classes are of good quality, and will be sold at moderate prices, to evince his earnest desire to accommodate the Public;—he will vend each article in such quantities as may suit small Dealers;—he further observes that he will be always ready to afford Individuals any facilities which his Mercantile Connexions in London may place in his power; and that to establish his character in this Colony as a man of integrity will be the highest ambition of

ROBERT JENKINS.

cont. in next column

cont. from previous column

Among the **ARTICLES** on SALE are

Printed Cottons	Woollen cloths and coats
strip'd ditto	ting
printed jean	blankets and flannels
checks	bombazettes
white calico	bombazones
dinny	camblets
cambric muslin	calimancoes
muslin shawls	harratecus
worked muslins	figur'd sarsonets
velveteens	black asting
cotton sheeting	black and colour'd silk
haberdashery	handkerchiefs
hosiery	hats and shoes
brown holland	sail cloth
Irish lincens	lines and twines
long lawns	paint and oil
half-bleached sheeting	pickles and hams
home-bleached douglas	cheese and butter
Lancashire sheeting	spades and shovels
Irish ditto	iron pots
ducks and ticks	medicines, &c. &c.
huckabacks	

Attendance from sun-rise to sun-set.

Robert-Jenkins-1809 offers some 38 items: the consumables listed (Figure 4.5) are primarily clothing and accessories (such as fabrics, handkerchiefs, hosiery, woollens, haberdashery, hats and shoes), with assorted Manchester, and sailing-and-fishing items – along with some foodstuffs, spades and shovels, cooking pots, and medicines. Robert-Jenkins-1809 contains a narrative block (transcribed below): the textual composition and language choices are typical of writing style in the first decades of settlement. The opening phrase ‘The Inhabitants of the Colony’ is the usual address calling to the colonial settler (and readers also may be addressed as ‘The Public’). Overt formality of register is a feature; and first- and second-person pronouns are not evident. Examination of the language choices shows this 1809 artefact as useful to illustrate a fledgling language of commerce:

Advertisement from Robert Jenkins, 1809

The Inhabitants of this Colony are informed that a Selection from the Cargo of the Atalanta, composed of Articles adapted to their wants, is now ready for general inspection, at the House of Mr. William Blake, in this Town. - It will at present be necessary that all Payments should be made in hard Cash, Government Bills, or consolidated Paper. - The Consignee, being a stranger, relies, that until time shall render him more conversant with the Trade of the Settlement, its Inhabitants will kindly refrain from asking credit of him: - On his part, he offers Goods which in their respective classes are of good quality, and will be sold at moderate prices, to evince his earnest desire to accommodate the Public; - he will vend each article in such quantities as may suit small Dealers; - he further observes that he will be always ready to afford individuals any facilities which his Mercantile Connexions in London may place in his power, and that to establish his character in this Colony as a man of integrity will be the highest ambition of ROBERT JENKINS.

The Sydney Gazette, 6 August 1809, p. 2.

Of relevance to Robert-Jenkins-1809, an ancestral aspect of the modern-day lexicon of trading activity should be mentioned: the adoption of key trade-related terminology into English is traceable to the seventeenth century (oed.com). The specialist language of business transactions in the English-speaking world dates from the formation of the British East India Company in 1600: it was a stimulus that spurred the need for business-related expressions. As a key trading instrument of British imperialism, the Company was in operation to the late 1880s,⁶¹ its commercial activities reaching into colonial outposts. From this maritime enterprise, commodity markets were realised, and the early broker and investor were born – as was formal issue of debt in trade transactions (Russell 1793).⁶² The British expansion of financial and trade activities engendered the need for an expanded vocabulary and brought business-related terms into general use: this constitutes the foundation for today's register of banking and finance.

With respect to Robert-Jenkins-1809 (Figure 4.5), which offers a range of consumables (including medicines), it can be said that:

⁶¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

⁶² This resource is part of *The Making of the Modern World*, covering Britain's trade 1450–1850 at home and abroad. It focuses on the East India Company, <https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/ps/i.do?action=interpret&id=GALE%7CU0102473247&v=2.1&u=monash&it=r&p=MOME&sw=w>

- the advertiser Robert Jenkins, who wishes to establish the character of the seller ‘in this colony as a man of integrity’, was a broker (mercantile agent)
- the seller William Blake (the ‘consignee’ who accompanied the goods) was an investor (shareholder or financier), who either carried the debt for the consignment or represented the parties who did
- given the variety of goods available ‘at the House of Mr. William Blake’ and the ample quantities able to be purchased by shopkeepers (inferable from the words ‘he will vend each article in such quantities as may suit small Dealers’), it appears that the financial investment into the consignment is considerably high.

The early language of business transaction (commerce) recoverable from Robert-Jenkins-1809 is identified as follows:

- ‘articles’ and ‘goods’
These are the labels used to indicate commodities (that is, useful products). The term ‘commodity’ – in the sense of a material thing or product ‘of use or value’ or available for sale is evident from the 1400s (oed.com). However, its attributive use manifests from the early 1800s (as, for example, in ‘commodity market’, ‘commodity price’, ‘commodity trading’): these reside in the field of today’s stock market.
- ‘government bills’⁶³ and ‘consolidated paper’
These are the equivalent of today’s authorised debentures in banking and finance. They are certificates of indebtedness recognised as secure payments (backed by government or a bank). Money as notes and coins was not the standard of monetary exchange in 1800s Australia.
- ‘consignee’
The noun ‘consignee’ meaning ‘a person to whom goods are consigned’ is first recorded at 1789, in a legal sense; but ‘to consign’ in the sense of ‘commerce’ is evident from the mid-1600s (oed.com). Etymologically, ‘consignee’ originates from Latin with the authoritative meaning of ‘mark, sign, seal’ – here is an example of a term that in its base form can be traced to the early advertising of consumables, but today resides in the domain of legal register (most likely contract law) in relation to banking and finance.

⁶³ In Modern English, a government bill means ‘parliamentary bill’, relating to proposed legislation. The sense as evident in this 1809 artefact is not recorded in the *OED*.

- ‘the Public’
Contextually, this refers to the market at hand (buyers) – retailer or individual. A search of the Trove database shows this is the term used in the press to address or refer to colonial settlers – evident in General Orders and government notices (often as ‘The Public is informed’), and in letters to the Editor attributively ‘the Public Opinion’.
- ‘sold at moderate prices’
This phrase attaches the value of affordability to items, common in early communication – given that early markets typically operated by auction.
- ‘small dealers’
These are retailers (shopkeepers), who at settlement conducted business from their domestic dwelling.

The above-listed six language items from 1809 (Figure 4.5) are examples of expressions that served business-related early communication. The reference to ‘Mercantile Connexions in London’ suggests a group of merchants as partners in a maritime contractual agreement for venture capitalism, and it is reasonable to extrapolate that a maritime risk policy is in place as an adjunct of the mercantile agreement.⁶⁴ The six language items listed above (along with the ideas of contractual agreement and insurance policy) fall within the broadband of business language: they are a linguistic fit for the social register of written English of their time – but Robert-Jenkins-1809 is distinguished by its subject-specific vocabulary (like ‘consignee’). Through the 1800s, the subject-specific vocabulary of business trickles into the public domain via advertisements and journalistic reporting, gaining currency from the 1830s.

4.2.2 Development of a language of commerce: 1830s

From the 1830s into the 1900s, a flush of business-related vocabulary is seen in the press. This brings into relief the realm of companies, liability, insolvency, investment and insurance – with the Australian Marine Insurance Company as the first insurance company in operation, set up in 1835.⁶⁵ A figurative expression from this occupational set is the phrasal verb ‘to wind up’, with its

⁶⁴ Maritime insurance in London has its origins in the late 1600s with Edward Lloyd, proprietor of Lloyd’s Coffee House (a meeting place of bankers, merchants and insurance underwriters), and its associated publication *Lloyd’s List* is a reporter of global trade (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com).

⁶⁵ *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 February 1933, p. 7.

specialist meaning of ‘to arrange and adjust the affairs of (a company or business concern) on its dissolution’:

wind, v. 1

to wind up

4. figurative.

c. To put in order and settle (an affair) with the view of bringing it to an end; to bring to a final settlement; *spec.* to arrange and adjust the affairs of (a company or business concern) on its dissolution; also *absol.*

1780 *Mirror* No. 97. ¶7 Some company concerns to be wound up, or some bottomry-accompt to be adjusted.

1794 G. MORRIS in J. Sparks *Life G. Morris* (1832) II. 458 I have some affairs in London which I wish to wind up.

The phrases ‘to be wound up’ and ‘to wind up’, as seen in the two illustrative examples above, are dated respectively at 1780 and 1794 (oed.com). This expression gains currency in the 1800s, and manifests in the thesis dataset by 1908, as evident in the closing words of the following extract from an article entitled ‘History of Insurance Legislation’:

HISTORY OF INSURANCE LEGISLATION, 1908

... companies that were insolvent according to established standards were required to be wound up.

Extract from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1908, p. 9.

With regard to the figurative ‘to wind up’ in its commercial sense, it cannot be verified from the dataset that this is a term used in advertisements; it can only be said that the language of commerce – as it formatively came to fruition – was available in the press for the advertiser’s casebook of language and style. It is also noted here that advertisers employed devices to create promotional materials that do not strike the addressee as an advertisement – such as advertorials and testimonials that are written in a reporting or storytelling style: in these advertiser narratives, there is wide scope to use natural-language expressions (including conversational and figurative ones).

From the 1800s vintage of business language (exemplified above), the modern register of commerce was cultivated to satisfy the needs of the modern marketplace and its institutions, occupations and settings. With respect to register, it can be said that, logically, registers that differentiate occupational groups evolve only after those specialist groups are formed (by virtue of their shared characteristics that enable classification) – here members wear their linguistic register as a virtual logo to distinguish themselves from others. In the

higher rungs of social and occupational hierarchies, register helps to form exclusive groups. In this way, registers are a kind of brand (along the lines of an intangible product) procurable via the workplace, social class or formal education. In other words, the advertising copywriter acts like a natural-language learner to build an ‘encyclopedic knowledge’ of expressions based on denotative meanings and ‘from experiences, beliefs, and prejudices about the contexts in which the expression is typically used’ (Allan 2001, p. 297).

4.2.3 The development of occupational register: 1850s

Register variation is strongly evident in the world of modern advertising. It is strategically adopted to suit target audiences: Leech (1966) in his diachronic study of advertising language in Great Britain makes this observation in relation to how language is used in the different social settings of commercials. Registers can distinctly badge humans by occupational group (just as logos identify particular products): linguistic register, then, is a useful device in the hands of the advertiser – both to identify market segments and to address those segments appropriately.

Occupational register is a feature of industrialisation and modern living. The idea of linguistic register is first recorded at 1956 (oed.com). The illustrative example, from linguist and philologist T.B.W. Reid, recognises register as speaking or writing in a distinctly different way relatable to particular social situations:

register, *n.*1

9 c. *Linguistics.* In language: a variety or level of usage, esp. as determined by social context and characterized by the range of vocabulary, pronunciation, syntax, etc., used by a speaker or writer in particular circumstances.

1956 T. B. W. REID in *Archivum Linguisticum* 8 32 He will on different occasions speak (or write) differently according to what may roughly be described as different social situations: he will use a number of distinct ‘registers’.

Seemingly, the distinction between selling practice of earlier centuries and that of the modern marketplace is that of market segmentation achievable by register adaptation. Given that a sale can be effected only in a community with income flow, the discovery of occupational registers added an invaluable new chapter to the copywriter’s casebook. With the rise of new careers and variety of workplace employments, market segmentation and appropriate target language is a primary concern of the advertiser. Knowledge of register associated with scientific and bio-medical research, for example, is critical in

the composition of health-related advertising (as 5.0 Investigative Studies will reveal).

The advent of workplace-based vocabulary (which helped advertisers customise promotional content) intersects with the emergence of classification: these events can be dated to the mid-1850s. This is a period in Australia characterised by growth in settler population and the newspaper industry, and by increased volume of press reporting and advertising. By 1855, *The Argus* had doubled to eight pages, and an improved layout is evident. As a general principle, classification provided the foundation for a mature system of content organisation; and a taxonomic system differentiated types of consumables. An example of this is shown below in Figure 4.6 Medical-Advertisement-List-1855, a block of classifieds. Here, health-related advertising appears under the heading ‘Medical’; and each item is alphabetically ordered, starting with ARTIFICIAL TEETH (a popular market item). The alphabetisation – not evident earlier in the 1800s – indicates progress in achieving greater readability in the advertising of classifieds.

In medical classifieds, the individual notices are usually of 3–6 lines, excepting a few lengthy entries: these exceptions are almost exclusively for the promotion of ingestive, inhalant or topical medicines, or interventionist treatments – and the testimonial is often a partner of these. The lengthiness of advertisements for medicines (and the frequent presence of testimonials in these) makes this category visually outstanding and linguistically interesting. Figure 4.6 shows a mixed bag of notices, from 1855, under the heading ‘Medical’. The notices promote health-related products; and advise of medical practice location and change-of address, services available (free medical advice, surgery, midwifery, nursing), and a medical practice for sale. Of the lengthy entries, two are for patent medicines, and the third is for a dentifrice: these three will serve here to show what the language was like in the category of health-related products in the 1850s.

Figure 4.6 Medical-Advertisement-List-1855. Source: The Argus, 26 September 1855, p. 3.

Medical Advertisement List, 1855	
<p>Medical.</p> <p>ARTIFICIAL TEETH Fitted Most Beautifully, at London charges, by Mr Bamford, surgeon-dentist, 169 Lonsdale-street east. 212 oct 4</p> <p>ADVICE Gratis.—Dr. Louis L. Smith, Surgeon, Licentiate of the Apothecaries' Society of London, Member of the Medical Board of Victoria. Advice gratis, before eleven and after six. 197 Bourke-street east, six doors beyond the Newmarket Hotel, Melbourne. 61 oct 9</p> <p>DR. L. L. SMITH'S Vegetable Pills cure biliousness, feverishness, loss of appetite, furred tongue, indigestion, liver, stomach, and bowel complaints, sick headache, skin eruptions, spasms, palpitations, nervous affections, giddiness, flatulence, heartburn, &c. 197 Bourke-street east, Melbourne. Agent for Collingwood, Mr. WILLIAMS, chemist and druggist, Brunswick street; for Emerald Hill, Mr. FRENCH, chemist, &c.; for Sandridge, Mr. THOMAS, chemist, &c., Bay-street; for St. Kilda, Mr. Mathews, druggist, Post Office. 122 oct 16</p> <p>D• MINTYRE, Surgeon, has Removed to 151 Collins-street east. 46 sep 29</p> <p>DR. TOVELL has Removed to Brighton, near the Devonshire Hotel. 19 oct 22</p> <p>DR. LIVINGSTON has Succeeded to Dr. Tovell's Practice, and has Removed to 200 Smith-street. 29 oct 22</p> <p>DISEASES of Women and Children.—Dr. Martin, surgeon and accoucheur, 31 Russell-street. 187 oct 1</p> <p>HOLLOWAY'S PILLS, the best remedy in the world for Female Complaints.—These Pills are particularly recommended to the residents in Australia for their extraordinary efficacy in female complaints; and they are alike valuable either to the daughter verging on womanhood, or the mother at the turn of life. It has been proved beyond all contradiction that these celebrated Pills will cure all disorders to which females are peculiarly subject, and enable them to pass their critical periods of life without exposing themselves to those dangers they too often incur by other treatment. Agents: F. COOPER and CO., Collins-street, Melbourne. 3461</p>	<p><i>cont. from previous column</i></p> <p>MR. R. HUNTER, Surgeon, Ailsa-terrace, opposite Noah's Ark, Victoria-street, between Swanston and Elizabeth streets. 180 sep 29</p> <p>MESSRS. PERRY and CO., Surgeons, at 214 Lonsdale-street east, four doors from Coppin's Olympic. Consulting Fee, £1. Letters immediately answered. Balm of Syriacum, 11s. per bottle. Purifying Pills, 2s. 6d. to 11s. per box. 252 sep 29</p> <p>MIDWIFE and Ladies' Nurse.—Mrs. Disher, from Edinburgh, with testimonials. 181 Moore-street, Collingwood. 9 oct 1</p> <p>MEDICAL PRACTICE, well established, to be transferred upon unusually favorable terms. Address N., office of this paper. 112 sep 28</p> <p>SOUND and White Teeth are not only indispensable requisite to a pleasing exterior in both sexes, but they are peculiarly appreciated through life as a blessing highly conducive to the purposes of health and longevity. Among the various preparations offered for the purpose, Rowland's Odonto, or Pearl Dentifrice, stands unrivalled in its capability of embellishing, purifying, and preserving the teeth to the latest period of life. It will be found to eradicate all tartar and concretions, and impart a pearl-like whiteness to the enamelled surface, remove spots of incipient decay, render the gums firm and red, and thus fix the teeth firmly in their sockets, and from its aromatic influence it imparts sweetness and purity to the breath. Price 2s. 9d. per box.</p> <p>Caution.—The words "Rowland's Odonto" are on the label, and "A. Rowland and Son, 20 Hatton-garden," engraved on the Government stamp affixed on each box. Sold by Mr. SAMUEL CROFT, perfumer, &c., Elizabeth-street, Melbourne. 3319</p>
<p><i>cont. in next column</i></p>	

As mentioned, the three lengthy entries in Figure 4.6 Medical-Advertisement-List-1855 are two patent medicines and a dentifrice – respectively ‘Dr L.L. Smiths Vegetable Pills’, ‘Holloways Pills the best remedy in the world for Female Complaints’ and ‘Sound and White Teeth’. The following analysis demonstrates the use of medical language in these promotions. Consistent with the linguistic pattern of earlier decades, direct address is absent: the narrative employs third person (thus distancing supplier from addressee).

Dr L.L. Smiths Vegetable Pills, 1855

This medicine, a vegetable-based remedy, purports to ‘cure’ afflictions (as apparent in the transcription below from Figure 4.6) that assault a range of organs (brain, heart, liver, skin); and those that cause muscle and nerve disorders, disruption of digestive system, and ‘furred tongue’:

DR. L. L. SMITH'S Vegetable Pills cure
biliousness, feverishness, loss of appetite,
furred tongue, indigestion, liver, stomach, and
bowel complaints, sick headache, skin eruptions,
spasms, palpitations, nervous affections,
giddiness, flatulence, heartburn, &c.

Similar pills of putative wide-ranging healing power are evident from the early 1800s into the 1920s under different proprietary names – and often the name carries the title ‘Dr.’ The range of curable ailments are typically presented as a running list; but into the 1900s particular afflictions are seen isolated under a standout heading. For example, in the first two decades of the 1900s, cures specialising in the furred-tongue ailment appear under the heading FURRED TONGUE, accompanied by diagnosis (from the issuing chemist) usually stating the symptom is ‘a sure indication that the stomach is out of order’. Diagnosis is a consistent feature of patent-medicine promotions into the 1900s.

As the decades pass, alternative labels appear that variously reference some common conditions. For example, in the 1930s, referring to the furred-tongue ailment, the term ‘coated tongue’ is popular. Cures for this disappear into the 1950s: this could be due to a clinical study of 700 patients published in *The Lancet* (Louden 1956). The study attributed the ‘furred tongue’ symptom to smoking, oral and respiratory tract infection, and fever; and not related to disorders of the gastro-intestinal tract (including constipation). Similar to the fate of furred-tongue cures, a range of purported remedies (prolific in the press from 1850 into the 1940s) are by 1960 no longer seen advertised.

Returning to Dr L.L. Smith’s Vegetable Pills, the reference to ‘nervous affections’ indicates disorders of the mind (psychological and/ or psychiatric disturbances). In notices later posted from Dr L.L. Smith, treatment of melancholia and nervousness are evidently his speciality – but he does not limit his expertise to this field. In a notice from 1861, this practitioner advertises that certain afflictions are ‘Particularly attended to’:⁶⁶ this verb phrase implies specialisation.

⁶⁶ *The Age*, 25 September 1861, p. 7 (a Melbourne newspaper in publication since 1854).

His expertise claimed in the 1861 notice is in women's diseases,⁶⁷
paediatrics, eye and ear conditions, syphilis and 'Nervous Affections':

Diseases of Women and Children,
Diseases of the Eye and Ear,
Syphilitic and Nervous Affections
Particularly attended to.

The example of 'Dr L.L. Smith's Vegetable Pills' from 1855 is typical of patent-medicine advertising of its era: attestations of a wide-ranging skills set is seen from the mid-1850s into the 1900s. This phenomenon is likely attributable to the rise of medical specialisation in that period in the English-speaking world. Before the 1850s, medical specialisation and research output were exclusive to western Europe, with origins in France (Weisz 2006). Heath's study of professional language mentioned above reports that by 1856 professional societies of colonial America desired to publish their journal content in English, where the tradition had been to reproduce articles from Europe:

A great many of the materials on medicine and law in the United States until the mid-nineteenth century came from Europe and were often printed in languages other than English. ... By 1856, journals of the professional societies openly expressed their strong inclinations to select only materials in English ...

Heath 1979, p. 104.

The American 'inclination to select only materials in English' suggests a demand for localised specialist writing; and, accordingly, the need for specialist terminology in English.

In 1813, the first American textbook of surgery was published: it became the standard surgical text there. This comprehensive two-volume work was disseminated abroad, and adopted in Europe by the established medical centres of education (Smythe 2003). Among the pressing reasons cited for release of this seminal publication is American nationalism and socio-economic pressures forced upon the publishing industry (caused by trade embargoes against America).⁶⁸ By the 1870s, there were more medical schools in colonial America than in all of Europe (Heath 1979), flagging the need for publication

⁶⁷ The expression 'women's diseases' is seen into the 1940s; 'men's diseases' is not seen. The word 'female' is seen to reference women's conditions, but not 'male' to identify men's condition.

⁶⁸ Instituted by France and by Great Britain (to block the other from trading with the United States), *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

of English-language textbooks (which diminished lengthy medical reporting in the press). The advent of medical specialisation in colonial America may explain the claims of wide-ranging specialist skills by ‘Dr L.L. Smith’). Ostensibly, this is a declaration of the Australian colonial to claim equivalence with the learned vanguard of the American colonial counterpart: it is an assertion of world-standard professional excellence.

Holloways Pills the best remedy in the world for Female Complaints, 1855

Holloway’s Pills (Figure 4.6) – ‘the best remedy for Female Complaints’ – are ‘particularly recommended’ for Australians, evidently efficacious to treat discomforts experienced during the regular menstrual period, and by women ‘at the turn of Life’:

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS, the best remedy in the world for Female Complaints. These Pills are particularly recommended to residents in Australia for their extraordinary efficacy in female complaints; and they are alike valuable either to the daughter verging on womanhood, or the mother at the turn of Life. It has been proved beyond all contradiction that these celebrated Pills will cure all disorders to which females are peculiarly subject, and enable them to pass their critical periods of life without exposing themselves to those dangers they too often incur by other treatment.

The observations that can be made in analysis of the language choices in ‘Holloway’s Pills’ are as follow:


- The reference to ‘Australia’ reflects a strategy to personalise the remedy within its target market, a feature that is uncommon in the 1800s, but that gains currency with the growth of global marketing.
- The words ‘it has been proved’ is a typical claim of patent-medicine advertising to suggest scientific trials.
- The words ‘these celebrated Pills will cure all Disorders’ are formulaic of patent-medicine advertising to claim renown and panacea-like efficacy.

- The closing words ‘those dangers they too often incur by other treatment’ constitute a warning against fakes and imitations, frequently seen in advertisements for competitive items (including everyday foodstuffs).

While this advertisement offers specifically to treat ‘Female Complaints’, the same Pills are seen prolifically promoted as a cure for all kinds of other ailments – such as problems of liver, indigestion, flatulence, nausea, and ‘nervous debility’. The companion product of ‘Holloway’s Pills’ is ‘Holloway’s Ointment’: these were of international repute in the 1800s, travelling to most continents of the world. The Holloway’s range is of particular interest for the reason that it suggests a semantic and historical connection between the ideas of quack medicine and placebo, as exemplified in the following discussion.

The archives of the Smithsonian Institute⁶⁹ catalogue the putative benefits of the Pills as a treatment drug for multiple organs and systems of the adult human, and also for infants and children (see Figure 4.7). A study published in *The Lancet* in 2001 reports the ingredients of the Ointment as primarily beeswax and lanolin, and the Pills as a compound of aloes, ginger and soap: thus, these apparently qualify as not a product designed to heal a medical condition nor to prevent an ailment or disease. Given widespread market demand and longevity, Holloway’s products suggest themselves to be well marketed – and are evidently a placebo.

Figure 4.7 Holloway’s Pills c. 1870: object name ‘OTC preparation’. Source: Smithsonian Institute, https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_719977, accessed 29 July 2019.

Holloways Pills, c. 1870	Holloways Pills putative benefits
	<p>SUBJECT</p> <p>Blood & Liver Drugs</p> <p>Kidney & Urinary Drugs</p> <p>Infant & Children's Products - Pediatrics</p> <p>Nerve & Brain Drugs</p> <p>G.E. Damon Collection</p>

⁶⁹ A collective of research centres in the USA, established in 1846, <https://www.si.edu/>

As a placebo, Holloway's offerings are creations of the 1800s that achieved social legitimacy adjunct to the world of patient prescription, bio-medicine and experimentation that dates to 1772 (discussed below based on Jütte 2013).⁷⁰ A placebo is a treatment administered in a medical setting for peace of mind (psychological benefit) – not for physiological effect, but believed by the recipient to be healing, and given 'more to please than benefit the patient', as seen in the illustrative example from 1811 below (oed.com):

placebo, *n.*

Medicine. A drug, medicine, therapy, etc., prescribed more for the psychological benefit to the patient of being given treatment than for any direct physiological effect; *esp.* one with no specific therapeutic effect on a patient's condition, but believed by the patient to be therapeutic (and sometimes therefore effective). Also: a substance with no therapeutic effect used as a control in testing new drugs, etc.; a blank sample in a test

1811 R. HOOPER *Quincy's Lexicon-medicum* (new ed.) *Placebo*, an epithet given to any medicine adapted more to please than benefit the patient.

The term 'placebo effect' is the effect on the patient's health produced by the administration of the therapy, but that effect cannot be attributed to the properties of the placebo (oed.com):

placebo effect, *n.*

The beneficial (or occasionally adverse) effect on health produced by a placebo that cannot be attributed to the properties of the placebo; (also) an instance of this.

1902 *Sanitarian* 49 503 Formic acid is not known to have any value as a virus antidote, and there may have been a mere placebo effect about the procedure which the traveler Burton witnessed on the Albert Nyanza, where a victim of serpent bites was dosed with a decoction of boiled ants.

1950 *Jrnl. Clin. Investig.* 29 108/2 Not only the frequency but also the magnitude of 'placebo effects' is impressive and deserves attention.

The first illustrative example of 1902 (in the context of traditional treatment of snake bite in Africa) indicates that the term had entered general usage; and the 1950 example points to widespread acceptability of the placebo in clinical practice. These examples are consistent with a report published in *Complementary Therapies in Medicine*, which summarised the placebo as an insistent demand and expectation of the patient (Jütte 2013, p. 94):

⁷⁰ See also NCBI Maryland USA 'The early history of the placebo', <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/23497809>

The main reason for administering placebos in late 18th-century medical practice was to satisfy the patient's demand and his expectations. Another reason was obstinacy of the patient: the motivation behind such prescriptions may be summarized as prescribing inert drugs for the satisfaction of the patient's mind, and not with the view of producing any direct remedial effect.

Placebos were administered in clinical settings from at least 1772, and verified by medical doctors as capable to produce outcomes pleasing to the patient based on patient belief (Jütte 2013). This fact – drawn from beliefs in the real world – suggests a semblance of truth value in the case of a product like ‘Holloway’s Pills’; and it blurs the boundary between the placebo-giving medically qualified doctor of the 1800s and the self-proclaimed medical innovator of that time who concocted patent medicines from a medley of ingredients available in a kitchen or broom cupboard. This may call into question the definition of ‘quack doctor’ and commonly held perceptions of nostrums and patent medicines as products of deliberate fraud and exploitation.

Nevertheless, using the placebo-effect phenomenon to validate the language of patent-medicine marketing in the 1800s as not fraudulent on the basis that the placebo was believed to have efficacious effects (and therefore contained truth value) should be approached with caution. An argument in this vein should consider scholarship in the domain of truth theory, a complex field reaching into philosophy, semiotics and linguistics (Austin 1975; Peirce 1991). It should be noted that consumer demand for placebo provided market incentive that was financially lucrative; and some patent medicines under laboratory investigation were found to be falsely described and potentially harmful (such as ‘Vitadatio’ from Tasmania, which was discredited in a Sydney court in 1915).⁷¹

Sound and White Teeth, 1855

‘Rowland’s Odonto’ offers ‘sound and white teeth’ (Figure 4.6). It identifies itself also as ‘Pearl Dentifrice’. In its ‘various preparations’, it was likely in the forms of tooth-cleaning powder and paste. Both the terms ‘dentifrice’ (from French) and ‘odonto’ (from Greek) are seen in teeth-cleaning product promotions of the 1800s. In addition to maintaining teeth health and oral hygiene, ‘Rowland’s Odonto’ halts decay; acts on the fleshy base housing the teeth to ‘render the gums firm and red’; and, by action upon the gum, the product will ‘fix the teeth firmly in their sockets’. The advertisement transcription is as follows:

⁷¹ *The Argus*, 29 May 1915, p. 20.

SOUND and White Teeth are not only indispensably requisite to a pleasing exterior in both sexes, but they are peculiarly appreciated through life as a blessing highly conducive to the purposes of health and longevity. Among the various preparations offered for the purpose, Rowland's Odonto, or Pearl Dentifrice, stands unrivalled in its capability of embellishing, purifying, and preserving the teeth to the latest period of life. It will be found to eradicate all tartar and concretions, and impart a pearl-like whiteness to the enamelled surface, remove spots of incipient decay, render the gums firm and red, and thus fix the teeth firmly in their sockets, and from its aromatic influence it imparts sweetness and purity to the breath. Price 2s. 9d. per box.
Caution - The words "Rowland's Odonto" are on the label, and "A. Rowland and Son".

In analysis, the extraordinary powers of the Rowland's offering exceed what can reasonably be expected of a dentifrice. The putative benefits are identifiable as:

:

- ability to assist with presentation of a handsome face, the product being 'requisite to a pleasing exterior'
- 'conducive to the purposes of health and longevity', suggesting ability to rebuff sickness and ward off premature death
- maintenance of general teeth health and ability to render 'a pearl-like whiteness' of teeth
- lifelong teeth protection (in the words 'preserving the teeth to the latest period of life')
- decay reversal (in the words 'remove spots of incipient decay')
- secure anchoring of teeth along the jawline (in the words 'fix the teeth firmly in their sockets')
- alleviation of halitosis (in the words 'imparts sweetness and purity to the breath').

As mentioned earlier, artificial-teeth advertising was popular in the 1800s, flagging loss of teeth as a common complaint. Collectively, the above-listed putative benefits of 'Sound and White Teeth' preserve natural teeth, banish

decay, avert the fate of denture adoption,⁷² and ward off premature death. While these claims appear exaggerated (even preposterous) to the modern reader, the benefits are relevant to their time. The key word in the headline is ‘sound’ – in the sense of ‘freedom from disease; healthy, secure, solid’ (oed.com). In particular, the feature of being ‘secure’ is significant. The firm attachment of teeth to the gums (fixing the teeth ‘firmly in their sockets’) was a matter of medical and dental gravity – as evident in an 1888 article from *The Lancet* that reported on deaths from involuntary swallowing of false teeth.

The 1888 article, entitled ‘Swallowing Artificial Teeth’, shows that dentures were available in series of four or five teeth ‘mounted on a metal frame’ orally fitted by fastening on to natural teeth that functioned as anchor. Rotting of natural teeth resulted in their failure to fulfil the anchoring function. Consequently, the denture came adrift – and was swallowed during sleep or at mealtimes. Denture dislocation occurred also when the artificial teeth were ill-fitted. The dislodged denture thus posed a fatal threat:

Article from The Lancet, 1888
‘Swallowing Artificial Teeth’

Cases of swallowing artificial teeth with a fatal result are frequently reported ...
The kind of artificial denture most liable to be concerned in this accident is one consisting of four or five teeth mounted on a metal frame, and having clasps or bands which in the mouth fasten round molars or bicuspid. If, these, when first made, are not properly adjusted by the dentist, they may be so loose as to fall into the mouth during sleep or when eating. But more commonly the cause of the so-called “swallowing” of teeth is the loss from decay of the teeth to which the frame is attached, so that it is only kept in place by the tongue and what little suction there may be. All persons; wearing artificial teeth, especially small cases, should be warned of the danger arising from possible looseness or ill-fitting ...

Bendigo Advertiser, 12 October 1888, p. 4.

From the dataset, it appears that advertisement copy (however outlandish or remote from truth value the claims may seem) is likely underpinned by some event or trend in society. In the case of ‘Sound and White Teeth’, the offer of ‘health and longevity’ is evidently an offer of salvation from death in the

⁷² The term ‘dentures’ in the sense of ‘a set of teeth’ appears in the dataset from the 1880s, recorded as first entering the English language in 1874 (oed.com).

context of accidental swallowing a set of artificial teeth (in their wire frame). Thematically, the above-listed seven benefits of Rowland's Odonto are relevant and meaningful to the addressee, making the product attractive. As will be seen, the content of health-related advertising can be explained socio-economically, and held as cooperative to the Gricean Maxim of Relation ('be relevant') – but the therapeutic benefits and positive attributes claimed may fail to satisfy the Maxim of Quality ('be truthful').

To close the analysis of 'Sound and White Teeth', points relating to terminology and toothpaste products in general are warranted:

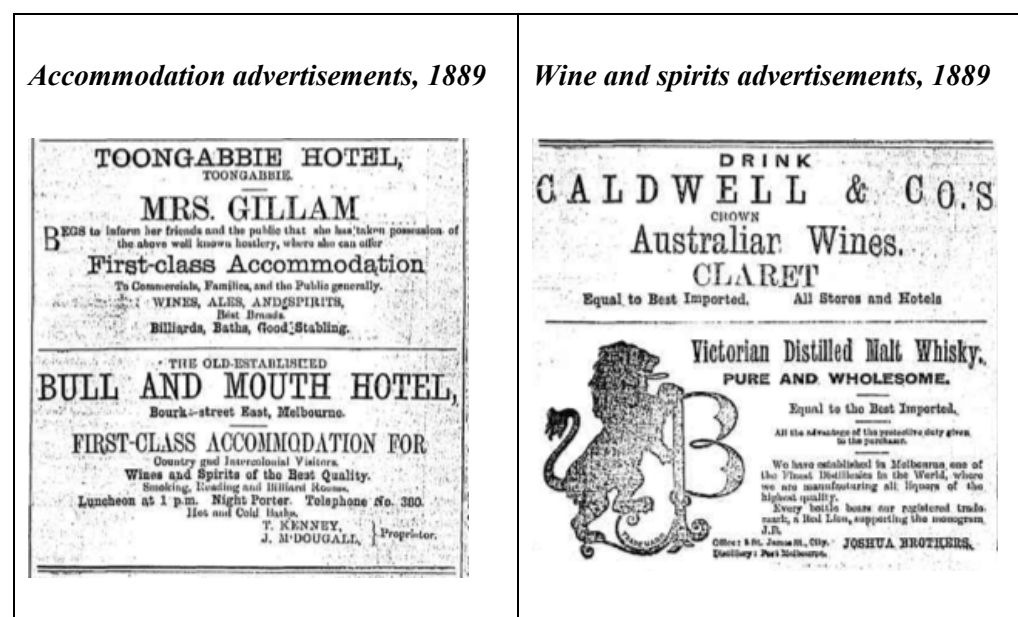
- In the dataset, 'toothpaste' first appears in the 1850s, used variably in that decade with 'dentifrice', which term is phased out by the late 1890s (though 'Rowland's Odonto' remains advertised in the first decade of 1900). The word 'tooth' has its etymological origins in Old English. In this lineage, 'toothpaste' as usurper of 'dentifrice' brings to mind the American inclination to favour English as their language of professional reporting (Heath 1979), which may explain its survival through time. The earliest use of 'toothpaste' is recorded at 1832, and its illustrative example is drawn from an American journal.
The linguistic choices of colonial America may help explain the disappearance of some terms from usage: examples are the exit of 'accoucheur' and 'sanative' both etymologically from French, respectively in preference of 'midwife' (from Middle English) and 'healing' (from Old English).
- In the early decades of the 1900s, numerous toothpaste products entered the market, placing this consumable among the most competitive of shelf items. This was an era of fierce jostling at the cash register (Myers 1994): at this time, toothpaste advertisers (such as Colgate) targeted women as particularly in need of oral hygiene, and this consumable is among those where the language of modern advertising is most visible.

The preceding discussion has reported on artefacts from the early to mid-1850s (a period of over five decades) to discover what advertising language was like. The discussion remarked upon linguistic features (such as vocabulary and register), and noted the advent of classification. Characteristics of health-related promotions were pointed out (relying on 'Dr L.L. Smith's Vegetable Pills', 'Holloway's Pills', and a dentifrice 'Rowland's Odonto').

4.2.4 Development of hypernym-like category labelling: 1870s

At early settlement, as already mentioned, notices were placed ad hoc, and commodities presented in lists. By the 1830s, headings to identify individual items, like ‘Cheap Wine’⁷³ or ‘Sperm Oil’⁷⁴ are seen. By the 1870s, hypernym-like (superordinate) category labelling is strongly evident in classifieds – for example, headings like ACCOMMODATION, MEDICAL, and WINES AND SPIRITS. Into the 1880s, commensurate with geographical and economic expansion, headings are the norm to identify a miscellany of businesses (both large and small) by name – rather than by item type. Notices from the 1870s onward offered higher readability; and some were elaborate in design, signalling typography as an attention-getting tool as seen in Figure 4.8 Accommodation-Wine-Spirits-1889.

Figure 4.8 Accommodation-Wine-Spirits-1889: advertisements. Source: *The Maffra Spectator*, 13 May 1889, p. 1.



The four artefacts in Figure 4.8 are examples from hotel accommodation and alcohol retailers.⁷⁵ These represent products and services in the greater domain of hospitality and tourism. This domain, largely, calls to discretionary spending ability: that is, spending by drawing on disposable income as a matter of choice. Based on newspapers of the 1870s–1900s (a time of increasing

⁷³ As for ‘CATALONIA RED WINE’ advertised by ‘JONES AND WALKER’, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 26 December 1829, p. 4.

⁷⁴ Advertised as ‘ON SALE ... at T. WOOD’S, Terry’s Buildings. King-street’, *The Sydney Times*, 5 March 1838, p. 3.

⁷⁵ These examples are from a regional newspaper: the prestige periodicals (like *The Argus*) avoided display advertising and innovative design style until the early 1900s.

economic stability and wealth), the following can be said with respect to the advertising language of hospitality and tourism:

- Linguistic expression is compatible with the information-delivery type seen in earlier decades (that is, providing the necessary utilitarian and other details)
- Avowals of item authenticity, excellence and attractive benefits are consistently evident
- Attestations of positive qualities are supported by testimonials, or expressions that propositionally act as testimony, an historically enduring feature of advertising
- Direct address is absent, in favour of third person.

Notable changes from the 1870s onward can be seen:

- the linguistic register is less formal, inclined to be succinct, with disjunctive syntax a common feature
- emergence of slogan-like phrases and the trademark
- assertion of locally produced items as equal to the ‘best imported’ goods (suggesting national pride), and the superlative as grammatical choice is overall prolific.

An overview of the four 1889 artefacts in Figure 4.8 Accommodation-Wine-Spirits is reported below.

Mrs Gillam’s Toongabbie Hotel: First-class Accommodation

Mrs Gillam employs third person in referring to herself, and she declares to ‘her friends and the Public that she has just taken possession of the Toongabbie Hotel (in outer Western Sydney), where she can offer First-class Accommodation’. At this ‘well-known hostelry’ Mrs Gillam offers a bar, baths, meals and a billiard table, and also stables for the equine traveller. The persuasive element is evident in the adjective choices – ‘well-known’ (suggesting the accommodation is established and reputable), and ‘first-class’ (a claim to excellence). The call to ‘her friends’ intimates that she is a local – and this suggests her authenticity and trustworthiness: this functions in a testimonial-like way. The advertisement highlights MRS GILLAM in its heading – which is the proprietor’s name.

Bull and Mouth Hotel: First-class Accommodation

Situated in Melbourne central business district, the ‘old-established’ Bull and Mouth calls on ‘Country and International Visitors’. The hotel offers ‘Wines and Spirits of the Best Quality’, ‘Smoking, Reading and Brilliant Rooms’, lunches, a night porter and ‘Hot and Cold Baths’. The persuasive element is evident in the adjective choices: ‘old-established’ (suggesting the accommodation, having survived the test of time, is widely accepted), and in ‘best’, ‘brilliant’, ‘first-class’ (a claim to excellence). The call to ‘Country and International Visitors’ intimates that the hotel provides a world-standard service, while satisfying the comfort needs of travellers from out of town. As a bonus, the ‘Night Porter’ offers flexible check-in and departures. All amenities considered, the advertisement offers its ‘First-class Accommodation’ to two markets – local and international, but its target is the moneyed and literate class.

Drink Caldwell & Co.’s Australian Wines Claret

Caldwell wines specialises in Australian claret, and advertises in a style of linguistic composition that is prescient of modern advertising language. It employs:

- the imperative mood in ‘Drink ...’, directly commanding the addressee
- the disjunctive NP ‘All Stores and Hotels’ (which semantically corresponds with ‘Caldwell’s claret is widely available’), which shows itself as able to communicate advertiser-intended meanings that are not overtly stated
- the slogan-like ‘Equal to Best Imported’, which attests to excellence.

Victorian Distilled Malt Whiskey: Pure and Wholesome

Like Caldwell’s, this advertiser – Joshua Brothers – asserts a claim to excellence ‘Equal to the Best Imported’, and the whiskey is declared ‘pure and wholesome’ (suggesting the product as healthy and beneficial). Other positive attributes include being among the ‘Finest Distilleries of the World’ and ‘manufacturing all liquors of the highest quality’. Additionally, the company draws attention to their ‘registered trademark, a Red Lion supporting the monogram J.B.’⁷⁶ The trademark is the flag of authenticity, providing the consumer with image-recognition to distinguish Caldwell wines and reject imitations.

⁷⁶ The *Commonwealth Trade Marks Act 1905* came into operation on 2 July 1906, and the Trade Marks Office opened in Melbourne, IP Australia <https://www.ipaustralia.gov.au/>

While only these four artefacts from 1889 are used to represent the orbit of hospitality-and-tourism advertising, perusal of other like notices between 1870 and the early 1900s shows these as representative of their kind. In general, the advertising language of this domain is in third person; is straightforward and succinct; and is not remarkably variant in vocabulary choices, nor in terms of benefits available. Descriptive adjectives and superlatives are regular features, and vocabulary choices are not hyperbolic. Compositionally, the language is inclined to be ‘matter of fact’; and, logically, it has to be – given that hospitality-and-tourism consumers can with ease verify the truth value of advertiser claims. Hotels can immediately be assessed for amenities, cleanliness, comfort, furnishings and services upon sight. Beverages and foods can instantly pass or fail a taste test.

The thesis identifies consumer perception of truth value as the principal intercessor between the copywriter and advertisement content decision-making. Where truth value of claims can be easily evaluated by the addressee, this acts as a restraint limiting the gamut of advertiser claims – particularly for sellers appealing to optional spending. The hospitality-and-tourism domain largely appeals to spending as a matter of choice, and this makes the industry vulnerable to both consumer evaluation and market competition. Further, this industry is subject to satisfying a range of personal tastes, where consumer decision-making is defined by value-for-money judgement and moderated by subjectivity. This collective of consumer quixotics may explain the absence of exaggerated overstatement in hospitality-and-tourism advertising. Conversely, the tendency of some categories to engage in overstatements (such as seen in the patent medicine and dentifrice examples discussed above) can be explained by lack of consumer critical evaluation.

Thus far two significant changes of the 1800s have been raised: register shift to a less formal variety; and, organisationally, standout headings are used to improve readability. In category-based inspection of seller notices, occupational register can be seen, and language choices appear bound to category type – for example, health-related advertising contrasted with hospitality-and-tourism promotions. In comparing these two domains, there arises the idea that language choices are moderated by consumer quixotics and by how easily the truth value of claims can be verified. Accordingly, these notions are discussed in 4.2.5 below:

- the idea of truth-value verification (4.2.5.1)
- consumables identified as essential or optional (4.2.5.2)
- the advertiser response to subjectivity of personal taste and opinion (4.2.5.3).

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4.2.5 The principle of truth value verification

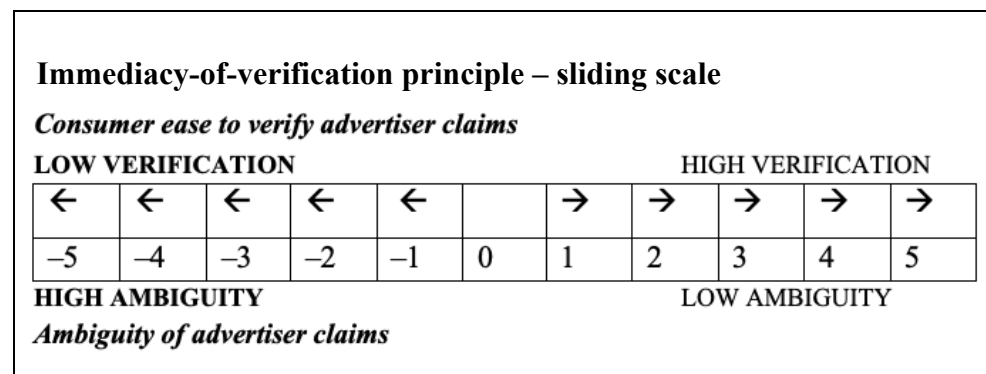
It appears that advertisement content is influenced by philosophical considerations in a landscape of consumer decision-making variables (including fickleness of consumer personal taste and opinion). These aspects are explored here.

4.2.5.1 Ease of truth-value verification

Benefits and/or qualities tied to a consumable may or may not be easily verified. The condition of an hotel room is immediately verifiable upon sight; but the efficacy of a pill to resolve ‘female complaints’ is subject to fuzziness. Ease of truth-value verification appears to influence the scope of advertiser claims and language choices. The ease with which the truth value of claims can be verified in relation to an item is terminologically labelled here as the ‘immediacy-of-verification principle’ (see Figure 4.9): this principle proposes that ease of truth verification depends on item type, and that consumer ease to verify advertiser claims is a continuum of high to low and is inversely proportional to ambiguity (fuzziness) of the claims:

- high ease to verify truth of claims → low ambiguity (e.g. claim regarding performance of a clock)
- low ease to verify truth of claims → high ambiguity (e.g. claim regarding performance of a beauty facial cream)

Figure 4.9 Immediacy-of-verification principle – sliding scale of low to high inversely proportional to ambiguity of advertiser claims.



In other words, ease of verification of truth value is inversely associated with the fuzziness of claims tied to the item: ambiguity has greater potential where truth value cannot easily be verified (such as effectiveness of a facial beauty cream). This notion is not robustly validated here; however, illustrative examples show that the idea can be defended.

The immediacy-of-verification principle may be the primary reason that ambiguity is not (at least overtly) systemic in advertisements for items where the truth value of claims can easily be challenged: for example, a clock either keeps time or it does not. Conversely, the claim that a facial cream will eliminate wrinkles may not be verifiable. Within the dataset, from the late 1880s into the 1940s, there can be seen a creeping rise of ambiguity in advertisement composition of some categories: fuzziness is seemingly a category-based feature of modern advertising. Within the broadband of advertising, the immediacy-of-verification principle, on its sliding scale, is applicable to any consumable, regardless of how the market is defined or organised:

- market identified as tangibles (like foodstuffs, pills, soap) and intangibles (like accommodation, insurance policies, weight-loss advice)
- market identified as essentials and non-essentials.

Ease of truth-value verification, as a factor that influences language choices, has a complex relationship with variables tied to the item at hand. Take, as an example, insurance products: customer-service experience is tied to seller promptness to meet a client claim, which eventuates only in the case of an adverse effect (that may not occur in the life of the policy). So, in the case of insurance, it is marked by low (or absent) consumer opportunity to evaluate the truth value of benefits perceived to be held by the policy. Likelihood of an adverse event occurring in the life of the policy is a factor that can influence advertisement design: low likelihood puts the advertiser in a stronger position for truth value to not be tested, and permits scope for less transparency of policy limitations written into service agreements.

Service agreements, warranties and T&Cs (terms-and-conditions) developed over time; but the phenomenon of risk and insurance can be dated to the venture capitalism evident in early commercial activities (as seen in Robert-Jenkins-1809, Figure 4.5). Natural-language features are well illustrated in service agreements and warranties. An example is the insurance policy, which promises to reimburse a loss or to repair a damage. Insurance products contain critical consumer information in T&Cs often set out in small print endnotes (in legalistic language) detailing obligations and limitations.⁷⁷ The small print informationally complements the standout features of the advertisement that draws attention to benefits and positive attributes: in effect, the small print is a hidden-meaning device that lowers truth-value verification.

⁷⁷ Other T&C products are mobile phone and internet service plans.

Service-agreement language as part of a sales package deserves comment, given that T&Cs provide critical information to deliver the whole set of meanings applicable to the consumable (just as body language and intonation do in conversations). T&Cs specify obligations of the parties involved: they contain caveats, exemptions and disclaimers (denial of responsibility) that often are wordy and syntactically complex. The practice of delegating limitations to small print creates fuzziness of propositions. This contention is defensible on the grounds that insurance products tend to foreground positive attributes that shadow negative ones (which if communicated may discourage potential buyers). The practice of foregrounding positives, while relegating negatives to relatively inaccessible small-print is thus an ambiguity tool. This draws attention to the role of standout features as primary carriers of intended advertiser meanings (de Silva 2018, 2020).

Products that contain service agreements include insurance policies, mobile phone plans and internet provision. The thesis contends that the advertising language of these is inclined to be high in ambiguity given that only positive attributes are highlighted. In speculation of the effect on the reader, two factors collaborate to diminish consumer motivation to read the small print. One is that the concept of small print aligns with the idea of ‘small is unimportant’, in the sense of physical attribute (size) as a conceptual mental event (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The other is that consumers are likely to scrutinise T&Cs only in the instance of an adverse event that requires service provision. In this line of thought, the advertiser is advantaged by relegating limitations to small print, especially where likelihood of an adverse event is deemed to be low.

The commentary above argues that the traditional small font sizes of T&Cs render a reduced clarity of disclosure. An adjunct of this practice is the commonplace advertiser strategy today of embedding critical information online via clickable links (such as clickwrap digital prompts): this is frequently of the AGREE or DON’T AGREE nature of the online contractual agreement, with option to scroll and read all the T&Cs. Legally binding information-giving via clickable links is the standard in internet-based purchasing; and often is accompanied by a statement privileging the provider (such as Apple, Facebook or Google) to update their T&Cs, which ostensibly then binds the consumer to any updated T&Cs. While a linguistic argument may reasonably be mounted to assign small-font and embedded T&Cs as instances of ambiguity, advertising language benefits from the reality of contract law where the historical ‘let the buyer beware’ (caveat emptor) appears to still be upheld:⁷⁸ this places the responsibility on the consumer to discover negative aspects. It advantages the advertiser and diminishes ease of truth-value verification.

