

SPEECH ACTS AND POLITENESS IN
SPANISH AND ENGLISH MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

by

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(Under the Direction of Sarah Blackwell)

ABSTRACT

The present study seeks to analyze the ways in which pragmatic politeness is used in certain speech acts in Spanish and English magazine advertisements in the United States. Models of politeness including those of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) are applied to directive and commissive speech acts, as defined by Searle (1976), in order to determine (1) how these speech acts are carried out in magazine advertising, (2) how politeness strategies are reflected in these speech acts, and (3) whether there are any differences in the use of speech acts and politeness strategies between Spanish and English.

In this study, we find that the speech acts within the Spanish and English advertisements in this data set tend to orient towards positive politeness strategies. We also find that there are structural linguistic features specific to each language within the speech acts that can support politeness strategies.

INDEX WORDS: Spanish pragmatics, English pragmatics, United States, advertising, speech acts, politeness

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To Mom

To Dad

To Sister

Thank you for your unconditional love and support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

The language used in advertising, unlike conversational discourse, has the singular goal of convincing its audience to buy or use a product or service. This genre of language use is targeted at specific audiences for the purpose of promoting specific products and services, but it can also reveal some of the language strategies of a given society or culture, including strategies conveying politeness. The study of politeness in advertising text is of interest to linguists because the language used by the advertiser must be careful not to offend the target audience while successfully persuading them to buy or use the product.

Escandell (2006) explains that politeness can be understood as a collection of social norms established by a society that regulates the behavior of its members, prohibiting some forms of conduct and favoring others. Those behaviors that fit in with the standards are considered polite, and those that do not are considered impolite. In this sense, the standards of politeness are not only part of the culture but also the language (Escandell 2006). Escandell goes on to explain that politeness, in terms of language use, can also be understood as a collection of conversational strategies aimed at avoiding or mitigating any conflicts that may arise in a conversation in which the speaker's objectives may be in conflict with those of the addressee (2006). Thus, politeness is used as a discourse strategy in order to maintain good relations between interlocutors.

The study of politeness has been linked to Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969) and Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face (1978; 1987). Brown and Levinson define positive face as a person's desire to be appreciated by others and to have his/her wants to be considered desirable (1987: 62). Negative face refers to an individual's desire to be unimpeded in his/her actions; that is, the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition (1987: 62). Face "is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61).

In his theory of speech acts, Austin (1962) distinguishes a speech act as a non-literal utterance that performs an act in saying something (e.g. thanking, apologizing, reporting). These speech acts convey a certain illocutionary force; that is, the speaker's intention in producing that utterance (See Chapter 2, Section 2.1).

Various types of speech acts have been studied in terms of politeness strategies, including requests (Márquez-Reiter 2000, 2002; Curcó 1998; Koike 1994; Stehlik 2007; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), offers (Ruíz de Zarobe 2000; Tsuzuki et al. 2005; Chodorowska-Pilch 2002), apologies (Ogiermann 2009; Márquez-Reiter 2002; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), refusals (Félix-Brasdefer 2008), suggestions (Koike 1994, 1998; Stehlik 2007), and commands (Ballesteros 2001). The choice of linguistic forms to express politeness has also been studied, such as the use of diminutives and negation (Mendoza 2005; Hardin 1999; Curcó et al. 2002). Several studies contrasted different cultures or languages in order to illustrate how a society's values and customs determine the ways in which speech acts are used to convey politeness (e.g. Hardin 1999; Márquez-

Reiter 2002; Curcó 1998; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). These studies show how linguistic strategies of politeness can vary in different cultures.

Despite the relatively few studies on politeness and advertising, it has been noted that politeness is a strategy used in advertising. Advertisers want to communicate a degree of politeness with their readers in order to attract them to the advertisement, establish a certain social relationship, and sell their product in a manner that coincides with the target culture's values. Previous studies on advertising and politeness have looked at the ways in which politeness and certain speech acts are employed in advertisements in Spain (Escribano 2006; Stehlik 2007), the U.S. (Hardin 1999), and Chile (Hardin 1999). None of the aforementioned studies has compared the expression of politeness in advertising in two languages. The current study examines English and Spanish advertising in the United States. It investigates the pragmatic strategies of politeness and speech acts used in both Spanish and English advertising discourse in the United States, and, more specifically, from the print media magazines of *People* and *People en Español*. Given that the U.S. Latino population has become quite diverse over the past several decades, the Spanish spoken in the U.S. is a heterogeneous mixture comprised of varieties of Spanish from more than twenty countries (Cashman 2007: 121). However, the advertising language used in Spanish may represent fundamental values of politeness shared by U.S. Hispanics that are distinct from those of Anglo-American culture.

The present study focuses on two types of speech acts: directives, or acts in which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to do something, and commissives, or acts which commit the speaker to a future act. More specifically, it examines the use of orders,

suggestions, offers, and promises in the ads analyzed. In light of previous studies that have applied speech act and politeness theories to advertising, the following general questions to be addressed in this study have been formulated:

- (1) How are certain speech acts (orders, suggestions, offers, and promises) realized in U.S. Spanish and English magazine advertising?
- (2) How are politeness strategies reflected in these speech acts?
- (3) Are there any observable differences in the use of speech acts and politeness between Spanish and English advertisements? If so, how are they reflected in the data?
- (4) What linguistic elements (grammatical, semantic, and deictic) comprise the constructions of the speech acts identified as promises in the advertisements?

Question (1) aims to find with what frequencies each of the four speech acts are realized within the type of product advertised, such as cosmetics and personal care, food and drink, etc., and within each language (Spanish and English). It also aims to find how each speech act is realized according to sentence type (declarative, imperative, interrogative) within Spanish and English advertisements. Question (2) asks how the illocutionary force of each of the speech acts conveys politeness (that is, whether the act is oriented towards the speaker's positive or negative face) and which strategies of politeness (positive or negative) the speech acts reflect. Question (3) aims to identify any apparent differences between Spanish and English advertising regarding the use of speech acts and politeness. Question (4) intends to determine the different ways in which grammatical, semantic, and deictic elements are used in structures of promises that maintain politeness in these speech acts.

1.2 Hypotheses

Based on the existing literature on politeness, speech acts, and politeness in advertising, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

(H1) Spanish will prefer the use of directives over commissives.

This hypothesis is based on results in Hardin's study (1999: 225) which found that more directives were employed than commissives in Spanish television advertising.

(H2) English will prefer declaratives over imperatives.

This idea is based on results of previous studies of English (Kallia 2005; Tsuzuki et al. 2005) which found that speakers of English consider imperative sentences less polite than other sentence types, and prefer indirect sentence structures over direct.

Positive politeness strategies are oriented toward the positive face of the hearer by indicating or presupposing in some way that the speaker wants what the hearer's wants (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70). Negative politeness strategies are oriented towards the hearer's negative face and do not impose on his/her freedom of action (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70).

(H3) English will use more negative politeness strategies in comparison to positive politeness strategies, and Spanish will use more positive politeness strategies in comparison to negative politeness strategies.

These ideas are based on findings of previous studies on politeness (Ogiermann 2009; Márquez-Reiter 2002; Koike 1994¹) which found that English speakers prefer using negative politeness strategies, and Spanish speakers prefer using positive politeness strategies in conversational discourse.

¹ See also Chapter 3, Section 3.3.

- (H4) Spanish will use the future tense and deictic markers of familiarity like *tú* as a means of conveying politeness in constructions of promises.

These ideas are formulated based on Chodorowska-Pilch's (2002) study on how politeness is encoded in Spanish offers through use of certain grammatical mechanisms. She found that the future tense and markers of familiarity can be used to convey politeness (See Chapter 3, Section 3.3, and Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3).

Overall, this study attempts to illustrate the importance of adapting culture-specific linguistic characteristics and values of politeness in Spanish and English magazine advertisements. This thesis is structured in the following way: In Chapter 2, I explain the theoretical frameworks used for analyzing speech acts and politeness, which include Speech Act Theory, as developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1976), Brown and Levinson's concept of face and strategies for politeness (1987), as well as Leech's (1983) Politeness Principles and cost-benefit scale. Chapter 3 highlights previous studies on politeness, speech acts, and the findings most relevant to the current investigation (e.g. the politeness strategies that English and Spanish speakers tend to prefer). Chapter 4 outlines the methodology used to gather, organize, and analyze the corpus of this thesis. Chapter 5 presents the results of the analysis and addresses the research questions and hypotheses formulated for this study. Chapter 6 draws conclusions based on the findings and makes suggestions for future studies of this kind.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The present study is based on Speech Act Theory and politeness strategies following the treatment of these topics in previous studies. In this chapter, we will review the development of the principal theories and models used in the analysis of the advertising texts gathered for this study.

2.1 Speech Act Theory

Even in the most basic sentences, the communicative context can affect the interpretation of an utterance, and in such cases, “cultural differences may arise, and these may contribute to misunderstandings in intercultural communication” (Bowe 2007: 9). The development of Speech Act Theory, credited to Austin (1962), and later Searle (1969), helps to identify and understand aspects of this problem.

Austin’s (1962) book on communicative intent, *How to Do Things with Words*, attempts to distinguish among what a speaker says, what the speaker means, and what the hearer thinks the speaker means. Non-literal utterances are defined accordingly by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) as involving three types of acts: the locutionary act, meaning the act of producing an utterance; the illocutionary act, referring to the act performed in saying something; and the perlocutionary act, meaning the resulting act from saying something. Austin tentatively develops five categories of illocutionary acts (1962), which are later critiqued by Searle (1976), who then expands upon Austin’s ideas by suggesting the following alternative taxonomy of illocutionary acts:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Assertives: | acts which commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition |
| Directives: | acts in which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to do something |
| Commissives: | acts which commit the speaker to a future act |
| Expressives: | acts in which the speakers makes known his/her attitude about a proposition to the hearer |
| Declarations: | acts which bring about correspondence between the propositional content and the reality |

(Searle 1976: 10-16; 1979)

Examples of assertives include stating, claiming, and reporting; directives include ordering, commanding, and suggesting; commissives involve promising, offering, and recommending; expressives include thanking and apologizing; and declarations are comprised of acts such as naming, appointing, and christening. Two of these categories of speech acts, directives and commissives, are the primary focus of the present study.

2.2 Models of Politeness

Several models have been proposed in the attempt to identify the functions and interpretation of politeness behaviors. The main theoretical models used in previous studies of politeness are those of Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987) and Leech (1983).

2.2.1 Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness

A major approach to politeness referenced by most previous studies is Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1978; 1987), first introduced by Goffman (1967), which they further develop into three key notions: face, face-threatening acts, and politeness strategies. The concept of face is defined as "the public self-image that every member [of a society] wants to claim for himself" (1987: 61). Brown and Levinson establish two types of face: positive and negative. Positive face is an individual's desire to be appreciated by others, and to have his/her wants to be considered desirable (1987: 62). Negative face refers to an individual's desire to be unimpeded in his/her actions; that is,

the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition (1987: 62). During an interaction, Brown and Levinson explain that certain kinds of acts are intrinsically threatening to the face and require softening, and they go on to distinguish kinds of face-threatening acts (1987: 65-67). These acts threaten the hearer's or speaker's positive or negative face. In order to soften face-threatening acts, which Brown and Levinson abbreviate as FTAs, they establish four types of strategies to minimize the effect, two of which are relevant to this study.

“Positive politeness” is one strategy that is oriented toward the positive face of the hearer by indicating or presupposing in some way that the speaker wants what the hearer's wants (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70). This is achieved by treating the addressee as a “member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose personality traits are known and liked” (1987: 70), which involves the use of expressions of solidarity, informality, and familiarity.

“Negative politeness” is oriented towards the hearer's negative face and essentially assures the hearer that the speaker recognizes and respects his/her negative-face wants, and will not impose on his/her freedom of action (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70). This strategy is characterized by formality and restraint, and includes acts like apologizing, expressing deference, and using hedges (1987: 70).

Brown and Levinson explain that linguistic realizations of positive politeness are “... representative of the normal linguistic behavior between intimates, where interest and approval of each other's personality, presuppositions indicating shared wants and knowledge ... are routinely exchanged” (1987: 101). Oftentimes it is an element of

exaggeration that makes these linguistic exchanges of politeness stand apart from everyday exchanges (1987: 101). Brown and Levinson outline fifteen positive politeness strategies:

1. Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)
 2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
 3. Intensify interest to H
 4. Use in-group identity markers
 5. Seek agreement
 6. Avoid disagreement
 7. Presuppose/raise/assert common ground
 8. Joke
 9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants
 10. Offer, promise
 11. Be optimistic
 12. Include both S and H in the activity
 13. Give (or ask for) reasons
 14. Assume or assert reciprocity
 15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)
- (Brown and Levinson 1987: 103-129)

Examples of the positive politeness strategies provided by Brown and Levinson, which are relevant to the present study, include the following:

- (1)
 - a. "You must be hungry, it's a long time since breakfast. How about some lunch?"
 - b. "Here mate, I was keeping that seat for a friend of mine."
 - c. "I'll drop by sometime next week."

