Evaluation in Advertising Reception

A Socio-Cognitive and Linguistic Perspective

STELLA BULLO

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A Socio-Cognitive and Linguistic Perspective

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1
Introduction: Researching Reception and Discourse

1.1 About this book

This book is situated within the context of reception studies and discourse analysis. Reception research is concerned with exploring the audience's use and interpretation of media as a reflection of a particular socio-cultural context (McQuail, 1997). It offers an approach to textual analysis that proposes that the meaning of a text is not intrinsic to the text but rather is created in the relationship between the text and the reader (Jauss, 1982). Following from literary theorists and semioticians Barthes (1977) and Eco (1976, 1979), the audience reception tradition (Hall, 1980) emphasises the active role of the reader in decoding and constructing meanings from the media texts; it stresses that these meanings are never fixed or predictable but negotiated in the semiotic process (Hodge and Kress, 1988). From a discourse analytic perspective, Koller (2005b, p. 138) observes that 'the meaning intended by the sender and the meaning constructed by the receiver … do not have to converge – indeed, they may hardly ever do so.'

This book is hence concerned with understanding what is involved in sense-making practices and how these are actualised in linguistic structures. To that end, I propose a discourse analytic methodology that will allow for a systematic exploration of the social and the cognitive processes underpinning advertising reception discourse in an attempt to unveil the 'often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures' (Fairclough 2010, p. 93).

By taking a reception approach, I centre on the idea of the audience's active participation in sense-making and suggest that such a process has an inherent socio-cognitive aspect whereby participants make sense of a new stimulus, such as media text, by associating it with information stored in their reservoir of knowledge, that is, elements from the socio-cultural environment such as popular culture, advertisements, brands, etc. By taking such an approach to text analysis, I focus on 'how' rather than 'what' something means and I conceptualise audiences as active and texts as indeterminate as readers actively create meanings from them (Barbatsis, 2005).

One key aim of this work is to explain comprehensively how the informants construct an evaluative stance in the reception of advertising stimuli. The book starts from the premise that the appeal that adverts, or elements of them, has on the audience is not easy to predict and may be determined by various elements interacting in the audience's socio-cognitive environment. With this hypothesis in mind, the approach taken will attempt to demonstrate that a study of evaluation on its own cannot account for the different and varied responses of groups of people within the same target market of the products advertised but rather that the evaluation derived from the attitudinal positioning is socially as well as cognitively shaped. It is the aim of this work to identify which socio-cognitive resources can be inferred to underlie such evaluative positioning. This means that pursuing a definition of sense-making that goes beyond evaluation, entails the development of a framework that is able to account for higher-level units of meaning revealing the processes that explain the multiplicity of readings.

One important issue to clarify is that, whenever I refer to cognitive models, I will refer to them as being assumed or inferred. This is indicative of my claim that such models of cognition cannot be proven by text analysis without further empirical evidence within the field of cognitive psychology but rather can be assumed to inform the evaluative positioning and supported by textual evidence in the data as suggested by socio-cognitive discourse analysis research (for example, van Dijk, 2008; Koller, 2005a, 2008), social cognition research (Augoustinos et al., 2006) and by some theories of cognitive semantics, for example, conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

Finally, this book is intended to make contributions to the fields of appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) and socio-cognitive discourse analysis and also consider implications for advertising practices.

1.2 The study of reception in this book

The theoretical interest arose from an interest in media reception and the ways in which media texts, and advertisements in particular, seem to conjure up a series of attitudes in the minds of readers, going beyond mere semantic representation and involving references to shared cultural knowledge and experience which exist prior to the text-reader interaction (Williamson, 1978; Messaris, 1997; MacRury, 2009). Of particular interest is the notion that sense-making in the reception context in current media (for example Channel 4's *Gogglebox*) seems to contain an inherently attitudinal positioning, a premise this book builds upon and which is appropriately captured at text-level by the appraisal framework. However, a study of appraisal on its own does not take into account other sources of knowledge that are brought to the interpretation of the data in order to obtain a comprehensive account of sense-making discourse. This book argues that these other sources of knowledge and preconceptions brought into the appraisal are socially or culturally motivated and not explicit in discourse but are hinted at through a variety of devices. These clues, however unsystematic, point to some sort of textual indexing which allows making inferences as to what type of higher-level concepts (or models) they make reference to. Combining these perspectives into a holistic theoretical framework will provide a comprehensive approach to the study of sense-making which takes both the socio-cognitive and linguistic functions into account.

The innovation of this book is twofold: methodologically, it addresses an under-researched area of discourse analysis by focusing on reception processes. Secondly, in its theoretical underpinnings, it aims to reconcile appraisal theory, an approach rooted within Systemic Functional Linguistics, with socio-cognitive approaches to discourse, and thus combines two prominent and debated areas into an integrated research agenda. This book examines how the informants construct an evaluative stance in the reception of advertising stimuli and the socio-cognitive resources inferred to be at interplay

in the evaluative process. One of the central arguments of the book is that the evaluation derived from attitudinal positioning is socially as well as cognitively shaped.

The data for this project – analysis of which combines appraisal – as a systemic-functional approach (Martin and White, 2005), and socio-cognitive discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2006; Koller, 2004, 2005a, 2008), consists of spoken focus-group data collected from informants from the intended target market group of the advertisements. The stimulus data used consisted of three printed advertisements for high involvement products, namely IKEA, Mercedes Benz and the Netherlands Tourist board, which recontextualise well-known paintings. A full description and review of the adverts used as stimulus material will be outlined in Chapter 3.

The book presents a two-stage analytical approach for the systematic study of the discourse patterns produced in the spoken data by the focus groups participants. The first level of analysis consists of a bottom-up textual examination of evaluative language applying the appraisal typology (Martin and White, 2005). This looks at how evaluation happens in text by identifying lexical items across a range of discourse-semantic categories and allocating them to a specific appraisal category (that is, affect, appreciation or judgement). This is followed by a top-down examination of the socio-cognitive resources and processes inferred to underlie those evaluative choices made by the speaker. This is carried out by identifying socio-cognitive representations (SCRs; Koller, 2008) present in the data and indexed in discourse by various linguistic features. Both frameworks will be outlined in Chapter 3.

1.3 Outline of the book

This book is structured as follows: Chapter 2 draws on the notion of social cognition to develop a theoretical framework which combines theories of socio-cognitive discourse analysis with the study of language from a functional perspective with a focus on evaluation. Chapter 3 sets the background of this study by introducing the notion of 'recontextualisation' and hybridity of media texts, and advertising in particular, so as to provide a context to the use of art in advertising. It then introduces the adverts used as stimulus material and describes the methods of data analysis. This is outlined in

two stages: first a description of the appraisal categories is provided along with an explanation of how appraisal is identified, coded and analysed in the spoken data. In the second stage, the chapter moves on to a discussion of the socio-cognitive resources inferred from the data and discusses how they can be identified. Chapter 4 presents a description of findings of the data coding and analysis of both focus groups. Each focus group will be presented in two sections. The first part will discuss the appraisal findings from the data, following each appraisal subcategory (that is, affect, appreciation and judgement). This will be followed by a discussion of the conceptual models assumed to underlie the evaluations of each advert. Chapter 5 discusses how the main data findings can have implications for both discourse analysis and advertising practices. It also addresses methodological implications for reception studies.

Having outlined the subsequent chapters, I will now begin by developing a theoretical framework for this book.

2
Reception, Language and Sense-Making

Traditionally, reception theory has been associated with the German school of literary reception, an approach to textual analysis that proposes that the meaning of a text is not intrinsic to the text but rather is created in the relationship between the text and the reader (for example, Jauss, 1982). The humanities ownership of this approach, however, has long been contested by the social sciences. This can be traced as far back as World War I, when the wide-scale use of propaganda led to an interest in understanding how the public might be urged to respond or react to it, as it was feared that propaganda might be used to control the minds and behaviours of the public (Brooker and Jermyn, 2003, p. 5). Social science studies of audience reception, however, were not published until the 1940s. The classic work of Lazarsfeld et al. (1944), for example, examines the effects of the 1940 US presidential campaign on an Ohio community; equally, the work of Hovland et al. (1949) was an early wartime research programme which investigated the effects of film as a motivational and training tool for recruits. Subsequent studies of the public reaction to mass communication were influenced by the Frankfurt School leaders Adorno and Horkheimer (for example, 1976), whose work on the 'culture industry' argued that culture was forced in a top-down fashion onto a passive audience. Early audience research sought thus to determine the effects that media had on its audiences, a phase which came to be known as the 'effects model', a stimulus-response approach which conceptualised the audience as helplessly being instilled with a message and exposed to its influence (McQuail, 1997). This tradition focused on text analysis rather than on its

cultural uses, that is, it involved a semiotic rather than social semiotic framework. It followed a primarily experimental approach where the media content, channel and context of reception were manipulated so as to derive quantifiable results. Scholarly work in this tradition was concerned with potentially harmful media effects, primarily on children and young people, such as the work by Klapper (1960). A later tradition in audience research rejected the effects model of early scholarship on the basis that the quantitative evidence suggested limited insights into the effects of media (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Klapper, 1960), and turned to a 'uses-and-gratifications' approach which sought to unveil what individual users did with the media rather than the other way round (Blumler and Katz, 1974; Rosengren et al., 1985). The audience came to be seen as having a more active role in their media experience and research focused on the motivation behind the media content (Blumler and Katz, 1974). This approach signals a breaking away from the behaviourist tradition (such as the 'effects' approach) since its main emphasis was on the wider social functions of media (McQuail, 1997).

Audience research as it is known today emerged in the 1980s within the cultural studies field. Reception theory is, in effect, the audience research enterprise of cultural studies rather than an independent notion and is concerned with exploring the audience's use and interpretation of media as a reflection of a particular socio-cultural context and as a process of giving meaning to cultural practices (McQuail, 1997). This tradition is characterised by a critical edge urging the audience to resist and subvert the hegemonic meanings offered by the mass media (McQuail, 1997). Empirical work is characterised by the use of qualitative and ethnographic methods (Seiter et al., 1989; Morley, 1992) taking into consideration content as well as context and the act of reception (Lindlof, 1991). This school has produced much theoretical and empirical work with reference to the processes of 'encoding' and 'decoding' media content (for example, Hall, 1980; explained below). Following from literary theorists and semioticians Barthes (1977) and Eco (1976, 1979), this tradition emphasises the active role of the reader in decoding and constructing meanings from the media texts; further, it stresses that media texts meanings are never fixed or predictable.

The idea of the variety of interpretations brought into text comprehension touches on the notion of reception as 'unlimited semiosis'

(Eco, 1976; Merrell, 2001). This notion means that a text can potentially lead to a series of successive interpretations that extends meaning beyond what the author initially intended. This is also linked to the concept of polysemy, that is texts having multiple meanings and being open to several interpretations (Liebes and Katz, 1986, 1989, 1990). Eco advises, however, that the notion of unlimited semiosis does not lead to the conclusion that there are no guiding criteria for interpretation. The text has been created with a 'foreseen model reader' in mind, one who is 'able to deal interpretively with the text in the same way as the author deals in producing the text' (Eco, 1979, p. 7). The model reader, in essence, embodies 'a textually established set of felicity conditions (…) to be met in order to have a (text) fully actualised' (Eco, 1979, p. 11). However, there is no single correct interpretation for the model reader as meaning is always negotiated in the semiotic process and it cannot be assumed that texts produce exactly the meanings and effects that their authors hoped for (Hodge and Kress, 1988). The text undergoes the reception of innumerable readers, in which process meanings can be negotiated and assimilated or contested. The idea that the text might encounter an audience that may bring other interpretations into sense-making is supported by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) who discuss hybridity as a characteristic of contemporary texts and add that earlier views of meaning being fixed in texts are now obsolete due to the social fragmentation of modern society; rather, diverse interpretations of texts lead to a variety of meanings. Furthermore, they assert that this variety of interpretations allows for a variety of discourses to be brought into the process, thus creating a new hybrid text as a result of the interpreted texts along with the discourses that are brought to it in the sense-making process. But, agreeing with Eco's idea, they consider that the variety of interpretations brought to a text is not endless. For this reason, they warn that 'overstating heterogenisation is as misleading as overstating homogenisation' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 15).

Similarly, Hall's (1980) renowned encoding/decoding model categorises readings as 'dominant' or 'preferred', 'negotiated' and 'oppositional', presupposing that the media text itself is a vehicle of dominant ideology (Schrøder, 2000). In brief, Hall's 'dominant hegemonic' position occurs when the viewer accepts the inscribed meaning and is therefore ideologically dominated by it (linking

to Eco's notion of the 'model' reader above). The 'negotiated position' implies an ambivalent reading with a mixture of preferred and oppositional elements. The 'oppositional position' occurs when, on the basis of a full understanding of the hegemonic message, readers make sense of the message 'within some alternative framework of reference' (Hall, 1980, p. 138) based on their individual cultural background and life experiences. Further, interpretations may vary depending 'on the context and conditions of text reception' (Koller, 2010a, p. 19). As ground-breaking as the Hall model was in audience research field three decades ago, it has been subject to several criticisms, mainly based on its simplistic nature (for example, Schrøder, 2000; Jensen, 2002) and the assumption that the 'preferred' meaning is intrinsic to the text (Wren-Lewis, 1983). Early studies in this field focused on news genres (Morley, 1980) where a variety of alternative or oppositional decodings (of what appeared to be the ideologically 'preferred' reading) was identified. These varieties were found to be subject to variables such as the audience's class and other socio-economic factors (Jensen, 1991).

Other cultural studies approaches see the use of media in itself as a significant aspect of 'everyday life' (McQuail, 1997) and concentrate on studying and understanding the use of media in relation to the particular social context and experience of a particular cultural group (Bausinger, 1984). This has given rise to the notion of 'interpretative communities' (Lindlof, 1988) to refer to shared outlook and modes of understanding such as forms of discourse and frameworks for media sense-making which arise from shared social experiences. Reception analysts following this tradition argue that any study of media reception must be based on a theory of discourse and representation looking at both the social and discursive perspectives in order to uncover the social production of meaning (Jensen, 1991). On this note, Deacon (2003) suggests that the emphasis of audience research should be on the larger socio-cultural structures that delineate the communicative process as a whole, as much as on the media text, its producers (operating at institutional levels of the media) and recipients (in contexts of everyday life).

Research within the cultural studies field has focused on critical issues such as gender, for example, looking at the genres of soap operas (Hobson, 1982; Ang, 1985) and romantic novels (Radway, 1984). Other work has concentrated on intertextuality in contemporary media

(Bennett and Woollacott, 1987). Studies in various other disciplines using the reception analysis approach have been undertaken in political science (Graber, 1984) and social psychology (Livingstone, 1998) thus signalling the interdisciplinary nature of reception research and the convergence in the methods employed. A recent array of work in new media and audience research has spread in the latter part of last decade and into this one, with work by Livingstone (2004) questioning the concept of audience in this era of interactive technologies, while more recent work by Bechmann and Lomborg (2013) has focused on the conceptualisation of the media user as a participatory agent.

As regards advertising, reception studies in this field within the cultural studies tradition have evolved from Fowles' (1996) pioneering work in the 1990s. Despite numerous attempts by the academic advertising research traditions, be it critical, semiotic or cultural (for example, Barthes, 1967; Williamson, 1978; Tomlinson, 1999), most academic studies in advertising have predominantly concentrated on advertising texts as the main focus of analysis, disregarding the role the audience plays in what Leiss calls a 'process of mediation' between producers, advertising agencies and consumers (Leiss 1994, p. 131). Stern (2000), however, suggests that a textual analysis, despite its text-centredness, still brings readers and contexts into consideration; equally, van Leeuwen (2005) acknowledges that text-focused semiotic approaches are not entirely oblivious to reading and reception. In the field of sociolinguistics, the need for turning attention to the audience has been considered by Bell (1984) in his 'audience design' model, where he maintains that media speakers may shift speech style in order to 'accommodate' to their perceived audience's style as a way of expressing solidarity and intimacy with them; conversely, media speakers may shift speech style if they wish to 'diverge' or differentiate themselves from the perceived audience.

Recently, some scholarly work on advertising has started to encourage a switch of focus of advertising research from the advertisement as text to the audience (for example, MacRury, 2009). These scholars also insist that focusing only on studying the advertisement restrains meaning-making and engagement in commercial communications (MacRury, 2009). Various valuable sociological and psychologically based approaches stressing the value of taking audiences as starting points in thinking about advertising have emerged, thus making the

audience, as opposed to the text, the centre of attention. Social and cognitive psychology approaches have also been applied to advertising research. Some of these have focused on tracing perception and memory (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2003), examining brand recall (Mick, 1992; Keller, 1993), investigating gender roles and advert impacts (Jaffe and Berger, 1994) and evaluating the likelihood of audiences buying the advertised products (Scriven and Ehrenberg, 1997). Still, despite these varied kinds of attention to audiences, parallel concerns exist arguing that the audience may, at times, be at risk of being forgotten by advertising producers who might become too absorbed in creativity or too pushed by clients' insistence on tried and tested methods, neglecting the audiences' tastes variable (MacRury, 2009). On the other hand, a word of caution is given by Lodziak (2002) who advises against 'the over-valuing of ad-media-literacy "achievements"' and suggests that the problem with some audience research is that those who conduct and interpret such studies 'have attributed significance to what audiences consider to be insignificant' (p. 107).

Within cultural studies tradition (for example, Morley, 1980; Jensen, 2002), attention has been turned to advertising's convergence with all kinds of popular culture (for example, O'Donohoe, 1997; Alperstein, 2003). Of particular relevance to this work is MacRury's observation on the prominence of this convergence and his conclusion that 'intertextuality is the condition of contemporary promotion' suggesting that 'spotting intertextual moments in contemporary advertising is a little too much like looking for hay in a haystack' (1997, p. 242). Extensions of this notion have concentrated on the audience and focused on the concept of 'advertising literacy' (Myers, 1999, p. 203), a notion that centres on the idea of audiences' active participation in advertising reception by stressing that receivers comprehend the significances and engage in the flows from one mode to the other (such as screen, page, etc.) of brands, celebrities, products, sounds and styles. Furthermore, the notion of active readings also suggests that the viewer necessarily bridges the symbolic domains of advertising and popular culture by means of personal association and intertextual chains (Fowles, 1996). Fowles concludes that what an individual viewer selects from the advertising-popular culture merger depends on the particular meanings the individual is in need of at a particular point (1996), a notion that becomes prominent

in this work, as will be illustrated in Chapter 4. Also of interest is Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999, p. 14) suggestion that 'readers establish their identities' through the diversity of meanings brought into text interpretation. The notion of intertextuality, thus, is a key concept in the field of advertising reception which this work intends to fully address and develop further.

Having outlined various the various strands in the field of reception research, we can conclude this section by noting that, all in all, the important question at stake in advertising reception studies concerns, as Livingstone has pointed out, the 'interrelation between how people actively make sense of [advertising] texts', 'how texts guide and restrict interpretation' and what 'social knowledge' constitutes the resources guiding and informing these sense-making practices (1998, p. 26). A turn to social cognition may provide a context to the understanding of sense-making as an exploration into how people understand and position themselves attitudinally in their social worlds. The next section will thus place social cognition at the centre of reception research.

2.1 Social cognition

The study of sense-making processes as a way of revealing how people understand their social worlds can be rooted in social cognition research, a field emerging within social psychology which draws from the methods and concepts of both cognitive and social psychology. Baron and Byrne (1997) characterise social cognition as 'the manner in which we interpret, analyse and remember information about the social world' (p. 12). Social cognition research seeks to unveil the process by which people make sense of 'themselves, the social world around them and their relationship to those worlds' (Fiske and Taylor, 1991; Augoustinos et al., 2006, p. 14) as well as the 'processes involving both the construction and use of social knowledge' (Livingstone, 1998, p. 26). Livingstone emphasises that social cognition research is also concerned with 'people's representations of their world or their social knowledge' (ibid.). Social cognition research has been applied to the study of attitudes (Zimbardo and Leippe, 1991) and stereotyping (Hamilton, 1981), etc. This work draws on two main notions explored within social cognition research: social schemas and social representations, as developed below.

A fundamental principle of social cognition research is the idea that people's capacity to process information is limited, hence we develop strategies to deal with complex information efficiently in terms of time and mental effort (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). One way in which we deal with this is by compiling mental representations of social knowledge and information, based on past experiences, into categories and storing them in our long-term memory. These social schemas (Bartlett, 1932) function as summaries of our social world and assist the coding and categorisation of new in-coming information, which is checked against those predefined categories, helping us to process information quickly. Social schemas influence interpreting and taking in new information, recollecting old information and inferring (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). A significant amount of research has been carried out on schemas, and various definitions and operationalisations have been put forward. Fillmore (1985) puts forward the concept of 'scene' while Schank and Abelson (1977) call it 'script'; Lakoff (1983) refers to similar structures as 'cognitive models'. The terms are used differently across disciplines, and, in many cases, there is overlap between what some call a 'frame' and what others may call a 'schema' or 'script'. Following Bartlett (1932), throughout my study, I adopt the term 'schema' and its plural form 'schemas'.

Schemas offer a top-down approach to information processing, where the new data is driven by preconceived frameworks which influence what to pay attention to and what to ignore; they also have an effect on the impressions we form and the judgement we make (Pennington, 2000). Research on schemas (such as Friedman, 1979; Brewer and Treyens, 1981; Fiske and Taylor, 1991) suggests that information consistent with a schema is more accurately recalled and recognised in subsequent tasks than schema inconsistent information. However, other sources of evidence (Schank, 1999) show that, on the contrary, schema inconsistent information can actually be remembered for longer as it attracts attention due to its uniqueness. This is exemplified in some advertisements which aim to attract the audience's attention by resorting to schema inconsistency in the hope that the higher-level processing involved by the audience will make them remember the advert and consider the product for consumption.

Schemas have been clustered into four main categories. Person schemas are preconceived frameworks about people's traits and

behaviour in certain situations which aid our interpretation of and inferences about them (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). Self-schemas are generalisations about the self that organise and guide 'the processing of self-related information contained in the individual's social experiences' (Markus, 1977, p. 94). Event schemas or scripts are mental representations of expectations about a sequence of events or typical procedures in particular social situations such as going to restaurants, interviews, behaviour at parties, etc. (Schank and Abelson, 1977). Role schemas supply a collection of normative expectations about the behaviour of individuals occupying certain positions (Augoustinos et al., 2006). We have large numbers of role schemas such as the roles of student, wife, mother, police officer, etc.

Despite its prominence within social cognition research, schema theory has been repeatedly criticised for its rigidity, lack of consistent definition and mixed empirical support (for example, Sadoski et al., 1991). Furthermore, conflicts within and between different schemas as well as links between the different types of schemas are concerns that have been criticised as 'highly functional' and as 'simply[fying] social reality' (Augoustinos et al., 2006, p. 71). Social schemas are criticised for being stable and static structures, unable to transcend the individual and micro level of analysis (Weber and Crocker, 1983) and to account for the ongoing fluctuations of modern society and its diversity of ideas, values and beliefs (Pennington, 2000). Other criticisms of the theory relate to the classification and categorisation process as centring on individual cognitive functioning as originating inside the individual's head, thus neglecting to reflect historical and cultural reality (Billing, 1988). This individualisation process is said also to omit acknowledgement of the origin and blending of the different categories (Billing, 1988). This view of cognitive structures as placing emphasis on the individual construction of meaning has also been criticised by Moscovici (for example, 1981), who argues that meanings are more often socially given and available from the social group. This latter view of meaning as being socially constructed, that is, the study of human thought at a collective or macro level, has been the focus of study of European sociology and social psychology for the past 30 years and led researchers such as Serge Moscovici (1981, 1984, 1988; Moscovici and Duveen, 2000) to develop an agenda for research which looks at the role of society and culture in cognitive processes as opposed to limiting the work to the

individual level. This area of research has become known as social representation theory. In this section, I will explore Moscovici's concept of social representations, their types and processes, and then consider their relationship to social schemas, and to language.

The theory of social representations can be traced back as far as Durkheim and Piaget (Moscovici, 1981). Rooted within sociology, Durkheim's (for example, 1912) work on Collective Conscience and Collective Representations examined religious practices as a way of social organisation. Durkheim put forward the notion of collective representations as ideas, beliefs, and values that are elaborated collectively and cannot be reduced to individual components of representation. They serve the function of expressing the collective ideas that give social groups their unity. In this way, they contribute to the ordering and sense-making of the world and also serve to express and interpret social relationships; in other words, they help create and maintain social cohesion or social solidarity (Marshall, 1998). This sociological approach, however, pays little attention to the structure or internal dynamics of collective representations, which may be affected by external factors such as counter-discourses. It is my proposition in this work that social representations and discourse are inseparable from each other as one constitutes the other (Koller, 2008). So the internal structure of social representations may be affected by external factors, such as discourse, which transform this structure and is, in a cyclical process, reflected back in discourse. The relation of social representations to language, and to discourse, will be extensively discussed later in this chapter. For now, I will explore the theory of social representations as it originated within social psychology.

The first step towards a social psychological approach which considers the internal structure of collective representations and allows for analytical deconstructivism was carried out by Piaget (for example, 1955) in his work on children's representations of the world. Piaget suggests that the human mind is organised in mental representations of physical or mental entities that assimilate external events and convert them to fit the existing mental structure. As cognitive development proceeds, new mental representations develop, and existing mental representations are more efficiently organised for better understanding the changing aspects of the external environment (Woolfolk, 1987). Piaget's influential work remains

a model even today. Yet, the Durkheimian conception of collective representations, which is further elaborated in Piaget's work, sees them as static exploratory terms to refer to a class of knowledge and beliefs, be it religion, science, etc. Social psychology, on the other hand, sees them as a way of creating and communicating reality and common sense. Moscovici and Duveen (2000, p. 30) propose to see 'a phenomenon in what was previously seen as a concept'. Moscovici defines social representations as 'a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications. They are the equivalent, in our society, of the myths and beliefs systems in traditional societies; they might even be said to be the contemporary version of common sense' (1981, p. 181).

This definition implies Moscovici's view of the importance of social interaction in order for everyday social events to be imbued with meaning. In other words, it is our interaction with people that provides everyday social events with meaning; hence social representations embody a stock of collective experience and behavioural interaction (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000). Moscovici's definition of social representations also places emphasis on the role of the culture and sub-cultures in which individuals live and interact in determining meanings. Social representations are inscribed within a 'framework of pre-existing thought' and are attached to 'the systems of belief anchored in values (and) traditions' and social practices (p. 157). However, social representations may undergo change or transformation as they are activated (Sperber, 1985). Each culture develops its own rules for what will be considered socially acceptable or not; some groups may have different social representations for what social behaviours and habits (eating, dressing, etc.) are considered acceptable or what is expected by members of certain social groups to happen in certain social processes. Hence, individuals who identify as part of a particular culture are able to take part in that culture's social activities and interact with other individuals of the same culture. Many of these social behaviours create a cultural identity (Pennington, 2000). They become rooted in the culture so as to be beyond analytical consideration, emerging as taken-for-granted assumptions about 'normal' behaviour. McKinlay and McVittie (2008, p. 44) argue that social representations have a 'prescriptive dimension' as they 'constitute norms for thinking and behaviour'

which members of a particular society or social group are expected to abide by. Moscovici and Duveen also put forward the notion that social representations are 'the object of permanent social work' (2000, p. 157) and see them as dynamic structures accommodating themselves to the diversity of ideas, changes and behaviours of individuals to cope with the modern social environment. The substitution of Durkheim's word 'collective' for the word 'social' is thus meant to emphasise the potential to adapt and fluctuate, which contrasts with the static nature of Durheim's collective representations. A predecessor to this view was Sperber (1985), who claimed that what he calls 'mental representations' have a tendency to be transformed every time they are activated. These modifications may cause other individuals to construct representations of their own or modify existing ones, which again may be altered at subsequent activation. Moscovici maintains that the social representations we form are a manifestation of the need to explain unfamiliar events or entities in familiar and ordinary terms (1981). He assimilates this exposure to unfamiliarity with a 'fracture or fissure' in what we find ordinary (p. 190). Hence the mind works to fix this fracture by re-establishing a connection between the externally perceived unfamiliarity with the internal familiarity captured in social representations. Moscovici proceeds to advise that when studying social representations in a group, it is paramount to refer to the element of unfamiliarity or lack of continuity, which motivated them in the first place.