⁷⁸ The thesis acknowledges the ‘buyer beware’ principle originated in relation to a warranty, and that the law has evolved to create a series of exemptions in favour of consumer protection.

4.2.5.2 Item type – identified as essential or optional

Arising from the immediacy-of-verification principle is the thought that promotional language is influenced by item type tagged as either an essential or optional purchase. It is reasonable to think of optional items as a ‘harder sell’ than an everyday sundry, and that this challenge is likely to be linguistically evident in promotional language. This thinking suggests a compositional divide between essentials and non-essentials in the copywriter’s casebook that mirrors the reasoning mind of the buyer. Thus, an angle for linguistic investigation presents itself – compatible with the hard-sell–soft-sell binary of Cook (1992), and the reason–tickle argument of Simpson (2001). However, the underlying assumption inferable from such a construct (that consumer decision-making is driven by necessity) has not to date been empirically validated.

The notion of promotional language as discriminating between essentials and non-essentials is not affirmed in the dataset, which overarchingly presents similarity of prosaic devices (like intertextuality, repetition, testimonials) in the marketing of all kinds of consumables. Further, commercial market-research activity and target-market segmentation phenomena do not identify consumerism as driven by a rational mind – but rather signal consumerism as a property of lifestyle desires regardless of truth value. What can be said about advertising – at least from the 1850s – is that promotional language hinges on creating a desirable social identity in the commercially available item, the personality attributes of which can be transferred to the consumer’s persona.

The 1850s marketplaces of Australia were sites of seller competition that intensified with the advent of economies of scale, which produced surplus. This tipped the economic balance in favour of the buyer. Factory production of excessively large numbers of affordable non-prestige goods rely on high consumerism (and hoarding behaviour). To avoid profit loss from dumping, remaindering and drastic price cuts, the phenomena of oversupply was met by a new kind of marketing (emergent by 1900) – that of ‘creating new needs’ (Myers 1994, p. 20) and ‘scare’ tactics designed to make people ‘consume more’ (p. 23). Newly discovered needs and body-and-mind problems were communicated by advertisers to addressees; and marketplace products obligingly offered added-on benefits: for example, a soap could deliver cleanliness and additionally ‘a better life’ (p. 24).

In a small study of soap from the 1880s to the 1950s, Myers (1994) notes that soap narratives are targeted at women and mothers; and soap products into the 1920s develop power to transform an otherwise ordinary or dull life into an exciting and rewarding one. Conversely, failing to adopt the soap could have tragic outcomes. The messages of modern advertising define perceptions of the world, and define who a person is and what can be done with personal time:

A key shift had taken place, from emphasising production and use of the commodity, to emphasising meanings associated with consumption ... now we would see the kind of life associated with using (or failing to use) the product. And once advertising starts to do that, it starts to touch every part of our conception of reality. In this case, it gives definition of what women do when they get free time in the afternoon.

Myers 1994, p. 22.

The dataset at hand evidences product-and-services advertising to offer both practical benefits and unverifiable transformative powers – and there is indication that the latter emerged in the 1880s in the patent-medicines marketplace. The data shows that, overarchingly, women are portrayed as needy and requiring transformative assistance, and as persons responsible for the wellbeing of others.

Returning to the idea of an essential–non-essential binary in advertising, this is not seen in the dataset: the absence of a discriminating binary in advertiser narratives suggests that it does not underpin buying behaviour – that is, the denotative meanings of ‘essential’ and ‘non-essential’ may be at odds with human perceptions of needs and desires, and is not a demarcation in the consumer mind that restrains spending. For the social scientist, this lack of discrimination may help account for why people treat the credit card as supplementary income, and help explain the high levels of credit card debt in consumer societies.⁷⁹ For the thesis, findings thus far support an investigatory approach based on classification by item category (such as employment or medicines) with focus on standout features (like the words and phrases of headings).

In the case of hospitality and tourism, this industry largely calls to the consumer’s disposable income (as opposed to funds reserved for essential living expenses). Similarly, cosmetics, fashionable dresswear and accessories, jewellery, luxury goods, perfumes, prestige cars and the like also depend on discretionary spending. Collectively, these are lifestyle items dependent on personal taste, and often carry a distinctive logo and a celebrity testimonial. The language used to attract disposable-income spending is not remarkably variant, and commonly seen to contain adjectives and superlatives claiming refinement and excellence, but tending to exclude overstatement – suggesting that lifestyle desires is the primary driver of consumerism here (over truth-value verification).

⁷⁹ In 2017, the credit card debt in Australia was nearly 45 billion (ABC News, 11 September 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-09-11/how-to-get-out-of-credit-card-debt-and-the-rise-of-p2p-lending/11474418>). Accessed 3 March 2020.

4.2.5.3 Subjectivity of personal taste and opinion

Subjectivity of consumer taste and opinion presents itself as a factor that influences advertisement composition. Consumables are more vulnerable to critical evaluation where personal opinion is the adjudicator. Taking the case of hospitality and tourism, this industry caters to as wide a range of tastes and preferences as there may be, and a consumer is at liberty to refute a consumable as being ‘the best’ or ‘first class’. But the high incidence of superlatives indicates advertiser confidence that claims of superiority are unlikely to be proven either way, thus mitigating seller risk. While subjectivity of consumer evaluative opinion has potential to suppress misrepresentation of item benefits, advertisers have access to devices that can emotionally and psychologically drive buyers to discretionary spending.

In the case of competitive brands vulnerable to consumer indecision, Myers (1994, p. 23) draws attention to what he calls the ‘scare ad’ in modern advertising, giving the example of toilet paper. Here, the selling proposition relayed the threat of rectal surgery if the right kind of toilet paper was not chosen in task fulfilment. In the 1920s and 1930s, Scott Tissues released a series of display advertising to warn that application of cheap alternatives to scrape the anal region led to serious complications requiring costly surgical intervention to remedy. One promotion in the scare campaign emphasised the following words:⁸⁰

Acids ... Mercury ... even Arsenic
Found in many brands of toilet tissue
Be careful, Mother!
Medically Safe

One advertisement of the ‘scare’ series claimed Scott Tissues were approved by doctors, hospitals and health authorities; and that ‘Troubles that begin with harsh toilet tissue often end on the operating table’: pictorially, a black-gloved hand (extended from a white-gowned figure) reaches toward surgical scissors. The Scott brand could ‘offer relief from toilet tissue illness’, and avert the trauma and cost of the surgeon’s cut. The public was urged: ‘Protect your family’. This illustrates advertiser strategy to associate products with meanings beyond utility – in this case, ideas of protection and safety, and fear of toilet-paper tragedy. While it can be argued that truth value is verifiable in the Scott

⁸⁰ Artefact sourced from Monash University Library database, <https://www-bridgemaneducation-com.ap1.proxy.openathens.net/en/asset/2154310/summary>.

Tissues promotions, the advertiser propositions are frightening enough to imbue the addressee with a sense of reluctance to ignore the warnings.

To close section 4.2 on specimens from the 1800s is a discussion (in 4.2.6) of the testimonial in advertising.

4.2.6 Advertiser testimonials and product credibility: 1890s

The testimonial, simply put, is a positive attestation made by one person to endorse the legitimacy of another. Propositionally, it communicates the message ‘Buy this: you can trust it’. The word ‘testimonial’, dated to the 1400s, carries a semantic bundle of positive meanings associated with providing reliable evidence; and, in its early sense, meant the legal testimony of a witness. The gravity of its meanings is evident in its definition current into the 1800s (oed.com):

testimonial, *n.*

3.

a. A written attestation by some authorized or responsible person or persons, testifying to the truth of something; an affidavit, acknowledgement; a certificate; *spec.* an official warrant; a passport (as given to vagrants, labourers, discharged soldiers or sailors, etc.); a diploma; a credential or other authenticating document. *Obsolete.*

This now-obsolete sense of officially ‘testifying the truth of something’ overlaps (by over 300 years) the sense in usage today of a written reference ‘testifying to one’s qualification and character’:

testimonial, *n.*

4. A writing testifying to one's qualifications and character, written usually by a present or former employer, or by some responsible person who is competent to judge; a letter of recommendation of a person or thing. (The current sense.)

This usage-overlap of the two senses (that is, the now-obsolete official one and the commonplace written-reference one) extends into the 1800s, and can be seen in the dataset. In the hands of the advertiser, the testimonial serves to supply a badge of credibility that imbues the marketplace item and its seller with attributes of reliability, trustworthiness and value for money. A testimonial example from 1809 is found in the words of the broker ‘Robert Jenkins’ (see Figure 4.5 earlier), promoting the newly arrived merchant ‘William Blake’. The sale items are declared to be ‘of good quality’, and the merchant to be not financially exploitative (that is, trustworthy):

... he offers Goods ... of good quality ... sold at moderate prices, to evince his earnest desire to accommodate the Public ...

These words assure the buyer that William Blake is not a ruffianly cut-throat, but a reasonable man open to negotiation. To validate the testimony as reliable, Robert Jenkins positions himself as a kind of consumer watchdog, undertaking to resolutely safeguard the best interests of the buyer – as implied in the closing words ‘the highest ambition of Robert Jenkins’. This phrase is the grammatical subject of ‘to establish his [William Blake’s] character ... as a man of integrity’:

... that to establish his character in this Colony as a man of integrity will be the highest ambition of Robert Jenkins.

The solemnity of the statement is like that of an oath: that is, the character referee Robert Jenkins, as an ongoing undertaking, promises to ensure the integrity of William Blake.

In the 1889 artefact for ‘Toongabbie Hotel’ (Figure 4.8 Accommodation-Wine-Spirits), the proprietor Mrs Gillam communicates ideas of authenticity and trustworthiness in a testimonial-like way, effected by employing third person in referring to herself. The third-person device distances the advertiser from the commercial item, which (as will be seen in the thesis) is an enduring strategy of the seller. Other testimonial-like devices include association with prestigious institutions, and claims to aristocratic titles and prestigious conferrals. The health-related category is observed to consistently employ the testimonial device. It should be noted that the idea of ‘health-related’ was historically applicable to any category at the whim of the advertiser, including alcohol, cigarettes, tea and toothpaste. While it is not feasible to explore all marketplace categories, illustrative examples are provided as necessary to answer the research questions.

The following four artefacts from the decade 1890–1899 show how the testimonial operates as a device. These are:

- Ayer’s Sarsaparilla, 1895 (an American preparation,⁸¹ from Lowell, Massachusetts) is an example of a personal experience, in the voice of the formerly afflicted Mrs M.A. Cumming.
- Vitadatio, 1898 and 1899 (a Tasmanian preparation), is an example of a product that extensively uses the testimonial device innovatively across its multiple marketing designs.

⁸¹ The Ayer’s product line included ‘Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral’ for respiratory ailments, and ‘Cathartic Pills’ to treat the digestive system.

- Chamberlain's Pain Balm, 1899 (an American ointment), is an example of a reported testimonial. Mr Cuyler, a merchant from Red Creek village in New York state, tells of his wife's rheumatism and recovery. The report is endorsed by the editor of *Red Creek Herald*,⁸² which carries the promotion.
- Cura Vitae, 1899 (a preparation available in the state of Victoria). This artefact integrates variant forms of the testimonial into a single advertisement.


Ayer's Sarsaparilla, 1895

Ayer's Sarsaparilla (Figure 4.10) is seen advertised from the 1890s onwards to 1935. In this example, it is promoted by a Mrs M.A. Cumming of Yarraville, a suburb west of Melbourne. A line-drawing portrait accompanies her biographical testimony: it shows her to be a sanguine woman of mature years, dressed neatly in a garment with high collar and puffed sleeves. She gives the appearance of being healthy and quietly confident. Her expression is thoughtful, yet with a hint of a smile (which suggests she is content and in good humour).

The reader learns that Mrs M.A. Cumming was victim to 'a severe attack of influenza', which greatly weakened her constitution. She suffered for a period of several months, despite the attentions of doctors and 'many remedies recommended'. Upon trying Ayer's Sarsaparilla, she began to 'gain health and strength' – and by continuing the treatment, she fully recovered. She calls the remedy 'the best blood-purifier known'. Ostensibly, the influenza attack had contaminated her blood, and Ayer's Sarsaparilla restored her blood to a healthy condition. The testimonial closes with the slogan 'Has cured others, will cure you': a promise of efficacy.

⁸² Published 1894–1995 in Red Creek, Wayne county, NY

Figure 4.10 Ayer’s-Sarsaparilla-Restored-to-Health-1895. Source: Mackay Mercury, 17 September 1895, p. 3.

Ayer’s Sarsaparilla, 1895	Transcription
<p><i>Ayer’s Sarsaparilla, 1895</i></p> 	<p>RESTORED TO HEALTH BY THE USE OF Ayer's Sarsaparilla</p> <p>Mrs. M. A. Cumming, of Yarraville, Victoria, Australia, says:</p> <p>"About a year ago, I had a severe attack of Influenza, which left me very weak, without energy, appetite, or interest in life. Obtaining little or no relief from doctors, or from the many remedies recommended to me, I finally tried Ayer's Sarsaparilla, and from that time, I began to gain health and strength.</p> <p>I continued the treatment until fully recovered, and now have very great pleasure in telling my friends of the merits of Ayer's Sarsaparilla, and the happy results of its use. I consider it the best blood-purifier known."</p> <p>Ayer's Sarsaparilla</p> <p>Has cured others, will cure you</p> <p>Made by Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., Lowell, Mass, USA</p>

Vitadatio, 1898 and 1899

Vitadatio Herbal Remedy (Figure 4.11) is a panacea-like Tasmanian mixture that was prolifically advertised nationwide (and in New Zealand) into the 1930s. It is outstanding among patent medicines for two reasons. The first is its multiple advertisement designs – of which at least five designs had handsome line-work portraitures of different men, and at least one was a portrait photograph (published in 1899). It appears to have primarily targeted men, judging from the bearded and moustached

protagonists – all of whom offered testimonials. The second remarkable feature is that Vitadatio is seemingly the first patent medicine to have been challenged in an Australian court to test its claims: Vitadatio was found to have falsely represented itself in its advertising pamphlet (the wording of which was used as evidence).

Figure 4.11 Vitadatio-Herbal-Remedy-1898-1899. Source: South Bourke & Mornington Journal, 21 September 1898, p. 4 (left); (right) Kilmore Free Press, 7 September 1899, p. 3.

Vitadatio Herbal Remedy, 1898
extract (omitting seven testimonials)

A Wonderful Discovery Is
VITADATIO
THE GREAT TASMANIAN
HERBAL REMEDY.
For All Diseases of the Blood.
IT WILL CURE YOU
(Without Operation) even when the Eminent Doctors of London and Melbourne
—or any other part of the world—have failed, be it
Bright's Disease, Cancer, Hydatids,
Consumption, Piles, Gall Stones,
Liver or Kidney Complaint, In-
digestion, Gravel, Stricture, Rheu-
matism, Gout, Sciatica, etc.
The following are the names of a few of the leading persons who have been
CURED by the use of
VITADATIO
Since its Introduction into Victoria in March, 1897:—
W. W. HOWE, Esq., aged 70, Warrnambool, **Gravel**; Mr. McKENZIE, Con-
tractor, South Preston, **Consumption**; J. McLEOD, Esq., Metropolitan
Board of Works, Collingwood, City, **Liver Complaint**; W. H. BEWIS,
Esq., Manufacturer, Queen's Bridge, **Hydatids**; Geo. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
aged 76, Farmer, Drysdale, Vic., **Eczema**; Miss JOCKO, Little River, near
Geelong, **Hydatids**; Mrs. BRAD, "Waimoa," Pentland parade, Yarra-
ville, **Gall Stones and Enlargement of Liver**; Mr. JENNIS, Fore-
man, Yarraville Chemical Works, **Stricture**; Mr. SKYNNER, Fireman,
Melbourne Gas Works, **Sciatica**; Miss GERRARD, "Exhibition House,"
Brunswick st., Carlton, Melbourne, **Liver and Kidney Trouble**; Mr.
ATLY, 23 Fitzroy st., Footscray, **Cancer in the Neck**.
And Hundreds of others whose names are not mentioned. For testimonials of others that
have been cured, write or send to the Agent: S. A. PALMER, 45 and 47 Bourke street, Mel-
bourne, where advice on all diseases can be had (gratis) from 10 a.m. till 5 p.m.
A THOROUGH CURE IS GUARANTEED.
The sum of £200 (five hundred pounds) will be paid to anyone that can refute any
testimonial in circulation about "Vitadatio."

Vitadatio, 1899

VITADATIO.
—AN INTERESTING NOTICE.
A lady from Geelong, called upon Mr. PALMER
"VITADATIO INSTITUTE" and explained her re-
markable case. Several doctors stated she was suf-
fering from **Bright's disease**, and pronounced her
incurable. Ten months ago she was further examined
by a leading ladies physician of Melbourne, who con-
firmed the decision of the other medicine, and stated
she would not live a fortnight. At that time, by great
persuasion, she was induced to give "VITADATIO"
a trial, and to-day she is alive and well, AND
LOOKING WELL. She will be pleased to inter-
view any sufferer, to give them hope. Mr. Palmer
is authorised to give her address to anyone who may
desire it.

**ANOTHER LIFE SAVED. NO
OPERATION.**
"I THANK GOD THAT I DID."—(Brown)
READ IT OUT TO ALL AROUND YOU.
209 Victoria street, West Melbourne.
I was living at 378 Napier street, Fitzroy, and for
a considerable time had been ill and on, but I
was taken seriously ill on the 15th December 1898,
and on one of the leading doctors of Fitzroy being
called in, he said that I was in a terrible state with
inflammation of the liver and kidneys, and to add to
my trouble a large lump had formed which he said
was either a cancer or a tumor, and that I was in
such a state that I must be operated on at once. A
friend of mine, hearing this, came to see me and ad-
vised me to try VITADATIO, and I thank God that
I did, for after taking five bottles, I became quite a
new woman, the lump having entirely disappeared,
and I have not had any return of the pain since.
I will be most pleased to give any further infor-
mation at my present address, and can give tes-
timonies as to the miraculous cure effected from a long
languishing people, and the physician who finally
failed me during my very severe illness.
I am, yours gratefully,
18th March, 1899. E. BROWN.
Not a day passes but in the streets of Melbourne
you meet even almost bent double with
LUMBAGO, KIDNEY DISEASE, SCIATICA
And Rheumatic TROUBLES.
We have given them the cure.
"VITADATIO"
Has Cured Thousands.
It is the only thorough eradicator.
PROOF POSITIVE. NO QUACKERY.
VITADATIO INSTITUTES.—
VICTORIA: 45 and 47 Bourke street, Melbourne.
SOUTH AUSTRALIA: Bond street, Adelaide.
WEST AUSTRALIA: Hay street, Perth.
NEW ZEALAND: Manners street, Wellington.
Despatch Chief Town, Townsville, Etc. &c.
Chemists, Grocers, Booksellers, etc., etc.
S. A. PALMER, Agent-General for the Colonies.
Local Agent—McDONALD BROS.,
Vitadatio Depot.

The Vitadatio testimonials appear as personal letters, as formal statements from users, and as running lists. Figure 4.11 shows two examples. The first (in the left column) – of which only a third of the whole artefact is reproduced – shows a running list of names of persons

purportedly ‘CURED by the use of VITADATIO’. The rest of the advertisement (excised) is a series of seven letters from men and women, who report on the many life-threatening illnesses that Vitadatio cured. Some attestations are biographical, while others tell on behalf of their children, spouses, friends or relatives – all of whom were saved from the fate of death. Each testimonial has its individual tale; but all claim that they were abandoned as incurable by their treating doctor, and suffered interminably till the remedy was administered.

The Vitadatio promotional language drew attention of the health authorities; and the proprietor was convicted in a case of misleading advertising. The Crown prosecutor, representing the Health Department, alleged Vitadatio to be in contravention of the *Pure Food Act*. The case was heard in May 1915 at the Sydney Water Police Court, where it was found Vitadatio had falsely represented itself as a medicine. It is noted that Vitadatio uses the word ‘institute’ to work like a testimony of its scientific quality. In the artefact reproduced in Figure 4.11 (right column), the advertiser posts the slogan PROOF POSITIVE NO QUACKERY followed by the heading VITADATIO INSTITUTES. Then are named three ‘Institutes’ nationwide, and one in New Zealand. In reality, these were distribution depots, not sites of scientific research. The misrepresentation is achieved by association with the positive value connoted by the word ‘institute’.

Chamberlain's Pain Balm, 1899

Chamberlain's Pain Balm (Figure 4.12) is an ointment for rheumatism. This advertisement originated in America, and was reproduced in *The Queenslander* by the product distributor ‘Elliot Bros Limited’ (who were also the distributors for Vitadatio). The efficacy of Chamberlain's Pain Balm is reported by ‘W.J. Cuyler’ (of New York), who is the husband of the sufferer. Mrs Cuyler, the wife, was cured by the ointment. In this testimonial, the husband’s words are endorsed by ‘W.O. Phippin’, editor and publisher of the *Red Oak Herald*, which promotes the ointment. This example shows that impartiality was not part of the journalistic code of conduct, and that the editor’s authority was used as a persuasive device.

Figure 4.12 Chamberlain's-Pain-Balm-1899. Source: *The Queenslander*, 7 October 1899, p. 735.

Chamberlain's Pain Balm, 1899	Transcription
<p><i>Chamberlain's Pain Balm, 1899</i></p>	<p>RHEUMATISM CURED</p> <p>My wife has used Chamberlain's Pain Balm for rheumatism with great relief, and I can recommend it as a splendid ointment for rheumatism and <u>other</u> household use for which we have found It valuable. — W. J. Cuyler, Red Creek, N.Y.</p> <p>Mr. Cuyler is one of the leading merchants of this village and one of the most prominent men in this vicinity. — W. O. <u>Phippin</u>, Editor "Red Oak Herald." For sale by all dealers, price 1s. 6d., 3s. Elliott Bros, Limited. (Wholesale Agents)</p>

Cura Vitae, 1899


Cura Vitae (Figure 4.13 overleaf) is a herbal mixture as curative for 'chest complaints, kidney and liver troubles, piles, rheumatism and sciatica'. Thus artefact is seen in the local paper of Kilmore (a township north of Melbourne). The advertisement is sectioned into four parts – each of which functions as a testimonial, and is closed by the proprietor's name 'F.W. Wortley' (who has a store in Kilmore):

- 1 The first section, entitled I FEEL LIKE A YOUNG GIRL AGAIN, takes the form of a letter. Composed in first-person by an unnamed woman, it is functionally Phatic and socially appropriate. The unnamed writer was cured by Cura Vitae after years of illness, and she declares her 'cheerfulness and energy'. She urges female readers to discover the curative: 'Ladies of Kilmore and district, call at F.W. Wortley's store and get pamphlets and particulars, and find out what Cura Vitae has done for the women of Victoria'.
- 2 The second section entitled WHAT HAPPENED TO PETERSON, is written in imperative. A playful teaser, it asks the addressee to find out the experience of Peter ('the afflicted') by obtaining Peter's testimonial from the Kilmore agent F.W. Wortley (who is the advertiser).
- 3 The third section is entitled MANY HAVE BEEN CURED! MANY MORE WILL BE CURED, IF THEY DON'T DELAY TOO LONG! It praises the efficacy of the remedy, and is written in the style

of an authoritative editorial. It begins evaluatively with ‘Nearly all people who suffer from diseases neglect treatment until ...’, and it closes with the words ‘I strongly advise you to get a bottle at once, [signed] F.W. Wortley, family grocer, Kilmore’. The ‘if’ conditional (seen in IF THEY DON'T DELAY) eventually disappears from use in advertising copy.

- 4 The final section entitled AN ENTERPRISING STOREKEEPER is a character reference in high praise of F.W. Wortley, and it recommends ‘the wonderful herbal remedy’ Cura Vitae, which is ‘a magnificent tonic’. The addressee is directed to call on F.W. Wortley in pursuit of the mixture.

Figure 4.13 Cura-Vitae-cures-weaknesses-of-all-kinds-1899. Source: Kilmore Free Press, 7 September 1899, p. 3.

<p>Cura-Vitae, 1899</p> <hr/> <p>I FEEL LIKE A YOUNG GIRL AGAIN ! Is the remark always made by the woman who tries Cura Vitae. “Gone is the tired feeling, gone is the feeling of weakness and despair, the feeble appetite, and in their places are cheerfulness and energy, the precious consciousness of health and strength, the ability to work and enjoy the fruits of my work, to which I have for years been a stranger.” Thus a grateful lady to the proprietors of Cura Vitae. Ladies of Kilmore and district, call at F. W. Wortley's store and get pamphlets and particulars, and find out what Cura Vitae has done for the women of Victoria.</p> <hr/> <p>WHAT HAPPENED TO PETERSON. Read his testimonial and find out for yourselves what Cura Vitae will do for the afflicted. F. W. Wortley, the Kilmore agent for this medicine, will give you all particulars.</p> <hr/> <p><i>cont. in next column</i></p>	<p><i>cont. from prev. column</i></p> <hr/> <p>MANY HAVE BEEN CURED ! MANY MORE WILL BE CURED, IF THEY DON'T DELAY TOO LONG ! Nearly all people who suffer from diseases neglect treatment until they are compelled to do something. Then they expect to be cured immediately. Why delay until your disease is almost beyond help ? Cura Vitae will cure you now. Cura Vitae cures chest, liver, and kidney affections. It is celebrated for its cures of rheumatism in all its forms, indigestion and impure blood. I keep it and recommend it to my customers, and I strongly advise you to get a bottle at once. F. W. Wortley, family grocer, Kilmore.</p> <hr/> <p>AN ENTERPRISING STOREKEEPER. There are few men more wideawake and enterprising than F. W. Wortley, who spares no pains to secure the best of everything in his line for his many customers. He has now the valuable agency for Cura Vitae. This is the wonderful herbal remedy which is producing such a furore all over Australia by its many startling cures. Cura Vitae cures chest complaints, kidney and liver troubles, piles, rheumatism and sciatica. Cura Vitae is invaluable for indigestion. For feminine troubles of all kinds it stands without a rival. It is a magnificent tonic, putting the blood in Al order and toning up the system. It cures weakness of all kinds. Call on F. W. Wortley in Kilmore and get pamphlets and full particulars of</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div>
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The Cura Vitae example is remarkable among the artefacts of the dataset for its integration of different testimonial styles in the single advertisement. The composition adopts several linguistic devices and narrative forms to promote Cura Vitae in a range of voices. Though unusual, the melding of narrative devices is perhaps unsurprising given that this advertisement appeared in 1899, thus the copywriter had decades of advertisement reference material upon which to model his effort.

In summary of the above sub-section 5.2.6, it can be said that the remit of the advertiser testimonial is to win over the addressee by acting as the voice of an esteemed authority, functioning as an instrument of product credibility. The testimonial is a timeless free-wheeler, appearing in many different guises – including as an editorial (emulating the style of article writing), and in the recommendation of a celebrity (any well-known person deemed pleasing to the public). Over the 1800s, as advertisers grew their portfolio of devices – with the slogan, typographical innovation and pictures – the testimonial is variously integrated with one or more other devices.

4.3 *The Argus* (1846–1957): a repository of advertising

For the cultural historian, press content through time is a resource to study a unique aspect of Australian society. Old newspapers mirror the economics, politics, migration behaviour, mindset, and the culture of organised society in townships as they began to take shape. These aspects are expressed at first through the language of written word and later also with pictorials. With respect to promotional discourse, *The Argus* provides eleven decades of information to pragmatically study its development: to this end, the content provides advertisements and other notices, letters to the Editor, opinion pieces, and news reporting. The following sub-sections are organised as follow:

- an historical overview of *The Argus* (4.3.1, 4.3.2)
- a profile of *The Argus* content (4.3.3)
- advertisement appraisal (4.3.4).

4.3.1 Changes at a glance

Given the press dataset at hand, a sketch of *The Argus* and its evolution introduces generic features of the press, and character shifts over time. Newspapers may change physically (in size), design-wise, ideologically, and in reporting scope. Like advertisements, newspaper copy is driven by factors such as legal stipulations, political events, socio-economic conditions and growth, and technological advances. Catalysts of change have led to improved readability and innovation in creative design to attract readers. While variation may seem ad hoc to the casual observer, it mirrors changes in language. Notable differences over the decades include variation in design, layout and fonts; inclusion of illustrative material (incorporating cartoons, line drawings and photographs); and the appearance of advertorials.

The Argus expanded over time (from four pages to over 30); and so did advertising content – which dominated the front pages and prime space for some 90 years. The 11 September 1937 issue is historic in that it is the last edition of *The Argus* to run with advertisements as its front-page occupant. Two days later, the inaugural edition of front-page news stories was published. The front pages of the two landmark 1937 editions is shown in Figure 4.14. The shift away from front-page advertising to emphasis on news stories signals a readership interested in events and socio-economic matters. This coincides with the economic sluggishness and heightened marketplace competition of the 1930s. In this decade, pictures in advertisements became the norm, and persuasive language is formatively visible.

Figure 4.14 *The Argus* (1846–1957) front pages: last edition of front-page advertisements, 11 September 1937 (left); (right) first edition of front-page news, 13 September 1937. Source: trove.nla.gov.au.



4.3.2 *The Argus*: a potted history

Scotsman William Kerr founded the *Melbourne Argus* in 1846 (Dunstan 2003, p. 4) in the Port Phillip District of the newly formed colony of Victoria, as a twice-weekly publication (Hurst 2003, p. 25). It was modelled on the prestigious *The Times* of London. In 1848, the paper was sold to Edward Wilson and James Stewart Johnston, and adopted the new masthead '*The Argus*', becoming a daily (excepting Sundays). The contents of *The Argus*, in the 111 years of its life, provide an historically significant narrative – unfolding the tale of a new consumer-propelled society, in its transformation from settlement into the decade following World War Two (known as the 'baby boomer years').

Early in its life, *The Argus* was very critical of the colonial government – and supported popular causes. It condemned convict transportation, demanded land and other reform, launched ‘audacious attacks’ on the government (Hurst 2003, p. 25), and ‘agitated for a fairer, more representative system of parliamentary democracy’ (p. 24). But in 1854, following the violence of the Eureka Rebellion⁸³ (which appalled Wilson), *The Argus* ‘became firm in its support of Governor Hotham, who succeeded La Trobe (Hurst 2003, p. 26). This had the effect of reducing its popularity with the masses. Shortly after that, in the early 1860s, the rival *Age* newspaper, through its non-partisan stance, lost much of its advertising to *The Argus*. In this scenario, ‘government and unsympathetic commercial interests withdrew advertising from *The Age*, intending to kill the paper’ (Dunstan 2003, p. 9).

The friction of the 1850s between government and the press suggests itself as the first political tension between the Fourth Estate and political agenda, resulting in diminished advertising revenue as the penalty upon the offender. *The Argus* potentially had much to gain from this; however, *The Age*, as a strategy to increase its circulation, responded by reducing its price to 2d in 1863 and 1d in 1868 (Dunstan 2003, p. 9). Accordingly, Wilson (living in England) wanted to reduce the price of *The Argus* to 2d – but his proprietor partners (also both living in England) opposed Wilson. Eventually, in 1884, *The Argus* price was cut from 3d to 2d, and then to 1d in 1893 – but the paper was already suffering significant circulation losses to *The Age* and could not recoup its market share (Dunstan 2003, p. 9).

Thus, while ‘Wilson’s vision for *The Argus* in the 1870s remained that of a popular newspaper’, one which ‘would become an illustrated penny paper with a social conscience’ (Cryle 2003, p. 18), Wilson was defeated by his fellow proprietors. *The Argus* maintained its relatively high price and its *Times*-like conservatism of writing well into the 1900s, resisting the style known as ‘new journalism’ (see Lee 1976a, 1976b). In terms of advertising content, *The Argus* content over its life (as investigated here) shows no apparent decline in advertising.

4.3.3 The Argus: content profile

Early editions of *The Argus* front page typically manifested with a slim and elegant masthead, and brimmed with notices (notably classifieds) set in six-column layout. Advertisements were tightly packed in the layout. Block advertisements (spanning 2 or more columns) are seen to fill one-third of a

⁸³ An anti-government demonstration by gold-miners at Ballarat in the state of Victoria.

page, and on occasion a full page. Up to the 1870s, there were no significant design elements to relieve the format of its long continuous strips of type, broken only by small standout headings. There were, however, modest typographical devices and woodcuts. In terms of linguistic analysis of tightly packed content, it can be said that the reader would have relied on single standout letters to identify individual notices.

With respect to reporting, a strong editorial policy is evident in *The Argus* to include opinion pieces, stories of scientific nature, and intellectual and literary content. By the 1930s, the once-conservative paper adopted an eclectic editorial mindset. It carried cartoon-strip storytelling, lampooning, and photographs; it reflected men's and women's elite interests (such as fashion, hobbies, music, sport, wedding finery); and included sections for children and young adults. Markedly improved classification is evident, and display advertising, spotlighted certain types of consumer items (like baby foods, clothing, nutritional supplements), mingled with feature articles and reporting.

4.3.4 Appraisal of *The Argus* advertisements

This sub-section (4.3.4) profiles *The Argus* as a principal data source, and justifies its efficacy to showcase meaning-making advertiser devices over time. Its lifespan of 1846–1957 bridges two events significant to advertising activity:

- the advent of Australian newspaper production in the 1800s
- the late-1950s transition from print to the technological kaleidoscope of multimedia.

Thus, eleven decades of non-multimedia artefacts present as data. *The Argus* is defined by the flux of socio-economic and political activity in construction of a new settlement; and also by the mix of advertisement types, which increased rapidly over time. While the data density and variety make sampling and analysis appear unmanageable, it is precisely the jigsaw-building of a new society and the growth of advertisement types captured in *The Argus* that flag it as invaluable to discover the development of promotional language. To render the research feasible within its timeframe, a two-pronged project management system enabled timely project completion and data moderation: this was achieved by way of a systematic sweep of content through the decades, supported by a sprinkle of character-defining practical examples. Following this is a discursive showcase in 5.0 Investigative Studies.

The character-defining examples thus far have included material from *The Sydney Gazette*, *The Argus* and other newspapers. Earlier, concepts relevant to advertising-language research, including brand creation, were detailed (in 1.0);

and analytical examples were provided to demonstrate how natural language is used to convey selling messages. An introduction to the research approach and artefact selection process was provided in 3.0, along with practical examples that argued the idea of collateral bundling as a mechanism (of thematic information, presupposition and implicature) that works to relay advertiser meanings. The preceding discussion (of 4.1 and 4.2), via a developmental timeline of 1800s advertising, reported on the following:

- changes in register
- promotional language as it morphed from its information-focused agenda to form its language-of-commerce sub-register, and then in 1880s to become pragmatically recognisable as a language of persuasion.

A significant turning point in the transformative timeline of promotional language is the classification system that emerged in the 1850s that permitted new information to manifest as assumed knowledge (see 4.1.8). This hidden-meanings phenomenon – operating on the premise of shared meanings – suggests itself to be an unrivalled and controlling instrument of consumer persuasion. It underpins the latitude of the selling message to moderate and/ or veil propositional truth value. This was demonstrated in the two analytical showcases of patent medicines (4.2.3) and accommodation (4.2.4) earlier: while quantitatively puny, the analysis suggests how human belief systems are embedded in propositions, and how the principle of truth value relates to claims of consumer benefits. Additionally, testimonials have been validated as a device of product credibility (4.2.6). Thus, as a character-building narrative, sections 4.1 and 4.2 qualitatively describe the promotional face of the 1800s.

Advertisements can be allocated to four consumer trajectories: product, service, event, idea – but identification boundaries may intersect. A ship arrival notice flags an event, promoting the idea of travel (a service). Availability of Crown land promotes the idea to start a commercial enterprise, and in the offer to sell (a lease or freehold) are packaged services and entitlements from government. As already mentioned (in 3.3), the promotional categories that quantitatively meet the requirements of an empirical study are Tea, Employment and Careers, and Health and Beauty (H&B): accordingly, these are the focus here. However, the set of language and non-lexical angles available for investigation is far-ranging (as shown in 2.0). To extend knowledge already in the field, it is fitting to appraise the content of *The Argus* to discover its advertisement categories and the minutiae of linguistic detail: this helps determine the direction of the Investigative Studies (in 5.0).

Given that *The Argus* affords a dataset of advertisement categories that endure today in print and online promotions, it can be surmised that the dataset

contains advertisements historically representative of counterparts in the advertisement broadband today. It is thus possible to diachronically track the language of a particular category (like promotions of tea, medicines and paid work). The ultimate goal of artefact choice in the thesis is to ensure the selection be varied, and is able to yield evidence-based answers to the research questions. The following is a condensed account raised from examining some 50 *Argus* issues over its life span.⁸⁴ The reading activity was conducted by scanning headlines and standout elements to familiarise with the overall content, and then scrutiny of small-print matter. The report is organised as follows:

- a look at the wide-ranging types of notices (4.3.4.1)
- advertiser devices and brand value (4.3.4.2)
- linguistic change over time (4.3.4.3)

4.3.4.1 A mixed bag of notices

While the 1788 establishment at Port Jackson was a penal colony, it was a free-range prison with high incidence of self-catering to needs. A small part of the population was moneyed; and the bartering system enabled a flow of goods and services to the convicts (who had various skills and education levels). Thus, fortuitous to the entrepreneur, objects desired by the patrician, literate or wealthy were not confined to the ruling class – any item was mobile in the demand-and-supply chain. Accordingly, a range of consumables and other offerings is evident even in the first decades – as seen in Mr Lord’s 1820 advertisement (section 4.1.1.6). An *Argus* issue of 26 September 1848 included the following assortment: government notices (such as availability of Crown land for lease ‘beyond the settled districts’), land for sale (such as sheep runs), engraving services, commercial kitchen apparatus (namely steam cookers for the innkeeper), jobs, ‘to let’ types (stables, rooms), shipping intelligence,⁸⁵ farm machinery (such as threshing machines), and household items. There also is a significant volume of classifieds – like ‘lost’ notices, thoroughbred horses for sale, notices from individuals standing for council election, and even business cards (for an architect and a wool broker).⁸⁶

Notices seeking paid workers were at first of the ‘help wanted’ type that eventually shifted from employment to careers (with provision of on-the-job training into the 1940s). Many categories surfaced as consistent over time:

⁸⁴ The investigative methodology of which was detailed earlier in 3.3.2 .

⁸⁵ Shipping intelligence is an early form of travel advertisement. While the ship arrival information was published after the event, this was testament to the safety and reliability of maritime services.

⁸⁶ Early business cards show that the settlement had no street numbers. Identification of adjacent buildings gave meaning to situate geographical location.

these include clothing, cosmetics and perfumes, dental, entertainment, foodstuffs, footwear, lifestyle and hobby items (like racing horses, and paints and oils), medicines, salt, soap, and tobacco. Some consumables were eventually phased out (like ammunition, arsenic, duck guns, hay, horns and hoofs, opium); others were introduced as industrialisation and wealth advanced (such as cameras, children's needs and toys, lawn-mowers, motorcars, musical instruments, pet foods). Unique prestige items are evident in the 1850s, such as *Orinthology-and-Conchology-1851* (Figure 1.5). The establishment of agricultural, gold and wool industries in Australia gave rise to economic stability, population growth and prosperity that boosted consumerism and leisure time for the financially secure. Advertisements in H&B increased over time: from the 1880s onward, this category employed prominent eye-catching features both typographically and picture-wise.

From the 1880s, the popular press is remarkable for promotional diversity of consumables and lavish display advertisements. *The Argus* had resisted display advertising till 1909, and pictorials till after 1910 (as evident in the dataset), but into the 1920s display advertising is seen sprinkled in its pages. The turn of the century is a time where promotional language is more than linguistic information, figurative expressions and intertextuality. A shift toward symbolically available meanings takes place – that is, messages increasingly are constructed on the reference plane. Consumers are invited to interpret advertisement content to infer additional meanings – for example, by incorporating images of satisfied adults or healthy children that associate with the advertised item. The psychological underpinnings of ‘hidden needs’ identified by Packard (1957) underscore selling language: simply put, advertisers encourage audiences to seek personal comfort, happiness and self-worth through marketplace consumption.

4.3.4.2 Advertiser devices and brand value

In the 150-year dataset, the eye-catching devices of bolding, capitalisation and iteration are recognisable as loyal meaning-makers of the advertiser. From the 1880s on, these stalwarts are complemented by persuasive newcomers of the linguistic kind (like personal pronouns and grammatical mood); and graphetics and pictures, which provide a formidable trove of psychological opportunity for the seller. By the 1890s, graphetics and pictures are the aficionados of marketplace promotion: they rise as powerful advertiser instruments that reveal the pathway to a better life. On inspection of these premier operatives, there can be seen an inner set of persuasive gadgets (like smiling faces or eye-contact) that collaborate with linguistic features to relay meanings. The following examples illustrate how the new meaning-makers cooperate in attempt to lead addresses along the path of consumerism.

In Velvet-Soap-Fun-of-Life-1898 (Figure 4.15), women are told – in a personal-conversation-like way – that they can enjoy more of ‘the fun of life’ by taking some easy steps, whereby their work can be ‘reduced to a minimum’. This benefit is achieved by using Velvet Soap, which will do the ‘laborious work’ in laundering. The possessive ‘your’ is used in the instructions ‘Rub it lightly on your linen’ and ‘ASK YOUR GROCER FOR IT’, establishing a social relationship with the addressee:

Velvet Soap, 1898

HALF THE FUN OF LIFE
Is lost to many of the women of to-day
through having to do laborious work
when there is no occasion for it ...
... reduced to a minimum by using
VELVET SOAP
Rub it lightly on your linen ...
ASK YOUR GROCER FOR IT

The Argus, 26 September 1898, p. 1.

Velvet-Soap-Fun-of-Life-1898 is an example at the cusp of retreating from the register formality of earlier decades towards a direct-address style that brings the advertiser voice conversationally into the personal spaces of addressees, speaking directly to audiences. This direct-address voice is a new promotional device in the seller communicative process, which expands the code-making options of message creation.⁸⁷ At this point, the advisory voice is that of a social commentator– as can be judged from the words ‘many of the women of today’; the overture is not yet the friendly voice of woman-to-woman.

Another selling device seen by 1919 is value-adding to the same product. This transition to extra benefits is evident in Velvet-Soap-Confidence-1919.

Velvet Soap, 1919

Confidence
In knowing that when you hang your
curtains after having washed them
in the rich, cleansing "Velvet" Soap ...

The Argus, 30 July 1919, p. 12.

The soap, which excels with its ‘remarkable cleansing powers’ where ‘no rubbing is required’, now also delivers self-confidence (see Figure 4.15 overleaf). Velvet-Soap-Confidence-1919 extends from its starter attribute of

⁸⁷ See section 3.2 Theoretical Framework (and Table 3.1).

highly-effective-in-practical-action to build a brand image of leisure-time creation, and to being emotionally satisfying – thereby offering a better life. Here can be seen ‘you’ in direct address and the possessive ‘your’, signalling a shift away from reporting style to conversational intimacy, but again it is the voice of the advertiser telling the addressee (not woman-to-woman, which is popular by the 1940s).

By the 1890s, the copywriter had embraced inclusion of the ‘better life’ angle, and personal pronouns bring advertiser voices into the intimate spaces of addressees. Efforts to build a brand are incremental, gathering traction over the decades as evident when comparing Velvet-Soap-Fun-of-Life-1898 and Velvet-Soap-Confidence-1919. The brand image of the latter resides in the idea of social confidence.

Figure 4.15 Velvet-Soap-Fun-of-Life-1898 and Velvet-Soap-Confidence-1919.
Source: The Argus, 26 September 1898, p. 1 (left); (right) 30 July 1919, p. 12.

<p>Velvet Soap, 1898 Half the Fun of Life</p> 	<p>Velvet Soap, 1919 Confidence</p> 
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Another illustrative pair (Figure 4.16) serves to demonstrate how a product can be imbued with positive qualities: this pair shows also retention of the standard features identified by Leech (1966) of headline, signature line, body copy, and utilitarian information. Two display advertisements from 1846 and 1898 (Figure 4.16) represent, respectively, the settlement era and the period of early brand-building.

Figure 4.16 Annand-Smith-and-Co-1848 (left); (right); McIntyre-Bros-Tea-1898. Source: *The Argus*, (respectively) 26 September 1848, p. 3, and 26 September 1898, p. 1.

Annand, Smith and Co., 1848

ANNAND, SMITH & CO.

HAVE pleasure in announcing the arrival of a supply from

Groese and Blackwell,

PURVEYORS TO HER MAJESTY,

of their superior and choice Manufactures, in fine condition,

CONSISTING OF	
Jams and jellies, in variety	Sardines
Raspberry and table vinegar	Herrings a la sardine
Anchovy, bloater, curry, chutney, and cocoa - pastes	Do smoked, in tins
Sauces in variety	Fresh salmon
Pickles ditto, including West India and Imperial	A choice assortment of preserved scraps
Bottled fruits	Preserved oysters
Yorkshire hams	Olives, capers
Wiltz cheese	Spanish and soluble chocolate
Mustard	Isinglass, marmalade
Cayenne pepper	Macaroni & vermicelli
	Flavoring essences
	Sperm candles and carriage lights
	&c. &c.

A. S. and Co. have also a large stock of

Corrosive sublimate	Brown and Polson patent starch
Spirits of tar	Annatto
Nitric acid	Brushes in variety
Vincol	Hair sieves
Arsenic	Corn measures
Blue ointment	Cigars
Sulphur	Cavendish and Co. Tobacco
Bluestone	Essential oils
Copperas	Lemon juice
Pot and pearl ash	Lemon peel
Soft soap	Treacle
Butyr antimony	Candy syrup
Lard	French plums
Spirits nitre	Table salt in jars and barrels
Glauber and Epsom salts	Chinese preserves
Roach alum	Arrow root
Baking soda	Sago
Carb. ammonia	Tapioca
Acetic acid	Bacon
Liquorice	Hops
Bonewax	Sperm, lamp, and paint oils
Calery, or iander, caraway, canary, hemp, rape, and garden seeds	Turpentine
Cream tartar	Frenchian blues
Chloride lime	Cudbear
Croose yellow	Turnerick
Cochineal	Logwood
Indigo	

also,

Maize meal	Whole and cracked
Pean meal	maize for feeding
Scotch oatmeal	horses

Fold under for sewing

McIntyre Bros Tea, 1898

MERCHANDISE.

TEA IN PERFECTION.

THE PURE LEAF of the TEA PLANT.
UNTAMPERED WITH.

<p>MAIN T Y H E</p> <p>MAIN T Y H E</p> <p>MAIN T Y H E</p> <p>MAIN T Y H E</p>	<p>S E O S</p> <p>S E O S</p> <p>S E O S</p> <p>S E O S</p>
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<p>11111</p> <p>21111</p> <p>31111</p> <p>41111</p> <p>51111</p> <p>61111</p> <p>71111</p> <p>81111</p> <p>91111</p> <p>10111</p> <p>11111</p> <p>12111</p> <p>13111</p> <p>14111</p> <p>15111</p> <p>16111</p> <p>17111</p> <p>18111</p> <p>19111</p> <p>20111</p>	<p>1111111111</p> <p>2111111111</p> <p>3111111111</p> <p>4111111111</p> <p>5111111111</p> <p>6111111111</p> <p>7111111111</p> <p>8111111111</p> <p>9111111111</p> <p>1011111111</p> <p>1111111111</p> <p>1211111111</p> <p>1311111111</p> <p>1411111111</p> <p>1511111111</p> <p>1611111111</p> <p>1711111111</p> <p>1811111111</p> <p>1911111111</p> <p>2011111111</p>
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<p>1111111111</p> <p>2111111111</p> <p>3111111111</p> <p>4111111111</p> <p>5111111111</p> <p>6111111111</p> <p>7111111111</p> <p>8111111111</p> <p>9111111111</p> <p>1011111111</p> <p>1111111111</p> <p>1211111111</p> <p>1311111111</p> <p>1411111111</p> <p>1511111111</p> <p>1611111111</p> <p>1711111111</p> <p>1811111111</p> <p>1911111111</p> <p>2011111111</p>	<p>1111111111</p> <p>2111111111</p> <p>3111111111</p> <p>4111111111</p> <p>5111111111</p> <p>6111111111</p> <p>7111111111</p> <p>8111111111</p> <p>9111111111</p> <p>1011111111</p> <p>1111111111</p> <p>1211111111</p> <p>1311111111</p> <p>1411111111</p> <p>1511111111</p> <p>1611111111</p> <p>1711111111</p> <p>1811111111</p> <p>1911111111</p> <p>2011111111</p>	<p>1111111111</p> <p>2111111111</p> <p>3111111111</p> <p>4111111111</p> <p>5111111111</p> <p>6111111111</p> <p>7111111111</p> <p>8111111111</p> <p>9111111111</p> <p>1011111111</p> <p>1111111111</p> <p>1211111111</p> <p>1311111111</p> <p>1411111111</p> <p>1511111111</p> <p>1611111111</p> <p>1711111111</p> <p>1811111111</p> <p>1911111111</p> <p>2011111111</p>
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IS ABSOLUTELY PURE. RICH IN STRENGTH.

And

DELICIOUS IN FLAVOR.

REY 2 B. PARCELS, OPPOSITE G.P.O.

BUY DIRECT

From our own Tea Warehouses. We have no agents or travellers. Country orders should be accompanied by cheque, money order or postal note.

THE PRICES are as FOLLOW:-

4 lb. BOXES, at 1s 3d. 7s. 7s. 6d.

12 lb. BOXES at 1s 3d. 7s. 7s. 6d.

25 lb. QUARTER-CHESTS, at 1s 3d. 7s. 7s. 6d.

50 lb. HALF CHESTS, at 1s 3d. 7s. 7s. 6d.

NET WEIGHT, delivered free of extra charge, as follows:- To any suburban address, in any railway station in the city, or any ship in port. Terms - Not cash. Country cheques to include 6d. exchange. Telephone 211.

4 1, 2, 3 and 4 lb. Parcels from

<p>McINTYRE BROS.</p> <p>TEA WAREHOUSE</p>	<p>G.P. POST OFFICE.</p> <p>BURKE-STREET.</p>
--	---

And BRANCHES:-

228 SMITH STREET.	COLLINGWOOD.
204 CHAPEL-ST.	FRAMHAM.
182 CLARENCE-ST.	SOUTH MELBOURNE.

As artefacts of their time, both are elaborate and striking. The 1800s was an era of bulk shipments, and this is reflected in the bill-of-lading-type list seen in Annand-Smith-and-Co-1848, while McIntyre-Bros-Tea-1898 is an example of a single-product trader:

- Annand-Smith-and-Co-1848 announce supply of the goods as sourced from Crosse and Blackwell ‘Purveyors To Her Majesty’.

The layout is visually neat, and focused on providing information about the assortment of consumables.