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 103-125)

Example (1a) illustrates Brown and Levinson's Strategy 1 because the speaker is noticing then attending to the hearer's wants and needs by recognizing that s/he is likely hungry.

Example (2b) uses the word "mate" as an in-group identity marker, following Strategy 4.

(1c) follows Strategy 10 of positive politeness by promising the hearer that the speaker will drop by in the near future. These kinds of positive politeness strategies are expected to be found in the data because the current study looks at promises and offers in advertisements which cater to the hearer's wants.

Negative politeness is addressed to the hearer's desire to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded. Brown and Levinson distinguish negative politeness from positive politeness by clarifying that "where positive politeness is free-ranging, negative politeness is specific and focused; it performs the function of minimizing the particular imposition that the FTA unavoidably affects" (1987: 129). As with positive politeness, they describe ten negative politeness strategies:

1. Be conventionally indirect
2. Question, hedge
3. Be pessimistic
4. Minimize the imposition, R^x
5. Give deference
6. Apologize
7. Impersonalize S and H: Avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you'
8. State the FTA as a general rule
9. Nominalize
10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebteding H

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 130-210)

Examples of negative politeness strategies taken from Brown and Levinson are presented in (2) below:

- (2)
 - a. "This paper is not *technically* social anthropology."
 - b. "I normally wouldn't ask you this, but..."
 - c. "Take that out!"

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 145-191)

Example (2a) reflects Brown and Levinson's negative politeness Strategy 2 by using "technically" to hedge the statement. (2b) is an example of a type of apology from Strategy 6. (2c) impersonalizes the speaker and hearer, according to Strategy 7, by avoiding the pronoun *you* in the imperative. Based on previous studies that found that English speakers tend to prefer negative politeness strategies (Ogiermann 2009;

Márquez-Reiter 2002; Koike 1994²), we should expect to find some of the negative politeness strategies outlined by Brown and Levinson (1987) in the English data.

The aforementioned strategies of positive and negative politeness can be used to minimize the degree of offense to the speaker or the hearer in reference to the face-threatening act. Brown and Levinson's model has served as the basis of analysis for the majority of previous studies on linguistic politeness, as we will see in Chapter 3.

2.2.2 Leech (1983)

Another approach to linguistic politeness was developed by Leech (1983), who adopts Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) and his four conversational maxims (the Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relevance, and Manner) and constructs a model to include politeness maxims and a set of rules. Leech believes that the major purpose of the Politeness Principle is to regulate the "social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (1983: 82). Citing Searle's taxonomy of speech acts (1976; 1979), Leech links his maxims of politeness to the kinds of illocutionary acts with which they are associated. The maxims of his Politeness Principle are summarized below:

1. Tact Maxim (in impositives and commissives): minimize cost to other; maximize benefit to other
2. Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives): minimize benefit to self; maximize cost to self
3. Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives): minimize dispraise of other; maximize praise of other
4. Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives): Minimize praise of self, maximize dispraise of self
5. Agreement Maxim (in assertives): minimize disagreement between self/other; maximize agreement between self/other

² See also Chapter 3, Section 3.3.

6. Sympathy Maxim (in assertives): minimize antipathy between self/other;
maximize sympathy between self/other

(Leech 1983: 132-137)

Leech recognizes that some maxims tend to be valued more highly in some societies over others. For example, he points out that China and Japan tend to value the Modesty Maxim more highly than Britain, and that their “relative weights can vary from one cultural, social, or linguistic [environment] to another” (Leech 1983: 150). He also asserts that the Tact Maxim is “perhaps the most important kind of politeness in English-speaking society” (1983: 107), although he does not give evidence to support this claim. According to Leech, the Tact Maxim pertains primarily to the speech acts of directives and commissives. These acts may be evaluated in terms of what the speaker assumes to be its cost or benefit to the speaker or hearer. Thus, Leech proposes a cost-benefit scale to illustrate the relationship between the speaker and hearer when a speech act is performed.

The scale is summarized below:

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| | Cost to hearer | Less polite |
| (1) Peel these potatoes. | ↑ | ↑ |
| (2) Sit down. | | |
| (3) Enjoy your holiday. | | |
| (4) Have another sandwich. | ↓ | ↓ |
| | Benefit to hearer | More polite |

(Leech 1983: 107)

The scale shows that the greater the cost to the hearer, the greater the impoliteness of the act, and, the greater the benefit to the hearer, the greater the politeness of the act (Leech 1983: 107). Both the Maxims and the scale involve the central concept of cost-benefit of politeness to both the speaker and the hearer. Leech’s model considers linguistic

politeness from the point of view of speech act types and observes that some acts appear to be intrinsically polite or impolite. However, depending on the context of the utterance, the cost and benefit can vary.

2.3 Summary

The present study analyzes directives and commissives in advertising discourse using Brown and Levinson's (1987) notions of face and positive and negative politeness, as well as Leech's (1983) concept of cost-benefit to hearer and speaker. In the following chapter, we will see how and to what extent previous cross-cultural studies on politeness and speech acts have employed these concepts.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

Studies of politeness in language have been linked to Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969) as well as Brown and Levinson's strategies of politeness (1987) and Leech's notion of cost-benefit. Various types of speech acts have been studied in terms of politeness strategies, including apologies, requests, and suggestions. The selection of specific linguistic forms that convey politeness has also been studied. This chapter highlights the importance of cross-cultural research, reviews the relevant previous studies conducted on how politeness is expressed in speech acts and in advertising, and addresses their significance to the current study.

3.2 Previous Cross-Cultural Research

Wierzbicka (1991) emphasizes the need to compare not only ways of expressing politeness, but also different cultural values when analyzing politeness strategies in two different languages or cultures (61), and notes that "different pragmatic norms reflect different hierarchies of values characteristic of different cultures" (1991: 61). Recent cross-cultural studies recognize the fact that the study of politeness "calls for a socio-cultural perspective," and that it is also necessary "to include extralinguistic factors in the analysis of politeness, as the phenomena is beyond the sphere of linguistics in strict terms" (Bravo 2008: 584). Wierzbicka establishes four main ideas that should be used in any modern cross-cultural study of language:

1. In different societies and different communities, people speak differently.
2. These differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic.
3. These differences reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values.
4. Different ways of speaking and different communicative styles can be explained and made sense of, in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities.

(Wierzbicka 1991: 67)

Studies have shown how a society's values and customs determine the ways in which speech acts are used to convey politeness (for example, Márquez-Reiter 2002; Curcó 1998; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). These studies examine the realizations of specific speech acts in different cultures, and identify the similarities and/or differences in the expression of politeness from a cross-cultural and socio-pragmatic perspective. For instance, politeness strategies in speech acts such as apologies and requests have been analyzed for their vital function in restoring and maintaining social accord. The majority of these studies compare speech acts used by native speakers of one language with those used by native speakers of other languages in a simulated context. For example, Ogiermann (2009) compares apologies in British English, Polish, and Russian; Márquez-Reiter (2000; 2002) also studies apologies but compares British English with Uruguayan Spanish; Koike (1994) compares requests in Mexican Spanish and American English; Curcó (1998) studies requests as they are used in Mexico and Spain; Blum-Kulka et al. (1987; 1989) examine on requests and apologies in English and Hebrew; and Félix-Brasdefer (2008) analyzes refusals in Mexican and U.S. Spanish. These studies aim to show that the strategies of politeness used in apologies and requests depend on a culture's beliefs and social values. For example, Curcó found that speakers of Mexican Spanish tend to pay more attention to saving the positive face of the addressee than speakers of

Peninsular Spanish. The present study also attempts to identify cultural differences in the expression of politeness by comparing the speech acts of suggestions, orders, promises, and offers as they are used in U.S. Spanish and English magazine advertisements.

3.3 Previous Research on Suggestions, Orders, and Offers

Research on the speech acts analyzed in the current study (suggestions, orders, promises, and offers) is rather scarce when compared with the amount of research done on requests and apologies. Koike (1994) investigated the use of negation as a mitigating strategy in requests and suggestions in Spanish and English. She found that negation is not used to soften suggestions or requests in either Spanish or English, and that negated suggestions in English were more forceful but not necessarily more polite than in Spanish (1994: 525). For instance, as Koike points out, an affirmative suggestion in English such as “Have you thought about reading this book?” is more polite when compared to its negated form, “Haven’t you thought about reading this book?” Koike also notes that the non-negated suggestion is more forceful than its negated equivalent in Spanish “¿No has pensado en leer este libro?” which is considered the more polite form for a Spanish suggestion (Koike 1994: 518).

Koike (1998) studied the effects of politeness strategies in suggestions in Spanish by investigating the conversational discourse used in meetings between teaching assistants and their supervisors in Mexico. Some strategies identified were the use of diminutives, conditional and interrogative forms, and deference towards the hearer. An example of a teaching assistant using a diminutive as a politeness strategy from Koike’s corpus was “Para mí hizo un *poquito* de falta es que ellos repitieran a coro...” (1998: 219). Koike explains that the use of this diminutive mitigates the teaching assistant’s

suggestion. Teaching assistants also used the conditional form to convey politeness, as in the following example: “Lo podrías hacer, digamos también los días que están marcados...” (Koike 1998: 222). Koike concludes that suggestions can present different degrees of force, and they overlap with recommendations, advice, and indirect commands. Many of the forms used to express all four of these acts are identical and are distinguishable only by the illocutionary force, which the hearer must infer (1998: 231-232). For example, the phrase “Sería bueno...” can be found as a recommendation or advice, but when inferred as advice, it conveys more illocutionary force (Koike 1998: 231).

Another study on suggestions is Kallia’s comparison of British English, Greek, and German strategies used in suggestions and requests (2005). The participants were exchange students who completed questionnaires in which the students made judgments about degrees of politeness in the utterances from open-ended situations. Kallia found that conventional suggestion forms such as interrogatives like “Why don’t you repay the load?” (2005: 217) were used for making requests in all three languages. Direct forms were used by Greek and German speakers, such as imperatives and questions without auxiliaries (e.g. “Go see a doctor about it”), but speakers of English avoided these strategies because they considered them impolite (2005: 228-229).

Chodorowska-Pilch (2002) investigated how politeness is encoded in Spanish offers through use of certain linguistic constructions such as fixed phrases as well as grammatical mechanisms like tense. She looked at a variety of request strategies from telephone conversations from travel agencies in Spain. These strategies included direct offers using the verb *ofrecer* (e.g. “Lo que te puedo ofrecer es Portugal”), direct questions

(e.g. “¿Te puedo atender?”), constructions in the conditional tense (e.g. “Lo que podríamos hacer es...”), the future tense (e.g. “Será cuestión de mirárselo”), and politeness markers (e.g. *si quieres, por favor*) (Chodorowska-Pilch 2002: 24-32). The author found that speakers of Spanish used these strategies in different combinations and tenses as resources to maintain politeness in offers (2002: 35). For example, she identifies the following structures as having the illocutionary force of polite offers: “pregunta directa (PD) + condicional → oferta (OF),” or “construcción <si p, q> + OF (condicional) → (OF)” (Chodorowska-Pilch 2002: 33-34).

Tsuzuki et al. (2005) conducted a study comparing the politeness strategies for offers and requests used by speakers of American English and speakers of Chinese. The participants rated written scenarios on a five-point scale ranging from “too impolite” to “too polite.” Results showed similarities between the two cultures. In the case of offers, the imperative (e.g. “Have some more cookies”) was more appropriate in both languages when the addressee was a close friend, but the interrogative (e.g. “Will you have some more cookies?”) was too polite (Tsuzuki et al. 2005: 287). The authors concluded that a close or equal relationship and positive politeness are given priority in both societies, as seen by the informants’ preference for the use of imperative offers. However, when there was more social distance between interlocutors, deference and negative politeness were given priority, as seen by the informants’ preference for the use of interrogative offers (2005: 295).

Another key investigation was done by Ballesteros (2001), who compared commands and requests in British English and Peninsular Spanish. The study consisted of a discourse completion test with six potential situations in which the social distance and

power between the interlocutors differed. Ballesteros recognized three types of strategies for realizing the speech acts, namely, direct (e.g. “I’m asking you to stop smoking!”), indirect conventional (e.g. “Could you run to the store and get a few things for me?”) and indirect nonconventional utterances (e.g. “Excuse me but we’re in a non-smoking carriage”) (Ballesteros 2001: 183). The frequencies with which the strategies were used in each language demonstrated the same ranking in preference: most preferred were indirect conventional forms, then direct forms, and least preferred were indirect nonconventional forms. In other words, the indirect conventional utterances were used most frequently, followed by direct utterances, and indirect nonconventional forms were used the least frequently. Although ranked second-most frequently used by both languages, the direct forms were two times more frequent in Spanish than in English. An example of a direct form in Spanish is “Juanito, hijo, baja un momento a la panadería a comprar azafrán para la comida...” (2001: 186). Regarding politeness strategies, Ballesteros found, as he had predicted, that Spanish speakers show a clear preference for attenuating the illocutionary force of their requests and commands with positive politeness strategies (as seen through use of the diminutive *-ito* in the aforementioned example), and English speakers preferred negative politeness strategies (e.g. being conventionally indirect by using interrogative request forms containing the phrase “Could you...”) (2001: 186-187).