Social representations thus must be understood as a particular way of making sense or 'abstracting meaning' from the world and 'reproducing the world in a meaningful way' (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000, p. 30). Their aim is threefold: to give sense to the changing reality ('illumination'); to merge new ideas with familiar structures ('integration'); and to ensure that particular groups are distinguished through their common ground ('partition') (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000, p. 157). The social representations shared by groups are, in a sense, consensual and they are seen to lower uncertainty during social interaction (Moscovici, 1981). However, it must be acknowledged that not all group thinking is necessarily consensual (Fraser, 1994) but that individuals may have conflicting views within group thinking. Furthermore, it is both the cognitive aspects of social interaction and individual cognitive processes that embody representations (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999).

Moscovici and Duveen (2000) identified two processes by which an unfamiliar idea or entity is turned into something familiar: anchoring a social representation means to transfer an unfamiliar phenomenon to our own frame of reference; that is, to integrate the new stimulus into our existing worldviews. For example, when we stereotype a person, we activate models containing stock of behaviours and rules about a particular group of people and compare them to the unfamiliar stimulus (that is, the person being typecast) and decide whether the stimulus is similar or different from the model. If similarities are found, the unfamiliar is assigned the characteristics of the model; this is known as generalising. If, on the contrary, it is deviant, we individualise the stimuli by virtue of their uniqueness (Augoustinos et al., 2006). Similarly, an unfamiliar stimulus may be made familiar via the process of objectification. This means that we transform an abstraction into a physical or concrete entity. This process can be compared to that of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), which, from a cognitive linguistic perspective, are defined as the process, and product, of understanding one (abstract) conceptual domain in terms of another (more concrete) conceptual domain (Kövecses, 2002). Conceptual Metaphor theory will be briefly described later in this chapter. This work centres on how social representations are inferred to be activated and to influence the evaluation process and also considers that conceptual metaphors may play a role in the activation of social representations leading to evaluation. Hence, in order to avoid confusion, I will not discuss anchoring and objectification when I refer to social representations in the data. Instead, I will look at how they are believed to be activated by the informants, at their linguistic manifestation in the data and at their relation to the evaluative process.

A further notion put forward by Moscovici and Hewstone (1983) in relation to social representation theory is that of 'reified and consensual universes'. This means expert and common-sense knowledge. Moscovici probed how laypeople adopted Freudian notions such as 'complex' and 'neurosis' and used them to explain their own behaviour. He adds that this knowledge became widespread, probably changed or evolved and was integrated into everyday social practices, including discourse and, in turn, it came to be regarded as common sense (Moscovici and Hewstone, 1983). This point also links to this work's view of interdiscursivity, as will be discussed later on in this

book. The consensual universe encompasses social representations which people create, reproduce and recreate in order to make sense of everyday life. In the transition from the reified universe (or expert knowledge) to the consensual one (or common sense), knowledge is reduced in complexity 'to a "figurative nucleus" of images and concepts to represent this knowledge in a more simplified and culturally accessible form' (Augoustinos et al., 2006, p. 42).

Sperber (1985) distinguishes between individual and group representations. Individual representations are short-lasting while group representations can live in the whole group for generations. For Moscovici and Duveen (2000), social representations respond to the demands of both individuals and groups. They respond to the former by helping build systems of thought and understanding of the world; furthermore, they facilitate the adoption of consensual views, which preserve social bonds and allow for the transmission and continuity of ideas within groups. Long-lasting group representations in turn become 'cultural representations' which are 'what we are primarily referring to when we talk of culture' (Sperber, 1985, p. 74). Sperber examines the distribution of cultural representations according to their capacity to change and adapt or, indeed, to endure or survive changes in the social context. He identifies long-lasting cultural representations as what is known as tradition and social practices, that is, representations passed on from one generation to the next. An example of this is the Christmas tree tradition, which has adapted and changed since its origins but has managed to survive in certain cultures across several generations. Similarly, van Dijk (2008) draws a distinction between episodic memory, storing personal experiences, and semantic memory, storing representations that are socially shared. He argues that social cognition mediates between the two.

Social representations and social schemas are interlinked and complementary as they offer different levels of explanations of socio-cognitive processes (Augoustinos and Walker, 1995). They suggest that despite the fact that both model the processing and organisation of social information in terms of mental structures, social representations concentrate more on the content while social schemas focus on the internal mental processes of the individual in a social context; because of this, social schemas are seen as more related to cognitive psychology. The same authors conclude that social schemas and social representations are complementary since their interaction allows for

a more complete explanation and understanding of human social thought and behaviour. Social schemas may help structure social representations; one particular example from the focus-group data used for this study is the way in which an event schema of DIY and household chores helps structure a social representation which serves as the basis for an evaluative instance (Chapter 4).

2.2 Social cognition, language and discourse

The concept of social representations has been approached from several 'domains of knowledge' such as history, anthropology and linguistics (Moscovici and Duveen 2000, p. 158). Moscovici urges that there is a need to analyse the principles of coherence structuring the cognitive and social relationships between different 'modes of thought' sustained in everyday life (ibid., p. 159). He explains that 'there are no social representations without languages, just as without them there is no society. The place of the linguistic in the analysis of social representations cannot, therefore, be avoided' (ibid., p. 159). Social representations theory has an interest in linking cognition and communication; in other words, the linguistic and discursive aspects of knowledge, which have been overlooked in social psychology (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000, p. 160). Augoustinos et al. (2006) sustain that social representations are part of the internal cognitive machinery underlying human sense-making processes and that language is the medium through which cognitive processes are expressed. The same authors add that this notion conceptualises cognition as 'prior to language' (Augoustinos et al., 2006, p. 49), a view that has been contested by several scholars.

The view of cognition preceding language has been disputed by discourse analytic research within social psychology, notably by discursive researchers who see language as a socially constitutive force of cognition, thus rejecting the premise that we rely only on internal cognitive structures to make sense of social life. Discursive psychology sustains that we draw on discursive resources that are socially shared in order to understand social life. These resources are called interpretative repertoires and their function is to create social reality and develop identities; hence discourse is considered a site for psychological analysis. Various schools of discursive psychology have originated in Britain. Some of the most prominent works within this

discipline are Wetherell's (1998) and Billig's (1991), which look at socially pervasive discursive resources and sense-making practices in discourse and rhetoric. Furthermore, Edwards and Potter's approach concentrates mainly on the nature of naturally occurring everyday conversation for which they draw on conversation analytical approaches (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996; Edwards, 1997). For discursive psychologists social representations originate in discursive practices, notably in the way people use discourse to represent the goals and activities that they pursue (Potter and Edwards, 1999).

Within linguistics, other approaches, such as some branches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), have also tried to reconcile discourse and cognition. In general, critical discourse analysts see language use 'as a form of 'social practice' which implies a 'dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure, which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them but it also shapes them' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Teun van Dijk (2001) introduces a socio-cognitive level to the approach and places cognition as an interface between discourse and society. This work does not take a CDA approach as it does not attempt to unveil ideological effects of discursive practices, that is, uncover power relations between groups (ibid.). However, a definition of discourse as seen by CDA is important in order to provide a background for the study of the social and cognitive elements involved in the attitudinal positioning of discourse participants, as will be shown in Chapter 4. Hence, in this light, I take van Dijk's (1997, p. 32) generic view of discourse as language use 'essentially involving three main dimensions, namely language use, cognition, and interaction in their socio-cultural contexts'.

Van Dijk, whose major critical work deals with the reproduction of racism and prejudice in discourse, argues that personal and social cognition is the interface which mediates discourse structures and social structures (2001). In order to create this framework, he resorts to concepts of social psychology and social cognition research, such as social representations. Some social psychologists, such as Augoustinos et al. (2006, p. 301) maintain the premise that a 'theoretically adequate social psychology must integrate the different positions afforded by the ... social representations and discursive perspectives'. Van Dijk (1990), however, sees the role of discourse as being undermined in the social representations field (Forgas, 1983)

while, on the other hand, social psychological insights as well as cognitive and artificial intelligence orientations (such as schema theories, for example, Schank and Abelson, 1977; van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983) are considered in discourse analysis. Chilton (2005) also points out that one important shortcoming of discourse analysis is the lack of connection between language and pre-existing mental states. Along these lines, van Dijk (1990) suggests that cognitive structures have an important discourse dimension. The acquisition, use and change of social representations occurs through discourse, hence discourse analysis may be a tool to uncover its underlying mechanisms (van Dijk, 2001). In his work on prejudice and discrimination (for example, 1987), he proposes that the content of prejudiced representations of people are schematically organised by means of social representations. Van Dijk sees social representations as 'a general concept that specifically applies to organised clusters of social beliefs (knowledge, attitudes, etc.) as located in social memory' (p. 46) which is expressed in discourse through mental models. He defines mental models as cognitive representations of personal experience, knowledge and opinions. Mental models consist of schematic representations of events, such as the setting, participants, or actions as instantiated in texts. They act at an individual level, based on individuals' personal experiences, but they can also become socially widespread and become stereotypes, for example. Mental models are specific instances of social representations and it is through them that social representations are expressed in discourse. In other words, social representations are manifested in discourse through the activation of mental models in a specific event or situation (van Dijk, 2001, p. 113). For researchers in this school, mental models are thus an interface between the personal and the social, and between discourse and society; they can be seen as having an influential role in constructing and constraining our perceived knowledge of people and events (McKinlay and McVittie, 2008). Wodak (2006b) suggests that the role of mental models is to ground everyday or commonsense understanding within a culture and that mental models are constantly subject to updates which occur as a result of new experiences. This view is parallel to Moscovici's conceptualisation of social representations, defined as providing a 'framework of thought' within a culture (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000, p. 157) that have a changing and ever evolving nature.

McKinlay and McVittie (2008) suggest that the way different approaches to discourse treat social representations may be accountable for disagreements in perspectives on discourse and cognition. As mentioned previously, discursive researchers see social representations as originating from discursive practices (Potter and Edwards, 1999). For van Dijk (1998), on the other hand, social beliefs, such as attitudes, are thus 'constituent elements' of social representations (p. 46). He shows that social representations such as stereotypes or ethnic prejudices, like other forms of socially shared knowledge, are reproduced in society through discourse (ibid., p. 2006).

2.3 Socio-cognitive representations

So far I have deliberately been referring to the discipline that studies social representations as social psychology, instead of social cognition, to emphasise its social psychological background. When it comes to linking social psychology and discourse, however, it seems more appropriate to refer to the discipline of social cognition research. As discussed earlier in this chapter, social cognition research is a sub-discipline of social psychology that uses methods of cognitive psychology to try to understand the mental processes involved in the sense-making practices of individuals in social life. Although it is difficult to establish a clear-cut boundary between social psychology and social cognition, the study of the social and cognitive practices involved in discourse production can be distinguished as the socio-cognitive approach within (critical) discourse analysis (van Dijk, for example, 1998, 2001, 2006; Koller, 2004, 2005a, 2008). Researchers within this field are 'concerned with the social construction of cognition' and hence 'treat people's talk, including their articulation of attitudinal positions, as … a cultural resource … to pursue their plans and projects' (Condor and Antaki, 1997, p. 321). We could conceptualise the difference between both disciplines as social psychology focusing on factors external to the person such as group membership and attitudes while cognitive psychology focusing on internal, mental processes such as the mental dimensions of language use. Cognitive linguistics is also known to borrow methods from this later discipline (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). It thus makes sense to place the study of the interrelation between both the social and the cognitive in a discipline that reconciles the two. Koller (2005a) sees

social cognition as 'the interface between conceptual models … and discourse' and attempts 'to establish a framework for critical research into the cognitive phenomena witnessed in discourse' (p. 200). It is important to clarify, however, that van Dijk (1997) also uses the term social cognition to refer to mental models that are 'acquired and (re) produced through social, including discursive, practices' (in Koller, 2005a, p. 204). These interact with the personal cognition of group members and structure ideologies (ibid.).

Another issue that needs addressing is the definition of social representations. So far, social representations have been discussed in relation to social psychology. Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned that, within sociolinguistics, discourse analysis has used the term to refer to underlying frameworks used in certain discursive practices. Koller (2005a, p. 207) stresses that 'any account of discourse and its features … needs to integrate the two [social and cognitive] functions'. She adds that 'life is not a product of discourse but a product of cognition, which is, in turn, reflected in discourse'. From this perspective, Koller (2008) links the concepts of cognition, ideology and discourse and shows how they impact on the understanding of what she calls 'socio-cognitive representations' (SCRs) (p. 392). SCRs are hence seen as the interaction between cognition, ideology and discourse. In other words, existing cognitive models instantiated by a strategic selection of discursive functions (such as transitivity and modality in functional grammar terms) or embedded in cognitive features, such as metaphoric and metonymic expressions and intertextual or interdiscursive references, are all set up in order to 'ultimately reproduce or subvert existing social [power] relations' in the discourse community (Koller, 2004, p. 38). Koller explains that meaning-making is underpinned by, and reliant upon, cognitive models of the recipients and that, 'in a cyclical process, these dominant representations again inform discourse participants' cognition' (2008, p. 396). To illustrate this, in a study of mission statements as 'carriers of ideologies', Koller (2008) infers the socio-cognitive representations prevailing in corporate discourse, in particular the way companies instantiate these to project their corporate brands as identity. By using some tools from functional grammar, the study shows how socio-cognitive representations are raised to prominence by a strategic selection of agency, process types and modality markers at the textual level.

I mentioned above that socio-cognitive representations can also be structured metaphorically or embedded in cognitive features such as metaphor, metonymy or anchored in intertextual or interdiscursive reference. I will now turn to explaining these concepts in more detail.

2.4 Metaphor and metonymy

Briefly described, in cognitive semantics, metaphors are seen as a conceptual phenomenon that is realised on the surface level of language (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Metaphor is primarily a cognitive phenomenon that helps make sense of abstract categories by borrowing structures from more concrete categories. Metaphors are deeply embedded in the conceptual framework of the social context in which they occur (Kövecses, 2002). This view distinguishes conceptual metaphors from metaphoric linguistic expressions. In other words, metaphor exists at a conceptual level, that is, 'as a way of thinking', and evidence of this way of thinking is manifested in linguistic metaphorical expressions in language, in the 'way of talking' (Kövecses, 2002, p. 6). In conceptual metaphors, usually one abstract concept, or domain, is understood in terms or another, usually more concrete domain and realised through a linguistic manifestation or metaphoric linguistic expression (Kövecses, 2002). Ungerer and Schmid define conceptual metaphors as 'a mapping of the structure of a source model onto a target model' (1996, p. 120). These mappings are realised linguistically. For instance, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY[1] is reflected in the linguistic expression 'You are wasting my time' (Kövecses, 2002, p. 5). Hence, in this conceptual metaphor, the domain of TIME is understood in terms of the domain of MONEY. The more concrete conceptual domain, in terms of which the more abstract domain is understood, is called source domain. In the previous example, MONEY is the source domain. On the other hand, the more abstract conceptual domain, which is understood in terms of the source domain, is called target domain. Hence, in the example, TIME is the target domain (ibid.). In order to understand the relationship between the two domains, we resort to a set of correspondences between them. In other words, the constituent conceptual elements of the target domain correspond to the constituent conceptual elements of the source

domain. These correspondences are known as mappings. To exemplify this, we can use examples of linguistic metaphors such as 'it's not worth my while', 'this should buy me some time', 'spend your time wisely'. These linguistic metaphors thus show how constituent elements of time help shape the way in which we understand the concept of time. Kövecses also discusses personification as a form of metaphor as human qualities are attributed to non-human entities. Examples of this are 'the computer went dead' or 'life has cheated me' (2002).

These processes, although resembling the social representations process of objectifying described earlier in this chapter are not exactly parallel to them. The process of objectification of social representations helps turn something unfamiliar into something familiar by using various cognitive processes, such as conceptual metaphors or metonymy (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000). In other words, the objectification process of imbuing an abstract concept with physical properties can make use of conceptual metaphor. An instance of this is attributing physical properties to the mind (that is, an abstract entity). This can be achieved by using the metaphor MIND AS A MACHINE. Hence it should be noted that the process of objectifying social representations may entail conceptual metaphors but that the two cannot be equated. Similarly, Moscovici and Hewstone (1983) suggest that another way of objectifying social representations is by using a person (that is, concrete entity) to represent an idea (that is, abstract entity), for example using the name Freud to refer to the discipline of psychoanalysis. The authors describe this as 'personification'. In cognitive linguistics, this process is known as metonymy.

Metonymy is defined as 'a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain' (Kövecses, 2002, p. 145). In such cases, the conceptual relationship between the entities is that of THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT; THE AUTHOR FOR THE WORK OF ART, etc. A linguistic manifestation of metonymy that falls within this category would be 'I'm reading Shakespeare' or 'she has a Picasso'. The entity that directs attention to another entity is called vehicle entity while the kind of entity to which attention is directed is known as target entity. So in the previous examples, Freud and Shakespeare are the vehicle entities while psychoanalysis and Shakespeare's works

constitute the target entities. Kövecses explores various other conceptual metonymies besides THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT. Some of these are: THE PLACE FOR THE PEOPLE; THE PLACE FOR THE EVENt ('America doesn't want another Pearl Harbour'); THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION ('Wall Street is in panic'); THE OBJECT FOR THE USER ('the sax has the flu today') to name but a few (ibid., p. 144). This is also evidenced in the data presented in this work. As will be shown, in some instances during the appraisal analysis, the informants make a metonymic connection between advertisers and advertisements, that is to say, the producers of the advert are appraised through an evaluation of the advertisement, thus making the conceptual relationship one of THE PRODUCT FOR THE PRODUCER.

I mentioned above that metaphors can help structure, or indeed take the form of (Koller, 2004, p. 220), socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) in that metaphors are cognitive models that are culturally shared by members of a group and as such they represent 'the connection between the cognitive and the cultural' (Eubanks, 2000, p. 25). This view is shared by Charteris-Black (2014) who proposes that 'metaphor influences personal contexts while also contributing to socially shared beliefs' (p. 198) and that social representations (that is, SCRs) can be 'implied by metaphors'. The author proposes that a study of conceptual metaphors can contribute to understanding van Dijk's mental models, that is, specific instances of social representations as defined above. Therefore, an exploration of the way in which 'metaphors interact with their socio-cultural environment in the form of discourse' by means of the 'identification processes of "A" is "B" type, establishing a particular view of an issue as naturalised common sense' can shed light into the internal mechanism of SCRs and thus help decipher the particular ideological stance that pervades the discourse they underlie (Koller, 2004, p. 20). In this way, metaphors can be seen as 'hybridising two discourses', a notion that leads to a view of discourse as working at an interdiscursive level to integrate two 'distinct domains and their discourses with them' (ibid., p. 38).

The notion of hybridity introduced above will become very prominent in the discussion of the adverts used for this study in Chapter 3. In order to introduce the concept, I first need to briefly outline the notions of interdiscursivity and intertextuality to link them to hybridity and recontextualisation in Chapter 3.

2.5 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

I argue throughout this book that both intertextuality and interdiscursivity account for the meaning-making of a text as they explain in relation to previous interpretations of the same text. These notion follows Bakhtin's (1981) theory of 'dialogism' which proposes that a single voice is never entirely responsible for creating an utterance, or, indeed, its meaning; the word in language is always 'half someone else's' (p. 293). Fairclough, building on Bakhtin (1981) and Kristeva (1986), introduces a systematic approach to intertextuality designed to allow for a systematic application of the concept. He points to a useful distinction between manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality, or interdiscursivity. Manifest intertextuality occurs where a previous text has been brought and integrated structurally through a 'rewording of the original' (1992, p. 104). Fairclough sees intertextual reference not merely as incorporating and responding to other texts, but as a more opaque type of relationship which forces the reader to activate the intertextual reference by tracing it back to its source. Constitutive intertextuality, or interdiscursivity, concerns the relationships that the current texts have with conventions of text constitution, namely genre, discourse, and style which they 'reaccentuate, rework and mix in various ways' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 103). In this context, Fairclough refers to discourse as the 'context, the ideational meaning, subject matter that is represented' (p. 128). The term genre refers to the set of 'conventions associated with … a socially ratified activity type' (p. 126); genre is also linked to a particular style and its three main parameters of variation: mode (written, spoken, visual or a combination of them); tenor (variation in the level of formality involved in the relationship between participants in the interaction) and rhetorical mode (argumentative, descriptive, etc.). Koller (2010b), building on the work of Fairclough (1992), refers to intertextuality as the incorporation of one text into another, be it manifest, that is, the structural integration of a text into another by means such as direct discourse representation (Fairclough, 1992), or 'constitutive' by alluding to conventions of text constitution of a particular text in the current one. Koller (2010a, 2010b) refers to interdiscursivity in a more generic way as 'the transfer of particular linguistic features that are typical of one discourse (or genre) to texts that represent another one' (p. 2). In the focus-group data presented

in Chapter 4, for example, the informants discussing the Dutch advert allude to features of the genre of drama to make sense of and evaluate the advertisement at hand. This is an example of interdiscursivity as put forward by Koller (2010b). In this work, I will refer to intertextuality as both the structural integration of one text into another (what Fairclough, 1992, calls 'manifest intertextuality') as well as to the allusion to particular other texts, such as the allusion to Vermeer's *Girl with the Pearl Earring* painting in the advert for Holland (see advert 1, Figures 3.1 and 3.2). I will refer to 'interdiscursivity' as the use of features that are typical of another discourse or genre and are alluded to in the text under consideration such as the focus-group example mentioned above (Koller, 2010b).

The turn to reception research in the field of intertextuality and interdiscursivity is signalled by Meinhof and Smith (2000, p. 11) who focus on the dimension of intertextuality and interdiscursivity defined by the 'relationship between text and audience', pointing out a more complex conception of 'the interaction between texts, producers of text and their readers' life-worlds' (p. 3). In the same volume, Meinhof and van Leeuwen point out that the emphasis on the receiver has implications of how intertextuality and interdiscursivity are conceived. The social and cultural references that viewers bring to the engagement with the text and meaning-making process should be accounted for as intertextual and interdiscursive readings, instead of seeing intertextuality and interdiscursivity as only a property inscribed in various modes in texts. They observe that 'readings are thus by definition multiple, open to divergence, according to the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs of viewers' (p. 62). These readings, they stress, are not isolated but made in 'response to texts' and organised and categorised in patterns of meaning-making or 'higher-level units' that will shape the way recipients consume and assess texts they come across (ibid.); in other words, they are dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981). This is consistent with the notion of multiplicity of readings discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to advertising reception. The above definition, pointing at higher-level units shaping sense-making also points to a socio-cognitive dimension, consistent with the view of socio-cognitive representations put forward in the previous section.

The positioning of the receiver of a text is crucial if we are to assume a model of communication based on Bakhtinian thought, for

it is in the interaction between the sender(s) and receiver(s) of utterances or messages that meaning is created (Volosinov, 1973 in Hodge and Kress, 1988). Hodge and Kress (1988) state that, in an active engagement with a text, the reader is forced to attempt to retrace the path already constructed in previous texts. Hence the text thus gains meaning from an intertextual and interdiscursive relationship with other texts and 'meaning itself is then just a product of the recipients' interaction with the text' (Hodge and Kress, 1988, pp. 174–175).

It is important to point out, however, that readings are not entirely free of restrictions. To the contrary, Fowler (1996) argues that text recipients are 'discursively equipped prior to the encounter with the text' (p. 7). Such 'equipment' is instilled in the readers' cognitive environment through practices they adhere to and will, in turn, influence their discourse. This means that the combination of previous readings, or access to different texts, discourse and genres as well as the position set up by the text producers as the 'ideal reading' (Hall, 1980) interact by guiding the reception process to a reading 'more or less congruent with the ideology which informs the text' (Fowler, 1996, p. 7), successfully so at times.

The notions above point to the same issue, which I argue in this book. When confronted with certain texts, certain models stored in the recipient's cognitive environment (that is their SCRs) may be activated and hence such particular views of the world may be manifested in discourse giving rise to a particular evaluative position, as I will argue later. A study of the strategic selection of language and other cognitive features (such as metaphors) and intertextual and interdiscursive reference may help uncover the socio-cognitive representations that are raised to prominence during the sense-making process that go to inform the evaluative discourse.

As a concluding note, having established that social cognition research bridges the disciplines of social psychology and cognitive psychology by assuming social life to be 'functionally related to cognitive perception' (Koller, 2005a, p. 203), I place my study within a socio-cognitive research context for reasons that will become apparent below. In this study, I see socio-cognitive representations as social representations, in the Moscovician sense, that is as evolving 'frameworks of thought', signposted in discourse through a selection of linguistic choices (for example agency, process types and modality, as will be discussed in the next chapter) and further informed,

and shaped, by other cognitive features such as metaphors and by intertextual and interdiscursive references. Furthermore, I see socio-cognitive representations as containing evaluative elements deriving in attitudinal positions as will be discussed below.

At this point, it is necessary to turn to the notion of 'attitude' and discuss its relationship to discourse and to socio-cognitive representations.

2.6 Socio-cognitive representations, attitude and discourse

As mentioned above, this book sees SCRs as evolving structures of knowledge that contain evaluative elements and give rise to attitudinal positions. I have mentioned throughout that it is my proposal that evaluative positions arise when new information is checked against the knowledge structures contained in SCRs. I must highlight that, from this point of view, SCRs can be seen as providing a framework for evaluation. For this reason I take a linguistic approach to the study of attitude and evaluation and use appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005), a framework for the analysis of evaluation rooted within systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, 2014) as a tool that allows a systematic study of evaluation in discourse. Before discussing appraisal theory, however, it is necessary to turn to the concept of attitude and evaluation, and their relation to appraisal.

Attitude research represents a long-standing tradition within social psychology. As a widely studied phenomenon, several definitions have been put forward. Among them, we find, for example, Petty and Cacioppo's definition as 'a general and enduring positive or negative feeling about some person, object or issue' (1996, p. 7). For Eagly and Chaiken, attitude is understood as a 'psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour' (1993, p. 1). From this I can conclude that attitudes are first and foremost evaluations or evaluative responses towards some stimulus and are characterised by a degree of positive or negative valence.

The structural definition of attitude, as seen above, includes an object or stimulus towards which to direct the evaluation, the act of evaluating and the evaluating agent (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Petty et al., 1997; Ajzen, 2001; Gaskell, 2001). Pratkanis and Greenwald, in

their socio-cognitive model of attitudes, add to the above the notion of 'a knowledge structure supporting the evaluation' (1989, p. 249). Later developments in the field of attitude research have emphasised the social nature of attitudes (Eiser, 1994; Fraser and Gaskell, 1990) arguing that they are socially shared as they originate from interactions and communications in our everyday social life (Augoustinos et al., 2006). The same authors maintain that the 'dimensions of judgment upon which attitudes fall may be universal or specific, socially shared or idiosyncratic' (2006, p. 114). Van Dijk (1998, p. 43) also uses the term attitude to refer to a social construct rather than an individual phenomenon. This notion links the concept of attitude with socio-cognitive representations. Moscovici (1998) advises that while social representations (or socio-cognitive representations, as I will hereafter call them) cannot be conceptualised as attitudinal dispositions to social objects, they still provide structural frameworks of understanding upon which evaluative judgements can be based. This also relates to the notion of 'a knowledge structure supporting the evaluation' put forward by Pratkanis and Greenwald (1989). These frameworks of knowledge are thus grounded in the shared understanding encapsulated in social representations which, at the same time, gives credibility to an otherwise perceived subjective opinion (Moliner and Tafani, 1997). Attitudes towards social objects (including actors, events and entities) can be based on the evaluative components in their representation. In other words, socio-cognitive representations can be seen as systems of belief which may give rise to attitudes (Gaskell, 2001) and these are, in turn, manifested in evaluation.