- McIntyre Bros-Tea-1898 offer '1/3 TEA', with the slogan-like TEA IN PERFECTION to describe their tea. Innovative typography (graphetics) create visual engagement.

The Annand-Smith-and-Co-1848 is a variety-goods business, carrying the names of its proprietors. In other of its advertising, it promotes itself as a 'family grocer'. Given its variety range, it is an early megastore⁸⁸ offering both practical sundries and choices for the moneyed shopper. Items include animal feed, brushes, cleaning products (such as soap, chloride lime), brushes, cigars and tobacco, coffee, green tea, foodstuffs, Epsom salts (a magnesium-sulphate compound, claimed to have health-and-beauty benefits), spices, and indigo (used in dyeing, and also recognised as having medicinal property). Narrative text is absent. Two English brand names 'Epsom' and 'Brown and Polson' are seen here – establishing these as among the earliest brands introduced to the land. Bolding and capitalisation are evident as attention-getting devices, and the layout renders the copy readable.

McIntyre Bros-Tea-1898 is a single-product enterprise specialising in tea, also ostensibly named after its proprietor. It employs the prosaic typographical devices of its time (but is more sophisticated than the Annand-Smith-and-Co-1848). Two devices of note are iteration of the proprietor name, and graphetics to create the unique '1/3 TEA' visual, which is the brand. McIntyre Bros-Tea-1898 includes a descriptive phrase that can be called a slogan; and positive thematic connections are evident – in this case, connecting ideas of perfection and purity. These sophisticates of slogan and thematic connection expand the range of code-making devices, and signal marketplace advancement from the basics of standard features into the modern era of seller ambition to secure a clientele. The following is an analysis, which identifies meaning-making and standard features; and considers the four marketing pillars of Attention Getting, Readability, Memorability and Selling Power.

McIntyre-Bros-Tea-1898

McIntyre-Bros is typical of early advertisements in its wordiness, personalisation of the seller in the business name, and focus on information-giving. Capitalisation, bolding and layout (including line spacing and white space) are employed to render Readability.

Additionally, there can be seen brand-building phenomena in the product

⁸⁸ Like today's giant TESCO in England, and the Woolworths superstore in Australia

name 1/3 TEA; the slogan-like short phrase; and the thematic information embedded to render the product attractive.

- At headline are the slogan-like words ‘TEA IN PERFECTION’, with its extension ‘the PURE LEAF of the TEA PLANT’ centred under, and following that is the disjunctive complement ‘UNTAMPERED WITH’. Here is an endeavour to imbue the tea with positive qualities, and help create Selling Power.
- The proprietor name ‘McINTYRE BROS’ is repeated four times consecutively, creating a Memorability device.
- The signature line is the brand name ‘1/3 TEA’. The typographic ‘1/3’ makes a picture: this is an example of graphetics, functioning (like repetition) as a Memorability device.
- The body copy includes description of features of the product, and liberal use of adjectives: ‘rich’, ‘pure’, ‘delicious’.

The headline slogan and phrases at top, put together with the standout body copy (which is centred under the graphetic 1/3 TEA brand name), read as follows:

Tea in perfection
The pure leaf of the tea plant
Untampered with
Is absolutely Pure, Rich in Strength
Delicious in Flavour

The ‘tea in perfection’ phrase ties with ‘the pure leaf’ and ‘untampered with’ to thematically suggest the idea of nature via the attributes of perfection and purity (offering an ‘absolutely’ pristine state). The idea of power is drawn from the words ‘Rich in Strength’. The tea, being ‘Delicious in Flavour’ possesses a pleasing-to-the-tastebud character. These attributes, claimed as properties of the tea, constitute its identity. The descriptive words that appear in McIntyre Bros-Tea-1898 – ‘delicious’ and ‘pure’ – are consistently seen in other tea advertising through the decades, making these adjectives the signature of tea promotion. An assurance of purity and ‘untampered’ may have been a practical declaration in tea promotion – given that now-proven information about toxins in brewed tea (Schwalfenberg, Genuis & Rodushkin 2013) was available by 1896, as seen in an article entitled ‘Tea Poisoning and Its Prevention’ in a South Australian paper.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ *Evening Journal*, 24 October 1896, p. 3.

At the turn of the century, new meaning-makers emerged; and there can be seen a lapse in the use of sentence case (initial capitalisation) to distinguish an individual word within a phrase or clause (like ‘Rich in Strength’ above). After 1910, overarchingly, the emergent meaning-makers can be described as personal overtures (such as contrived conversations in make-believe worlds) to connect intimately with audiences. By 1919, the advertiser’s voice is ventriloquised by way of the human image, and that image makes eye contact with and speaks to the addressee as a friend or other intimate would: this masks what is effectively an instruction (a Directive), and it distances the seller from the addressee. While women are the popular choice pictorially, men infrequently appear in this ventriloquist role of the ‘advertiser doll’; and, further a new talent is recruited as product endorser, namely the infant. This set of inner devices are evident in Figure 4.17, and a descriptive account of the three artefacts follows.

Figure 4.17 Glen-Valley-Tea-I-Feel-So-Jolly-1919; Babies-In-Favour-of-Johnsons-1923; Instant-Postum-No-Harmful-Ingredients-1928. Source: (respectively) The Argus, 9 July 1919, p. 12; 26 September 1923, p. 7; 26 September 1928, p. 18.



Glen-Valley-Tea-I-Feel-So-Jolly-1919

Here is pictured the face of a neckless smiling woman, backgrounded by what appears to be a giant white tea leaf set upon a grey backdrop. Under her charming face is the standout caption (in speech quotation marks) ‘I FEEL SO JOLLY!’ expressing her exaltation. At base is the standout

product name GREEN VALLEY TEA. On reading the small type under the picture, a conversation is evident between her and an admiring viewer, who endorses her pleasing attributes:

‘Yes, you look jolly, too, with those dancing eyes and
those laughing lips. What’s the secret?’
‘No secret, just a delicious cup of
GLEN VALLEY TEA’

The ‘jolly’ tea drinker legitimises Green Valley Tea as the source of her happiness; and the audience learns that the ‘secret’ of joy is ‘no secret’ – ‘just a delicious cup’ of the product will deliver joyfulness. Notably, the woman is neckless, and not identifiable by clothing choice; but, demographically, it can be said she is between 20–30 years of age. The dataset shows that women are commonly portrayed as feeling happy and invigorated after consuming a product; and in head-only portraiture, the artistic hand refrains from providing women with a neck.

On the reference plane, the white tea leaf suggests purity and also a positive value, while the grey background suggests negative value and emotional darkness: these monochrome juxtapositions have potential to foreground release from a dark place (via the tea) to a place of lightness (where a ‘jolly’ feeling is attainable). This light–dark juxtapositioning has its genesis in cartoon storytelling and is borrowed by advertisers to create emotional content in mise-en-scene, and it plays a significant discourse marker role (de Silva 2020). Into the 1900s, the transformational powers of consumables become increasingly more pronounced, and the powers are frequently a revelation to the addressee who marvels at the ‘secret’ that is ‘no secret’.

Babies-In-Favour-of-Johnsons-1923

The collective gaze of the happy-looking babies is directed at the addressee, in approval of Johnson’s Baby Powder. They are grouped under the headline ‘All In Favour of Johnsons’: their hands-up motion effectively points to the headline. The narrative block is advice to the mother. The advertiser, in imperative syntax, tells the mother ‘Keep faith with your baby ...’: seemingly, the imperative is the standard address to mothers. From the 1920s and into the 1950s, children are among the protagonists of the constructed worlds of advertising, calling out to be supplied with products and services.

Instant-Postum-No-Harmful-Ingredients-1928

Instant Postum, a grain-based coffee substitute, was promoted as a health benefit. The addressee, via a cartoony speech bubble formed from the steam of the freshly brewed beverage, is told ‘No caffeine, tannins or other harmful ingredients here!’ This is another new device – the voice of the product (from the coffee cup) self-attesting to its remarkable quality of safe and healthy for consumption. The male image presented here is typical of its time for lifestyle and ‘upwardly mobile’ promotions: he could be 25–35 years of age, wearing a collared white shirt, tie and dark jacket. As a rule, where head-only portraiture is effected, men are portrayed as professionals with a neck and collar, sporting a jacket.

Pictures appear in press advertising from the 1880s, but notably more so for patent-medicine promotions. The introduction of pictorials widened the scope for intertextuality and metaphor: within the dataset, the 1920s is the decade where these elements emerge as a device detectable across categories, though mostly for consumables that claimed health benefits. Two products (shown in Figure 4.18) Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure-Best-By-Test-For-The-Chest-1926 and Lifebuoy-Health-Soap-Another-Scalp-1929 demonstrate how standout elements (linguistic and non-linguistic) are capable to communicate intended advertiser meanings via intertextual and metaphoric conduits.

Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure-Best-By-Test-For-The-Chest-1926

This advertisement relays intended meanings primarily via the pictorial, and it lacks narrative content. In the 1920s, word count of narrative content waned in favour of the image, and physical point of availability may be absent; but words continued to play a critical role, and product price usually appeared. The principal linguistic attention getter of Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure-Best-By-Test-For-The-Chest-1926 is the product name HEARNES BRONCHITIS CURE, which frames the slogan ‘Best By Test For The Chest’. The slogan flanks a shield-carrying warrior, who brandishes a sword: this image (ostensibly, a medieval knight) symbolises product capability to fight off invasion.

Given that Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure entered the market in 1901, it served during the 1918–1920 influenza pandemic (known as ‘the Spanish flu’), which infected some 500 million.⁹⁰ Thus Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure apparently seeks to imbue itself with attributes of capability to ward off life-endangering enemies. At the warrior’s feet can be seen mini-Martian-like creatures scampering away. Possibly this image – which

⁹⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

first appears in Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure promotion by July 1918 (with the slogan ‘The Great Defender’)⁹¹ – is inspired by H.G. Wells dystopian *War of the Worlds*, the 1898 literary success in circulation in the 1920s. The addressee may infer that Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure is able to ward off even the most powerful adversary devastating humankind.

Figure 4.18 Intertextuality and metaphor: Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure-Best-By-Test-For-The-Chest-1926 and Lifebuoy-Health-Soap-Another-Scalp-1929.
Source: (respectively) *The Argus*, 26 September 1926, p. 38; 26 September 1929, p. 12.



The alliteration evident in ‘Best By Test For The Chest’ is a long-standing device; but the proverb-like quality of the phrase is a new arrival in the cache of advertiser meaning-makers. The words have potential to evoke the sense that here is a truism containing some traditional accepted belief, and the image of the medieval knight helps create the sense of something from a long time ago. The use of ‘test’ in the slogan suggests the product has been scientifically tested, thus taking the claim towards an axiom. While this advertisement lacks narrative copy, earlier promotions provide copious detail of curative powers, and allusion to scientific authenticity via testimonials.

⁹¹ *The Kiama Independent and Shoalhaven Advertiser*, 6 July 1918, p. 1.

Lifebuoy-Health-Soap-Another-Scalp-1929

This advertisement (like Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure-Best-By-Test-For-The-Chest-1926) uses the idea of warrior to protect the human against harm. The composition employs both a narrative block and images to relay intended messages, namely the proposition that using this soap will safeguard health, and is suitable for children. The slogan ‘Another Scalp for Lifebuoy’ is a play on ‘scalp’ to reference the hair that needs washing as well to pun on the sense of ‘scalp’ as a practice of some Native American groups:

Big Chief Lifebuoy is always on the warpath.
Tracking down the dirt. After scalps that need
thorough cleansing ... the health-guarding work it
is doing.

Given the real-life image of the Native American warrior as a first-rate tracker and indefatigable in combat, these positive attributes associate with Lifebuoy-Health-Soap via the words, and the iconic feathered headdress worn by the boy in the background.

As can be seen in Hearnese-Bronchitis-Cure-Best-By-Test-For-The-Chest-1926, narrative text is absent: meanings are primarily communicated via pictures. With regards to brand-building, the dataset shows that by 1919 advertisers are confident that the brand name alone is empowered to carry the intended positive attributes. Figure 4.19 Glistol-cleanser-1919 (overleaf) exemplifies this point. Glistol was a multipurpose household cleanser for tableware, bathroom, heavy-duty utensils, walls and car wash. It is seen advertised with narrative text in August 1919, then a month later in September 1919 only by way of image with price – suggesting that 1919 could have been the ‘watershed moment’ when advertisers were in transition from narrative-heavy towards picture-based persuasion.

Figure 4.19 Glistol-cleanser-1919: evidence of advertiser confidence in the brand name. Source: *The Argus*, (respectively) 20 August 1919, p. 10; 26 September 1919, p. 10.

<p>Glistol, August 1919 Picture, narrative block and slogan 'Every day I find some new use'</p> 	<p>Glistol soap, September 1919 Picture of product, with price but without product description</p> 
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Finally, into the 1930s and 1940s the cartoon-strip appeared as a storytelling promotional tool (Berry 2014; de Silva 2018; Nyberg 2009). The cartoon advertisement works on a principle of interdependency between images and words, and shows extraordinary capability to relay meanings (see Investigative Study Three, section 5.3). This latecomer to press advertising wraps up the chronological presentation above that tracked the expanding collection of persuasive devices of the copywriter toolkit. While the dataset shows advertisements increasingly operated on the reference plane, words continued to pay a critical role in cooperation with pictures to create advertiser meanings.

Collectively, the examples here show that meaning-making devices can be pegged to an entry point in the advertising-language timeline, and that *The Argus* is capable to demonstrate advertising period shifts as identified by Myers (1994); and also to evidence linguistic change, and brand-building phenomena. With respect to data validity, while there is a lag of some 30 years (1890–1920) in terms of the scope of register shift in advertising language – as evident between the conservative *Argus* and the popular press – the thesis draws on other periodicals for accurate profiling over the 150-year research timeframe. Thus, the study at hand is empirically grounded by evidence from the greater dataset available in the Trove database.

4.3.4.3 Linguistic change over time

The dataset shows that at inception consumer offerings appear as one of the following:

- as a succinct classified
- as a notice for a particular commodity in a narrative block of fully formed sentences, compositionally formal in register and often excessively polite
- as bulk advertised items (in lists of consumables).

With expansion of the infant colony, a normalised retail orientation was established into the 1850s, and this marks significant changes in the marketplace and in advertising language. In other words, corresponding with marketplace expansion visible in the 1850s – from sole trader to a network of small-business-retailers – is a set of lexical and non-lexical changes. At the discourse level, with the advent of classification and the emergence of brand-building, the advertiser increasingly relied on pictures, slogans and phrases – reducing narrative content; but full sentences do selectively remain. These phenomena have been pointed out in the illustrative examples thus far.

Earlier, three practical examples were presented (in 1.0 Thesis Overview):

- Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851
- Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851
- Add-Bovril-Consistently-1937

which illustrated how advertising language works to communicate intended meanings at sentence– and word–levels. The analysis of these three artefacts relied primarily on protocol provided by Leech (1966) on the behaviours of linguistic units in advertising language: in particular, the skill of the advertising copywriter to exploit the flexibility of parts of speech and clause types to communicate intended meanings. Advertising-language composition relies on managing the relative positions of linguistic units; and especially notable is the copywriter management of ‘depth-ordering’, of which there are three types – namely coordination, dependence and embedding (Leech 1966, pp. 10–22).

In the dataset is seen a range of grammatical features (including conditional indicators like ‘because’, ‘if’, ‘then’) that raise relationships to create a language with persuasive motive: a ‘loaded language’ (Leech 1966, p. 25). Overarchingly, in the relationships seen, positives are associated with the advertiser’s consumable; and the negatives are tied to marketplace competition, or to adverse outcomes for the addressee if the item is not adopted. The

potential adverse outcomes may be as dire as physical death, or career or social failure: these warnings were expressed in alarmist language. However, into the late 1950s legislative restraints and industry codes curbed the freedoms of advertiser claims, resulting in advertising-language changes (de Silva 2020; Myers 1998; Nyberg 1998).

Language changes as seen in the dataset reflect two trajectories as follow:

- Changes seen in natural language through time. These occur at the level of punctuation, spelling, word, and register.
- Shifts specific to advertising language in its development to cater for particular market segments (such as the professionally educated classes), and also to, seemingly, to create new markets by the construction of desirable worlds of and social elevation. This aspect is explored in the Investigative Studies (section 5.0).

To briefly look at changes relevant to natural language, an advertisement from 1848 by the small trader Henry O’Hara is given here; followed by a comment on the social register of *The Argus* when compared with that of the popular press.

Henry O’Hara’s First-Rate Medicine Chest and Vast Variety of Other Goods, 1848

The seller, Henry O’Hara offered a ‘first-rate medicine chest, fitted up by an eminent practitioner’. He offered also:

every article essential to the
COMFORTS, CONVENIENCE, AND NE-
CESSITIES OF A BUSH LIFE

O’Hara named some 60 items that were available among a ‘vast variety of other goods too numerous to particularize’. The items were set as a running list (in a paragraph) and included bazil, books, dog chains, clothing, crockery, foodstuffs, gunpowder, horse-riding equipment, tools, Turkey stone and vials (possibly containing liquid medicines). As already mentioned, this format of advertising is typical of the early 1800s in that the focus was on giving information.

These lists also provide a lexical cache for the linguist: they offer a discovery channel to date lifespans of words that have exited Australian English. Two examples here are ‘bazil’, which is tanned sheepskin (a thin leather); and ‘Turkey stone’ a kind of whetstone (used for sharpening

blades and tools). Two other linguistic features of Henry O'Hara's 1848 composition that were phased out are capitalisation of whole words and of individual letters (by 1900); and shifts in spelling (in this example 'particularize', which lost the 'z' in the suffix to 's').

With regards to linguistic register, the following is noted. *The Argus*, which was modelled on the prestigious *Times* of London, shows itself to disapprove of emotive composition (and pictorials) into the 1900s. The paper maintained its conservative editorial mindset, resisting the less formal style of writing known as 'new journalism' (Lee 1976a, 1976b). This raises the idea of advertising-language register variation in terms of 'high' and 'low' forms – compatible with notions of linguistic purism and prescriptivism in natural language (Cameron 2012). Conflicting social attitudes in definition of the accepted standard of English can be seen reflected in the entrenched formal register of *The Argus* when compared with the journalistic style of the non-prestige papers. This identifies the latter (given comparatively high circulation numbers) as the majority voice of the greater population.

By 1895, *The Argus* had significantly dropped in circulation numbers, and its market share had substantially diminished (Dunstan 2003). Despite the financial distress, *The Argus* clung to its prestige persona, declining to publish revenue-raising display advertisements – such as for patent-medicine sellers (abundant in the 1890s). Speculatively, this conservatism raises the linguistically intriguing notion that popular papers are the richest resource available to produce an historically accurate report of language attitudes within a timeline of Australian English. With respect to the thesis dataset, the advertisement category showing the greatest expressive versatility (and high incidence of low-truth-value claims) is patent medicines – but *The Argus* produces a lower yield of these than the non-prestige papers (which were prolific in cities, and regional and remote townships alike).

4.4 Summarising remarks

Some 30 press artefacts have afforded a description of advertising language from 1803 into the 1900s. A critical turning point in the development of advertising discourse has been pegged at the advent of the classification system of the 1850s that subsequently permitted copywriters to employ assumed knowledge and thematic information as persuasive 'hidden meaning' devices. For the consumer, 'hidden meanings' diminished truth-value transparency and verification, which, conversely, advantaged the seller. This phenomenon can be earmarked as the gateway to modern advertising. Another new meaning-making platform emerged in the 1880s for the advertiser's toolkit with

graphetics and pictures. This new horizon of visual helpers unfolded gradually, gathering traction in the 1920s.

The discussion in this part of the thesis, supported by practical examples, provided an exposition of the shift from an information-focused kind of composition into a sophisticated persuasive discourse that increasingly relied on pictures to relay selling messages. Nevertheless, linguistic devices are seen to consistently play a critical role in message creation and in brand-building. The next part of the thesis 5.0 Investigative Studies presents a series of small studies that report on the language of particular categories – namely Tea, Employment and Careers, Health and Beauty (H&B), and Patent Medicines. These will show how language choices and the social functions of language are employed to create Selling Power, and to create target markets; and, further, raise ideas of what it means to be a man or woman, or boy or girl.

5.0 Investigative Studies

The four Investigative Studies are purpose-oriented forays to gather information about aspects of promotional phenomena, as evident in the Australian press dataset. The discussion is set out as follows:

- Investigative Study One: Tea 1800s–1950s (5.1), a small sample to illustrate shifts within four demarcated advertising periods (from colonial settlement to the twentieth century)
- Investigative Study Two: Careers 1950s (5.2), a small study to investigate meaning-making features of modern advertising
- Investigative Study Three: Health and Beauty (H&B) Products and Services 1940, to test the idea of collateral bundling, and to investigate brand-building phenomena triggered by the austerity of the 1920s–1930s economic depression (5.3)
- Investigative Study Four: Patent Medicines 1800s–1950s, which spans some 150 years of promotions within the health-related spectrum (5.4).

The textual data descriptions and analysis of the Investigative Studies afford empirical validation of, or at least support for, hypothetical notions and behavioural impressions discerned thus far. Analysis is focused on discovering how standout features (linguistic and non-lexical) are designed to deliver intended advertiser meanings: the investigation is grounded on the premise of advertising discourse as a communicative form defined by market competition and ambition to secure consumer loyalty. Together with the analytical reasoning thus far, the findings here permit definitive statements to be made of print-advertising language within the data-discovery timeline of the thesis. Particular attention is given here to the categories of health and beauty (H&B) due to their consistent and quantitatively high market presence.

Collectively, the Investigative Studies help answer the three research questions:

1. What are the meaning-making devices?
2. How are devices configured to create intended meanings?
3. How do advertisements change over time?

In other words, the four Studies together with the key discoveries thus far – taking into account advertiser compositional responses to socio-economic flux – deliver holistic understanding of the meaning-making ecology of advertisements.

The Studies span a timeline of 15 decades. Collectively, they explore form and function, and illustrate progression from the visual simplicity of early 1800s notices to the creative innovations of the modern advertising agency (Jim Aitchison 2012; Crawford 2008; Godin 2009). Analysis is governed by the understanding that no part of a promotional text is accidental: all elements within the configuration are intended to communicate meaning/s advantageous to the seller. The idea of ‘advantageous meanings’ is an ideational abstraction that – if successfully communicated – forms the advertiser proposition/s. Meaning construction in advertisements depends on uniting the interpersonal, textual and social functions of language to create Selling Power (which is a variable dependent on promotional strength). Simply put, the successful persuasive urging of the proposition determines Selling Power.⁹²

The Studies uncover how social functions are networked in promotional content to achieve intended ideational effects. While evaluation of advertiser goal achievement (that is, ideational effects on consumers) is not within the thesis scope, the analysis at hand reports on potential advertiser meanings as inferentially evident. In evaluative analysis of meaning-making elements, the pragmatic ambition of the modern advertiser is realisable at two compositional planes that dovetail in advertisement design. One is the creation of persuasive texts that are attractive, readable and visually distinctive; the other is memorability – and in this subjective endeavour, the roles of human psychology and memory are critical (Loftus & Palmer 1974; Packard 1957; Stubbs 1996). In order to probe the range of meaning-making phenomena, ecological features are holistically analysed: among the phenomena are the invisible intertextuality tool (discussed in 1.4.4), and the role of pictures.

As a visual and pragmatic whole, advertisement content aims to communicate main and subsidiary meanings attractive to the receiver; however, the carriers of primary meanings are the attention-getters. In other words, primary advertiser meanings are recoverable from standout features; and the internal configuration and intertextual socio-cultural associations available there are designed to pronounce additional consumer benefits (if accessed by the addressee as intended). The following discussions demonstrate the meaning-making behaviours of advertisements, and the formative transformation from an information-giving type of notice to a text type characterised by hidden meanings and unverifiable claims. With respect to linguistic attention-getters, these grammatical structures are seen in the dataset, and their meaning-maker roles investigated:

- noun phrases (NP) and verb phrases (VP)
- adjective phrases and adverbials

⁹² Selling Power is measured by sales figures, and is not within the thesis scope.

- clauses
- negatives
- full sentences.

As already stated, the analysis draws on available scholarly works, and seeks to complement works to date with a profile of the Australian context. At this point of the thesis, some 40 advertisements have been studied alongside a small number of news reports and notices from government. The four Studies here contain some 50 advertisements collectively.

5.1 Investigative Study One: Tea 1800s–1950s

The objective of Investigative Study One is to vignette key changes in advertising language over the decades. This description of Tea advertisements (Figure 5.1) explores four artefacts dated some 10–50 years apart (1881, 1930, 1948, 1957). Respectively, each of these is representative of the advertising periods identified earlier (in 1.5). At a glance, the set of Tea advertisements, viewed clockwise from top left, shows how promotional content changed from words-only to the complexity of words-and-pictures in the 1940s; and, finally, absence of body copy in the late 1950s. It should be noted that date-defined periods have boundaries that overlap, reflecting in-progress stylistic transitions. The discussion here provides:

- diachronic analysis of both linguistic and non-lexical elements
- observations of shifts at the greater discourse level
- evidence-check on consistency of standard features over time
- analysis at the reference plane (that is, where intended meanings are embedded in linguistic forms and are inferable often symbolically)
- formative exposure of natural-language rhetorical devices colonised by the advertising copywriter.

Tea is recognisable as among the lifestyle products available in the colony: the ceremony of tea-drinking represented a socio-cultural and economic connection to England (Khamis 2009). In the first decades of settlement, tea appeared advertised in bulk-arrival lists, and later there emerged the tea-specialist traders like Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881 in Figure 5.1 (and McIntyre-Bros-Tea-1898 in Figure 4.16). Tea in the 1800s was a beverage associated with posh social etiquette and fine china, enjoyed by the ruling class. Into the 1900s, the niceties of tea drinking helped symbolise a refinement claimed by the Australian middle class – that is, those who identified as socially superior (Khamis 2009). However, the maturing supply-demand chain

of the Australian settlement was destabilised by disruptive military and socio-economic crises – namely, World War One (1914–1918); the influenza pandemic of 1918; the stock market crash of 1929, and the 1930s Depression years; followed by World War Two (1939–1945).

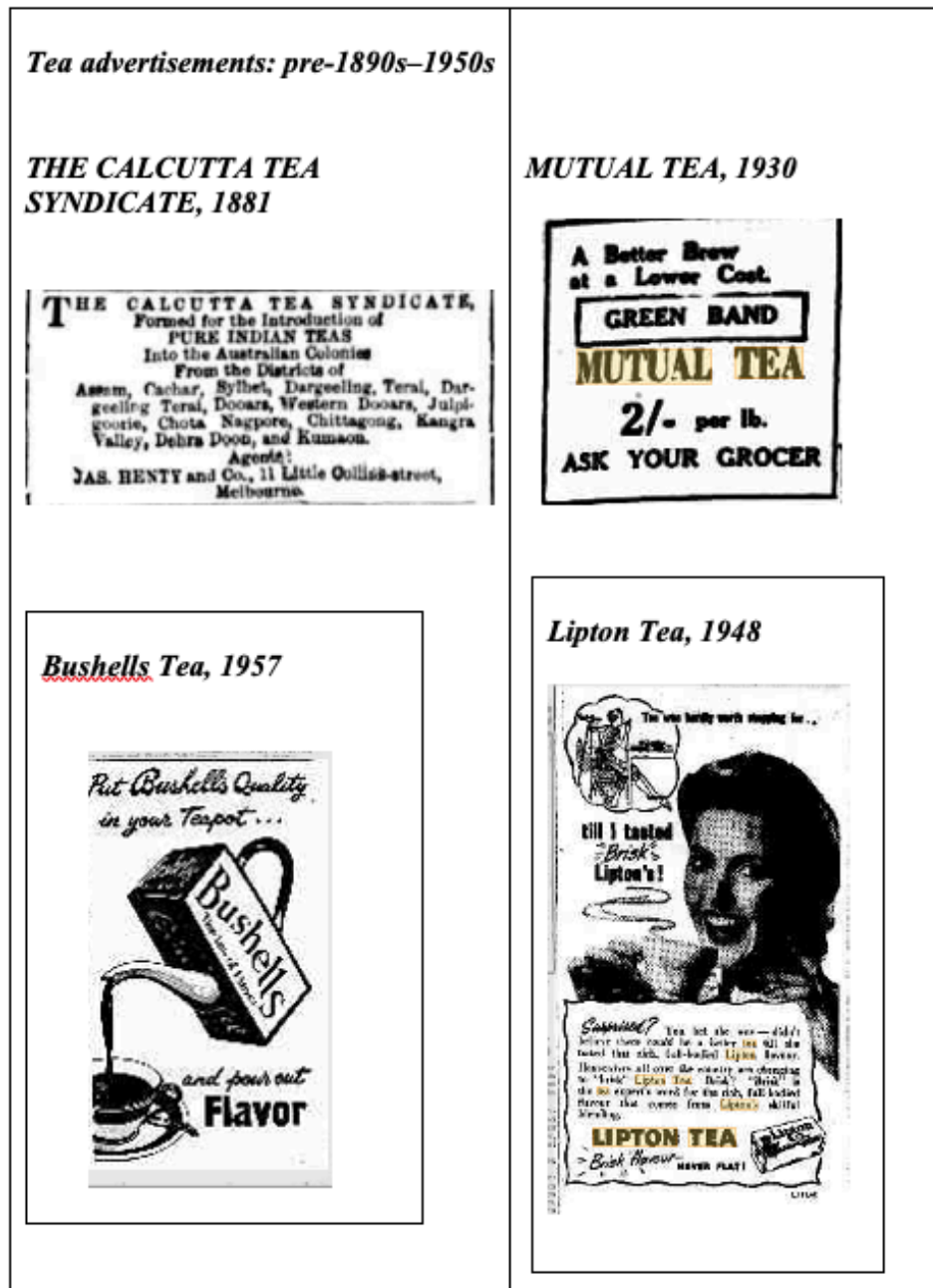
These disturbing global events, spanning some 30 years, delivered catastrophic economic blows that imposed consumer frugality, and demanded a strong marketing solution if sellers were to remain active in the shrinking marketplace. This dire situation could explain the multiple new devices of the 1920s, which brought new promotional servants to advertisements (as discussed in 4.3.4). The compositional changes in advertisements, aimed at securing greater consumer loyalty, can be seen reflected in the design and language choices of promotions for continuous commodities like tea (and patent medicines). The four tea examples of Figure 5.1 representatively showcase the four consumer periods identified earlier (in 1.5), namely:

- early settlement to the 1880s: socio-economically, these are the developmental decades (that achieved prosperity and population growth from the 1850s on)
- the 1890s to early 1900s: here, global trade improved market share for sellers, and the seeds of brand creation are evident (especially in the 1920s where economic stress sets in)
- the pronounced brand-building activity of the 1930s and 1940s
- the post–World-War-Two recovery into the 1950s: here can be seen increasing reliance of figurative language, and the effects of technology (such as full-colour advertising, and later multimedia channels).

The artefacts in Figure 5.1 (clockwise) are Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881 (at top left), Mutual-Tea-1930, Lipton-Tea-1948, and Bushells-Tea-1957. Analysis shows a degree of regularity in the artefacts – in terms of the headline, signature line, brand prominence, and standing (utilitarian) details. Changes occur at a number of levels. The most outstanding are:

- shift from text-heavy to pictorial
- a shift away from personalisation (in terms of the trader’s name or personal attributes) to focus on brand-building
- inclusion of a slogan
- diversity of rhetorical devices seen in the four artefacts, from the linguistic detail of 1881 to the minimalism of 1930 to the storytelling of 1948; and then the metonymy evident in 1957.

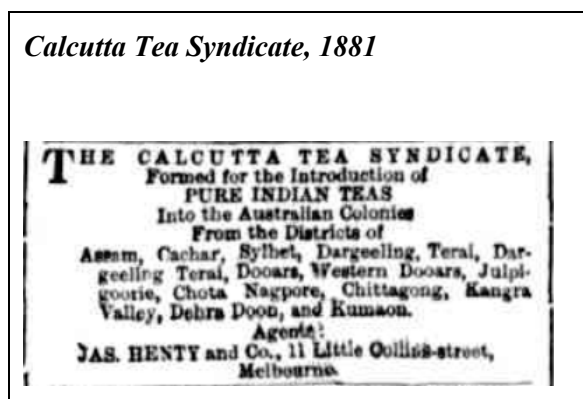
*Figure 5.1 Tea Advertisements: pre-1890s–1950s (clockwise) Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881, Mutual-Tea-1930, Lipton-Tea-1948, Bushells-Tea-1957.
Source: The Argus (respectively) 17 August 1881, p. 3; 26 September 1930, p. 1; 3 December 1948, p. 9; 19 November 1957, p. 3.*



This Study shows the use of word association, a device of subliminal advertising (Packard 1957; Williamson 1978) to tie the product with a theme or idea – such as the theme of ‘nature’ seen in McIntyre-Bros-1898 earlier).

Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881: analysis

Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881 is typical of advertising seen at settlement and for some 80 years. It is an information-giving notice, identifiable as a classified. The attention-getters are the business (seller) name at headline, which constitutes the brand name THE CALCUTTA TEA SYNDICATE, and the slogan-like product identifier PURE INDIAN TEAS. In small type is the utilitarian information, but price is absent. Very likely, this is a bulk-purchase opportunity for the small trader.



The standard features of an advertisement are evident – namely headline, signature line (brand name), body copy, and utilitarian information. Compositionally, Calcutta-Tea-Syndicate-1881 sits at the tail end of the early advertising period. From the 1880s, the advertiser progressively prioritised integration of rhetorical devices, and eventually relocated to a tableau of graphetics and pictures.

Mutual-Tea-1930: analysis

Mutual-Tea-1930, with its brand name GREEN TEA, is an example that straddles two advertising–economic periods: one where global trade, industrialisation and new technologies had created wealth by the 1890s; and the troubled period that followed prosperity, characterised by economic depression after 1917. In this ‘watershed’ juncture, Mutual-Tea-1930 shows both the typographical seeds of modern brand creation (salient from the 1890s); and displays a peep of the new psychological devices of the 1920s onward which embraced persuasive strategies to encourage spending in a time of consumer frugality. Mutual-Tea-1930 contains the standard features identifiable across advertisements; but it is visually minimalist, lacking body copy – which could be a response to cut advertising cost. Further, seller proper name to identify the product (with person or place) is absent.



There are two factors that could explain the linguistic paucity of Mutual-Tea-1930. Both are economic:

- The first is attributable to mass production, which seeped into the realm of the solo trader and artisan, and triggered the phasing out of the individual (often-home-based) seller as point-of-sale. The earnest solo voice in self-attestation, and the 1800s word-heavy testimonial, were relegated to history. The store-based retailer (such as grocer and chemist) became the norm along with the blossoming of chain stores.⁹³ In 1926, the first Target variety store was set up in Geelong.⁹⁴ It was bought out by the Myer group in 1968, and later sold to Coles/ Wesfarmers: this amalgamation marked the beginnings of the multinational in Australia, and the end of the individual seller/ artisan as advertiser norm.
- The second is the depressed global economic climate. In Australia, wheat and wool prices had collapsed, and unemployment rates were high (rising to about 30 per cent in 1932), and advertising budgets slashed (Crawford 2008, pp. 65–85): the gloom-and-doom scenarios demanded a strategy that would appeal to ‘the thrifty housewife’. People at this time were pressed to spend wisely, and reverted to homemade wares.

In analysis of the content, at headline is the slogan:

A Better Brew

At a Lower Cost

Here two ideas are presented: one is that of taste quality (the ‘Better Brew’), and the other of economy (being ‘At a Lower Cost’), which distinguishes Mutual Tea as value for money. A ‘lower cost’ tea reflects

⁹³ ‘Chain stores and self-service’, Australian National University Archives, <http://archives.anu.edu.au/exhibitions/high-street-dreams/chain-stores-and-self-service-supermarkets>

⁹⁴ Target Australia, <https://www.target.com.au/company/about-us/our-history>

the stagnated incomes of the 1930s. The ceremony of tea drinking had ceased to be a symbol of wealth, and Australia no longer cherished a connection to England as done in the 1800s. Association with English refinement was no longer at the heart of social identity. In socio-cultural and economic terms, the 1930s was a time when Australia was into its ninth prime minister and building its nation-state identity.⁹⁵

The Mutual-Tea-1930 ‘lower cost’ promotion requires a double-think to penetrate the mindset hampered by glum austerity where buying cheap goods points to diminished freedom of consumer choice. In the trough of spending disempowerment, there prevailed an atmosphere of imposed powerlessness. If the despondency were dispelled, the consumer could be uplifted to a freedom-of-choice status. The advertiser turned to psychological pampering, which can be achieved by language choice to suggest consumer freedom (power) to choose (spend) wisely. The idea of choice if realised offers potential to cheer the consumer. In the imperative ‘Ask Your Grocer’, the shopper is directed to ask for information and make a decision (choose) to buy. Here also is the use of ‘your’, creating an interpersonal bond between seller and shopper.

The shopper now has a sense of purpose, a goal and a degree of control. The ideas of ‘A Better Brew at a Lower Cost’ and decision-making power afford emotional relief from the yoke of economic depression. Shopper empowerment then, as an advertiser strategy, offsets the gloom of economic depression. Also uplifting is the brand name GREEN TEA, given the positive qualities available in the word ‘green’: it can be said to associate with ideas of freshness, green leaves in plant growth, rejuvenation and nature. From the 1930s, word association, psychological pampering and emotional appeals are commonly evident in advertising. Thus, it can be said that by the 1930s, positive meanings and consumer benefits are inferable at the reference plane.

Historically, the brand ‘Mutual Tea’ was a product of ‘The Mutual Store Provedoring Basement’, centrally located in Melbourne.⁹⁶ Later, the idea of product (or service) place being centrally located, and accessible, entered the emporium of attractive seller attributes. Apparently, The Mutual Store was a low-cost retailer. It operated a fleet of Mutual Tea Vans that conveyed goods to inner and outer suburbs – a home-delivery service. In Mutual-Tea-Vans promotions, merchandise vans were imbued with a person-like quality: ‘will call daily’. The first-person marking

⁹⁵ In 1931, the first Australian-born Governor-General was appointed to the Commonwealth of Australia, Sir Isaac Alfred Isaacs (1855-1948).

⁹⁶ At 256 Flinders Street, *The Argus*, 7 November 1939, p. 5.

implicit in the disjunctive VP is a personal-bond helper to suggest the idea of connection with a real person: that is, ‘I call daily’.





Up to the 1940s, most grocery stores were independently owned, and home refrigeration not yet available. As suburbs developed around Australian cities, consumers relied on home delivery⁹⁷ – making this a competitive industry. In 1949, with the introduction of large-scale in-store refrigeration units, department stores began conversion to self-service for perishables, with the first fully self-service grocery store opening in Sydney in 1950.⁹⁸ From this time, competing products were accommodated side-by-side, ready for the consumer cart. For the advertiser, this obsolesced utilitarian information for groceries and sundries in promotional composition; and heightened the impetus to achieve market share.

Lipton-Tea-1948: analysis

Lipton-Tea-1948 is typical of the 1940s brand-building in two complementary ways: use of pictures as the principal attention-getter; and coordination of multiple meaning-maker devices – namely personal address, repetition, the modern testimonial (in the ventriloquised ‘advertiser doll’ voice), the slogan, storytelling, photography and illustrative artwork. Lipton-Tea-1948 employs headline, body copy, brand name and slogan; and an array of rhetorical devices seen in previous decades. Utilitarian information is absent. The several meaning-maker devices is representative of the 1940s. Seemingly, by this time there had been an advertiser promotional epiphany, where sellers realised the power of psychological bombardment to virtually pamper the addressee in tandem with thematic information. In this way, consumables developed personalities, and oozed with lovely possibilities to heal and uplift the hapless.

⁹⁷ ‘The retailing sector: grocery retailing’, Parliament of Australia, https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint/Former_Committees/retail/report/c02. Accessed 29 July 2020.

⁹⁸ *ibid*

Lipton Tea, 1948	Transcription
	 <p>Tea was hardly worth stopping for ...</p> <p>till I tasted <i>Brisk</i> Lipton's!</p>  <p><i>Surprised?</i> You bet she was — didn't believe there could be a better tea till she tasted that rich, full-bodied Lipton flavour.</p> <p>Housewives all over the country are changing to "brisk" Lipton tea. Brisk? "Brisk" is the tea expert's word for the rich, full-bodied flavour that comes from Lipton's skilful blending.</p> <p>LIPTON TEA <i>Brisk</i> flavour</p> <p>NEVER FLAT!</p> 

On the advertiser ‘downside’, by the 1920s the seller’s personal name as brand had been lost (consistent with the rise of retail networks). This loss had significant potential to destabilise the seller–buyer bond, which had traditionally rested on the idea of personal trustworthiness. However, in compensation, consumables were conferred with person-like attributes and this idea of consumable-with-personality came to dominate the advertising principle. The dataset shows that positive and friendly product identity is created by words and pictures that describe what the consumable can offer; however, the purported transformative attributes may not be verifiable. In the case of Lipton-Tea-1948, it is ostensibly the best on the market, invigorating, flavoursome, and capable to bring jubilation – especially to women (similar to Glen-Valley-Tea-I-Feel-So-Jolly-1919 earlier in 4.3.4.2).

Lipton-Tea-1948 opens with a small illustration showing a seated woman sipping from a cup; and two standout clauses conditionally related by ‘till’ that relay a before-and-after experience. There is a situational transformation from negative to positive human condition:

Tea was hardly worth stopping for ...


till I tasted *Brisk* Lipton’s

The second clause in Lipton-Tea-1948 is flanked by a photographic head-and-hands portrait of a beaming woman holding up a cup of steaming beverage.

From the visual setting and the words, the reader can infer that the woman is taking a break from housework; and that usually she works continuously without refreshment – that is, till ‘*Brisk* Lipton’s’ provided justification for a break. All other teas are ineffective to refresh. Drinking the ‘*Brisk*’ tea replenishes her energy, and renews vigour to enable speed of job completion. This lively attestation is the woman’s personal experience, and is her testimonial (spoken looking directly into the reader’s eyes). The proposition is that Lipton tea provides the energy needed for long hours of housework. Thematically, the advertiser calls upon housework, and presupposes that tea is the beverage of refreshment.

Under the testimonial is the advertiser’s voice speaking to the reader: ‘*Surprised?*’, thus starting a conversation. The advertiser delivers a report-like commendation of the tea, and informs that ‘Housewives all over the country are changing to ‘brisk’ Lipton’s’, which is a ‘rich, full-bodied’ tea. Further, it is stated that ‘brisk’ is the chosen descriptor of the ‘tea expert’: this suggests that Lipton tea has been taste-evaluated by a specialist in the field. Finally, to close, is the slogan ‘LIPTON TEA Brisk flavour NEVER FLAT!’: this flanks a picture of the product carton showing the brand name. Altogether, ‘Lipton’ appears six times in the advertisement, and ‘brisk’ five times. The association of the tea with active movement and energy is achieved via ‘brisk’ and ‘never flat’, and this is the personality of Lipton’s.

Bushells-Tea-1957: analysis

Bushells Tea, 1957	Transcription
	<p><i>Put Bushells Quality In your Teapot</i></p> <p>Bushells</p> <p>and pour out Flavor</p>

Bushells-Tea-1957 draws selectively on the standard features of advertising: body copy is absent, as is utilitarian detail. The notable

devices are innovative typography; foregrounding and repetition of brand name; and the dramatic metonymic device of the teapot – which pictorially replicates the dimensional shape of the Bushells tea carton. There is no individual slogan, but typography and capitalisation function to highlight the words ‘Bushell’s Quality’ and ‘Teapot’ (in the headline) with ‘Bushell’s’ (on the teapot) and ‘Flavor’ at base to create a memorability device:

Bushell’s Quality + Teapot + Bushell’s + Flavor

These standout elements create the proposition that Bushells is a quality flavoursome tea. The teapot is Bushells: tea is Bushells – and this is ‘Quality’ and ‘Flavor’.

In summary of the Tea sample above, the following can be said.

1. Each artefact represents stages in compositional transition from words-only to pictorial domination from the 1940s onward. In the greater press dataset at hand, the shift away from words to pictures shows itself to be the trend for product advertising, but with variation depending on advertiser and on product category.
2. Socio-economic events affect advertisement content. Contributing factors of change include the effects of industrialisation, Australia’s nation-building, economic depression, and the rise of retail chains. Importantly, by the 1950s, grocery chains offered a consumer paradise of product brands stashed side-by-side on shelves with prices on display for self-service: this obsolesced (or at least diminished) the need for utilitarian information for individual consumables in print advertising.
3. By the 1940s, there can be seen a range of non-lexical meaning-maker devices that collude with linguistic units to relay intended meanings. By this time, products develop personality traits that can be relayed to individuals by osmosis upon product consumption.
4. The pictorial metonymy of Bushells-Tea-1957 is recognisable as a prosaic device of modern advertising.

The findings of this Study warrant a focus on how words and pictures come together to create advertiser meanings: this is explored in the next Study.

5.2 Investigative Study Two: Careers 1956

The aim of Investigative Study Two is to discover more about how words and pictures cooperate to create intended meanings. Over the decades, the category of employment – which, simply put, sells the idea of paid work – manifests as continuous. In terms of the standard features of advertising, body copy in employment advertising is stable as a compositional element – along with headline, signature line and utilitarian information. At first, paid-work notices were of the ‘help wanted’ kind; and later, following diversification and specialisation, developed into calls for particular skills, with job titles. Employment advertising today – identified as ‘careers’, ‘human resources’ or ‘recruitment’ – limits applicant eligibility by mandatory educational qualification and relevant work experience; and is word heavy, without pictures. However, the dataset shows that from the 1940s the employment category (similar to product advertising) integrated pictures, and this practice continued for some 20 years. Employer branding can be seen from the 1940s, and tends to manifest at the institutional level – such as government bodies and banks.

Employment advertising offers paid work, and also may sell career prospects and opportunities to build a professional skill set. The small sample of recruitment artefacts examined here serves to illustrate how the idea of career opportunity can be persuasively relayed, as compared with an information-giving one; and how pictures in the 1950s (as seen in the sample) were used to communicate meanings together with grammar and lexis. The recruitment artefacts examined here are a set of four classifieds (Figure 5.2 Employment-Classifieds-1957), and then two display advertisements that incorporate pictures (Figure 5.3 Career-at-Myer-Emporium-1956, and Career-at-Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956). Given that classifieds have already been analysed (in 1.2.2.1), the discussion of Employment-Classifieds-1957 is merely a brief recap of points made earlier.

The focus here is on Career-at-Myer-Emporium-1956 and Career-at-Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 to investigate words-and-pictures as collaborators in acts of persuasion. Analytical priority is given to standout elements, on the premise that attention-getters are capable to relay primary meanings. Given that employers desire to promote career prospects and the workplace as attractive, the analysis focuses on compositional features designed to relay benefits and opportunities for advancement. As will be seen, the words-and-pictures device here, similar to behaviours evident in product promotion, is capable to suggest person qualities and emotions through body language (such as facial expression), and to index social positioning. The discussion is organised thus:

- Information-focused advertising: classifieds (5.2.1)
- Persuasive advertising: the business corporation (5.2.2).

5.2.1 Information-focused advertising: classifieds

Employment-classifieds-1957 (Figure 5.2), from left to right, are: ‘GTV CHANNEL 9-NEWS-CADET’, ‘CHEMIST’, ‘CASHIER-ELECTROLUX’ and ‘VACANCIES-FOR-CHEMISTS’. As typical of classifieds, these use bolding and enlarged capitalisation of NPs as devices to attract the eye, drawing attention to key information (such as job title and company name). The ‘GTV CHANNEL 9’ headline, which is the company name, is followed by two catchlines; a VP ‘Has a Position Available’ and a complement ‘for a 1ST-END YEAR’.⁹⁹ As a continuous text, this reads as a complete sentence, without ambiguity:

Headline <i>NP</i>	GTV CHANNEL 9
Catchline <i>VP</i>	Has a Position Available
Catchline <i>Complement</i>	for a 1ST-END YEAR

This is followed by the position title in extra-bold, extra-large font size:

NEWS
CADET

Figure 5.2 Employment-classifieds-1957. Source: *The Argus*, 8 January 1957 p. 24.

Employment-classifieds-1957

The figure shows a collage of five employment advertisements from 1957. The first ad is for 'GTV CHANNEL 9 NEWS CADET' by General Television Corporation Pty. Ltd. The second is for 'CHEMIST' at Ford's Pharmacy. The third is for 'CASHIER' at Electrolux Pty. Ltd. The fourth is for 'VACANCIES FOR CHEMISTS' by the Public Service of Victoria. The fifth is for 'CHEMIST' at S. N. Rodda Pty. Ltd.

⁹⁹ ‘1ST END YEAR’ appears to be an entry-level educational qualification of the industry.

What can be said about these four classifieds is that the job type is highlighted; and where there is a company name, that name is an attention-getter – as in ‘GTV CHANNEL 9’ and ‘ELECTROLUX’. The information is clearly set out, and ‘hidden meanings’ are not a feature. In the case of ‘VACANCIES FOR CHEMISTS’, the minimum and maximum annual salary ranges for ‘Graduate’ and ‘Diploma’-holder are given. Suffice to say these artefacts occupy the information-only tract on the persuasion continuum described by Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001), discussed earlier. In contrast, the artefacts in Figure 5.3 (below) are positioned at the opposite end of the persuasion continuum.

5.2.2 Persuasion-oriented advertising: the business corporation

Career-at-Myer-Emporium-1956 and Career-at-Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 (Figure 5.3) are examples of the advertiser–employer in pursuit of their mission to achieve financial gain and market position. Their immediate goal is to secure staff to support and extend their marketplace activity. The post–World-War-Two years were an era of economic recovery and population growth characterised by increased consumerism and retail expansion. Education opportunities for women had become the norm, and their presence visible in workplaces and business environments. Accordingly, the 1950s was a time of job-market expansion and growth of the professional classes.

The artefacts of Figure 5.3¹⁰⁰ both offer career opportunities – but it should be noted that their employee targets are demographically different, and this is mirrored in register choices. The target audience of Myer-Emporium-1956 is (arguably) either young women or the parent (heeding the headline ‘PARENTS’); while the target of Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 is young men. Given the different target audiences of Myer-Emporium-1956 and Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956, the analysis is comparative: it explores and compares the lexical choices of each artefact in correspondence with the pictorial depictions. The analysis relies on the language communication model of Leech ([1974] 1981) and the five social functions of language (see section 3.2) to identify interpersonal and textual functions. As mentioned, these functions relate to the speaker/ writer: the advertiser uses interpersonal and textual devices to tap into and engage the (ideational) socio-cultural experiences of addressees.

Text analysis shows both factual information and a layer of ‘hidden meanings’ in the context of situation. The covert meanings of each artefact, respectively, reflect the socio-cultural environments of young employable women and of young employable men. As will be seen, the two environments are

¹⁰⁰ The reproductive quality of the images are of the original source.

ideologically incompatible, and suggest social attitudes to what it means to be a young woman and a young man.

Figure 5.3 Career-at-Myer-Emporium-1956 (left); (right) Career-at-Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956. Source: *The Argus*, 21 January 1956, p. 3.