This study (like the others reviewed in this section) demonstrates that different languages express politeness in speech acts differently, and provides evidence that societies value types of politeness differently. Factors such as the relationship between speaker and hearer, the cost or benefit of the act to the hearer, and cultural differences

affect which linguistic form is selected in order to carry out the preferred politeness strategies. The findings of the previous studies on suggestions, orders, and offers show that speakers of English tend to prefer negative politeness strategies, and speakers of Spanish tend to prefer positive politeness strategies. The reviewed studies are significant to the current investigation in that they reveal how certain English and Spanish cultures have been found to prioritize politeness strategies and speech acts in given situations. As stated in the hypotheses of this study, the findings from these previous studies lead us to expect that English advertisements will prefer to employ negative politeness strategies, and Spanish ads will exhibit positive politeness strategies. Results from previous studies also lead us to expect that English and Spanish will utilize sentence types distinctly in their advertisements, such as the avoidance of imperatives in English.

3.4 Previous Studies on Politeness in Advertising

Although politeness strategies in advertisements have hardly been addressed, a small number of studies have dealt with this topic. Two studies (Hardin 1999; Dayag 2001) have investigated politeness and speech acts quantitatively in advertisements; others (Stehlik 2007; Escribano 2006) have examined the linguistic realizations of politeness in advertisements.

One study that does not explicitly make use of speech acts or politeness strategies for its analysis is Woodward-Smith and Eynullaeva's (2009) work on the translation of advertisements for beauty products in Spanish, English, and Russian (2009). They analyze five ads from the internet for the same products in all three languages. Although they do not include politeness or speech acts as principal pragmatic factors for analysis, but they did look at directness, pronoun use and register, linguistic forms of the

utterances (imperatives, interrogatives, exclamations, etc.), choice of adjectives and syntax, and the degree of detail in the product's description. The aim of the study was to closely examine advertisements in terms of cultural differences and communicative strategies.

The authors broach an interesting point regarding ambiguity that can sometimes occur in Spanish utterances. The Garnier ads for hair products analyzed in their study show that while the English slogan "Take care" is realized in the imperative, the Spanish slogan "Cuida de ti" is realized in what could be either the familiar imperative or the third person singular. They point out that the slogan is not *Cuídate*, which is another (and perhaps more frequent) option for expressing the familiar imperative. Although the addressee of this slogan is ambiguous, they argue that it seems more likely to be intended as the third person singular, with the meaning of "[Garnier] takes care of you" (2009: 129).

Woodward-Smith and Eynullaeva conclude that "the translation, adaptation, and creation of advertisements for beauty products is based on treating different groups according to their idiosyncratic characteristics, including their needs, expectations, social norms and cultural values" (2009: 134). Their results support the hypothesis that advertisements are not culturally independent, and that the translation of advertisements should take the characteristics of the target audience's language into consideration.

Studies that address the use of politeness strategies in advertising include Stehlik (2007), Escribano (2006), Dayag (2001), and Hardin (1999). In *Observancia y violación de los principios de cortesía en los textos publicitarios*, Stehlik (2007) addresses an issue that advertisers must deal with to avoid producing impolite messages: appropriate use of

the imperative. The more indirect a speech act is, the more politeness it conveys, but the imperative is direct and seemingly impolite. Despite this, Stehlik cites frequent use of imperatives in advertisements (from one studied corpus) and suggests that this creates a sense of direct communication with the reader. He also suggests that they are used due to the limited space ads have for delivering the message (2007: 237). Stehlik then refers to several examples of advertising text and makes some general observations: first, it is important to consider the meaning of the verb in its context; second, no verb in the advertisements analyzed directly referred to the act of buying; third, a simple invitation, conveyed by an imperative form results in no imposition to the reader; and finally, an impolite mandate can be negated with a promised offer or benefit to the reader (2007: 237-238). The first three observations can be illustrated by the ad for Green Tea Summer (an Elizabeth Arden perfume), in which the text says “Verano. Disfrútelo mientras dure” (2007: 237). The verb itself does not refer to the act of buying and is in the imperative form meaning “enjoy,” which is acting as an invitation to the reader to enjoy summer with the use of the product. The fourth observation is exemplified by the text of an ad for Estée Lauder Night Repair Concentrate, which reads “Esta noche, duerma tranquila, cuidamos su piel” (Stehlik 2007: 238). The impolite nature of the command “duerma” is negated with the promised benefit of sleeping well (2007: 238). Additionally, Stehlik maintains that the politeness of an ad is not always communicated solely by the text, but that it can also be conveyed by any extralinguistic content, such as the images in the ads, which in turn can be considered a benefit to the reader (2007: 238). For example, the aforementioned example for Estée Lauder features an image of an attractive woman sleeping, demonstrating the beneficial result that the company promises (i.e. sleeping

well with beautiful skin) (2007: 238). Finally, Stehlik recognizes the importance of considering cultural differences among the countries where the products are sold because of possible differences in perceptions of politeness (2007: 240).

Escribano's article, *La cortesía lingüística como recurso publicitario* (2006), investigates the strategies of politeness used in advertising in Spain. Escribano finds that one strategy is the use of interrogatives, which serve to call for the participation of the reader and to offer the advantages of the product (2006: 276). Another strategy involves placing the reader and the advertiser on the same social plane so they are hierarchically equal; this is done by the advertiser in order to show interest and concern for reader, so as to strengthen their relationship (2006: 277-278). Advertisers achieve this by using emotion via poignant vocabulary and/or the imperative. Escribano illustrates this technique with an ad for Pixar's *The Incredibles* on DVD, with a picture of The Incredibles family, and the text "¡Únete a la familia!" (2006: 278). Escribano states that the familiar imperative and the word "familia" are used to make the reader feel close and comfortable (2006: 278). She also suggests that use of the familiar imperative in ads is more likely to have the illocutionary force of an invitation than an actual order or command (2006: 285).

Following Leech's (1983) cost-benefit scale of politeness, Escribano maintains that acts that suppose a benefit for the hearer and a cost for the speaker support politeness, and acknowledges that this has been a very productive strategy in persuading consumers to believe that what they want or need is the company's product (2006: 281). Examples of this strategy include commissive acts like offers, and expressive acts like

thanking and congratulating, which essentially state that the reader needs some product X and the company has it (2006: 281).

Finally, citing Brown and Levinson's concept of face (1987), Escribano acknowledges that advertisers are aware of society's preoccupation with saving face and maintaining a good image; therefore, advertisers use positive images with their product so the buyers will associate the two. For instance, advertisers will associate a product with a model buyer who is likely to be valued by the society (e.g. a celebrity, an attractive person). Readers will then identify themselves with wanting to be like the model consumer, perceiving that the outcome will benefit him/her in some way, and will purchase the product in expectation of achieving the same outcome (2006: 291). Additionally, Escribano adds that the society's views on politeness and perceptions of positive face influence the type of acts and images used in advertisements (2006: 296). These conclusions support the hypothesis that a society's values should be taken into consideration when creating advertisements, and such considerations should be reflected in the discourse and extralinguistic content of the ads.

With the intention of describing the structure of persuasion, Dayag (2001) researches the realization of speech acts and politeness in a collection of Philippine newspaper ads. The ads were categorized by product type, segmented into syntactic units from each text, and labeled by speech act type. Relying upon the classifications of Austin (1962) and Searle (1979), the utterances (units of text) were determined to have the linguistic functions of an assertion, description/illustration, identification, information, explanation/clarification, emphasis, order/advice, suggestion, or request (2001: 60). Dayag then calculated frequencies of each speech act in the data by type of product,

finding that representatives were most frequent, followed by directives, with very few expressives, declarations, and commissives (2001: 61). Next, Dayag calculated the frequencies of linguistic function of utterances for each product type and found that assertions occurred the most, followed by description/illustrations, information, and identifications, and only a few occurrences of other functions (2001: 63). Finally, the author analyzes the sequence in which the speech acts are realized in the data and concludes that a typical print ad follows a representative-directive pattern (2001: 72); that is, the words used in ads tended to consist of a number of representatives (i.e. acts which commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition, such as stating, reporting, or claiming) followed by a directive. An example of this sequence is “Assertion – Assertion – Assertion – Order/Advice/Suggestion” (Dayag 2001: 72). Dayag believes this recurrent pattern shows that “it is the structure that defines the coherence of ads... [and] coherence, in turn, helps the reader (the prospective buyer) make sense of the ad as a whole” (2001: 72). Although this study addresses persuasion rather than politeness, its methodology serves as a good model for the analysis of speech acts because its procedure for analyzing the structures used in ads is adapted to the current study to look for possible structural patterns in the realization of promises.

Hardin analyzes the pragmatics of persuasion in Spanish language television advertising in Spain, Chile, and the United States in her (1999) dissertation *Pragmatics in persuasive discourse of Spanish television advertising*, incorporating Brown and Levinson’s (1987) notion of face and Lakoff’s (1982) definition of persuasive discourse. The study explores several pragmatic strategies, such as speech acts, politeness, violations of Grice’s Maxims, and implicature.

Regarding politeness strategies, Hardin believes that persuasive discourse appeals to viewers' face, more specifically to positive face, through the establishment of solidarity with the potential consumers, and appeals to negative face by showing respect for the consumer's freedom of action and choice (1999: 5). She finds that there is more emphasis on solidarity and familiarity than there is on authority and distance in advertisements from all three countries (1999: 225). She claims that "identification with the viewing audience serves to create emotional ties to a product and to create a positive overall impression," and the frequent use of second person reference helps create these emotional ties (1999: 225). Additionally, Hardin finds that in the United States there is the most frequent use of positive politeness strategies and the least frequent use of negative politeness. By contrast, in Chile she observed the fewest acts of solidarity, the most frequent expressions of power, and the greatest use of distancing strategies (1999: 227-228). However, Spain's television advertisements used personal reference and distancing strategies the least when compared with Chile and the U.S. (1999: 227). She suggests that the observed emphasis on positive politeness in the U.S. and on negative politeness in Chile may be due to the nature of each society's values and viewers (1999: 229). Hardin's conclusions provide further evidence of how politeness is expressed differently across multiple Spanish-speaking cultures.

Previous studies on politeness, speech acts, and advertising in both Spanish and English have shown how different languages tend to prefer certain positive politeness strategies. In general, these studies have determined that Spanish tends to prefer positive politeness strategies, and English tends to prefer negative politeness strategies. Studies established that certain speech acts like directives and commissives can be used as

strategies of politeness in advertising discourse. The utilization of certain sentence types in which these speech acts are realized, like imperatives, have also been found to be a significant strategy in advertising discourse. The present study hopes to discover any differences and/or similarities in the use of politeness in the speech acts of English and Spanish magazine advertisements in the United States.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Sources for Data

According to data from the U.S. Census, the Hispanic population in the United States in 2008 was roughly 47 million, about 15% of the entire country's population. Spanish language media industries have acknowledged the importance of marketing to such a large minority in the United States. In order to choose a medium, I referred to Advertising Age, an agency for advertising and marketing industry news. They compiled data in their sixth annual Hispanic Fact Pack, which "includes data about marketers' 2008 ad spending by company and category, demographic trends, and rankings of top TV, radio, newspaper, magazine, online media, and social networking sites" (Advertising Age 2009: 3). This resource indicated the top Hispanic advertisers among the media. The highest Hispanic media ad spending in 2008 was on television at \$2.51 billion (Advertising Age 2009: 8); however, I decided to choose a printed medium because print advertisements are better suited for the type of analysis in this study; that is, identifying the speech acts within the text of the ad. Moreover, I wanted to choose a Spanish print medium for which there was a comparable one in English; therefore, I chose magazines, as they are distributed across the nation and are perhaps more generalized in content than the city-specific contents of newspapers. As with television advertising, a substantial amount of money was spent on magazine advertising (\$115 million) (Advertising Age 2009: 8). The data from Advertising Age show the top Hispanic magazine in the United

States as *People en Español*, for which there is an English equivalent, *People*. I received all issues from a one year subscription (12 issues per subscription) from each language, and used all of the issues to collect the data. There were approximately three to five ads per issue analyzed.