Evaluation is a cross-disciplinary concept with diverse applications and strands of study (Page, 2003). Hunston and Thompson (2003, p. 5) suggest that 'evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that she or he is talking about'. The authors propose that evaluation fulfils a number of functions. Those relevant to this study are the expression of the speaker's opinion reflecting the value system of that person in their community and the construction and maintenance of relations between the speaker and listener by assuming shared values. In the same volume, the authors present a collection of varied work on evaluation within the field of linguistics and show how the term is used in different ways across a number of specialisms, thus illustrating the richness and scope of the concept.

2.7 Evaluation as appraisal

The use of the concept of evaluation that Martin and White (2005) put forward is, however, more restricted than the one that Hunston and Thompson (2003) propose. Focusing on the interpersonal aspect of meaning, which is concerned with the way in which people interact, including the feelings they try to share (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, 2014), Martin and White's approach concentrates on the speakers' emotional attitudes as expressed by lexical items. Appraisal theory focuses on the way the text creates, negotiates and maintains relationships between interactants through lexical choices expressing positive or negative feelings in such a way that those choices are seen to 'reflect and reinforce the ideological values of the culture' (Thompson, 2004, p. 76). Appraisal theory provides one way of unveiling speakers and writers' ideological positions encoded in positive or negative evaluations of, and attitudes towards, entities (Martin and White, 2005). White (2005) describes appraisal as an 'approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships' in texts (p. 1).

Researchers within the SFL tradition have been working on appraisal theory for a number of years which has resulted in a large body of research. A full outline of the framework is provided by Martin and White (2005); other works which describe the framework and its application include Martin (1995, 2000) and White (2005). Key works in this field include Christie and Martin (1997); Coffin (1997); Iedema et al. (1994), who all use appraisal to shed light on the stylistic and rhetorical mechanisms of texts in different genres. Eggins and Slade (1997) apply appraisal theory to spoken data, a pioneering work in the field of spoken discourse.

The appraisal system is subdivided into three interacting domains: 'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation'. Graduation is concerned with values by which speakers or writers increase or diminish feeling by graduating the degree of intensity of an utterance (force) or blurring semantic categories (focus). Engagement is concerned with sourcing attitudes and heteroglossic voices around opinions. Attitude, the aspect I look at in this study, is concerned with emotions or emotional reactions, judgements of human behaviour and evaluation of things and entities (Martin and White, 2005). The system of attitude is subdivided into three subsystems, namely: affect, appreciation and

judgement, all explicitly or implicitly construing attitudinal stance of three main types. Affect values are concerned with feelings and emotions. Any entity, human or non-human, can be the target of affect and the emoter is typically explicit. Appreciation evaluates objects and the attributes or qualities of entities. Finally, judgement is typically concerned with the evaluation of human beings. Each of these subsystems within attitude can themselves be sub-categorised and will all be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 3. In analysing evaluation as appraisal, analysis should focus on the stratum of discourse semantics;[2] that is, meaning beyond the clause (Martin and White, 2005, p. 10) that can be manifested through a wide range of features and functions of language. This means that expressions of attitude can be realised explicitly as adjectives functioning as epithets in a nominal group as in 'a strong woman' or they can be encoded as a nominalised process as in 'an abuse of the picture', etc. (Hood, 2010), as will be illustrated in Chapter 3.

As Eggins points out, each system within the appraisal system (and that of attitude in particular) represents 'a point at which a choice has to be made' (2004: 196) and this choice 'is interpreted in relation to the choices that could have been made but were not' (Hood, 2010, p. 27). This is an obvious but necessary remark to make if we consider that appraisal is concerned with the choices by which speakers 'come to express, negotiate and naturalise particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions' (White, 2005, p. 1). And it is those 'ideological positions' that may be contained in socio-cognitive representations which, in turn, play a role in the selection, whether conscious or unconscious, of attitudinal language. An integrated methodology will therefore not only allow for a systematic analysis of the choices made, revealing expressions of attitude but also the socio-cognitive motivation behind such choices. It is such a methodology that I turn to in the next section.

2.8 Integrating appraisal and socio-cognitive representations

This book addresses the relationship between cognition and language as a complex and disputed area. From a social psychology perspective, Augoustinos et al. (2006) conceptualise cognition as 'prior to language' (p. 49). This view comes in opposition to Halliday and

Webster (2003), who argue against the notion that language must be dependent on pre-existent systems of knowledge and cognitive processes. Halliday argues that processes of cognition are dependent on language due to the latter's ability to construct human knowledge and society and that as such 'we explain cognition by reference to linguistic processes' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, p. x). The authors stress that 'it is grammar itself that construes experience that constructs for us our world of events and objects' (p. 17). From this perspective, Halliday sees cognition as part of the social and advocates linguistic analysis as a way of understanding the social in language. From a discourse perspective, the latter view has been contested by some discourse analytic researchers and approaches. I said earlier that critical discourse analytic approaches see language 'as a form of social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258) to which I added that some other branches of Critical Discourse Analysis have tried to reconcile discourse and cognition. Teun van Dijk (2001) introduces a socio-cognitive level to the approach and places cognition as the interface between discourse and society. In this way, discourse is seen as a linguistic expression of sense-making in a social context, which stresses the cognitive as well as the social dimension (Koller, 2008). Following this, Chilton (2005, p. 23) argues that the notion of the discourse '"construction" of knowledge about social objects, identities, processes, etc.' implies a cognitive dimension since such construction inevitably happens in the minds of the individuals interacting in discourse. Chilton goes on to say that Critical Discourse Analysis is a useful tool for unveiling how attitudes towards entities are established by language users, a process that is underlined by category formation. Chilton concludes that by exploring cognitive aspects of discourse we may be able to deepen our understanding of 'how and perhaps why human minds produce such (linguistic) structures' (p. 24).

In terms of evaluation as a functional approach, Bednarek (2009a) discusses that existing cognitive work related to evaluation focuses on the notion of subjectivity and perspective (Langacker, 1990), modality (Finegan, 1995) or ideology in evaluative semantics (Malrieu, 1999). Despite such attempts, the connection between cognition and appraisal processes is still a rather under-researched area. A recent contribution to research that examines socio-cognitive dimensions of evaluative language is Bednarek's (2009a, 2009b) on

the relationship between language and emotional affect, as a dimension of the appraisal system where she concludes that 'emotion talk and emotional talk' can be examined 'both from a cognitive and a discursive perspective' (2009b, p. 395). Still, the relation to the use of evaluative language and cognitive models underpinning it is largely left unattended. In line with the views presented above, this book represents a proposal to investigate the dimension of evaluation from the functional perspective through the lens of appraisal theory, to which I add an interpretation in light of the socio-cognitive resources inferred to underpin the appraisal, in order to investigate how social cognition informs evaluative disposition.

This work advocates that the relationship between language, society and cognition are equally important and should be treated equally rather than privileging one over the other. I start from the premise that meaning-making is underpinned by, and reliant upon, cognitive models of the recipients and that, 'in a cyclical process, these dominant representations again inform the discourse participants' cognition' (Koller, 2008, p. 396). This sub-section thus proposes a theoretical approach to the study of sense-making which takes both socio-cognitive and linguistic functions into account. In order to do so, I would like to demonstrate how the disciplines of reception studies, social cognition research and discourse analysis can be co-deployed in order to create a holistic approach to the study of evaluation in discourse. So far, I have been using both the words 'discourse' when discussing the view of discourse analysis and social cognition research and 'language' when discussing evaluation and appraisal. As I mentioned above, I will hereafter refer to the use of language that considers use, cognition and society as 'discourse'. The theoretical premises of this book are as follows.

Given that this book addresses the role of the audience in advertising reception, in this theoretical framework, I first centre on the idea of audiences' active participation in advertising reception. I propose that during the process of making sense of advertisements, the audience links the domain of advertising with reservoirs of social and personal knowledge stored in their cognitive environment by means of cognitive process as well as intertextual and interdiscursive chains. In studying this, I address Livingstone's premise that, the issue at stake in the study of audiences concerns the relation between sense-making and the knowledge informing the practice (Livingstone, 1998).

I expand of this, however, by arguing that sense-making needs to be studied as the linguistic manifestation of processes of social cognition which both represent and inform them. This leads me to my second premise which places this study within a socio-cognitive research context on the basis that 'social life is functionally related to cognitive perception' (Koller, 2005a, p. 203). I approach 'sense-making' in terms of people integrating external stimuli, that is advertisements, into their own knowledge structure so that their existing stock of knowledge is activated and potentially modified in relation to the new material. In this way, I see socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) as social representations in the Moscovician sense, that is, as evolving frameworks of thought (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000) manifested in sense-making discourse; those SCRs are indexed in discourse through linguistic choices such as the strategic selection of agency, process types and modality markers, to name but a few. Only particular SCRs, however, are drawn upon to be realised in discourse; this selective process is strategic in nature. SCRs are further informed, and shaped, by other cognitive features such as metaphors. In addition to this, intertextual and interdiscursive references to various genres and discourses ('discourses' in its plural form referring to particular ways of representing the world, following Fairclough, 1992) interact in sense-making, and both feed off and into socio-cognitive representations.

Thirdly, I see socio-cognitive representations as evolving structures of knowledge that contain evaluative elements and give rise to attitudinal positions. As previously discussed, attitudes are mainly evaluative responses, with either positive or negative valence, towards some stimulus. They are a social construct rather than an individual phenomenon (van Dijk, 1998) and have an idiosyncratic nature (Augoustinos et al., 2006). The latter two notions link attitude to socio-cognitive representations. I also mentioned that although SCRs are not conceptualised as attitudinal dispositions to social objects, they still provide structural frameworks of understanding upon which evaluation can be based (Moscovici and Duveen, 2000). In other words, I argue that socio-cognitive representations can be seen as systems of belief upon which attitudes may rest. In turn, the latter may derive in evaluative stances. Therefore, SCRs can be seen as providing a framework for evaluation.

Fourthly, I propose a linguistic approach to the study of attitude and evaluation in the form of the appraisal framework. As mentioned

above, appraisal is concerned with unveiling the motivation behind the attitudinal disposition, be it affectual, aesthetic or moral and ethical and is one lens to unveil speakers and writers' ideological positions encoded in positive or negative evaluations of, and attitudes towards, entities (Martin and White, 2005), and it is those 'ideological positions' that may be contained in socio-cognitive representations which, in turn, play a role in the selection of attitudinal values in discourse.

Finally, this book aims to reconcile social cognition and appraisal theory by looking at the cognitive elements underpinning attitudinal positioning. Such socio-cognitive interpretation of evaluative discourse aims to consider the instances of inferencing and references to world knowledge (Chilton, 2005) present in evaluation that are beyond the scope of the appraisal framework and hence consider both the 'social and cognitive functions' (Koller, 2005a, p. 207) of discourse in the study of sense-making.

For the purposes of theory building, I have taken a top-down approach where I have linked reception, cognition and discourse. I have said that this work looks at SCRs, which may contain or give rise to attitudinal positioning, inferred to underlie the evaluative process and manifested in discourse via a variety of linguistic devices. It has also been discussed that evaluation occurs in discourse when a stimulus is checked against the socio-cognitive representations containing a framework of values and norms.

In order to investigate the sense-making process produced by the encounter of the reader with the stimulus, however, I need to take a bottom-up approach to the data. This means that I first look at how evaluation happens in text, that is, whether it is motivated by affectual, aesthetic, or ethical and moral values. This is done by identifying lexical items across a range of discourse-semantic categories (for example, processes, attributes, modality markers, etc.) and allocating them to a specific appraisal category (that is, affect, appreciation or judgement). Then, I look at the cognitive resources inferred to underlie those evaluative choices made by the speakers. I argue that SCRs present in the data and informing evaluative discourse are indexed in discourse by various linguistic features as will be presented in Chapter 3. For example, in 'it's more than your normal holiday' (discussion of the Dutch Tourist Board advert), the use of the comparative 'more than' and the appraisal value 'normal'

are reflective of the group's SCRs of holidays which underpins to the appraisal of the advert.

In some cases, however, SCRs are formed and/or informed by other features. I have identified two main features that have also been found to shape and inform SCRs. These are conceptual metaphors, and intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Through the realisation of SCRs at text level, metaphors allow access to the conceptual level, thus revealing the cultural framework of naturalised thought they form part of. This means the socio-cognitive representations that interact in the appraisal process are assumed to be shared by the informants of each particular group. From this perspective, metaphors are also culturally shared elements that provide access to the underlying cognitive structure. In the data analysis of the IKEA advertisement reception, for example, an instance of appraisal seems to be framed by the metaphor HAPPY IS LIGHT, linguistically manifested by 'I felt she'd somehow brought the sun with her and lit up'. This may form part of a SCR of holidays in the sun which may activate positive feelings in the audience and hence be reflected in the positive appraisal (see Chapter 4 for a full discussion of this instance).

I also mentioned that the exposure of readers to the stimulus at hand may trigger references to other texts or to conventions of text constitution, such as genre. These, known as intertextuality and interdiscursivity respectively may have a central role in aiding the activation or anchoring of social representations. In this process, models containing a stock of behaviours and rules are activated, and compared to the unfamiliar stimulus the informants are confronted with giving rise to an attitudinal positioning. The evaluation mentioned earlier 'you are a strong woman' (turn 244, FG1), can also be inferred to have been triggered by an intertextual reference to the film *Calendar Girls*. This means that the naked woman in the IKEA advert may have been cross-referenced with the women in the film (perceived as strong), resulting in an evaluation of the woman in the advert as being 'strong'.

Before moving onto a discussion of the contexts of advertising production and reception of the data investigated, I conclude this section by reiterating my argument that an account of sense-making should centre on the interplay of both the interpersonal devices used in the appraisal process as well as on the cognitive processes that allow inferences about the mechanisms of sense-making. Chilton

(2005) warns, however, that those mechanisms 'are not strictly logical nor empirical' (p. 40) but that nevertheless can offer an account 'of how cultural input can affect the human mind' (p. 40). To sum up, I am proposing that this holistic framework may help uncover the way in which the attitudinal disposition arising from making sense of hybrid advertising texts is actualised in linguistic structures as well as the mechanisms informing the audience's cognition in the sense-making process.

The next chapter will place the data used for this study in the context of reception research. In order to provide a full account of the data, I will also pay some attention to the context of production of the adverts used as stimulus data for the focus groups discussions. I will also thoroughly discuss the process whereby the reception data analysed and discussed in following chapters has been coded and analysed.

3
Investigating Evaluation in Advertising Reception

I discussed in the previous chapter that sense-making, in the context of this study, entails an attitudinal stance leading to an evaluative position that is inferred to be socio-cognitively motivated. I also discussed that this study aims to (a) systematically outline the evaluative practices found in the focus group data with the aid of the appraisal framework; (b) to unveil the socio-cognitive resources inferred to play a role in the selection of evaluative discourse. Before fully outlining the analytical framework applied to the spoken data in order to investigate the reception process, it is paramount to provide a context to the advertising production practice in order to have a full picture of the process.

I will start outlining the practice of advertising practice by discussing the notion of recontextualisation and hybridity introduced in the previous chapter in the light of media texts, and the advertisements used in this study in particular, so as to provide a context to the use of art in advertising.

3.1 The context of advertising production

As with most contemporary media texts, advertising draws from symbolic material stored in popular culture's and established reservoir and explores techniques for reconditioning new and complex symbols in order to achieve this meaning transfer (Fowles, 1996). The transfer of meaning entails a transformation, with some researchers working on meaning transformation calling this process

'recontextualisation' (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; Wodak 2000), which is of particular relevance to this book.

Critical discourse analysts have borrowed the notion of recontextualisation from Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy (1996) and have sought to operationalise it in discourse analysis. Fairclough (1992, 2003) uses this notion in reference to genre and genre chains, employing the term 'genre' to refer to the set of 'conventions associated with ... a socially ratified activity type' (p. 126). Fairclough discusses genre chains in terms of text types which are linked together in a way that meanings are 'moved along the chain, and recontextualised and transformed' (2003, p. 26). Hence, the movement of a genre (or discourse) from one practice into another entails its 'recontextualisation within the latter' where, inevitably, a new 'hybridity' is created (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 93).

Wodak (2006a) suggests that images are 'decontextualised' and 'recontextualised' for various purposes and that, in the process, they acquire new meanings (p. 4). There are, however, certain principles which govern the recontextualisation process and regulate which meanings are moved in the chain and how. Fairclough points out that the recontextualisation of meanings is also a 'transformation of meanings, through de-contextualisation – taking meanings out of their contexts – and recontextualising – putting meanings in new contexts' (2003, p. 26). Furthermore, the interests, goals and values of the context in which this process takes place condition the outcome of the transformation (Wodak, 2006a). What is hinted at here is the fact that power interests may be at stake in the recontextualisation process. On this note, a further notion, developed by Chouliaraki and Fairclough, is of interest, namely that 'recontextualisation should be seen as an appropriation/colonisation dialectic' (1999, p. 93). By this, they mean that a 'potential colonising external presence' can potentially be 'appropriated and domesticated'. That is, the movement of discourses and genres from one social practice onto another can be construed as one 'practice colonising and so dominating another, or as the latter appropriating and so dominating the former' (ibid.). In this way, they draw attention to the issue of power involved in this notion. In an investigation of the way in which particular discourses, such as politics and religion, are appropriated by corporate text producers, Koller (2010c) exemplifies this by appropriating hitherto powerful discourses and their underlying

socio-cognitive models, dominant discourses establish and maintain hegemonic status.

Fairclough (2005) poses the question of whether the recontextualising relation between political speeches (a) and news reports (b) is an instance of colonisation of (b) by (a), or a relation of appropriation of (a) by (b). Further, he suggests that it may actually be a relation that 'sets up a dialectic between colonisation and appropriation which may be played out in different ways according to a range of contextual factors' (p. 65). Fairclough concludes that communications in the globalised world are facilitated and even conditioned to form genre chains and hybridity (2003) and that cultural artefacts are not immune to these processes. It is one of the aims of this book to investigate the ways in which the audience perceives, and indeed evaluates, the colonisation/appropriation dialectic perceived in the recontextualisation of art in the adverts used for this study.

As mentioned above, this work uses advertising that recontextualise paintings as stimulus material for the focus group discussion. Any discussion of art and its recontextualisation, cannot omit the historical landmark set by the Dada Movement which set itself as the precursor of the perceived 'outrages' to high art. Marcel Duchamp's 1919 portrait of the *Mona Lisa with a Moustache* was one of the forerunners to have a lasting legacy to the merging of the two cultures, that is, 'high art' and 'low art'. Duchamp used the painting of the Mona Lisa, to whom he added a moustache and goatee and the inscription 'L.H.O.O.Q.' underneath the painting, the meaning of which was never fully revealed. The title has been widely interpreted; some interpretations have assigned a sexual message to the inscription when read in French (Kispit, 1968); others assume Duchamp's recontextualisation of the painting as revelatory of da Vinci's sexuality (La Farge, 1996). Judovitz (1998) points out that Duchamp was interested in art 'as "making" that demands activity on the part of the artist as well as the spectator' (p. 146). Indeed, Duchamp himself declared that 'the onlookers make the picture' (1959, p. 77), thus leading to the conclusion that artistic value does not necessarily reside in the work of art in itself but in the exchanges that it can generate between work and spectator (Judovitz, 1998). It is precisely this perspective, which centres around the position of the reader as the meaning maker, which this book is interested in. Clearly, the

reading position set up by the producer is not at all irrelevant in the process as discussed in Chapter 2.

In terms of the use of art in advertising, or indeed, the recontextualisation of the former in the latter, this dialectic does not come without controversy. Hoffman looks at the dichotomy of criticism generated around this 'new cultural space' where, on the one hand, there is an underlying sense that 'selling is evil' and advertising is a temporary and short-lasting artefact that aims to help accomplish this 'malevolence' while, on the other hand, 'true art' is perceived as timeless, conservative and devoted to the 'values of the past' (2002, p. 6). Messaris (1997) discusses the juxtaposition between a product and some form of art and points out that the use of art is used to connote superior status, a strategy that has a long history in commercial advertising. Walker (1983) suggests that the inclusion of works of art in advertisements serves as a 'token of high culture, superlative skill, supreme value – the product being advertised is supposed to acquire these qualities by association or continuity' (p. 58). Berger makes special reference to advertisements that reproduce paintings and notes that 'art is a sign of affluence; it belongs to the good life; it is part of the furnishings which the world gives to the rich and the beautiful' (1972, p. 135). Other scholarly work on marketing and advertising seems to suggest that adapting a celebrated and well-known painting is a clever way of condensing and communicating a specific positioning strategy (Ries and Trout, 2001; Lury, 2004). An advert's elaborate reference to an art heritage intends to position the product, the brand and its potential, and actual consumers as prestigious or cultured (MacRury, 2009). Furthermore, it aims to enrich the commodity with cultural associations and assign shared meanings and value systems to an otherwise inert artefact. In other words, it seeks to encourage audiences to connect everyday products with social values, relationships and affective life (ibid.). An important notion brought up by Messaris, following Veblen (1953), is that the mere monetary value of commodities is not necessarily the main indicator of social status (Bourdieu, 1984) and, consequently, not the principal mechanism through which images in advertising appeal to consumers (Messaris, 1997). Veblen's theory of the leisure class in consumer societies puts forward that leisure is most effective when it represents an opportunity for enhancing personal refinement and sophistication as its effects persist after the leisure time is over. Hence, the value

of leisure activities as social markers is, in some cases, more permanent than the acquisition of an expensive commodity and can also be seen as an indicator of status. Messaris (1997) concludes that, in line with Veblen's theory, it is leisure as opposed to consumption that best accounts for the use of art as a status marker in advertising. The reason for this is that the role of art in such circumstances is 'not to represent costliness, which could be symbolised equally well by other means, but to suggest that the consumer is a person of discriminating taste and, therefore, of high status' (p. 232). Consequently, the inclusion of a work of art in the advertisement for a product may work as an indicator that the consumer is thought to be equipped with the necessary 'connoisseurship' that is required to interpret such a representation (and not necessarily associating them with high expenditure), hence linking the world of refinement with the advertised product (ibid.). This appeal to shared knowledge also creates solidarity between the advertisers and the knowledgeable consumers; that is, the consumers who have the 'connoisseurship' required to decipher the encoded message which distinguishes them from those who do not possess such knowledge and may not be able to make sense of the message. A sense of flattery may arise in such consumers because of their self-perceived ability to understand a message.

There is, however, an extended tradition of criticism which condemns what is considered the appropriation of art by advertising (for example, Berger, 1972). Moody (2000), for example, points out that advertising misrepresents commodities when it 'appropriates' cultural artefacts; furthermore it 'misconstrues' artefacts by associating them with commodities (in MacRury, 2009, p. 160). This condemnation of recontextualising a work of art in advertising leads me to conclude that when art is considered a precious resource to be preserved, it is not unusual to encounter a heightened defence to its representational accuracy. That is, art is seen from an essentialist standpoint which does not allow for compromising meanings or variety of interpretations. Instead, it is seen as being committed to representing what it was intended to represent when it was created; from an essentialist perspective, art should 'mean what it means' (Kanicki, 2003, p. 275) to a selected few, be these its creators, commissioners or members of established art academies who accredited such works of art and artists in the context of their creation. Clearly this would, by extension, refute the principles of 'decontextualisation' and

'recontextualisation' discussed above as this criticism and the notion of 'misconstruction' does not allow for the notion of transformation and articulation of recontextualised meanings. Many advertising critiques are thus informed by such essentialism and condemn advertising as misrepresenting the work of art's true meaning.

From an advertising perspective, we find that, frequently, advertising purposefully ignores the represented elements of the work of art which make it special, such as subject matter, emotions, social influences, and so on, and instead invites a relationship to the commodity (MacRury, 2009). As a consequence of this, the represented characters of the work of art trespass the aesthetic values of the timeless represented world to become recontextualised into a short-lived, material consumer world (MacRury, 2009). One outstanding critique of the use of art in advertising is provided by Scruton, who argues that the work of art bestows its subject matter with 'intrinsic value, and therefore upholds the distinction between things with a value and things with a price' (2000, p. 84). Also, Scruton claims that the advertisement works towards corrupting that distinction as it aims to convey the idea that it is possible to purchase 'value'; at the same time, he argues, advertising evoking art wrongly parallels 'price' with 'value', thus violating a fundamental distinction between both practices: art is 'sacred' while advertising is 'profane' (2000, p. 84). In this way, the advertising image is seen to corrupt consumers' connection with history and tradition and, through seduction or desire for a 'momentarily gratifying yet banal fantasy life packaged for sale', makes them 'complicit with the commodity world' (MacRury, 2009, p. 158).

From a marketing perspective, it has been claimed that the use of art in advertising is not necessarily advantageous in terms of helping the consumer engage with the product; instead, the connoisseurship and taste for art sometimes works as an irrelevant and even off-putting distraction (Hennion and Meadel, 1989). Some research (for example, Lury and Warden, 1997) shows that these types of strategies are effective for the elaboration of the brand in the target audience even if the consumers do not react positively to one particular piece of advertising. This means that even if one particular piece of advertising is not satisfactory or approved by the consumers, the brand image may still prevail in the mind of the consumers who may consider it when making purchasing decisions, perhaps even after the bad advertisement has been long forgotten.

This leads us onto the domain of brands, which are seen as powerful complexes with the capacity to embody and carry cultural information and expectations associated with a product (Koller, 2008) and which 'as intangible entities represent the cognitive-affective concepts stakeholders maintain about a particular product' (p. 391). In this sense, brands are one form of social representation, that is knowledge structures or cultural ideas, including feelings and attitudes, which are established in the minds of the consumers through associative chains. The supreme importance of brands in consumer societies makes it the paramount task of marketing discourse to communicate and reinforce their associated cultural concepts and individuality in the minds of consumers (Koller, 2008). This issue will be taken up in the data discussion in Chapters 5 and 6. The aim of marketing communications is to ensure, through the use of advertising, that the consumer will at some level connect with and recognise an object on account of the brand it instantiates (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Roberts, 2004). Advertising that makes use of cultural artefacts raises questions about the advertising genre. Such questions go beyond the perspective of a purely business-based marketing outlook and invite a different analytic view of, for example, how the hybridity of genres represents this new mediated era.

Some critical analysis defends specific cultural artefacts (in this case, works of art) and their genres of mediation (in this case, advertising) on the basis that they can seemingly capture and embody elements that are of importance to the consumers' identity, their life-worlds and to the community at a certain time (MacRury, 2009). Understanding the analysis of cultural artefacts' 'appropriations' from this perspective allows us to conclude that despite the fact that advertising continues to be cited as an 'antithesis of culture', it still performs 'cultural roles' by linking and defining the 'desirable relations between people and things' (MacRury, 2009, p. 160). Furthermore, in a consumer society in which commercial relations and social relations become blurred, any clear-cut distinctions between culture and commerce become increasingly elusive. Given the complex and ever-evolving nature of post-modern communication, where the infringement of boundaries across many genres is commonplace, it is a problematic enterprise to assert a clear-cut distinction between commercial and cultural realms. Art and other cultural artefacts are unavoidably drawn into the contemporary

commercial system. To categorise cultural artefacts as being beyond reach fails to acknowledge the genre chains and hybridity that characterise communications in a globalised society (Fairclough, 2003) as well as the multiplicity of audiences interacting with the text (Koller, 2010b).