Careers at Myer Emporium, 1956



PARENTS!
Here's a happy answer to the problem of

A CAREER FOR YOUR DAUGHTER

IF your daughter left school last year . . .
IF she holds the Intermediate Certificate or higher qualification . . .
IF she would like to work under ideal conditions in Australia's best-equipped offices . . .

She will enjoy the benefits of

FREE TRAINING CLASSES DURING PAID BUSINESS HOURS

In all these and other categories:

TYPEWRITING SHORTHAND
ACCOUNTING MACHINES CALCULATING MACHINES
PUNCHED CARD ACCOUNTING

To selected applicants these classes are absolutely free and are held during paid working hours. Highly qualified instructors and all equipment and books are provided. Thus, a position in the Myer office becomes a worthwhile career for every young girl who is planning for the future.

MR. POWELL, on the Eighth Floor, Lonsdale Street Store, will be happy to discuss your daughter's prospects and tell you of the many advantages of a career in Australia's largest store.

See Mr. Powell at any time (including Saturday mornings), or, if you wish phone TS 664 for an appointment.

THE MYER EMPORIUM LIMITED

Careers at Bank of New South Wales, 1956

AUSTRALIA'S LARGEST TRADING BANK

offers

**WELL-PAID
SECURE and
INTERESTING
Careers**

to young men

You don't have to sacrifice the present to the future. Good pay and conditions can be yours immediately — with an undoubted future in the Bank of New South Wales.

ADVANTAGES You will receive higher salaries than those payable in most commercial enterprises.

INTERESTING WORK No job is unimportant in the "Wales". Right from the start you are gaining experience and knowledge in one of today's most important and interesting professions.

PROGRESS The Bank regards every new junior as a potential executive. All higher appointments are made from the Bank's own staff.

GOOD LIVING You will join a happy team in the "Wales", with friendly staff relationships in modern, well-equipped offices.

LEAVE Three weeks' annual leave and a liberal period of sick leave on full pay are among the many advantages of working for the "Wales".

STUDY ALLOWANCE Liberal bonuses are awarded on completion of advanced courses of study — and the Bank will assist you financially with approved courses.

RETIREMENT BENEFITS A valuable "extra", the Bank's medical benefits scheme costs you nothing, insures against heavy medical expenses throughout your career.

PENSION SCHEME An excellent pension scheme operates to provide a generous retiring allowance for all officers.

SECURITY Your future is assured with the Bank of New South Wales — Australia's largest trading bank.

FREE 24 PAGE BOOK

"A Career in the Bank of New South Wales", a 24-page book about banking, gives full details of the opportunities offered and lists the many advantages of working for Australia's largest trading bank.

For further particulars apply to any of the 113 branches of the Bank in Victoria or to the Staff Office, 7th Floor, Bank of New South Wales, 568 Collins Street, Melbourne.

Qualifications are the Intermediate Certificate with a good school record, but vacancies also exist for those of higher educational attainments. There is no entrance examination.

BANK OF NEW SOUTH WALES

ESTABLISHED 1827

With regard to the communication system of the advertisement ecology, the following can be said:

- the channel (or medium) is a black-and-white newspaper in print
- the addressor in Myer-Emporium-1956 is Myer Emporium, and in Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 is the Bank of New South Wales
- the addressee of Myer-Emporium-1956 is young women (or their parent), and the addressee of Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 is young men

- the overt message is that paid career opportunities are available
- the code used in message delivery is a combination of words, pictures, typography and graphetics
- the reality (subject matter) is employment (the benefit), which can be gained by successful engagement with the addressor on their terms.

As an overview statement to distinguish the two artefacts in terms of readability, the small-print body copy of Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 is text-dense, with two columns of hard-to-read information: by contrast, Myer-Emporium-1956 offers superior on-the-page access to the words. However, advertiser meanings related to benefits of the Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 job are pictorially available: it can thus be reasonably surmised that the advertiser foregrounds key information pictorially, and in the standout words. In both artefacts, large bolded type highlights eye-catching linguistic fragments that render complete sentences when joined; but in Myer-Emporium-1956 there is higher incidence of meanings available linguistically. The two careers artefacts are similar in that both present information about a job opportunity, offering benefits and remuneration – and thus they suggest status in society. Nevertheless, as will be seen, they differ pragmatically with respect to the social positioning of young women and young men.

Job information in Myer-Emporium-1956

Myer-Emporium-1956 offers a career for young women. The job information is available solely from the words, which provide information about the practical skills training (such as typewriting and shorthand). The primary linguistic devices are disjunctive syntax, pronoun referencing, and conditionals. At headline is the forceful direct address PARENTS! (1), which imparts a sense of urgency for action. The headline is followed by five fragments that make a complete sentence ‘Parents! Here’s a happy answer to the problem of a career for your daughter’, thus creating a text:

PARENTS!	(1)
<i>‘Here’s a happy</i>	(2)
<i>answer to</i>	(3)
<i>the problem of</i>	(4)
A CAREER	(5)
FOR YOUR DAUGHTER	(6)

The primary attention-getters of the six standout linguistic units are:

A CAREER FOR YOUR DAUGHTER (5), (6)

This is followed by a bullet-point list of conditionals:

- IF your daughter left school last year (7)
- IF she holds the Intermediate Certificate or higher qualification (8)
- IF she would like to work under ideal conditions in Australia's best-equipped offices (9)

Collectively, the conditionals create a text that communicates the selection criteria and workplace conditions. This clarifies that this job is for the female school-leaver of age 17–19 years, who holds at least the 'Intermediate Certificate'. The office conditions are 'ideal' and the 'best-equipped' in Australia'.

Further, Myer-Emporium-1956 offers the benefit of paid on-the-job training:

She will enjoy the benefits of (10)

FREE TRAINING CLASSES (11)

DURING PAID BUSINESS HOURS (12)

This training is in the following practical areas (and more):

in all these and other categories (13)

TYPEWRITING SHORTHAND
ACCOUNTING MACHINES CALCULATING MACHINES
PUNCHED CARD ACCOUNTING

These training areas are followed by two narrative blocks that articulate praise of the employer workplace conditions and trainer personnel; and present utilitarian information.

In Myer-Emporium-1956, the language tends to emotive: it positions the advertiser-employer as saviour – providing 'a happy answer' to solve a 'problem', namely that of daughter-as-financial-burden. Here, the

advertiser is the benevolent provider of ‘free training classes’ (11) ... ‘during paid business hours’ (12). The addressor through communicative language functions:

- establishes rapport with the parental authority who hold the power to enable the recruitment
- shares with the parent the (presupposed) responsibility of solving the (presupposed) burden of what to do with a daughter.

The proposition is that Myer-Emporium-1956 will provide the solution (‘happy answer’) to the presupposed burden of having a daughter.

The persuasive linguistic devices used include the following:

- the simple present of ‘Here’s a happy answer’ intimates a fact that is always true (capable to establish an everlasting truth)
- the pronoun ‘your’ ties with ‘daughter’ to intimate a sense of belonging and responsibility: a person marker like ‘your’ functions as personal bond between addressor and addressee
- the presupposition that the daughter is a ‘problem’ presents as shared knowledge between addressor and addressee, creating a personal bond.

The linguistic devices in Myer-Emporium-1956 do the work of providing the addressee with the promise of benefit – in particular, the anaphora and the if-clauses. The pronoun back-referencing and reiteration of ‘she’ in (7), (8) and (9) functionally tie repeatedly to ‘your daughter’ in (6), which ties to PARENTS in (1).

The repeated use of ‘if’ in (7), (8) and (9) has also the effect to create uncertainty – imbuing a sense that the ‘problem’ daughter may not qualify. This appears to be a psychological hook to reinforce the urgency to act – so that the parent can successfully achieve the ‘solution’. Leech (1966, p. 117) contends that the main advertising function of if-clauses in advertising is to ‘single out the right category of consumer’, and that it may contain ‘evaluative loading’. This contention is realisable in Myer-Emporium-1956, where daughters are socially vulnerable. In the clause ‘IF your daughter left school last year’ (7), it can be inferred that as daughters age, they become a long-term ‘problem’. The dataset at hand indicates that the anxiety-causing if-conditional is phased out over time across all categories. The demise of the if-conditional is likely

attributable to advertising-language restraints into the 1960s and onwards that curbed the use of language that may instil fear or anxiety (Myers 1994).

In terms of social positioning, the ‘PARENTS’ headline reveals the socio-economic condition of the milieu: it suggests social invisibility of young women. Ostensibly, this is a time when females were selectively invited to join the workforce, but dependent upon parental authority. The picture in Myer-Emporium-1956 further disempowers the female: the pictorial message is marked in its psychological negativity toward the status of young women. The female depicted looks anxious, holding a pencil to her lips (perhaps even chewing on it, and referentially could link to nervous nail-biting). Thumb-sucking is the other possible association – thus evoking the idea of ‘acting in ways normally reserved for children’ (Vestergaard & Schroder 1985, p. 100). This supports Goffman’s (1979, p. 48) assertion that women are frequently portrayed exhibiting childish behaviour. This kind of body-language depiction positions a person socially and is a kind of register – a pictorial register.

Job information in Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956

The two-column text-dense character of Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 renders this advertisement considerably less readable than Myer-Emporium-1956. Small-print text is a typographical feature of finance-type product promotion, like insurance policies) (Jim Aitchison 2012). The small-print text-density feature serves as a device to imply technical nature and complexity of subject-matter, and contextually in Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 it suggests specialist nature of the advertised position. The typographical treatment is an example of the advertiser drawing upon addressee knowledge (the ideational) to create an impression of job challenge and complexity.

Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 relies on both pictures and standout words to relay critical advertiser meanings: the configuration communicates the proposition that this opportunity brings a ‘well-paid, secure and interesting’ career for ‘young men’. At headline is a slogan-like phrase ‘AUSTRALIA’S LARGEST TRADING BANK’ (1) followed by six fragments. The fragments when run together form a full sentence that reads ‘Australia’s largest trading bank offers well-paid, secure and interesting careers to young men’. The standout words are ‘WELL-PAID’ and ‘Careers’; and the use of grammatical third person calling ‘to young men’ (7) is formal and respectful (unlike the language choices of Myer-Emporium-1956).

AUSTRALIA'S LARGEST TRADING BANK (1)

<i>offers</i>	(2)
WELL-PAID	(3)
SECURE and	(4)
INTERESTING	(5)
<i>Careers</i>	(6)
to young men	(7)

Other standout linguistic elements are:

EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITIES	(8)
FOR ADVANCEMENT	(9)
FREE 24 PAGE BOOK	(10)
BANK OF NEW SOUTH WALES	(11)

Suffice to say that the word choices of (3), (4), (5), (8) and (9) suggest a high salary, job security, and conceptually engaging work with prospects of career advancement. These positive aspects are bolstered by the images that flank the words. Together the words and pictures deliver the proposition that this opportunity is exceptional and prestigious. The pictures in Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 convey positive ideas of social positioning and benefits. They suggest job stability and power, potential for career advancement, and authority of the incumbent. These meanings are referenced to the pictures:

- the solid architectural façade of the towering building (symbolising security, strength, masculine potency)
- the map (symbolising travel opportunity, progression)
- the hands on the paperwork (symbolising mental engagement, possession of knowledge, authority)
- the attentive female standing by the seated man signals his authority and power to attract the admiration of women.

The dignified social positioning of the male figure in Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 is consistent with advertisement representations elsewhere of men depicted as executives and in roles of eminence: conversely, women are afforded lower rank in the social hierarchy, and often serve as objects attendant upon men (Goffman 1976).

It should be noted that pictures as meaning-makers in employment advertising are not explicit promises to deliver the benefits suggested

there: the implicit indications are associations, ideationally evoked by way of meanings drawn from the real world. Absence of statements that clearly articulate the purported benefits reduces the liability of the advertiser – as the meanings are inferable, not stated as an obligation nor responsibility of the advertiser. It can be argued that even the information-giving words of Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 lack clarity. As an example, the undefined ‘WELL-PAID’ in (8) is open to interpretation – as opposed to the case of ‘VACANCIES FOR CHEMISTS’ in Figure 5.2 earlier, where salary range is stipulated for the ‘Graduate’ and the ‘Diploma’-holder.

The compositional environments of Myer-Emporium-1956 and Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 are similar in that they both offer information about available positions; but differ ideologically in revelation of social attitudes and behaviours that demarcate constructs of ‘young woman’ and ‘young man’. This discrimination contributes to reinforce socio-cultural markers that construct gender roles: in this way, advertising helps stereotype what it means to be woman or man, feminine or masculine (Alvesson & Billing 2009). In terms of the thesis questions, what can be said is that linguistic analysis is a valuable instrument to uncover how language can diminish and, conversely, elevate social groups. Where pictures evoke particular ideas consistently over time in a gender-specific way, they have potential to become the stereotypical visual language that socially indexes and defines roles of men and women (Goddard 2015). The meanings associated with stereotyping then become part of the socio-cultural identification code of world experience.

To sum up, the above analysis provided a comparative example of how meanings can be socially indexed for two different target markets – young men and young women. As mentioned earlier, Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001, p. 1296) contend that advertising English ‘should be represented as a continuum of text functions’ that fluctuates between delivering information and addressee persuasion. This functional boundary is illustrated in the compositional differences between the information-delivery-oriented classifieds of Figure 5.2 and the persuasion-oriented Myer-Emporium-1956 and Bank-of-New-South-Wales-1956 that present as examples of ‘covert communication’ (2001, p. 1290). Recruitment advertising today is a category that has reverted to information-focused advertising, and the content is regulated by anti-discrimination protocols. There are, however, other categories of ‘hybrid text types’ that contain words and pictures ‘which are closely linked to produce a desired effect on the addressee’ Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001). The next part of the thesis ventures further into the words-and-pictures type of advertising by analysing 25 H&B artefacts.

5.3 Investigative Study Three: Health and Beauty (H&B) Products and Services 1940

Investigative Study Three explores 25 H&B artefacts, testing the notion of ‘collateral bundling’: this idea proposes an underlying meaning-making mechanism designed to generate advertiser propositions via ‘hidden meanings’ cached in attention-getters (de Silva 2018). While primary meanings are embedded in attention-getters, additional meanings are available in other elements. As already clarified, collateral bundling is a three-way operative employing thematic information, presupposition and implicature to relay intended meanings. The thesis holds that collateral bundling is the psychological blueprint of the modern advertisement. The seeds of this master device are apparent from the 1920s, where persuasive tactics are linguistically and pictorially evident in advertisements (see 4.3.4). With respect to the advertiser proposition, the copywriter goal is to present the consumable as attractive and essential – however, persuasive overtures are delivered with minimal explicit urging to buy.

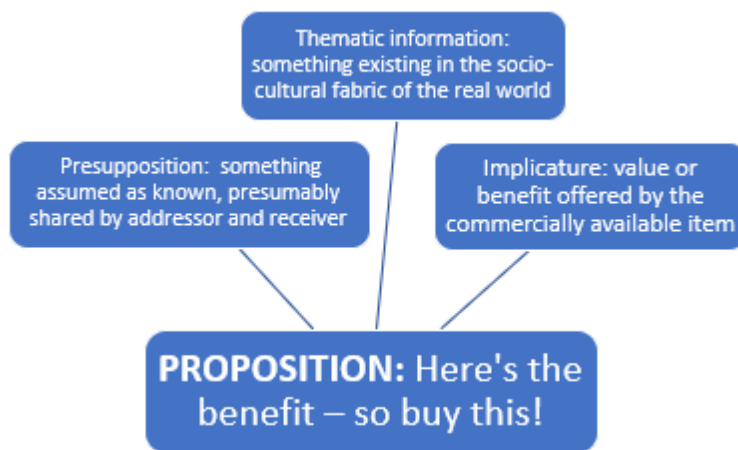
Modern advertising (when compared with advertising of the 1800s that focused on the necessities of life) shows itself to convey essential advertiser meanings primarily by connotation, appealing to both needs and wants. As stated earlier (in 1.0), consumer advertising is a form of propositional communication that contextually fixates on the psychology of human needs and desires. Logically, the reality of needs and desires links to the idea of language as an expressive apparatus that is functionally social. Thus, to sell a consumable, advertisements are creatively configured to address both item information and human psychology – on the premise that items are commercially attractive when regarded as satisfying both needs and desires (Barthes 1957; Marshall & Morreale 2018; Packard 1957). Accordingly, copywriters and graphic designers produce artfully crafted texts to convey persuasive messages (Jim Aitchison 2012; Berger 2015; Cook 2001; Geis 1982; Leech 1966; Myers 1994, 1998; Packard 1957).

Given that the socio-cultural relationships of everyday exchanges underpin receiver interpretations of messages, advertiser persuasion relies on evoking shared denotative and connotative meanings that tie positively to marketplace items (Bolinger & Sears 1981; Leech 1983; Yule 2020). The addressor goal is to stimulate buying behaviour by creating texts of strong Selling Power. The text-creation process relies on the fundamentals of natural-language communication, powered by the precept of language as an organic socio-cultural edifice (Bolinger 1980; Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1985; Leech 1981). Linguistic cohesive devices serve the critical infrastructure of press advertisement construction – principally information structure, thematic information, presupposition, implicature, reference, and turn-taking (see 1.5).

5.3.1 Research-methodology-in-brief: H&B 1940

The persuasive meaning-making ecology of H&B promotions, as will be shown, incorporates social functions in a system of hidden-meaning bundling to create Selling Power. The artefacts here are representative of the heightened brand-building activity seen in 1940s marketplace competition (Myers 1994), where a range of linguistic and pictorial elements were innovatively deployed in promotions. The analytical taxonomy (Figure 5.4) comprises a formulation of thematic information, presupposition and implicature: a hidden-meaning trifecta capable to deliver advertiser propositions.

Figure 5.4 Propositions are formed by collateral bundling of hidden meanings.



Two aspects dominate this Study: the advertiser's communicative intent, and exposition of how hidden-meaning devices operate.

1. The discussion is informed by the persuasive intent of advertiser messaging, and the four pragmatic advertiser preoccupations (Leech 1966) that drive compositional design:
 - Attention-value (devices used to attract)
 - Memorability (features that maximise a lasting impression)
 - Readability (devices that maximise visual engagement)
 - Selling Power (the ultimate objective), characterised by persuasive effectiveness of Attention-value, Memorability and Readability.

These four principles render consumables attractive and essential.

2. The discussion applies the collateral-bundling analytical taxonomy (Figure 5.4) – using the five social functions of language (Table 5.1). The taxonomy reveals how meanings are systematically bundled to create propositions. Each artefact analysis is annotated in a meaning-making summary analysis – as done earlier in *The-Baby-Shop* (in 3.2.3.2) and *Ornithology-and-Conchology-1851* (in 1.4.3).

Table 5.1 *The five social functions of language. Source: Leech, 1981, pp. 40–42.*

<i>The five social functions of language</i>	
SOCIAL FUNCTION	ORIENTATION TOWARDS
Expressive (attitudes/feelings)	Addressor/ Speaker
Informative (informational)	Subject-matter (information)
Phatic (socially oriented/ interpersonal)	Channel of communication
Aesthetic (artistic value/ status)	Message/ code in <u>socio-cultural setting</u>
Directive (socially controlling/ aims to influence)	Audience/ Addressee

The discussion here conceptually aligns with that of *The-Baby-Shop* analysis in 3.2.3.2), which showed how hidden-meaning bundling operates to communicate messages subtly without the words ‘Buy this!’ The investigative method at hand adopts a holistic approach, analysing both linguistic and non-linguistic features – including brand name. The *Merriam-Webster* (merriam-webster.com) dates the first use of ‘brand-name’ at 1922 (without a usage quotation): the dating coincides with the vestiges of collateral bundling evident by 1900 – particularly salient in promotions for household and personal soaps (see 4.3.4.2). This points to brand identity as a device of persuasion that became the norm into the 1900s.

The following analysis is primarily linguistic; however, emotive and socio-psychological devices are evaluated as critical co-contributors to meaning-creation. Given that print advertising may be either words-only or a combination of words and images, the following discussion is presented in two sections:

- first, words-only artefacts (5.3.2)
- then, words-and-image configurations (5.3.3).

The analysis draws on each standout feature to explore its meaning-maker role. The discussion, structurally, explores first grammatical elements, and then social functions; however, to achieve expressive economy, there is strategic integration of grammatical and pragmatic aspects as necessary.

5.3.2 Advertisements of purely linguistic content: discussion

The idea of ‘purely linguistic content’ is that of only words, being devoid of images (such as symbols and pictures). Advertisements confined to small spaces (like classifieds) are commonly words-only. These normally display:

- a simple noun phrase (NP) at headline as attention-getter
- followed by body-text blocks and utilitarian information (like proprietor name and address).

Verbless attention-getters – though linguistically minimal (like ‘The Baby Shop’) – aptly function as independent clauses, and contain contextually significant meanings (Burridge 2018; Leech 1966; Rush 1998). This contextual meaning-making property of NPs is a prosaic function of the English language – that is, addressees know the conventionally associated attributes of the grammatical subject (such as ‘baby’). Further useful to the copywriter is that addressees in an exchange tend to position themselves as protagonist, which is the reason addressors draw on hedging language and diplomacy in communication of sensitive content: this embarrassment-saving principle underpins the disclaimer ‘Don’t take this personally’. The advertiser colonises this tenet in reverse as the bedrock of promotional meaning-making.

Headline NPs may appear with determiners, possessives and/ or modifiers (like ‘A Career For Your Daughter’); and appear as a full sentence (sometimes with more than one clause, and complements that tie to the consumable). As stated earlier (1.4.2), isolated sentence fragments, called disjunctive syntax, are a characteristic of advertising language (Leech 1966; Myers 1994; Rush 1998) and these fragments often form complete sentences when strung together. Clausal and phrasal fragments in advertisements collaborate to render thematic information, presupposition, implicature that deliver propositions (Figure 5.4). The following discussion focuses on linguistic attention-getters to report on how these communicate intended meanings. Artefacts here are organised into three treatment categories, namely human physical ailment (physical need); beautification of self (a desire); and non-physical need (namely treatment of nervous condition):

- advertisements that offer to remedy physical conditions (5.3.1.1)
- advertisements for beautification of self (5.3.1.2)
- advertisements to remedy psychological condition (5.3.1.3).

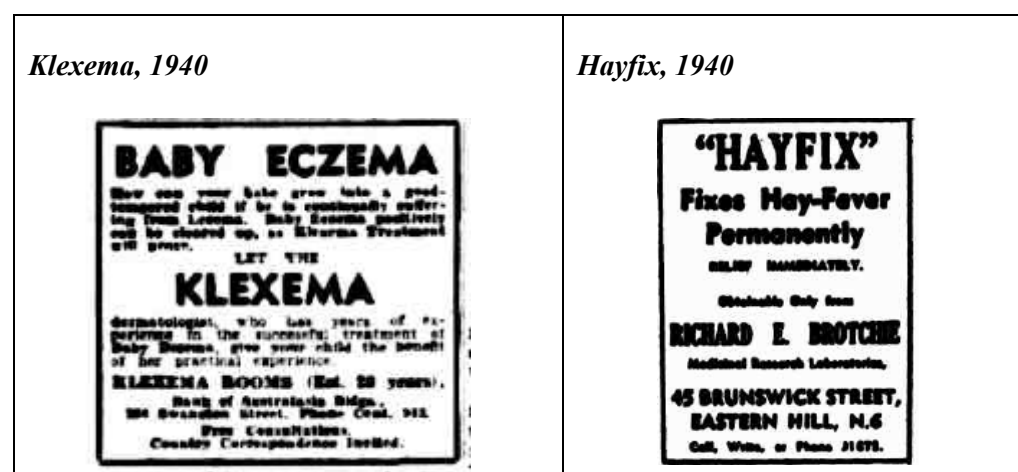
5.3.2.1 Advertisements that offer to remedy physical conditions

The seven words-only notices below offer remedies to solve problems related to physical conditions: the remedies involve medical and/ or technology-assisted intervention. The first two (Figure 5.5) are:

- Klexema-1940, treating baby eczema
- Hayfix-1940, treating hayfever.

Both use the most basic of attention-getting devices, namely bold type in full capitals (which is a design feature enabled by the flexibility of typographic variation). The white space around the bolded words creates a prosodic-like effect that emphasises the attention-getters and improves readability.

Figure 5.5 Klexema-1940, and Hayfix-1940. Source: The Argus, 16 November 1940, (respectively) p. 2, p. 31.



The Klexema-1940 attention-getters are a declarative headline ‘Baby Eczema’ (1), and a disjunctive command clause (2) ‘Let the Klexema’:

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| <i>NP (declarative)</i> | BABY ECZEMA | (1) |
| <i>Clause (imperative)</i> | LET THE KLEXEMA | (2) |

The NP headline ‘Baby Eczema’ (1) names the problem, and carries the real-world theme of skin affliction; further, it couches the presupposition of an exclusive baby-associated eczema. It can reasonably be surmised that the skin specialist (dermatologist) is the advertiser, intent upon building a clientele. The complete sentence of the sequence (1) and (2), when syntactically constructed, proposes ‘Let the Klexema dermatologist give your child the benefit of specialised eczema treatment’.

The imperative (2) ‘Let the Klexema’ – formatively Verb + Object – is akin to ‘Let the specialist’. This hides advertiser agency by ellipting the first-person pronoun:

Let [me] the Klexema [specialist help you]

The ellipsis device – which effectively removes explicit mention of advertiser agency, creates an illusion of recommendation:

Covert agency + imperative Let the Klexema specialist help you.

The ellipsis device distances the reality of overt self-promotion:

Overt agency + imperative I am the Klexema specialist. Let me help you.

This illustrates how ellipsis, which in natural language usefully eliminates repetition (ideally without confusion), is applied to introduce agent fuzziness – thus violating Grice’s Maxim of Manner: ‘Avoid Ambiguity and Obscurity’ (Grice 1975). Referential fuzziness is useful in advertising, as it can dually function to submerge advertiser advantage while imbuing the consumable with positive qualities.

While the thesis scope excludes study of sound patterns, it is noted that phonological similarity, such as alliteration and rhyme, is frequently used as a memorability device (Leech 1996; Tanaka 1999), as seen in the syllabic and sound similarity between ‘eczema’ and ‘Klexema’. Also a memorability device is the practice of creating a blended brand name that combines a morpheme or syllable extracted from the identified affliction or problem with an element from the proposed solution – for example, also seen in the 1940 dataset are ‘Dee-odor’, a personal hygiene product to eliminate body odour; ‘Rinso’, a laundry powder that rinses out dirt; and ‘Hayfix’, a hayfever fixer.

The Klexema-1940 analysis above focused on grammatical aspects. With respect to social functions, the Informative (product name ‘Klexema’) and covert Directive (‘Buy this product’) are recoverable, respectively, from ‘Baby Eczema’ (1) and ‘Let the Klexema’ (2). Together, these offer a remedy, and implicitly direct the addressee to purchase the service:

Baby Eczema! Klexema offers a remedy. So buy this benefit!

Klexema-1940 employs also the social device of Phatic communion. The attention-getters work together like a conversation between two people. In a real-world situation where someone requires assistance, we may offer to help, uttering the words:

‘Mate! Let me help you!’

which parallels:

‘**Baby with eczema! Let me the Klexema specialist help you!**’

The NP ‘Baby Eczema’ is comparable to the way in which infants are called ‘baby boy’ or ‘baby girl’; or to an affectionate proper name, like ‘Baby Susie’. It may be likened also to attributives found in nursery songs, like ‘Brother John’ in *Are You Sleeping Brother John*; and in children’s stories, like ‘Mother Goose’ in *The Tale of Mother Goose*. Advertiser mimicking of conversational and storytelling conventions creates an interpersonal conduit that simulates person-to-person friendly interaction.

Arguably, the device of covert Aesthetic also is recoverable, in the similarity between the Klexema-1940 disjunctive clause (2):

Klexema disjunctive clause Let the Klexema (2)

and the command found in the biblical creation story:

[Then God said,] ‘Let there be light’ (Genesis 1.3).

The idea of Aesthetic function in communicative behaviour was first proposed in the 1930s (Jakobson [1976] 1978; Leech [1974] 1981). The Aesthetic represents the poetic and the cultural. It constitutes the literary and semiotic meanings drawn from esoteric or community-based experiences and knowledge. The thesis dataset shows evidence of Aesthetic function in advertisement content.

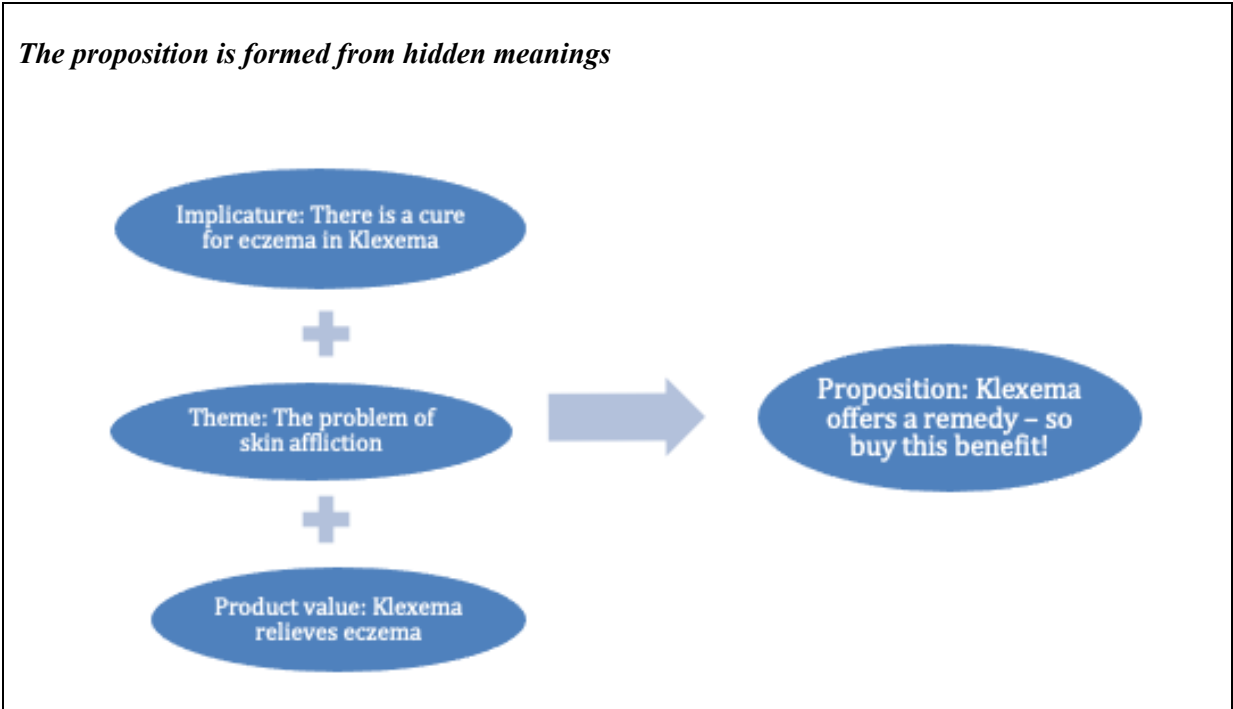
The Klexema-1940 analysis reveals how attention-getting linguistic elements operate to convey meanings, and how grammatical agency (signifying the role of the advertiser) can be ellipted. Despite the absent words ‘Buy this’, hidden meanings enact such a command. Of significance is the tie between implicature and consumer benefit (the product value), which crystallises the gist of the advertiser persuasive intent:

<i>Implicature</i>	There is cure for eczema in Klexema
<i>Product value</i>	Klexema relieves eczema

Together with the presupposition and theme (see Figure 5.6), these form a collateral bundle leading to the proposition:

Proposition Klexema offers a remedy – so buy this benefit!

Figure 5.6 The proposition is formed from hidden meanings.



The Klexema-1940 formulation of grammatical infrastructure and hidden meanings in summary is as follows:

Summary analysis: Klexema-1940

Mood: Declarative, Imperative

Social Function: covert Directive, Informative, Phatic, covert Aesthetic

Presupposition: There is an eczema associated with babies

Implicature: There is a cure for eczema in Klexema

Theme: The problem of skin affliction

Value: Klexema relieves eczema in babies

Similar to Klexema-1940, the Hayfix-1940 promotion employs bold capitals to attract the reader. The headline ‘Hayfix’ (3) declares the product name; and it suggests the product function, couching the presupposition of a cure for hayfever. Thus, the Informative (product name ‘Hayfix’) and covert Directive (‘Buy this!’) are evident; and the Expressive is reasoned from the complements ‘Fixes hayfever permanently’ (4) and ‘Relief immediately’ (5):

<i>NP</i>	HAYFIX	(3)
<i>Complement</i>	FIXES HAYFEVER PERMANENTLY	(4)
<i>Complement</i>	RELIEF IMMEDIATELY	(5)

The Hayfix-1940 implicature of relief from suffering in (4) segues to the product value of instant and ongoing relief in (5) to form a collateral bundle that communicates the advertiser message. It is notable that of the two adverbs, ‘permanently’ is typographically significant and it precedes ‘immediately’. This suggests that the outstanding attribute of Hayfix-1940 is its lasting effect – that is, ‘permanently’ solving the problem (which heightens product value).

Thematically, hayfever suffering is known to cause ongoing respiratory distress. The complements (4) and (5), respectively, imply Hayfix will effectively end this catarrhal condition; and that Hayfix satisfies an urgent need. The product value is that it offers a quick and lasting fix:

Hayfix offers a permanent, immediate remedy for hayfever – so buy this benefit!

The formulation of grammatical infrastructure and hidden meanings is summarised here:

Summary analysis: Hayfix-1940

Mood: Declarative

Social Function: Expressive, covert Directive, Informative

Presupposition: There is a cure for hayfever

Implicature: Hayfix relieves hayfever suffering

Theme: Hayfever causes respiratory discomfort

Value: Hayfix provides immediate and permanent relief for hayfever

In addition to the expository grammatical formulation to illustrate how meanings are socially constructed, the brand names deserve analysis. The creation process of the ‘Klexema’ and ‘Hayfix’ names can be explained as blending – a technique of word formation that brings together morphemes or parts of words to create new ones. ‘Hayfix’ is a straightforward compounding of:

hay from hayfever + Verb *to fix*

‘Klexema’, however, requires some figuring out. This unique name is formed from sound-based identifiable units:

initial cluster kl*ex* + tail of the lexeme *eczema*

Plausibly, the kl syllable is a spelling variation derived from cl*ear*:

cl*ear* *eczema* → kl*exema*

Five more examples of text-only advertisements are shown in Figure 5.7: ‘Deaf’, ‘Home-Treatment-for-Goitre’, ‘Unwanted-Hair’, ‘Superfluous-Hairs’, and ‘Unsightly-Hair’. An NP appears as headline for each, identifying afflictions for which a solution is commercially available items. All five employ the declarative, and exhibit covert Expressive, covert Directive and Informative functions.

Deaf, Home-Treatment-for-Goitre, Unwanted-Hair, Superfluous-Hairs, Unsightly-Hair, 1940

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‘Deaf’ and ‘Home-Treatment-for-Goitre’ are thematically similar as (if unassisted) both are disabling and socially isolating. If unassisted, deafness may adversely affect memory and learning ability; and goitre, a disfiguring condition, causes difficulty in breathing and swallowing (Papadakis 2014). The difference between the two conditions is that the physical manifestation of goitre is visible; thus, the advertiser is sensitive (Expressive function), and assures privacy by delivering ‘home treatment’. The trajectory of discussion above for Klexema-1940 and Hayfix-1940 applies to the linguistic elements of these two advertisements, clinching the propositions respectively for ‘Deaf’ and ‘Home-Treatment-for-Goitre’:

We offer a remedy for deafness – so buy this!

We offer a remedy for goitre in the privacy of your home – so buy this!

Again, implicature segues to product value, forming a collateral bundle that communicates the benefit.

The formulations of grammatical infrastructure and hidden meanings for ‘Deaf’ and ‘Home-Treatment-for-Goitre’ are summarised as follow:

Summary analysis: Deaf-1940

Mood: Declarative
 Social Function: covert Expressive,
 covert Directive, Informative
 Presupposition: There is a cure for
 deafness
 Implicature: Deafness can be remedied
 Theme: Unassisted deafness is disabling
 Value: This service provider offers a
 remedy for deafness

Summary analysis: Home-Treatment-for-Goitre-1940

Mood: Declarative
 Social Function: covert Expressive,
 covert Directive, Informative
 Presupposition: There is a cure for goitre
 Implicature: Goitre can be remedied
 Theme: Unassisted goitre is disabling
 and disfiguring
 Value: This service provider offers a
 remedy in the privacy of your
 home

Similarly, for ‘Unwanted-Hair’, ‘Superfluous-Hairs’ and ‘Unsightly-Hair’ (Figure 5.7) implicature segues to product value, forming a collateral bundle that communicates the proposition. The formulations of grammatical infrastructure and hidden meanings are given overleaf.

Summary analysis: Superfluous-Hairs-1940	Summary analysis: Unwanted-Hair-1940	Summary analysis: Unsightly-Hair-1940
Mood: Declarative	Mood: Declarative	Mood: Declarative
Social Function: covert Expressive, covert Directive, Informative	Social Function: covert Expressive, covert Directive, Informative	Social Function: covert Expressive, covert Directive, Informative
Presupposition: Superfluous hairs need removal	Presupposition: Unwanted hairs need removal	Presupposition: Unsightly hairs need removal
Implicature: Getting rid of superfluous hairs is desirable	Implicature: Getting rid of unwanted hairs is desirable	Implicature: Getting rid of unsightly hairs is desirable
Theme: Superfluous hairs are undesirable	Theme: Unwanted hairs are undesirable	Theme: Unsightly hairs are undesirable
Value: This service can get rid of superfluous hairs and increase social desirability	Value: This service can get rid of unwanted hairs and increase social desirability	Value: This service can get rid of unsightly hairs and increase social desirability

To sum up on the seven words-only artefacts above, the following can be said with respect to the standout elements:

- they refer to physical conditions involving medical and/ or technology-assisted intervention
- they are purely linguistic, and use design features to heighten readability (such as typographic variation, and white space for prosodic effect)
- the language of the attention-getters is disjunctive
- personal pronouns are absent
- in terms of audience, they are not distinguished by any feature that ties to a unique market segment (such as male or female)
- the last five (for goitre, deafness and hair removal) offer both a remedy and the added abstract value of social desirability after service.

The greater 1940s dataset, on overview, shows the category of ‘physical condition’ to be either minimalist (reflecting the low-budget small trader); or to be complex, incorporating diagrams (like line graphs) and body-text chunks in small type to stylistically mimic scientific magazines (as will be shown). The following two sub-sections 5.3.2.2 and 5.3.2.3 discuss three more words-only promotions – one for facial beauty ‘Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940’, and then two for nervous condition.

5.3.2.2 Advertisements for beautification of self

Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940, for the facial cosmetic product *Make-ups* (Figure 5.8), thematically evokes the idea of feminine beauty (which is the creative impetus of make-up). Unlike the disjunctive examples above, the declarative headline is a complete sentence, in direct address: ‘Your Face Is Your Fortune’ (6). This construction fulfils two functions:

- first, by employing the possessive ‘your’, it establishes an immediate personal touch (strengthened by repetition of ‘your’)
- then, the (simple present) verb ‘is’ adds emphasis and finality to the semantic equivalence of the two nouns ‘face’ and ‘fortune’; thus rendering a sense of something that is always true (an unchanging, indisputable real-life situation) – akin to ‘Frogs croak’.

The catchline ‘Give It Every Care’ (7) – again, notably, a complete sentence in direct address – is in imperative mood:

Clause (declarative) **Your Face is Your Fortune** (6)

Clause (imperative) **Give it Every Care** (7)

Figure 5.8 Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940, *The Argus*, 16 November, p. 11.



Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940 suggests that facial beauty is the key to attainment of wellbeing. First, the ideas of ‘face’ and ‘fortune’ are presented as interdependent variables, where beautiful skin will ensure positive outcome. Then, the equivalence of ‘face’ with ‘fortune’ is reinforced by the pronoun ‘it’ in the catchline (7), which could flexibly refer to either noun; and this relays the advertiser’s message – that a lovely face will lead to a comfortable life

(social/ emotional wellbeing). Thus, by employing imperative mood in concert with anaphoric ambiguity, (6) and (7) assert the emotional and social necessity of skin beautification.

Each attention-getter has its presupposition:

- the headline ‘Your Face Is Your Fortune’ establishes a correlation between looks (face) and success (fortune)
- the catchline ‘Give It Every Care’ suggests that skin is being neglected.

Together, the two statements are expressively authoritative, grave and admonishing – akin to ‘Your health is your responsibility, so give it every care’ – simulating advice from a healthcare professional. The illocutionary acts of command, concern and warning are recoverable; and these collectively form the Expressive.

The implicature is that care of skin will engender positive change, while neglect will result in misfortune. The benefit of ‘Make-ups’ is that it provides the means to create a lovely face and bring success. The advertiser’s proposition is:

Make-ups offers the necessary tool to create a beautiful face and ensure success – so buy this product!

The grammatical formulation and hidden meanings are presented below:

Summary analysis: Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940

Mood: Declarative, Imperative

Social Function: Expressive, Directive, Informative

Presupposition 1: There is a correlation between looks and success

Presupposition 2: You are not giving your skin adequate care

Implicature: Improving looks secures success: neglect will have opposite effect

Theme: Facial beauty is socially desirable

Value: Make-ups offers the necessary tool to create a beautiful face and ensure success

The language used in Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940 – which offers opportunity for beautification of self – is expressively personal, and employs direct address. Further, both headline (6) and catchline (7) are full sentences. The dataset suggests that advertisements targeting women (like Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940) tend to employ full sentences; and use direct address and personal address. Myers (1994, p. 78) points out that in being personal, advertisements offer viewers ‘versions of what it is to be a person’; and that ‘pronouns like *you* are powerful forms’, carrying ‘assumptions about gender,

class and nation’ (p. 79). The thesis dataset indicates advertiser inclination to employ attention-getter devices that offer viewers versions of what it means to be a person, in particular the identity of ‘man’ or ‘woman’.

5.3.2.3 Advertisements to remedy psychological condition

‘Are-You-Nervy?-1940’ and ‘Sanatogen-Successful-Husband-1940’ (Figure 5.9) offer solutions to nervous condition: they are non-prescription (patent) medicines. Both employ direct address and full sentences, and are expressively personal.

Are-You-Nervy? is a mental-health-related product. It has two attention-getters. At headline (8) is an interrogative, and followed by the service-provider brand name (9):

Clause (interrogative) **ARE YOU NERVY?** (8)

NP (brand name) **BIO-CHEMIC INSTITUTE** (9)

The headline (8) mimics the everyday greeting ‘How are you?’, and being a question requires an answer. Questions frequently contain presuppositions – as pointed out by Myers (1994, p. 49). At least, a question presupposes that there is a matter (social reality) at hand awaiting a response: in this way, it socially engages addressees. The question serves a second function: it ties to the reality of psychological discomfort of feeling nervous, thus evoking the idea of unwellness. The interrogative as device is useful in the promotion of items where the purported benefits are unverifiable because interrogatives (like imperatives) have no entailment: they ‘do not depend for their validity on listener beliefs’ (Geis 1982, p. 29), nor on truth value – while carrying potential to suggest meanings. The non-entailment attribute thus functions to assist the advertiser to avoid responsibility for addressee interpretations of ideational stimuli; and the device diminishes the possibility of a charge of fraudulent or misleading product efficacy. This points to imperatives and interrogatives as useful in advertisements of low truth verification – that is, where truth value cannot be verified.

The formulation of grammatical infrastructure and hidden meanings are below:

Summary analysis: Are-You-Nervy?-1940

Mood: Interrogative

Social Function: Phatic, covert Directive, Informative, covert Expressive

Presupposition: Psychological conditions are a social reality

Implicature: There is a remedy for nervous condition

Theme: Unwellness is undesirable

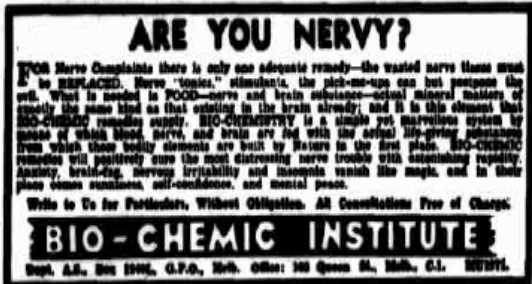

Value: The Bio-Chemic Institute can provide an evidence-based scientific cure for nervous conditions

The service-provider brand name ‘Bio-Chemic Institute’ (9) is expressively meaningful. This is a blend:

bio + chemic → bio-chemic

The prefix ‘bio-’ suggests scientific specialisation of living systems; while ‘chemic’ could be a play on *alchemy* or *chemistry*, suggesting knowledge of transformative chemical substances. Together with ‘Institute’, the brand name is created, forming a tie to the idea of a lawful organisation that draws on science to offer research-based solutions. The phenomenon of meanings evoked by a name delivers a platform to argue for covert Expressive function couched in branding – where the advertiser equates positive attributes with a name and creates an appealing identity (Danesi 2008; Myers 1994).

Figure 5.9 *Are-You-Nervy?-1940 and Sanatogen-Successful-Husband-1940.*
Source: The Argus, 16 November 1940, (respectively) p. 14, p. 11.

<p><i>Are You Nervy, BioChemic Institute, 1940</i></p> 	<p><i>Successful Husband, Sanatogen, 1940</i></p> 
--	--

The name ‘Bio-Chemic Institute’, which evokes a scientific connection, gives credence to the claim that brand names contain social functions that tie to attributes and feelings. In the words of Geis (1992, p. 111): ‘Certainly, proper names have reference’ ... ‘In this respect, proper names are like definite descriptions’. In this vein, it is worth noting that the white-on-black panel design of the name ‘Bio-Chemic Institute’ potentially calls on the idiom ‘black-and-white’, suggesting something of verity that stands resolute and cannot be argued against. While the individual attention-getters (8) and (9) of *Are-You-Nervy?* do not contain propositional content, various elements cooperate to form the advertiser proposition: the hidden meanings collectively satisfy the Phatic, covert Directive, Informative and covert Expressive functions. Then, the product benefit is invoked:

The Bio-Chemic Institute can provide an evidence-based scientific cure for nervous conditions. So, buy this service!

Sanatogen-Successful-Husband-1940 has a declarative conditional clause ‘If You Want a Successful Husband’ (10) as headline, followed by a standout catchline ‘Watch His Nerves!’ (11) in imperative:

Clause (conditional) **IF YOU WANT A SUCCESSFUL HUSBAND** (10)
Clause (imperative) **WATCH HIS NERVES!** (11)

Together, the clauses form a complete sentence in the zero conditional (which function in English is to express a general truth or fact). The zero-conditional statement – with its two simple present verbs ‘want’ and ‘watch’ – offers promise of fulfilment attainable in present time. This is followed by the third attention-getter, the brand name:

NP (brand name) Sanatogen (12)

Sanatogen-Successful-Husband issues a direct-address ultimatum-like warning in imperative; and targets the married female: ‘If you want a successful husband, watch his nerves!’ The direct address ‘you’ at headline (10) establishes an immediate personal tie; and the imperative of (11) is followed by the brand name ‘Sanatogen’ (12). The illocutionary force of the zero-conditional full sentence is a warning. It forcefully suggests in a fact-like manner that the wife is responsible for the husband’s career success; and she must take the necessary action of administering Sanatogen to ensure his success. With respect to grammatical mood in Sanatogen-Successful-Husband, it is noted that the content employs imperative constructions both at attention-getter and body-text levels. The first two lines of the body-text paragraph read:

Be a real partner to your husband’s career. Start him on a course of ‘Sanatogen’ Nerve-Tonic Food.

Thus, a sequence of urging in imperative is created in (11), (11A) and (11B) – targeted at the wife. The standout catchline (11) is followed by two consecutive imperatives, first in body-text line 1, and then body-text line 2:

<i>Imperative (catchline)</i>	Watch His Nerves	(11)
<i>Imperative (body-text line 1)</i>	Be a real partner in your husband’s career	(11A)
<i>Imperative (body-text line 2)</i>	Start him on a course of ‘Sanatogen’ Nerve Tonic Food	(11B)

The imperatives simulate the register of a person in authority (such as a health practitioner). In body-text line 2 (11B), the words ‘Start him on a course’ simulate the narrative style of medical discourse, where a patient is required to ‘start on a course of antibiotics’. It appears that the ideational effects of the imperatives are intended to be realised in three ways:

- to persuade the addressee to be caretaker of the husband’s nerves
- to realise themselves as a driving force in the husband’s career
- to action the administration of ‘Nerve Tonic Food’.

The grammatical formulation and hidden meanings are a complex of three presuppositions, and two implicatures:

Summary analysis: Sanatogen-Successful-Husband-1940

Mood: Declarative, Imperative

Social Function: covert Directive, Informative, covert Expressive

Presupposition 1: A successful husband is desirable

Presupposition 2: Psychological conditions are a social reality

Presupposition 3: Wife has responsibility for husband’s wellbeing

Implicature 1: There is a remedy for nervous condition

Implicature 2: A wife’s action can ensure success of a man’s career; conversely, neglect will have opposite effect

Theme: Unwellness is undesirable

Value: Sanatogen remedies nervous conditions, and secures career success

Sanatogen-Successful-Husband bears a similarity to Are-You-Nervy? in that both are emotionally charged; offer a solution to nervous condition; employ direct-address and full sentences; and their brand names have scientific-like meanings. The brand name ‘Sanatogen’ affords meanings that advantage the advertiser. The name is a blend, traceable to Latin and Greek word-forming elements (oed.com), explained below.

- Ostensibly, sanat- is from *sanatorium*, originating from the Latin past participle stem of *sanare* ‘to heal’ – which is from *sanus* meaning ‘well, healthy, sane’: this has a sense relationship to healing, specifically to the sanatorium (a place providing medical treatment to invalids).
- The final syllable -gen is originally from Greek *-genes*, meaning ‘formation, creation’.

Thus, the name ‘Sanatogen’ – bringing together the meanings associated with its Latin and Greek elements – conveys the idea of healing properties with capability to create (give birth to or form) wellness.

In terms of social functions, the standout conditional clause and the imperative catchline combine to form the warning: ‘If You Want a Successful Husband,

Watch His Nerves’, which is expressively authoritative and admonishing. This is akin to saying: ‘Your husband’s success is your responsibility, so give him your attention’. The illocutionary acts of command and warning are recoverable – collectively forming the Expressive. There is a correlation between the ideas of ‘success’ and ‘nerves’ as interdependent variables. The analysis shows a complexity of three presuppositions, and implicature of both practical benefit (remedy for nervous condition) and social benefit (career success).

Analysis of Sanatogen-Successful-Husband shows it to be compositionally complex, designed to carry multiple hidden meanings. In its wider advertising, this product is described as a ‘brain tonic’ and ‘food tonic’, and claims itself suitable for adults and children alike. It contains drug-active ingredients;¹⁰¹ and is recognisable a nutritional (dietary) supplement. Given that nutritional supplements have a place in alternative health treatment, the Sanatogen analysis flags health-related advertising as capable to covertly relay messages of non-scientifically-tested positive transformation that may be false. Sanatogen-Successful-Husband points also to the value of advertisements as a sociolinguistic resource to discover the creep of medical and therapeutic terminology into the realm of everyday English: this is an example of where the medical meaning of ‘tonic’ has waned in favour of a figurative one.