4.2 Data Collection

Some of the categories of top-ranked ad spending in Hispanic media include telecommunications and internet services, retail, automotive, food/beverage, personal care, and general services (Advertising Age 2009: 6). Among these categories are specific marketers that are included in the top 25 spenders in Hispanic magazines. Examples of these companies are Procter & Gamble, L'Oréal, General Motors, McDonald's, Walmart Stores, and Toyota Motor (Advertising Age 2009: 19). Because these advertisers are so prominent in Hispanic magazines, I collected ads from, but did not limit data collection to, these marketers from the magazines. Once all ads were pulled, I discarded repeats, and then organized them by language. Further, I developed my own general categories for the ads based on the top-ranked ones, which included Cosmetics and Personal Care (CPC), Automobiles (A), Technology (T), Food & Drink (FD), and Household Products (HP). The number of retail ads was so few in the corpus that this category was discarded. The categorization of brands and products can be found in Appendix A. Finally, advertisements for the same product in both Spanish and English were set aside. There were approximately 20 advertisements for the same product in both languages (40 ads total). A total of 91 ads (56 in Spanish, 35 in English) were analyzed.

However, the majority of the advertisements analyzed are not sets of comparable versions of the same ad in both languages. Therefore, all English the ads were analyzed as a set, and the same was done with the Spanish ads.

4.3 Method of Analysis

This study analyzes the linguistic features of the text in the advertisements. The verbal component of the ads (i.e. the utterances) includes complete sentences as well as fragments. After organizing the ads by category (as outlined in the previous section), the linguistic function (i.e. the illocutionary force of the speech acts) of the utterances from each ad was determined. The classification of the speech acts carried out by the utterances was based on Searle's (1976) taxonomy. A variety of speech acts were employed in these advertisements, including announcements, guarantees, invitations, and reports. However, these speech acts did not occur as frequently in the data as the target speech acts of this study (suggestions, orders, promises, and offers). These target speech acts were chosen based on the frequencies reported in previous quantitative studies on speech acts in advertising discourse. For instance, Hardin (1999) found that the majority of acts in her data from Spanish television advertisements were assertives, followed by directives, and then expressives and commissives. Dayag's (2001) data of Philippine newspaper ads contained (in order of frequency of speech act type) assertives, directives, commissives, and very few expressives and declarations. For the current study I chose not to include assertive speech acts because they only involve the speaker committing to the truth of the proposition. Assertives do not address the audience and do not reflect the strategies of politeness between speaker and hearer such as cost-benefit to the speaker/hearer (Leech 1983), which this study aims to evaluate. Directives and

commissives, on the other hand, involve direct address to the hearer from the speaker and reflect some cost-benefit relationship of politeness between the interlocutors.

4.3.1 Target Speech Acts

The first pragmatic variable analyzed was directives, defined by Searle as illocutionary acts in which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to do something (1976: 11). These include actions such as ordering, suggesting, begging, pleading, and requesting. In the present study, suggestions were realized using various syntactic structures, including interrogatives, imperatives, and declarative statements encouraging future action. Such utterances were entered into the database as (S). Orders were realized in imperative form and were coded in the data as (R).

The second pragmatic variable analyzed was commissives, defined by Searle as illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action (1976: 11). Commissives include actions such as promising, offering, refusing, recommending, and advising. Hardin's (1999) study suggests that the primary purposes of commissives "are to attract attention and to make it seem as though a product has something new or significant to offer" (104). They commonly involve a future action on the part of the addressee. A general pattern that some offers in the data follow is "If the reader does X, then the product/company will do Y." In the data, these speech acts used overt words of offering (like *offer* or *ofrecer*) and were realized in imperative or declarative grammatical forms. They were coded as (O).

Promises in the data were very similar to offers but normally did not involve action on the reader's part; instead they assured only a future action of the product or company. They were linguistically realized in declarative statements using the present or

future tense in order to show that the product or company does something or will do something. The general pattern of promises observed in the present study was “The product/company does/will do X.” Promises were entered in the database as (P).

The presence of directives and commissives in the advertisements was counted, and each ad consisted of one to four speech acts. Speech acts were included in the study if they could be identified as an utterance and analyzed as a speech act. If it was unclear what type of speech act was intended, or if the ad included speech acts other than the four being analyzed in this study, no speech act was entered into the database. Examples of the four types of speech acts from the data appear below.

Example (3a) illustrates how suggestions can be realized in interrogative form in English.

(3) **Directives:**

a. “Care for a Latte? A Cappuccino, perhaps? How about we make you a Mocha?” – McDonald’s McCafé

b. “Sé victoriosa. Toma el reto Special K.” – Special K

The text in (3a) suggests that readers of the ad go into McDonald’s and enjoy a McCafé beverage, which will be made for them according to which type of drink they prefer (latte, cappuccino, etc.). Example (3b) demonstrates an order in Spanish in the imperative form. The imperative “sé” is realized in the familiar, second-person singular form, and the illocutionary force is that of an order, as the utterance orders the reader to be victorious by taking (what the advertiser calls) the Special K challenge.

Examples (4a) and (4b) illustrate the use of commissives in two ads: one marketing the Ford Fiesta, and the other, CoverGirl mascara.

(4) **Commissives:**

a. “Only Fiesta offers voice-activated SYNC.” – Ford Fiesta

b. “Con nuestro cepillo, aún más largo, tus pestañas se ven hasta un 80% más largas.” – CoverGirl Lashblast mascara

Example (4a) employs the overt use of a promise using the word *offer* in declarative form in English. It implies that if the reader chooses Fiesta, the Fiesta will offer him/her the voice-activated SYNC system. Example (4b) illustrates a promise realized in Spanish with a declarative form. It is considered a promise because the illocutionary force of the utterance gives details about what the product (mascara) will do (i.e. promises to do), which is to provide the reader with eyelashes that look 80% longer.

4.3.2 Politeness Strategies

After coding each utterance for type of speech act, the speech acts were analyzed in terms of the utilization of positive and negative politeness strategies outlined by Brown and Levinson (1987) and the cost-benefit scale and Politeness Principle maxims outlined by Leech (1983). Ads appealing to negative face respected the viewer’s freedom of action, expressed distance between the speaker and audience, and followed Brown and Levinson’s (1987) negative strategies (See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1). Ads that appealed to positive face expressed solidarity and closeness, as well as the desire to have one’s values approved, and followed the strategies outlined by Brown and Levinson (1987)³.

The use of personal and social deixis as a politeness strategy was also analyzed in this study. Brown and Gilman (1960) established the terms solidarity and power to

³ See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.

describe the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. They introduce the symbols *T* and *V* to differentiate the familiar and non-familiar forms respectively, which are now generic symbols to describe pronouns in any language. In order to establish the use of solidarity or social distance, the utterances in the data were coded for person and social deixis; that is, the person, number, and familiar or formal forms that were used to make reference to the speaker and/or addressee. There were no instances of non-familiar *V*-forms of social deixis (such as the use of *Ud.* in Spanish). Ads employing familiar *T*-forms were coded as (Y) and were realized with the *tú* form in Spanish. English, however, lacks a *T-V* contrast, and other linguistic features and context needed to be used to code deference or intimacy. For example, kinship terms and titles can be used to indicate power or distance (e.g. *sir*, *madam*, *Mr.*, *Mrs.*, *Dr.*); however, no such forms were found in the advertising data.

In some cases, no markers of distance or solidarity occurred, and these cases were coded as (0 zero). For example, in (5), an ad for Garnier Nutrisse Color Crème, no person deictic forms were used:

- (5) “Colorantes de precisión transforman los castaños más oscuros en rojos vivos.”

Finally, the use of diminutives in the ads was noted and considered a mark of solidarity. Wierzbicka claims that “rich systems of diminutives seem to play a crucial role in cultures in which emotions in general and affection in particular is [sic] expected to be shown overtly” (1991: 53). In the set of data analyzed, diminutives in Spanish were realized with the suffix *-ito/a*. Yet as Wierzbicka points out, in English, a productive diminutive derivation hardly exists at all, despite some isolated baby forms such as “horsie” or “doggie,” or other infrequent suffixes such as *-let/-lette* in “towelette” or

–*ling* as in “duckling” (1991: 50). There were no instances of the English diminutive in these data, and surprisingly very few instances in Spanish. Nonetheless, these were marked with (Y) to indicate intimacy and familiarity.

After all the factors were analyzed and coded in the data, they were kept organized in a spreadsheet and listed with the product name and brand. Totals from each type of factor (i.e. language, product type, speech act type, sentence type, markers of personal reference, mitigation) were counted, and percentages among and within each factor were calculated. Results from the data analysis are presented in the following chapter.

4.3.3 Promises

In Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3, a further analysis on the speech acts of promises identifies the linguistic constructions comprising them. The procedure for analysis was based on Chodorowska-Pilch’s (2002) study on offers in Spanish, and it examined the grammatical, semantic, and deictic elements used to structure promises found in the advertisements. Utterances identified as promises were coded for verb tense (present/future), semantic content (description of function/result of the product advertised), and person deixis (reference to reader/advertiser). The aforementioned elements that form of utterances of promises were coded as follows:

- (PR) promise
- (D) description of product function
- (R) result of product
- (2p) overt reference to reader
- (1p) overt reference of advertiser
- (P) present tense
- (F) future tense

Examples (6-8) show how the coding was applied to the utterances identified as promises:

- (6) a. “El cabello castaño realmente (P) puede lograr tonos rojos vivos e intensos (R).” – Garnier Nutrisse Color Crème
 b. (P) [puede lograr] + (R) [tonos rojos] → (PR)
- (7) a. “Colgate Total (P) combate gérmenes por 12 horas (D).” – Colgate
 b. (P) [combate] + (D) [combate gérmenes] → (PR)
- (8) a. “Our exclusive formula with silk powder (D) creates (P) the ultimate texture (R) and luminosity (R).” – Maybelline Eyestudio Color Plush
 b. (P) [creates] + (D) [formula with silk powder] + (R) [ultimate texture] + (R) [luminosity] → (PR)

Each utterance was noted for its coded linguistic elements and the combination in which they appear. The combinations found in the advertisements were totaled by each language. The results from the analysis on the linguistic constructions of promises will be reviewed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

As presented in Chapter 1, the general questions addressed in this study are the following: (1) How are certain speech acts (suggestions, orders, offers, and promises) carried out in U.S. Spanish and English magazine advertising? (2) How are politeness strategies reflected in these speech acts? (3) Are there any observable differences in the use of speech acts and politeness strategies between Spanish and English advertisements? If so, how are they reflected in the data? (4) What linguistic elements (grammatical, semantic, and deictic) comprise the constructions of the speech acts identified as promises in the advertisements? This chapter addresses these questions in terms of the variables of language (Spanish, English), the type and frequency of speech acts used, sentence type (declarative, interrogative, imperative), use of positive and negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987), and politeness maxims and cost-benefit relationships (Leech 1983).

5.1 Frequencies in the Data

How are certain speech acts (suggestions, orders, offers, and promises) carried out in U.S. Spanish and English magazine advertising? This section describes the frequencies of each speech act observed in the data with respect to language and product category of the advertisements. Following the procedure outlined in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), a total of 91 advertisements were analyzed in the corpus, from which a total of 151 utterances of

the speech acts in focus were taken. 85 utterances were taken from a total of 56 Spanish advertisements, and 66 utterances were taken from 35 English advertisements.

5.1.1 Frequencies of Product Categories

Chapter 4 explains how the 91 advertisements were categorized by product type, and how the utterances were subsequently extracted from advertisements. Table 1 shows the number of speech act utterances that were taken from each product category.

| Table 1: Proportion of Utterances by Product Categories in Database | | |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Category | Number of utterances | Percent of total |
| Cosmetics and Personal Care | 74 | 49.0 |
| Food & Drink | 38 | 25.2 |
| Household Products | 15 | 9.9 |
| Automobiles | 15 | 9.9 |
| Technology | 9 | 6.0 |
| Total | 151 | 100 |

Results in Table 1 show that nearly half of the utterances were taken from the Cosmetics and Personal Care category (49%), meaning the majority of the ads analyzed in this study advertise products from this category. Table 2 shows the number of utterances by product category within each language.

| Table 2: Proportion of Utterances by Product Categories by language | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Category | EN | % | SP | % |
| Cosmetics and Personal Care | 30 | 45.5 | 44 | 51.8 |
| Food & Drink | 17 | 25.8 | 21 | 24.7 |
| Household Products | 5 | 7.6 | 10 | 11.8 |
| Automobiles | 8 | 12.1 | 7 | 8.2 |
| Technology | 6 | 9.0 | 3 | 3.5 |
| Total | 66 | 100 | 85 | 100 |

Again, Cosmetics and Personal Care is the category with the highest number of utterances in both languages, meaning that the largest number of ads in the magazines came from this category. The preference for advertising Cosmetics and Personal Care items reveals that the target audience for magazine readers in both languages is likely to be women, who are presumably the users of cosmetics as well as some of the personal care items. This assumption is supported by the extralinguistic contents of the ads, which showed women or referred to women in every ad for cosmetic products, and nearly all of the ads for personal care products, with the exception of a few Colgate toothpaste ads. This may reflect the fact that advertisers are aware that the majority of the readers of *People* and *People en Español* are women. This factor may also influence the linguistic choices of the ads. The speech acts employed in this category (i.e. Cosmetics and Personal Care) may very well be reflective of (and influenced by) the audience to whom the products are directed. Though demographic factors such as the age and sex of the target audience were not addressed in this study, it would be interesting to do so in a future study.