The advertising industry is a major trigger of genre chains. Whether the recontextualisation and appropriation/colonisation of cultural artefacts is a positive or negative feature of current communications, it is not easy to make an argument for prohibiting cultural artefacts or texts to be used in commercial communications. In fact, it could be argued that in some cases, their re-circulation and recontextualisation may be advantageous as they may become more accessible to a public for whom the cultural artefact would otherwise have gone unnoticed. In a way, the recontextualisation process makes cultural texts, hitherto limited to the appreciation of a selected few, accessible to everyone. This may, of course, also constitute the source of opposition from certain groups who might not be at ease with the popular dissemination of art as they may feel they are losing the benefit of being part of the selected group who enjoy the privilege and exclusivity of connoisseurship.

It is interesting to notice the use of the term 'appropriation' by various critiques from diverse fields. Even though it might not have been used in a technical sense, as outlined by Fairclough (2005, earlier in this chapter), the choice of the word to relate to the use of art by the advertising industry does hint at a power struggle whereby advertising is seen as the oppressor and art as the subdued. This point is extensively found in the informants' appraisal of the adverts, in Chapter 4.

As a final note, having considered the critiques of the advertising industry's use of art as well as the way in which art has influenced advertising, it seems necessary to conclude by quoting Fairclough (2005) and posing the question of who colonises and dominates whom. As mentioned above, Fairclough's stance suggests that there may actually be a dialectic relation between colonisation and appropriation which may be operationalised in different ways depending on the interests involved. However, what has barely been considered in the critiques discussed above is the role of the audience in this dialectic relation. Even if advertisers are not worried by the potential negative reaction of the consumer to the appropriation/colonisation

dialectic in an advertisement on the basis that it will, arguably, still strengthen the brand, as suggested by Lury and Warden (1997), the question needs to be asked of how this dialectic affects the brand positioning. In other words, how is the brand positioned in the mind of the consumers when such dialectic is at stake? This work aims to examine some of the issues raised by looking at audiences' sense-making of art in advertisements and its implications for advertising practices.

3.1.1 Working with recontextualised advertisements

As stimulus material, I worked three printed advertisements, from a corpus of around 50 magazines and billboards adverts, which use art in advertising in different ways. The three main categories of advertisements recontextualising art identified in the corpus are: (a) re-enactment of a painting, advert 1 (Figure 3.1) below; (b) quoting of a painting and alteration, advert 2 (Figure 3.3); and (c) literal quoting of a painting, advert 3 (Figure 3.4). The adverts selected from this study constitute an example of each category and they represent the following brands: the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions, car manufacturer Mercedes-Benz USA and furniture and household retailer IKEA. The images are shown under the description of each advert at the end of this section.

The reason for choosing these adverts as stimulus data is that I consider them to represent a good example of the 'semiotically-charged' nature of contemporary advertising whereby the industry strives to re-adapt, change and transform rhetorical styles and manners to comply with the complexity of contemporary media and consumer environments, as well as fast-changing consumer awareness and sensibilities (MacRury, 2009, p. 217). As adverts respond to cultural fashions, change and practices in order to appeal to their target market (Branston and Stafford, 1996), it is ultimately the consumer's task to unveil and respond to the meanings and signs embedded in advertisements, as this study argues. This is, however, not a new view. As early as 1978, Williamson discussed the notion that adverts create 'structures of meaning' (p. 12) and rely on the consumers or audience to identify the social signs encoded in them by perhaps finding a certain familiarity or identification with their own life-worlds. In this way, advertising acts as a form of 'meaning transfer' (McCracken, 1990, p. 77) whereby both the consumer good and a representation

of a socially and culturally constructed world are conjoined in order to allow the consumer to trace the similarities between them. This links to Chouliaraki and Fairclough's view discussed in the previous subsection in that the recontextualisation of art in adverts leads to a new 'hybridity' (1999, p. 93), which, inevitably, leads to a 'transformation of meanings' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26). The outcome of such transformation is conditioned by the interests, goals and values of the discourse participants engaged in the process, not only at the production stage but also at the reception stage, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter. It is this 'transformation of meanings' that makes intertextual advertisements particularly amenable to a co-deployed appraisal/socio-cognitive analysis as the recontextualisation entails also the travelling of socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) from one context to the other. If we are to consider SCRs as cognitive models structured in a similar way to conceptual metaphors (Chapter 2), their source content (art) travels onto the target content (advertising); then the potential links between SCRs lead to shaping new SCRs associated with the target content which, in turn, impacts on the appraisal of the image. I will demonstrate this fully in the next chapter. For now, I will introduce the adverts which recontextualise paintings used as stimulus data for the focus group discussion.

The three adverts will be described below. To avoid repetition, I will refer to them interchangeably as 'adverts/ads' or 'images'. The images are introduced in the order in which they were presented to the focus group participants during the discussion in order to re-create the scenario as accurately as possible for the reader. In the focus groups, the first image introduced was the Holland advert (that is, re-enactment of a painting). The rationale behind this was to find out if and how the reference to art was traced. Contrary to adverts 2 and 3 (Figures 3.3 and 3.4), advert 1 (Figures 3.1 and 3.2) does not have a straightforward reference to art. If either of the two other adverts had been presented first, the participants might have noticed the art reference straightaway and, by extension, assume that advert 1 (Figure 3.1 used during the focus groups) also had an art reference and this would have perhaps had an impact on the meaning negotiation process whereby participants arrived at the conclusion that a reference to art was present given its presence in the other two adverts. I will follow the same order when discussing the findings.

For this study, I also interviewed advertising practitioners and art historians who work as curators at the local art gallery. The advertising

practitioners were two creative managers and one sales manager from a local well-known advertising agency. According to Meuser and Nagel (2005), practitioners in a field possess three types of 'expert' knowledge: technical knowledge, that is, specific knowledge in the field as well as detail on regulations and operations which influence, condition and shape the field; process knowledge, that is, awareness of processes and interactions necessary to conduct business or operations; and explanatory knowledge, that is, interpretation of relevance of rules. The purpose of carrying out interviews with advertising practitioners and art historians was to gain some expert knowledge in both fields so as to be able to compare their views with the evaluative responses of the focus group participants in order to draw more informed conclusions. In other words, I wanted to see what the advertising practitioners thought the intention of the actual creators of the advertisements would have been when they created the adverts and correlate those responses with the audience's. To this end, I carried out exploratory expert unstructured interviews (Bogner et al., 2009). The experts' responses to the adverts were very insightful and varied. I have separated the responses by image and incorporated them in the discussion of each image below (see Figure 3.1).

3.1.2 Figures 3.1 and 3.2: Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions advert

This printed advertisement was displayed at a bus stop in a local high street during March 2005. The advertisement was produced by the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions to advertise Holland for tourism. The image consists of a fair-skinned woman with an orange headscarf, a brown garment and a pearl earring against a light background looking sideways. The only copy the advert has is the internet address 'www.holland.com'. The advert is an example of type 3 identified as recontextualisation of art in advertising. The advert re-enacts Dutch artist Johannes Vermeer's 1665 painting *The Girl with the Pearl Earring*.

The painting is in the Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis in The Hague, Holland. The painting shows a young woman wearing a blue and yellow headband and a brown period smock looking at the viewer over her left shoulder. She is also portrayed wearing a pearl earring hanging from her left ear. Critics of the painting have speculated as to whether she is portrayed as ironically smiling in a Mona Lisa fashion. In fact, it is this connection that has given the painting its

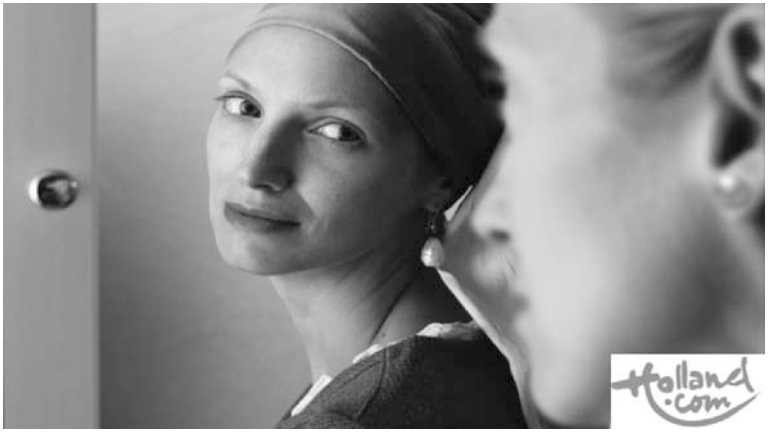

Figure 3.1 Advert for the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions (detail)

nickname, 'The Dutch Mona Lisa' (Swain, 2011, p. 16). The painting has had several references in fiction, for example the 2003 film *Girl with the Pearl Earring* directed by Peter Webber starring Scarlet Johansson and Colin Firth.[1] As regards the compositional features of the advert, at first sight, the reader is confronted with what appears to be a woman looking sideways but away from the onlooker. A closer look reveals that the woman is looking into a mirror projecting what appears to be the Vermeer's painting onto her own image, perhaps suggesting that she found inspiration after a visit to the gallery. The focus group participants were shown the image above which was displayed at a bus stop on a local high street; such an image, however, is actually a cropped version of the original advert (below) that I obtained from the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions. I originally took a photograph of the cropped version displayed at the bus stop with a mobile phone but, as the quality was poor, I downloaded the similarly cropped version from the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions website and manually added the copy displaying the website, as it was shown at the bus stop. The cropped image advertised (Figure 3.1), which is the one used for the focus group discussions, unfortunately does not show enough of the original advert for the readers to understand its full content (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Original advert produced by the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions

When looking at the image, the represented character's gaze is an important element to consider in terms of viewer involvement. The gaze of the woman seems to reach past the boundaries of the visual text, and closer to the viewers, thus creating a visual form of address (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The range of colours, in shades of brown and orange, conveys warmth but, at the same time, creates an atmosphere of uncertainty with which made it difficult for the audience to relate to the painting.

As will be appreciated from the findings, viewers found it difficult to assert the thematic content of the image as they were showed the cropped version of it. The interviewed practitioners' view was that by recontextualising a Dutch painting, the advertisers might have been trying to link the product (that is, Holland) with art and culture, perhaps based on assumed SCRs the public may have about what Holland offers, and attempt to change those conceptions.

3.1.3 Figure 3.3: Mercedes-Benz ad

The second image (see Figure 3.3) used as stimulus material for the focus group discussion was an advert by Mercedes-Benz USA. This was part of a brand campaign that aimed to promote the new generation of Mercedes-Benz products which changed the tone and style of Mercedes-Benz marketing based on the product and brand attributes that were perceived to define and characterise the Mercedes-Benz brand (PRNewswire, 2002).[2] The campaign communicated the uniqueness of every product through expressing a specific attribute of each line (that is, security, innovation, experience) followed by the words, 'Unlike any other' in every advertisement. The advertisement used as discussion stimulus for the focus groups was a print magazine spread over three pages, published in prestigious US publications such as *The Wall Street Journal* and magazines such as *Vogue* and *New Yorker*.

The advert recontextualises Whistler's 1871 *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1*, also known as *Whistler's Mother*. This famous painting has undergone many incarnationsleading to its 'recontextualisation' in various media, from post office stamps to advertising and even popular media references. It gained popularity in the United States and became associated with motherhood and family values, as suggested by the 'Whistler's Mother Statue' in Ashland, Pennsylvania.[3] The Mercedes-Benz advert under discussion is an

example of the painting's long-lasting popularity its widespread use and the frequent allusion to it.

The advert belongs to category 2 of uses of identified art in advertising: literal quoting with modification of components. It uses the painting as a setting first, a strategy intended to set the tone and mood of the advert (Caudle, 1989). The advert is spread over three pages. On page 1, the advert features a painting set against what appears to be a green wall. In the painting, we see a woman dressed in black wearing a white bonnet sat on a chair against a grey and black background. The woman is represented as a passive participant representing what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 123) call an 'offer' where we observe her in a detached way. By this, they mean that a distant social relationship between participant (the woman in the advert) and viewers is constructed by the use of the long shot and the lack of eye contact, which lead to the construction of a more impersonal relationship between the represented participants and the viewer. The dark colours

Advert page 1

Figure 3.3 Advert for Mercedes-Benz USA

increase the viewer's sense of detachment and lack of identification with the product, thus conveying an atmosphere that feels unreal and perhaps limiting to the viewer. The multiple framing and angularity of the image also contribute to the feeling of enclosure.

However, as the advert progresses onto the next pages, we see that the painting, or rather the represented character, takes a more dominant role. On page 2, the same painting is featured as hanging on the same wall but the chair in the painting is now empty and the woman seems to have disappeared, leaving only a handkerchief and her shoes behind as the only hints offered to the reader to try to make sense of the events. We witness a sort of visual narrative where the removal of the character creates a tension that will reach a climax on the next page, encouraging the reader to pursue their curiosity and turn the page to find out what happens next. Everything is revealed on the final page, which features the silver Mercedez-Benz car in

Advert pages 2 and 3

[Copy spreading across parts 2 and 3:
'You're one of the most recognizable figures in the world. Admired by millions. Boriiing. But hop into the drive dynamic Seat of the new Mercedes-Benz E500. Crank the CD into harman/kardon* digital surround sound system*.*
Feel the Power of the 5-liter V-B engine and you'll understand what it means to be noticed. Call 1-800-FOR-MERCEDES or visit us at MBUSA.com. ***Introducing the all new E-Class. Experience. Unlike any other.']***

motion with the woman presumably driving it. The image on page 3 works in direct opposition to the first two. The car is the centre of attention and we see the woman's bonnet flying out of the window. In contrast to the first image, there is motion created by the photographic blurring of the background while the car remains in focus in the foreground. The woman's bonnet seems to glow in its whiteness in contrast to the dark background which appears to be rapidly left behind. The light is centred on the car, inviting the reader to interact in some way with the image. The copy addresses the reader directly by using the second-person singular: 'once you drive one, there is no turning back'.

The advert resorts to SCRs the audience may have about the painting, or at least to the audience's ability to create associations with the painting and a feeling of boredom, and therefore see the car as the means that will allow them to do that. In other words, the use of art appeals to SCRs the audience may hold about the work of art and thus associate whatever positive attributes their SCRs hold to the product being advertised. Hoffman (2002) points out that this type of advertising tries to sell 'with a wink, entertaining the audience while conveying the message indirectly' (p. 32). Mercedez-Benz urges consumers to buy this car as it will make them more 'noticed' than even 'one of the most recognisable figures in the world' (ibid.).

The advertising experts' predicted that the advert would have a positive effect on people due to its humour and visual cues. Its effectiveness lies in the use of a 'really stoic figure, the woman, then just bringing it up to date, thanks to the Mercedes'. They agreed that this advert would be appropriate for readers of upmarket magazines. The advertisers mentioned that Mercedes-Benz cars are stereotypically associated with 'rich old men' but they did not consider that this stereotype has a negative influence on the reception of its advertisements in general, and this one in particular. If the ads are compared with BMW ads, which have a similar target market, BMW adverts are 'very much chic' and concentrate on the car as 'a machine'. Mercedes, on the other hand, in their later campaigns, have changed their image so that it is associated with experience and escape: 'you'll see them in front of a beach, it's more like a weekend car, it's actually a car to get away and escape

in'. The experts suggested that this advert is precisely about 'having fun and about changing perceptions'. They concluded that the Mercedes-Benz advert is the most visually attractive and that it is 'spot-on for the target market and saying the right things about the brand'.

The art historians interviewed thought that the advert tries to associate heritage with Mercedes-Benz whether it is its reputation, or its engineering; it is also about its unusual humour aimed at being understood only by an elite group of people who are the brand's target market.

3.1.4 Figure 3.4: IKEA ad

IKEA, known for its utilitarian concept, low-cost flat-pack strategy and environmental stance and its products for their functional design and clean lines, is one of the world's largest furniture retailers and is recognised for its Scandinavian style. Their extensive range of functionally designed products aims to cater for a wide range of customers (Kotler et al., 2005). Their vision, business idea and market positioning statement which serves as the flagship for their worldwide marketing communication strategy is 'to create a better everyday life for many people'.[4] IKEA has a history of creating or commissioning persuasive imaginative advertising concepts that bring the message strategy to life in a unique way (Kotler et al., 2005). IKEA's advertising centres on offering 'lifestyle' rather than just furniture. The success of their advertising campaigns is due to their memorable message execution style, which is characterised by 'not only what is said but how it is said' (Kotler et al., 2005, p. 799). The advertisement used as stimulus material for the focus group discussion was created in 2001and featured in US magazines such as *In Style*, *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan*.

The advert features a woman, probably in her late 50s, sitting on an outdoor chair in an outdoor setting. The woman is naked, wearing only sandals, a hat, sunglasses and a pearl necklace. She is holding a cup of tea and saucer in her hand and looks cheerful as she smiles. Behind her are a row of prefabricated white wooden cottages which recede into the background. The cottage behind the woman features a mural of half of Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*

in shades of yellow and orange. The inscription, at the bottom of the page, in an orange background matching the mural's colour scheme, reads 'it's your world [IKEA logo] live better' (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 Advert for IKEA

This advert is an example of a text that has 'quoted' a painting 'literally'. Before discussing the image, I will briefly discuss the painting which is Sandro Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus* (circa 1486). Botticelli's arguably most famous painting represents the classical myth of the birth of the goddess Venus, the Roman goddess associated with love, beauty and fertility. The story of the birth of Venus was seen as a symbol of mystery through which 'the divine message of beauty came into the world' (Gombrich, 2001, p. 264). Botticelli's painting forms a harmonious pattern; the figures, despite their disproportionate size, have graceful movements and a composition recalling earlier Gothic and fourteenth-century artistic traditions. The painting has been reproduced innumerable times in various media, from posters and cards, to advertising, clothing prints, and so on. The IKEA advert discussed is another example of this.

In the advert, the painting has been drawn 'literally' into the construction of the new text and used as a way of establishing associations with the product, or rather the brand, being advertised, as Caudle (1989) identified. This is an example of IKEA's contemporary and provocative advertising, using nudity as a way of expressing 'the essence of the brand' (Hoffman, 2002, p. 50). The setting is reminiscent of a rural retreat suggesting relaxation, time out and escape. The relaxed atmosphere and joyfulness conveyed by the represented woman allow the reader to identify and become involved with the ad. The image offers viewers a multiplicity of interpretations, as it does of options, to the audience being offered IKEA products. This is reinforced by the caption 'it's your world'. The possessive pronoun 'your' suggests a one-to-one relationship; it creates a sense of addressing a person and encourages the general audience to step into the position offered (Myers, 1994). The advertising practitioners were mostly taken by the 'eccentricity' of the represented character. They suggested that the purpose of the advert might have been to change perceptions of IKEA as a flat-pack manufacturer and represent it as allowing customers to create a designer house. According to them, the advert successfully conveys the idea 'yes, IKEA is famous for flat-pack but I can paint my own image onto it' without demanding much analysis. They thought that the ad would be remembered by readers. The humorous element is important in conveying the image of the brand.

The art historians interviewed also agreed that the use of art in the advert is effective and 'visually engaging'. They considered that it breaks with the conventions of the traditional depiction of women in advertising. Furthermore, it seems to be about breaking with convention in general, 'saying escape from your life or conventions, let's get away'. The setting of the advert is interesting in the sense that is a holiday chalet rather than the Riviera or any other less common location, which makes it an ordinary holiday instead of attempting to take the reader too far away from home.

All in all, the three adverts used provide a varied sample of data that lends itself to meaningful transformations and rich negotiated accounts of sense-making. Having outlined the context of production, I will now introduce the context of reception before moving onto the analytical parameters used in this study of reception of recontextualised advertisements.

3.2 The context of reception

A reception methodology, as defined by Jensen, consists of 'a comparative textual analysis of media discourses and audience discourses, whose results are interpreted with emphatic reference to the cultural and historical context' (1991, p. 139). This definition may be explained in terms of the selection, collection and interpretation of reception data. The collection or generation of data centres on actual audience discourse, as used for this study. Jensen (1991) also discusses that discourse analysis remains a key constituent of reception methodologies in that, beyond documenting a respondent's line of thought and argument, it offers a set of linguistic criteria for assessing the intersubjectivity of interpretations. Finally, Jensen's definition stresses that constitutive elements of audience discourses should be interpreted with constant reference to context, both that of the media discourses in question and the broad social context of historical and cognitive circumstances (Jensen 1991; Schrøder et al., 2003). Such a definition is applicable and consistent with this study, the aim of which is to use the discourse analytic criteria outlined in the next section to unveil the sense-making practices in the audience discourse in relation to their socio-cognitive context. Before outlining the parameters used to analyse the audience discourse, I will briefly explain how the data was collected.

3.2.1 Working with focus groups data

The data for this study was collected by means of two focus groups, the aim of which was to gain access to the informants' negotiated accounts of the stimulus data (Kitzinger, 1995, 2004; Schrøder et al., 2003) and thus gain an insight into sense-making practices. Each group had five participants restricted to middle-aged British professional informants, male and female recruited non-randomly using purposive sampling (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005) on the basis of them being theoretically interesting. This included a non-expert knowledge of art, for focus group 1 (FG1) and no knowledge or interest in art for focus group 2 (FG2). The rationale for this was to find out if knowledge of art, or lack of it, had an impact on their making sense of the images. Other features considered in the selection were their personal characteristics as individuals who liked to engage in meaningful conversation; their professional background from different occupations and a wide cultural and social reservoir of knowledge. The diversity of professional backgrounds helped capitalise on different viewpoints brought by each of the participants, thus enriching the discussion (Kitzinger, 1995). Other variables contemplated in the selection were access or contact with advertising as well as age and gender.

Participants were shown the images as described above: first, they were introduced to the Holland ad (advert 1, Figure 3.1), then they were shown the Mercedes-Benz advert ad (advert 2, Figure 3.3) and finally they were exposed to the IKEA ad (advert 3, Figure 3.4). For each advert, they were asked to start the conversation by considering the two following questions: (a) describe one word or idea that comes to your mind when you first see this image; (b) mention two features that strike you the most when you look at the picture. Focus group 1 ran smoothly with participants rapidly engaging in conversation, which resulted in fewer but longer turns than focus group 2 (548 and 988 respectively). The discussion centred on the images' use of art and was shaped by the informants' knowledge and positioning as art connoisseurs. On the other hand, participants in focus group 2 did not engage in conversation as readily and more intervention from the moderator was required; the discussion centred more on the evaluation of the images as adverts resulting in more instances of appraisal, as will be shown in Chapter 4. For now, let us focus on

how the analytical parameters have been brought together to create a framework for analysis of audience discourse.

3.3 Investigating evaluation and social cognition in reception discourse

This section describes in detail the analytical parameters proposed as a framework to investigate the way in which the audience evaluates recontextualised advertisements and the socio-cognitive resources that are seen as underpinning such evaluative choices in the informants. The proposed framework establishes the parameters of analysis of the spoken data as follows. First, a description of the appraisal typology is provided followed by an explanation of how evaluative elements can be identified across a range of features and functions of language and their allocation to the corresponding appraisal category (that is, affect, appreciation or judgement). The variants between explicit and implicit (inscribed and invoked) instances of appraisal are described along with the criteria for identifying and coding them. This is followed by a description of how SCRs are identified as being present in the data and indexed in discourse by various features and functions of language such as mood and modality, logico-semantic relations, agency and process types, and so on, in an attempt to shed light on how SCRs anchored in discourse can be seen to provide a platform for the appraisal.

3.3.1 Identifying appraisal

Before describing the appraisal framework, and its realisations, in detail, it is necessary to clarify some of the terminology that I have been using. The terms evaluation and appraisal have so far been used interchangeably. For the purposes of avoiding repetition, and because it is my stance in this book that appraisal entails evaluation, I will continue to do so. I will thus use the term 'appraisal' when referring to a general expression of attitude in discourse, used as a synonym of other generic terms referring to the expression of attitude in discourse such as 'evaluation', 'evaluative stance or disposition' or 'attitudinal stance/disposition'.

Appraisal values have either positive or negative valence, although some instances of ambivalent valence have been identified in

the focus group data, and they can be inscribed or invoked. Inscribed appraisal makes attitude explicit through a selection of explicit evaluative lexis (for example qualities such as 'it holds nicely'). Invoked appraisal is achieved by what Martin and White call 'tokens' (signalled by 't') of evaluation, as will be discussed below.

In terms of explicit or inscribed appraisal, Martin and White suggest that such instances may be realised at the level of lexico-grammar by such features of languages such as processes, attributes, modal adjuncts, and so on (2005). Based on Hood's (2010) outline of the range of systemic functional grammatical resources potentially involved in the construal of inscribed attitude (pp. 84–85), the section below maps out the various language features identified in the construal of inscribed attitude in both sets of focus group data used in this study. These involve:

Processes infused with attitude:

1. Behavioural processes: 'people look twice' (turn 123, FG2).
2. Material processes: 'I've been dragged around galleries' (turn 852b, FG2).
3. Mental processes: for example 'it appeals' (turn 421b, FG2).
4. Relational processes: 'yeah I don't have a problem with that' (turn 222a, FG1).
5. Verbal: for example 'it's not really saying anything about Holland' (turn 64c, FG2)

Qualities construing attitude:

6. A nominalised process: for example 'it's almost like an abuse of the picture' (turn 195b, FG1).
7. A nominalised quality: for example 'a look of sadness in her eyes' (turn 34c, FG1).
8. An attribute in a relational clause: for example 'she's so excited about this car' (turn 251a, FG2).
9. An epithet: for example 'you are a strong woman' (turn 244a, FG1).
10. As circumstance in a material process (adverbs): for example 'holds very nicely' (turn 186b, FG1).

This list is not at all exhaustive nor complete but it gives a good indication of how appraisal has been found to be inscribed, that is, made explicit though the selection of processes and qualities in the data. More difficult to pinpoint, though, are instances of invoked, or implicit, attitude. Martin and White (2005) point out that, as evaluation is identified at a functional level, it is paramount to look beyond grammatical boundaries to analyse evaluative meanings. Furthermore, as linguistic resources can be implicated across a range of grammatical categories to realise evaluative stances, these are highly dependent on values accumulated in co-text as is particularly the case of invoked instances of appraisal.

Invoked appraisal consists of a selection of lexical items which do not carry evaluation in themselves but have the capacity to convey evaluation when used in the appropriate context or via activation of the values and norms of a particular community. Therefore, the evaluation is usually achieved through the selection of ideational meanings rather than through specific words, as in, for example, 'it doesn't do it for me' where there is no inscribed evaluative lexis, however, the full clause conveys negative judgement.

Martin and White (2005) suggest that other appraisal values may function as 'tokens' of evaluation as they may be implicitly used to convey an overall evaluation under a different value. For example, inscribed appreciation values can be used to convey an invoked evaluation of judgement; this will be further explained and illustrated in the next subsection, once each appraisal subcategory has been fully introduced. Further subdivisions of invoked appraisal (that is, evoked and provoked) have been outlined in the appraisal literature (White, 2006). However, it is not the aim of this work to delve deeper into such subdivisions and I only concentrate on the overall uses of the main attitude categories (affect, appreciation and judgement) and will only distinguish between explicit or inscribed and implicit or invoked appraisal.

I will now outline the functional aspects of the appraisal categories in detail. Each category and its subcategories have been exemplified, wherever possible, with data from the focus groups illustrating with instances of both inscribed and invoked appraisal. This will be followed by a description of the data coding procedure and linguistic identification of resources signalling SCRs.

3.3.2 Affect

Martin (1997, 2000) provides a taxonomy for the analysis of affect in text. Affect is concerned with positive or negative personal and individualised emotional responses and dispositions towards people, things or situations which trigger the emotion. The conscious participant experiencing the emotion is the 'emoter'.