Into the 1900s, ‘tonic’ had lost its medical meaning – while figuratively retaining its sense of maintaining healthy condition as a supplement to daily nutrition. However, Sanatogen advertised into the 1940s as a ‘Nerve Tonic Food’, offering career success via healing and nutrition – which are the key to the product’s Selling Power. Seemingly, Sanatogen employed ‘tonic’ in a denotatively invalid medical sense; but one understood in usage as a nutritional supplement. In other words, the Sanatogen artefact shows itself to market its product covertly as a medicine by relying on the obsolete medical sense of ‘tonic’.

While ‘nutrition’ and ‘tonic’ in the English language (originating in medical discourse in the 1400s and 1600s respectively) have a long history in English, ‘nutritional’, and ‘supplement’ as something added to improve the diet, are more recent additions (oed.com). The idea of ‘nutrition’ began its life in English in the 1400s as supplying or receiving nourishment or food; and ‘tonic’ in the 1600s as pertaining to condition of the muscles, and then additionally as maintaining the condition of tissues or organs:

- *nutrition, n.* – 1425 (a borrowing partly from French and partly from Latin), meaning ‘The action or process of supplying, or of receiving, nourishment or food’

¹⁰¹ Smithsonian Institute, americanhistory.si.edu

- *tonic* – mid- to late 1600s (from the Greek, meaning ‘of or for stretching’). In seventeenth-century English, with reference to muscles, there are two meanings in the medical sense, and it is the 1684 sense (of ‘tonic’ as a tonic medicine) that characterises advertising copy:
 - (i) 1649 *adj.* meaning ‘Pertaining to, consisting in, or producing tension: *esp.* in relation to the muscles’
 - (ii) 1684 *n.* meaning ‘Pertaining to, or maintaining, the tone or normal healthy condition of the tissues or organs’

Some 100 years later, in the mid-eighteenth century (oed.com), ‘tonic’ takes on the meaning of having power to increase or restore healthy function of the system of organs; and, further, ‘tonic water’ appears as a digestive assistant, and ‘tonic wine’ as medicinal tonic (oed.com):

- *tonic, n.* – 1756, meaning ‘Having the property of increasing or restoring the tone or healthy condition and activity of the system or organs; strengthening, invigorating, bracing. (Of remedies or remedial treatment, and hence of air, climate, etc.) Also, *tonic water*, a non-alcoholic carbonated drink containing quinine or another bitter as a stimulant of appetite and digestion; a drink or glass of this; *tonic wine*, weak, flavoured wine sold as a medicinal tonic’.

These meanings, as defined and dated at 1756, are the meanings of ‘tonic’ as seen in the dataset at hand: that is, ‘tonic’ is advertised as a patent medicine with a range of simultaneous healing properties that enable proper function of several organs (including skin), and blood function (such as transportation of oxygen). An *OED* entry dated 1875 shows functional conversion of ‘tonic’ from noun to verb:

- *tonic, v. (transitive)* – 1875, meaning ‘to act as a tonic upon, to invigorate, “brace up”; to administer a tonic to’.

This 1875 entry in its meaning of invigoration indicates ‘tonic’ gaining identity as not exclusive to a medical readership: this can be said given the sources of illustrative quotations in the *OED* that tell the kind of publication, and signal both audience and occupational written usage. The 1825 illustrative example for ‘tonic’ as a verb is sourced from a London literary magazine entitled the *New Monthly Magazine*:

1825 [New Monthly Mag.](#) 15 199/1 It tonicked the sedentary stomach into unwonted vigour.

Earlier entries for ‘tonic’ are in the medical sense, sourced solely from medical dictionaries and periodicals. This indicates that by 1825, ‘tonic’ was in popular usage; and this coincides with the commonality of tonic-type patent medicines in the marketplace (as evident in the dataset). Accordingly, it can be said that between 1825 and 1875, ‘tonic’ gained validity as supplementing the nutrition needs of the human body.

It appears that ‘nutritional’ and ‘supplement’ (as something added to improve the diet) entered the English language after the 1850s (oed.com):

- *nutritional* – 1858, formed within English, by derivation, meaning ‘of, relating to, or involved in nutrition’
- *supplement* – 1891, meaning ‘A substance added to the diet to remedy a deficiency or to enhance (actually or supposedly) growth, health, or well-being. Frequently with distinguishing word specifying the nature of the substance’.

With respect to the 1891 *OED* definition of *supplement* and the usage information ‘Frequently with distinguishing word specifying the nature of the substance’, the illustrative quotation is sourced from an agricultural periodical published in 1891, using the compound ‘dietary supplement’:

1891 [Bull. Maryland Agric. Exper. Station](#) Mar. 149 The pigs were fed as much whole corn twice daily as they would eat up clean, and as a dietary supplement wheat bran was fed at midday.

A quotation from 1920, some thirty years later, to illustrate use of supplement, also is taken from an American agricultural journal:

1920 [Work & Expenditures Agric. Exper. Stations 1918](#) (U.S. Dept. Agric.) 40 Meat-meal tankage, next to milk and milk products, was the best for supplying a protein-mineral-vitamin supplement.

This indicates that ‘nutritional supplement’ began its life in reference to animal husbandry. Later, ‘supplement’ as something added to human diet is evident in these quotations from 1934, 1988, 1994 and 2009 (oed.com). As can be seen, the sense here – as something necessary to healthy metabolism of the human body – is the sense in common usage today:

- 1934 [Brit. Med. Jnl.](#) 5 May 810/1 Each child received a vitamin supplement equal in vitamin A to more than one ounce of cod-liver oil daily.
- 1988 [New Scientist](#) 8 Oct. 58/1 In addition to protein and amino-acid supplements, he [*sc.* a bodybuilder] ate two dozen raw eggs a day.

- 1994 [Health Naturally](#) (Nobel, Ont.) Feb. 8/3 There are many nutritional supplements that have been reported to help control blood pressure naturally.
- 2009 [New Yorker](#) 27 Apr. 43/3 He took a stack of supplements that he thought helped his brain functioning: fish oils, five antioxidants, [etc.].

It appears then that by the early 1930s, the usage of ‘supplement’ had extended from reference to animal diet to human diet (as seen in the 1934 *British Medical Journal* example, where children receive vitamin supplement). Further, the four illustrative quotations show that ‘supplement’ transited from the specialist realm of scientific publishing to the health magazine (as seen in the *Health Naturally* example of 1994) and the literary journal (as seen in the *New Yorker* example of 2009).

In Australia, the idea of the nutritional or dietary supplement for humans shows itself in an 1877 feature article reporting on Her Majesty’s Prison Pentridge (1851–1997):

the dietary is supplemented by the addition of rice and oatmeal, which are classed as "medical comforts".

‘A Month in Pentridge’, By A Vagabond, No. 11, *The Argus*, 3 March 1877, p. 9.

By 1929, manufactured nutritional supplements for humans are available: a British product advertised as a ‘protective food’ was available in Australia, claiming in 1939 to be superior ‘over other dietary supplements’.¹⁰² In 1934, ‘Bemax’ appears advertised as ‘the richest natural Vitamin tonic food’ for a spectrum of problems (including constipation). By 1950, Bemax ceases to identify as a ‘tonic food’, but rebadges into the post-war years as ‘an efficient muscular performance’ lifestyle dietary supplement ‘for physical fitness’. Its display advertising in the *Australian Women’s Weekly* features women dressed in activewear; and it is promoted as the family supplement as well as for the ‘world’s finest athletes’.

By 1950, at the time that the ‘tonic’ as patent medicine waned, ‘nutritional diseases’ of livestock are reported;¹⁰³ and the 1950s is an era where science reporting introduces research into diet-related disease and awareness of a balanced diet. After this time, an increase in advertising of health supplements is evident. However, hyperbolic language and claims of implausible benefits diminishes into the 1960s, mitigated by the emergence of regulations that define the advertising scope of therapeutic goods and cosmetics. The

¹⁰² ‘Virol and Food Problems’, *The Truth*, 23 July 1939, p. 26.

¹⁰³ *Morning Bulletin*, 19 December 1950, p. 11.

regulations oversee labelling requirements, product appearance and the expression of item appeal (that is, the claims made in relation to the consumable). In Australia, the regulatory process became more systematic and evidence-based after 1938 to ensure the quality, safety and effectiveness of medicines and medical devices.¹⁰⁴

5.3.2.4 Summarising remarks: text-only advertisements

The discussion above of 10 text-only artefacts from 1940 focused on the attention-getters – namely headlines, catchlines and brand names. The analysis showed how the collateral-bundling taxonomy of thematic information, presupposition and implicature is capable to relay hidden meanings that segue to the advertiser proposition. Despite the absent words ‘Buy this’, the advertiser proposition communicates such an imperative. The connotative possibilities of Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune, Are-You-Nervy and Sanatogen-Successful-Husband pointed to non-evidence-based benefits as the norm in the marketing of cosmetics and patent medicines; and this is validated by the regulatory guidelines in health-related advertising as seen today.

The Sanatogen-Successful-Husband-1940 artefact raised the use of ‘tonic’ in a dictionary-defunct therapeutic sense, suggesting that advertisers may selectively perpetuate outdated semantic attributes of lexemes to advantage their consumables, contrary to dictionary currency indication. This selective persistence signals awareness by the advertising copywriter that certain bygone meanings continue their stronghold in human memory and belief systems, and may usefully serve advertisement composition. Further, the shift seen in the marketing of ‘Bemax’ from a ‘tonic food’ in the 1930s to a family lifestyle product in 1950 is consistent with an overarching trend seen in the post-war years to inject the market with consumables that define desirable ways of living.

5.3.3 Advertisements of linguistic and pictorial content: discussion

The 15 artefacts discussed here range from lifestyle products, soap, talcum powder and toothpaste to childcare, energy drinks, patent medicines and food safety. The linguistic devices identified above in words-only artefacts are evident: additionally, testimonials; photographs and line drawings; speech and thought bubbles; and storytelling cartoons are incorporated. Storytelling as

¹⁰⁴ Parliament of Australia, ‘Therapeutic goods: a quick guide’, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1819/Quick_Guides/TherapeuticGoods

persuasive strategy has long been a tradition of the advertiser (Godin 2009; Maxwell & Dickman 2007), and pictorials as a narrative tool in promotions evoke the drama of human experience:

The analysis here illuminates how particular devices are innovatively managed to advance seller ambition. For example, the storytelling tool tends to integrate a character who plays the role of ‘Product Authority’ (Geis 1982) – as seen in Colgate-Dental-Cream-He-Dropped-Her-Flat-1940 (Figure 5.19). Vestiges of the Product Authority can be seen in the ‘advertiser doll’ device illustrated earlier in Glen-Valley-Tea-I-Feel-So-Jolly-1919. The Product Authority character may be a friend or health professional, replicating real-life situations. Occasionally, narratives break with social normality (breaking Grice’s Maxim of Relevance) to include something bizarre: for example, Kolynos-Dental-1940 (Figure 5.18), an oral-hygiene product, violates reader expectation by featuring an open-jawed crocodile. This kind of violation is claimed in psychology to be a memory-recall improvement device (Harris et al. 1986).

Regardless of devices and category, each advertisement analysed here is seen to employ the collateral-bundling trifecta of thematic information, presupposition and implicature to relay propositions. The 16 artefacts of the discussion below are organised into these categories:

- products for baby (5.3.3.1)
- products for hair restoration (5.3.3.2)
- products for energy restoration (5.3.3.3)
- lifestyle products (5.3.3.4)
- products for bio-physiology health (5.3.3.5)
- personal hygiene products (5.3.3.6)
- food safety products (5.3.3.7).

5.3.3.1 Products for baby

The following two products Cuticura-Talcum-Powder-1940 (Figure 5.10) and Johnson’s-Baby-Powder-1940 (Figure 5.11) offer comfort to infants and toddlers. The target market of these is parent or carer. In terms of image incorporation:

- Cuticura employs line-drawings
- Johnson’s tells a story by way of three half-tones (black-and-white photographs) set in a panel, with storytelling captions, and the brand name is positioned at base of the panel.

The Cuticura headline ‘Your Baby’s Best Friend’ (13) is slogan-like in its brevity; and it is meaningful in terms of character-building of the brand. The advertiser’s ambition is to cement the connotatively positive headline (13) with the talcum powder. The headline sits adjacent to the product flask – which pictures a toddler and displays the product name ‘Cuticura Talcum Powder’. These words appear again boldly at baseline (14), reinforcing the brand.

<i>Complement</i>	Your Baby’s Best Friend	(13)
<i>NP (brand name)</i>	Cuticura Talcum Powder	(14)

The linguistic attention-getters are the possessive complement ‘Your Baby’s Best Friend’ (13) and the brand name (14). These are phrases in apposition, as they both refer to the same thing (the product); and constitute an instance of repetition, which is a prosaic reinforcement device of the copywriter. The ‘Cuticura Talcum Powder’ NP (14) functions to declare the brand name, which is market information; and the complement (13) carries social functions to engage the addressee.

Figure 5.10 Cuticura-Talcum-Powder-1940. Source: *The Argus*, 26 September 1940, p. 2.



The objective of (13) is to identify the product as a trustworthy friend of baby, and it personalises this identification with the possessive *your*. The direct address in *your* implicitly calls the absent referent (parent/ carer): this implies responsibility to provide for baby. The intended advertiser effect is to simulate an authentic social world, where the Cuticura item personifies the comforting value of human dependability: this is attempted by employing the superlative ‘best’ (‘Best Friend’) to render Cuticura as attractive to the parent/ carer of baby.

The idea that baby has needs is presupposed, and this dovetails with already available product knowledge; namely that talcum powder (sometimes ‘baby powder’) is a moisture-absorbing preparation purportedly with function to keep skin dry and help protect from rash. Parents and carers are aware that babies need empathy and goodwill assistance to prevent or alleviate rash: this reality is drawn into the context of the product world as ‘shared knowledge’ (Myers 1994, p. 85). The value of Cuticura is that it provides comfort to ensure baby’s wellbeing and (emotional) security – just as a caring friend would. Thus, facts mingle with emotive appeals to create a constructed atmosphere of ‘poetic truth’ (Simpson 2001, p. 591).

In terms of social functionality, three are evident in Cuticura-Talcum-Powder-1940: the Expressive in the possessive complement (13); Informative in the product name (14); and covert Directive in the implicit urging to buy. These three social functions are evident in the artefacts examined here. With respect to the Expressive, advertisers consistently imbue their items with positive connotations (Gardner & Luchtenberg 2007; Williamson 1978): the positive values, ostensibly, will satisfy a human need or desire. The Directive provides urging to buy; and the Informative provides information about item characteristics and benefits.

A fourth social function, the Phatic, also is recoverable from the Cuticura graphic design elements. The two overt portrait-like images tie to everyday social setting:

- the oval holding the infant, mimics a framed photograph
- the mirror-like frame, which displays the words ‘Your Baby’s Best Friend’ (13), offers the parent/ carer opportunity to see themselves reflected as baby’s best friend.

The images in Cuticura-Talcum-Powder-1940 are collectively a social construct that encourages viewer participation. The intended receiver interpretation, if achieved, assists advertiser-urging to buy, and it reinforces the idea of parent/ carer responsibility. This idea is available in the visual signs (Williamson 1978), and it extends the practical value of Cuticura into a constructed world of benefits. Each attention-getter generates advertiser meanings, and they co-operate to satisfy the Phatic, covert Directive, Informative and covert Expressive functions to create the proposition. Thus, the product benefit is invoked:

Cuticura offers provision to ensure baby’s comfort and wellbeing – so buy this product!

The Cuticura analytical formulation is as follows:

Summary analysis: Cuticura-Talcum-Powder-1940

Mood: Declarative

Social function: Expressive, covert Directive. Informative, covert Phatic

Presupposition: Baby has needs to be satisfied

Implicature: Responsibility to provide for baby

Theme: Babies need empathy and goodwill

Value: Cuticura talcum powder provides comfort to ensure baby's wellbeing and emotional security.

Johnson's-Baby-Powder-1940 (Figure 5.11),¹⁰⁵ like Cuticura above, offers to provide comfort for baby. Of linguistic note is that the standard headline is absent. The attention-getters are a panel of three half-tones, with the brand name at base. Each of the three pictures (which show a baby engaging with a toy infant marsupial) is captioned with a storytelling paragraph. The sole linguistic attention-getter is the brand name of three words, in declarative:

NP (brand name) Johnson's Baby Powder (15)

Given that the pictures are significantly more prominent than the storytelling captions, it can be said that the advertiser relies primarily on pictures to relay meanings. Ostensibly, the proposition is that the Johnson's product can deliver a happy and healthy baby. With respect to the image sequence (numbered 1–3 below), a beaming human infant is portrayed engaging happily with a joey housed in mother kangaroo's protective pouch:

1. In the first frame, both baby and joey make eye contact with the addressee (looking directly into the camera)
2. Then, in the second frame, baby and joey are seen facing each other (baby-to-joey) in conversation
3. The final frame again is baby-to-joey: here, baby is seen reaching out and administering to the infant marsupial.

From the brand name and the pictures, it is apparent that the advertiser covertly directs the addressee (parent/ carer) to purchase Johnson's Baby Powder by drawing on the theme of infant care. Implicitly, the advertiser suggests multiple benefits – safety, protection and comfort – by virtue of the real-world pouch;¹⁰⁶ and, further, suggests how easily the benefits can be achieved – by showing the human infant administering to the joey. From the images alone, the presupposition that babies need talcum powder, and the implicature that Johnson's will satisfy baby's comfort needs, can be identified. Thematically, the advertiser calls upon the incontestable idea that baby needs must be met to

¹⁰⁵ The poor photographic reproduction quality is of the digital copy in Trove.

¹⁰⁶ A vintage Johnson's advertisement bears the slogan-like headline 'Protect Your Baby', suggesting that protection is the primary attribute of the Johnson's product.

ensure comfort and safety; and the advertiser seeks to persuade that Johnson's product will fulfil baby's needs.

Figure 5.11 Johnson's Baby Powder. Source: The Argus, 16 November 1940, p. 38.



"Look! See what she's got in her pocket . . . her baby! Isn't he lucky—always going riding! Of course, he must rub up and down a bit when she jumps. I'll bet his coat gets chafed!"



"Know what to do for that, Mrs. Kangaroo? Just sprinkle him good with soft, slick Johnson's Baby Powder. It makes any baby feel great! Let me put some on him—I'll be very careful!"



"There! . . . Doesn't he feel nice—doesn't he smell nice? And no more rashes or chafes or prickly heat for him. He'll be so good you can put him in your pocket and forget him!"

Feel Johnson's Baby Powder—how downy and soft it is—never gritty like some powders. That is because Johnson's is made from the finest talc. Babies need Johnson's Baby Soap and Baby Cream, too.

Johnson's
BABY Powder

A product of Johnson & Johnson—World's largest manufacturer of Surgical Dressings, Johnson's Baby Soap and Cream, Talc Toothbrush, Medo, etc.

To complement the picture sequence and brand name at base, Johnson's includes storytelling captions for each photograph. If the advertiser is successful in compelling the addressee to read the captions then the intended message is reinforced to spell out the purported benefits. The story tells that baby is empathetic to the personal comfort of the infant marsupial: joey is 'always going riding' and 'must rub up and down a bit when she [mother kangaroo] jumps'. Apparently, this rubbing chafes at joey's skin, and causes discomfort to the little mite. The human baby, who is the Product Authority (Geis 1982), advises Mrs Kangaroo to 'sprinkle him good' with Johnson's Baby Powder, which 'makes any baby feel great'. After the infant Product Authority administers Johnson's to fellow infant, there are 'no more rashes or chafes or prickly heat'. The salutary words of the infant Product Authority are like a testimonial – endorsing and recommending.

The analytical formulation for Johnson's is presented below:

Summary analysis: Johnson's-Baby-Powder-1940

Mood: Declarative

Social function: covert Directive, Informative

Presupposition: Baby has needs to be satisfied

Implicature: This product will satisfy baby's comfort need

Theme: Babies needs must be met to ensure their comfort

Value: Johnson's Baby Powder offers baby comfort, safety and protection

5.3.3.2 Products for hair restoration

French-Hair-Restorer-1940 and Longmores-Hair-Restorer-1940 (Figure 5.12) offer to bring back a previous hair colour condition; that is, to transform greying hair by way of new follicle growth, sprouting hairs in the original colour. These beautification aides are likely targeted at women. Both employ the upwardly oriented graphetic-emphasis device to highlight their brand names ‘Myer’s’ and ‘Longmores’: this upward typographic orientation is a positive-value device. Here it suggests a youthful look and social desirability. As done thus far, the following analysis focuses on standout features.

The product ‘French Hair Restorer’ is available at the Myer’s house pharmacy ‘Henry Francis’. Thus, there are two ancillary brand names associated with the hair treatment product – the ‘Myer’s’ name as institution, and the pharmacy name ‘Henry Francis’. Together, the pharmacy name (16) and the store name (17) co-form the headline – but graphetic emphasis is on the institution name ‘Myer’s’, which is the attention-getter NP (17):

NP (pharmacy brand name) Henry Francis and Co's
Pharmacy of (16)

$$NP \text{ (institution brand name)} \quad \mathbf{Myer's} \quad (17)$$

Figure 5.12 French-Hair-Restorer-1940, and Longmore’s-Hair-Restorer-1940.
Source: The Argus. 16 November 1940, (respectively) p. 8, p. 11.



Under the ‘Myer’s’ name (17), the clause ‘Presents a sure, quick way to restore grey hair’ (18) appears – followed by the product brand name ‘French Hair Restorer’ (19); and then the catchline ‘Not a dye’, where the negative particle functions to suggest a natural process of transformation. The adjectives ‘sure’ and ‘quick’ suggest guaranteed efficiency of the treatment outcome, which is that hair will rapidly be rejuvenated by the product:

<i>Clause</i>	Presents a sure, quick way to restore grey hair ...	(18)
<i>NP (product brand)</i>	French Hair Restorer	(19)
<i>Negative Object</i>	Not a dye	(20)

The negative value of ‘Not a dye’ (20) distances French-Hair-Restorer from competitors (suggesting that other similar products are dyes). Thus, inferentially, (20) is a competitive statement to flag French-Hair-Restorer as unique and superior in its efficacy to produce a lasting solution.

Like the Myer’s product, Longmores-Hair-Restorer-1940 offers hair restoration. The Longmores headline ‘Defy time’ (21) and catchline ‘Be young again’ (22) – in imperative mood – together suggest that the product on offer is a forceful agent with power to counteract (defy) the effect of aging, which is a natural (normally irreversible) outcome of getting old:

<i>Clause (imperative)</i>	Defy time	(21)
<i>Clause (imperative)</i>	Be young again	(22)
<i>NP</i>	Longmores sulphur hair restorer	(23)
<i>NP (brand name)</i>	Longmores	(24)

Thematically, both these hair-treatment promotions rest on the idea of grey hair as undesirable (negative value); and presuppose that grey hair needs to undergo a restoration process (positive value). Given that greying is a sign of advanced age associated with loss of youthful beauty, it can be surmised that both advertisements promote hair restoration as socially desirable, and presuppose that grey hair diminishes social status. The advertiser implies that hair restoration will reinstate the candidate's social status. Both products employ the Expressive, Informative and Directive functions.

The analytical formulations for French-Hair-Restorer and Longmores-Hair-Restorer are shown below:

<p>Summary analysis: French-Hair-Restorer-1940</p> <p>Mood: Declarative</p> <p>Social Function: Expressive, covert Directive, Informative</p> <p>Presupposition 1: Grey hair needs restoring</p> <p>Presupposition 2: Grey hair diminishes social status</p> <p>Implicature 1: Hair restoration is socially desirable</p> <p>Implicature 2: Hair restoration will reinstate social status.</p> <p>Theme: Grey hair is undesirable</p> <p>Value: Hair will be rejuvenated by French Hair Restorer – and possibly also reinstate social status.</p>	<p>Summary analysis: Longmores-Hair-Restorer-1940</p> <p>Mood: Imperative</p> <p>Social Function: Expressive, Directive, Informative</p> <p>Presupposition 1: Grey hair needs restoring</p> <p>Presupposition 2: Grey hair diminishes social status</p> <p>Implicature 1: Hair restoration is socially desirable</p> <p>Implicature 2: Hair restoration will reinstate social status.</p> <p>Theme: Grey hair is undesirable</p> <p>Value: Longmore's will restore youthful looks by restoring hair colour</p>
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5.3.3.3 Products for energy restoration

The two energy-restoration products discussed below – Horlicks-My-Boy-A-Coward?-1940 (Figure 5.13) and Cadbury's-Bourn-Vita-His-Job-At-Stake-1940 (Figure 5.14) – are milk-and-malt powder-based beverages. These are purportedly of a rejuvenative nerve- tonic type capable to restore physical and mental fitness. The product value of these is similar to that of Sanatogen (Figure 5.9), which offers to remedy nervous (psychological) condition and to supplement dietary needs for brain and body. These three health-related products are still on the market today, and fall into the category of nutritional supplements.

Horlicks uses the device of storytelling cartoon to help relay advertiser meanings; and Cadbury's-Bourn-Vita employs the testimonial and scientific-looking diagram. This class of advertisement, as the discussion below shows, operates at two linguistic levels: first, the standout words carry meanings, and

then other words (spoken by characters, and body text and labels) reinforce or extend core messages. There are hidden meanings potentially retrievable from both words and pictures – and these are designed to be understood based partly on what is actually said and partly on what is believed or known by the addressee (Geis 1982, pp. 41–56).

In Horlicks (Figure 5.13), the pictures – enacting a family mini-drama – are positioned between the linguistic attention-getters. At headline is an emotive interrogative ‘My boy a coward?’ (25) – uttered by the mother:

Possessive + NP (interrogative) **MY BOY A COWARD?** (25)

At base is the brand name ‘Horlicks’ (26), followed by a complex clause ‘Guards Children Against Night Starvation’ (27):

NP (brand name) **HORLICKS** (26)

Complex clause **GUARDS CHILDREN AGAINST
NIGHT STARVATION** (27)

The headline (25), a cry of incredulity from the mother, employs the convention of direct speech in conversation. It has three functions:

- socially engages the target audience (parents)
- expressively establishes the mother’s distress that her son is associated with the negative trait of cowardice (constituting fear of challenge and weakness of character)
- presupposes that boys should be fearless.

The negative trait of cowardice is the problem; and the product name ‘Horlicks’ (26) at base is the (positive value) solution: Horlicks ‘guards children against night starvation’ (27). The complex clause, in object position, is a VP and a complement:

VP ‘guards children’ + complement ‘against night starvation’

which presupposes a nocturnal agent with intent to attack sleeping children. Horlicks, however, offers the security of effective protection from the nocturnal attacker.

Thematically, the advertisement rests on the idea that timid behaviour in boys is inappropriate – ostensibly a social belief of the time. The Phatic and the Expressive are recoverable from the headline ‘My boy a coward?’ (25); and the covert Directive and Informative are recoverable from the collective stimuli of the linguistic attention-getters that relay the idea that Horlicks offers night

protection to children, and a remedy for weakness and timidity, thus delivering the proposition:

Horlicks supplies night protection, and the energy needed to achieve your child's desirable health and social outcomes. So buy this product!

Figure 5.13 Horlicks-My-Boy-A-Coward?-1940. Source: The Argus, 16 November 1940, p. 39.

**MY BOY
A COWARD?**

WOMAN BOY: "Cowardly Custard Johnnie! Cowardly Custard Johnnie!"

WOMAN: "Did you hear that?"

WIFE: "Those boys are always picking on him. It isn't fair!"

HUSBAND: "The kid's got no life in him. I never thought he'd turn out to be a coward!"

WIFE: "Fred, don't say that! He isn't well . . . so pale and thin. I'm taking him along to see Dr. Reynolds."

DOCTOR: "Mrs. Martin, young Johnnie's a rather nervous type of child. These troubles of his are really due to his sleep. You see, children grow during sleep. This uses up their energy. Heartbeats and breathing at night also use up energy. Naturally, if energy isn't replaced during sleep, children get run down, pale, thin—just pick at their food. Put Johnnie on to Horlicks."

WIFE: "Well, you can't call him a cowardly custard now!"

HUSBAND: "Darling, it's amazing! He's a regular tiger!"

HORLICKS

GUARDS CHILDREN AGAINST NIGHT STARVATION

While the construction of the linguistic standout features is syntactically sound and the sense of each clause is explainable, the obscure idea of protection ‘against night starvation’ warrants comment. It violates Grice’s Maxim of Manner, which states that obscurity should be avoided. The obscurity raises the intriguing question of ‘what is night starvation?’, which appears to be the story ‘hook’. Ostensibly, violation of the Maxim of Manner is a device in attempt to engage and hold reader attention. In this case, the advertiser intention, seemingly, is to ‘hook’ the audience into reading the Horlicks four-frame cartoon story to find out more about cowardice in boys and night starvation.

Picture-wise, in the first Horlicks frame, we see a distressed face (head and shoulders), with hands gripping a horizontal bar (which symbolically may represent a barrier or a support). The frame following visually communicates father–mother concern for their boy child, who is withdrawn and/or troubled. Then, mother and child are shown receiving advice from a male professional. The final frame pictures the boy performing a diving stunt, being watched by three boys (and no longer socially isolated). It is apparent that something caused a remarkable change in the boy from negative condition (withdrawn, listless) to positive (confident, energetic) condition. The line drawings tell a story of personal transformation: the pictures empower association with ideas to generate intended meanings. Thus, together with the standout words of (25), (26) and (27), the proposition is adequately relayed.

However, the full suite of meanings is gleaned only by reading the cartoon-story words, which reveal the boy is being taunted by his peers and name-called ‘Cowardly Custard Johnnie’. His father, Fred, is disappointed in the child, but the mother is determined to get help for Johnnie. Thematically, the promotion operates on timid behaviour in boys as inappropriate (even shameful); and, in reading the conversations, we learn that such behaviour attracts bullying and social isolation. We also learn – from the doctor, who is the Product Authority – the meaning of ‘night starvation’. The idea of nocturnal starvation is uncontroversial, namely that children grow overnight while asleep sleep; and even breathing and heartbeat deplete bodily resources that need replenishment. The doctor’s diagnosis of Johnnie is that he is ‘a nervous type’. ‘Put Johnnie on to Horlicks’, orders the doctor. Ostensibly, Horlicks supplies the energy needed to achieve physical-and-mental fitness; and, further, can deliver peer admiration and popularity. The idea of social success is tied to the identity of ‘boy’ as being energetic and daring: this a vision of what it is like to be ‘male’.

The final words uttered in the storytelling cartoon are from Fred, the father: ‘Darling, it’s amazing. He’s a regular tiger!’ These words show that the father’s confidence in his son has been restored by his perception that Johnnie has achieved success physically and socially: the boy has advanced to tiger-like

fearlessness by the action of Horlicks. The spoken words reinforce the pictorial depiction of positive change to deliver a remarkable story of transformation, attributable to Horlicks. The idea of transformation, a staple of storytelling, is a favourite of the copywriter. Transformation, in the view of corporate consultants Robert Maxwell and Robert Dickman (2007, pp. 21–24, pp. 205–224), is the most critical ‘promise element’ of the modern advertisement.

The analytical formulation for Horlicks is given here.

Summary analysis: My-Boy-a-Coward?-1940

Mood: Interrogative, Declarative

Social Function: Phatic, Expressive, covert Directive, Informative

Presupposition: Boys should present as fearless and energetic

Implicature: There is a remedy for weakness and timidity

Theme: Timid behaviour in boys is inappropriate, and attracts bullying and social isolation

Value: Horlicks supplies the energy needed to achieve your child’s desirable health and social outcomes.

Returning to the matter of polarity (negative–positive values) evident in Horlicks, it is worth noting Jakobson’s words on logic – that logic teaches on ‘the subject of oppositions’, and the opposed terms being two in number are interrelated in a specific way:

... if one of them is present the mind educes the other. In an oppositive duality, if one of the terms is given then the other, though not present, is evoked in thought. To the idea of white there is opposed only that of black, to the idea of beauty that of ugliness ... and so on.

Jakobson [1976] 1978, p. 76.

Certainly, there is evidence of oppositive duality as an instrument of implicature in advertisement composition. The addressee can extrapolate that the oppositive partner of courage is cowardice; of friend it is enemy; of fortune misfortune; of success failure; and of beauty ugliness.

The next artefact Cadbury’s-Bourn-Vita-His-Job-At-Stake-1940 (Figure 5.14) offers a solution to the stressful challenges of the workplace. This beverage is promoted as a rejuvenative nerve tonic that restores physical and mental fitness; and, further, it can secure career success for men. The narrative style resembles storytelling: it conjures a workplace drama on the theme of imminent unemployment (evident in the dramatic headline ‘His Job At Stake’). The copywriter technique here is remarkably complex. Six individual attention-getters are configured to deliver meanings: these are headline, catchline, speech bubble, portraiture, line graph, and product name. The three primary meaning-

makers are the headline, head-and-shoulders portrait of the happy-looking man, and product name at base.

Notably, both the headline ‘His Job At Stake’ and the product name ‘Bourn-Vita’ at base (the most striking attention-getters) are weighted equivalently in font size: one is the binary of the other. Graphetically the bold black letters of the dilemma ‘His Job At Stake’ is the monochromatic complement of the product name ‘Bourn-Vita’ (inversed-out white-on-black), which is the problem-solver. The visual pairing of headline and product name is a device designed to operate simultaneously at both the linguistic and typographic levels (similar to Are-You-Nervy in Figure 5.9 earlier). This illustrates how linguistic attention-getters can work with typography to communicate advertiser messages. It should be noted that while the wife is identified here as product buyer and dosage supervisor, the ultimate consumer is male. The dataset indicates that advertisements targeted at men have a pattern of incorporating technical-looking diagrams, and pictures that suggest knowledge and prestige.

Primary advertiser meanings are available in the three outstanding attention getters of headline, catchline and product name – and these are boosted by additional meanings salient elsewhere in the configuration. The headline in declarative, ‘His Job At Stake’ (28), is followed by the dependent clause (catchline) ‘until his wife started giving him Bourn-Vita’ (29):

<i>Possessive + NP</i>	HIS JOB AT STAKE	(28)
<i>Complex clause</i>	<i>until his wife started giving him</i>	
	<i>BOURN-VITA</i>	(29)

Under the catchline (29) is a story-like testimonial attesting to the effectiveness of the healing beverage. It is set in small font within a speech bubble:

“I used to live in fear of losing my job. I was always
tired and depressed ... but Bourn-vita gave me new life
and energy.”

This is the voice of the recovered depressive (Product Authority), who very nearly lost his job, but was saved by the timely action of the wife. The testimonial works together with the warning couched in (28) and (29) to raise the first implicature that Bourn-Vita can avert the dire consequence of unemployment).¹⁰⁷

Tied to the testimonial and the head-and-shoulders portrait is a line graph. The line-graph heading issues a warning in imperative ‘DON’T GO TO BED ON AN EMPTY STOMACH’. Together with the graph, the testimonial lends weight to

¹⁰⁷ The 1940s was an era of economic stagnation and employment uncertainty in Australia.

the idea of a research-based product that is proven to deliver successful results. At base is the product name Cadbury's Bourn-Vita (30).

NP CADBURY'S BOURN-VITA (30)

However, the responsibility of administering the beverage is tied to the wife, and this constitutes the second implicature. The advertiser's proposition is a statement of the product value:

Cadbury's Bourn-Vita provides health remedy that will secure career success. So buy this product!

Figure 5.14 Cadbury's-Bourn-Vita-His-Job-At-Stake-1940. Source: The Argus, 26 September 1940, p. 2.

The analytical formulation for Cadbury's is given below:

Summary analysis: Cadbury's-Bourn-Vita-1940

Mood: Declarative, Imperative

Social function: Expressive, Directive, Informative

Presupposition: Cure exists for unwellness condition [fatigue and depression]

Implicature 1: Dire consequences can be averted by consuming Bourn-Vita

Implicature 2: Responsibility to administer the beverage rests with the wife

Theme: Loss of employment has negative effects

Value: Bourn-Vita provides health remedy that will secure career success.

5.3.3.4 Products for lifestyle

As a general definition, lifestyle products and services are those that can help the consumer create a socially desirable persona. Lifestyle items may include artworks and unique novelties, cosmetics and perfumes, designer fashions, fine foods and wines, hobby and sports equipment, holidays, and luxury and prestige items. In a broad sense, lifestyle also includes a way of living – such as a society characterised by its habitual engagements, or its landscape.

According to advertising researcher and marketing professional John Bryden-Brown (1981), effective advertising has been highly influential in determining lifestyle and social attitudes in urbanised Australia. Lifestyle was a feature of colonial Australia, where the ruling and convict classes were divided; and the upper class distinguished itself from the lower by way of consumables, dress, education, and occupation. The marketing of lifestyle products flourished after World War Two; however, advertisements from the 1940s, when wartime rationing was the norm, show that products designed to deliver social panache were available in the marketplace. The shared challenge for small shopkeeper and big store alike was to persuade the consumer population that their products offered some special benefit that was worth buying in austere times.

The following is a discussion of three lifestyle products: Iced Bovril, a drink created from a paste of beef offcuts (Figure 5.15); Romany Tan by Cyclax, a facial skin-tan application (Figure 5.15); and Cashmere Bouquet, a cosmetics line offering beauty preparations (Figure 5.16). Unlike the complex advertisements above for products that offer physical-and-mental wellbeing benefits, these three lifestyle products are relatively simple both linguistically and at the graphic-design level.

Iced-Bovril-1940 (Figure 5.15) relays meanings primarily via pictures, namely six line drawings of men in competitive-sports action poses. These frame an imperative ‘Try Iced Bovril’ (31) and a declarative complement (as catchline) ‘The Ideal Summer Beverage’ (32):

<i>Clause (imperative)</i>	TRY ICED BOVRIL	(31)
<i>Complement</i>	<i>The Ideal Summer Beverage</i>	(32)

The linguistic attention-getters (31) and (32) deliver the presupposition that cold drinks are necessary for the summer, and raise the implicature that ‘Iced Bovril’ is the perfect choice as a refreshing beverage for active men. Further, the action-sports line drawings suggest Iced Bovril is also a source of energy: thus, the illustrations act to deliver a secondary energy-giving implicature. The pictures also serve to flag this beverage as a lifestyle product.

Thematically, the advertisement draws on the idea that summer temperatures demand refreshingly cold drinks. The product benefit is that it provides respite from warm summer temperatures, and it is also nutritious. In terms of social function, the covert Directive ‘Buy this’; and the Informative, namely brand name (31) and benefit (32), are recoverable. The advertiser proposition is that:

Iced Bovril provides respite from warm summer temperatures, and provides energy for men in competitive sports.

However, the absence of body text distances the advertiser from explicit claims.

Figure 5.15 Iced-Bovril-1940 and Romany-Tan-of-Cyclax-1940. Source: The Argus, 16 November, (respectively) p. 3, p. 11.



The Iced-Bovril-1940 summary analysis is presented below (left); and so is the analysis for Romany-Tan-by-Cyclax-1940, discussed overleaf.

Summary analysis: Iced-Bovril-1940

Mood: Imperative, Declarative
 Social Function: Directive, Informative
 Presupposition: Cold drinks are necessary for the summer
 Implicature 1: Iced Bovril is the perfect choice as a cold drink
 Implicature 2: Iced Bovril provides the energy necessary for men in competitive sports
 Theme: Summer is hot and demands cold drinks
 Value: Iced Bovril provides respite in the heat of summer, and provides energy for men in sports.

Summary analysis: Romany-Tan-by-Cyclax-1940

Mood: Declarative
 Social Function: covert Directive, Informative
 Presupposition: Special make-up is needed for summer season
 Implicature: Cyclax Romany Tan offers the best summer make-up available
 Theme: Facial make-up is desirable
 Value: Cyclax Romany Tan offers the necessary tool to achieve the desirable summer look

Romany-Tan-by-Cyclax-1940 has four attention-getters. First is the declarative headline ‘Loveliest of summer make-ups’ (33), and under this is a line drawing of a female head wearing facial tanning application and sunglasses. Then appears the product name ‘Romany Tan by Cyclax of London’ (34). At base is the institution name ‘Myer’s’ (35):

<i>Complement</i>	Loveliest of Summer Make-ups	(33)
<i>NP (product brand name)</i>	Romany Tan by Cyclax	
	OF LONDON	(34)
<i>NP (institution brand name)</i>	Myer’s	(35)

The headline, a disjunctive complement, declares the product as the ‘loveliest’ among summer cosmetics: the superlative claims product excellence. The words ‘OF LONDON’ (34) lend an impression of prestige. The complement (33) and the NP (34) can be connected with ‘is’ to construct:

Romany Tan by Cyclax of London [is] the loveliest of summer make-ups.

The missing present-tense connecting verb ‘is’ distances the possibility that the advertiser be challenged with making a false claim of product superiority, flagging the usefulness of disjunctive syntax. The implicature is that Romany-Tan-Cyclax offers the best summer make-up available; and the presupposition is that special make-up is necessary for the summer season. Thematically, the promotion rests on the idea of facial make-up as desirable. The advertiser’s proposition is that:

Romany Tan by Cyclax offers the necessary tool to achieve the desirable summer look. So buy this product!

Romany-Tan-Cyclax-1940 is a facial cosmetic compatible with Your-Face-Is-Your-Fortune-1940 (Figure 5.8), but these are differentiated by market niche. Romany-Tan-by-Cyclax is a lifestyle product, as evident from the small inset female figure dressed in tennis outfit, holding a racquet. Similarly, Cashmere-Bouquet-Colour-Darlings-1940 (Figure 5.16), presenting cosmetics, offers a lifestyle opportunity for the warmer months. This is apparent from the five mannequins dressed in fashionable daywear and evening apparel, and accessories (suggestions to service different social occasions). The brand name is ‘Colgate’, and the product line is ‘Cashmere Bouquet Cosmetics and Beauty Preparations’. The headline ‘Colour Darlings in Cotton’ may be a reference to

the Darling Downs cotton-growing area in the state of Queensland¹⁰⁸ – promoting cotton for the summer season. The body-text font is too small to be easily readable, suggesting that the brand name is established; thus the narrative blocks describing the rouge, lipstick and skin-tonic range need not be promotionally spotlighted.

Figure 5.16 *Cashmere-Bouquet-Colour-Darlings-1940*. Source: *The Argus*, 16 November September 1940, p. 33.



The headline (36) ‘Colour Darlings in Cotton’ suggests that the product line will complement the season’s cotton summerwear to deliver an attractive ‘darling’ appearance. Thematically, the advertisement relies on the notion that looking attractive is desirable; and the Expressive, covert Directive, and Informative are recoverable from the NPs (37), (38) and (39). The presupposition is that special summer make-up is necessary.

Complement_____	Colour Darlings in Cotton	(36)
NP (brand name)	COLGATE’S	(37)
NP (product line	Cashmere Bouquet	(38)
NP (product line)	COSMETICS AND BEAUTY	
	PREPARATIONS	(39)

¹⁰⁸ cottongrower.com.au

Together, the thematic information, presupposition and implicature deliver the advertiser's proposition:

Colgate Cashmere Bouquet provides the cosmetics necessary to achieve attractive appearance. So buy this product!

Summary analysis: Cashmere-Bouquet-Colour-Darlings-1940

Mood: Declarative

Social Function: Expressive, covert Directive, Informative

Presupposition: Special summer cosmetics are needed

Implicature: These cosmetics will create an attractive 'darling' appearance

Theme: Looking attractive is desirable

Value: Colgate Cashmere Bouquet provides the cosmetics necessary to achieve attractive appearance

To sum up, the Selling Power of these three lifestyle products (Figures 5.15 and 5.16) relies primarily on the brand names and images that suggest a socially attractive way of living in the warmer months. The idea of a summer lifestyle is communicated through the illustrations, which support the slogan-like phrases 'The Ideal Summer Beverage', 'Loveliest of Summer Makeups', and 'Colour Darlings in Cotton' to deliver the selling messages.

5.3.3.5 Products for bio-physiology health

This sub-section examines two patent-medicine promotions, shown in Figure 5.17, namely Maclean-Brand-Stomach-Powder-1940, purportedly a stomach-lesion remedy that also delivers happiness; and DeWitts-Kidney-and-Bladder-Pills-1940¹⁰⁹ for rheumatism cure and return of vitality. Both are complex, with multiple attention-getters and devices at the linguistic and non-lexical levels. They simulate storytelling technique and employ warnings. The first is a story of an older couple who overcome their stomach troubles with the help of Maclean-Brand-Stomach-Powder; and the second tells how DeWitts-Pills transformed painful crippling caused by rheumatism. The target market for both products is older people.

Maclean-Brand-Stomach-Powder-1940 standout features are:

- a picture of a smiling older couple, who establish eye-contact with the addressee (looking directly into the camera)
- linguistic features of headline and catchline (in a speech bubble)

¹⁰⁹ The poor photographic image reproduction quality is that of the Trove digital copy.

- a line-drawing of the product carton with speech bubble and a ‘free sample’ coupon.

Collectively there are six standout elements, and two blocks of small type as body copy. The discussion here focuses on the standout elements.

Figure 5.17 Maclean-Brand-Stomach-Powder, and DeWitts-Kidney-and-Bladder-Pills. Source: *The Argus*, (respectively) 16 November 1940, p.5; 26 September 1940, p. 5.

Don't let stomach trouble rob you of happiness!

Do as we both do—take MACLEAN BRAND STOMACH POWDER!

Maclean Brand Stomach Powder is the oldest and surest remedy for all cases of Indigestion, Flatulence, Heartburn, Dyspepsia and Gastritis. It stops pain and discomfort at once, and taken regularly will ensure freedom from digestive troubles. Maclean Brand Stomach Powder is based on the formula of a leading English Stomach Specialist and is made from ingredients of the highest quality, accurately compounded. It works by neutralising acid and putting a protective covering over inflamed parts. Make certain you accept no substitute.

Beware of Gastric Ulcer! Excess acid may easily lead to gastric ulcers. Avoid this serious state of affairs. If you suffer from any form of stomach trouble, take Maclean Brand Stomach Powder regularly.

New Reduced Prices: 1/9 and (double quantity) 3/-

INSIST on the package with this red seal and the signature Alex. C. Maclean

FREE SAMPLE
 Herold F. Bockie (Aust.)
 115, Old 124 William St.
 Sydney. Please send free sample of Maclean Brand Stomach Powder.
 Name _____
 Address _____
 M. 47, 14

Crippled with

RHEUMATISM
The terrible penalty of neglect.

Look at those deformed hands . . . fingers knotted and swollen . . . inflamed joints so racked with pain that every movement is sheer torture. That's just how badly rheumatism, if it is neglected, can cripple anyone.

Rheumatism is caused by weak kidneys failing to remove poisons and impurities from the system, especially uric acid which is deposited in the joints. Gradually the deposits of tiny razor-edged uric acid crystals grow until the joints become inflamed, stiff and enlarged—just like the rheumatic hands shown above. No wonder every movement is sheer agony, when those sharp uric acid crystals are tearing into tissue and bone.

De Witt's Pills, by restoring weak kidneys to healthy activity, tackle rheumatic trouble at their very root. With kidneys working normally uric acid is expelled from the system. The swelling disappears and joints become supple again. Your pain ends because the cause has been removed.

In 24 hours after the first dose De Witt's Pills give you positive proof, from the changed colour of the urine that they have reached your kidneys—the root of your rheumatic troubles. That's the first and most important step to end painful, crippling rheumatism.

With pain ended, vigour and vitality will return. Then you will soon be feeling and looking years younger.

Start to get well NOW, take DEWITT'S KIDNEY AND BLADDER PILLS

Made specially to end the pain of Rheumatism, Lumbago, Sciatica, Joint Pains and all forms of Kidney Trouble. Of all chemists and druggists, 1/6, 2/- and 6/-

The Maclean-Brand-Stomach-Powder-1940 headline (40) and catchline (41) are both full sentences in direct address and in imperative mood:

Clause Don't let stomach trouble
 rob you of happiness! (40)

Clause Do as we both do
 take MACLEANs BRAND STOMACH POWDER! (41)

The headline (40) and catchline (41) together establish a personal relationship with the addressee by using the pronouns ‘you’ and ‘we’. The headline implores the addressee, just as a friend would: ‘Don’t let stomach trouble rob you of happiness!’, using the emotive metaphor of ‘stomach trouble as thief’. The catchline (which sits prominently in a curly bubble), instructs the addressee to follow the example of the older couple, who attest to the product efficacy: ‘Do as we do’, they pleasantly urge. In effect, the smiling addressees offer a testimonial. Further, the imperative catchline (41) functions also to present the brand name ‘Macleans Brand Stomach Powder’, displayed in capitals.

The brand name is repeated on the product carton at base (which has a security seal), along with the proprietor’s signature ‘Alex G. Maclean’ (42A). The signature, which adds an element of formality and authenticity – suggestive of guarantee – is repeated in an oblong speech bubble (42B) spoken by the product carton. The words (42B) are a full sentence that implores the reader to ‘Insist on the package with this red seal and the signature *Alex B. Maclean*’. The verb ‘insist’ carries an empowering quality that confers the receiver with a sense of procuring something highly desirable that must be demanded. To finish the promotion, the advertiser offers enticement of a ‘free sample’ (42C):

<i>NP</i>	MACLEANS BRAND STOMACH POWDER <i>Alex B. Maclean</i>	(42A)
<i>Clause</i>	INSIST on the package with this red seal and the signature <i>Alex B. Maclean</i>	(42B)
<i>NP</i>	FREE SAMPLE	(42C)

Clearly, this advertisement uses several collateral devices to communicate its message and to achieve Selling Power:

- the smiling couple fulfil the roles of Product Authority and friend. They provide the attestation of the product’s value
- the conversation-like full sentences, personal pronouns and direct address act as a Phatic communion device, establishing addressor–receiver relationship.
- repetition functions to reinforce brand and product name, and proprietor signature, as key information for the addressee
- the signature is a formality that functions as testament of product authenticity; and it is tied to the red seal, suggesting a guarantee and a standard of excellence
- to entice the potential consumer, the advertiser offers a ‘free sample’.

Thematically, the advertisement draws on the idea of discomfort and pain caused by ill-health; and it presupposes that discomfort and pain diminishes contentment. The implicature is that the product offers a cure for stomach trouble, and also offers happiness. The Expressive, Directive, Informative and Phatic are recoverable; and thus the advertiser's proposition is deliverable:

Maclean Brand Stomach Powder offers relief from stomach troubles and secures happiness. So buy this product!

The Macleans-Brand-Stomach-Powder analysis is presented below – as is DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills, and the DeWitts discussion follows.