It should be noted that the frequencies of speech acts in ads from the categories of Automobiles and Technology are lower than other categories because instead of employing directives and commissives, the ads mainly employed assertives in the form of declarative statements. As noted in Chapter 4, assertives were not addressed in this study (See Chapter 4, Section 4.3).

5.1.2 Frequencies of Speech Acts

The classes of speech acts that occur most in the advertising data among directives and commissives are promises and orders. Table 3 shows the frequencies of utterances (151 total) of the four types of speech acts found in the 91 advertisements examined.

| Table 3: Distribution of Speech Acts Analyzed | | |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Type of Speech Act | Number of utterances | Percent of total |
| Suggestions | 26 | 17.2 |
| Orders | 44 | 29.1 |
| Promises | 58 | 38.4 |
| Offers | 23 | 15.2 |
| Total | 151 | 100 |

Contrary to previous studies on speech acts in advertising which found more directives than commissives (Hardin 1999; Dayag 2001), the results of this study show that promises (a type of commissive) are the most frequent type of speech act among all advertisements in the data, accounting for 38.4%. Orders (directives) are the second-most frequent speech act, accounting for 29.1%.

Table 4 displays the distribution of each type of speech act in English and Spanish. Among all four speech acts found in the data, promises are the most frequent type in both languages.

| Table 4: Distribution of Types of Speech Act by Language | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Type of Speech Act | EN | % | SP | % |
| Suggestions | 15 | 22.7 | 11 | 12.9 |
| Orders | 17 | 25.8 | 27 | 31.8 |
| Promises | 28 | 42.4 | 30 | 35.3 |
| Offers | 6 | 9.1 | 17 | 20.0 |
| Total | 66 | 100 | 85 | 100 |

Out of a total of 66 speech acts in English, nearly half of them were promises, comprising 42.4% of all English speech acts found. Likewise, out of a total of 85 speech acts in Spanish, the highest percentage was also found in promises, comprising 35.3% of all speech acts in the Spanish data.

In comparing the total number of promises found in the data (58 utterances), each language accounted for this number almost equally (48.3% for English, 51.7% for Spanish). In the Spanish data, orders were a close second in frequency after promises, making up 31.8% of the Spanish speech acts. Of the total number of orders found in both languages (54 utterances), 61.4% of them were in Spanish, while only 38.6% of them were in English. Because all orders were realized in the imperative (explained in the next section), the lower frequency of orders in English could be due to the fact that the imperative is considered the least polite construction in English (Leech 1983), and the higher frequency in Spanish may relate to Escribano's (2006) observation that the imperative in Spanish has more to do with an invitation than an actual order (285). Similarly, there was a larger number of offers in Spanish (17 utterances) than in English (six), which was also mostly realized in the imperative. Finally, of the total number of suggestions in the data (26 utterances), English employed them with a slightly higher

frequency (57.7%) than Spanish (42.3%). The rankings of these speech acts by frequency in each language are summarized in (9) below:

- (9) English: Promises > Orders > Suggestions > Offers
 Spanish: Promises > Orders > Offers > Suggestions

5.2 Linguistic Realizations of Speech Acts in the Data

How is each speech act realized linguistically in the data? As mentioned in Chapter 4, each speech act was described in terms of its linguistic realization, as being either in imperative, interrogative, or declarative form. A breakdown of the type of linguistic forms realized within each speech act type from both languages appears below in Table 5.

| Table 5: Linguistic Forms by Speech Act Type | | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Speech Act | Linguistic Form | Occurrences | % of total |
| ORDERS | | | |
| (n = 44) | Imperatives | 44 | 100 |
| | Declaratives | 0 | 0 |
| | Interrogatives | 0 | 0 |
| SUGGESTIONS | | | |
| (n = 26) | Imperatives | 5 | 19.2 |
| | Declaratives | 13 | 50.0 |
| | Interrogatives | 8 | 30.8 |
| OFFERS | | | |
| (n = 23) | Imperatives | 17 | 73.9 |
| | Declaratives | 6 | 26.1 |
| | Interrogatives | 0 | 0 |
| PROMISES | | | |
| (n = 58) | Imperatives | 1 | 1.7 |
| | Declaratives | 57 | 98.3 |
| | Interrogatives | 0 | 0 |

Orders were categorically realized as imperatives in every instance in Spanish and English, illustrated in (10) below.

(10) **Orders + imperative**

- a. “Sé victoriosa. Toma el reto Special K.” – Special K
- b. “Defy heat damage. Stay ten times smoother.” – Garnier Fructis Sleek and Shine

The imperatives “sé” and “toma” in (10a) encode familiarity with the use of the second person singular *tú* in Spanish. The order “defy” in (10b) does not encode familiarity yet uses the imperative in English.

Suggestions were the second directive analyzed. They were realized in the data in all three forms in both languages. Interrogative forms are typical of suggestions in both languages (Martínez-Flor 2005) and were the second-most frequent realization in the data. The use of interrogative suggestions and negation was looked at; however, as Koike explains, negation of suggestions does not necessarily imply more politeness (1994: 525), and therefore negation was not used as a determiner for politeness in the study. In addition, there were too few instances of negation in the data to compare its use in the English and Spanish ads. Imperatives are regarded as the most direct and impolite forms of suggestions in English (Martínez-Flor 2005; Kallia 2005), but they were used the least frequently in the data from both languages. Imperative suggestions were realized with fixed phrases like *Go ahead* in the English ads, or the use of first person plural imperative in both languages, such as “Ayudemos a eliminar la deficiencia nutricional.” Suggestions used declarative form most frequently and also often included expressions of possibility or probability, via modal verbs such as *can*, *able*, *poder* (‘be able’). (11a-f) below show examples of suggestions for each sentence type.

(11) **Suggestions + interrogatives**

- a. “Wouldn't you rather have your fruit in 100% fruit juice?” – Dole Fruit Bowls
- b. “¿Qué ganarás cuando pierdas peso?” – Special K

Suggestions + imperatives

- c. “Go ahead, McCafé your day.” – McDonald's McCafé
- d. “Ayudemos a eliminar la deficiencia nutricional: un vaso más cuenta.” – Milk

Suggestions + declaratives

- e. “Alivio en el que puedes confiar.” – Children's Advil
- f. “Your relationship with sweetness can be wonderful again.” – Truvia Sweetener

Examples (11a-f) encourage future action on the reader's part in some way. The suggested future action of (11a) is that the reader switch to 100% fruit juice. The advertiser in (11b) asks “What will you gain?” implying that the future action of the reader is losing weight. (11c) uses the fixed phrase *Go ahead* in English encourages the reader to “McCafé” his/her day, while (11d) uses the first person plural in (“Let's help”) in Spanish to encourage helping eliminate nutritional deficiency. Examples (11e-f) illustrate expressions of possibility with the use of verbs like *can* and *poder*.

Table 6 breaks down the linguistic realizations of directives in the data by language.

| Table 6: Linguistic Forms of Directives by Language | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Speech Act | Linguistic Form | EN | % | SP | % |
| ORDERS | | | | | |
| (n = 44) | Imperatives | 17 | 54.8 | 27 | 71.1 |
| | Declaratives | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Interrogatives | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SUGGESTIONS | | | | | |
| (n = 26) | Imperatives | 9.7 | 11.5 | 2 | 5.3 |
| | Declaratives | 19.4 | 23.1 | 7 | 18.4 |
| | Interrogatives | 16.1 | 19.2 | 2 | 5.3 |

Table 6 shows that orders in both languages were expressed with imperatives 100% of the time, but Spanish employs a greater number of orders. As Leech explains (1983: 119), imperatives are considered the least polite constructions in English, which may explain why the number of orders in English is lower than in Spanish. Analysis of the orders in the data reveals that the illocutionary force of the orders is more similar to that of invitations. A test was carried out for each utterance labeled as an order by prefacing it with “I order you to...” For example, “I order you to... ‘experience new air-whipped liquid makeup’” (Maybelline Dream Liquid Mousse foundation). In this instance, ordering the reader to experience a product is instead more like inviting the reader to experience it. This test illustrated that the illocutionary force of the orders is more like an invitation. This is reflective of what Escribano (2006: 284) finds; that is, that orders are more like invitations because they call attention to the reader and try to rope him/her in. Spanish and English reflected roughly the same frequencies of suggestions carried out as

imperatives and declaratives, but the English ads contained slightly more interrogative suggestions than did the Spanish ones.

Commissives are those types of speech acts in the data that tell the reader what the product will do him/her or how s/he will benefit from the product. Table 5 shows that out of the total number of offers, most were realized in imperative form, but some also occurred in declarative form. There were no instances of offers in interrogative form in Spanish or English. Offers generally used words in English such as *try*, *offer*, *give*, *receive*, *let*, *bring*, *choose*, *discover*, and words in Spanish like *ofrecer*, *regalar*, *recibir*, *probar*, and *descubrir*. Offers in the ads implied action on the reader's part. For instance, if the reader does X, the product or company will do Y. Examples of the linguistic forms found in offers in both languages are shown in (12).

(12) **Offers + imperative**

- a. "Prueba nuestra base líquida y espumosa para un cutis 100% perfecto sin que se noten los poros." – Maybelline Dream Liquid Mousse foundation
- b. "For stylish smoky eyes, just sweep the brush four times." – Maybelline Expertwear eye shadow

Offers + declarative

- c. "Fiesta offers voice-activated calling, directions, music, and news. Its competitors don't." – Ford Fiesta
- d. "Y es que el Happy Meal de McDonald's te ofrece opciones como los deliciosos Chicken McNuggets..." – McDonald's Happy Meal

Examples (12a-b) show that use of the product by the reader will give specific results (e.g. "stylish smoky eyes" or "un cutis 100% perfecto"). Hardin (1999: 104) explains that one purpose of offers in advertising is to attract the attention of the reader and to make it seem as though a product or company has something new or significant to offer; as a

result, some offers are more like announcements than actual offers, as the examples in (12c-d) illustrate with use of explicit verbs of offering, like *offer* and *ofrecer*.

Finally, promises almost exclusively appeared in the declarative form, except for one utterance in the imperative form in Spanish, as seen in (13c). The text in (13c) promises that the reader will enjoy a cleaning experience but recommends that s/he first must prepare him/herself for it, as expressed through the Spanish imperative “*prepárate*.” (13a-b) are additional examples of promises in declarative form from Spanish and English.

(13) **Promise + declarative**

- a. “It's actually possible to achieve rich, intense reds.” – Garnier Nutrisse Color Crème
- b. “Todo cuando quieras.” – Motorola Droid on Verizon

Promise + imperative

- c. “*Prepárate* para disfrutar una experiencia de limpieza con un aroma que amarás.” – Gain dishwashing liquid

Examples in (13a-c) show that promises assure a future action of the product or company rather than of the reader, and tell the reader what the product will provide. A more detailed analysis of how promises are constructed in the data will be reviewed in Section 5.3.3.

Table 7 shows the number of linguistic forms realized as commissives by language.

| Table 7: Linguistic Forms of Commissives by Language | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Speech Act | Linguistic Form | EN | % | SP | % |
| OFFERS | | | | | |
| (n = 23) | Imperatives | 3 | 8.8 | 14 | 29.8 |
| | Declaratives | 3 | 8.8 | 3 | 6.4 |
| | Interrogatives | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| PROMISES | | | | | |
| (n = 58) | Imperatives | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2.1 |
| | Declaratives | 28 | 82.4 | 29 | 61.7 |
| | Interrogatives | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 7 shows that of the data collected, the most frequently realized form of offers in both languages is the imperative. This is probably due to the fact that offers involve a future action of the reader, and imperatives deliberately tell the reader to do the future action. Table 7 also shows that Spanish employs the imperative much more frequently than English for offers. Both languages employ declaratives equally for offers. For promises, Table 7 shows that both languages use strictly declaratives to express promises, with the one exception presented in (13c) above.