There are two types of affect values: authorial (hereafter, A) versus non-authorial (hereafter, NA). In the first type, the emotion is conveyed by the individual speaker as their own, that is to say, the speaker is the emoter and it is usually manifested in the first person. Through 'authorial affect', the speakers or writers foreground their subjective emotions, in many cases with the aim of establishing an interpersonal bond with the reader. This will be successful only if the reader agrees or sympathises with that emotional reaction and perhaps opens up to the speakers' broader ideological positioning. In cases of non-authorial [NA] affect, which is manifested in second and third persons, the speaker is the source of the emotion but the feelings are attributed to another person; in other words, it is not the author's emotions which are described but those of other people. In the example 'Rosie looks happy', the author attributes the emotion of happiness to Rosie. This sub-type locates the values of affect in the person who feels or manifests such emotional orientation, rather than the speaker who reports them.

Within affect, the main values can be summarised as follows (Martin and White, 2005):

(a) Inclination (positive) or disinclination (negative), shortened to dis/inclination. This concerns the speaker's intention with respect to a stimulus that is hypothetical or 'irrealis', meaning that the situation or action is not known to have happened. Martin and White suggest that the distinction between 'irrealis' and 'realis' (something that is known to be or not to be the case) is grammatically construed by desiderative mental processes for 'irrealis' (for example, I would like to) and by emotive mental processes for 'realis' (for example, I like to) (2005, p. 48). Irrealis affect implies a trigger, and is realised by values of dis/inclination relating to 'fear' and 'desire'. The extract below taken from focus group 1 data constitutes a clear

example of invoked (t)[5] feelings of fear and desire as values of dis/inclination:

For example:

> maybe something a moment had passed she wanted to this was her opportunity to say something [NA, t] and we were going to miss it [A, t] (turn 58, focus group 1[FG1]).

In the first part of the turn, we see how the speaker assigns feelings of desire to the character who is longing or yearning. The turn concludes with a switch to authorial values whereby the speakers convey their anxiety of missing what was going to happen or would have happened.

(b) Happiness (positive) or unhappiness (negative), shortened to un/happiness. This variable is concerned with emotions that relate to 'affairs of the heart' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 49), such as sadness, hatred, happiness, love, and so on. Feelings of happiness can be expressed as inner feelings or they can be expressed as directed towards a trigger such as liking or disliking something or someone. The negative variable of this category conveys feelings of 'misery' directed at a target or 'antipathy' manifested in the emoter. The positive variable expresses 'cheer' or 'affection'.

For example:

> I thought maybe there was a look of sadness in her eyes (turn 34c, FG1).

In this turn, negative values of non-authorial unhappiness expressed through feelings disclosing sadness or misery are used by the speaker to convey the assumed inner feelings of the character. Other examples include:

> I don't even like looking at it anymore (turn 369b, FG2) [A, speaker's negative feelings towards a target].

> ....she's so excited about driving this Mercedes (turn 211f, FG2) [NA, feelings of excitement reported by the speakers to be experienced by the character].

(c) Security (positive) or insecurity (negative), shortened to in/security. This concerns the speaker's expression of peace or anxiety 'in relation to the environs' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 49). Negative values are evidenced by feelings of 'disquiet' and 'surprise'. Positive values are manifested as feelings of 'confidence' and 'trust'.

For example:

> before you walked around an art gallery was quite snotty you felt a bit intimidated (turn 862, FG2) [A, feelings of disquiet experienced by the emoter].

(d) Satisfaction (positive) or dissatisfaction (negative), shortened to dis/satisfaction. This concerns the speaker's expression of 'achievement or frustration' regarding the activities we participate in both 'as participants and spectators' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 50). dissatisfaction is conveyed through feelings of 'ennui' and 'displeasure'. On the other hand, Satisfaction is expressed in the form of 'interest' and 'pleasure'.

For example:

> I don't particularly like the advert (turn 321b, FG1) [A, feelings of displeasure towards a stimulus expressed by the emoter].

There are only a few instances where affect is identified as invoked in the data used for this study. Affect is occasionally invoked via tokens of appreciation and judgement. For example in turn 871 (FG2), 'if the subject matter is interesting, I look twice'. The speaker uses a value of appreciation (valuation) 'interesting' to invoke affect (interest) realised by the process 'look'. The logico-semantic structure, marked by 'if', also aids appraisal by setting up a conditional relation. Affect is also invoked by prosodic features, especially when these are used to express a surprise that results in positive feelings: in 'oh, she's naked' (373, FG2), the speaker's gestures, smile and pitch invoked positive affect.

3.3.3 Appreciation

Appreciation is concerned with the positive or negative aesthetic evaluation (that is, form, appearance, construction, presentation or impact) of objects, processes and states of affairs, and natural phenomena.

Evaluation in terms of impact tends to be on the borderline with affect, as discussed below. Values of appreciation are properties attached to the entity or phenomenon under evaluation rather than the human subject doing the evaluation. Furthermore, human participants' behaviour is not normally the concern of the category of appreciation, as it is of judgement. However, in cases where the assessment does not directly focus on the correctness or incorrectness of human participants' behaviour but on qualities or 'aesthetic' features of human beings, values of appreciation are attributed. Thus we may describe human individuals as 'beautiful' or 'ugly' for example.

In general terms, appreciation can be divided into our 'reactions' to things (in terms of catching our attention and pleasing us), their composition (balance and complexity), and their value (innovation, authenticity, legacy, etc.). The main sub-types of appreciation outlined by Martin and White (2005, p. 56) are explained in more detail below.

(a) Composition is concerned with structure or form, and composition of entities and aims to answer the question of 'how well the parts of the entity at stake fit together' and 'how hard it is to follow'. These are exemplified by such positive terms as 'balanced' and 'simple' and negative balance and complexity.

For example:

> the colour scheme (is) balanced [composition: balance] (turn 186c, FG1).
>
> ... maybe it's just too simple [composition: complexity] (turn 15c, FG2).

In this case, the co-text makes the negative evaluation, as the attribute 'simple' can be used to denote positive evaluation in other contexts, for example describing something as 'nice and simple'.

(b) Valuation: looks at the value of things and their legacy, or lack of it, and aims to answer the question 'was it worthwhile?' Some explicit examples are 'illuminating', 'inspirational' or 'unconvincing', etc. or overall quality, for example 'bizarre'.

For example:

> (the car is) … like a masterpiece of engineering … (turn 193, FG1).

(c) Reaction: quality: this sub-type is concerned with presentation, that is, whether the entity under consideration is appealing or aesthetically pleasing. Inscribed examples of this category are 'beautiful' and 'lovely', or 'plain' and 'ugly'.

For example:

that's not really too beautiful (turn 397, FG2).

(d) Reaction: impact: this variable is concerned with the qualities of an entity that make it captivating to the onlooker or not. Explicit values in this category are adjectives such as 'arresting', 'captivating', or 'tedious', etc.

For example:

is dead boring (turn 125, FG2).

The subcategory of appreciation creates a potential complication for analysis as it deals with values which make reference to, or are derived from, values of affect (emotion) and hence the distinction between appreciation and affect can sometimes become blurred. This is mainly the case for the subcategory reaction: impact. Let us consider the following turn: 'as an advert I don't find it particularly enticing' (turn 219b, FG1). Terms like enticing, boring, captivating, etc. can create confusion as to whether they should be coded as affect or appreciation. One solution to this problem is to look at the grammatical construction of the values. In the following example 'entice' is used as a process rather than as an attribute. Therefore, the utterance 'the advert didn't entice me' or 'or I am enticed by it' represents a more personal evaluation which depends on the emoter's state of mind or emotional disposition, thus constituting a case of affect. In turn 219b above, however, the emotional reaction (entice) seems to be detached from the human who experiences the emotion and attached to the evaluated entity as if it were an attribute the advert intrinsically possesses or lacks. Therefore, it constitutes a case of appreciation.

Appreciation can be used to invoke values of judgement. A potential problem with ascribing values of appreciation may arise from the indistinct boundary between people's behaviours or activities and their abilities and skill in performing them (normally appraised with values of judgement), and the final product of such activity. Two examples from FG1 are worth considering here: 'it's a clever

picture' (turn 191) and 'the advertising department are trying to be clever' (turn 192a). In turn 191, the speaker clearly appraises the quality of the advert (clever), that is, the allegedly successful product of the advertisers' attempt at using their creative skills, therefore representing a case of appreciation (valuation). On the other hand, turn 192a is a clear instance of the informants judging the advertisers' ability to perform certain activities, hence constituting an instance of judgement (capacity). In turn 191, however, the question arises as to whether the advert or the human actor who tried and succeeded in creating a clever advert is being assessed. In other words, do we treat the adjective 'clever' in turn 191 as a quality of the entity (and hence as appreciation) or as the result of the activity of the human agent behind its creation (and hence as judgement)? Martin and White (2005) advise that in cases where evaluations are ambiguous as to whether they assess human behaviour (judgement) or the products of human behaviour (appreciation), we need to rely strongly upon the importance of the actual context in which such values occur. Previous textual and co-textual references and context may serve as a guide towards seeing a particular value as more about human behaviour (and hence involving judgement) than about the aesthetic qualities of some entity (and hence involving appreciation) or vice-versa. I approach instances such as these as cases of metonymy whereby appreciation thus serves as a token used to invoke judgement by means of a metonymic relation. This is a prominent feature of the subcategory of judgement and I will explain this fully below.

3.3.4 Judgement

The final subsystem of attitude is that of judgement, which is concerned with attitudinal evaluation of human behaviour, either praising or criticising it, with reference to some set of social norms. Inscribed instances of judgement are terms such as 'corrupt', 'dishonest', and so on. The two main distinctions of judgement are those of social sanction and social esteem.

Values of judgement under social sanction involve assessments of rules of behaviour of people in relation to norms which are accepted and codified in a culture. Examples of judgement involve assessments by reference to systems of legality, morality or politeness. Social sanction is subdivided into veracity and propriety.

(a) Veracity is used to question the appraised person's sincerity. No such values have been identified in the focus group data but examples of veracity could be elicited by such statements as 'the president is deceitful and underhanded'.
(b) Propriety is used to appraise a person based on their compliance with certain socially held values, norms or rules for moral action and behaviour.

For example:

they're stealing the picture's beauty (turn 195c, FG1).

... it's elitist (turn 157a, FG1).

In turn 157a, FG1 above, the evaluation is directed towards an entity, that is, the advert. However, we can interpret it as an instance of judgement of propriety if we assume that it is actually the human agent behind the creation of the advertisement that is being appraised. Such an instance can be interpreted from a cognitive semantics perspective as a case of metonymy. In the case of these evaluative instances, for example, we see that the entity at stake comes metonymically to stand for the human agent behind its creation. In other words, the speakers evaluate the product in terms of its producers. Turn 157a, FG1, '[the advert] is elitist' inscribes judgement of propriety on the basis that it metonymically appraises the advertisers' creative strategy in a producer for product relation. In metonymy theory, the entity that directs attention to another entity is called vehicle entity while the kind of entity to which attention is directed is known as target entity. So in the example, the advertisers constitute the vehicle entity while the advertisement under evaluation constitutes the target vehicle. Metonymy has been repeatedly found in the focus group data across all categories, although it is most repeatedly found in the judgement category, especially for propriety and capacity.

Values of judgement involve evaluations that do not have the same legal or moral implications as the social sanction values but that nevertheless have the power to influence the position the individual holds in their community. These are labelled as values of social esteem. These values relate to assessments of normality, capacity and tenacity of individuals in terms of their behaviour.

(a) Normality: assessments under this category relate to judgements of people or their behaviour as being ordinary or strange in a given culture. Explicit judgement of normality would make use of adjectives such as 'eccentric', 'conventional', etc. This definition, however, discloses one of the problems with judgement of normality, where in some subcultures being 'out of the ordinary' would still constitute a positive evaluation in many cases. In these cases, analysts have to rely heavily on context and treat evaluative meanings as locally contingent rather than universal.

For example:

who they're saying you're special because you've got taste (turn 196cande, FG1).

... she's obviously very English cause she's holding a cup of tea [t] (turn 578, FG2).

Epistemic modality establishing certainty and the grading of the attribute of being 'English' at a high end of the grading scale serve to inscribe judgement.

(b) Competence or capacity is concerned with values of ability and skill in carrying out an action, or knowledge in relation to some activity. Explicit judgement of capacity would be manifested by such adjectives as 'knowledgeable', 'stupid', etc.

For example:

the advertising department are trying to be clever (turn 192a, FG1).

(c) Psychological disposition or tenacity involves evaluations of accomplishments, determination or willingness to sustain work towards a goal or objective. Inscribed values may involve lexis such as 'brave', 'cowardly', 'committed', etc.

For example:

you're a strong woman (turn 244a, FG1).

To summarise, judgement involves positive or negative evaluations of human behaviour by reference to a system of norms accepted in a certain social context. These norms may be a reflection of frameworks of thoughts (that is, SCRs) as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4.

Like affect and appreciation, it is possible for judgement values to be invoked rather than inscribed by what are known as 'tokens' (t) of judgement. These tokens trigger values of judgement by establishing apparently factual, value-free descriptions of a particular event. They, however, have the capacity to invoke judgemental responses by triggering cultural values or norms. Thus a speaker or writer may inscribe a negative judgement value by accusing the advertisers of being 'elitist' or, alternatively, invoke the same value by means of a token such as 'they are appealing to a minority' (turn 196b, FG1). In this latter turn, there does not seem to be a lexical item that explicitly construes evaluation. Nonetheless, at an ideational macro-level, such an observation has the potential to evoke evaluations in readers who share a particular view on the use of art in advertising or other advertising strategies that may be perceived as discriminatory in a specific social context. The influence of the co-text is crucial in these instances. This also reinforces the earlier notion that appraisal theory operates at the discourse semantic level. As such, the positive or negative valence of evaluative meanings is locally contingent rather than universal, as well as socio-cognitively motivated.

Invoked judgement is also construed by tokens of other subcategories of appraisal. For example, in turn 203d, FG1 'it doesn't really grab me as an advert for the car', the speaker uses a value of appreciation ('grab me', reaction: impact) as a token to set up a negative judgement regarding the ability of the advert to effectively publicise a car (capacity). Grammatically, the appraisal is construed by the material process 'grab' (which is also a metaphorical mental process). However, the invocation of judgement in the form of negative capacity is expressed by the co-text by means of features such as the negated auxiliary verb and the adjunct 'really' to express low ability. By so doing, the speaker evaluates the product in terms of its producer. This could be seen as another case of product for producer metonymy as discussed earlier.

Finally, modality and mood are also used as resources for conveying invoked appraisal. Modality can be realised through modal verbs and adjuncts. In 'the average person you meet on the plane to Amsterdam is certainly not going to the art gallery' (113b, FG2), the epistemic modal adjunct invokes negative normality. In turn

196, FG1, 'you are special, you know that because you've got taste', capacity is invoked by the selection of the second-person pronoun addressing the assumed consumer directly and the use of the mental processes of cognition ('know').

3.3.5 Coding appraisal

Martin and White advise that there are various ways of analysing appraisal (2005). Analysis can focus on lexical expressions of attitude in a 'top-down' fashion, starting from a higher order semantic function and descending to explore patterns of choice or in a 'bottom-up' fashion, centring on building up a sense of the patterns of speaker's choice, as is the case of this study. The reason for this choice is that this study centres on examining the way in which two sub-groups of people from a particular social context make sense of advertising stimuli and hence both sets of data rely heavily on culturally shared codes, knowledge and norms. As such, a high percentage of appraisal instances are invoked rather than inscribed.

Each turn containing appraisal in the focus group data is treated individually and subdivided, with each subdivided turn indicated with (a, b, c), which helps identify different instances of evaluation within the same turn. For example, in turn 24 below, only one instance of appraisal has been identified, hence the number of the turn stands on its own:

24 I thought it was a very strange expression

However, in turn 26 below, several instance of appraisal have been identified, hence the turn has been subdivided and each utterance containing appraisal has been marked with letters. For example:

26a I was drawn straight to her eyes

26b and I thought her eyes were looking very longingly

26c and I thought about you know is it lusting

There is no identification of individual appraisers as this work considers the speakers as a group, rather than as individuals, in order to be able to draw comparisons and trends between both groups.

After the turn has been numbered preceding the text continuing the appraisal item and the appraising item underlined (for example

'lusting' above), details of the coding are given in squeare brackets: [ ]. Within these, the polarity of the appraising (+ for positive or – for negative) is indicated, with ambivalent cases left blank. If appraisal is invoked, it is indicated with 't' following the polarity. This is followed by the appraisal category to which the appraising item has been identified as belonging , abbreviated as follows: AFF: AFFECT; *APP: appreciation*; **JUD: judgement**; each category, and its corresponding subcategories, are graphically represented by a different font, as follows: AFFECT in SMALL CAPS; *appreciation* in *italics* and **judgement** in **bold**. After the appraisal category and subcategory have been mentioned, the image being appraised is indicated with numbers 1 to 3 (1 for the Holland ad, 2 for the Mercedes-Benz ad and 3 for the IKEA ad). This is followed by the elicitation of the lexico-semantic item realising the appraisal, that is, the lexical item underlined in the text (e.g. 'Qual: attrib' stands for 'quality: attribute'). Finally, the appraised item is stated. The following is an example of the data coding procedure; the full coded transcript (of turns containing appraisal in the focus group data only) which can be found in Appendix 1.

> 130a to use the original painting would be a bit dull [-*APP React: imp*, 1; Qual: attrib; image]
>
> 58d as well she wanted to [- t; AFF NA DISINCLINATION; 1; Pr: mental; character]

A key to abbreviation of subcategories is presented below:

- AFFECT: (DIS)SATISFACTION / (UN)HAPPINESS / (IN)SECURITY / (DIS)INCLINATION:
- NA: NON-AUTHORIAL / A: AUTHORIAL
- *Comp: bal: composition balance*
- *Comp: compl: composition complexity*
- *React: imp: reaction impact*
- *React: qual: reaction quality*
- *Val: valuation*
- **Cap: capacity**
- **Norm: normality**
- **Prop: propriety**
- **SE: social esteem**
- **SS: social sanction**
- **Ten: tenacity**

The full data coding is presented in Appendix 1. The reader may find it helpful to refer to both the appendix and this page when reading the data findings description in Chapter 4.

3.4 Identifying socio-cognitive representations

The appraisal analysis findings are followed by a socio-cognitive interpretation. In other words, I look at what socio-cognitive resources I infer to underlie the evaluation. It is difficult to systematically identify features of language that signpost the socio-cognitive representations, as these features operate at the discourse semantic stratum realised across a range of grammatical categories (for example processes, attributes, etc.) and across various levels of meaning relations (ideational, interpersonal, textual). Because of this difficulty, as with the analysis of attitude, an inquiry into the socio-cognitive resources interacting in the discussion and appraisal of the images should be bottom-up and data-driven and go beyond the lexico-grammatical patterns in order to uncover the full meaning potential of the text. Below, I present a list with examples of functions and features of language that I have identified and interpreted as signposting SCRs in the focus groups data. The way in which they operate in the context of the evaluation and their operation at the conceptual level is thoroughly described in the socio-cognitive interpretation section of the analysis of each set of focus group data. Examples of such functions and features are:

1. Logico-semantic relations
   (a) Enhancement:
      (i) Causal: 'if it's lust that we are seeing in their eyes then come to Holland and lust after somebody you know' (85d and e, FG1).
      (ii) Contrastive: 'if you look at a painting (it) is dead boring old fashioned whereas if you look at that on first impression (it) looks a bit looks relatively current' (125 and 126, FG2).
      (iii) Comparative: 'I know more about cars than the average woman' (214a, FG2).
   (b) Extension: 'and the speed and the picture of the car where the photography's gone all blurred and her bonnet's flying up onto wherever it is' (251f, FG2).
2. Interrogatives
   (a) Question tags: 'when you get to that age you don't really care do you' (709d, FG2).

3. Negation
   (a) Negated existential processes: 'there's no cheese or tulips' (96, FG1).
4. Modality
   (a) Dynamic modality: 'you can still make it your own' (237f, FG1).
   (b) Deontic modality: 'that should represent the exact opposite in that scene' (136c, FG1).
   (c) Epistemic modality: 'you're not really sure it's an advert for the Dutch tourist board' (82, FG1).
5. Agency
   (a) Pronoun choice: 'and we were going to miss it' (58f, FG1).
   (b) Possessives: 'because your average person in the street wouldn't recognise' (87b, FG1).
6. Prosodic forms
   (a) Prosodic interrogative form: 'there's a cheese-maker's outfit?' (74, FG1) [rising intonation]
   (b) Accent variation: (lexico-grammar level): 'I bet you some people probably think oh bet I can get that mural be alright for me shed' (567, FG2).
   (c) Accent variation (phonological level): 'sort of everybody is going like isn't it amazing' (863a, FG2) [The underlying indicate a forceful accent variation to an assumed higher social status].
7. Reference
   (a) Exophoric: 'they could have had cheese and tulips in a different advert aimed at another market' (98, FG1).
8. Discourse representation:
   (a) Hypothetical discourse representation: 'because it says it's your world do what you want you know feel free you wanna paint your shed paint your shed' (562, FG2).
   (b) Thought representations: 'which one do I know ...' 'why would I think ...' (217a, FG1).
9. Discourse markers: 'and that she sat down thinking right good job done cup of tea' (235a, FG1).

Further to this, I argued in Chapter 2 that metaphors can be seen as containing SRCs. As such, they also need to be signposted in the

data. In this study, metaphors were identified by using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) which offers a tool for systematically identifying the linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors by examining the contextual and basic meaning of lexical units and then identifying metaphorical meanings. So, in the example from turn 242a, FG1'I felt she'd somehow brought the sun with her',[6] MIP urges us to read the entire text or stretch of conversation in order to establish a general understanding of the meaning (step 1) to then be made aware that the speakers are discussing, and positively appraising in this case, the represented character in the IKEA advert on the basis of her conveying a sense of carelessness and freedom by sitting naked in an outdoor space. At MIP step 2, each independent lexical unit in the sentence is identified (/ I / felt / she / 'd / somehow / brought / the / sun / with / her /). At step 3, MIP considers each lexical unit in the sentence outlining its contextual and lexical meaning. Finally, the relationship between the two levels of meaning is considered in order to establish whether the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with any more basic meaning and hence if the lexical unit can be considered metaphorical (steps 4 and 5). In these steps, we examine the three levels of meaning of the word 'sun', for example, to find that the basic meaning (that is, 'the ball of fire in the sky that the Earth goes round, and that gives us heat and light')[7] and the contextual meaning are at odds. In this case, we understand the meaning of the word 'sun' as the joy that the presence of the woman inspires in the setting in terms of the benefits that the sun's light and heat cause for human beings. We can thus conclude that 'sun' has a metaphorical meaning in this sentence which associates light and brightness with happiness.

This concludes the account of functions and features of language seen as realising appraisal and signposting the socio-cognitive resources underlying them. This section has also considered the data collection process and has introduced the adverts that serve as stimulus material for the focus group discussion. The next chapter will turn to the appraisal analysis findings and their interpretation from a socio-cognitive perspective. It will start with the findings and interpretation of FG1 and will then move on to FG2.

4
The Discourse of Advertising Reception

This chapter is split in two parts with two subsections each. Each main part focuses on the data collected from each focus group. The first section of each part consists of an account of the appraisal resources drawn upon the discussion of the three adverts. This section starts with an outline of findings illustrated by comparative tables, which allows an overview of the clustering of attitudinal values across all images and appraisal categories in each focus group data set. The comparison observes the type of attitudinal values (affect, appreciation and judgement) used by each group to appraise each advert, and how often each is realised. This gives a gross indication of the types and prominence of values favoured in the discussion of each advert. The discussion then moves onto an in-depth account of the appraisal values found across all three. In order to trace the actual stance of the speakers in the conversations, these attitudes are seen in relation to their targets. In some cases, the argument in the conversation is inscribed, that is explicitly construed via appraisal values vis-à-vis their targets; in other cases this happens across several turns. Inscribed evaluative stances are signalled by the feature of language realising them (that is, processes, quality, etc.); however, these are not always inscribed in the conversation, but invoked in text units which are then linked across one or more turns of conversation via semantic and syntactic resources, as will be illustrated in the discussion. The reader may find it helpful to refer to the Appendix when reading the discussion below so as to have the context of the instances of appraisal analysed. The subsection of each part interprets the findings of the appraisal analysis in the

light of social cognition. The discussion of this section is organised per image, with a discussion of the appraisal findings and the socio-cognitive structure assumed to have been at interplay in the selection of the three categories of appraisal within each image. When identifying socio-cognitive representations, features of language operating at the discourse-semantic stratum realised across a range of grammatical categories and across various levels of meaning relations (ideational, interpersonal and textual), inferred to index SCRs, are signposted. This section also identifies other dynamic cognitive models such as conceptual metaphors that underlie the selection of appraisal values. In addition to this, intertextual and interdiscursive references to various genres and discourses also seem to be at play in the spoken data in order to sustain the informants' respective socio-cognitive representations thus serving as a platform for the appraisal.

4.1 Focus group 1: appraisal findings

In focus group 1, 375 out of 548 turns were suitable for analysis due to the amount of inaudible conversation resulting from overlapping and subgroups. Out of the 375 turns selected for analysis, 100 contain instances of appraisal, constituting 27 per cent of the total number of turns suitable for analysis (Table 4.1). Each turn identified as containing appraisal carries an average of 2.3 instances of appraisal (that is, 233 instances of appraisal in a total of 100 turns).

At their most general, the statistics indicate that throughout the discussion of the three adverts, the highest number of appraisal occurrences can be found in the subtype category of judgement (54 per cent of occurrences), followed by appreciation (24 per cent) and affect (22 per cent), as found in Table 4.2. The majority (56 per cent) of the appraisal values in the data show positive polarity. Appraisal is inscribed, that is to say 'directly construed in the text', in 58 per cent of the occurrences; while in 42 per cent it is invoked or 'implicated

Table 4.1 FG1 turns selected for analysis

FG1	**n**	**Per cent**
Total turns in FG1 data set	375	100
Appraisal per turn	100	27

through a selection of ideational meanings which rebound with [attitudinal] meaning' (Martin, 2000, p. 155). The percentages shown in Table 4.2 are calculated as per the total number of appraisal instances in the focus group, that is, 233. A caveat worth mentioning, as suggested by Martin and White (2005), is that the classification and analysis of appraisal, particularly of the invoked kind, are subject to the analyst's reading of the data. As such, they must be understood in the light of the particular cultural context in which they are situated, and that of the analyst, and such be treated as data with the potential for multiple interpretations. A breakdown of percentages per appraisal category and per advert is given in Table 4.3.

The Holland advert (hereafter, advert 1 [Figures 3.1 and 3.2]), presents 27 per cent of appraisal occurrences in relation to the total of appraisal instances in the FG1 data set (233). The appraisal is predominantly negative (56 per cent) while 27 per cent is positive and 17 per cent is ambiguous. Appraisal is inscribed 56 per cent of the time (Table 4.3). The second advert, the Mercedes-Benz advert (hereafter, advert 2 [Figure 3.3]), contains 37 per cent of appraisal instances

Table 4.2 FG1 general figures of appraisal

FG1	**Per cent**
Positive:	56
Negative:	37
Ambiguous:	7
Inscribed:	58
Invoked:	42
Affect:	22
Appreciation:	24
Judgement:	54

Table 4.3 FG1 percentages of appraisal per advert

FG1	**Advert 1**	**Advert 2**	**Advert 3**
Total evaluative instances (n233):	27	37	36
Positive:	27	46	88
Negative:	56	49	10
Ambiguous:	17	5	2
Inscribed:	56	70	48
Invoked:	44	30	52

in relation to the overall data set. In the spoken data for this advert, it was found that 49 per cent of the appraisal instances were negative, 46 per cent positive and 5 per cent ambiguous. Appraisal is inscribed in 70 per cent of the occurrences. Finally, the IKEA advert (hereafter, advert 3 [Figure 3.4]) accounts for 36 per cent of the total number of appraisal turns in the data set. The majority of the instances contain positive values (88 per cent), with only 10 per cent negative and 2 per cent ambiguous. Appraisal is invoked 52 per cent of the time (Table 4.3). In terms of appraisal values, affect presents a similar number of occurrences in adverts 1 and 3, accounting for approximately a quarter of the appraisal occurrences in both adverts. Appreciation values account for approximately one- third of appraisal in adverts1 and 2. Finally, values of judgement are predominant across all three adverts. Table 4.4 below compares percentages of appraisal across categories per advert. A closer look at the breakdown per category (Table 4.5) shows that affect values are mainly positive for advert 2 and highly positive in advert 3. Appreciation is also mainly positive in advert 3 while judgement is predominantly negative in adverts 1 and 2 with distinct positive polarity in advert 3.