Summary analysis: Mcleans-Brand-Stomach-Powder-1940	Summary analysis: DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills-1940
Mood: Imperative, Declarative	Mood: Declarative, Imperative
Social Function: Expressive, Directive, Informative, Phatic	Social function: Expressive, Directive, Aesthetic
Presupposition: Discomfort and pain destroys the chance of happiness	Presupposition: Cure exists for pain
Implicature: There is a cure for stomach trouble, and it also offers happiness	Implicature: Dire consequences will be averted consumption of the product
Theme: Discomfort and pain caused by ill-health	Theme: Discomfort and pain caused by ill-health
Value: Macleans Brand Stomach Powder offers relief from stomach troubles and secures happiness	Value: DeWitts Kidney and Bladder Pills effectively cures rheumatism

DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills (Figure 5.17) offers a rheumatism cure, and a return of vitality. The attention-getters are complemented by five paragraphs of body text (visually 60% of the content), which tell the story of crippling disease and the miraculous curative power of the product. The text density is a device to relay a sense of complexity and importance. The primary attention-getter is an xray-like half-tone picturing a pair of arthritic hands with the superimposed label 'Crippled with' (43A): the photographic effect is shadowy and gloomy. The declarative fragment (43A) imposed on the deformed hands is in handwriting font. Under the deformed-hands image is the italicised 12-word solemn caption (in body-text font size):

‘This is a genuine untouched photograph of the hands of a martyr’.

Under the ‘hands-of-a-martyr’ caption is the standout headline ‘RHEUMATISM’ (43B) which ties with (43A):

Declarative fragment *Crippled with* (43A)

NP (headline) RHEUMATISM (43B)

That is, ‘Crippled with’ (43A) forms a disjunctive complement when joined with the headline (43B):

Crippled with rheumatism

The complex NP under the headline (43B) reads:

‘The terrible penalty of neglect’

that ties to the arthritic hands at (43A), suggesting that these could be the fate of the reader. At base is the imperative ‘Start to get well NOW’, tagged with the fragment ‘take’:

Clause + fragment **Start to get well NOW, take –**

The brand name (44) follows – set in bold capitals that match (43B):

NP [brand name] DEWITT’S KIDNEY AND BLADDER PILLS (44)

The disjunctives at base, when strung together, read: ‘Start to get well NOW. Take DeWitts Kidney and Bladder Pills.’

The fragment device in DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills is functionally useful to implicitly deliver the horror of rheumatism suffering depicted in the photograph, and also to soften the illocutionary force of command to ‘take’ the medication ‘NOW’. It should be noted that textual fragmentation is a prosaic literary device used to draw the reader into the next line in a poem: the reader knows from seeing the fragment that the thought is incomplete, and pursues the next line for the words to fulfil formation of the idea. For example, in these lines from Dylan Thomas’ poem *Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night*, the first line is tailed by ‘they’, which grammatically is the subject of the second:

Because their words had forked no lightning they
Do not go gentle into that good night.

The employment of the textual-fragmentation poetry device points to aesthetic elements that work to mitigate the ultimate horror of untreated rheumatism in its advanced stage. Expressively, the DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills message is alarmist and constitutes a warning of a terrible fate, but the fragment tool has a softening effect that blunts the horrific reality of the affliction.

Two standout features of DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills, and their relationship to other elements, warrant explanation:

- the shadowy image with its superimposed label and its caption
- the appearance of fragments in the linguistic attention-getters.

These two features have communicative social functions that relate to the aesthetic. Given visual impression, it can be said that the primary communication device of DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills is figurative. The xray-like image – with its caption ‘hands of a martyr’ – bears resemblance to photographs of a length of ancient linen known as the Shroud of Turin, a legendary Christian artefact that bears the physical imprint recognisable as a man. The linen is believed to be the burial cloth that wrapped the deceased Jesus of Nazareth, a preacher who was tortured and crucified. The first paragraph of the DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills story (in the body text) – set in a larger font than other paragraphs – opens with the directive ‘Look at those deformed hands ... every movement is sheer torture ...’: these words resonate with the literature surrounding the Shroud, which references the brutality of the crucifixion, including details of the victim’s hands and adjacent wrist wounds.

The second aesthetic is the textual fragments (a literary device). The idea of fragmentation operates on a metaphorical plane – consistent with the idea of physical breakdown as a process of fragmentation via loss of function associated with rheumatism. Therefore, it can be seen that Aesthetic function (which operates at the socio-cultural level drawing on the artistic and the literary) is useful to communicate the idea of the human body broken by disease; but, simultaneously, metaphor and grammatical fragmentation operate as salve to soften the real-world horror of debilitating disease.

The presupposition of DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills is that cure exists for pain, resting on the theme of illness. The implicature is that dire circumstances will be averted by consumption of the product; whereas neglect will result in torturous crippling. At base, the imperative ‘Start to get well NOW’ suggests the medicine is highly efficacious: it will have remedial effects without delay to allow starting to get well immediately. The product value is that it delivers relief from the crippling affliction of rheumatism, and will restore vitality. The addressee is covertly directed to purchase the curative pills, and thus the advertiser proposition is deliverable:

DeWitts Kidney and Bladder Pills effectively alleviates
rheumatism. So buy this product!

To sum up on Macleans-Brand-Stomach-Powder and DeWitts-Kidney-Bladder-Pills, and taking into consideration the energy-giving beverages ‘Sanatogen’ and ‘Cadbury’s-Bourn-Vita’ analysed above, it appears that health-related products employ multiple devices to deliver persuasive messages. It is worth noting that Macleans Ltd, the manufacturing chemist offering Macleans-Brand-Stomach-Powder, which purportedly cured stomach

lesions, had appropriated the pharmaceutical preparation from an article published in the *British Medical Journal*. The product name ‘Macleans’ simulates that of the medical doctor Hugh Maclean, who proposed the stomach-lesion pharmaceutical preparation in a 1930s article.¹¹⁰ The appropriation points to medical authenticity tied to brand names of medicines as advertiser device to flag products as medically valid and tested; and it also highlights the importance of attaching particular meanings to a brand name.

5.3.3.6 Products for personal hygiene

The idea of hygiene includes contraceptives, feminine sanitary items, household cleaners, laundry detergents and pest controls, which are excluded from the thesis dataset. The artefacts at hand are oral and body hygiene items (also called personal-care products): this spectrum includes cleansers, deodorants, shampoos, soaps and toothpaste. The ‘catch-22’ of the personal-hygiene advertiser is the customary addition of chemicals to soaps. Chemicals improve efficiency of cleaning to remove disease-causing contaminants, dirt, dust, germs and mould; but the chemicals may come into contact with skin, or may be ingested or inhaled, and these are potentially harmful.

While verification of chemical toxicity in consumables emerged in mainstream literature only from the 1990s (Chamberlain 2006; Daughton & Jones-Lepp 2001), the advertising language of the early 1900s suggests that advertisers have long been aware that consumer preference would be biased to products made from natural chemical-free ingredients. For example, in *French-Hair-Restorer-1940* (Figure 5.9) earlier, the negative complement ‘Not a dye’ suggests the absence of synthetic chemicals. To the advantage of the advertiser into the 1900s is that declaration of product ingredients was not required. Nevertheless, the dataset indicates that advertisers choose their words to present ingredients as ‘natural’ and ‘pure’.

Given advertiser inclination to present cleansers as not harmful, some relevant key terms are examined here – such as ‘soap’, ‘detergent’ and ‘chemicals’. The word ‘chemicals’ is seen in collocations that deny its inclusion in product manufacture, such as ‘free from harmful chemicals’¹¹¹ and ‘Absolutely pure and with not a single harmful chemical ingredient’.¹¹² It appears that language choice on the paradigmatic axis is determined by the strength of positive connotation. Take, for example, ‘soap’ and ‘detergent’: ‘soap’ is preferred. From the perspective of contact with human skin, ‘soap’ has positive connotations and ‘detergent’ does not: thus ‘soap’ is desirable (as is

¹¹⁰ *British Medical Journal*, 19 October 1935, pp. 759–760.

¹¹¹ Su-Tall Soap, *The Bundaberg Mail and Burnett Advertiser*, 26 September 1913, p. 2.

¹¹² Velvet Soap, *The Mail*, 1 April 1916, p. 8.

‘antibacterial’, which in its sense of ‘against bacteria’ offers positive connotation).

The word ‘soap’ – meaning ‘A substance formed by the combination of certain oils and fats with alkaline bases’ (oed.com) offers positive connotations in its traditional sense, by way of being a product made from naturally occurring substances. Conversely, ‘detergent’, meaning ‘a cleansing agent’, has ability to cleanse but also has the property of containing synthetic elements, and thus cannot be claimed as natural (or pure). According the American Cleaning Institute,¹¹³ between 1915 and 1945, as a consequence of those economically troubled years, the availability of animal and vegetable fats declined and impacted soap production. Chemists were compelled to source alternative materials to synthetically replicate the efficacious properties found in naturally occurring fats and oils: this constitutes the debut of the modern-day detergent (a product with the cleansing power of soap but containing added chemicals).

The earliest uses of ‘detergent’, in the 1600–1700s, is recorded as being in the fields of medicine and chemistry. Then, some 300 years later, in 1951, ‘detergent’ came into general vocabulary in the sense of a household item, as seen in this quotation (oed.com) from the *Good Housekeeping Home Encyclopaedia*:

1951 [Good Housek. Home Encycl.](#) 45/2 Once a week use hot water and soapless detergent¹¹⁴ to remove all traces of grease.

The appearance of ‘detergent’ in *Good Housekeeping Home Encyclopaedia* coincides with the prolific advertising of hygiene-related products from the 1940s.

The *OED* definition of ‘soap’ is that it is ‘usually distinguished from “detergent”’, given the synthetic properties of the latter. This definition of ‘soap’, in terms of common usage, is at odds with the claim made by the American Cleaning Institute that what contemporary consumers call ‘soap’ is actually ‘detergent’:

Today, most things we call “soap” are actually detergents. It has become so common to call detergents “soap,” that most people would be confused if you asked for a “liquid hand detergent” when shopping.

American Cleaning Institute, cleaninginstitute.org

¹¹³ American Cleaning Institute, cleaninginstitute.org

¹¹⁴ The Royal Chemical Society (UK) defines ‘soapless detergent’ as a detergent made from petro-chemicals (petroleum-based substances). This indicates an industry-specific boundary that separates a purely synthetic cleanser from others.

Two points can be drawn from this claim: first, that the make-up of soap products today is not faithful to the traditional definition of ‘soap’; and, second, that the common personal cleanser is in fact a chemically constructed product but is successfully being marketed as ‘soap’. A consumer is unlikely to desire a detergent as skin cleanser (given the association of ‘detergent’ with chemicals). It can be reasoned that due to advertiser preference for the positive connotations of ‘soap’, today’s personal-cleanser abundant with added chemicals is thought of by the consumer as ‘soap’ in its traditional sense.

This sub-section investigates the following three personal-hygiene products to discover how they work to convey meanings:

- two toothpaste artefacts, namely Kolynos-Dental-Cream-1940 (Figure 5.18), and Colgate-Dental-Cream-1940 (Figure 5.19)
- Lifebouy-Soap-She-Wasn’t-Lovable-1940 (Figure 5.20).

All three employ storytelling in comic-book cartoon illustration style, which was the norm for 1940s toothpaste and soap advertising. The deployment of cartoon-based stories as Selling Power added a novel dimension to the ‘universals of sales psychology’ (Burridge 2018, p. 12), highlighting the cartoon as an efficient meaning-maker. Comic-strip advertising is characterised by a meaning-making toolkit of linguistic and non-linguistic features unique to cartoons. The storytelling tableau of the comic-strip is idiosyncratic and imaginative, which adds a layer of complexity to advertisement analysis.

Cartoon advertisement analysis points to:

- the print advertiser as an innovative player in the field of mass communication, and a keen observer of everyday human engagements as resource for marketing purposes
- the cartoon strip as a communication device centred on the social functions of Phatic communion (given the constant of conversational exchange), and the Aesthetic (given the comic book as a form of literature)
- market segmentation, as the target often appears to be female.

Comic-strip advertising appropriates the repeated stills of action in the comic book and borrows a set of recognisable symbols and stylistic features (such as different types of speech balloons) to create meaning. With respect to cartoon scholarship and linguistic analysis of cartoon literature, that field is relatively new. The earliest linguistic investigation is Tysell’s (1939) ‘The English of the Comic Cartoons’, published in *American Speech*, which drew on a corpus of 122 comics series. Tysell analysed names of characters, place names, slang, spellings, oaths and expletives, epithets, folk etymology, pseudoscientific terms and rhyming devices. Among Tysell’s findings are that:

- the language of comics ‘plays a material part in the Americanisation of the English language’ (p. 54)
- comics are a ‘satirical comment’ on American life (p. 44)
- comics are ‘mighty coiners of words’ (p. 43).

Tysell points out that ‘the comic strip artist is faced with the necessity for great condensation’ to ‘gain effect in the limited space allowed’ (p. 43) – a constraint also experienced by the advertising copywriter. Several conspicuous meaning-making features of the comic book are seen in the cartoon advertisement, such as the intertextuality tool (discussed in 1.4.4).

Review of the literature in comics scholarship, such as *Critical Approaches to Comics: Theories and Methods* (Smith et al. 2012), shows interrogation of the meanings available in cartoon illustration from different analytical frameworks. Bramlett’s *Linguistics and the Study of Comics* (2012) informs on how words are used with pictures to create stories. Cohn (2012 et al.) refer to comics as social objects, where human (and animal) behaviours are visually played out in environments that invite inferencing. McCloud (1993) submitted a set of cognitive principles that delineate the ideational gateways of comics – one of which he calls ‘filling in the gaps’, where the viewer can draw meanings in transition from panel to panel (supremely evident in comic-strip advertising). The social indexicals created by cooperation of images and words in cartoon storytelling offer potential to deliver persuasive meanings. The comic-book style advertisement is, thus, a formidable persuasive device in the hands of the advertising design team.

It is argued by comics scholars that the artistic creation of cartoon characters and stories, in sets of frame-by-frame depictions, is to the reader a ‘writing system’ that communicates intended meanings:

What comic artists do is use a writing system to represent speech, conversation, narration, and thoughts of the characters. Whether the writing system is an alphabet, syllabary, or logographic system, it is a visual representation of a cognitive/social construct, and writing plays an immensely important role in comics.

Eisner 1985, p. 26.

In Eisner’s claim of cartoon storytelling as a writing system, it appears that an obsolete meaning of ‘write’ (originating in Old Frisian) is being invoked. That is, ‘To score, outline, or draw the figure of (something)’ – as evident in the following 1590 quote from Edmund Spenser’s epic poem *The Faerie Queene*. This line expresses the portrait of the Faery Queene as being ‘writt’ (oed.com):

1590 Spenser Faerie Queene ii. viii. sig. T8v Guyons
shield. Whereon the Faery Queenes pourtract was writt.

Etymologically, then, Eisner's (1985) claim of line drawings as a writing system can be verified. Further, it is posited by cartoon scholars that the narratives of comics offer units of meaning in calibrations that may be likened to the grammatical patterns of natural language. Eisner (1985, p. 8) refers to the 'repetitive images and recognizable symbols' used again and again as a 'disciplined application that creates the "grammar" of Sequential Art'. In the words of Bongco (2000, p. 46), the comic book is 'an ingenious form, with highly developed grammar and vocabulary, based on a unique combination of verbal and visual elements ... Reading a comicbook is a complex semiotic process'. The reflections of cartoon scholars are evident in analysis of the comic-strip Horlicks-My-Boy-A-Coward?-1940 earlier (Figure 5.10): the analysis showed how advertisers have skilfully blended images and words to create Selling Power (de Silva 2018).

Two aspects of cartoon research from cognitive linguists should be mentioned, though not investigated in detail here:

- the use of metaphor to make meanings, as seen in Forceville 1996; Johnson 1987; Kövecses 2002; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1993; and Reddy 1979
- the shapes of speech balloons as meaning-makers, put forward by Forceville, Veale & Feyaerts (2010, pp. 67–69). The authors hold that speech balloons, ubiquitous in comic-strip narratives, are thoughtfully selected. They submit that visual properties such as colours, and 'jaggedness' versus 'roundness' in balloon form and in elements within balloons, embody concepts 'and hence possibly universal features of human perception' (p. 72).

These two aspects are touched on in the thesis.

Kolynos-Dental-Cream-1940 (Figure 5.18) is a densely pictorial advertisement with gothic overtone. It has four linguistic attention-getters. The first three are full sentences in simple present, and at bottom (adjacent to the Kolynos toothpaste tube) is the brand name 'Kolynos Dental Cream'. Created by an American dentist in 1908, the name 'Kolynos' is formed from the Greek words *Kolyo nosos* (κωλύω νόσος) – meaning 'disease prevention', and Kolynos was the first toothpaste to include disinfectant as an ingredient.¹¹⁵ The antibiotic property validates the Kolynos 'disease prevention' claim, and presents the product value – namely that hygienic cleaning is provided by

¹¹⁵ According to Dr Simon Stott, Deputy Director of Research, The Cure Parkinson's Trust, London. The Science of Parkinson's, scienceofparkinsons.com. Accessed 23 March 2019.

Kolynos. The presupposition is that teeth need cleaning, and the implicature is that neglect of teeth cleaning will result in dental decay. Thematically, the advertisement relies on the fact that loss of teeth health is problematic.

Figure 5.18 Kolynos-Dental-Cream. Source: The Argus, 26 September 1940, p. 8.



At headline, set in bold capitals, is the interrogative ‘Do You Know?’ (45A), which invites the addressee to receive some interesting but ostensibly factual information. This is followed by a declarative in answer, ‘Bird Cleans Crocodile’s Teeth!’:

Clause (interrogative) Do You Know? (45A)

Clause (declarative) Bird cleans crocodile's teeth! (45B)

Then, set in small capitals, is another fact in declarative (46):

Clause (declarative) Mouth bacteria forms and
starts dental decay! (46)

Finally, at base, is the product brand name (47). This is inversed out white-on-black, typographically the reverse of the headline:

NP (brand name) Kolynos Dental Cream (47)

The use of simple present and full sentences reflects the Standard English simple-present functions of stating facts that are always true. Suffice to say that present tense is the default grammatical choice of the advertiser. While organisationally the advertisement content is dense and visually chaotic, it can be said that the linguistic standout elements (45A), (45B), (46) and (47) adequately communicate the presupposition that teeth need cleaning; and that neglect of teeth cleaning will result in dental decay. The advertiser proposition is that:

Hygienic cleaning is provided by Kolynos.

The unusual idea of birds cleaning the teeth of crocodiles may violate reader expectation of oral-hygiene product promotion¹¹⁶ (breaking Grice's Maxim of Relevance, which states that utterances should be appropriate). There are, however, at least two YouTube videos¹¹⁷ of birds in the open jaws of a live crocodile, busily pecking away. Further, internet-published stories claim a beneficial relationship between the Egyptian plover bird and the Nile crocodile – namely that the bird feeds on morsels wedged in the reptile's teeth, thus acting as a flossing aid to maintain dental health. In this way, the apparent outlandishness of the Kolynos pictorial is mitigated into 'poetic truth', and explains the 'safari adventure' setting. The thesis dataset indicates that advertiser themes, presuppositions and claims frequently do contain an element of truth; or have historical lineage in the human belief system.

¹¹⁶ This kind of violation is said to be a memory-recall improvement device (Harris et al. 1986).

¹¹⁷ Birds cleaning crocodile teeth, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0dt6H5ApcM> Accessed 23 March 2019.

The summary analysis and grammatical formulation of Kolynos is given below.

Summary analysis: Kolynos-Dental-Cream-1940

Mood: Interrogative, Declarative

Social Function: Phatic, Aesthetic, Informative, covert Directive

Presupposition: Teeth need cleaning

Implicature: Neglect of teeth cleaning will result in dental decay

Theme: Loss of teeth health is problematic

Value: Hygienic cleaning is provided by Kolynos

It is reasonable to argue that all pictures in advertisements are standout features – in the sense that pictures (similar to headlines are eye-catching), and that a storyline can be accessed by simply passing the eye over a picture sequence. The following two comic-strip advertisements support such an argument. These are typical of 1940s personal-hygiene promotions. The first is Colgate-Dental-Cream-He-Dropped-Her-Flat-1940 (Figure 5.19), and then Lifebuoy-Soap-She-Wasn't-Lovable-1940 (Figure 5.20). Both feature a woman saved from romantic disaster by the product, which ostensibly has power to restore sexual attractiveness as well as solving problems of halitosis and body odour. Both draw on the Phatic communion and Aesthetic social devices to engage the viewer.

Colgate-Dental-Cream-He-Dropped-Her-Flat-1940 is a six-frame cartoon beach setting with a final frame that displays the product tube. To introduce the story, there is a capitalised headline '*AND THEN HE DROPPED HER FLAT!*' (inversed out white-on-black), set in italics. The other remarkable features are:

- the picture in the first frame, which shows a muscular male wearing well-fitting swimming trunks, carrying in his arms a female clad in bathers (who wears ankle-strap high-heels)¹¹⁸
- adjacent to the first frame is a speech bubble with the words COLGATE COMBATS BAD BREATH ... MAKES TEETH SPARKLE! in bolded capitals, spoken by a bespectacled male (head only)
- in the final frame is the product tube with the brand name (inversed out white-on-black, and thus matching the headline design-wise).

¹¹⁸ The ankle- strap heels have the look of 1940s ballroom dance shoes, with the enclosed back and strap, designed to be sturdy and carry the dancer safely from move to move.

From the headline, ‘And Then He Dropped Her Flat’, it can be gleaned that a romantic interlude ended. In the literal sense, the man ‘dropped her’ and she fell ‘flat’ on her back. Figuratively, the headline is emotive, meaning that the woman was jilted. However, the final cartoon frame of the story depicts a couple water-skiing, and this suggests that the relationship was later resurrected.

Figure 5.19 Colgate-Dental-Cream-He-Dropped-Her-Flat-1940. Source: Source: The Argus, 16 November 1940, p. 32.



The headline ‘And Then He Dropped Her Flat’ (48) begins with a conjunction:

Conj. + *clause* And Then He Dropped Her Flat (48)

The pronouns 'he' and 'her' in (48) reference, respectively, to the man in the swimming trunks and the woman in his arms. The reader can surmise that this is a love story with a problem. The conjunction 'and' suggests that something (an ellipted causative) came before to provoke the jilting: it is the ellipted causative that is at the heart of the story. As can be learned from reading the inset cartoon-story words, the jilted woman had bad breath, which led to her being 'dropped'. In the last frame of the sequence is the product tube with brand name (49):

NP (brand name) COLGATE RIBBON DENTAL CREAM (49)

which is inversed out white-on-black, typographically the reverse of the headline – suggesting that the solution to being ‘dropped flat’ resides in Colgate toothpaste. In other words, Colgate offers pre-emptive action to ensure romantic success.

There are two presuppositions:

- a dentifrice is needed to ensure teeth health
- a dentifrice is needed to secure romantic success.

Personal hygiene was a new idea in the early decades of the 1900s, and thus posed a marketing challenge. To imbue the product with Selling Power a parallel element (of familiar known-information status) was needed – which in this case is the love-relationship. There are two implicatures: one is that halitosis can be effectively treated by use of Colgate toothpaste, and the other is that bad breath will destroy the chance of being loved. The love-relationship theme, together with presupposition and implicature, leads to the advertiser proposition that Colgate-Dental-Cream effectively eliminates bad breath and creates positive romantic outcomes.

At the narrative discourse level, from reading the speech bubbles, the reader is privy to a conversation between the jilted Claire and her female confidante, who diplomatically advises Claire to visit a dentist about her bad breath. The reader learns that Claire has a pattern of being jilted by the ‘beach Romeo’ type, who then moves on in pursuit of ‘a new Juliet’. Taking her friend’s advice, Claire visits a bespectacled male dentist (the Product Authority) who explains that ‘decaying food particles and stagnant saliva around the teeth’ is the cause of bad breath. The dentist promotes Colgate, which with ‘its special penetrating foam’, ‘removes these odour-forming deposits’. The dentist emphatically declares: ‘COLGATE COMBATS BAD BREATH ... MAKES TEETH SPARKLE!’ This declaration, set in a speech bubble functions like a testimonial from a specialist. Below the dentist’s testimonial is a body text block extolling the product benefits. Pointing to this commendation is the toe of Claire’s high-heel shoe, pointing at the words: ‘Always use Colgate Dental Cream – regularly and frequently. No other dentifrice is exactly like it.’

The thesis dataset shows that picture-based advertisements tend to integrate a character who plays an authenticating role of Product Authority. Functionally, this device imbues the advertiser narrative with the social normality of real-life situations where people give advice drawn from their formal education or own life experience (de Silva 2020) – as evident in the dialogue of Colgate-Dental-Cream, where the reader learns that Claire’s confidant had herself previously been a victim of halitosis until rescued by Colgate Dental Cream.

The summary analysis of Colgate-Dental-Cream is given below. Two presuppositions and two implicatures cooperate to deliver the message:

Summary analysis: Colgate-Dental-Cream-He-Dropped-Her-Flat-1940

Mood: Declarative

Social Function: Phatic, Aesthetic, Expressive, covert Directive, Informative

Presupposition 1: Dentifrice is needed to ensure teeth health

Presupposition 2: Dentifrice is needed to ensure romantic success

Implicature 1: Halitosis can be effectively treated by use of Colgate toothpaste,

Implicature 2: Bad breath can repeatedly destroy the chance of being loved

Theme: Being loved is desirable

Values: Colgate-Dental-Cream effectively eliminates bad breath and creates positive romantic outcomes

Similarly, Lifebuoy-Soap-She-Wasn't-Lovable-1940 (Figure 5.20) is a series of picture frames in comic-strip style. It tells the story of a young woman, Jean, who is unsuccessful in maintaining love relationships. She has just been on a date with Tom – but fears she will not hear from him again. Jean expresses her woes and romantic desires to her friend Babs (the Product Authority), who recommends Lifebuoy soap as the solution. The soap, according to the storyline, has power to eliminate body odour ('B.O.'), a condition that destroys the attribute of being lovable. Jean adopts Lifebuoy soap, and Tom returns. He tells her she 'is the sweetest girl in the world'.

Figure 5.20 *Lifebuoy-Soap-She-Wasn't-Lovable-1940*. Source: *The Argus*, 16 November 1940, p. 11.

WONDERED WHY SHE WASN'T *Lovable*..

OH BABS—I HOPE TOM TAKES ME OUT AGAIN!
YOU LIKE HIM, DON'T YOU?

I THINK HE'S GRAND! BUT HE'LL LOSE INTEREST IN ME—THE WAY THEY ALL DO
NOT IF YOU USE LIFEBUOY, JEAN. I'VE BEEN WANTING TO TELL YOU THAT FOR A LONG TIME

SO THAT WAS IT! I'LL NOT RISK "B.O." AGAIN

JEAN YOU'RE THE SWEETEST GIRL IN THE WORLD!
THINKS TO HERSELF—LIFEBUOY MAKES ME SO SURE OF MYSELF EVEN WHEN I'M CLOSE TO HIM!

Don't let "B.O." spoil your dates

Everybody perspires but nobody needs to risk making a bad impression. The busiest girl can keep herself fresh and lovable with Lifebuoy in her daily bath. Try it—the clean, bracing fragrance of Lifebuoy vanishes as you rinse but its protection stays.

LIFEBUOY NOW IN 2 FORMS
Regular or Super-milled

A LIFEBOY PRODUCT

There is a body-text block promoting the benefits of Lifebuoy soap (positioned adjacent to the protagonist), and four linguistic attention-getters. The first is the declarative headline (50):

Disjunctive clause WONDERED WHY SHE WASN'T
Lovable (50)

This is a disjunctive clause in past tense, with a negative adverbial:

Wondered [past-tense V] + why she wasn't lovable [negative adverbial]

The headline, set in bold capitals, emphasises the adjective 'Lovable' (in italics), flagging this as significant in the Selling Power of this product. The past tense of 'wasn't' places the problem of being not lovable in the past; but, typographically, the lovable attribute itself is isolated from the past, standing out as something notable and salient.

Under the headline (50) is a speech bubble, which is the second linguistic attention-getter (51A) and (51B), spoken by the female protagonist:

Clause SO THAT WAS IT! (51A)

Clause I'LL NOT RISK "B.O." AGAIN (51B)

The third linguistic attention-getter is an imperative (52):

Clause (imperative) Don't let B.O. spoil your dates (52)

which suggests that B.O. is a force that can be controlled.

The fourth linguistic attention-getter is the product name and utilitarian information at base (53A) and (53B):

NP (brand name) LIFEBOUY (53A)

Complement NOW IN TWO FORMS

Regular or Super-milled (53B)

The theme is that being loved is desirable; and there are sets of two presuppositions, and two implicatures. The twin primary presupposition are that body odour must be eliminated, and that being loved is a need. The implicatures are that B.O. can be effectively treated by Lifebuoy, and that B.O. can destroy the chance of being loved. The twin values are that the product effectively eliminates B.O. and creates positive romantic outcomes. The social functions of the Phatic, Aesthetic, Expressive, covert Directive and Informative are recoverable – as for Colgate-Dental-Cream.

Summary analysis: Lifebuoy-soap-She-Wasn't-Lovable-1940

Mood: Declarative, Imperative

Social Function: Phatic, Aesthetic, Expressive, covert Directive, Informative

Presupposition 1: Body odour must be eliminated

Presupposition 2: Being loved is a need

Implicature 1: Body odour can be eliminated by use of Lifebuoy soap

Implicature 2: Body odour can destroy the chance of being loved

Theme: Romance is desirable

Values: Lifebuoy soap can effectively eliminate B.O. and assure social desirability

Overarchingly, the dataset at hand shows that personal-hygiene products (such as deodorants, soaps and toothpaste) of the 1930s and 1940s frequently employ interrogatives and imperatives, and use storytelling as a device. When women are the target market, storylines commonly adopt romance as the theme, and sexual and social desirability tend to be the outcome of product adoption. Cartoonish advertisements mimic conversations to create social worlds that engage the viewer (Berry 2014; de Silva 2020). The advertising cartoonist brings together words and pictures to evoke ‘a kind of ordinariness, of everyday life’ that is effective in persuasion (Myers 1994, p. 105). Dialogue and symbolism are organised within the conventions of sequential art to invoke everyday issues and to make associations that dramatically link the product to positive attributes and successful outcomes

5.3.3.7 Products for food safety

The convenience of keeping food safe became a reality with the advent of refrigeration and domestic electricity supply. The first full power grid was established in Sydney in 1904. In 1912, the first refrigerator made its Australian debut, and mass production commenced in 1927; however, electrical power in the home was reserved for the privileged classes for several decades. Eventually, electrical energy became the bastion of state governments; and the refrigerator became a standard household appliance. Westinghouse-Safer-Food-1940 (Figure 5.20) is representative of advertising to attract the domestic user. The primary attention-getter is a picture of a child holding up a banner demanding ‘Safer Food For Children’.

Westinghouse is an American refrigerator brand with origins in the state of Pennsylvania – home of the Amish, a traditionalist Christian fellowship. This group practises traditional ways of living. It appears the Amish reject the technology norm of modern society: this suggests the purchase of a refrigerator would not be a priority. The Amish people place high value on family, thus safety of children is paramount. This could explain the pictorial of the Westinghouse-Safer-Food (Figure 5.21): here the child asks for ‘Safer Food For Children’. In this way, Westinghouse is an example of how social norms influence advertisement content and are used to draw in addressees.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ However, the protest banner as an advertisement prop of the 1940s is unusual. The banner is popularly associated with the protest movements of the 1960s.

Portrayal of children in promotions has a long history, as evident in the visuals of vintage advertisements: however, this is regulated today. Myers (1994, p. 109) contends that children are used to raise a ‘guilt-making question’. In the case of Westinghouse-Safer-Food (Figure 5.21), the child does not utter any words, but the child faces the viewer, making direct eye contact. The presupposition is that food is not being kept safe; and the implicature ‘Here is a safe food option’ is realisable in the offer to sell the Westinghouse product.

Westinghouse-Safer-Food presents three standout linguistic features:

- the headline ‘SAFER FOOD FOR CHILDREN’
- followed by the catchline ‘HERE ARE THE COLD FACTS’ (set above the two graphs)
- the product name (at base) ‘Westinghouse’, along with the proprietor’s name A.P. Sutherland.

Westinghouse-Safer-Food meaning-maker devices are similar to that seen in Cadbury’s-Bourn-Vita (Figure 5.14). Compositionally, the meanings are generated by the three standout linguistic elements that draw on the diagrams. The headline (55) is a complement, followed by a declarative (56):

Complement ‘SAFER FOOD FOR CHILDREN (55)

Clause HERE ARE THE COLD FACTS (56)

The complement (55) is disjunctive, realisable in its full syntactic form as ‘We want safer food for children’. At base is the product brand name (57A) and the proprietor name (57B):

NP (brand name) Westinghouse (57A)

A.P. Sutherland (57B)

The standout linguistic features work with four pictures to create meanings:

- first the dramatic image of a smartly dressed boy carrying a banner
- then two graphs
- under the graphs is a temperature control with a hand in action of making an adjustment
- and to the left of the temperature control is the fridge itself with freezer door ajar.

Figure 5.21 Westinghouse-safer-food-1940. Source: *The Argus*, 16 November, p. 5.

SAFER FOOD FOR CHILDREN!

HERE ARE THE COLD FACTS:

ROOM TEMPERATURE
With ordinary refrigerators, rises and falls in room temperatures send the food cabinet temperatures jumping up and down.

ORDINARY REFRIGERATION

ROOM TEMPERATURE
With Westinghouse "True-Temp" control the cabinet temperature stays at the same **SAFE** temperature regardless of passing heat waves.

"TRUE-TEMP" CONTROL

"True-Temp" control is the most necessary feature a refrigerator can have. It's simply itself, but the benefits are enormous. All you do is set the cabinet temperature of the safety figure of, say 40 degrees, and it doesn't matter how hot your kitchen may become, the temperature in the food compartment stays at 40 degrees. And in the event of an cool day, "True-Temp" control automatically senses you current. Actually the 1941 Westinghouse uses current for only a few hours each day. By comparison, a Westinghouse Hermetically Sealed Motor is safe 3 years old in actual wear over a 10-year period, and gives a lifetime of silent, efficient service without requiring even so much as a single oiling. These, and 30 more peace-making features, make Westinghouse the cheapest refrigerator to own and operate.

LOW FIRST COST LOW DEPOSIT EASY TERMS
Full details and descriptive literature on request.

Westinghouse
A. P. SUTHERLAND
2 Murray Street, Melbourne, S.C.A. - MK2298
Rensley House, 202-204 Flinders Lane, Melbourne
DEALERS ALL DISTRICTS.

The words and pictures work together to suggest that this product meets an important need in society – that of keeping food safe to ensure the health of children. The two graphs are accompanied with bold captions that attest to the superior effectiveness of Westinghouse refrigeration power. The temperature control (with the pointing finger) is flanked by a dense body text block explaining the operation and function of the control. The effect of the graphs, the temperature control and the small type is to give the impression that the

product is complex and scientifically produced. This is designed to assure the viewer that Westinghouse fridge offers a cold environment to keep food safe.

The social functions of the covert Directive and Informative are recoverable – as annotated below in the summary analysis:

Summary analysis: Westinghouse-safer-food-1940

Mood: Declarative

Social Function: Informative, covert Directive

Presupposition: Some foods are unsafe for children

Implicature: Here is a safe food option

Theme: Contaminated food is a source of illness in children

Value: Westinghouse fridge offers a safe cold environment to keep food fresh

5.3.3.8 Summarising remarks: word-and-pictures

The words-and-pictures advertisements are more complex, as compared with those of words only (5.3.2). The pictures offer scope to contain implicit meanings, and are effective to communicate item benefits of the subjective kind, such as happiness. Notably, the Phatic communion device is evident where conversation-like exchanges are incorporated. The idea of embedding conversations resonates with Ferdinand de Saussure's identification of unconscious mental associations in language activity: the advertiser can use conversations to invoke topics and associations that link the product to everyday issues. In the words of Jakobson: 'something extrinsic is brought into play' ([1976] 1978, p. 11) when referential devices are employed.

In the conversation-like advertisements, two parameters are evident: the setting (social situation) and social status of each person. In these, four aspects of addressee context (Geis 1982) are evident, namely:

1. Physical context (the tangible aspect – what we see, what we perceive to be going on)
2. Theme context (the shared background knowledge – assumed meaning)
3. Social context (the occasion or reason that brings the protagonists together)
4. Linguistic context (what is said, the words).

Any of these may contain hidden meanings, and collectively they help deliver the advertiser proposition.

5.3.4 Investigative Study Three: summarising remarks

Investigative Study Three is a collection of 25 H&B promotions from 1940. These advertised make-up, goitre remedy, hair removal, restoration of hair colour, lifestyle improvement, soap, nervous condition help, patent medicines, toothpaste, and food safety. The study focused on standout features, investigating both words and images. The analysis identified hidden meanings and advertiser propositions of each artefact, and presented formulations of grammatical infrastructure. The discussion expounded the argument that grammatical structures and social functions are configured in hidden-meaning bundles to relay advertiser propositions.

Analysis showed attention-getters as primary carriers of hidden persuasive meanings that cooperate to form collateral bundles of potential interpretations configured to promote the benefits of consumables. Collateral bundling of thematic information, presupposition and implicature create impressions of essential and/or urgently needed benefits (de Silva 2018). These three pragmatics elements manifest as essential to create Selling Power.

The findings of this Study are summed up as follows.

- Hidden meanings are cached primarily in attention-getters.
- Both disjunctive syntax and full sentences are employed, and the grammatical choice overarchingly is present tense.
- Where grammatical fragments are employed, these frequently appear in a sequence to form complete sentences.
- The comic-strip advertisement is seen to employ all five social functions of the Phatic, Aesthetic, Expressive, Directive and Informative. This points to the comic strip as a powerful communicative device that transcends the idea of comics as juvenile literature (de Silva 2020).
- The storytelling device appears to be the copywriter choice when the market target is women.
- Advertisement design appears to employ technical drawings when the target market is male; and for appliances.

5.4 Investigative Study Four: Patent Medicines 1800s–1950s

This Study examines 19 patent-medicine artefacts to discover linguistic features and persuasive devices. The term ‘patent medicine’ originated in 1624 in the Statute of Monopolies, the first parliamentary expression of patent law in England, where Letters Patent (a kind of trademark) granted the sole right of manufacture of a new substance for 14 years.¹²⁰ The artefacts here profile a range of patent medicines available in colonial Australia through to the 1900s. The discussion includes:

- definition of what is a patent medicine, and an introduction to its family of terminological associates (such as ‘aperient’, ‘balsam’, ‘carminative’, ‘cordial’, ‘elixir’, ‘liqueur’, ‘opodeldoc’, ‘pectoral’, ‘syrup’, ‘tincture’, ‘tonic’)
- review of prosaic devices discussed earlier (like repetition, slogans, syntax, testimonials), and gendering
- examples of advertiser attestations of authenticity and warnings against imitations, as devices of patent-medicine promotion
- conceptual exploration of ‘fake’ medicines and ‘quacks’, and the prestigious labelling of orthodox practitioners as ‘regular doctors’ and ‘the faculty’¹²¹
- the kinds of ailments in want of healing, which show an intersection of health matters with beauty
- market segmentation in the advertising of medicines.

This study – by outlining patent-medicine advertising language seen in the dataset, and drawing on medical reporting and historical data – has the following practical outcomes:

- 1 it shows similarities and changes over time in the promotion of curative and preventative remedies
- 2 it points to the marketplace constancy of unproven curatives into the 1900s alongside products of bio-medical design
- 3 it evidences a conceptual melding of the ideas of health and beauty that becomes the norm in the marketing of beautification products
- 4 it shows that patent-medicine copywriters drew compositional information from press reporting.

¹²⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, [encyclopedia.britannica.com](https://www.britannica.com)

¹²¹ Medieval Latin *facultas* branch of learning, in this case medicine

The sub-sections of the discussion highlight aspects of patent-medicine advertisements, with illustrative examples. The aspects include both prosaic features of advertising language; and those seemingly unique to health-related promotions (like portraiture). As before, the discussion draws on press reporting, and artefact transcriptions are afforded as relevant.

5.4.1 Medicines, patent medicines and nostrums

Medicines are herbal or chemically compounded substances with power to heal and/or prevent disease by way of physiological effect on the user: this is medicine as conventionally known, and placebo as medicine has earlier been raised (in 4.2.3). Rationally, an offer to medicate necessarily implies efficacy to heal and/or prevent onset of disease: thus, the positive transformational intervention of medicines is an assumed knowledge and part of humanity's accepted belief system. Thus, it is predictable that therapeutic claims and benefits explicitly declared or made implicitly in health-related promotions would likely be accepted as true, without question. Overarchingly, it seems clear that health-related advertising relies on ingrained consumer belief in the transformational power of a curative and/ or preventative medicine. While advertisement truth value is not tested here, its relevance is etched in the conceptual masonry of belief systems evident in advertisement composition.

Patent medicines, an English invention, are by definition proprietary medications manufactured under a patent (called 'Letters Patent') and available for purchase direct from a vendor without prescription. The 'patent' morpheme in the noun compound (given its statutory meaning) suggests legal endorsement, and two positive values are realisable from the generic label:

- it is lawfully manufactured (and thus trustworthy)
- it will transform illness to wellness.

Self-administered patent medicines were the premier health solution of the 1700s–1800s. The first patent for a compound medicine was issued in 1711: in the next 90 years, over 200 purported remedies flourished in England, and counterfeits dominated the supply in that century – in this era, only some 75 so-called patent medicines had been granted approval for manufacture (Griffenhagen & Young [1939] 2009).

The term 'patent medicine' is predated by its semantic partner 'nostrum', which had entered the English language by 1602 (oed.com), and this date marks 'nostrum' as current in the 1500s.¹²² The apparent difference between the patent medicine and the nostrum is that the latter as remedy is marked disapprovingly as 'esp. one prepared by the person recommending it'

¹²² In the time that the Middle Ages segued into the Reformation period (dated 1600s–1700s).

(oed.com). By inference then, the self-promoting patent-medicine-maker was, comparatively, afforded some credence and socially elevated. This could explain the eventual exit of ‘nostrum’ from usage, and the parallel continuing swell of patent-medicine manufacturing into the 1900s. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that today both the nostrum and the patent medicine bear the yoke of quackery and profiteering. In the newspapers of Australia, patent-medicine advertising into the 1890s is seen to employ the term ‘nostrum’ – but only to deny association with it, as in ‘WOLFE’S SCHNAPPS is no nostrum’:¹²³

WOLFE’S SCHNAPPS

Is no nostrum, but a genuine source of
strength and a means of fortifying the system
against oncoming disease

The Argus, 1 April 1893, p. 9.

It should be noted that the term ‘medicine’, when it entered the English language in the 1300s, held also the meaning ‘a drug used for other than remedial purpose’ (as a cosmetic, poison, love potion, and so on):

medicine, *n.*

†c. A drug used for other than remedial purposes, as
a cosmetic, poison, potion, philtre, etc. Also: the
philosopher’s stone, the elixir.

This now-obsolete definition is relevant to the investigation at hand within the thesis timeframe: the senses of medicine as a cosmetic, as poison, and as elixir are considered in the following discussion.

Perhaps surprisingly, ‘poison’ between the 1400s and the 1800s also had the positive meaning of ‘A drink prepared for a special purpose; a medicinal draught’¹²⁴ (oed.com) – so, ‘poison’ as medicine (in its usage timeframe) was meaningful in a positive sense. This is semantically interesting, given that patent medicines have been known to contain potentially harmful ingredients (like opium), and that this has been a factor in their repudiation – particularly in anachronistic evaluation: that is, where evaluation of historical data is executed by applying a standard contemporary to the at-work analyst, within their set of experiences. The current work conducts its language analysis within the semantic and pragmatic realms faithful to the publication timeframe of the dataset – within the scope of semantic meanings and pragmatic experiences applicable in their usage era.

¹²³ Elsewhere ‘Wolfe’s Schnapps’ is seen advertised as ‘A Cure For Kidney and Bladder Troubles’, *The Bulletin*, 12 November 1903, p. 7.

¹²⁴ Today, a vestige of the positive sense is evident in figurative usage as ‘What’s your poison’ – meaning ‘What would you like to drink’.

Returning to the idea of poison as medicine, the medical literature in toxicology today shows that poisons have a lineage to medieval therapeutic treatments, and that at least one medical doctor¹²⁵ argued that ‘all poisons must also be considered medicines’ (Gibbs 2019, p. 107), acknowledging the value of toxins in medical therapy. In the context of treating illnesses caused by poisoning, the toxic and potentially life-endangering substances conventionally used in medical laboratory preparations were ‘animal venoms’ and ‘dangerous plant and mineral substances’ (Gibbs 2019, p. 109). The dataset at hand reveals that marketplace curatives of the 1800s–1950s, in line with therapeutic treatments of old, contained potentially harmful substances – like alcohol, arsenic, mercury and opiates (Gibbs 2019; Porter 2000).

On the subject of potentially injurious patent medicines, it is reasonable to surmise that (in the absence of pharmaceutical regulation) manufacturers added ingredients in ad hoc quantities at will – thus rendering some offerings noxious or fatal (Martyr 2002; Porter 1986); nevertheless, there is inadequate evidence to semantically tag ‘patent medicine’ (or ‘nostrum’) with the often-implied attribute of ‘likely to cause injury’. That said, public awareness of possible adverse outcomes can be extrapolated from the advertisement content of the 1850s onwards, and particularly the 1890s and early 1900s: these decades are witness to exhortations of authenticity and detailed warnings against medical tricksters.

Frequently, authenticity was asserted by combining persuasive devices to render the product attractive and memorable. These included testimonials, distinctive packaging, authoritative seals and stamps, unique design of bottle for a particular remedy, denials of harmful ingredients, and warnings of fake medicines and ineffective imitations. These added value to and constituted the brand identity of the patent medicine. In this way, the term ‘patent medicine’ was like a generic brand name that held prestigious equity in the marketplace of curatives: this notion is validated by the vast medley of pharmacopeia claiming to be an authentic remedy ratified by the ‘Letters Patent’.

5.4.2 Authenticity and warnings against imitations

The three artefacts below are examples of advertiser attempts to communicate authenticity:

- Holloway’s Pills and Ointment, 1850
- Herr Rassmussen’s ‘No Mercury’ treatment, 1905
- Wilkinson’s: A Safe and Certain Remedy for Worms in Children, 1898.

¹²⁵ Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1240–1311), who studied medicine in Montpellier.

Holloway's Pills and Ointment, 1850

This Holloway's promotion (Figure 5.22) is designed to foreground lawful manufacture and market prestige, and to highlight efficacious reliability. This example is from a Melbourne publication; but is seen published elsewhere with utilitarian details and names to reflect locality (of geographical relevance), which is a marketing device. The product name HOLLOWAY'S PILLS AND OINTMENT is the main heading, followed by the sub-head *PREVENTION OF FRAUD*. The lengthy narrative is written in first-person reporting style, and is set in a continuous strip that fills half a column depth of the newspaper page. In its linguistic construction, the first third is a running text (composed in complete sentences) – but, in the layout, is strategically broken into blocks to highlight three key phrases: these are BRITISH STAMPS BILL, A FELONY, and A WATERMARK. The following blocks highlight:

- the name of the distributing agent CHEGIN & MOORE, and their address 'Stationers, Collins street'
- a testimonial dated 'August 7, 1850', where the writer is identified as MARGARET JONES from 'Bacchus March'
- 34 ailments that Holloway's will remedy.

To summarise the lengthy Holloway's message (Figure 5.22), suffice to say that 'the Right Honorable Earl Grey, her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies' has instructed the 'Local Government' to protect the locals from 'counterfeiting of Holloway's Medicines'. To fulfil this instruction, it is claimed 'his Excellency the Governor has caused the BRITISH STAMPS BILL¹²⁶ to be introduced into [and approved by] the Legislative Council'. Subsequently, the 'valuable medicaments' now bear the authoritative stamp of the English crown. Given that the 'medicaments' are protected by the highest authority, it shall be a FELONY to produce an imitation. The advertiser promotion alerts the addressee to other precautions undertaken by 'Professor Holloway' to protect his Pills and Ointment: the wrappings and pamphlet are uniquely watermarked with the words HOLLOWAY'S PILLS AND OINTMENT on every page.

¹²⁶ The *Stamp Act 1675* was introduced to collect revenue from the colonies (not in protection of patent medicines). A physical stamp (being a sign that duty had been paid) on a product suggested royal approval – and it was exploited as such by manufacturers (see Porter 1986).

The persuasive device of authenticity is located in the professed link between the consumable and the English crown – and, inferentially,¹²⁷ its stamp duty law. The claim of a ‘felony’ prosecution against counterfeiters equates the event of such a transgression with serious crime (such as murder, rape, robbery). This threat is for the attention of would-be fraudsters, to thwart their product-imitation schemes; additionally, the warning (allegedly underpinned by the legal justice system) suggests product worthiness to the consumer. The proposition put forward is ‘Holloway’s Pills and Ointment are so eminent among medicines as to be approved and protected by the Crown and its highest authorities’.

Figure 5.22 Holloways-Pills-1850. Source: *The Argus*, 26 Sept 1850, p. 1.