Table 8 summarizes the frequencies of linguistic forms of all speech acts by language.

| Table 8: Summary of Linguistic Forms by Language | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| Linguistic Form | English | % | Spanish | % |
| Declaratives | 37 | 56.1 | 39 | 45.9 |
| Imperatives | 23 | 34.8 | 44 | 51.8 |
| Interrogatives | 6 | 9.1 | 2 | 2.4 |
| Total | 66 | 100 | 85 | 100 |

Declaratives were the most frequently used linguistic form in the ads from the data. The number of declaratives used by both languages is more or less equal, accounting for roughly half of each language's total number of speech acts (66 in English, 85 in Spanish). Imperatives were the second-most realized linguistic form of all the ads; however, Spanish employed significantly more than English (51.8% compared to 34.8%). Finally, the use of interrogative form was rather infrequent in all the data, but English used interrogatives slightly more than Spanish (four more utterances). The frequencies in Table 8 generalize the preferences of linguistic forms that English and Spanish use in the advertisements from the data. These frequencies tell us that (1) Promises are the most frequently used type of speech act (when compared with suggestions, orders, and offers) in both languages in advertisements; (2) Declarative form is the most frequently used sentence type among all the utterances in the Spanish and English data; and (3) Spanish tends to employ the imperative more frequently in speech acts than English. The following section tries to explain the relationship between each language's preference for speech act and linguistic form in terms of politeness.

5.3 Politeness Strategies Reflected in the Data

How are politeness strategies reflected in these speech acts? In this section, each speech act is analyzed in terms of the use of politeness strategies. According to Brown and Levinson, all four types of speech acts examined "primarily threaten the addressee's negative-face wants, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action" (1987: 65). In contrast, and more importantly in terms of advertising, all four speech acts are oriented toward the addressee's positive face by recognizing his/her wants, interests, and needs.

5.3.1 Commissives

Brown and Levinson propose that in the case of promises, “S commits himself to a future act for H’s benefit” (1987: 66). In the case of offers, “S indicates that he wants H to commit himself to whether or not he wants S to do some act for H, with H thereby incurring a possible debt” (1987: 66). Thus, it can be said that promises are commissive utterances in which the imposition falls on the speaker. Brown and Levinson consider offers and promises to be speech acts “that predicate some positive future act of S toward H, and in so doing put some pressure on H to accept or reject them, and possibly to incur a debt” (1987: 66). An offer can threaten the negative face of the hearer because s/he is put in a situation in which s/he is now seen as obligated to accept the offer from the speaker. Nevertheless, in the case of offers and promises in advertising, the obligation of the reader to accept the offer is absent; that is, s/he can choose to read the ad or simply ignore it, for which s/he would incur no “debt.” The obligation is only realized if the hearer complies with the offer (e.g. s/he goes out and purchases the product being offered).

Offers and promises and their linguistic realizations can illustrate strategies of positive and negative politeness in several ways. First, offers and promises presuppose knowledge of the hearer’s wants and attitudes, and also notice and attend to the hearer’s wants, interests, and needs. These are characterized by Brown and Levinson’s Strategies 1 and 7 of positive politeness, which are “Notice, attend to H (interests, wants, needs, goods)” and “Presuppose/raise/assert common ground” (1987: 103, 117). Advertisers presuppose knowledge of the reader’s wants and attitudes, tastes, habits, etc. when they offer or promise that the product or company will do something that they believe the

reader will want (Brown and Levinson 1987: 122). In addition, Brown and Levinson state that offers and promises “claim that whatever H wants, S wants for him and will help him to obtain it,” so as to “illustrate S’s good intentions in satisfying H’s positive-face wants” (1987: 125). For instance, a hair coloring ad with the text “El cabello castaño realmente puede lograr tonos rojos vivos e intensos” illustrates that the speaker (i.e. the advertiser, Garnier Fructis) has acknowledged that the hearer (i.e. the reader) wants a rich and intense red hair color, and promises that the product will satisfy this want by giving the reader rich, red hair. This is Strategy 10 of positive politeness, which is “Offer, promise” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 125).

Offers and promises in declarative form attract the reader and demonstrate that the product has something new or beneficial to offer, catering to the reader’s positive face. For example, a Cover Girl mascara ad from the data says “Con nuestro cepillo, aún más largo, tus pestañas se ven hasta un 80% más largas.” Through use of a declarative (“tus pestañas se ven”), instead of a more direct imperative, the advertiser promises to provide a benefit to the reader (i.e. by producing eyelashes longer in appearance) if the reader uses the product.

Offers realized in imperative constructions of first person plural (*let’s* in English) emphasize positive politeness according to Strategy 12: “Include both S and H in the activity.” This strategy also indicates that “by using an inclusive ‘we’ form, when S really means ‘you’ or ‘me,’ he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTAs” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 127). For example, an ad for milk from the data with the text “Ayudemos a eliminar la deficiencia nutricional: un vaso más cuenta” employs the inclusive *we* form as described in Strategy 12. Despite their appeal to positive

politeness, the number of instances of first person imperative in the data was very low (two instances). There were no instances of offers in interrogative form in the data.

Overall, offers and promises are speech acts that support positive politeness because they are sensitive to the addressee's needs and wants and accommodate the reader's positive face. They also support Leech's (1983) Tact Maxim and Generosity Maxim because they have the potential to maximize the addressee's benefit and maximize the cost to self (i.e. the advertiser) by promising to fulfill acts beneficial to the addressee. A further analysis of the elements that help convey politeness (e.g. grammatical, semantic, deictic elements) in constructions of promises (the most frequently realized speech act in this data) will be explained in Section 5.3.3.

5.3.2 Directives

Brown and Levinson describe orders and suggestions as "those acts that predicate some future act A of H, and in so doing put some pressure on H to do (or refrain from doing) the act A" (1987: 65). These speech acts are not necessarily considered negative in advertisements because, although in conversation their force would tend to impede the freedom of action of the addressee, the obligation to fulfill the act in the context of print advertising is absent (as with promises and offers). Brown and Levinson define suggestions as acts in which "S indicates that he thinks H ought to (perhaps) do some act A." Meanwhile, they define orders as acts in which "S indicates that he wants H to do, or refrain from doing, some act A" (1987: 65-66). In the case of both of these directives, "the danger to H's face is VERY small", as in speech acts that are "... clearly in H's interest and do not require great sacrifices of S" (1987: 69). Although there is pressure on the hearer, the speaker believes that the act will be of benefit to the hearer, which in turn

reflects Leech's Tact Maxim of maximizing the speaker's benefit. For instance, a McDonald's McCafé ad says "Disfruta lo nuevo de McCafé." In this example from the data, the speaker (i.e. the advertiser, McDonald's) indicates that he wants the hearer (i.e. the reader) to enjoy a new beverage from McCafé. Despite being an order, this speech act supports politeness because the order is clearly in the reader's interest and the advertiser believes that enjoying the beverage will benefit the reader. On Leech's cost-benefit scale, the greater the benefit to the hearer, the more polite the utterance is considered.

All speech acts of orders in the data were realized in imperative form. Orders from the Spanish data use Brown and Levinson's positive politeness Strategy 4: "Use in-group identity markers," which is done by using "any of the innumerable ways to convey in-group membership, S can implicitly claim the common ground with H" (1987: 107). In other words, establishing solidarity is a strategy for positive politeness. The data in the current study reflect Strategy 4 through use of the familiar address form *tú* in Spanish. By using second person familiar commands, they "indicate that S considers the relative P[ower] between himself and the addressee to be small, thus softening the imperative by indicating that it isn't a power-backed command" (1987: 108). For example, Garnier Fructis shampoo uses the *tú* form in the following ad: "Olvídate del resto. Mantén tu cabello liso aun con 97% de humedad." The familiar form softens the command by showing solidarity between the speaker (i.e. the advertiser) and the hearer (i.e. the reader).

On the other hand, orders and suggestions realized in the imperative in English are not encoded for social deixis (e.g. familiar or formal), and in the absence of this contrast, English cannot convey the intimacy or familiarity that Spanish *tú* imperatives

can. All English imperatives in the data omitted overt use of *you*, which Brown and Levinson consider to be a negative politeness strategy (1987: 191). Negative politeness Strategy 7, “Impersonalize S and H: Avoid the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 190), means that the omission of *you* as a subject of an imperative is considered less rude when compared to imperatives that use *you* overtly. Brown and Levinson exemplify this with the phrase “You take that out!” which, they maintain, is ruder than “Take that out!” (1987: 191). This is a negative politeness strategy because “S doesn’t want to impinge on H” and “phrase[s] the FTA as if the agent were other than S, or at least possibly not S or S alone, and the addressee were other than H, or only inclusive of H” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 190). An example of Strategy 7 from the data comes from a Garnier Fructis shampoo ad, which says “Defy heat damage. Stay ten times smoother.” The use of an overt *you* in an imperative would be marked in English, and would normally be considered less polite. By avoiding the direct use of *you*, this imperative minimizes the imposition that the face-threatening act of an order unavoidably affects, and acts more like an invitation to the reader to use the product.

The suggestions in the data are oriented toward the positive face of the addressee by presupposing his/her wants and needs for the product. The act of suggesting is in the interest of the reader and the advertiser believes that the suggestion will benefit the reader; for this reason, suggestions in the data were considered strategies of positive politeness [Strategy 1] (Brown and Levinson 1987). For example, a Clorox Greenworks ad says “Since they're made by Clorox you can trust them to clean tough stains,” in which the advertisers propose that the reader can trust the product to clean stains, which would be beneficial to the reader.

Suggestions support positive politeness by acknowledging the reader's wants and needs for a product, and like commissives, they support Leech's (1983) Tact Maxim and Generosity Maxim because they have the potential to maximize the addressee's benefit and maximize the cost to self (i.e. the advertiser) by promising to fulfill the acts. Orders in Spanish were considered a positive politeness strategy because they establish common ground and closeness between speaker and hearer by carrying out the imperative with the familiar *tú*.

5.3.3 Further Analysis of Politeness in Promises

Promises were the most frequent speech act in the data. A further analysis of these acts was carried out in order to identify the linguistic constructions comprising them. Modeled after the analysis of offers in Chodorowska-Pilch's (2002) study (See Chapter 3, Section 3.3 for a review of the study), in this section the grammatical, semantic, and deictic elements (personal and social) used in promises are analyzed.

Tense is a grammatical feature that can encode politeness and is one factor considered when analyzing promises in the current data set. Chodorowska-Pilch (2002) discusses the ways in which verb tense may be used to convey politeness in Spanish. With regard to the use of the future tense, she notes that "la expresión de cortesía también se puede realizar mediante el desplazamiento del presente al futuro simple," and that the future tense "sirve más bien para codificar la buena disposición del agente" (32). She goes on to say that by using the future tense and second person reference "el hablante intenta salvaguardar tanto la imagen negativa (por mitigación) como la imagen positiva del cliente ... obedeciendo a la teoría de Brown y Levinson" (2002: 32). For example, a L'Oréal ad uses the future tense in the following promise: "Con tu Scrublet obtendrás

360* de limpieza facial.” Chodorowska-Pilch adds that, like the future tense, the conditional tense also conveys politeness in Spanish.

Another linguistic feature analyzed for each of the promises was semantic content of the utterance. This involved describing what each product did or would do, and also the beneficial results that the product would provide for the reader. To illustrate, when the ad for Garnier Nutrisse hair color states “precision colorants transform the darkest browns to vivid reds,” the advertiser assures the reader that this product will change her hair color (regardless of how dark) to a desirable color (i.e. vivid red). An example of a beneficial result of a Maybelline makeup foundation product is the use of the utterance “un cutis 100% perfecto y suave como de bebé,” which promises the readers that if they use the product, then they will obtain certain results (i.e. un cutis perfecto y suave). The utterances in the ads conveyed politeness by using these descriptions in combination with other elements and indicating how the reader will benefit.

Deictic reference to the reader via second person references (e.g. *tú*, *you*, *te*, *your*, *tu/s*) were used to attract attention to the reader and to personalize the message. For instance, the use of *you/tú* as subjects (e.g. “getting the eye look you want [is] easier than ever”), *you/te* as indirect objects (e.g. “giving you soft, scented skin”), or *your/tu(s)* as markers of possession (e.g. “tus pestañas se ven hasta un 80% más largas”) were noted in the constructions. Additionally, first person plural references—that is, deictic reference to the advertiser (e.g. *we*, *nosotros*, *our*, *nuestro/a*)—were also analyzed. These forms also convey politeness by indicating what the advertiser or product will do personally for the reader (for example, “our exclusive formula”).

The coding system for this analysis follows the format used by Chodorowska-Pilch in her (2002) study on offers in peninsular Spanish. Each utterance was coded in terms of tense used (present/future), semantic content (description of function/result of product), and person deixis (reference to reader/advertiser), if any. These elements forming promises were coded and noted as outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3.