The discussion below looks more closely at each category and considers the breakdown per category and subcategory. Tables illustrating the analysis in the discussion, showing breakdown per category and subcategory, are provided in the Appendix and signposted in the discussion.

Table 4.4 FG1 percentages of appraisal per category per advert

FG1	**Advert 1**	**Advert 2**	**Advert 3**
Affect:	23	17	26
Appreciation:	32	31	12
Judgement:	45	52	62

Table 4.5 FG1 percentages of polarity per appraisal category per advert

		Affect			**Appreciation**			**Judgement**		
Advert		**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
per cent	+	7	60	95	35	48	80	32	40	87
	–	86	40	5	20	48	10	68	53	12
	A	7	-	-	45	4	10	-	7	1

4.1.1 Affect

The occurrences of appraisal values under the category of affect for advert 1 constitute 23 per cent of the instances in the data set for this image (appreciation 32 per cent and judgement 45 per cent, Table 4.4). There are only a few turns that are indicative of authorial affect (21 per cent, the Appendix). These arise mainly from the speakers' inability to make full sense of the advert. In turn 342 'I'm intrigued by it', affect is inscribed as an attribute in the relational clause. An example of invoked affect is found in turn 68a 'and then I suddenly thought, oh it's a mirror', where appraisal is realised by the interjection. The tone of voice and gestures of the speakers are indicative of the element of surprise at the realisation that the speaker was beginning to make sense of the advert by finding recognisable elements. Instances of non-authorial affect are predominant (79 per cent, the Appendix) as the majority of the feelings and emotions expressed do not convey the speakers' feelings, rather they are ascribed to the character or characters being represented in the advert. Non-authorial affect is manifested as values of dis/inclination, dis/satisfaction and un/happiness. Turn 34c, for example, 'look of sadness in her eyes' is indicative of the speaker's attribution of feelings of unhappiness onto the character or emoter. Values of dissatisfaction are invoked via material processes 'or is she leaving' (34b). Values of disinclination inscribed as quality 'longingly' (26b) and as mental processes 'wanting' (34a) are indicative of the speakers' perception of the character's failed 'intention', as opposed to a 'reaction' to something, which seems to be the cause of negative affect (Martin and White, 2005, p. 48).

The predominance of the disinclination subcategory reflecting the speakers' perception of the character's feelings could also be a reflection of the speakers' own inability to make sense or fully understand the purpose of the image being used in the advert. They might have transferred or attributed these feelings of dissatisfaction onto the character, that is, their authorial affect of dissatisfaction is projected onto the represented character as non-authorial appraisal of affect.

The Mercedes-Benz advertisement discussion shows fewer affect occurrences (17 per cent) than advert 1 (23 per cent), Table 4.4. As opposed to the advert 1 discussion, the majority of the instances of affect manifest authorial affect (Table A2.1, Appendix).

The most salient value is that of dis/satisfaction in the speakers. These refer to particular aspects of the text, such as the joke, 'I like the joke' (turn 221a). The majority of the values present negative polarity as regards the overall impression that the advert has caused in the group and their 'frustration as spectators' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 50). Affect is predominantly inscribed as mental processes such as 'like'. One interesting instance of security appears in turn 139 'I thought oh she's gone I can relax'. Affect here is realised as dramatisation of authorial security achieved through thought representation. In this turn, the speaker describes how she made sense of the advert by narrating the way in which she progressively identified the elements in it. As the description progresses, the tension around her inability to understand it builds up to reach the climax when she realised that the flying bonnet represents the woman leaving it in the car. In this way, she does not have to think or 'deal' with the represented character and try to make sense of it anymore. A turn to consider is 203 (c and e): 'it's quite interesting' and 'I'm interested as well'. The same turn presents two different instances of appraisal which constitute a good example of the fine line between affect and appreciation: 203c has been coded as appreciation: valuation given that the evaluation is geared towards the advert, in other words, 'interesting' is a quality assigned to the advert; on the other hand, in 203e, the speaker is the emoter of the interest, hence it was coded as authorial appraisal. The instances of affect containing non-authorial values in the Mercedes-Benz advert discussion have positive polarity. They reflect the speakers' perception of the character in the advert enjoying herself (turn 144, inscribed as attribute 'fun' [happiness]). The discussion also projects the character's perceived feelings of achievement in relation to her activities or roles, or, in this case, a breaking away from them. Affect is manifested as satisfaction and inscribed as quality 'escape' (150).

Finally, the occurrences of affect values for the IKEA advertisement discussion amount to 26 per cent (Table 4.4) and are predominantly positive; the majority of the occurrences contain non-authorial valence. The authorial values are lower than the non-authorial ones and reflect the speakers' positive reaction towards the advert. The speakers' interest and enjoyment of the advert as well as their approval of the use of art in the advert are manifested by positive values of satisfaction inscribed mainly by mental processes such

as 'I like the concept of art' (303). Authorial values of happiness reflecting positive polarity are also invoked by the metaphorical expression 'I felt she'd somehow brought the sun with her and lit up and is enjoying it' (242). In this turn, happiness is experienced by the speakers but triggered by the character represented in the advert.

Instances of non-authorial affect constitute 59 per cent of the values for this advert, 92 per cent of them with positive polarity (Table A2.1, Appendix). The only negative occurrence refers to the product advertised rather than to the advert being discussed 'because people are a bit fed up with all the flat pack things' (237c). The main subcategories are dis/satisfaction, in/security and un/happiness. The first one reflects the speakers' perception of the represented characters' feeling of accomplishment (turns 235) in relation to the activity she is involved in, that is, painting the shed and then sitting naked in a chair, perhaps oblivious to others, having a cup of tea in what seems to be a garden or holiday site: 'and that she sat down thinking right, good job done, cup of tea' (235a). Positive affect is invoked by a token of appreciation 'good job'. The subcategory of security relates to the speakers' perception of the character's feelings of peace, security and confidence in relation to her 'environ' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 49). Appraisal is inscribed by the mental process 'doesn't care' (274c, 286b) and the hypothetical discourse representation 'I don't care' (291b), coded as non-authorial. The subcategory of happiness relates to the character's perceived positive emotions and state of mind expressed through the mental process 'she just likes it' (276a) and as reacting to the general mood construed by a mental affective state 'enjoying herself' (238b).

4.1.2 Appreciation

The discussion of advert 1 presents 32 per cent of appreciation values (Table 4.4). The values of appreciation focus on the compositional qualities of the advert and centre on various aspects such as how well-formed it is. Composition complexity values inscribed as quality (attributes and epithet) in turns 60 'similar' and 88b 'old painting', for example, serve to appraise the advert according to its constitution and in accordance to its conformity to various conventions of painting. This subcategory accounts for 50 per cent of the appreciation for this advert (Table A2.2, Appendix).

The appreciation also centres on the impression or reaction that the aesthetic features of the character represented in the advert cause in the group. These reactions demonstrate the impression that the advert has made on the group. Examples of inscribed values of reaction are attributes and epithets such as 'strange' (24), 'enigmatic' (35) and 'mysterious' (106a) as well as metaphorically mental processes 'I was drawn to her eyes' (26a). The impact the ad had on the audience is also manifested as reaction in the metaphorical expression 'the colours were really warming' (54a). Other instances of the fine line between affect and appreciation have been identified by attributes realising appreciation of the entity. In other words, attributes such as 'frustrating' and 'annoying' (turn 321) are displaced from the emoter (that is, the speakers feeling frustrated or annoyed) and allocated to the advert as characteristics of it.

Instances of appreciation identified in advert 2 constitute 31 per cent of the appraisal for this advert; 48 per cent have positive polarity. The compositional techniques of the advert are assigned positive values (composition balance). The speakers' knowledge of aesthetic techniques for advert composition and, indeed, criticism is reflected in the values assigned. The compositional techniques and colour schemes are appraised positively and inscribed as quality: 'holds very nicely' (186b), 'the colour scheme balanced and harmonious' (186c and d).

Values of reaction account for over half of the values of appreciation for advert 2 (Table A2.2, Appendix). In opposition to the positive evaluation of the advert's compositional techniques, the majority of the values relating to how the advert catches the group's attention and pleases them are negative. Appreciation as reaction impact is inscribed mainly as quality: 'boring', 'dull' (153) and, in only a few cases, as material (metaphorically mental) processes: 'it doesn't leap out and grab you' (187). Interestingly, the general valuation of the advert in itself from a detached standpoint (as opposed to the effect it has on the group) is a positive one. Positive valuation is inscribed as attributes 'interesting' (203c) and 'clever' (191). The attribute 'clever' is classified under appreciation in this turn given that it modifies the nouns 'picture' and 'joke' (turns 191, 219a). On the other hand, in turn 221e, for example, 'I think it's clever', the attribute has been analysed as capacity given that it is seen as metonymically appraising the advertisers (that is, the human agent) as opposed to the advert.

Similarly, the group appraises the advertised product from a detached (practical rather than aesthetic) standpoint as 'reliable' (155) and a 'masterpiece' (193).

Finally, the discussion of advert 3 comprises 12 per cent of appreciation values (Table 4.4). The reaction of the audience towards the advert is mainly positive and relates to the atmosphere created in the ad: 'different' (234). The majority of these values are positive and sub-categorised as valuation. These arise in relation to the message conveyed by the advert and the represented character. Positive valuation is inscribed as attributes such as 'different', 'rare' and 'comical' (291c, 297a, 349). Similarly, the presence of art is acknowledged and valued: 'it does matter though that it's a piece of art' (277a).

4.1.3 Judgement

The discussion of advert 1 presents a judgement value of 45 per cent of all turns (Table 4.4), 68 per cent of which have negative polarity (Table 4.4).

The judgements of social esteem constitute 68 per cent of the instantiations (Table A2.3, Appendix). These are manifested as predominantly negative values of capacity. Appraisal is targeted at the advertisers or the brand holder. This is done in two ways: in some cases the advertisers are appraised and referenced directly by foregrounding the third-person plural pronoun 'they' and capacity is inscribed via material processes: 'they are running the risk' (103); 'perhaps that's what they were trying to do' (97). In other cases, the advertisers' appraisal is invoked via a series of devices. In turn 82, for example, 'you're not really sure it's an advert for the Dutch tourist board are you', negative capacity towards the advertisers is invoked by use of low epistemic modality via modal adjuncts geared towards the audience. In this case, despite the judgement being directed at the audience, triggered by the image itself, the human agent behind the creation of the advert, that is, the advertiser, is at stake. The question tag seeking common ground and shared values reinforces the invoked evaluative force of the statement. Negative capacity towards the advertisers is also invoked by the speakers' use of logico-semantic relations of enhancement signalled by conjunctions such as 'then' and 'so' and reinforced by rhetorical questions: turns 85a and 104b 'then why would you choose that picture', 'so what's the point of' denote a cause and effect relationship invoking the negative evaluation.

Other instances of invoked judgement of capacity involve tokens of propriety. In turn 85, the speakers try to make sense of the advert by inscribing propriety via the mental processes 'lust' and 'value': 'does that say they value women' (85c); 'then come to Holland and lust after someone you know' (85e). The values of propriety, however, serve as tokens that invoke an evaluation of capacity of the advertisers. In other words, the speakers try to understand the reasons for the advertisers' use of the image by conjuring up SCRs (fully discussed in the next section) that lead to the use of tokens of propriety in order to convey an overall judgement of capacity of the advertisers. The comment adjunct 'you know' (85e) also works to reinforce the invoked evaluative force of the statement.

Tokens of normality are used to invoke judgements of capacity in relation to the effectiveness of the advert, or metonymically, the advertisers. Turns 76 'she looks Dutch', 74 'there's a cheese-maker's outfit?', and 96 'there are no cheese or tulips are there so you know' inscribe normality. At a semantic level, however, the turns work to invoke judgements of capacity in relation to the selection of elements to represent in the advert (probably based on the speakers' cognitive models). The invocation of negative capacity is aided by a dismissive and humorous tone on turn 74 marking the negative polarity of the turn. On the other hand, turn 76 is uttered in a more approving tone signalling a more positive judgement. The question tag in turn 96 where the speaker is only checking shared knowledge introduces the logico-semantic relation of enhancement signalled by the conjunction 'so'. The evaluation reaches a climax through the comment adjunct 'you know' concluding the cause-effect relationship.

Capacity is also directed at the assumed audience's ability to trace the intertextual link or to make sense of the image as an advert. The audience evaluation includes both the perceived audience and the group itself: 'your average person in the street wouldn't recognise it and make the connection' (87) and 'we don't wholly get it' (321b).

The judgements of social sanction, all manifested as propriety, represent 32 per cent of the judgement for advert 1 (Table A2.3, Appendix). Appraisal coded under propriety is elicited by the represented character and triggered by the speakers' lack of comprehension of the advert. The choice of social sanction values reflects the speakers' judgement of the advert from a moral or ethical viewpoint.

Multiple rhetorical questions help inscribe judgements of propriety as quality (attributes) in turn 26c and d: 'it is lusting is it desire'. Similarly, the use of art is also seen as discriminatory, addressing only a narrow segment of the market who would trace the intertextual connection to the work of art. Propriety is invoked by the grammatical metaphor of modality 'they're only just appealing to' (87e). On the same grounds, propriety is inscribed as the quality 'elitist': 'If it's for tourism then it's very elitist' (87a and also turns 157a and 196 for advert 2). This represents an example of the fuzzy boundary between appreciation and judgement. Turn 87a appears to be a value of appreciation (valuation) given that 'elitist' refers to a quality of the entity being discussed, that is, the ad. However, it can be argued that 'elitist' carries a judgement value indicating a negative assessment of human behaviour, on various grounds. First, the notion of 'elitism' assumes volitional action by some human agent, that is, the advertiser's act of making a conscious choice or decision on the creation of the advert for, arguably, targeting purposes. Second, the utterance acts directly to criticise the behaviour of the advertisers by reference to a system of morality (propriety).

The discussion for advert 2 includes a pattern of judgement value of 52 per cent (Table 4.4), just over half of which has negative polarity (Table 4.5). Values of social esteem (64 per cent, Table A2.3, Appendix) relate once again to the human agent behind the creation of the advert (that is, the advertisers) and the advertising message. Despite positive judgements of capacity inscribed via attributes such as 'clever' and 'witty' (202c, 203b, 219d, 221e), the advertisers are seen negatively as attempting to forcefully publicise the product. This is evidenced by the use of the material process 'flog' (192b). By using a token of appreciation (reaction impact) inscribed by the negated material process 'grab', the group negatively appraise the effectiveness of the image as an advertisement and, metonymically, its producers: 'it doesn't really grab me as an advert for the car' (203d).

The typical audience is assumed to be an age-specific and an elite group as suggested by the values of normality used to inscribe judgement: 'advertising for older men' (204a). The audience is also judged in the light of their assumed ability to make sense of the image and trace the connection to art, based on the background knowledge they are perceived to possess. These judgements of capacity are

inscribed via mental processes such as 'know' and 'appreciate' (196d, 204c, 204d): 'accomplished men that may know something about art would appreciate you know the beauty of it' (204b, d and c).

Equally, values of normality are attributed to the represented character. The woman, or rather her outfit and environment, in the advert is negatively seen as 'repressed' (136) yet her actions are celebrated as positive capacity values 'she's not really there pondering' (181).

Propriety values are also inscribed as material process in regard to the presence of art for advertising purposes. The use of the work of art is seen as morally and ethically questionable (turn 221). The speakers suggest that the painting has been 'abused' and 'taken without the owner's permission'. Other values inscribe negative propriety as quality establishing the use of the painting as 'wrong' (330c) and as a nominalised material process 'a rape of the picture' (221f). This is the strongest reaction to the use of art perceived in the data for this focus group (fully discussed in the next section).

The discussion for advert 3 presents 62 per cent judgement (Table 4.4), 87 per cent of which have positive polarity (Table 4.5). Capacity is also the category containing the majority of the coded values (Table A2.3, Appendix). Appraisal under this category relates to the message that the group perceives the brand holder wants to convey: 'this is more about lifestyle' (247a), 'being an individual' (248) and the effect that this has on the group: 'it's making me want to go and buy the product and go to IKEA' (351a).

Capacity is also geared towards the producers of the message. Predictably, the brand holder (IKEA) is perceived as the sender of the message rather than the advertising agency. The senders of the message are foregrounded by the use of the third-person plural pronoun 'they' and positive capacity is inscribed as material processes: 'they are trying to reach out' (268a) and 'they are broadening their' (268d). Capacity is also inscribed by the selection of agency where the role of the audience is foregrounded by the use of the direct form of address 'you' and through hypothetical discourse representation of the advertisers: 'so they're trying to say yes you can have the same basic flat pack' (237d), 'but you can still make it your own and decorate it' (237f). Dynamic modality markers 'can' and 'be able to' are also used to invoke positive values of capacity. This is reinforced by the contrastive relation, marked by the conjunction 'but' counteracting the negative effect introduced by the token of appreciation ('basic flat

pack') in the first part of the clause. The effectiveness of the advert is manifested as judgement of capacity inscribed via material processes 'I think the advert really works' (237g). Positive capacity towards the producers is also invoked via tokens of appreciation inscribed as attributes 'clever' (309) also implying a metonymic connection to the advertisers as discussed above.

As opposed to the other adverts where the use of art has been negatively appraised as 'elitist' and the works of art as 'abused', in this advert, the use of art is inscribed, via dynamic modality markers, as positive capacity: 'saying ok you might not be able to afford the masterpiece (268b) but you can make your own masterpiece' (268c). The logico-semantic relation of extension inscribed by the conjunction 'but' reinforces the positive judgement of the utterance while the epithet 'own' serves as an intensifier to reinforce the idea of the power of the audience as the agent of the action, that is, design their home as they like. Thus the use of art is seen in a positive way as a strategy that 'works on lots of levels' (277b). The character's age is seen as a positive value attributed to the advertisers' ability to appeal to various sectors of the population, or as being different from the perceived 'usual' IKEA market: 'the fact that she's older is appealing to another sector of the market' (287a). The attribute 'older' and the epithet 'another' inscribing normality invoke positive capacity.

Values of normality are used to appraise 'how special' the elements under consideration are perceived by the group during the interaction. They mainly relate to the perception of the message of individuality conveyed by the woman, as inscribed by the attributes 'individual' and 'natural' (374a and 299b). The evaluation of advert 3 presents the only values of tenacity throughout the discussion. These relate to the group's perception of the represented character as being 'strong', true to herself as well as a reacting against the lack of individuality that the traditional IKEA products are perceived to have. Positive values of tenacity are inscribed as quality: 'strong' (233, 244a) and material processes 'equate' (235b) and 'choose' (274b). Tenacity is also invoked by the nominal group 'the woman is an extension of the painting' (296).

Judgements of social sanction (propriety) present the lowest percentage for this image in comparison to the other two (6 per cent, Table A2.3, Appendix). They are all positive and directed towards the advertisers or the brand holder. This is based on the use of art to

target their audience in what is perceived the 'right' way, which IKEA seems to have successfully accomplished according to this group. Propriety is inscribed as attribute in turn 372, 'right', and invoked by deontic modality markers 'it doesn't have to be used to discriminate' (372b).

This concludes the appraisal analysis of focus group 1 across all three adverts. As shown, the highest percentage of appraisal values fall within the category of judgement followed by appreciation and affect. Positive values predominate but they are unevenly distributed.

As mentioned throughout the discussion of findings, the selection of appraisal resources by the participants can be attributed or interpreted in the light of various socio-cognitive resources assumed to have been activated by the speakers when presented with the advertisements. Instances of intertextuality and interdiscursivity as well as conceptual metaphors are seen to manifest themselves in the text. By examining these, we may be able to infer the socio-cognitive resources (SCRs) that the speakers might have conjured up when exposed to the stimulus material. This will help account for the selection of appraisal resources framing the participants' attitudinal stance.

The next section will provide an account of the socio-cognitive representations inferred to underlie attitude in the focus group 1 discussion of the advertisements.

4.2 Socio-cognitive interpretation

This second part of the analysis interprets the findings of the appraisal analysis in the light of social cognition and looks at the socio-cognitive resources inferred to underlie the appraisal. The discussion is split by image rather than appraisal category so as to give a fuller picture of the sense-making of each advert.

4.2.1 Holland advert

The values of affect in the appraisal of advert 1 (with predominantly negative valence, 65 per cent) seem to be triggered by an interdiscursive reference that instantiates the schematic structure of the genre of drama which may structure the informants' interpretation and indeed evaluation of the image. Three key turns which are illustrative of this are:

> (26a–e) 'I was drawn straight to her eyes and I thought her eyes were looking very longingly at the other person and I thought about you know is it lusting is it desire I kind of thought definitely in her eyes they were very deep I saw the door handle next after her eyes …'(34a–c) 'there was a doorway there which she was either wanting the person to come with her to the doorway or is she leaving and I thought maybe there was a look of sadness in her eyes as well if she was leaving' (58a–g) 'yeah wishful maybe after I start thinking there was some sadness that maybe something a moment had passed as well she wanted to this was her opportunity to say something and we were going to miss it maybe she was leaving through the door'.

The interdiscursive references inferred in these turns seem to construct a dramatic scene structured around various schematic scenarios underlying the non-authorial affect values selected by the speakers. Various interconnected schemas (Bartlett, 1932; Schank and Abelson, 1977; Chapter 2, this volume) triggered by the woman with an unusual gaze and expression, elements of the setting such as the door and the door handle, and the costumes are all brought together into the generic structure of text constitution conventions of the drama genre[1] (Barranger, 2004) paired with event schemas of drama watching and audience involvement. The informants' interpretation of the advert can be understood in terms of a progressive succession of events which have an emotional effect, which is consistent with available definitions of 'drama' or 'dramatic' situations.[2] By use of the first- person plural pronoun 'we' (58f), the informants project themselves into the schema as being in the audience of a play, possibly influenced by previous fictional dramatic scene experiences and that of the *Girl With The Pearl Earring* film in particular.

The suspense created by a dramatic scene, in which the audience is not clear as to how the drama is going to unravel, maps onto the feelings of disinclination of the audience's uncertainty about the purpose of the advertisement. Mental processes are used throughout, both to refer to the actor's assumed feelings and to the speakers' inner mental experience when discussing the advert. The interaction of schemas discussed allowed the informants to transfer their negative feelings about the advert onto the character's thus creating

a baseline for the negative appraisal of affect as manifested by values of disinclination.

The selection of appreciation values appears to be motivated by SCRs of the *Mona Lisa* painting (discussed in Chapter 3), as signposted by the comparative 'like': 'it's enigmatic particularly the expression like the Mona Lisa' (35), further supported by appreciation values such as 66 'ambiguous' and 106a 'mysterious'. These perceptions appear to be representative of the tension created by the image in the group, caused by a lack of a full understanding of the advert in general and the representation of the woman in particular.

The predominance of appraisal, and indeed the cognitive models inferred to have been at interplay, in the discussion of advert 1 relate to values of judgement, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. Indirect judgements of capacity towards the advertisers are predominant throughout the discussion. There is a metonymic connection between the advert (as vehicle entity) and the human agent behind the creation of the advert, that is, the advertisers (the target entities), who are appraised in terms of judgement values by means of a conceptual relationship of the product for the producer.

The choice of social sanction values of propriety in the advert 1 discussion is indicative of its moral weighting on the speakers' value system. Examples of these are registered in turns 26 'lusting', 'desire' and 85d 'lust'. Although it is difficult to assert what these values are ascribed to, as there are no explicit references in the text, one possible explanation could be that the speakers make a connection between the sex industry in Holland, which triggers SCRs of the role of women in this business. The representation of the woman, and in particular her perceived gaze at the onlooker, may account for the cognitive models perceived to influence the selection of the appraisal. In turns in 26e and 85d, the woman's eyes are conceptualised in terms of the CONTAINER metaphor: 'I kind of thought definitely in her eyes they were very deep' mapping the depth of the container onto the woman's eyes: 'very deep'. Furthermore, in turn 85d '… if it's lust that we are seeing in her eyes', the container with its contents is mapped onto the woman's look with the container's content being the perceived lust in the woman's eyes. These mappings thus play a constitutive role in the construction of the SCR from where the negative values of propriety seem to emerge. Reinforcing the negative judgement of assumed morally questionable behaviour, in turn 68b,

'I don't have that connection because I would never look at myself like that in a mirror', the speakers create an opposition between themselves and the character's assumed behaviour. The comparative serves to signal the SCR and create distance from activities that are perceived as morally dubious.

A significant percentage of negative judgement values of capacity are attributed to the general public's assumed lack of capacity to make sense of the advert. The explanation for such selection may rest on the cognitive models that the presence of art in the advert triggers in the informants in terms of art connoisseurship. Various linguistic devices are utilised to create two distinctive groups: an art connoisseur in-group and a non-art connoisseur out-group, in which the general public ('average people', 87b) are placed. The latter group of 'average people' is attached to SCRs of a lack of art connoisseurship and are assumed to be unable to trace the connection to the original painting, which would result in them being unable to make sense of the advert, hence constituting a context for the negative judgement of capacity towards the inferred audience, which the group distances itself from.

The detachment from the general public is manifested in turn 87b '… your average person in the street' and achieved by the use of the possessive 'your'. In turn 103, the group asserts their in-group position as art connoisseurs and the selected target for the advert. This is achieved by means of a negative judgement of capacity towards the advertisers: 'they're running the risk of it being lost on the majority of the people looking at it'. The group therefore implicitly position themselves as part of the in-group or minority who would trace the connection to art.

Other SCRs identified as potentially having an impact on the selection of judgement values are found in turns 74 to 76 where we witness judgements geared at the advertisers based on cognitive models of the advertised country. The character's outfit, activating SCRs of Holland, is one of the elements used to question the effectiveness of the advert. Turn 74, 'there's a cheese-maker's outfit?', signals an SCR alluding to Dutch cheese production. The activation of such a SCR seems to aid the speakers' understanding of the rationale for the use of this type of image and repair the uncertainty created by the lack of comprehension of the image. In other words, in this process, a model containing a stock of knowledge about Dutch people is activated, and compared to the unfamiliar stimulus (that is, the woman

in the advert) in order to make sense of it. This is consistent with the definition and mechanisms of social representations discussed in Chapter 3. The prosodic interrogative form in the existential clause foregrounds the SCR by assuming shared knowledge. Further evidence of the advertised country SCRs intervening in the appraisal process is provided in turn 76: 'she looks Dutch, doesn't she?' Turn 76 is seen as a positive judgement of the advertisers for including a recognisable and expected element in the advert. Contrary to this, turn 96 'there's no cheese or tulips are there so you know' provides an evaluation based on a socio-cognitive representation that is not instantiated in the perceptual environment of the advert as it is based on elements that are not present in the image but would be expected by the informants to be found in an advertisement for Holland. In other words, the evaluation is not based on an SCR activated by the data at hand but by the absence of certain elements in the advert that help trigger an SCR of what an advert for Holland would be expected by the group to contain. This exemplifies the dynamic nature of SCRs, as also discussed in Chapter 2. The negative existential process 'there are no' and the question tag 'are there' assuming shared views and taken-for-granted knowledge, sheds light onto the socio-cognitive representation informing the appraisal. Also, interdiscursive links to the genre of tourism advertising, and prototypical tourism advertising conventions, instantiate the negative judgement of capacity in these turns. The juxtaposition of the perceived inappropriate use of representational elements for Holland entails the notion of an incompetent production of the advertisement thus leading to an emergent metonymic negative judgement of capacity towards the advertisers by appraising the image (the product) as standing for the producers.