<i>Holloway's Pills and Ointment, 1850</i>	<i>cont. from prev. column</i>	<i>cont. from prev. column</i>	<i>cont. from prev. column</i>
<p>HOLLOWAY'S PILLS & OINTMENT. PREVENTION OF FRAUD.</p> <p>THE Undersigned have the sincerest pleasure in being able to inform the public of Victoria, that the Right Honourable Earl Grey, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies has been pleased, at the instance of Professor Holloway, to instruct the Local Government of this colony to take measures for protecting the sale of Holloway's Medicines: that in conformity with such law enacted, His Excellency the Governor has caused the</p> <p>BRITISH STAMPS BILL</p> <p>to be introduced into the Legislative Council, and the numerous "counterfeit" and "imitation" medicines sold in the colony of the Imperial Government.</p> <p>Under the provisions of this law it will in future be</p> <p>A FELONY</p> <p>but in order to make "unquestionably sure,"</p>	<p>A FELONY</p> <p>but in order to make "unquestionably sure,"</p> <p>Mr Holloway has, at considerable expense, caused the "Pamphlet of Directions" that is wrapped round his medicines of the first and second sizes to be printed on paper, bearing, in</p> <p>A WATER MARK</p> <p>on every leaf, the words "Holloway's Pills and Ointment" upon which, it is believed, cannot possibly be imitated in this colony.</p> <p>Of these Medicines that put up, the undersigned have just received large consignments and they beg to announce that they are in now in the market; they therefore take this opportunity of expressing their hopes that the people of Victoria will appreciate the efforts of the Imperial and Local Governments, to protect them from the deleterious effects of Counterfeit Trade, and that they will reward the endeavours of Professor Holloway to give them the Genuine Medicine, by</p> <p>Purchasing only of the Agents, CHILD & NOLAN, BUTCHERS, Collins street,</p>	<p>RYBOVITZ'S OINTMENT.</p> <p>any of the following Diseases—</p> <p>Ague Asthma Bilious Complaints Bloody Stools Bowel Complaints Colic Constipation Consumption Debility Dropsy Dysentery Erysipelas Female Irregularities Fever of all kinds Fistula Gout Head-aches Indigestion</p>	<p>MARKABLE CURES.</p> <p>Time should not be lost in taking this remedy for any of the following Diseases—</p> <p>Inflammation Jaundice Liver Complaints Lumbago Piles Rheumatism Retention of Urine Rue Throat Scrofula, or King's Evil Sore and Swollen Secondary Symptoms The Discharge Tumors Ulcers Venereal Affections Wounds of all kinds Weakness, from what ever cause, &c. &c.</p>

Herr Rassmussen: 'No Mercury' treatment, 1905; and Wilkinson's: A Safe and Certain Remedy for Worms in Children, 1898

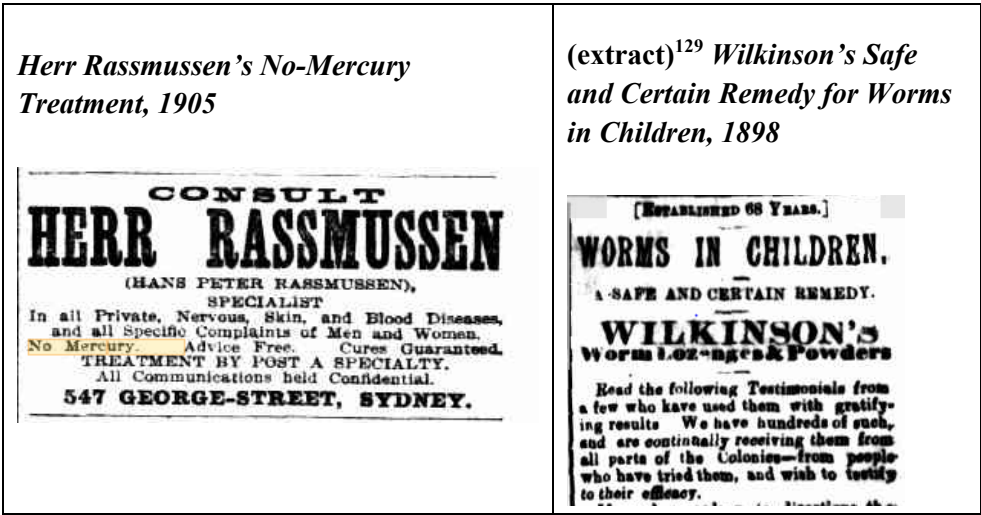
The idea of ‘medical authenticity’ assumptively embeds notions of commitment to prioritise wellbeing of the patient, and prudent use of health-safe ingredients in the preparation of remedies. These notions are part of the medical belief system. While a medicine’s healing effects may not surface at once (and be unverifiable even in the long term), patient fatality and adverse reactions may occur immediately – and damages

¹²⁷ Inferential – given that the Bill is named, and not the *Stamp Act* itself. Noting that contextually the inference is misleading, as the consumer is not told that the legislation is for revenue collection.

medical trust, upon which the health-related industry depends. The reality of potentially harmful toxins in marketplace medicines became known to the general population sometime in the 1800s: this is inferable from advertisement and other content late in that century (as seen in the research dataset).

Some patent-medicine manufacturers include denials of toxic ingredients, seemingly in heed of consumer awareness of adverse reactions (to ingredients like arsenic, mercury and opiates). Advertiser denial is evident in the phrase ‘No Mercury’, as seen in Figure 5.23 (at left): this is an offer by HERR RASSMUSSEN¹²⁸ to remedy ‘Nervous, Skin, and Blood Diseases, and all Specific Complaints of Men and Women’. Another example is WILKINSON’S, which promotes A SAFE AND CERTAIN REMEDY to rid WORMS IN CHILDREN (Figure 5.23, at right): this artefact is from 1898, and is the earliest in the dataset to apply ‘safe’ in collocation with ‘remedy’. The collocation implies (and implicitly acknowledges) that some remedies are unsafe; and linguistically signals that potential unsafeness of marketplace medications was known by 1898.

Figure 5.23 Herr-Rassmussen’s-NoMercury-Treatment-1905, Evening Star, 14 March 1905, p. 5 (left); and (right) Wilkinson’s-Safe-Certain-Remedy-1898, Tasmanian News, 29 October 1898, p. 4.



In the 1920s–1930s, adjective–noun collocations suggesting efficacious reliability appear as advertisement headings in phrases like ‘A Sure and Safe Remedy’, ‘What Is a Safe Remedy?’, and ‘A Safe and Valuable Remedy’. The first consumer allusion (in the dataset) to unsafe remedies is seen in an 1899

¹²⁸ Herr Rassmussen offers two types of pills, advertised as ‘Alfaline BLOOD and NERVE Remedies’: the NERVE one also services ‘skin diseases’ (as evident in the dataset).

¹²⁹ Testimonials have been excised.

letter from ‘Altruistic’ to ‘the Editor’, printed in at least two South Australian journals. The letter from ‘Altruistic’, entitled A SAFE REMEDY FOR INFLUENZA, recommends a Turkish bath to ward off influenza – the writer having on ‘three occasions nipped it in the bud’. Seemingly, ‘Altruistic’ harbours wariness of unsafe remedies, at least those for respiratory ailments.

Commonly, ‘unsafe’ remedies are linked with ‘quacks’, manufacture of useless or harmful preparations, and/ or deception; and the term ‘quack’ suggests lack of medical qualification and practising without a licence. However, from the linguistic and pragmatic analysis of the thesis dataset, and scholarly reporting (Martyr 2002; Porter 2000), two points emerge:

- derogatory attributes associated historically with ‘quacks’ manifest as a socio-economic construct
- the accepted definition of ‘quack’ is subject to semantic fissure (as explained below).

The job titles (labelling) of health workers in colonial Australia were replicated from those in England: this included the ‘accoucheur’ (‘midwife’), ‘apothecary’, ‘chemist’ and ‘doctor’ – and any of these may have created, administered and promoted remedies. Marketplace medicines, many without the authority of a patent, were manufactured and sold both by practitioners with medical degrees (known as ‘the faculty’, and also as ‘regular doctors’), and by those without qualification. The ‘regulars’ considered all others to be illegitimate purveyors of therapy (Martyr 2002; Porter 1986). However, medical degrees were available for purchase from some medical institutions (Griffenhagen & Young [1939] 2009; Porter 1986) – and from other sources, such as the widow of a doctor (Phillips 1978).

By the mid-1850s, the orthodox medical community had made known their repudiation of ‘quack’ medicines (Martyr 2002; Phillips 1978; Porter 1986).¹³⁰ In colonial Australia, by 1830, reproof of the ‘quack’ is evident in the press. One writer expressed concern in the following words:

Letter to the Editor (extract), 1838

... that quacks should be allowed with impunity to puff themselves off as gentlemen of the ‘faculty,’ excites my astonishment — and I tremble at the consequences which may result from their ignorance of medicine and want of anatomical skill ...

The Australian, 13 March 1838, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Nevertheless, popularity of marketplace preparations persisted.

It should be noted, however, that the remonstrances against ‘quacks’ are evaluated by some historians as a strategy to protect the elitism of the ‘regulars’ (Martyr 2002) – a collective move that mirrored ‘superficial polarities’ (Porter 1986, p. 22). In this view, the name-calling and reproofs upon the ‘non-regular’ doctors was in effect a phenomenon similar to the conduct of health professionals in colonial America (discussed earlier in 4.2.3) – who formed professional societies, and used formal education as a social weapon to repudiate those without formal education, and to approbate themselves, thus protecting their exclusive socio-economic rank (Heath 1979).

By the early 1800s in colonial Australia, a boundary had been drawn between the ‘official quack doctors’ and the ‘regularly-educated surgeon’, as evident in the figurative language seen in the following 1930 extract. This snippet is taken from a pleonastic editorial in *The Sydney Monitor* – reproduced from a publication of the Swan River region (in Western Australia). Contextually, the editorial is a defence to address criticism from agriculturalists against a position expressed by the editors, whose defence rationalisation is that stringent measures must be taken (as the ‘maxim’) to counteract the economic problems experienced by local graziers:

Editorial (extract) from Swan River region, 1830

...let our graziers summon fortitude enough to consent to the practice of this maxim, and eventually they may get out of their difficulties. They wish to put themselves under the care of official quack doctors; we, on the contrary, are the skilful regularly-educated surgeon, who, in lieu of covering the gangrene with salve, propose at once the knife and the silver probe. The patient is sickly and nervous, and shrinks from the sight ...

Reproduced in *The Sydney Monitor*, 2 June 1830, p. 2.

To positively defend their opinion on economic problem-solving, the writers liken their stance with the idea of skilful amputation by the ‘regularly-educated surgeon’ who acts to arrest the spread of ‘gangrene’ (a disease that kills soft tissue) by effective intervention of ‘the knife’. The writers reprove the graziers as lacking the ‘fortitude’ necessary for them ‘to get out of their difficulty’ – and this alleged ineffectuality is likened to the superficial treatment of ‘official quack doctors’ who choose to treat gangrene with ‘salve’ (topical ointment). The use of ‘regularly-educated surgeon’ contrasts with the pejorative ‘official quack doctors’ to reflect that these senses were known to readers in the early 1800s.

As for ‘official quack’, this linguistic curiosity points to an ‘unofficial quack’, and presents a semantic fissure in the generally accepted sense of ‘quack’ (that is, as lacking medical qualification and practising without a licence).

Seemingly, the ‘official quack’ is the one with the licence to practise: Porter (1986, p. 20) reports that ‘much to the faculty’s fury’ in Georgian England – a period dated at 1714 to the 1830s – ‘foreign mountebanks could obtain royal licences to practise in England’. Possibly, some ‘royal licences’ found their way to colonial Australia, and set themselves apart from the self-declared ‘unofficial’ practitioner – but, evidently, both licenced ‘official quacks’ and ‘unofficial’ ones were barred from the ‘faculty’ elite circle of ‘regular doctors’.

Returning to the appearance of ‘safe remedy’ in usage, this implies unsafe ones; and it also raises the question of what words, phrases and concepts are unique to the greater family of patent-medicine language. Thus far, the dataset shows the following as characteristic in patent-medicine promotions.

- **Proper names, and borrowings from Greek and Latin, to create product names**

The use of proper names to create brand was common, as in ‘Holloway’s Pills’. Borrowings from Greek and Latin were shown in Investigative Study Three that explored H&B consumables from 1940; and is evident also in the 1899 ‘Cura Vitae’ (in 4.2.6), where ‘vitae’ means ‘life’ or, contextually, suggests ‘life-giving’.

- **A family of nouns that appear in product names and/ or descriptions**

The family members include ‘aperient’, ‘balsam’, ‘carminative’, ‘cordial’, ‘elixir’, ‘liqueur’, ‘opodeldoc’, ‘pectoral’, ‘syrup’, ‘tincture’, and ‘tonic’. Suffice to say that these hold positive meanings that associate with energy- or life-giving, healing, pain relief, and sickness prevention. These are contextually pointed out in the discussion here

- **References to organic and inorganic substances**

These may be plant-derived (usually referred to as ‘herbal’); minerals (like potassium chloride, also called potash), and metals (like mercury).

While gold is not mentioned as an ingredient of curatives, the idea of it is realisable in the prolific use of ‘elixir’ in patent-medicine advertisements. In alchemic preparations, ‘drinkable gold’ as remedy ‘was a principle related to

the “Great Elixir”,¹³¹ the magistery’; and inclusion of certain metals (like gold and silver) in curatives was accepted practice (Rossi et al. p. 389). As seen in the definition given earlier, ‘medicine’ had the sense also of ‘elixir’: an alchemic preparation believed capable to prolong life. This sense (like the ‘poison’ sense) was current in usage from the 1300s into beyond the 1650s. Given that ‘elixir’ is often seen in patent-medicine advertisements, and that it appears in noun compounds at least through to the late 1950s,¹³² its provenance deserves investigation.

5.4.3 The elixir: transformation, healing, longevity

The elixir preparation (variously a liquid or powder) was a central preoccupation of alchemic philosophy in Europe. From medieval times into the 1800s, ‘elixir’ was meaningful (but not proven) as a substance capable of positive transformation, healing and longevity – and, thus, it has a pragmatic association with emotional and spiritual attributes like faith, hope and trust. In this way, ‘elixir’ as morpheme is promotionally useful for consumables latent with unverifiable benefits (that is, those reliant on trust and reputation), such as patent medicines. Unsurprisingly then, ‘elixir’ is often seen on medicine labels and promotions into the 1900s. In the dataset, the elixir is variously realisable as ‘balsam of life’, ‘cordial’, ‘tonic’, ‘liqueur’ and ‘syrup’: these words are observed to contextually attach the positive meanings of ‘elixir’.

The idea of the elixir is semantically complex, having developed a number of senses over the centuries – including in chemistry and pharmacology. In its alchemic origin, it was a substance capable to chemically transform base metal to gold: this association with transformational power and gold endures in current usage. In patent-medicine advertising, ‘elixir’ manifested primarily to communicate ‘healing power’. It commonly appeared in noun compounds to mean ‘curative’ as in, for example, ‘Daffy’s elixir’ (a putative universal cure) and ‘paregoric elixir’ (a pain reliever or stomach soother, usually containing opium). In the 1940s, ‘elixir’ sustained its curative sense – as in ‘anti-asthmatic elixir’ and ‘cough elixir’; but its association with proper names, and with Latin and Greek, mostly was lost.

In the 1940s, ‘elixir’ frequently appears in non-medical advertising in the sense of ‘positive transformation’ – as for example in ‘hair elixir’:¹³³ this use is in apposition to the long-standing exclusive sense of ‘curative’. From the 1950s,

¹³¹ Also called ‘philosopher’s stone’

¹³² Such as the Nyal range of 13 ‘Family Medicines’: four were ‘elixirs’ (including one for babies and one for children), seen in *The Central Queensland Herald*, 7 June 1956, p. 9.

¹³³ The hair elixir, with promise of transformation (healthy regrowth), is seen in the 1890s, for example ‘Schlaikier’s Celebrated Scandinavian Hair Elixir for Weak and Decayed Hair’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1898, p. 7.

‘elixir’ is popular in promotions of hair rejuvenation, shampoo and like products – arguably indicating that the curative attribute of ‘elixir’ had weakened in favour of the transformational attribute. The weakened transformational sense can be inferred from the promotional language of beautification products today. This yields two observations. First, it suggests a conceptual melding of health with beautification in modern advertising strategy. Second, it may explain the relative infrequency of ‘elixir’ in medical advertising today: nevertheless, its original connection with healing power and longevity persists as assumed knowledge (even if only as a myth).

5.4.4 The role of assumed knowledge and other enduring devices in medical advertising language

Assumed knowledge, as a part of human belief systems, is a premier advertiser tool. An unresolved polemic evident in the scholarship of medical history points to the role of human belief systems in securing the patent-medicine market. The argument stems from a contradiction: despite the repudiation of ‘quack’ medicines – and increasing knowledge in bio-medicine and disease pathology – the plethora of unverifiable remedies continued to flourish. There are at least three scholarly approaches in answer to the conundrum:

- A showcase of examples to illustrate how profiteering scoundrels and medical imposters have preyed upon and deceived vulnerable masses by way of ‘fake’ (unproven) medicines: these tricksters exploited the lack of efficacious treatments
- An historically motivated contention that the Christian Church played a hand (see Rossi et al. 1994)
- A revisionist approach that refutes the accepted denotations and connotations of ‘quack’, and views the landscape of unproven remedies as the foundation of what is today called ‘alternative medicine’ (Martyr 2002; Porter 1986).

The following discussion pursues the latter two approaches to discover how human belief systems may have influenced patent-medicine advertising, and to search for linguistic indicators that suggest how the two realms of orthodox (regular) and unorthodox (non-regular) therapies came to share a similar medical register within current labels like ‘alternative medicine’ and ‘complementary medicine’.

Alchemic forays into healing solutions were motivated by faith in human ability to deliver longevity via a sovereign remedy (Rossi et al. 1994), and this experimental scenario included the idea of ‘drinkable gold’ (as mentioned above). The belief system of old is traceable to early Christian Europe where

therapeutic practice was conceptually influenced by a mix of religion, folk remedies and alchemy melded with discoveries from the classical and Arab worlds of medicine and pharmacy:

... the Christian Church taught a doctrine of unquestioning faith ... and most ordinary people depended on the healing power of faith, religious relics and traditional folk medicine.

Rossi et al. 1994, p. 386.

Advertiser references to the Christian Church, faith as healer and ‘Providence of the Almighty’ appear in some medical promotions of the 1700s (see Figure 5.24 Elixir-Salutis-1678 overleaf), and in health-related essays and lectures of that time (Griffenhagen & Young [1939] 2009). Furdell (2002, p. 139) points out that claims of efficacy were in instances flanked with advertiser cautionary advice that their curative’s healing power hinged on ‘divine approval’ – this advice Furdell calls an ‘escape clause’. The ‘escape clause’ idea – which suggests both culpable intent to evade responsibility and the prerequisite of consumer devotion (to theological belief and catechism) – may be a whimsy, but it is worth evaluating as a possible advertiser persuasive device.

With respect to efficacy as dependent on the benevolence of a deity, this is not seen in the 1800s–1950s thesis dataset: the spiritual force of the Christian Church was not a device of Australian advertisement content. However, in a parallel vein, there can be seen implicit and/or explicit statement of user obligations as a condition of health recovery. This was expressed by way of specifying the number of treatments or boxes of pills that must be consumed, and also expressed in the number of consecutive months that the treatment must be undertaken (as shown in Figure 5.31 Dr-Williams-Pink-Pills-for-Pale-People-1897). These specifications are a pitch to increase sales (rather than an ‘escape clause’), but also function to relieve the advertiser of responsibility in instances where healing fails to show.

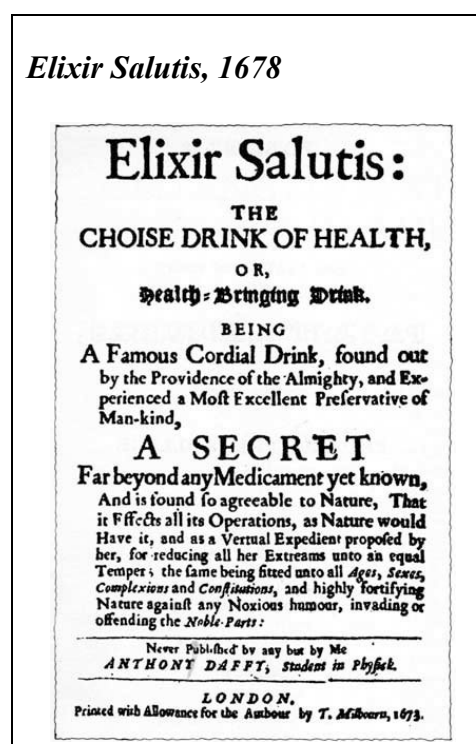
It should be noted that the infrastructure of Elixir-Salutis-1678 (Figure 5.24) is functionally similar to later health-related advertisements: it contains devices that endure into the 1900s, and its elemental persuasive and design features are evident today. On the persuasive level, Elixir-Salutis-1678 was claimed to produce desirable effects in service of the entire human population. The attributes of the purported sovereign remedy were ‘Far beyond any Medicament yet known’. It was:

- ‘the chois drink of health’
- ‘famous’, ‘moft excellent’ and ‘highly fortifying’
- ‘agreeable to nature ... as Nature would have it’

- ‘fitted unto all Ages, Sexes, Complexions and Constitutions’
- efficacious in service of all the human-body systems, working against ‘any Noxious humour, invading or offending the Noble Parts’.

Further, design-wise, Elixir-Salutis-1678 is typographically sophisticated in layout and font variation. The design employs at least two font families, and these are exploited as would the modern designer to attract attention and afford readability – that is, the pillars of Memorability, Attention Value, Readability and Selling Power are evident. The word SECRET is set in full capitals, and centred, in a font size of approximately 1 point under that of the name ‘Elixir Salutis’. Significantly, the elixir recipe is ‘A SECRET’: reportedly, people of this time were undeterred by – and ostensibly even drawn to – concoctions prepared in secret, using undisclosed ingredients (Martyr 2002; Phillips 1978; Porter 1986). The declaration of a ‘secret recipe’, then, is a persuasive device.

Figure 5.24 Elixir-Salutis-1678. Source: Griffenhagen & Young ([1935] 2009), p. 6.



Despite increasing knowledge of the complexities of human body systems and disease pathology, the notion of a cure-all persisted: at least one brand name included ‘heal-all’ in its noun cluster, namely REDFORD’S AUSTRALIAN HEAL-ALL.¹³⁴ The dataset shows a significant number of purely herbal cure-all

¹³⁴ The bottle (physical) collectible artefact is advertised for sale at Chemist Bottles Australia online: it is undated and identified as sourced from ‘J.H. Hobbs NSW’, <http://chemistbottlesaustralia.com/chemist-lids-and-chemist-bottles.php>

offerings (often prepared in secret, such as the versatile ‘Vitadatio’ from Tasmania, discussed below). The marketing and sales of elixir-like remedies continued alongside the rational unlikelihood of one medicine being independently capable to cure all ailments. This suggests that trust in unproven medicines is part of the human belief system, and if so then proof of efficacy and evidence of the remedy’s claimed benefits is rendered unnecessary.

Medical-marketing evaluations of the 1700s–1800s commonly refer to this era as ‘the golden age of quackery’; and tend to regard patent-medicine claims as statements falsely made and lacking evidence – that is, as violations of Grice’s Maxim of Quality. However, seemingly, in that era the idea that a single preparation able to heal multiple conditions contained truth value in the minds of consumers; and, further, it can be seen that in ‘the golden age of quackery’ it was not a prerequisite to substantiate claims made in medical advertising. It is reasonable then to surmise that contemporary realities of belief systems and social mores likely assisted the patent-medicine industry to thrive for centuries (rather than simply the force of deceptive practices).

Promotions of elixir cures, and similar all-rounder remedies, survived beyond the 1650s and into the 1900s. Such curatives were manufactured also by qualified medical practitioners (such as ‘Ayers Sarsaparilla’ and ‘Dr L.L. Smith’s Vegetable Pills’ mentioned in 4.2.6): these, like the miscellany of other marketplace medicines, were unproven and self-promoted (Martyr 2002; Phillips 1978; Porter 1986). Some labels (like ‘Holloway’s’) attracted longstanding consumer loyalty and good reputation; and some are recognised for their marketing strategy even in the 1600s (Burrige 2018; Porter 1986; Phillips 1978). Nevertheless, alongside shrewd marketing, there stands brand loyalty and consumer trust as necessary for brand survival (Jim Aitchison 2012; Godin 2009).

Rossi et al. (1994) make a contention that ostensibly links the Christian Church with the persevering trust in non-evidence-based medicines. The writers contend that the fall of the Roman empire was an event that stymied higher education and learning. The fall coincided with a fading of knowledge gained during the era of the ‘classical and Arabic worlds’:

The Germanic tribes that dominated western Europe after the collapse of the western Roman Empire added little to the medicine and pharmacy that the classical and Arabic worlds had developed. Christianized Europe fell back on the healing power of faith, religious relics and traditional folk medicine.

Rossi et al 1994 p. 386.

The ‘medicine and pharmacy that the classical and Arabic worlds had developed’ is the landscape from which emerged the use of metals in healing, and the elixir and ‘drinkable gold’. Perhaps surprisingly, the use of gold in the chemical composition of therapeutic treatment shows itself in modern medicine. The Melbourne *Age* newspaper in an article of 1935, reported that the Royal Waterloo Hospital in London was treating rheumatism in adults with a series of five injections of gold ‘in dissolved form’:

Gold as Medicine, 1935

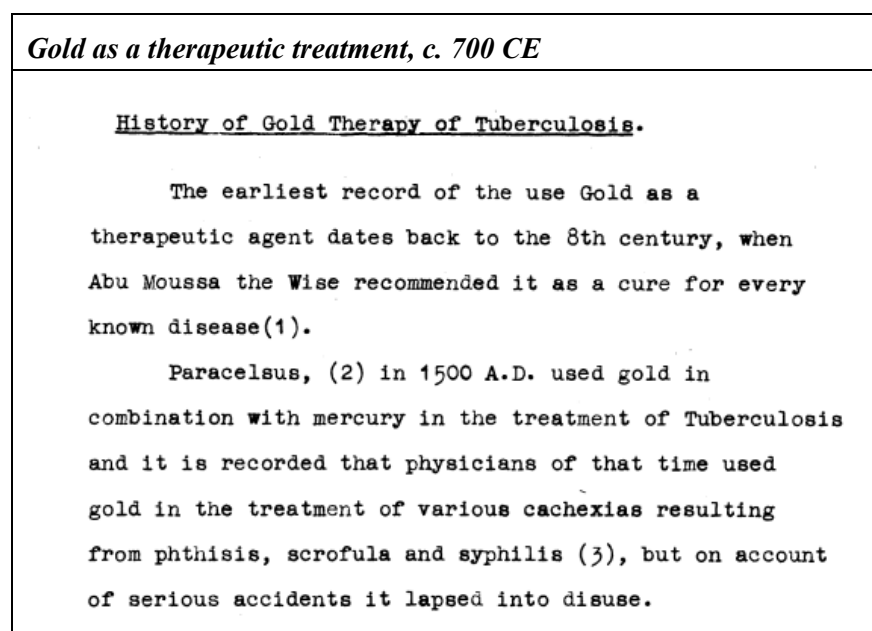
Royal Waterloo Hospital in London.
One of the specialist physicians, in a report to the hospital committee, states that as a result of its use many patients who were completely crippled are now walking about without any disability. The treatment, which was practically unknown in this country before last year consists of giving a patient small injections of gold at intervals of five days. It is, of course, in dissolved form.

‘Gold as medicine: curing of rheumatism’, *The Age*, 19 March 1935, p. 4.

This 1935 report of gold in the treatment of rheumatism at Royal Waterloo Hospital is supported by scientific research articles that evidence gold as an ingredient in drug composition from the 1920s. The inorganic drug Sanocrysin (Sodium aurothiosulfate) in treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis (following clinical trials) is reported by Mackenzie (1929) and Gabriel (2013). Investigation into the history of gold as medicine shows its lineage to the eighth century; and its use in 1500 with mercury in treatment of tuberculosis: in that time, it was used also in treatment of phthisis (a wasting disease of the lungs), scrofula (a disease of the lymphatic glands)¹³⁵ and syphilis (Mackenzie 1929, p. 4, see Figure 5.25 Gold as therapy). Thus, with respect to truth value of notions associated with ‘elixir’ and ‘drinkable gold’, and the kinds of wide-ranging curative claims made by the manufacturers of patent medicines, it cannot be said that truth value was absent.

¹³⁵ Also called ‘King’s Evil’

Figure 5.25 Gold as therapy. Source: Mackenzie 1929, p. 4.



5.4.5 The first patent medicines in the colony

Griffenhagen and Young ([1935] 2009) in their historical overview traced the origins of the American patent medicine boom to 1600s England. They report on an American 12-page pamphlet of 1824 that released British recipes for healing remedies into the public domain. The 1824 pamphlet, entitled 'Formulae for the preparation of eight patent medicines', was published by the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.¹³⁶ It provided formulae for eight preparations, namely Hooper's Female Pills, Anderson's Scots Pills, Bateman's Pectoral Drops, Godfrey's Cordial, Dalby's Carminative, Turlington's Balsam of Life, Steer's Opodeldoc, and British Oil (Griffenhagen & Young ([1935] 2009).

At least four of these eight pioneer creations – Dalby's Carminative (a flatulence remedy), Hooper's Female Pills, Turlington's Balsam of Life, and Anderson's Scots Pills (from the 1630s, and thus the oldest of the set) – were well advertised in early colonial Australia. An example is shown in Figure 5.26 Sale-of-Patent-Medicines-1823. In this artefact can be seen 'Epsom Salts', which is among the first remedies available to settlers, and a long-term market survivor. Also seen are metal-, mineral- and plant-based substances – variously signalled as 'powdered', 'tincture', 'calomel' (a mercury-based compound), 'salts', 'essence', 'pills' and 'drops'. Names of botanicals are evident – namely 'rhubarb' (which has laxative power), 'lavender', 'peppermint' and 'lemons'.

¹³⁶ The College was the first professional pharmaceutical organization established in America (founded in 1821): this publication was its first of importance (Griffenhagen & Young ([1939] 2009).

Figure 5.26 *Sale-of-Patent-Medicines-1823, The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 30 October 1823, p. 3.*

Sale of patent medicines, 1823	Transcription
<p><i>Dalby's Carminative, Anderson's Scot's Pills, Dr Hooper's Pills, Turlington's Balsam of Life – 1823</i></p> <p>ATKINSON'S COMMISSION ROOMS. — Arrived per the Mariner, Captain Herbert, and now Open for SALE, a lot of very superior Westphalia hams; two casks, containing cart harness complete of superior web; patent medicines, consisting of pint bottles of Epsom salts; pint bottles of powdered Turkey rhubarb; half-pint bottles of tincture of rhubarb; calomel in bottles; Cheltenham salts; essence of peppermint; Dalby's carminative; superior lavender water; essences; Anderson's Scot's pills; Dr. Hooper's pills; Turlington's balsam of life; aromatic spirits of vinegar; essential salt of lemons; antibilious pills; Dutch drops, &c. &c.</p>	<p>ATKINSON'S COMMISSION ROOMS. — Arrived per the Mariner, Captain Herbert, and now Open for SALE, a lot of very superior Westphalia hams; two casks, containing cart harness complete of superior web; patent medicines, consisting of pint bottles of Epsom salts; pint bottles of powdered Turkey rhubarb; half-pint bottles of tincture of rhubarb; calomel in bottles; Cheltenham salts; essence of peppermint; Dalby's carminative; superior lavender water; essences; Anderson's Scot's pills; Dr. Hooper's pills; Turlington's balsam of life; aromatic spirits of vinegar; essential salt of lemons; antibilious pills; Dutch drops, &c. &c.</p>

The patent-medicine names and descriptors seen in Figure 5.26 *Sale-of-Patent-Medicines-1823* are typical of marketplace remedies. They associate with power to heal and/ or relieve pain; that is, they signal a curative. References to botanicals, words like ‘pills’, and phrases like ‘balsam of life’ (and even ‘aromatic spirits’) are at the heart of the language of marketplace remedies. It can be said that they are in the lexicon of the general population: the advertiser relies on terms like these to communicate ideas of energy- or life-giving, healing, pain relief, and sickness prevention. It can be surmised that new names or names uncommon in the marketplace lexicon – like ‘odonto’ mentioned earlier (in 4.2.3) – lack the familiar and positive associations of those commonly known, and are unlikely to be successful as long-term market survivors. This may explain why patent medicines tend to share a small cache of words and phrases; and also help explain the disappearance of some names (like ‘Rowland’s Odonto’).

The other four patent-medicine pioneers (of the set of eight) also are seen advertised from 1819 onward. ‘British Oil’ was ‘a form of crude petroleum’ for the ‘Cure of Rheumatick and Scorbutick’: there were two types, one with oil of turpentine, and the other flaxseed oil (Griffenhagen & Young [1935] 2009, p. 8). The name ‘British Oil’ rarely appears and is short-lived.¹³⁷ The ‘Steer’s Opodeldoc’ name, similarly, is relatively short-lived – though it appears through to 1844. This product is a liniment (topical pain reliever), of which there were many competitors. Drawing on the dataset, it seems that unique names, and names that lack direct semantic association with the idea of

¹³⁷ ‘British Oil’ appears in 1827 (in the *Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser*, 13 July 1827, p. 1), and did not show again in a search.

healing, have a shorter marketplace lifespan: that is, they lack high market value (and thus brand equity). This is consistent with Cook ([1992] 2001) and Myers (1994, 1998) who state that product names are latent with meanings, and in this way the name of a consumable may well determine its shelf success and longevity.

By the 1850s, numerous other patent medicines appeared modelled on the pioneer set-of-eight: these took forms variously as phrasal and noun compound structures. Each product name was usually distinguished by a distinctive manufacturer's name or other proper noun (as in 'Epsom¹³⁸ salts') and by a common noun that communicated the physical nature of the remedy (like 'cordial' or 'pills'). Occasionally a euphemism like 'Female Pills' appeared to avoid naming a sensitive matter. As a simplified overview of the common nouns that discriminated the physical forms, essentially these were functionally Informative – being pills, liquids, ointments, inhalants or solubles (like powders and salts) that associated with healing powers for one or more body systems.

With respect to the eight pioneer patent medicines named in the 1824 pamphlet from Philadelphia, the following is said in reflection of what the names mean, and their later counterparts.

- 'Pills' are self-explanatory, with at least one marketed by colour, namely 'Dr Williams Pink Pills for Pale People' (Figure 5.31). In 1905, 'tabules' is seen (as in 'Dr Sheldon's Digestive Tabules', Figure 5.30); similarly, 'capsule' is rare, appearing in 1906 for 'Santal Midy'¹³⁹ (from North America). As seen in Figure 1.2 Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851, 'lozenge' was among advertiser choices, but seemingly not popular. In 1906, the London 'Church Army' sponsored 'patent curo-preventative sweets' (to succeed their 'nerve tonic' to help alcoholism): this pill was called by the press as the 'Anti-Drunk Lozenge'¹⁴⁰ Then in 1945 a news article reported penicillin in 'lozenge form for throat complaints' from a laboratory in Adelaide.¹⁴¹ Thus, while 'lozenge' was apparently infrequent or rare in early medical advertising, it is evident as a pill in press reporting. In the 1400s to late 1800s period, 'lozenge' was variously current in architecture, cookery, mathematics and pill-making (as a concrete noun) to signal an object having the shape of a rhombus

¹³⁸ Named after the English town Epsom, where the salt-spring mineral waters were discovered in 1695, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

¹³⁹ *The Queenslander*, 3 November 1906, p. 14.

¹⁴⁰ 'Anti-Drunk Lozenge', *The Newsletter: an Australian Paper for Australian People*, 16 June 1906, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ 'Penicillin in Lozenge Form', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February 1945, p. 4.

(diamond): this cross-disciplinary usage may explain its absence in medical advertising. Semantically, ‘lozenge’ is not a native of the world of curatives.

- ‘Drops’ (as in ‘Pectoral Drops’), for respiratory relief, were originally a tincture prepared in alcohol solution with opium. But later could have been an inhalant or lozenges. Today, drops for chest complaints often are medicated tablets for oral slow-release action (as in ‘Vicks VapoCOOL Medicated Drops’): frequently, these are called ‘lozenges’ (as in ‘Codral Sore Throat Lozenges’) regardless of shape.
- ‘Balsam’ and ‘Cordial’ signal the elixir-like remedy capable to cure a range of organ systems: apparent synonyms are ‘liqueur’, ‘tonic’ and ‘syrup’. Today, ‘elixir’ is seen in some cough medicines (as in the Nyal range, Figure 5.32).
- ‘Carminative’ signals a bowel-assistant that clears flatulence. Other contemporary bowel helpers are ‘aperient’ and ‘liqueur’, and also ‘salts’ (signalling laxatives). Today, ‘liqueur’ is seen used for herbal remedies with laxative function (like ‘Harmony Liqueur’).
- ‘Steer’s Opodeldoc’ and ‘British Oil’ fall into the category of liniments, ointments, tinctures. Neither of these proper names appears to have survived as labels beyond the 1850s. Their demise may be due to the lack of semantic association with the notion of ‘healing’. Possibly ‘British Oil’ was also advertised as ‘oil of turpentine’ and ‘flaxseed oil’, which are the two product types of this label: this makes marketplace sense, as these oils have semantic association with healing.

5.4.6 Patent medicines: devices and promotional strategy

The non-linguistic and linguistic devices used in patent-medicine promotions to bring over the addressee have already been identified earlier. These are summarised below, with illustrative examples to highlight particular aspects relevant to the advertising of curatives. The earliest linguistic devices include rhetoric (repetition), register and syntax, and the testimonial.

5.4.6.1 Repetition

Repetition shows itself to be a popular advertiser choice across time. An example was given in ‘Coughs! Coughs! Coughs!’ in Anodyne-Expectorant-Cough-Lozenges-1851 (Figure 1.2). Another example from medical

advertising is ‘Leeches! Leeches! Leeches!’ in 1856, advising that supplies for leech therapy ‘can be had any number at a reasonable price’:

Leeches! Leeches! Leeches! The Melbourne Leech
Depot is removed to 89 Little Bourkestreet where
can be had any number at a reasonable price. A.
Curucli, Proprietor

‘Medical’, *The Argus*, 26 September 1856, p. 6.

Repetition is seen typically with the exclamation mark in its repetitive sequence, across commodity and service types – including advertising of beverages, as in ‘Tea! Tea! Tea!’; dental care, ‘Teeth!, Teeth! Teeth!’; footwear, ‘Boots! Boots! Boots!’; and livestock, ‘Sheep! Sheep! Sheep!’.

5.4.6.2 Register and syntax

Register and syntax, already discussed earlier, show themselves to be premier advertiser tools. The first shift in register is seen to be a drift through the 1800s from formal to informal; and then into the 1900s an adoption of conversation-like exchanges emerge to simulate the everyday world. The thesis dataset points to register choice as emotive when directed at women. Syntactic choices vary between phrases and full sentences, frequently combining a declarative or interrogative with an imperative. Largely, the declarative is favoured in present tense; but into the late 1890s and 1900s, the interrogative shows itself. In perusal of standout linguistic features, there is reason to speculate that interrogatives and imperatives are preferred when the target market is female.

5.4.6.3 Testimonials

The testimonial, explored earlier (in 4.1 and 4.2), is evident in some form at the earliest time. In addition to the examples already given, the dataset shows that the celebrated and the celebrity were important devices of medical advertising. Two examples are given: Figure 5.27 Dr-De-Jonghs-Light-Brown-Cod-Liver-Oil-1875; and Figure 5.28 The-Electro-Medical-Invigorator-1902-1903.

Dr De Jongh’s Light Brown Cod Liver Oil, 1875

The cod-liver-oil remedy of Dr De Jongh is claimed so remarkable that ‘sovereigns and governments’ – of six European countries, Turkey and Persia – honoured its creator ‘Dr De Jongh’ with knighthoods (two), medals, commanderships and other high honours. Further, the six testimonials, under the heading SELECT MEDICAL OPINIONS, are from

men of high distinction affiliated with the finest institutions of Great Britain, and possibly Germany. With such aristocratic and eminent connections declared, the creator of the remedy is likely marketing to the moneyed classes. The remedy itself is elixir-like, able to RAPIDLY cure many diseases. It may even be tasty, as THE PUREST and THE MOST PALATABLE.

Figure 5.27 Dr-De-Jonghs-Light-Brown-Cod-Liver- Oil-1875. Source: *The Argus*, 21 September 1875, p. 3.

Dr De Jongh's Light Brown Cod Liver Oil, 1875

DR. DE JONGH'S LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL.
Prescribed by the most eminent medical men as the safest, speediest, and most effectual remedy for CONSUMPTION and DISEASES of the CHEST and THROAT, GENERAL DEBILITY, INFANTILE WASTING, RICKETS, and ALL SCROFULOUS AFFECTIONS.
Proved by the only real test, universal medical experience during more than twenty-five years, to be, beyond all comparison,
**THE PUREST.
THE MOST PALATABLE.
THE MOST EASILY DIGESTED.
THE MOST RAPIDLY EFFICACIOUS.**
Dr. DE JONGH'S scientific researches into the nature and properties of Cod Liver Oil, and his successful efforts to supply the world with the purest and most efficacious kind, have been rewarded by numerous Sovereigns and Governments with the following distinguished honours:—
FRANCE.
The Knighthood of the Legion of Honour.
BELGIUM.
The Knighthood of the Order of Leopold, and the large Gold Medal of Merit presented by King Leopold I.
HOLLAND.
A Silver Medal, specially struck for the purpose, with honorary inscription, presented by King William II.
ITALY.
The dignity of Officer of the Order of St. Maurice and Lazarus.
SPAIN.
The Commandership, with the Star, of the Order of Isabella la Católica; and the Commandership of the Order of Charles III.
PORTUGAL.
The Commandership of the Order of Christ.
TURKEY.
The dignity of Officer of the Order of the Medjidé.
PERSIA.
The dignity of Grand Officer of the Order of the Sun and Lion.

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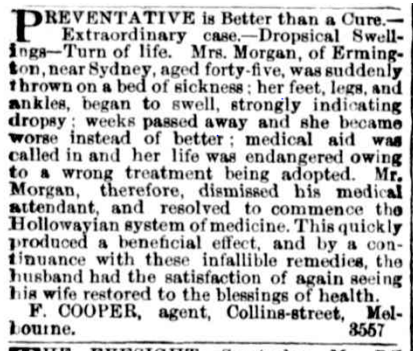
SELECT MEDICAL OPINIONS.
Sir G. DUNCAN GIBB, Bart., M.D.,
Physician to the Westminster Hospital.
"The experience of many years has abundantly proved the truth of every word said in favour of Dr. DE JONGH'S Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil by many of our first physicians and chemists, thus stamping him as a high authority and an able chemist whose investigation have remained unquestioned."
Sir HENRY MARSH, Bart., M.D.,
Physician in Ordinary to the Queen in Ireland.
"I have frequently prescribed Dr. DE JONGH'S Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil. I consider it to be a very pure oil, not likely to create disgust, and a therapeutic agent of great value."
Dr. LETHBRY,
Medical Officer of Health to the City of London.
"In all cases I have found Dr. DE JONGH'S Cod Liver Oil possessing the same set of properties, among which the presence of choleic compounds, and of iodine in a state of organic combination, are the most remarkable."
Dr. EDWARD SMITH, F.R.S.
Medical Officer to the Poor Law Board of Great Britain.
"We think it a great advantage that there is one kind of Cod Liver Oil which is universally admitted to be genuine—the Light-brown Oil supplied by Dr. DE JONGH."
Dr. GRANVILLE, F.R.S.,
Author of "The Spas of Germany."
"Dr. DE JONGH'S Light-brown Cod Liver Oil produces the desired effect in a shorter time than other kinds, and it does not cause the nausea and indigestion too often consequent on the administration of the pale oils."
Dr. PROSSER JAMES,
Lecturer on Materia Medica, London Hospital.
"Dr. DE JONGH'S Light-brown Cod Liver Oil contains the whole of the active ingredients of the remedy, and is easily digested. Hence its value, not only in disease of the throat and lungs, but in a great number of cases to which the profession is extending its use."
Dr. DE JONGH'S LIGHT-BROWN COD-LIVER OIL is sold only in capuled imperial half-pints, pints, and quarts, by all chemists, druggists, and store-keepers throughout the world.
Sole Consignees:
ANSAR, HARFORD, and Co.,
77 Strand, London.
Agents at Melbourne:
FELTON, GRIMWADE, and Co.

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The notion of patent-medicine manufacturer as celebrated personality, well known and esteemed by name is evident in the case of ‘Professor Holloway’, mentioned earlier as the proprietor of ‘Holloway’s Pills and Ointment’. The following example, shown in Figure 5.29 Hollowayian-System-of-Medicine-1856, is a testimonial written in the style of a report: here, the Holloway’s product line is not mentioned. Instead, the name is attributively used to create ‘the Hollowayian system of medicine’ to relay an ‘Extraordinary case’, namely that of the gravely ill ‘Mrs Morgan, of Ermington, near Sydney’ who was saved by intervention of the said ‘system’. The patient reportedly was stricken with an ailment, and her life was further ‘endangered owing to a wrong treatment’. The husband ‘dismissed his medical attendant’ (ostensibly a ‘regular’ doctor), and adopted ‘the Hollowayian system’ of ‘infallible remedies’ which showed immediate rejuvenative results.

Figure 5.29 Hollowayian-System-of-Medicine-1856. Source: 26 September 1856, p. 6.

The Hollowayian System of Medicine, 1856	Transcription
	<p>PREVENTATIVE is Better than a Cure. Extraordinary case.-- Dropsical Swellings -- Turn of life. Mrs. Morgan, of Ermington, near Sydney, aged forty-five, was suddenly thrown on a bed of sickness; her feet, legs, and ankles, began to swell, strongly indicating dropsy; weeks passed away and she became worse instead of better; medical aid was called in and her life was endangered owing to a wrong treatment being adopted. Mr. Morgan, therefore, dismissed his medical attendant, and resolved to commence the Hollowayian system of medicine. This quickly produced a beneficial effect, and by a continuance with these infallible remedies, the husband had the satisfaction of again seeing his wife restored to the blessings of health.</p> <p>F. COOPER, agent, Collins-street, Melbourne.</p>

The attributive use of the product name to create the ‘Hollowayian system’ compound positions the remedy as orderly in operation, principled and progressive. Further, the adjective-making ‘-ian’ suffix functions to imbue the putative efficacious powers of ‘Holloway’s Pills and Ointment’ with the esteem of knowledge-based scientific discoveries that have advanced humanity. The noun compound:

Holloway [proper noun] + -ian [suffix] + system [N]

implies a recognised significant contribution made by the patent-medicine seller to human knowledge. The allusion is attempted by suggestively aligning the ‘infallible remedies’ with the prestige of knowledge-makers known in that time – possibly ‘the Copernican system’ in astronomy (dated to the 1500s); or even ‘Newtonian physics’ (pertaining to Newton’s Laws of Motion), which underpinned the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

While the desired prestigious effect of ‘Hollowayian system of medicine’ may appear far-fetched and presumptive, even absurd, the parallel achievement alluded to by ‘Professor Holloway’, and the bold confidence of omitting the names of the purported curatives, suggests that ‘Holloway’s’ had successfully secured a celebrity-like value in the marketplace. This example illustrates the strength of the Holloway’s brand in its time, and shows the role of assumed and inferential meanings in advertising language (similar to the modern-day ‘CocaCola’, ‘Prada’ or ‘Vicks’). Another example of patent medicine as a ‘system’ of cure is given by Baylen (1969) and Phillips (1978) in description of ‘the Mattei system’ (c. 1890), a purported cancer cure of ‘Count Mattei’¹⁴³ that was successfully marketed internationally.

The ‘Mattei system’ of pharmacopoeia was a suite of 13 complex ‘Groups’: secret recipes based on homeopathic principles, explicitly accounting for every body part (including brain, genitals, joints and uterus). The remedies (with many impressive names) included ‘liquid electrics’ (bottled electricity) – for cure and prevention of cancer – available in five colours:

You could buy red, green, blue, white or yellow
electricity, and each of these had different uses, being
given with increasing dilutions of Mattei’s other
remedies ... Green electricity could be put on wounds
...

Baylen 1969, p. 150.

Tests commissioned by the Royal Cancer Hospital in London reported that the ‘bottled electricity’ showed ‘no sign of electrical activity’ and ‘consisted of water only’ (Phillips 1978, p. 34). Other remedies offered by Count Mattei, such as an anti-cancer drug manufactured for infants called ‘Antiscrofuloso Giappone’, were found to be medically useless, yet the purported remedies sustained credibility as medicine:

¹⁴³ The aristocratic title is genuine, and Cesare Mattei (1809–1896) was studied in the sciences and medicine, but without medical qualification (Baylen 1969).

Strangely, people still bought the Mattei remedies, in spite of further disclosures that the Anti-Scrofulosos, the Pettorales and the rest were useless rubbish.

In Melbourne, the chemists who sold the Count's remedies also did a roaring trade in defending the Mattei system. One such book was written by Samuel Kennedy, a surgeon from Edinburgh ...

Phillips 1978, p. 34.

The Mattei suite of 'useless rubbish' (with its many impressive names) fits the descriptions of both quackery and placebo (discussed earlier). It should be noted, however, that the idea of 'bottled electricity' was not isolated to the innovative marketing genius of Count Mattei: in fact, the 'electrical doctor' and battery-operated appliances for purported healing were prolific in the 1890s into the early 1900s (Phillips 1978, pp. 37–53). A notable provider of electrical healing was 'The Freeman and Wallace Electro-Medical and Surgical Institute', established in Sydney, and later in Melbourne. They offered a range of medicines in their pharmacy, electrical baths, and the 'Electric Invigorator', which was a belt carrying batteries capable to discharge electricity for healing multiple conditions. In that time, this was marketed as a credible form of treatment:

... at the turn of the century, this was the very latest thing in treatment. Nobody really knew just what electricity really was, but it was a form of energy, and the impulses in the nerves were known to be electrical in nature.

Phillips 1978, p. 42.

However, by 1905 – after a span of some 300 years – belief in unproven remedies had waned: the 'golden age of quackery' had come to its end (Phillips 1978). Despite the roll call of entertainers, Olympians and pugilists who supported the 'heal-by-electricity' promotions, consumer awareness of inefficacious treatments marked the demise of the Freeman and Wallace electric-belt therapy and their electric baths and electric doctors. At the turn of the century, a shift had occurred in the belief system that tipped the balance in favour of scientific knowledge, away from trust in celebrity testimonials and unverifiable claims.

5.4.7 Ailments in want of healing and market retention

The 1800s era of the patent-medicine industry was a time when little was known about the human body and its complex operational systems. As already seen, health-related promotions of that time – within reality scenarios of

debility, disease and death – frequently purported to remedy multiple unwell conditions, and even terminal ones, by way of a single preparation. Some offered to solve a specific problem (like ‘Wilkinson’s for Worms in Children’, above). Into the 1890s and 1900s, news of technological and scientific advances was delivered to the world via scholarly and news publication. Additionally, caveats, codes of conduct and legislation curbed misleading advertising; and violations were reported in the press. These events raised awareness to question advertiser claims and foregrounded consumer rights.

At least from the 1600s, marketplace remedies had successfully employed the key devices of Memorability, Readability and Attention Value to sustain Selling Power; but faced an unprecedented promotional challenge into the 1900s. Specifically, the problem concerned loss of consumer faith in the healing powers of the freely available pharmacopeia of pills, powders, inhalants, tonics and ointments. Put simply, the long-standing pharmaceutical hotchpotch of putative healing products and treatments – which included a host of therapies like hydropathy,¹⁴⁴ hypnotism and mesmerism – had acquired ‘a bad name’. The solution (as evident in the dataset) to this bad-name misfortune was to linguistically rebadge a product in a way that distanced the offering from generic names that associated with negative attributes. The following discussion investigates three terms commonly linked with patent medicines – namely ‘panacea’, ‘remedy’, and ‘patent medicine’ itself.

While the idea of a panacea is prevalent over centuries, the word seemingly is rarely used in advertising. The dataset reveals that ‘panacea’ had at first a positive meaning, attractive to the consumer; but in the early 1900s it developed a negative sense (used to rebut and criticise the idea of a cure-all). The word ‘remedy’ apparently has retained its positive sense in the world of healing; but ‘patent medicine’ (like ‘nostrum’) associates with quackery (negative values of unproven effectiveness and questionable safety). Of the greater family of terminology, following on from the discussion above, nearly all of those terms (even ‘elixir’) remain on labels of healing or rejuvenative products: an exception is ‘cordial’, which apparently has lost its sense as a medicinal substance.

Figure 5.30 (overleaf) shows three artefacts: at left is DR SHELDON’S DIGESTIVE TABULES, and at right are two promotions for ‘Clements Tonic’. Collectively, these reveal that ‘panacea’ lost its positive (or neutral) attribute sometime between 1907 and 1923. This semantic shift to negative is evident when comparing:

¹⁴⁴ Treatment by prolonged exposure of bare flesh to (usually extremely) cold water, often by persistent pouring over the head and by immersion (Phillips 1978).