The constructions found in the Spanish and English data can be seen below. There were a total of 31 promises in Spanish and 27 promises in English.

| EN | SP | No. | Construction |
|----|----|------|---|
| 6 | 3 | (1) | $(P) + (R) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 3 | (2) | $(P) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 3 | (3) | $(P) + (R) + (R) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (4) | $(P) + (R) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 1 | (5) | $(P) + (R) + (R) + (R) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 5 | 5 | (6) | $(P) + (D) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 1 | (7) | $(P) + (D) + (D) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 0 | (8) | $(P) + (D) + (1p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 3 | 1 | (9) | $(P) + (D) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 0 | (10) | $(P) + (D) + (D) + (D) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 1 | (11) | $(P) + (D) + (D) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (12) | $(P) + (D) + (D) + (R) + (R) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 5 | (13) | $(P) + (D) + (R) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (14) | $(P) + (D) + (R) + (1p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 1 | (15) | $(P) + (D) + (R) + (R) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 2 | 0 | (16) | $(P) + (D) + (R) + (R) + (1p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (17) | $(P) + (D) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (18) | $(P) + (D) + (D) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (19) | $(F) + (D) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 1 | (20) | $(F) + (D) + (D) + (R) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 0 | 1 | (21) | $(F) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |
| 1 | 0 | (22) | $(F) + (R) + (R) + (2p) \rightarrow (PR)$ |

This analysis reveals that there are a number of constructions that can form a promise in this data set (22 total). There were no direct promises in the data; that is, no utterance contained the overt use of the performative verbs *promise* or *prometer*. In other words, all

of the promises in the data were considered indirect. There were 22 possible indirect constructions of promises in the data. Each construction employed a variety of descriptive verbs in Spanish such as *lograr*, *ser*, *durar*, and *obtener*, and English verbs such as *achieve*, *get*, and *be*. With the exception of five promises in the future tense, all other promises used the present tense. The most frequent construction was ‘present tense + a description’ (10 instances; 5 in English, 5 in Spanish), followed by ‘present tense + a result’ (9 instances; 6 in English, 3 in Spanish), which may indicate that advertisers promising one beneficial detail of the product to the reader is sufficient. This is reflective of Escribano’s study in which she states that detailing an advantage of a product is one strategy of advertising discourse (2006: 276). In general, constructions (1), (6), and (9) were the most used constructions in Spanish and English promises. Examples (14a-c) exhibit the constructions (1), (6), and (9) respectively.

- (14) a. “(P) It's actually possible to achieve rich, intense reds (R).” – Garnier Nutrisse Color Crème
 b. “Children's Advil le (P) baja la fiebre a tu niño más rápido que Children's Tylenol (D).” – Children’s Advil
 c. “Más de lo que (P) imaginas (D) para tu (2p) cocina.” – Dawn Hand Renewal

Finally, the analysis of promises aimed to show any differences between English and Spanish with regard to the use of the three variables considered. For example: Is there a greater tendency to make reference to the addressee in Spanish or English? Results show that Spanish promises employed a total of 10 references to the addressee, while English employed seven; in general, there is only a small difference. Is there a greater tendency to make reference to the advertiser in Spanish or English? Results show that Spanish made just one use of first person plural reference, while English made three;

there is a slight difference, but the total number of occurrences is so low and that no conclusions can be reached regarding this variable. Does one language emphasize the semantic content of product function more than the other? Spanish employed 25 descriptions of product functions in the ads, and English employed 21; there is no notable difference between the languages relative to the total number of promises in each language. Does one language emphasize the semantic content of the product's results more than the other? Spanish employed 33 descriptions of product results, while English employed only 20. The higher number of descriptions of product results in Spanish shows that there is more emphasis on this aspect of the product in Spanish ads more than English. There were only three ads constructed with the future tense in Spanish and only two ads constructed with the future tense in English. Neither language employs the future tense as a strategy of politeness very frequently. The present tense is the primary tense of promises in the data.

In a further analysis of promises (the most frequent speech act found in the data), we found that the present tense of verbs and phrases describing the product function and its results comprise the majority of constructions of promises. The differences between English and Spanish constructions of promises are slight; however, Spanish advertisers tend to emphasize the result of the product more than English advertisers.

In this chapter, we found that promises were the most frequent speech act in the Spanish and English advertisements. We also found that orders tend to be realized exclusively in the imperative form, while promises were realized almost categorically in declarative form. The directive and commissive speech acts analyzed can be used as appeals to the reader's positive face by benefitting him/her as described by the

advertisement. The Spanish and English advertisements examined tend to orient towards positive politeness strategies in general. We observed that promises can be realized in a number of patterns containing the present and future tense, descriptions of the advertised product's function or resulting benefit, and deictic markers with reference to the reader or the advertiser. The constructions of promises containing these linguistic elements are mostly similar in both Spanish and English; however, we found that Spanish tends to place more emphasis on describing the result of the product to the reader.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Conclusions of the Present Study

The present study has attempted to describe the use of certain speech acts and the role of politeness in magazine advertising qualitatively and quantitatively. We now revisit the study's primary questions and hypotheses in order to compare them with the results found.

- (1) How are certain speech acts (suggestions, orders, offers, and promises) carried out in U.S. Spanish and English magazine advertising?

Regarding the products advertised in *People* and *People en Español*, the four speech acts in focus were carried out most frequently in advertisements for Cosmetics and Personal Care in both languages. Promises were the most frequent speech act in both Spanish and English, followed by orders. This finding contrasts with the findings from previous studies (Hardin 1999; Dayag 2001) which quantitatively analyzed types of speech acts in Spanish and Philippine advertising, and found that directives were more frequent in their data than commissives. It was also found that the underlying illocutionary force of orders in the ads from *People* and *People en Español* is more like offering, inviting, and even calling attention to the reader rather than commanding that the action be done. Escribano (2006) also found this to be the case in her study on advertising strategies in Spanish; that is, the orders and suggestions analyzed were relatively non-threatening to the readers and had the force of invitations instead of commands.

Regarding the general linguistic realizations (i.e. sentence types) of the four speech acts in both languages, it was found that orders were carried out exclusively in the imperative form; promises were carried out almost exclusively in declarative form; offers were carried out mainly in imperative form; and suggestions were realized in imperative, declarative, and interrogative forms. A further analysis of constructions of promises in the data found that promises in English and Spanish were carried out indirectly using present and future tense declarative sentences. These utterances used a combination of phrases describing what the product does or would do to benefit the reader, and what the beneficial outcome would be for the reader with use of the product. Promises also used familiar person deixis (e.g. second person singular forms) in Spanish *tú* and English *you* in order to attract attention to the reader as well as convey politeness. The most frequent construction of promises in the data overall was ‘present tense + a description’ (10 instances).

(2) How are politeness strategies reflected in these speech acts?

Directives and commissives were chosen for the study because of the relationship they establish with the reader; in these acts the speaker (i.e. advertiser) attempts to get the hearer (i.e. the reader) to do something or commit to some future action. Regarding the use of politeness strategies in advertising, all four speech acts (orders, suggestions, promises, and offers) were found to be oriented toward the addressee’s positive face in the sense that they recognized his/her wants, interests, and needs. The future actions implied by these speech acts were always in the interest of the hearer, and therefore the orders, suggestions, promises, and offers in the ads conveyed positive politeness because they aimed to maximize the benefit of the reader with these future actions. Just as Stehlik

(2007) observed, no verb in the advertisements of the current study directly referred to the act of buying (e.g. *buy, purchase, comprar*), nor were there any constructions imposing a strong sense of obligation (e.g. *must, tener + que*) to the reader.

- (3) Are there any observable differences in the use of speech acts and politeness between Spanish and English advertisements? If so, how are they reflected in the data?

In terms of the number of speech acts found in each language, Spanish employed more orders and offers than English did. These results are similar to those of Ballesteros (2001), who found that direct forms of commands (i.e. imperatives) were used two times more frequently in Spanish than in English in his data set. While Spanish allows for encoding of familiar forms (e.g. *tú*) within imperatives, English imperatives do not encode such familiarity, and therefore this variable could not be compared cross-linguistically. The majority of offers were realized in imperative form in English, and the majority of offers and orders in Spanish were also realized as imperatives. The data from the current study were not particularly revealing in terms of the use of T-V forms in Spanish advertisements. This could be due to the types of products being advertised (mainly cosmetics) or due to the audience of the magazines analyzed, which, given the forms of address used in the advertisements (i.e. familiar forms), was presumably a younger, mainly female audience.

Utterances in both English and Spanish reflected strategies of positive politeness in some way, primarily by attending to and presupposing the hearer's interests, and also by offering and promising. A very small number of utterances (one in Spanish and one in English) included both the speaker and hearer in the future act through use of first person plural form. Spanish, however, was able to establish common ground (Strategy 7 of

Brown and Levinson's positive politeness) by marking linguistic forms with the familiar form *tú* in imperatives and thus establishing solidarity between the advertiser and reader. Contrastively, by omitting the marked overt use of *you* in imperatives, English ads applied the negative politeness strategy of impersonalizing the speaker and hearer (Strategy 7 of Brown and Levinson's negative politeness). It was hypothesized that Spanish would employ more positive politeness strategies and English would employ more negative politeness strategies. Given the types of positive and negative strategies found in this study, English only employs one strategy of negative politeness (that is, of impersonalizing imperatives by avoiding overt use of pronouns), which is likely due to the lack of T-V distinction within the morphology of English verbs. This result is moderately similar to Tsuzuki's (2005) results in which negative politeness strategies were preferred by English speakers, and also to some degree similar to those of Ballesteros (2001), who found that Spanish speakers preferred positive politeness strategies and English speakers preferred negative politeness strategies.

As we have seen, previous studies on speech acts and politeness recognized that speakers of different languages tend to favor either positive or negative politeness in conversational discourse (Koike 1998; Kallia 2005; Tsuzuki et al. 2005; Ballesteros 2001). However, the conclusions of politeness in this study do not imply that English- or Spanish-speaking societies in the U.S. tend to orient towards positive or negative strategies in advertising discourse. What can be concluded is that there seems to be a difference between advertising discourse and conversational discourse, based on the fact that while conversational discourse may have various goals, advertising discourse has one goal (that is, persuading the reader to buy or use some product). Although different

societies may prefer one type of politeness over another in conversational discourse, the purpose of advertising discourse is the same no matter the language (Hardin 1999), and specific speech acts like directives and commissives can be used to achieve this singular goal of advertising. The results from this study show that, in general, both languages use the speech acts of suggestions, orders, promises, and offers as appeals to the reader's positive face, which could be considered a resource of persuasion in advertising. This study shows that what may differ among languages in advertising discourse are the structural linguistic features specific to a language (i.e. the encoding of familiar form *tú* in Spanish) that tend to support either positive or negative politeness strategies, and in turn reflect the society's cultural values. These differences in linguistic features seem to be the most significant factor in considering the conclusions this study has found on cross-cultural politeness in advertising.

6.2 Limitations and Directions for Future Study

As with all linguistic investigations, the present study has some limitations. The corpus analyzed consists of advertisements from only two magazines, and only one in each language. As mentioned earlier, the type of magazine and its audience may play a role in the type of products advertised and consequently may affect the types of speech acts and politeness employed. Due the small amount of data analyzed, the findings from this study cannot be generalized within all advertisements in English and Spanish. However, this examination of a small sample from two similar, popular magazines in the U.S. has attempted to shed light on pragmatic and linguistic differences of advertising discourse in Spanish and English. The main differences found were the types of sentence forms of the speech acts employed (imperatives, declaratives, interrogatives) and how

they are used to convey politeness in each language. Further, the study chose to focus on two types of speech acts (i.e. directives and commissives); conclusions might differ if additional types of speech acts were incorporated, for example assertives, expressives, and declarations. The parameters of analysis for this study were based on those of previous studies on politeness and speech acts, and the concepts within those parameters (e.g. the use of personal deixis or mitigation). The data from this study did not show significant use of these concepts, and so the parameters of analysis from previous studies were not entirely useful in this respect. A more discourse-analytical investigation on all the speech acts in the data (as attempted in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3, modeled after Chodorowska-Pilch's 2002 study) would perhaps contribute more to the findings.

6.3 Future Research

The findings from this study may contribute to future cross-cultural studies comparing two or more languages or cultures in socio-cultural and pragmatic contexts, and could be taken into consideration when writing or translating advertising texts across cultures. Moreover, future studies could observe advertisements from other magazines reaching a different or more diverse audience, or could observe texts from other media, such as newspapers, television ads, or the internet, in order to see how advertisers employ politeness strategies and speech acts in different societies.