Based on cognitive models about tourism that visits Holland, the group seems to form SCRs about types of advertising for the assumed type of tourists that visit the country. On the one hand, the group identifies a type of tourist to Holland who is interested in art and culture, which is considered the target market for the advert being discussed, but for whom the ad is seen as unnecessary: 'cos this is aimed at people who are going to see the galleries' (100). The judgement of capacity in turn 104 can be inferred to arise from this SCR: 'you would imagine people who could make that connection would know there's lots of art galleries in Holland anyway so what's the

point'. On the other hand, there is an assumed market of people who are not interested in those elements (the majority) and for whom an advert representing more stereotypically Dutch elements would be more appropriate: 'they could have had cheese and tulips in a different advert aimed at another market' (98). The use of exophoric reference marked by 'another' serves to reinforce the participants' distance from the latter group, that is, those who would not be able to trace the link to the work of art.

Further to this, cognitive models of holidays, feeding into the group formation, are brought into the appraisal. The advert triggers the SCR of what a 'normal holiday' is for the group (106b). Although there is no description of what is contained within the schematic structure of what is considered a 'normal holiday', the use of the comparative 'more than' and the token of normality 'normal' inscribing the judgement of capacity are reflective of the group's holiday models and how they should be advertised (linking to the above discussion of prototypical elements expected in adverts not being present in this one). Furthermore, the possessive pronoun 'your' may also serve to detach the group from the inferred type of holiday presumably taken by the group of people previously referred to as 'your average'.

4.2.2 Mercedes-Benz advert

The appraisal of the advert 2 presents more balanced polarity (46 per cent positive and 49 per cent negative) than that of advert 1 (27 per cent positive and 56 per cent negative) as indicated in Table 4.3 and discussed in the first part of this chapter.

The appraisal for this image seems to spring consistently from the opposition between cognitive models of movement versus stillness which seem to be motivated by the images of the car in motion against the image of the represented character in the painting, who is perceived as being trapped, lacking in freedom and being repressed. Turn 136a 'a woman in a very repressed Victorian dress' illustrates the negative values of judgement (that is, evaluation with reference to some set of social norms) assigned to the role associated with the character as represented in the painting against the positive values of affect (that is emotional responses and dispositions towards people, things or situations) assigned to the same woman in the context of the advert and associated with the car in motion. The effect of

motion created around the car seems to conjure up SCRs of freedom and escape which encapsulate the positive appraisal assigned to the woman in the context of the advert in the next image. In other words, negative judgement is assigned to the woman in the painting; positive affect is assigned to the same woman as shown in the advert. The MOVEMENT metaphor, linguistically manifested in 144 'flying out', 150 'escape', 152 'racy sort of feel', conveys the change not only of polarity (from negative to positive) but also of appraisal category (from judgement to non-authorial affect). The metaphor also seems to be informed by interdiscursive references to action films (152a) 'I was thinking about films where you have people in car chases and that whole racy sort of feel', which could have been elicited by the image of the car movement. Both the interdiscursivity and the metaphor appear to have a reinforcing role in the SCRs of escape and freedom brought into prominence in this instance of appraisal. The woman is perceived as escaping repression, thus generating non-authorial feelings (attributed to the woman) of satisfaction leading to positive appraisal of the advert.

The opposition between movement and stillness is paired with light and dark (for example, Forceville and Renckens, 2013) linking to SCRs of escape or adventure, colours associated with them and with the actual car in itself: 'and it's all in grey so repressed' (136b), 'very dull greens' (204f) and 'it's not the normal flashy colours' (204g). The SCRs generated by this opposition are contained within the HAPPY IS LIGHT versus SADNESS IS DARK (Barcelona, 2000) conceptual metaphors. According to Barcelona (2000), there is an embodied association between lack of light and physiological or psychological reactions. Light is likely to evoke a feeling of safety or happiness, which is positively valued, whereas dark tends to bring about a feeling of insecurity and physical unease, which is negatively valued. These associations indeed seem to play a key role in the constitution of cognitive models which impact on the evaluative language used in the focus group discussion. The negative polarity is also reflective of the juxtaposition of the SRC the group has about cars, especially cars used to escape (perhaps based on interdiscursive references to action films, discussed previously) and the car in the advert. Turn 183 is evidence of this: 'that escape into the country would have to be about the car but I thought the car didn't look that amazing in the picture really'. The conjunction 'but' indicates the incongruity with

the speaker's expectations and the advertised car, which is perceived as being used to escape. The car is embodied as a FORCE being capable, or unable in this case, of exerting control over the movement of the interactants; this is manifested in linguistic expressions that constitute values of appreciation such as 'it doesn't leap out and grab you' (187), 'it wouldn't stop you in your tracks' (188) perhaps triggered by the topic of escape being discussed. Such values of appreciation (187 and 188) appear to be motivated by the movement notion, which is effective by virtue of its opposition to the notion of stillness or lack of movement, related to, or caused by, the woman in the painting. Hence movement is associated with the car and perceived as positive while stillness is associated with the woman in her perceived repressed role in the painting and perceived as negative. In other words, the appraisal is encapsulated by metaphors suggesting that MOVEMENT IS POSITIVE and STILLNESS IS NEGATIVE.

Other positive values of appreciation are targeted at the product advertised and Mercedes-Benz brand image, one component of which is reliability (155). Turn 193 represents an acknowledgement of the SCR that springs to mind when exposed to this advert: 'in your mind it's like a masterpiece of engineering'. This turn accounts for the speaker's sense-making process of the advert as evidenced by the hedging device 'I think', while the comparative 'like' signposts the SCR. The appraisal of the car as a 'masterpiece of engineering' is informed by SCR components of the brand as being reliable and the car well-built. This is mapped onto the interdiscursive references to the genre of paintings, informed by SCRs of important works of art following certain established principles being regarded as masterpieces. The appraisal therefore arises from the mapping of SCRs of both works of art and Mercedes-Benz cars as being skilfully composed entities.[3]

A further intertextual reference aiding sense-making and triggering emergent appraisal values is manifested in turn 217. Van Gogh's *The Bedroom* is deliberately brought into the discussion as evidenced by the rhetorical question 'which one do I know was famous for a chair' (217a). Equally, the rationale for the evaluation is conscious and explicit 'why would I think that was important' (217a), presumably, 'that' refers to the empty chair in the middle image of the advert where a connection to the van Gogh painting is formed. The conscious triggering of the intertextual reference is indexed by the thought representations 'which one do I know…' and 'why would I

think …'. The intertextual reference to van Gogh's painting paves the way for the evaluation of the current image (the ad) as 'important'. In a reciprocal way, the chair in the ad serves as the basis for triggering an SCR of the Van Gogh painting (that is, the painting being famous for a chair).[4] This is a very good example of the dynamic nature of SCRs.

As mentioned briefly at the beginning of the discussion of this image, values of judgement in the advert 2 discussion are mainly contained by SCRs relating to repression and boredom. I will now examine this relation to values of judgement. The woman in the advert is first appraised on the basis of her role in the painting and is seen as 'repressed'. This is probably based on an SCR of the historical role of women in Victorian society and the perceived lifestyle of the character as being representative of a typical Victorian woman. As self-professed art connoisseurs, the group would have probably had little difficulty in placing this 1871 painting in the Victorian era and consequently drew upon SCRs of that period, such as the role of women and repressed sexuality. An example of such cognitive models in the data is turn 136b, 'and it's all in grey so repressed', which sheds light onto the cognitive mappings that play a constitutive role in the SCR from where the negative values of judgement seem to emerge. As mentioned above, the colour grey is used by the speakers to describe a negative emotional state, 'repressed'. The painting has different shades of dark grey and green. Based on this, we can assume the metaphor SADNESS IS DARK as constitutive of the SCR that is inferred to contribute to the negative judgement of the advert (this stands in opposition to the HAPPY IS LIGHT metaphor discussed above under affect). It is interesting to notice that, while the SADNESS IS DARK metaphor seems to indicate a conceptual appraisal of affect, the linguistic manifestation of the metaphor 'grey and repressed' actually translates into appraisal of judgement. This is clearly an area that warrants further study.

The woman's perceived 'behaviour' then comes into the appraisal when she is considered in the context of the advertisement. This changes the polarity of the evaluation to a positive stance as she is seen as taking control and reversing her 'repressed' role (144, 150). Positive polarity is used to express the speakers' evaluation of what seems abnormal for this woman to do which is in sharp contrast to her 'repressed' role in the painting. In other words, the switch in polarity is subject to the change of context and role of the woman as

perceived by the group. When seen as a character in the painting she is 'repressed'; on the other hand, when seen in the advert, a transition from the painting, she is 'fun' (144). Positive capacity values are thus assigned to the woman due to her ability to take control despite her previously perceived 'repressed' role. She is seen as reacting to the advertising stimulus: 'she's not really there pondering' (181). It seems that women onlookers can identify with her and recognise a certain degree of emancipatory potential in the advertised car. The transition from negative to positive polarity is encapsulated by cognitive models of repression on the one hand, and escape and freedom on the other hand, once again, by virtue of the opposition between stillness and motion, as discussed above.

The repressed woman in the painting is also contrasted with a perceived bored older man in the target market. The cognitive model for the target market is assumed to be men of a certain age who are well dressed, knowledgeable, accomplished and sophisticated (consistent with the views of the advertising practitioners discussed in Chapter 3). Nonetheless, those traits are perceived as not entirely fulfilling: 'that's the boring thing' (179b). In turns 179c and d: 'to really spice your life up you need to get this car', the TASTE metaphor is used to structure the SCR where the advertisers are participating agents voiced through thought representation. The metaphor maps the spice (source domain) adding flavour to food with the car adding excitement (target domain) to people's lives.

The appraisal of the product is revealing of contradictory evaluations based on similar SCRs (203a and 205). At this point, it is important to treat these two remarks as individual appraisals. In turn 203a, the ad is perceived as being 'gender neutral' (turn 203a). However, this is contradicted later in turn 205: 'I wouldn't say it is directed at women because certainly (.) the wording of the inscription is very I watch Top Gear'. The technical description of the ad seems to trigger intertextual references to the TV series. In turn 205, the speaker concludes that the advert is not gender neutral, as suggested in turn 203a. This also reveals an SCR for the TV series aimed at a male audience.[5] In other words, we can conclude that the speaker assumes the advertisement to be targeted at men based on intertextual references to the TV series leading to an invoked negative judgement of normality. Despite being considered 'normal', it is still

not considered good, a contrast with the notion of 'normal holiday' discussed in advert 1.

Finally, the values of propriety used in this advert are highly negative. The choice of values reflects the opposition of the group to the use of art in this advert. This could be another manifestation of the group stance as art connoisseurs and their consequent detachment from the use of art for commercial purposes: 'I just feel it's wrong' (330c). It is interesting to notice, however, that this was not the case in the advert 1 discussion. Despite the advert being appraised as a 'mock-up of the picture' (75), values of propriety were mainly dominated by the use of art being perceived as elitist and discriminatory on the basis that 'average' people would not be able to make sense of the advert. In advert 2, however, the use of a work of art is perceived as profane and an assault on the painting in itself. Metaphors of PHYSICAL ASSAULT compare the perceived exploitation of the painting (target domain) to the physical abuse of a person (source domain): 'rape of the picture' (221f), 'abuse of the picture' (195b). I will pick up on this point again after I discuss advert 3.

A final point for this section which is also of interest is the fact that, in neither of the discussions of the previous two adverts, direct references are made to the alluded paintings; rather the group takes the knowledge and allusion to the painting for granted and base their discussion on this.

4.2.3 IKEA advert

The appraisal of advert 3 presents mainly positive polarity (88 per cent) discussed in the first part of this chapter. The cognitive resources inferred to have an impact on the values of affect in the discussion of advert 3 relate to the character's perceived positive emotions and state of mind. Values of satisfaction are assigned to the character as she is assumed to have successfully completed a job, perhaps assembling IKEA furniture. SCRs of household work and schemas of do-it-yourself (DIY) house jobs, drinking tea and relaxing after completing a job are at play in turn 235a: 'and that she sat down thinking right good job done cup of tea'. This turn seems to follow a narrative description of the sequence of events that the woman is assumed to have done and be doing based on an event schema or script (Bartlett, 1932; Schank and Abelson, 1977). A switch from third- person narrative to an assumed direct discourse representation

introduced by the discourse markers 'right' serves to anchor the SCR. A SCR of holidays structured by the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (Kövecses, 2002, p. 85) can be inferred in turn 242 'I felt she'd somehow brought the sun with her and lit up', where 'lit up' is the source domain that conceptually structures the target domain 'happiness'. This is seen in opposition to NEGATIVE IS DARK or SADNESS IS DARK conceptual metaphor (Barcelona, 2000), which is identified in the advert 2 discussion under judgement above.

Positive values of appreciation in advert 3 are elicited in light of cognitive models of advertisements and representation of women in ads. The reasons for the positive evaluations are listed as 'facts', that is, 'the fact that she is not perfect' (286a) and 'the fact that she is older' (286b). These 'facts' are seen as contradicting the expected representation of 'perfect' women in ads, as possibly suggested by SCRs at interplay here. Hence these 'facts' serve to signpost the SCR that functions as an umbrella of positive appraisal by virtue of its oppositional implication. Similarly, the evaluation of the advert as a 'rare study' (297a) seems to be based on the juxtaposition of the ad with existing cognitive models of advertisements. The word 'study' is an art term triggered by the intertextuality to the painting and its use in the discussion of an advert constitutes a case of interdiscursivity in itself.

Finally, the predominance of positive judgements of capacity in the discussion of advert 3 derives from the group's interpretation of the advertising message as an encouragement to add individuality to mass-produced flat-packed products. This may be inferred from cognitive models of IKEA's products motivated by the advert. Individuality is an important concept brought up in this discussion, triggered perhaps by the juxtaposition between the SCR of IKEA products as lacking in it and the image of the woman in an unusual representation for an advert. In turn 237 'so they're trying to say yes you can have the same basic flat pack but you can still make it your own and decorate it', the logico-semantic relation is used to suggest a contrast in regards to the SCR. In other words, 'individuality' is unexpected in light of the first clause, that is, 'the basic flat pack' or turn 250c 'as every other Tom, Dick or Harry'. We witness how this contrast serves as an umbrella for the positive appraisal of capacity.

The positive appraisal of the use of art can be linked to SRCs of IKEA products and to the idea of adding artistic value and individuality to

home decoration. This is evidenced by another instance of logico-semantic relations marked by contrast: 'saying OK you might not be able to afford the masterpiece but you can make your own masterpiece' (268b and c). Also at work here is the assumption that arts and crafts and individuality have been lost, presumably to mass-produced products, but that the individual consumer can bring it back: 'it's just reminding people that arts and crafts and individuality are back in vogue' (353). The interplay of SCRs described above leads to an overall approval of the advert's effectiveness as manifested by positive judgements of capacity.

As opposed to other adverts which are seen as presenting a product in an exclusive way for the consumption of the selected group that are able to trace the connection to art, the IKEA advert is seen as offering a more general audience the possibility of making a non-exclusive product special and individual in their own terms. The selection of agency in the direct form of address 'you', use of possessive pronoun 'your' throughout this stretch of conversation and the positive dynamic modality marker 'can': 'you can still make it your own' (237f) suggest a case of assumed direct discourse representation of the advertisers addressing the audience. It is interesting to note, though, that the group do not include themselves as actors in this as no inclusive first-person plural or possessive pronouns 'we', 'us' are used. Rather, the group take the position of the advertisers and address the audience, possibly in direct reference to the caption in the advert 'it's your world'. This is indicative that language use in the advert seems to determine language use in the discussion.

In turns 244b and 246 'you make decisions about the way you want your house', 'you make the decisions as a woman therefore you know' the conjunctive adverb 'therefore' suggests a cause-effect logico-semantic relation. This device serves as evidence of SCRs of women in the home environment and of IKEA consumers in the speakers. The SCR of individuality is also conveyed via the selection of tokens of normality referring to the woman's age. This also extends to the perceived target market, or rather to IKEA targeting other markets, different from their perceived 'usual' one. The use of the exophoric reference 'another' serves as evidence of the SCR for IKEA consumers.

Interestingly, the audience seems to become aware of the assumptions being made about the woman's personality traits: 'strong',

'individual', and so on. This realisation leads to speculation of her of being different from the way they assumed her to be in terms of her interests or even profession: 'punk rocker' (281a); this is seen as being 'abnormal'. In other words, there does not seem to be a relation between being 'strong' and 'individual' and being a 'punk rocker' as they are seen as mutually exclusive, this contrast being marked by the conjunction 'but'. However, the low epistemic modality of the clause, made apparent by the use of the modal verb 'might' and the predominant positive values, suggests that the non-punk rocker is the preferred interpretation of the woman by the group.

Interrelated references to women perceived as 'strong' are at play in the discussion and they all seem to funnel into the represented character to derive positive values of tenacity. These references are possibly triggered by the nakedness of the woman and by the intertextual reference to the film Calendar Girls in turn 233, both of which influence the group's appraisal of the advert's character. The woman sitting naked in a garden chair in an outdoor space in the IKEA advert triggers references to characters in the film who strip for a calendar to raise money for charity. In this way, the attributed determination of the film characters is projected onto the represented character in the advert resulting in the appraisal of the woman in the advert as 'strong' and, by extension, IKEA's (perceived female) target market addressed by the thought representation and the foregrounding of 'you' (244a). The positive valence is reinforced in turn 296 where the group appraises the character in the advert as 'an extension of the painting'. The previously perceived 'strong' naked woman in the ad and elements from Botticelli's goddess of love and beauty painting depicted on the shed wall seem to converge, giving rise to the positive valence of the image's appraisal.

I concluded the discussion of advert 2 above discussing the use of the PHYSICAL ASSAULT metaphor in the appraisal of the advert. The question remains as to why such a reaction is manifested more strongly in the discussion of advert 2 than in the other two. One possible explanation for this could be that the incongruence caused by SCRs of car adverts and the genre of painting is greater in advert 2 than in the others. In advert 1, there seems to be a connection to art galleries and Holland (and it could be argued that the advert is indeed advertising the art offer in Holland), while, as will be discussed below, advert 3 includes references to artistic styles and art

and design. However, no such conceptual relation appears to exist between cars and art, despite the 'masterpiece of engineering' allusion (193). Another explanation could simply relate to the type of intertextuality used to construct this advertisement. In advert 1, the Vermeer painting is not quoted but alluded to by a re-enactment of the painting; in other words, there is no physical placement of the painting in the advert. In advert 3, Botticelli's Venus is included in the advert without being altered; it is literally quoted. However, in advert 2, Whistler's painting has suffered modifications, as indicated by the PHYSICAL ASSAULT metaphors. Perhaps this has led to the group assuming a position of disapproval and even defence of the painting, a position they may feel legitimately qualified to adopt given their self-positioning as part of the art connoisseurs in-group established earlier in the conversation.

This concludes the socio-cognitive interpretation of the FG1 appraisal findings. During the discussion, it has been observed that various cognitive resources (or SCRs) can be inferred as underlying the appraisal, or as being activated or even created in the appraisal process. The socio-cognitive representations inferred relate to advertising and the advertised products (cars, country, household) and qualities of those entities (that is, country produce and people); event schemas; leisurely places and activities; people's preferences and knowledge (art, films); consumers of products and audience, and so on. Intertextual and interdiscursive references to various genres and conceptual metaphors also indicate the SCRs at interplay in the appraisal. The question remains, however, as to what it all means, for socio-cognitive discourse analysis, for theories of appraisal and, in practical terms, for advertisers. These questions will be examined in Chapter 5, after a close examination and comparison to the focus group 2 data analysis, to which we will turn now.

4.3 Focus group 2: appraisal findings

As with focus group 1, this discussion comprises two parts. The first part consists of an outline of the main appraisal values found in the discussion of the three images, which is illustrated by comparative tables, followed by a detailed account of appraisal values per category. The second part of the analysis interprets those findings in the light of

social cognition by examining the socio-cognitive resources assumed to shape the appraisal choices in each image. Focus group 2 has 988 turns, 790 of which were suitable for analysis due to the amount of inaudible conversation resulting from overlapping, subgroups and moderator's intervention. Out of the 790 turns selected for analysis, 224 contain instances of appraisal, constituting 28 per cent of the total number of turns suitable for analysis (Table 4.6). Each turn identified as containing appraisal carries an average of 1.7 instances of appraisal (that is, 389 instances of appraisal in a total of 224 turns).

At a general level, the percentages suggest that throughout the discussion of the three images, the highest number of appraisal occurrences can be found in the subcategory of judgement (55 per cent of occurrences), followed by an almost equal distribution of appreciation and affect values of 23 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. Polarity is balanced throughout the discussion (47 per cent positive and 46 per cent negative) with 7 per cent ambiguous values. Appraisal is inscribed in 58 per cent of the occurrences. The percentages shown in Table 4.7 are calculated as per the total number of appraisal instances in the focus group data, that is, 389. A breakdown of percentages per appraisal category and per advert is given in Table 4.8.

The first image, the Holland advert, presents 24 per cent of appraisal occurrences in relation to the total of appraisal instances in the FG2 data set (389). The appraisal is predominantly negative (59 per cent) while 29 per cent is positive and 12 per cent is ambiguous. Appraisal is inscribed 55 per cent of the time. These values are very similar to FG1.

The second image, the Mercedes advert, contains 29 per cent of appraisal instances in relation to the overall data set; 37 per cent of the appraisal instances have negative polarity, 59 per cent positive and 4 per cent ambiguous. Appraisal is inscribed in 69 per cent of the occurrences. In the IKEA advert, 47 per cent of appraisal is presented in relation to the total number of turns in the data set. Appraisal is inscribed 52 per cent of the time.

Table 4.6 FG 2 turns selected for analysis

FG2	**N**	**Per cent**
Total turns in FG2 data set	790	100
Appraisal per turn	224	28

Table 4.7 FG2 general figures of appraisal

FG2	**Per cent**
Positive:	47
Negative:	46
Ambiguous:	7
Inscribed:	58
Invoked:	42
Affect:	22
Appreciation:	23
Judgement:	55

Table 4.8 Percentages of appraisal per advert in FG2

FG2	**Advert 1**	**Advert 2**	**Advert 3**
Total evaluative instances (n389):	24	29	47
Positive:	29	59	49
Negative:	59	37	44
Ambiguous:	12	4	7
Inscribed:	55	69	52
Invoked:	45	31	48

In terms of appraisal values, affect presents a similar number of occurrences in adverts 1 and 3, accounting for approximately a fifth of the appraisal occurrences in both images. Appreciation is highest for advert 2. Finally, values of judgement are predominant across all three images, with the highest number of values registered in adverts 1 and 3. Table 4.9 below compares percentages of appraisal across categories per image:

Table 4.9 Percentages of appraisal per category per advert in FG2

FG2	**Advert 1**	**Advert 2**	**Advert 3**
Affect:	18	26	21
Appreciation:	25	31	18
Judgement:	57	43	61

Table 4.10 Percentages of polarity per appraisal category per advert in FG2

		Affect			Appreciation			Judgement		
Advert		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
per cent	+	35	52	30	46	67	33	20	63	59
	–	65	48	68	50	30	55	61	37	33
	A	-	-	2	4	3	12	19	-	8

A closer look at the breakdown per category shows that affect, appreciation and judgement values are predominantly positive in advert 2. Judgement is mainly positive in adverts 2 and 3 while negative values prevail in the categories of affect for all three adverts (Table 4.10).

The discussion below considers the breakdown per category and subcategory as well as the targets of the evaluation. Tables illustrating percentages per category and subcategory are provided in the Appendix and signposted in the discussion.

4.3.1 Affect

The occurrences of appraisal values under the category of affect for advert 1 constitute 18 per cent of the instances in the data set for this image (Table 4.9).

As opposed to FG1, affect values for advert 1 are mostly authorial. The only value identified in this section is that of dis/satisfaction mostly inscribed as mental processes, for example 'like'. These relate to the feelings that the compositional features of the advert arouse in the speakers ('I like the colours', 25). The product being advertised is also a trigger of affect, in this case, dissatisfaction 'I wouldn't be interested in the product being sold' (24a).

The Mercedes-Benz advertisement discussion shows higher affect occurrences (26 per cent, Table 4.9) than advert 1 (18 per cent, Table 4.9). Values of satisfaction are predominant and used to appraise the advert in general. These are inscribed as mental processes 'like' (204, 212b), 'interest' (327a) and 'prefer' (334d). Similarly, mental processes ('I love car adverts', 208) are used to inscribe positive values of satisfaction with regard to car adverts in general. Turns 340a 'also we are a bit sort of tired' and 343a 'nowadays becomes like you live with them', however, seem to be indicative of a disagreement within the group as regards the positive attitude towards car adverts in general

displayed by some members of the group (208). Instances of non-authorial appraisal are not as predominant and manifested as values of dis/satisfaction, dis/inclination and un/happiness. Dissatisfaction values are assigned to the inferred audience's perceived lack of interest in the image, projecting the way the group feels. They are mostly negative and inscribed as mental processes 'bother with' (285b). Values of happiness, inscribed as the attribute 'excited' (211f, 251a) are assigned to the represented character perceived as enjoying herself while driving the car.

Finally, the occurrences of affect values for the IKEA advertisement discussion amount to 21 per cent (Table 4.9) and are predominantly negative (68 per cent, Table 4.10), a major contrast with the focus group 1 discussion (Table 4.5); the majority (76 per cent) of the affect occurrences in this section contain authorial valence (Table A2.4, Appendix) of mainly negative valence. The speakers' negative feelings towards the advert overall are manifested by values of dissatisfaction inscribed as mental processes such as 'I don't like it' (377) and as attributes 'makes me sick' (379). Despite being addressed to the advert overall, these values seem to be triggered by the represented character, as evidenced in turn 756a 'don't like the woman'. The advertised product is another element that seems to elicit dissatisfaction in the speakers which seems to be based on the speakers' shopping experience at the place. This is evidenced in turn 603 where appraisal is inscribed as quality: 'you go walk around that system, you've been there five days'. It is unclear whether the use of the second-person agency relates to the members of the group themselves or is a generic one to relate to the wider inferred IKEA shoppers. Other examples are found in turn 676 'finding car parks can't get space' (a), 'screaming at the wives and husbands' (b); in the former, dissatisfaction comes from the inability to perform a certain task (find car parking space), hence the negative capacity conveyed by the dynamic modality serves as a token that inscribes affect. The use of art is disapproved of: 'I hate the painting in itself' (547a); 'I'm not a big art fan' (814a). Art is a factor contributing to dissatisfaction in the speakers. Turn 852b is indicative of negative feelings towards art based on personal experience thus inscribing dissatisfaction as a material process: 'I've been dragged round galleries because you know it's either part of a school tour or dad or mum'. Positive values conveying security relate to the feelings that the image, and the

character in particular, is assumed to arise in the inferred audience, which is presumed to be the same age as the represented character in the ad: ''cause when you get to that age, you don't really care, do you' (709d). The question tag here functions to assert assumed shared knowledge and seek approval. Non-authorial values (24 per cent) have balanced polarity (Table A2.4, Appendix). Values of dissatisfaction are negative and relate to the audience and to art in general. Negative feelings towards art are thus inscribed as processes 'put up' (823b) and attributes 'not interested' (823c). Finally, positive values of happiness are inscribed as quality 'free' (562b; 566c). IKEA's inferred audience is also assigned positive values inscribed through the mental process 'like' (595d).