- the 1923 ‘Clements Tonic’ (at right, bottom)
- with these two: the DR SHELTON’S from 1906 (at left), and (at right, top) the 1901 ‘Clements Tonic’, which is the heading of an advertorial.

The 1901 ‘Clements Tonic’ example given here is an extract of only the advertorial heading: the larger piece is a lengthy testimonial (written in the style of an interview with the fictitious now-cured tonic drinker). The advertorial ‘Tells the Case of Mr C.J. Lenton’, who had been a chronic sufferer of neuralgia until saved by the remedy; additionally, ‘Mr C.J. Lenton’ finds the remedy to be energy-restoring in post-surgery recovery. The testimonial attestations are thematically typical of its contemporaries.

Figure 5.30 Dr-Sheldons-Panacea-1906 (left); (right, top) Clements-Tonic-Panacea-1901, Corowa Free Press, 3 May 1901, p. 4, and (right, bottom) Clements-Tonic-Not-A-Panacea-1923, Table Talk, 11 Jan 1923, p. 39.

<p><i>Dr Sheldon's Panacea for Stomach Troubles, 1906</i></p>	<p><i>Clements Tonic – panacea, 1901 (extract, heading-only from an advertorial)</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Clements Tonic – not a panacea, 1923</i></p>
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DR SHELTON’S pills (Figure 5.30, at left) were an offering in 1906 that could ‘Digest what you eat’. The DIGESTIVE TABULES are a PANACEA for all STOMACH TROUBLES. It is THE ONLY CURE for INDIGESTION & DYSPEPSIA. Similarly, just a few years earlier in 1901, ‘Clements Tonic’ claimed that ‘Till the Panacea was bought’ and consumed, the patient was assailed with suffering. Two decades later, in 1923, a ‘Clements Tonic’ promotion denies its earlier 1901 claim that the remedy is a panacea. The revised 1923 version (Figure 5.30 – at right, bottom) identifies ‘Clements Tonic’ as ‘a reliable remedy for nerve and blood disorders’ that is ‘Not sold as a panacea’:

Not sold as a panacea for all ills, but as a
reliable remedy for nerve and blood disorders

Somewhat incongruously, above the brand name CLEMENTS TONIC in the 1923 revised version are the Latin words ‘Non sibi, sed omnibus’ meaning ‘Not for oneself but for all’. Seemingly this is a slogan, suggesting the tonic serves the entire population; but this brand – evident in the dataset from 1881 – had not previously shown inclination to adopt a slogan; further, the use of Latin expressions is an oddity (as evident in the dataset). Given its use in 1923 along with rejection of its previous market identity as a panacea, the Latin slogan appears to be a device to re-establish itself as a credible medicine – considering that medical terminology has a lineage to Latin.

Thus far, it is seen that ‘nostrum’ and ‘panacea’ gained negative faces, and lost marketplace credibility: there are two likely reasons for this. One is that the orthodox medical community did not identify with ‘nostrum’ and ‘panacea’; that is, these terms were not associated with ‘regular’ doctors. Another could be the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century bio-medical advances (especially laboratory research) that produced vaccines for infectious diseases – like typhoid and cholera in 1896, and diphtheria in 1923.¹⁴⁵ Typhoid, tuberculosis, pneumonia and diphtheria are recorded as common causes of death in colonial Australia (Phillips 1978, pp. 16, 47, 55). The public and health workers alike were becoming cognisant of infectious diseases: the need for evidence-based medicines and preventative vaccination diminished the attractiveness of marketplace curatives.

In contrast to ‘nostrum’ and ‘panacea’, the words ‘medicine’ and ‘remedy’ have retained positive face over time. The secure carriage of positive associations by ‘remedy’ is linguistically curious given its centuries of rapport with patent-medicine advertising. There could be two intersecting explanations: its meanings across medical and non-medical usage, which point to the idea of desirable transformation; and its historical semantic lineage in the world of healing. These two possible explanations are detailed below.

- **Positive meanings: ‘remedy’ in medical and non-medical use**

The word ‘remedy’ is meaningful in the following senses:

- as a means of relieving a bad situation or avoiding a problem (such as in ‘remedial education’)
- having curative value, as a medicine or treatment that rectifies a disorder, promotes healing or alleviates symptoms

¹⁴⁵ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, britannica.com

- as a means of legal redress, offering relief where a wrong has been done (which may be monetary or enforcement of a right).

- **Semantic lineage: ‘remedy’ in the world of healing**

The ‘remedy’ was offered at a price by any person claiming to be in service of health-related provision. The individual practitioners (fraudsters and quackery aside) included the apothecary, chemist (or druggist), homeopath, midwife (accoucher), dentist, doctor, and surgeon. In colonial Australia, the health system shows itself to be a mix of orthodox and alternative practices – including Chinese medicine, as pointed out by Phillips (1978); and the word ‘remedy’, as evident in the dataset, was used to mean ‘healing of an ailment, or relief from pain’ for a range of mind–body conditions.

In the 1700s and 1800s, mind–body conditions were treated by curatives and methods designed by both ‘regular’ practitioners and ‘non-regular’ ones (Porter 1986). From an historical point of view, Martyr (2002, p. 11) contends that the healing methods and curatives of the 1700s were ‘the natural parents of orthodox medicine in the nineteenth century’ – that is, the separation of nostrums and ‘quack’ medicines from those regarded as medically viable cannot be validated. Similarly, Porter (1986) contends that the outing of non-university-educated practitioners as ‘quacks’ was a strategy to form an elite circle (‘the faculty’); and, further, he points out that ‘regular’ doctors, like Dr Robert James,¹⁴⁶ created patent medicines (which were known as remedies). In terms of shared meanings, the word ‘remedy’ was used by all cohorts of the world of healing in a positive sense – and sustained its validity over time. It may not be in high frequency usage in conventional medicine today, but does appear in relation to alternative health solutions, as in ‘homeopathic remedies’ and ‘natural remedies’.

As mentioned, among advertiser strategies to retain market share was denial of unfavourable associations with the ‘quack’ remedy and the panacea: these were expressed as ‘not a quack remedy’ and ‘not a panacea’. A third refutation is evident in ‘not a patent medicine’, as seen in Dr-Williams-Pink-Pills-for-Pale-People-1897 (Figure 5.31).¹⁴⁷ The lifespan of this product is some 100 years, into the 1960s: the pills contained iron oxide, magnesium sulfate,¹⁴⁸ powdered liquorice and sugar.¹⁴⁹ This brand was among the most prolific seen in the

¹⁴⁶ ‘Dr James Fever Powder’, c. 1746, which was approved by ‘the faculty’, is described by Porter (1987, pp. 17–18) as the ‘most dangerous fever remedy’ of its time. It was found to contain calcium phosphate and antimony (a toxic metalloid).

¹⁴⁷ ‘Dr Williams Pills for Pale People’ were sold by a company controlled by a Charles Fulford from Canada, who had worked in chemist shops (Phillips 1978, p. 85).

¹⁴⁸ Also known as Epsom salt, effective as a laxative.

¹⁴⁹ The Wellcome Library, London, <http://blog.wellcomelibrary.org/2015/03/dr-williams-pink-pills-for-pale-people/>

press, advertised in Australia in the 1890s. Its advertising is notable in its employment of multiple devices, alarmist warnings of impending death by disease, frequent lengthiness, and fondness for alliteration (as in 'Pink Pills for Pale People'). Further, it appears to be among the first promotions to use the interrogative in its headline, and to include a product picture.

Figure 5.31 Dr-Williams-Pink-Pills-for-Pale-People-1897, *The Queenslander*, 28 August 1897, p. 43.

Dr Williams Pink Pills for Pale People, 1897

ARE YOU A SUFFERER FROM INFLUENZA, RHEUMATISM, SCIATICA?

If so, You will Find a CERTAIN REMEDY in

Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People,

WHICH POSITIVELY CURE THE FOLLOWING AMONGST OTHER AILMENTS:—

Anæmia, Indigestion, Lumbago, Neuralgia, Nervous Headache, General Debility, &c.

An Old Queenslander's Recovery.

DR. WILLIAMS' PINK PILLS FOR PALE PEOPLE SCORE ANOTHER VICTORY.

INTERMITTENT FEVER IN ITS WORST STAGE CURED.

TRANSFORMATION FROM A LIVING SKELETON TO A HEALTHY ROBUST MAN.

Mr. Cornelius O'Neill, of 158 Cumberland-street, Sydney, is a well-preserved man of about 55 years of age. He has led a chequered career since his arrival in the colonies some thirty-two years ago, and he attributes an illness he recently had entirely to the trying climate of Northern Queensland, where he pursued a variety of callings all more or less of a health-impairing nature.

To a reporter who recently interviewed him he stated:—

"I have been suffering off and on for the last seven years with what in Queensland is called intermittent fever. It is caused by damp and exposure, and the fever is always prevalent. The symptoms are cold chills, severe pains across the loins and intolerable pains in the head. I have had doctors without end, and every conceivable patent and other medicine, but neither doctors nor physic afforded me the slightest relief. A lady friend of my wife's who called one day to see us, seeing me lying so prostrate, said, 'Why don't you try Dr. Williams' Pink Pills? You know how badly I suffer from rheumatism, well, since I have been taking Pink Pills I feel as if I had taken a new lease of life, and this winter is the best I have passed for many a year. I am sure it is entirely due to the Pink Pills of Dr. Williams. Well, this lady spoke so emphatically of their good qualities that I determined to try them, bought some boxes and commenced taking them in the manner recommended on the wrapper.'

"How did you feel after taking the first box, Mr. O'Neill?"

"My appetite improved, but otherwise I did not feel much better, but after the second box I felt a lot better, so I went steadily on with them. I was taking at this time three pills a day, one after each meal. It was only when I suffered from a terrible tightness across the chest that I took two at a time, and then this feeling would disappear as if by magic. Added to this the appalling cold chills across the loins have entirely left me. It is Dr. Williams' Pink Pills that have done it and nothing else, as with the exception of opening medicine I have taken no other. Had you seen me a few months ago you would not have known me. I was reduced to a shadow, and felt a burden to myself and to others. I now feel a different man, and cannot speak too highly in praise of this wonderful medicine which has brought me from death's door to health and strength. I was for years a master butcher in Queensland and in this colony, I have also been a gold digger. I am sure this account of my sickness and recovery will be read with interest by many of my old friends in Queensland and New South Wales."

Influenza Again.

The people of this country have good cause to view with alarm an outbreak of influenza, as it leaves behind it more shattered constitutions than any other known disease. Mr. Edward Botting, for ten years a councillor in the united township of Bedford, Olpen, and Palmerston, in Frontenac County, is one who nearly fell a victim to this scourge. To a Waig correspondent

Mr. Botting said:—"About two years ago I had a bad attack of influenza, and the after effects of that malignant trouble brought me so low that my friends despaired of my recovery. I was troubled with severe and constant pains in the back, sensations of extreme dizziness, weakness, and was in fact in a generally used-up condition. I had read frequently of Dr. Williams' Pink Pills, and felt they must have some special virtues else they could not obtain such strong endorsements in all parts of the country. I determined to try them, and I bless the day that I came to that conclusion. Before the first box was finished I felt benefited, and I continued their use until I was as strong as ever. I consider Dr. Williams' Pink Pills the best medicine sold, and I would not be without them in the house if they cost me \$5 a box."

Pale and Sallow Girls.


What can be more distressing than to see a girl drooping and fading in the spring-time of youth? Instead of bright eyes, glowing rosy cheeks, and an elastic step, there are dull eyes, pale, sallow, or greenish complexion, and a languidness of step that bespeak disease and an early death if proper treatment is not promptly resorted to and persisted in until the impoverished blood is enriched and the functions of life become regular. Upon parents rests a great responsibility at the time their daughters are budding into womanhood. If your daughter is pale, complexionless

of weakness, is "tired out" upon the slightest exertion; if she is troubled with headaches or backache, pain in the side, if her temper is fitful and her appetite poor, she is in a condition of extreme peril, a fit subject for the development of the most dreaded of all diseases—Consumption. If you notice any of the above symptoms, lose no time in procuring Dr. Williams' Pink Pills. They will assist the patient to develop properly and regularly; they will enrich the blood and restore health's roses to the cheeks; bright eyes and lightness of step will surely follow their use, and all danger of consumption and premature death will be averted. Wise and prudent mothers will insist upon their daughters taking Dr. Williams' Pink Pills upon the approach of the period of puberty, and thus avoid all chances of disease or early decay.

Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People.

This pill may be described as a direct blood and nerve tonic. They are not in any way allied to quack remedies, but are a palmarily elaborated scientific cure. Dr. Williams' Pills are not a purgative; they are not a cure-all or a patented medicine. They contain nothing that could injure the most delicate system. It will be noted that their action is definite and uniform, notwithstanding the great number of apparently differing disorders, in which they have been, without a possibility of a doubt, shown to cure, despite the failure of ordinary medicine to meet the case. The action of Dr. Williams' Pills is twofold. They enrich, renew, purify, and build up the blood, giving beauty and colour to pale cheeks; and they brace up and stimulate the nerves, brain, or spinal system. Hence their extraordinary cures of locomotor ataxia (hitherto believed, on the best medical authority, to be incurable), and in loss of vital forces, causing premature old age.

Dr. Williams' Pink Pills are obtainable from all the leading chemists, or from Dr. Williams' Medicine Company, Queen's Place, Sydney, who will forward (post paid), on receipt of stamps or post order, one box for 2s. 6d., or half-dozen for 15s. 3d.



Dr. Williams' Medicine Co., Sydney, N.S.W.

The main proposition of Dr-Williams-Pink-Pills-for-Pale-People-1897 advertising message is ‘This medicine will save you from certain death’, which can be gleaned from the headings, narrative and testimonials. There also are a number of ancillary key messages realisable: these warn mothers to prevent premature death of their young girls, urge immediate action to purchase the pills, and caution against imitation imposture. Information presented as facts is available from reading the narrative blocks; and can be inferred – such as, ‘several boxes of the pills must be purchased’, and ‘the recommended dose should be doubled’.

The available meanings in brief are annotated below, in order of layout as seen in Figure 5.31:

- The main heading (at top) is expressed as an interrogative, and uses the ‘if’ conditional. It communicates the primary message, namely that this medicine is remarkably ‘a CERTAIN REMEDY’ for a wide range of illnesses: it will transform unhealthy ‘pale’ appearance – that is, ‘pale’ will become ‘pink’.
- Four headings introduce the testimonial (at far left), which is written in the style of an interview report. The interviewee is ‘Mr. Cornelius O’Neil, of 193 Cumberland street, Sydney ... about 55 years of age’, who had been ravaged by grave illness and chronic pain. The headings are:

An Old Queenslander's Recovery

DR. WILLIAMS' PINK PILLS FOR PALE PEOPLE SCORE
ANOTHER VICTORY

INTERMITTENT FEVER IN ITS WORST STAGE CURED

TRANSFORMATION FROM A LIVING SKELETON TO A
HEALTHY ROBUST MAN

These four headings, collectively, say that the pills saved the life of the ‘Old Queenslander’, who had been A LIVING SKELETON; but now was transformed into A HEALTHY ROBUST MAN. In the story, the reader learns that the once–living-skeleton had purchased several boxes and commenced dosage, faithfully followed instructions: however, during the self-medication, the near-dead skeletal sufferer had experimentally tried doubling the dosage to alleviate a particularly bad attack ‘across the chest’ and was immediately assuaged ‘as if by magic’. The pills also healed the self-dosing patient ‘across the loins’.

- The ‘Influenza Again’ heading introduces a second testimonial, written like a report. The proposition is that influenza is a recurring ‘disease’ of ‘malignant trouble’ with grossly

debilitating aftereffects, but the sufferer can be restored to full health by adopting this pill, which is ‘the best medicine sold’.

- The ‘Pale and Sallow Girls’ narrative is a warning to protect young girls who may be ‘in a condition of great peril’, and ‘a fit subject for the development of the most dreaded of all diseases – Consumption’. The child could be in danger of ‘premature death’, which ‘will be averted’ by taking the Pink Pills. Preventative action is especially imperative ‘upon the approach of the period of puberty’ (that is, able to rectify perceived iron deficiency brought on by menarche):

Wise and prudent mothers
will insist upon their daughters taking Dr.
Williams' Pink Pills upon the approach of
the period of puberty, and thus avoid all
chances of disease or early decay.

Alongside chances of death, disease and ‘early decay’ of young girls, the advertiser dwells on attributes relating to ‘complexion’ and demeanour that girls should possess, but are doomed to lose without the help of the pills. Here is the idea of beauty linked with that of health, which later becomes the norm.

- The final heading (at far right) ‘Dr Williams Pink Pills for Pale People’ is among three standout repetitions of the product name: it is seen in the main heading, and also on the product image (at bottom). The narrative block (at the far right) describes the pills as ‘a direct blood and nerves’ tonic, and asserts that the pills are not ‘allied to quack remedies’ but scientifically designed. The pills ‘are not a purgative; they are not a cure-all or a patent medicine’. In this denial is seen that by 1897 (while ‘tonic’ retained its positive face) ‘purgative’, ‘cure-all’ and ‘patent medicine’ were all undesirable to the consumer:

This pill may be described as a direct
blood and nerve tonic. They are not in
any way allied to quack remedies, but are a
patiently elaborated scientific cure. Dr.
Williams' Pills are not a purgative; they are
not a cure-all or a patented medicine. They
contain nothing that could injure the most
delicate system. It will be noted that their
action is definite and uniform, notwithstand-
ing the great number of apparently differing
disorders, in which they have been,
without a possibility of a doubt,

shown to cure, despite the failure of ordinary medicine to meet the case. The action of Dr. Williams' Pills is twofold. They enrich, renew, purify, and build up the blood, giving beauty and colour to pale cheeks; and they brace up and stimulate the nerves, brain, or spinal system. Hence their extraordinary cures of locomotor ataxia (hitherto believed, on the best medical authority, to be incurable), and in loss of vital forces, causing premature old age.

The narrative defends the pills as authentic medicine. It is composed to address two marketplace phenomena: perception of patent medicines as toxic, and rejection of a single preparation as an all-rounder cure:

- The first (toxicity) is addressed by stating that the pills 'contain nothing that could injure'.
- The second (a cure-all) is addressed by attempting to persuade the addressee that 'the apparently differing disorders' (claimed curable in the main heading) all stem from a problem with blood. Accordingly, the pills deliver a 'twofold' action: they 'enrich, renew, purify, and build up the blood' ('giving beauty and colour to pale cheeks'); and then 'brace up and stimulate the nerves, brain, or spinal system'. It is claimed that the pills can cure 'locomotor ataxis' – 'hitherto believed, on the best medical authority, to be incurable'.

The neurological condition 'locomotor ataxia' (associated with 'postural sway') had come to medical attention by the mid-1850s, and is known also as 'tabes dorsalis' (Lanska 2002): these medical names, and descriptions of symptoms, were reported in the press by 1901.¹⁵⁰

- The product image functions to reinforce the product name and 'the only genuine package' (physical casing). The text block with the image intimately describes all details: the desired effect of which is to pose the product as worthy of imitation. 'In case of

¹⁵⁰ *The Elmore Standard*, 1 August 1901, p. 2 calls locomotor ataxia 'a disease of the spinal cord', and reports that it can manifest in children as young as 10 years.

doubt', the buyer can contact 'Dr. Williams' Medicine Co., Sydney, NSW'.¹⁵¹

The above discussion has underscored two problems encountered by the patent-medicine industry towards the end of its 'golden age', namely that the idea of a heal-all cure came to be rejected; and that key terms historically favourable in association with patent medicines (including 'patent medicine' itself) had lost their Selling Power. Advertisers persisted with their various persuasive devices – leaning on the traditional pillars of Attention Value, Memorability and Readability – but the loss of consumer trust in 'secret recipes', dissemination of bio-medical knowledge that raised consumer awareness, and restrictions that curbed freedom of advertising claims collectively quashed the viability of unverifiable claims. Nevertheless, the market for unproven remedies was not destroyed: to recover Selling Power, a revisionist approach in the form of exclusive branding and target market segmentation materialised,¹⁵² the shoots of which are visible in the late 1800s – strengthening into the 1900s.

5.4.8 Market recovery, branding and target markets

This Study profiles patent-medicine advertising from the 1800s into the 1900s. With regard to brand-naming and target markets, these phenomena were in evolution from earliest times, but heightened with intense competition. Into the twentieth century, to attract buyers, advertisers embraced linguistic creativity and innovative design (which eventually led to a focus on brand distinction). In the circle of marketplace treatments, copywriters were at one with the idea of creativity and innovation – but, while competition was consistently a driver, erosion of consumer trust was the new incentive to evaluate and adjust advertising language for market recovery. Given that health-related advertising relies on consumer belief in the transformational power of medicine, loss of consumer trust was calamitous.

The late 1880s witnessed a weakening of the patent-medicine industry in terms of persuasive power. In this time, there is evidence that the Maxim of Quality was violated by that industry – where up to the 1870s there were mitigating factors in relation to panacea claims made by putative cures. Before the 1870s (as discussed above), it is plausible that the notion of an all-cure ingestible was part of the human belief system – and not an advertiser falsehood (while not evidence-based). The historical extenuating factors stemmed from shifts and

¹⁵¹ There was no Dr Williams involved in the marketing, sales or other business of the pills (Phillips 1978, p. 85).

¹⁵² Market segmentation, as earlier defined, is the division of a population by characteristics such as gender, income and occupation.

semantic overlaps in the transition of key terms and ideas in the world of healing: for example (as exemplified above) ideas of ‘drinkable gold’ as medicine, and the elixir as sovereign remedy.

At this point, with respect to the three advertising time periods (as identified by Myers (1994, 1998), discussed in 1.5.1), it is relevant to note again that from the late 1880s onward, advertising language changed in a number of ways. What surfaces as evident in the dataset at hand is that erosion of consumer trust at the turn of the century led to the demise of the patent-medicine industry. An argument to position consumer trust as the primary determinant of Selling Power is found in the story of the ‘Mattei system’ presented earlier, where disclosure that the suite of so-called ‘electrals’ contained only water failed to quash its credibility. The difference between the Mattei ‘electrals’ and other placebos like the Vitadatio remedy (Figure 4.11) is that the former could cause no harm (being only water). Many patent medicines contained toxins (like opium), metalloids and metals (like antimony and mercury), and purgatives (like aloes, rhubarb and senna) – which could cause poisoning and/ or other bodily harm. The potential-harm factor damaged consumer trust.

The desired transformation of negative face to positive presented for the advertiser a linguistic challenge. Given that Selling Power has a strong link with generic and brand names, this relationship was problematic when patent medicines became the object of consumer suspicion. Marketplace sellers were obliged to continue promoting their now-suspect ‘patent medicine’ treatments under their established trade names. One strategy to recover consumer trust (as illustrated above) was in the form of explicit denials in effort to deflect the spectre of negativity that discouraged buyers: ironically, advertisers attempted to create a positive face by denying the ‘Letters Patent’ identity they had once embraced with pride (often falsely). In a further paradox, they were compromised: to deny holistic efficacy would contradict their previous heal-all attestations.

Another strategy (alongside distancing the now-suspect treatments from notions of ‘panacea’ and ‘patent medicine’) was to enhance advertising content selectively. One avenue was to declare ability to heal progressively debilitating diseases that were newly diagnosed and/ or named by medical doctors – for example, Dr-William’s-Pills-for-Pale-People in 1897 (Figure 5.31) claimed to reverse locomotor ataxia, and in other advertisements to cure Bright’s Disease (associated with the kidneys). Later, in 1920,¹⁵³ these same pills claimed efficacy to cure ‘neurasthenia’. This word, embraced by the ‘Dr Williams’

¹⁵³ *The Examiner*, 19 March 1920, p. 8.

Medicine Company', first appears in the Australian press in 1879 in a report of a medically complex condition called 'American Nervousness'.¹⁵⁴

'American Nervousness' (named thus by a medical doctor G.M. Beard of New York), as reported in the press of 1879, was described as 'pre-eminently an American disease' with symptoms including 'neuralgia, sick headache, nervous dyspepsia, hay fever, and, above all, neurasthenia, or nervous exhaustion'. Suffice to say that, largely, the 'American Nervousness' symptoms coincide with those that appeared mantra-like in the all-cure remedies after the 1850s on. The relevance of this to the thesis is that in the early 1900s (as evident in the dataset), there is increased interest in nervous conditions and hysteria – particularly, so it seems, in relation to women.

The *OED* definition of 'neurasthenia' states that it was a condition of 'fatigue and lassitude, with vague physical symptoms' (attributes useful to the marketplace copywriter), and that it later came to be considered as 'a form of neurotic disorder' (oed.com):

***neurasthenia*, n.**

A disorder characterized by feelings of fatigue and lassitude, with vague physical symptoms such as headache, muscle pain, and subjective sensory disturbances, originally attributed to weakness or exhaustion of the nerves and later considered a form of neurotic disorder.

- 1829 S. COOPER *Good's Study Med.* (ed. 3) IV. 370 Bergamaschi advances, indeed, so far as to maintain, that where wounds themselves are the remote cause, a neurostenia, as he calls it, or inflammatory affection of the nerves, is still the proximate cause [of tetanus].
- 1833 R. DUNGLISON *New Dict. Med. Sci.* II. 81/1 *Neurasthenia*, debility or impaired activity of the nerves.
- 1869 G. M. BEARD in *Boston Med. & Surg. Jrnl.* 29 Apr. 217 I am to speak ... of ... neurasthenia, or exhaustion of the nervous system. The morbid condition or state expressed by this term has long been recognized ... but the special name of *neurasthenia* is now, I believe, for the first time presented to the profession.
- 1879 G. M. BEARD in *N.Y. Med. Jrnl.* 29 226 The term *neurasthenia* was devised by me independently, at the time when my first article on the subject was prepared, without any knowledge that the word had ever been used before.

¹⁵⁴ An address from George M. Beard, M.D., to the Baltimore Medical and Surgical Society, entitled 'American Nervousness: Its Philosophy and Treatment', reported in the *Leader*, 6 December 1879, p. 34.

The *OED* illustrative examples of ‘neurasthenia’ (above) show that while G.M. Beard in 1879 claimed to have coined the term, it was in medical publication by 1829. The pragmatic relevance of this is that diagnostically the ‘neurasthenia’ discovery was something significant in the medical community – and this is reflected in the press reporting of that time.¹⁵⁵ This condition as physical and mental debility – consistent with the ideas of G.M. Beard – is reported in medical, nursing and psychiatric journals at the turn of the century, reflecting widespread medical concern. Three journal articles (from 1892, 1903 and 1915) contend the following:

- Neurasthenia is associated with the ‘brain-worker’ (as opposed to persons working with the hands) and ‘slightly built persons with well-vaulted foreheads and small viscera’¹⁵⁶
- Neurasthenia is associated with hereditary defects, and manifests as response to shock, ‘diminished sexual, visual or digestive power’, and constipation. Diet as treatment is recommended (Noyes 1903).
- Neurasthenia is not associated with hereditary defects, and is not a mental illness nor hysteria: it is not a disease but a ‘morbid state of the nervous system’ (Angells 1915). It is difficult to diagnose as it shares symptoms with several diseases such as carcinoma, tuberculosis, chronic Bright’s Disease and early stages of some mental disorders. Diet as treatment is recommended.

Investigation of the three articles (from 1892, 1903 and 1915 – briefly summarised above) disclosed the discursive language of neurasthenia: this permitted comparison of linguistic register and language choices with that of press reporting and patent-medicine advertising of the so-called ‘American Disease’. It can be concluded that neither press reporting nor patent-medicine promotion drew directly from the language of professional journal writing. What can be said is that press reporting drew its language from professional spoken presentations; and advertising copywriters drew key words and phrases from the press reports. A statement to this effect was made earlier in 1.0, and discussed in relation to linguistic register in section 4.1.2. It can also be said that, with respect to neurasthenia, neither press reporting nor the professional journals expressed nervous conditions as particular ailments of women.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ However, perusal of the content of G.M. Beard’s contentions and conclusions shows them to be conjecture, and not based on research findings.

¹⁵⁶ *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 1892, p. 948.

¹⁵⁷ While neurasthenia was not a concept upheld in the medical community, it was noted to possibly be ‘chronic fatigue syndrome’ (Bynum 2003).

The investigation of stylistic sources for patent-medicine advertising language is a procedural matter to permit a definitive statement that this language variety is modelled on natural language available in the everyday. Logically, to foster communication, advertising discourse has to be a language of currency, and also one with inferential latitude – as shown in examples analysed earlier. Beyond register and other devices like syntax as tools of persuasion, the inferential possibilities (particularly those that construct gender stereotypes and that attribute nervous conditions and ailments to females) deserve exploration; however, this is not within the scope of the thesis.

With respect to brand names, being distinctive is one among a suite of desirable traits: brand distinction is created over time, and can be eroded or lost. Round and Roper (2017), in their participant-based empirical study to explore the validity of brand name theories over time, highlight what they call ‘the temporal dimension’ of the brand name element. They draw attention to two arguments in the field, which resonate with the plight of the patent-medicine industry, which encountered ‘societal change’:

a brand needs to change dynamically over time in line with societal change. In addition, much of the value of the brand is regarded as resident within its historical narrative, which changes over time ...

Round and Roper 2017, p. 2121.

The above quotation expresses the paradox underpinning the patent-medicine industry when it lost consumer confidence: it had to change consumer perception, but its identity was in its ‘historical narrative’. In the words of Round and Roper (2017, pp. 2126–2128), consumers ‘associated a change in brand name with a change in the branded entity’, and connotative and denotative meanings of the brand name remain salient in the minds of consumers. Arguably, the patent-medicine industry died in name only – it became the world of over-the-counter (OTC) non-prescription drugs.

The contention that the patent medicine remains in the marketplace can be validated by way of a family of generic terminology that has endured through time. These are the ones semantically reminiscent of the idea of healing (like ‘remedy’) or of transformation (like ‘elixir’) – as discussed earlier. Branding familiarity also plays a role in attracting the consumer (Kent & Allen 1994): essentially, this is the role of memory in associating the product with positive values. Examples are noun compounds containing ‘balsam’ and ‘syrup’, which have sustained their sense of being a medicine over some centuries – seen today in ‘Baby Balsam Decongestant Chest Rub’ and ‘Vicks Cough Syrup’.¹⁵⁸ General features that help sustain a brand name, like being easy to remember

¹⁵⁸ Chemist Warehouse Online, <https://www.chemistwarehouse.com.au/>

and pronounce (Jim Aitchison 2012; Crawford 2008), apply to patent medicines: this helps explain why names like ‘Rowland’s Odonto’ (a dentifrice with healing power) and ‘Steers Opodeldoc’ (an ointment) did not survive into the 1900s.

The final advertisement here is Nyal-Here’s-the-Secret-Decongestant-1959 (Figure 4.30), an example of modern colour advertising. In its special formulation, the Nyal cough medicine can ‘accurately’ service three ‘age-adjusted’ dosage strengths. Like the Elixir-Salutis-1678 (Figure 5.24), the NYAL DECONGESTANT COUGH ELIXIR of 1959 also has a ‘secret’ – but the ‘secret’ is published to bring addressees into the inner circle of knowledge. ‘Here’s the Secret’, says the Nyal cough elixir:

1. STOPS COUGHING.
Contains the sedative
Codeine
2. LOOSENS PHLEGM.
Five gentle expector-
ants liquefy and cut
away bronchial
secretions
3. MAKES BREATHING
EASIER. The only
cough formula to use
Phenylephrine – an
exclusive agent for
relieving congestion

Another feature shared by the Nyal elixir with its seventeenth-century predecessor Elixir-Salutis-1678 is that it, too, is efficacious to service the entire human population – being ‘specially formulated’ to provide ‘positive relief’ for baby, child and adult:

Positive relief from Coughing FOR ALL THE FAMILY
FOR ADULTS and children over 12 years
F OR CHILDREN – 6 to 12 years
FOR INFANTS — 6 months to 5 years.

On examination of the Nyal-Here’s-the-Secret-Decongestant-1959, its difference from other medicine advertisements of earlier decades, or even centuries, is that it is a full-colour illustration. Otherwise, its layout and typographical choices, and its language composition are not remarkable. It is typical also of advertising of the 1900s in its depiction of a woman in the role of carer.

Figure 5.32 Nyal-Here's-the-Secret-Decongestant-1959, The Australian Women's Weekly, 17 June 1959, p. 64.

Nyal 'Here's the Secret' Decongestant, 1959

Positive Relief from Coughing FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Here's the Secret

1. **HERE'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

2. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

3. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

4. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

5. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

6. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

7. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

8. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

9. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

10. **IT'S THE SECRET** - Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

FOR ADULTS (and children over 10 years)
Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

FOR CHILDREN (under 10 years)
Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

FOR INFANTS (under 2 years)
Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

FOR ELDERLY (over 60 years)
Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

FOR ALL THE FAMILY
Nyal Decongestant Cough Elixir is a powerful, effective remedy for all the common coughs and colds. It is the only elixir that gives you the relief you need, without any harmful side effects.

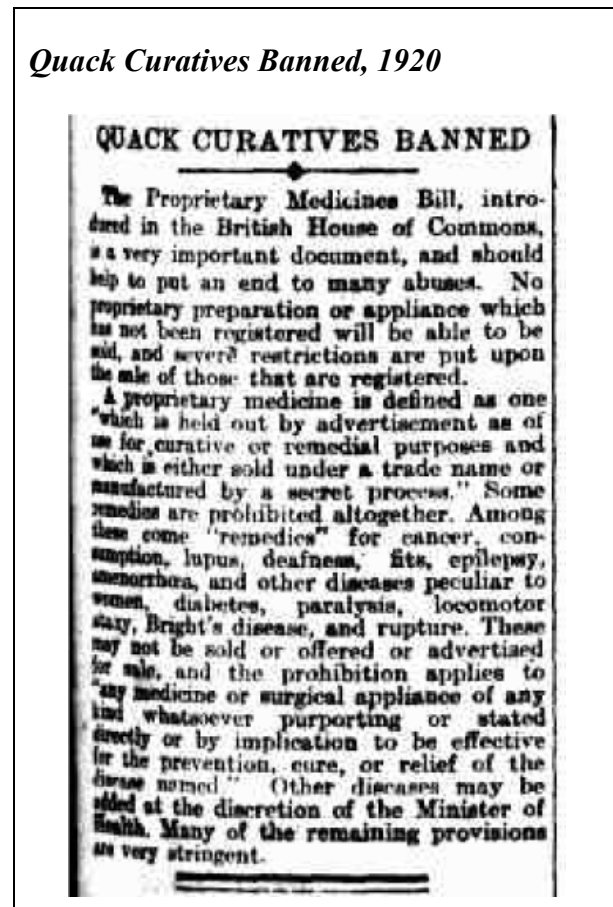
Nyal
SOLD ONLY BY CHEMISTS

'DECONGESTANT' COUGH ELIXIR

Nyal Company - Division of Searle, Frodochowski Pty. Limited - Sydney, Australia
The Australian Women's Weekly

To close this Study on the tableau of patent medicines in Australia, it is noted that legislative caveats have played a significant role to curb false and misleading claims of efficacy. The greater movement in the United States and the British legal system raised awareness, at least in the English-speaking world, into the early 1900s. The Proprietary Medicines Bill of 1920 in the British House of Commons (Figure 5.33 Quack Curatives Banned) stipulated that 'No proprietary preparation or appliance which has not been registered will be able to be sold'.

Figure 5.33 Quack-Curatives-Banned-1920, The Argus, 25 September 1920, p. 9.



This Bill named particular remedies that were altogether prohibited:

“remedies” for cancer, consumption,
lupus, deafness, fits, epilepsy, ...
diabetes, paralysis, locomotor ataxy,
Bright’s disease, and rupture. These may
not be sold nor offered nor advertised for
sale ...

The explicit ban on particular purported medicines explains the disappearance of purported curatives like Vitadatio (a Tasmanian cure for Bright’s disease) and Dr-Williams Pink-Pills-for-Pale-People (for cure of locomotor ataxia).

In answering the question of what patent-advertising language is like, the promotional content overwhelmingly points to the human belief system as the instrument that most powerfully serves the medicines advertiser. The strongest indicator of this is that over-the-counter medicines, alternative treatments and

placebos continue to flourish in the pharmaceutical landscape. While guidelines and legislation have delivered a restraining hand to advertising content, the specifics of what cannot be said or claimed can frequently be undermined by thematic information, presupposition and implicature.

5.4.9 Investigative Study Four: summarising remarks

This Study investigated patent medicines from the 1800s through to the 1950s. Two aspects define the analysis: an historical perspective that annotated characteristics of early curatives by name (and the meanings associated with those names) and type (such as ointment or pill); and, in parallel, an exposition of the patent medicine as a time traveller that, despite lack of verifiable benefits, continued to maintain market strength. The main discoveries, gleaned via these two aspects, based on the thesis dataset, are summed up as follows.

- The medicines that pass the test of time are the ones that hold names that are meaningful and familiar to consumers. Curatives with unusual names or ones that are difficult to pronounce seemingly have short lifespans.
- The testimonial and repetition are prosaic advertiser devices.
- The human belief system plays a significant role in copywriter language choices. Seemingly, the positive connotations of particular words (like ‘elixir’) hold meanings that are constant through the centuries.
- Advertisers are sensitive to socio-economic shifts that may influence buying behaviour, and draw on press reporting as a resource to enhance promotional content in appeal of the changing consumer mindset

6.0 Discoveries and Conclusions

The legacy of advertising in Australia channels some 200 years of commercial and lifestyle activity, representing an industry that touches all pockets of society. It is remarkable then that there is no account chronicled of promotional language as it evolved from colonial settlement into modernity. This study identifies and fills a unique cross-disciplinary research gap – covering new territory in the world of advertising, and in Australian English and the social history of the land. This work has drawn on intersecting scholarly research and 15 decades of press data to deliver a set of empirically sourced findings. The discoveries of the thesis record the gamut of copywriter compositional choices within the greater fabric of socio-economic flux evident in the 1800s–1950s timeframe. The analytical infrastructure of the investigation is a meld of the communicative language model, the social functions of English and the idea of cohesion. This methodological approach, while linguistically conventional, is innovative in its cross-disciplinary investigative mindset.

The thesis has evaluated data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to address the three research questions that collectively seek to identify the meaning-making devices of advertisements; to report on how devices are configured to create intended meanings; and to determine how advertisements have changed over time. The data evaluation achieves interpretive and contextual validity by inclusion of government notices, letters to the Editor, opinion pieces, and news reporting: these represent the human cultural institution that provides the advertiser with baseline templates to construct and negotiate social relationships. From the 150-year press dataset, some 100 press notices have been reproduced in the thesis, and of these some 75 are products-and-services advertisements that serve as practical examples. In category-based exploration, four Investigative Studies in Tea, Careers, H&B, and Patent Medicines have been presented. Further, from a systematic overview of the press data available in the Trove digital archives (as annotated in 3.0 and 4.0), impressions of compositional patterning have been put forward in the thesis narrative. A set of discoveries and conclusions now can be articulated.

The first dataset-based observation to lead others reported here is that all press notices of the early 1800s were advertisements in the sense that each called out to the reader and offered information – much like the mishmash of a bulletin board. These were focused on communicating facts and details of matters concerning the settlement; and they shared a formality of register that was polite and often expressively verbose. Linguistically, at this time notices that promoted consumables are not notably different from other notices. Elements of seller persuasion are discernible both typographically, in the form of single standout letters to catch the eye; and, rhetorically, in the form of earnest

entreatments and testimonials. Persuasive tactics as associated with marketing today are not seen in the early 1800s. The ‘watershed’ decades that mark the transition of information-focused to persuasion-focused advertising are identifiable as the 1850s–1880s: this is the time that a classification system (characterised by short standout headings) became the norm of press layout.

Subject-matter classification afforded organisational treatment of information by way of grammatically disjunctive headings (often NPs) that satisfied the economy needs of print, and represented the register of modern journalism. Stylistically, this called for succinctness and eliminated redundancy, and headlining relied on the principle of shared meanings. The headlines and catchlines of press publications are phrases and clauses (sometimes emotive) that typify an article’s narrative content. The shared-meaning principle gifted a fresh landscape of meaning-making possibility for the copywriter. The advent of a classification system presented two functional advantages in advertisement composition:

- standout headings (like MEDICAL or SUPERFLUOUS HAIRS) would highlight the consumable
- shared meanings, operatively, also were assumed (hidden) meanings that could be cached in the vestibules of advertisement configuration.

The latter constituted the advertiser gateway to an arsenal of presupposition and implicatures: ‘hidden meanings’ as a communication device entered the copywriter casebook as the hallmark instrument of persuasion, evident at least from the late 1880s. Implicit meanings as advertiser device can be embedded linguistically; and also in non-lexical features – as exemplified in The-Baby-Shop example (in 3.0), and in Ayers-Sarsaparilla-1895 and McIntyre-Bros-Tea-1898 (in 4.0). In the 1890s, graphetics and pictures made their debut in the press, enabling the advertiser to progress from words-only notices into the innovative realm of word-and-pictures. This progression marks a momentous shift that broadened the meaning-making tableau of promotional language: it marks also the transitional leap from information-giving to persuasion-oriented as an outstanding property, distinguishing advertising language as a language of persuasion.

As evident in the thesis narrative, the final decade of the nineteenth century struck two blows upon the marketplace: increased competition arising from factory overproduction; and budding squeamishness of harmful ingredients in everyday consumables like soaps and patent medicines. Thus, the opportunity to implant attractive meanings in advertisement content – via a lexical and pictorial tapestry of ‘hidden meanings’ – was fortuitous, gaining traction into the 1900s. To summarise the overarching character traits that identify the

modern advertisement (Cook [1992] 2001; Leech 1966; Myers 1994, 1998; Tanaka 1994), it can be said that:

- the meaning-making configuration is designed to link the consumable with positive attributes, and to trigger buying behaviour
- socio-culturally dependant themes and meanings are weaved into the composition, with intent to simulate and evoke the real worlds of human society

In both these traits, occupational register – the seeds of which germinated between 1870 and 1900 – shows itself to be a device of the advertising copywriter (as discussed in 4.0).

The register of professional institutes serves as a stylistic resource for advertisement composition – and also is helpful in brand building (as seen in the use of ‘institute’ in ‘BIOCHEMIC INSTITUTE’ in *Are-You-Nervy?*-1940). Functionally, occupational register is applied to imbue a sense of prestige or authority in the propositional content; and to socially negotiate addressor–addressee relationships and link values of the human belief system with commercially available items. This can be seen in *My-Boy-A-Coward?*-1940, where the distraught mother seeks professional help: the act of communication is governed by the accepted social differential (low versus high status) in the patient-doctor relationship. The diagnosis and advice (given in the imperative ‘Put Johnnie onto Horlicks’) mimics the register of ‘doctor’s orders’.

The dataset shows variation of linguistic register as germane to market segmentation, applied to simulate the expressions considered effective to engage market-demarcated groups. This social-register demarcation is evident in male–female market dichotomy – for example, *Career-at-Myer-Emporium*-1956 and *Career-at-Bank-of-New-South-Wales*-1956 indicate expressive differences that point to social elevation of men over women (via linguistic and pictorial choices that socially index and define gender roles). The idea of ‘pictorial’ register was raised earlier (in 5.2.2.1) to label body-language depictions that socially position a person: social values can be gleaned from body language, and also from clothing and accessories. Similar to visual syntax, pictorial register is visual vocabulary; but applies specifically to portraiture, where representations of human body parts and costumery communicate meanings that define what a person is like.

While the thesis does not seek to detail non-linguistic meaning-makers, it can be noted that pictorial register is employed in the following ways:

- to signify social position of participants to suggest professionalism or distinction (as in *Colgate-Dental-Cream-He-Dropped-Her-Flat*-1940, where the collar of the health professional can be identified as that of a dentist’s tunic)

- to communicate emotions like happiness (as in Glen-Valley-Tea-I-Feel-So-Jolly-1919, where tea has buoyed the tea drinker's spirits); or nervousness (as in Career-at-Myer- Emporium-1956, where the young woman displays anxiety).

Pictorial register is discernible from the 1880s, and underpins cartoon-strip advertising (which was prolific in the 1930s and 1940s). It remains today as a marketing device, particularly in television and silver-screen advertising.

With respect to the cache of terms applied to reference communication in the marketplace (as discussed in 4.0), 'advertising language' and 'promotional language' are interchangeable and generic; but 'language of commerce' shows itself as applicable to the institutions of commercial selling and buying (such as banking, insurance, and the stock market) and their related legislation. The language of commerce is seen from the early 1800s in notices that evidence contractual trading activity. As for 'marketing language', 'language of persuasion' and 'adspeak', these tag a new wave in advertising discourse – recognisable as the language of the twentieth century; and beyond that characterises the television commercial, silver-screen advertising, and the image-only logo where the picture stands alone to speak for the brand. Vestiges of this new-wave modern advertising can be seen from the 1920s. The broadband of terms reflects progression in the world of business transaction, and the terms locate semantically within particular decades of socio-economic development.

The progression of socio-economic development is a timeline of advertising activity, and of the parallel evolution of Australian English and promotional language in the land. In the first decades, little can be said of advertising English to set it apart from other notices of the first decades: as a language of persuasion, promotional language shows itself as pegged to the 1920s – gaining momentum into the post-war economic-recovery years of the 1950s. While advertising language is today considered a genre in its own right, apart from standard English, the two varieties are linked – perhaps unsurprisingly, given the role of natural language as model – by the phenomenon of disjunctive syntax. Linguistic fragments can be so meaningful, suggesting that these semantic bricks are the most effective of communicators – especially as attention-grabbers.

As mentioned in 4.1.6, the 'Assize of Bread' heading between the years 1809 and 1826 functioned in a morpheme-like way to mean 'market prices are listed here'; later the compound SYDNEY MARKETS signalled the same – alerting the public to what is reasonable as a price to pay on market day. Given the advice is from the magistrate, the reader can expect the information is reliable, without being told so. This is the premise of linguistic fragments in English: that compounds and phrases may aptly function as independent clauses to

communicate meanings as appropriate in social ecologies. In this way, linguistic fragments are floaters awaiting their syntagmatic partners available on the paradigmatic plane: every ‘Adam’ has its associated ‘Eve’ – and this is a core principle of advertising language. The ‘top-to-bottom surgery’ conducted by ‘Dr Dichter’ (recounted in 2.1.3) conceptually restructured consumer perception of the hapless prune and recalibrated the prune’s public image from negative to positive.

The product-branding idea operates on the ‘top-to-bottom surgery’ principle – that is, the brand name is honed to project positive attributes intended to become inseparable from the consumable. As exemplified in the Literature Review (in 2.0), and in discussions of advertisement specimens from the 1800s (in 4.2) and the Investigative Studies (5.0), brand building has a history of centuries. The devices that operate to render an item attractive are stable across time, excepting cartoon-strip advertising which had a lifespan of some 30 years. Testimonials, repetition and typography show themselves as staples; while pragmatics devices are deployed with increasing dexterity over time. Collectively, the idea of cohesion and the social functions of English, context of situation and intertextuality constitute the foundation of copywriting: this is an expressive landscape of deictic words and phrases, reference, turn-taking and hidden meanings that offers a ‘better life’ oasis available by way of adopting the consumable.

In summary of the four Investigative Studies, it can be said that these permitted a category-based foray to focus on particular linguistic aspects: these Studies complement 4.0 Historical Context and Preliminary Analysis in discovery of meaning-maker devices, and how these collaborate to create intended meanings. The H&B investigation plausibly demonstrated the following:

- collateral bundling of thematic information, presupposition and implicature is a primary meaning-making mechanism of products-and-services promotion
- ‘hidden meanings’ are stashed in grammatical fragments and pictures, and in brand names
- significant meanings are cached primarily in attention-getters to generate propositions that urge ‘buy this’
- the storytelling tool (at linguistic and image levels) appears to be the choice when the consumable targets women
- advertisement design is likely to deploy technical drawings when targeted at men, and when the item is an appliance.

The Patent Medicines investigation complemented the analysis of health-related consumables elsewhere in the thesis. Altogether, medical-type items – including baby talcums and nutritional supplements (but excluding toothpaste and soap) – are the largest single category of the research at 35 artefacts. The

investigative foray yielded findings that have been progressively annotated in the thesis. In a summarising statement, the following three points can be made:

- the longstanding survival of curatives that lack scientifically proven benefits, including the placebo, may be attributable to human belief systems rather than to the wily manipulation of advertisers (as widely believed)
- the low-truth-verification principle (put forward in 4.2.5), which relies on semantic ‘fuzziness’, is wielded in the advertising of products like non-prescription medicines and beauty products
- the patent medicines with a short lifespan are ones with unusual names (like ‘odonto’ and ‘opodeldoc’); the ones that maintained a market foothold had meaningful or familiar names (like ‘elixir’ and ‘syrup’)
- typographically, advertisements show unremarkable change over centuries, as indicated when comparing Nyal-Here’s-the-Secret-Decongestant-1959 with Elixir-Salutis-1678.

Overarchingly, the advertiser formula is simple: get attention, be memorable, be accessible, and create Selling Power. Linguistically, the most striking persuasive device that manifests in the dataset is the introduction of the direct-address element, which emerged in the early 1900s. This is the pronoun-referencing tool, effected by introduction of ‘you’ and ‘your; and later boosted by the direct-eye-contact and ‘advertiser doll’ devices. These powerful communicative devices were ‘front seat’ tickets that brought the advertiser into personal spaces, yet permitted the seller to maintain an invisible presence while speaking to the addressee – declaring benefits, asking questions, issuing commands.

A further direction of the research is to exclusively investigate grammatical mood in relation to consumable type and target audience. It is evident that grammatical mood (interrogatives, imperatives, declaratives) of attention-getters have a persuasive role that is demographically specific – but target market in relation to mood is not definitively recoverable from the broad descriptive survey conducted here. Seemingly, imperatives and interrogatives are advertiser choices for addressing the female market. An associated linguistic angle is the tense and aspect of attention-getters where verbs occur. Findings suggest that these are consistently in the present, employing telic verbs. The dataset at hand points to grammatical mood and telicity as operative mechanisms of linguistic attention-getters.

By taking into consideration the flux of socio-economic activity, and the evolution of human progress over the decades, the discoveries articulated here deliver a pragmatic understanding of how the copywriter crafts messages to

addressees. The empirical validity of the thesis is supported by the range of advertisement types, and the parallel macro-level and micro-level analysis: the research has considered the dataset from the perspectives of the universals of language and the genre-specific, namely the language of advertising. The systematic patterns of formal English grammar and the patterns found in conversational English are clearly evident. The thesis has investigated the dataset holistically, engaging with how advertisers colonise natural-language features, as well as the specific behaviours of a language of persuasion.

A strength of this work is its investigative approach that intertextually connects several disciplines by foregrounding the way language affects our lives. The thesis has shown how customisation and cultural awareness in marketing relies on context of situation to build market stronghold. Accordingly, the thesis informs researchers working in the subfields of linguistics (morphosyntax, semantics and lexicography among them); and it involves an audience of professionals in specialised areas such as advertising and branding, journalism, and political rhetoric. The thesis content is relevant also to a general reader in bringing attention to commodification of self as a collateral of advertising language – particularly given that the vehicle of modern promotion is niche and relationship marketing to reach the consumer.

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