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APPENDIX A

CATEGORIES AND BRANDS OF PRODUCTS IN DATA

Cosmetics and Personal Care

Vaseline
 Garnier
 Pantene
 Cover Girl
 L'Oréal
 Maybelline
 Olay
 Head & Shoulders
 Herbal Essences
 Colgate
 Caress
 Advil
 Crest
 Tylenol

Technology

Sprint
 Motorola
 Verizon

Food & Drink

McDonald's
 Dole
 Truvia
 Special K
 Nescafé
 Milk
 Coca-Cola
 Nestlé
 Lactaid
 Extra
 Starbucks

Automobiles

Ford
 Nissan
 Honda
 Buick
 Chevrolet

Household Products

Clorox
 Brita
 Downy
 Dawn
 Gain
 Mr. Clean

APPENDIX B

TOKENS

- 1 It's actually possible to achieve rich, intense reds.
- 2 Precision colorants transform the darkest browns to vivid reds.
- 3 El cabello castaño realmente puede lograr tonos rojos vivos e intensos.
- 4 Colorantes de precisión transforman los castaños más oscuros en rojos vivos.
- 5 Ahora una base en crema espumosa logra un cutis 100% perfecto y suave como de bebé.
- 6 Now makeup is cream-whipped for 100% baby-smooth perfection.
- 7 Presentando las nuevas colecciones Herbal Essences, con ingredientes suavizantes que se activan con el agua. Para un pelo suave y con brillo.
- 8 Announcing the new Herbal Essences collections, with silkening ingredients that activate in water. For softer shinier hair.
- 9 For stylish smoky eyes, just sweep the brush four times.
- 10 The freshest custom color combinations and step-by-step guide make getting the eye look you want easier than ever.
- 11 Para unos ojos ahumados de moda, sólo desliza el aplicador cuatro veces.
- 12 Las combinaciones de color más frescas y expertamente coordinadas, más una guía paso a paso te ayudan a lograr el look de ojos que deseas más fácil que nunca.
- 13 Gum that tastes just like mint chocolate chip ice cream.
- 14 Chicle que sabe igualito a tarta de fresa con crema... pero con sólo 5 calorías.
- 15 With our longest brush yet, lashes look up to 80% longer.

- 16 Con nuestro cepillo, aún más largo, tus pestañas se ven hasta un 80% más largas.
- 17 Ahora es posible alcanzar la perfección.
- 18 Prueba nuestra base líquida y espumosa para un cutis 100% perfecto sin que se noten los poros.
- 19 Airbrushed perfection made possible.
- 20 Experience new air-whipped liquid makeup for 100% poreless skin.
- 21 Una nueva sensación en brillo, tan suntuoso, tan brillante, tan delicioso.
- 22 A new sensation in shine, so luscious, so glassy, so yummy.
- 23 El maquillaje de ojos ahumados a tu alcance.
- 24 Dramatiza tus ojos en 4 pasos sencillos.
- 25 The smoky eye look made easy.
- 26 Dramatize your eyes in 4 easy steps.
- 27 Be victorious. Take the Special K Challenge.
- 28 Kick-start a healthier new you by losing up to 6lbs in 2 weeks. Join us at
SpecialK.com
- 29 Sé victoriosa. Toma el reto Special K.
- 30 Arranca un año más saludable perdiendo hasta 6lbs en 2 semanas. Únete a nosotras.
Toma el reto Special K.
- 31 Este otoño, baja hasta una talla de jeans en sólo dos semanas.
- 32 Toma El Reto Special K.
- 33 ¿Qué ganarás cuando pierdas peso?
- 34 Pierde hasta 6 libras en 2 semanas.
- 35 Express your Looooooooove!

- 36 Expresa tu Amorrrrrrr!
- 37 Empareja tu cutis y despierta una apariencia rejuvenecida.
- 38 Realza la luminosidad. Disminuye la opacidad.
- 39 Equalize your complexion to ignite a youthful glow.
- 40 Enhance radiance. Diminish dullness.
- 41 Con su exclusiva Infusión Sedosa de Fragancia, el jabón líquido combina tres humectantes sedosos con exquisita fragancia, dándote una piel suave y perfumada, que seducirá tus sentidos como ningún otro.
- 42 With its unique Silky Fragrance Infusion, Caress body wash blends triple silkening moisturizers with exquisite fragrance, giving you soft, scented skin that will tantalize the sense like no other.
- 43 Ready pa' tu mundo. Nueva Fiesta.
- 44 Fiesta offers voice-activated calling, directions, music, and news. Its competitors don't.
- 45 Only Fiesta offers voice-activated SYNC.
- 46 When it comes to safety, the Fiesta has you covered.
- 47 Healthier mouth, healthier body?
- 48 Research suggests that the gateway to the health of your body may be your mouth.
- 49 Haz lo mejor para tu boca.
- 50 Colgate Total combate gérmenes por 12 horas. Las otras marcas de crema dental regular con flúor no.
- 51 Pon tu sonrisa en manos expertas.
- 52 Can your volume pass the 4 o'clock flop test?

- 53 Try Pantene flat to volume system. Put it to the test and see your volume last all day.
- 54 Get light-reflecting shimmer, layered under a high gloss finish.
- 55 Get shimmer behind the shine with Shineblast.
- 56 Clinically proven to clean better than traditional cleansers.
- 57 Grab your Scrublet and Go 360* Clean.
- 58 Con tu Scrublet obtendrás 360* de limpieza facial.
- 59 Según pruebas clínicas, brinda mayor limpieza para una piel más hermosa.
- 60 Our exclusive formula with silk powder creates the ultimate texture and luminosity.
- 61 Expensive department store products? Why go there when there's Regenerist?
- 62 Purifies for 1/3 the cost of several department store cleansers. Hydrates better than European creams costing up to \$700.
- 63 Defy heat damage. Stay ten times smoother.
- 64 Smooths frizz. Nourishes and protects.
- 65 Olvídate del resto. Mantén tu cabello liso aun con 97% de humedad.
- 66 Logra un cabello 5 veces más sedoso. Combate el frizz todo el día.
- 67 Accelerates healing.
- 68 Our mission won't be over until we eliminate dry skin for every woman, everywhere.
- 69 Bask in the serene glow of the all-new Honda Odyssey.
- 70 30-mpg/hwy fuel economy means you can browse without limits.
- 71 The possibilities are as big as your curiosity.
- 72 Choose the 34 mpg Fusion or choose the 41 mpg Fusion Hybrid.
- 73 You can't find a midsize sedan with better fuel efficiency.
- 74 Get the smartest phones on the network PC World named most reliable.

- 75 Choose from the best lineup in wireless, then sync, surf, snap, send, and go app crazy at 3G speeds.
- 76 ... bringing you the first and only wireless 4G network from a national carrier.
- 77 With apps on the Droid X, almost anything is within your reach.
- 78 With restaurant search apps like Boorah, you can find exactly what you're in the mood for.
- 79 No matter how you use it, it will change the way you do it.
- 80 Now, the simple joy of a Happy Meal leads to a simple act of kindness.
- 81 Every Happy Meal sold now supports Ronald McDonald House Charities.
- 82 The Happy Meal she loves now helps families be closer to the ones they love.
- 83 Care for a Latte? A Cappuccino, perhaps? How about we make you a Mocha?
- 84 Whichever you choose, amazing taste will be yours.
- 85 Go ahead, McCafé your day.
- 86 Disfruta lo nuevo de McCafé.
- 87 Y es que el Happy Meal de McDonald's te ofrece opciones como los deliciosos Chicken McNuggets hechos con carne blanca, Apple Dippers de manzanitas frescas y la siempre sabrosa leche baja en grasa.
- 88 Prueba una de las Angus Third Pounders; gloriosa y jugosa 100% carne de res Angus coronada con la más delicada combinación de toppings.
- 89 Empieza tu día con un Premium Roast Coffee robusto y recién hecho, un rico sándwich Sausage McMuffin con queso, un Sausage Burrito, Hash Browns o un Sausage Biscuit.
- 90 Descubre la nueva Fruit & Maple Oatmeal de McDonald's.

- 91 Empieza cada día con equilibrio.
- 92 Pour on the power to help support your heart.
- 93 Silk is made from one of Nature's Perfect Proteins to fortify your body, and delivers a smooth vanilla taste that keeps you deliciously satisfied.
- 94 Wouldn't you rather have your fruit in 100% fruit juice?
- 95 Try all 8 varieties.
- 96 Who hasn't had a date with a handsome double-fudge brownie that turned out to be a bad idea?
- 97 Try some sweetness instead.
- 98 Your relationship with sweetness can be wonderful again.
- 99 Clean your clothes with a little help from nature. Clothes washed in Green Works detergent are gentle on skin.
- 100 Since they're made by Clorox you can trust them to clean tough stains.
- 101 Fortunately, tap water filtered with Brita filtration systems gives you the cleaner, refreshing water you need while giving the environment what it needs: a reduction of the number of bottles that can end up in landfills.
- 102 Do another good thing for yourself.
- 103 Ya es hora de que empieces a tomar tus propias decisiones.
- 104 Descubre el Fusion, con calidad superior a la del Honda Accord, que te ofrece un Sistema de Navegación Activado por Voz opcional y el Sistema de Audio Sony.
- 105 Ofreciéndote una eficiencia de 33 millas por galón en carretera.
- 106 Compruébalo, y si no te encanta, devuélvelo.

- 107 Y como si fuera poco, recibirás nuestra Garantía Limitada Transferible de 100,000 millas o 5 años en motor y transmisión.
- 108 Escoge sólo el mejor.
- 109 Ráscate porque de veras estás pensando, no porque tienes caspa.
- 110 Despreocúpate de la comezón de la caspa. Respeta tu cuero cabelludo. Ama tu cabello.
- 111 Descubre el acabado impecable con una sensación ligera.
- 112 Con Youth Code, podrás mejorar la apariencia de tu piel al instante y lucir su nueva juventud.
- 113 Concédenos 8 semanas, y verás resultados clínicos en las arrugas muy profundas.
- 114 Detén la sequedad. Combate la pérdida del color.
- 115 El color se mantiene vibrante, aun después de 45 lavados.
- 116 Retén la hidratación, bloquea la sequedad.
- 117 Ahora Excellence con complejo de Pro-Keratine revitaliza y protege tu cabello desde dentro hacia fuera.
- 118 Prepárate para más estilos.
- 119 Consigue un color hermoso ahora y unos labios espectaculares en 7 días.
- 120 Descubre la fijación del labial de larga duración en un lujoso lápiz labial.
- 121 Lleva tus pestañas a niveles increíbles de volumen y longitud, con la nueva LashBlast Fusion.
- 122 A sólo 2 pasos de unos labios que lucen en 3-D.
- 123 Empieza dándoles un duradero rubor de color rojo con el Lipstain Outlast. Después, agrega profundidad con el resplandor brillante de Shineblast.

- 124 Hazlo con dos de los aplicadores más precisos y... ¡ta-chan!, labios seductores con
dimensión.
- 125 Obtén más Blackberry de tu Blackberry.
- 126 Todo cuando quieras.
- 127 Busca y compra. Vive y comparte.
- 128 Ayudemos a eliminar la deficiencia nutricional: un vaso más cuenta.
- 129 Destapa la felicidad.
- 130 Deja que el calor de Abuelita haga tu momento perfecto.
- 131 Ninguna mujer debería quedarse con las ganas.
- 132 Lo puedes volver a hacer si cambias a la Lecho LACTAID.
- 133 ¿Un cafecito con leche? ¿Un licuado con tus amigas?
- 134 Con Leche LACTAID, claro que sí, es todo lo bueno de la leche y sin lo que cae
mal.
- 135 7 días de intensa fragancia floral, con sólo 1 lavada. *TYPO!
- 136 Siente más.
- 137 La primera capa trabaja con su [él; tu marido] cuerpo para aliviar el dolor rápido, y
la segunda se disuelve lentamente para darle alivio por hasta ocho horas.
- 138 Siéntete bien.
- 139 Para dientes más blancos, y para una sensación de frescura en tu boca que dura hasta
5 veces más.
- 140 Todo es posible cuando la sensación de frescura dura más tiempo en tu boca.
- 141 Para que cada pueda elegir cómo prefiere sentirse según su personalidad.
- 142 ¿Reggaetón, salsa, o bossa nova? ¿Qué tipo de fragancia eres?

- 143 Dawn Hand Renewal con Olay Beauty va más allá del lavado de trastes, mejorando como se ven y se sienten tus manos en tan sólo 5 usos.
- 144 Más de lo que imaginas para tu cocina.
- 145 Fantásticos aromas que nadie podrá resistir.
- 146 Prepárate para disfrutar una experiencia de limpieza con un aroma que amarás.
- 147 Disfruta las nuevas fragancias exóticas de Mr. Clean.
- 148 Children's Advil le baja la fiebre a tu niño más rápido que Children's Tylenol.
- 149 Alivio en el que puedes confiar.
- 150 Cambia el miedo por confianza con Crest Pro-Health.
- 151 Crest Pro-Health es la primera pasta de dientes que protege todas estas áreas que los dentistas más revisan.