4.3.2 Appreciation

The discussion for advert 1 presents 25 per cent of appreciation values (Table 4.9). Appreciation in this section is mainly structured around a comparison of the advert with what the speakers refer to as 'the original' (84): 'prettier in the original' (84), 'she looks older as well' (88). It is difficult, however, to determine whether 'the original' refers to either the original painting by Vermeer or the film. The values of appreciation focus on the various compositional qualities of the advert. Composition complexity values are inscribed as quality (attributes) in turn 15c such as 'simple'. Balanced polarity is registered in this category. In turn 15c, the attribute 'simple' has been coded as invoking a negative value of composition: the attribute 'simple' on its own does not convey negative polarity; furthermore, simplicity may be considered a positive attribute in certain contexts (for example, in the expression 'pure and simple'). The co-text of this turn, however, suggests that 'simple' is used to connote a negative view of the compositional features of this image, further reinforced later in turn 135a by the attribute 'vague'. In turn 15c, 'if I see an advert I like to try to work out what the message is and there yeah maybe it's just too simple', the speaker appraises the image as 'too simple' on the grounds that it fails to induce him to 'try to work out what the message is'. The intensifier 'too' inherently provokes recognition that what follows ('simple') is to be read as negative and thus serves to grade the attribute 'simple' on a cline as relatively low in value. In other words, in turn 15, the appreciation value is conveyed by the force assigned to the attribute 'simple' (Martin and Rose, 2003).

There seems to be an opposition between 'old' and 'new' as evidenced by values of reaction quality. It is not clear from turn 26a 'maybe from the last century or so' whether the fact that it (presumably the advert) is perceived as being from the last century is viewed in a positive or negative light. However, later on in turn 126, 'old-fashioned' and 'current' are contrasted by means of a logico-semantic relation marked by the conjunction 'whereas'. It is by virtue of this opposition that 'old-fashioned' and 'from the last century' have been categorised as negative in polarity and 'current' as positive. The speakers uttered this evaluation with a hint of a dismissive tone accompanied by hand gestures which also seemed to indicate negative attitude. Finally, values of composition are also evidenced in turn 25c 'it looks a little bit ethnic' and repeated later in 126c. Once again, the attribute 'ethnic' on its own does not carry polarity. The attribution of positive polarity in the coding of this turn is due to the speaker's tone of voice and assertive gestures. Furthermore, a more explicit signal that 'ethnic' is positive is the co-text: 'I like the style 'cause it's ethnic', in other words, 'ethnic' justifies the liking. The appreciation also centres on the impact or reaction that the advert causes in the group. Positive polarity is inscribed by means of metaphorical mental processes 'it draws you' (22a). Attributes also serve to inscribe positive attitude such as 'tantalising' (18) and 'it is pleasing to the eye' (161) as does the epithet 'sensual mood' (23b). The use of art leads, once again, to a switch in polarity: 'if you look at a painting is dead boring' (125) and 'to use the original painting would be a bit dull' (129). Valuation of the advert is inscribed as quality in turns 13a: 'I don't think it's a happy picture' and 367 'that is humourless'. The former represents an instance of the connection between appreciation and affect. The epithet inscribes non-authorial affect but realises appreciation of the advert (that is, an entity as opposed to a person) in general. Another instance of valuation inscribed as quality refers to the product being advertised: 'oh Amsterdam it's an excellent place' (110).

Instances of appreciation identified in advert 2 constitute 31 per cent of the appraisal for this image, 67 per cent of which have positive polarity (Table A2.5, Appendix). Values of reaction account for the majority of the instances of appreciation for advert 2. These values mainly relate to the impact that the advert has on the speakers and how it attracts their interest. After a few instances of negative

evaluation registered in the early instances of the discussion and relating to the first page of the advert ('boring', 'serious', 211c and d), the majority of the remaining values are positive. Most of the values of reaction impact are inscribed as quality: 'funny' (246), 'exciting' (251e), 'interesting' (327c), 'appealing' (327d) and 'clever' (781b). The latter is inscribed as an epithet 'a clever advert'; that is, directly pre-modifying a noun, hence it has been coded as appreciation, rather than metonymically invoking judgement towards the advertisers as has repeatedly been the case in several instances in focus group 1. A smaller percentage of negative polarity has also been identified in relation to the painting used in the advert 'it's a boring picture' (275). Values of composition account for only 12 per cent of the appreciation of this advert (Table A2.5, Appendix) and those values appear to relate to car adverts in general with mainly negative polarity inscribed as quality: 'they are all pretty similar' (302). Valuation relates to the product 'cars generally are very expensive' (357a) and car adverts where positive polarity is registered 'I think the general car adverts are very good' (354).

Finally, the discussion of advert 3 comprises 18 per cent of appreciation values (Table 4.9). The reaction of the audience towards the advert is mainly negative. Negative values of reaction impact triggered by the overall advert are inscribed as mental processes: 'doesn't appeal' (395a). Similarly, reaction impact is inscribed as attributes in turns 645 'off-putting' and 756d 'boring'. A small percentage of values of reaction impact inscribed as attribute are directed towards the product: 'I do find IKEA very boring' (595e). Turn 402 'the whole image catches my eye' also inscribes positive appreciation in relation to the image, successfully attracting the audience's attention despite the negative polarity it received in terms of affect (dissatisfaction): 'puts me off' (387a). An interesting turn to consider is 693c, where there seems to have been a change of attitude to the image towards the end of the discussion, an example of the power of focus groups in meaning negotiation: 'I admit I think it's all right' (693c).

The audience's view of the aesthetic features of the image is also reflected in values of reaction quality. Once again, the group's reaction to the image overall is reflected in the inscription of negative attributes such as 'not beautiful' (397), 'awful' (523) and 'horrible' (542). Positive values relate to the inferred audience's perception of the product. In turn 567b: 'be alright for me shed' the speaker seems

to assume that the product advertised is the mural of the Birth of Venus. Positive valuation is inscribed in relation to the image itself 'this is humorous' (379b). This clause, however, functions as an opening for a strong negative value of affect under the dissatisfaction category 'but it actually personally makes me sick' (379c). This logico-semantic relation shows the speaker's understanding of the advertisers' intention of creating a humorous advert by means of a value of appreciation; the adjunct 'but' is used to contrast this intended effect of the advert with the personal emotions brought up in the speaker by the image expressed through values of affect.

The use of art in advertising in general carries a negative valuation inscribed as epithet: a 'risky strategy' (823a). Other instances of positive valuation inscribed as an epithet refer to IKEA products: 'they do have quirky things' (670). Finally, an overall valuation of the image as 'interesting' is also inscribed towards the end of the discussion (768b). This shows a remarkable contrast with the first perceptions identified earlier on in the conversation where attributes such as 'tastelessness' (412) and 'contradictory' (442a) were used when asked to describe their view of the image.

4.3.3 Judgement

The discussion of advert 1 presents judgement value in 57 per cent of all turns, 61 per cent of which have negative polarity (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). The judgements of social esteem constitute most of the instantiations. Values of capacity account for 60 per cent (Table A2.6, Appendix) of these instantiations. The majority of these values have negative polarity. The advert is associated with popular culture, mainly the film *Girl with the Pearl Earring* and with a famous Hollywood actress (30 and 38).

Negative capacity is inscribed as material processes and directed at the advert and its perceived inability to convey a successful advertising message: 'wouldn't make me do anything as a result of it' (160) and (metaphorical) mental processes: 'but I really did not make any link with this Holland thing at all' (34). Negative capacity is also metonymically directed at the advertisers and inscribed as verbal processes: 'it's not really saying anything about Holland' (64c). Similarly, the advertisers' perceived failure to reach a wide audience due to the use of art is metonymically addressed via negative capacity values: 'it cancels out quite a lot people perhaps straight away' (130a). Negative

capacity towards the advertisers is also invoked by the speakers' use of rhetorical questions. Turn 143c 'why use a billboard to do that', 'why not use *Saga* magazine or you know what I mean?' denotes a cause and effect relationship invoking the negative evaluation. The negative force of these values is somehow minimised by values of tenacity acknowledging the advertisers' perceived attempt at breaking 'with the usual stereotypes' used to advertise Holland (58). Tokens of normality inscribed as the epithet 'usual' (58) and 'different' (59) reinforce the evaluative force and serve to inscribe tenacity on the part of the advertisers. Tenacity is mainly inscribed as the material process 'try'. Values of normality are used to invoke judgement in relation to the inferred audience the advert is assumed to be targeted at. The inferred audience is thus perceived to be a mass market with no knowledge or interest in art: 'the average person you meet on the plane going to Amsterdam is certainly not going to the art gallery' (113b). In the first clause of this turn, normality is inscribed as epithet 'average person'; the evaluative force of this value relies in the epistemic modal adjunct 'certainly' in the second clause followed by the negated material process 'going'. Values of normality inscribed as quality are also used to describe the inferred audience, of whom it is assumed will be able to make sense of the advert, as being a 'certain clientele' (72), 'a narrower market' (74), 'a small percentage of the population' (78b), 'a small niche' (143b). In turn 75: 'you know mass market will be the drugs, the cheese, the bikes', the high modality expressed by the epistemic modal verb seems to work as an index of what are considered 'the usual things' (60a) of Holland, against which other parameters such as art seem to be appraised. Another instance of this naturalised model of 'normal' elements found in Holland is evidenced by the existential process 'there are no marijuana symbols' (51). The force of the evaluation lies in the affirmative mood of the statement which leaves no room for low probability or doubt. No question tags or comment adjuncts such as 'you know' follow this statement, which means that the speaker does not even seek common ground or shared values as it seems to be a taken-for-granted issue.

The discussion for advert 2 includes a 43 per cent of judgement values, of which 63 per cent have positive polarity (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). Judgement instances for this image only contain values of social esteem. Once again, the painting is not entirely recognised

'I think it's somebody's mother' (179), 'is it Whistler's?' (180) and related to popular culture: 'Mr. Bean video yeah 'cause he takes the Whistler's Mother painting' (202) or personal experiences: 'there used to be a pub called Whistler's Mother' (191). Negative values of capacity are ascribed to the use of art and the impact it may have as an advert: 'I don't think it makes any difference to the message' (255); 'wouldn't make me go out to buy the car' (222). The role of art seems to be minimised even further by the speakers suggesting that art may have been purposefully ascribed a minimal or secondary role in the creation of the advert: 'they're not expecting people to kind of pay any attention' (291). Negative capacity is also ascribed to the inferred audience's inability to be able to afford to buy the advertised car: '[people] end up having to buy a Ford Fiesta' (359a); 'get in debt' (361).

Positive capacity predominates in this section of the discussion. This is elicited in relation to the product which is positively seen as 'not boring' (262d). The advert is positively appraised under capacity on several grounds. First, it is seen as appealing to a wide range of audiences: 'a specific audience' (337a) and 'the layperson' (340d), as well as 'women' (281). Appraisal is inscribed as positive attributes such as 'discreet' (217c), 'effective' (334a), 'mentally stimulating' (345) and 'very clever' (356), the latter metonymically directed at the advertisers. Other instances of positive capacity manifested as quality are found in turns 217a ('a bit of fun') and 781c ('a bit of a story to it'). Finally, the advert is seen as 'effective' on the grounds that it 'serves an interest' (337c). The audience's positive attitude towards the advert is also reflected in values of capacity chosen in relation to the effect that it has on them. Appraisal is inscribed as material process: 'that would sell me' (212a). Values of tenacity are positive and elicited in relation to the character in the advert positively appraised in the light of her taking control. In turn 211, tenacity is inscribed as attribute: 'she's up for a change' and material process: 'thrown her head scarf' (211g). Values of normality are very low and manifested in relation to the inferred audience to whom the advert is assumed to be appealing: 'average macho bloke' (283a); or who is assumed to be able to recognise the painting: 'not a huge amount of the population' (357e).

The discussion for advert 3 presents 61 per cent judgement, 59 per cent of which has positive polarity (Tables 4.9 and 4.10). Capacity is also the category containing most of the coded values (70 per cent,

Table A2.6, Appendix). Negative capacity relates to the perceived lack of effectiveness of the advertisement on the audience: 'that wouldn't make me go to IKEA at all' (380). Similarly, negative capacity relates to the perceived lack of success of the advert in conveying a commercial message (turns 459, 704) and 768a: 'from a point of view of advertising, doesn't mean anything'. Negative capacity is also inscribed in relation to the use of art: 'I mean who are you appealing to with some art?' (804). The evaluative force invoking appraisal in this turn lies in the rhetorical question and the selection of agency whereby the speakers use the second-person pronoun 'you'. It is unclear however, whether it is a generic use of the pronoun of a direct address to the advertisers. Positive capacity is metonymically invoked towards the producers by use of attributes such as 'clever' (409a, 587a) and also inscribed by the repeated use of the mental process 'appeal' (478a, 706, 709b). Tokens of normality inscribed as epithets such as 'older people' (709b) aid the appraisal of capacity to relate to the advert's (or advertisers') ability to reach beyond the limits of its perceived target market. Further, positive capacity also relates to the message that the group perceives the advertisers, or brand holders, want to convey: 'they seem to be saying just to let your imagination run wild' (423), 'change the established world' (481a). Tokens of appreciation ('wild', 423) and normality ('established world', 481a) help invoke appraisal and reinforce the evaluative force of these turns. Capacity is inscribed by the selection of agency where the role of the advertisers is foregrounded by the use of the third-person pronoun 'they' and through assumed discourse representation of the advertisers addressing the inferred audience through the use of the second person pronoun 'you'. The advertisers seem to be voiced through assumed discourse representation as conveying a message of encouragement to the inferred audience through the inscription of positive capacity conveyed via mental and material processes: 'unleash your imagination' (428c), 'it's your world do what you want' (562a) and modality markers: 'you can still use IKEA products I think in a way where you put your own stamp on them' (665b). The concessive relation, marked by the conjunction 'still', serves to counteract any anticipated negative attitude towards the product. Various tokens of appreciation inscribed as epithets and attributes are used in this segment of conversation to reinforce the evaluative force of the capacity values ascribed by the mental and material processes: 'sat in front of your crazy shed'

(566d), 'to unleash your imaginative juices' (661b), 'make your house so fantastic' (661d). Similarly, tokens of normality are used to invoke positive capacity as regards the inferred audience, who is assumed to be urged to consume IKEA products by the advertisers: 'be different, be quirky' (428), 'get things that set you apart from the crowd' (442c). Values of normality are ascribed to the advert: 'not realistic' (448a), 'a little bit too quirky' (386); in the latter, the negative polarity is enforced by grading the attribute 'quirky' with the intensifier 'too'. The character in the ad is also negatively appraised under normality on the grounds of her age and nudity: '70 year old naturist' (707). The use of art also triggers cognitive models of art and art galleries, which leads to the expression of negative judgement of normality: 'a specific audience' (812), 'and you do get a lot of people who you know go oh yes that's such and such' (852d), the latter turn is aided by the speaker's parody of the educated speech of the inferred audience (discussed in the next section). Positive normality is attributed to the represented character later on in the conversation after there has been an apparent change in attitude towards the woman. Appraisal is inscribed as quality: 'posh' (582), 'a figure of fun' (592). Once again, the speakers' approving gestures and tone of voice suggests a positive evaluation invoked in these turns.

Finally, the values of social sanction identified fall under the category of propriety. The majority of these values are ascribed mainly to art in general and its use in advertising. Art in general is perceived as being 'pretentious' (852c) and 'snotty' (862a). However, its use in advertising is seen as 'not a bad thing' (815c) and contributing to it becoming 'less pretentious by being out there' (857a). Appraisal is thus inscribed by the gradience of the attribute 'pretentious'. Further values of propriety relate to the represented character and to the advertisers. The presence of the naked older woman triggers negative values because it is perceived as morally dubious as evidenced by turn 'that's just a sexual thing' (548) and 'It's not the best behaviour' (558). Finally, values of propriety are also invoked towards the advertising industry as advertisements in general are perceived as 'brainwashing' consumers (498) and products being 'plugged' at people (499b).

This concludes the appraisal analysis of focus group 2 across all three images. As shown, the highest percentage of appraisal values fall within the category of judgement followed by affect and appreciation. Chapter 5 will present a comparison and discussion of the findings in

both focus groups data sets. As with FG1, the next section will provide an account of the socio-cognitive representations inferred to underlie attitude in the focus group 2 discussion of the advertisements.

4.4 Socio-cognitive interpretation

This second part of the analysis looks at the socio-cognitive resources inferred to underlie the attitudinal positioning manifested in the first part of the analysis by the speakers' selection of appraisal values. The discussion in this section is also split by image as with focus group 1.

4.4.1 Holland advert

Values of affect found in the advert 1 discussion are predominantly negative, manifested as authorial feelings and relating to the speakers' apparent dislike of the image, hence the predominance of values of dissatisfaction.

Non-authorial affect values seem to be instantiated by the recognition of the intertextual references in the advert. In turn 67, 'but if you've never seen the film you wouldn't even pay attention' there is evidence of a taken-for-granted assumption that the advert is based on the film *the Girl with the Pearl Earring*. The definite article 'the' serves as evidence of the assumption of shared knowledge from the group. The generic 'you' is indicative of the assumption that the speaker's feelings (of dissatisfaction) are shared by others (reinforced further in turn 71). The discussion is based on the speculation as to whether the image has a relation to art without reference to the particular painting ('a painting by I put Dutch chap, couldn't remember his name', 40), as opposed to FG1 where the presence the painting was central to the argument. The connection to art, despite being made, is seen as a negative feature, an 'off-putting distraction' (Hennion and Meadel, 1989, Chapter 2): 'they'll think this is about art I'm not interested' (130b). This is evidenced by a selection of non-authorial dissatisfaction whereby the speakers' negative feelings about the use of art are attributed to the inferred audience. This position is also manifested in the selection of negative values of appreciation which seem to spring from the opposition between old and new, a dichotomy that translates into the art versus advertising opposition: 'if you look at a painting is dead boring old-fashioned whereas if you look at that on first impression looks a bit looks relatively current' (126b),

'that' referring to the advert (with the speaker pointing at the advert). The logico-semantic relation marked by the conjunction 'whereas' serves to anchor the SCR containing the binary opposition of art versus advertising seen as old versus new. Hence the opposition is paralleled to age. Paintings are negatively seen as 'dead boring' and 'old-fashioned'. On the other hand, positive polarity is invoked in relation to the advert, which is considered 'relatively current', by virtue of the conjunction indicating contrast.

The judgement values identified in the advert 1 discussion only contain values of social esteem. The choice of these values is dominated by assumed stereotypically Dutch elements: 'bicycles…flowers' (60c), 'the drugs, the cheese' (75), 'the women' (77). The lack of those expected elements in the advert for Holland triggers negative values that relate to the perceived effectiveness of the advertisement: 'there are no marijuana symbols' (51), 'I would want tulips' (53). Similarly, the group seem to have the pre-conceived idea of the stereotypical visitor to Holland: 'well you see the average person you meet on the plane going to Amsterdam is certainly not going to the art gallery' (113b) which leads to the assumption that the advert is not an effective one: 'it's only a small section of the population that would even link that to Holland' (70). The exclusion of those expected elements, however, leads to a positive view of the advertisers targeting a different market and changing the way Holland is viewed: 'they're trying to break with the usual stereotypes' (58), 'they're trying to present with different reasons for coming to Holland' (59). It is interesting to notice the use of the material process 'come' functioning as a spatial deictic in the last turn. This suggests the group positioning themselves closer to Holland and as part of the collective of the inferred audience who visits the country.

The use of art is seen as discriminatory ('small niche', 143b) as it is perceived that people who go to Holland are not interested in art: 'you don't see lots of people outside them (art galleries)' (112). Furthermore, the lack of expected elements and even text on the advert, with only the website address, also leads to negative values in relation to targeting: 'assume everybody's IT friendly … and look on the website' (136). This is perceived as discriminatory and 'hitting a young audience' (137), revealing SCRs of assumed lack of IT skills amongst the older generation. This is reinforced in later turns (143b and c) where the speakers suggest potential places where

the advert could have been published for an older market could be *Saga* magazine, a UK lifestyle magazine with a predominantly over 50s readership.

4.4.2 Mercedes-Benz advert

The advert 2 focus group discussion presents balanced polarity. This part of the discussion is dominated by cognitive models triggered by the represented character and the inferred audience. Polarity switches in relation to the context where the represented character is placed. Positive affect is assigned to the woman in the advert while negative affect is assigned to the woman in the painting. The former seems to be framed by SCRs that relate to excitement and joy while the latter appears to be tied to boredom. Once again, as with focus group 1, the dyad of movement versus stillness with movement being a source of joy while stillness is associated with lack of joy, seemingly account for the selection of appraisal. We can assume the MOVEMENT metaphor (251a 'disappeared') to activate the switch in polarity by creating a contrast with stillness, as evidenced by the behavioural process 'stare' (276a) when the woman is discussed in the context of the painting ('seems to be staring into space'). The car is then seen as the facilitator of excitement while art appears to be associated with stillness and lack of excitement. The latter view follows from the discussion of art in advert 1 as 'dead boring' (126b).

Other SCRs inferred to encapsulate values of affect can be attached to the assumed audience. The assumed male audience is attributed dissatisfaction values based on presumed lack of interest of the male target market population in the visual features, including art, of the advert. Turn 297 'they are never gonna spend time having a read or something' is indicative of this assumption. Men and women are placed as opposites with women being perceived as potentially having more interest in the advert discussed (283b and c) than men.

The values of appreciation in the discussion of advert 2 also seem to be dominated by the opposition of stillness versus movement, which derive in values such as 'boring' versus 'exciting' in terms of the impact that the compositional features of the advert have on the audience. The presence of art in the advert is again considered 'boring' (249a, 275). This perception changes as the woman is absent from the painting in page 2 of the ad: 'suddenly it's not boring anymore' (251d). This change in perception, and appraisal, seems

to be triggered by the activation of the event schema that helps the speaker complete the incomplete narrative. The incompleteness of the narrative is provided by the three-part sequential film-strip like format of the advert. The schema completion of the sequence is evidenced by the listing of actions: 'then suddenly she's disappeared she's connected to the first image' (250); 'and the speed and the picture of the car where the photography's gone all blurred and her bonnet's flying up onto wherever it is' (251f).

The incongruity between stillness and movement is also created in relation to the inferred audience's expectations of car advertising: 'people are fed up of static adverts' (340b) and 'maybe you want something that's a different kind of experience you know, motion or sound' (343b). In 340a, a value of affect, 'we are a bit sort of tired', inscribes a negative attitude the audience is assumed to hold towards the lack of motion in general billboard adverts. This is later contrasted with a positive value of reaction impact 'a different kind of experience' inferred from the notion of having 'motion, sound' in car adverts (343b). This is another example of how the selection of appraisal values is influenced by the speakers' inferred cognitive models.

Finally, perhaps triggered by the advertised brand (Mercedes-Benz), a negative valuation sheds light onto attitudes to certain car types or makes: 'the whole thing about having Porsches sporty cars and everything is just it's a negativity' (172). This is later reinforced in turn 327e 'it's a bit flashing advertising to me'. Widespread SCRs of high cost and high performance cars being 'flashy' can be inferred in this turn which resulted in the transfer of the general valuation of makes of cars onto the advertisement discussed.

Values of judgement in the advert 2 discussion are contained by cognitive models relating to the represented character, targeted advertising and the audience response. Values of capacity and tenacity are assigned to the represented character in relation to her perceived ability to enjoy the luxury and speed of the car: 'the prospect that she can go really fast with it' (251b). These values, once again, seem to be motivated by the movement-stillness opposition: 'she's up for a change, thrown her head scarf' (211e and f). This is again triggered by the contrast of the woman in the painting (seen as still) and the woman in the advert (seen as active in movement). Turns 211 (e, f) and 262 (b, c): 'she's stepped out she's jumped in this car'

with material processes indicating fast-paced movement are also evidence of the event schema completing the narrative gaps in the film strip, as discussed above.

The appraisal of the advert also reveals SCRs of the inferred audience: 'your average macho bloke' (283a). This view, however, seems to be challenged by the advert, perhaps by the presence of the active woman, which leads to the assumption of the advert being also targeted at women: 'appeal to women as well' (281), 'I think that's made me think as a woman' (287a). Turn 214a 'I know more about cars than the average woman' serves to reinforce the SCR of cars and gender working on the personal level of the speaker. The comparative 'than' signposts the SCR indicating the stereotypical view of woman not knowing as much about cars as men.

The values of judgement are also tied to around models of targeted car advertising: 'mentally stimulating' (345), 'they need to be quick' (357c) (notice also the movement notion brought in here) in order to reach a wide range of the population ('general layperson's attention', 340d). This view also extends to the car advertised being exclusive and desired ('but then it's not a huge amount of population that can buy them' 357e and f) yet not always achievable ('I think that's what happens to people you know who they end up having to buy a Ford Fiesta but in the end they really want one of them' 359). Car purchasing event schemas also come into play: 'get in debt' (361).

4.4.3 IKEA advert

The appraisal for this image presents a polarity pattern of 49 per cent positive and 44 per cent negative (Table 4.8) with the majority of appraisal clustering under the category of judgement (61 per cent, Table 4.9).

The cognitive models inferred to underlie the affect appraisal found in the discussion of advert 3 relate to the brand, the use of art and the represented character. The values identified below reflect the speakers' negative affect feelings towards the both the brand and art where they attach their own experiences of both to the appraisal of the image. This is as indicated, for example, by event schemas of the IKEA shopping experience: 'going up for Swedish dumplings and meatballs' (595d); 'you go walk around that system, you've been there five days' (603); 'finding car parks can't get space, screaming at the wives and husbands' (676). Similarly, the reference to art seems

to trigger cognitive models of the perceived reaction of the inferred audience to art: 'people put up with art' (823b), 'they're not really interested' (823c). Furthermore, personal experience of art having been forcefully imposed on them: 'I've been dragged round galleries because you know it's either part of a school tour or dad or mum' (852b).

Positive values of affect also seem to be triggered by potential SCRs possibly invoked by the represented character. Turn 566a 'feel free to do what you want paint your shed with that mural and then go chill out' seems to comply with an event schema of doing housework or DIY and then relaxing after the successful completion of the job. This value could have been triggered by two elements: the represented character's position, which leads to the inference of her in a relaxing mode, and the advert's copy: 'it's your world, live better'. The selection of agency and mood in turn 566a seems to be consistent with the copy's, perhaps an instance of assumed discourse representation of the advertisers as an extension of the copy. The fact that the woman is naked leading to the assumption that she is a naturist and hence feels free to both be naked and decorate her garden shed as she likes (566a above; 'that's the whole part of being naturists you know feel free', 566b) also trigger positive affect. Similarly, the age of the woman activates models of attitudes and interest (particularly about art) in such an age group which are reflected in positive non-authorial affect: 'when you get to that age you don't really care do you' (709d) and 'I think it's only when you get to a certain age that you actually pay any attention to art' (852a). This is linked to the earlier comment reflecting lack of interest in art at a younger age (852b). We see a contrast between youth and old age with SCRs of art appreciation attached to each group, which links to the discussion of advert 1 where the art reference was paired with 'old' and appraised as 'boring'.

The appraisal of the image in terms of its compositional characteristics is attached, once again, to the presence of art in the advert and shows negative valence. The use of art in the advert and in advertising in general is negatively seen and valued as a 'risky strategy' (823a), framed by the BUSINESS IS WAR metaphor. This valuation seems to be based on possibly expert knowledge of the advertising industry denoted by the use of management discourse, and indeed cognitive models underpinning in, found in literature in the field (for example,

Kotler, et al. 2005). It is important to mention at this point that half of the focus group participants hold or have held managerial positions in various industries. The terminology used in the appraisal of the adverts could have been influenced by vocabulary encountered in their workplace, hence constituting a case of interdiscursivity, as was the case of the art connoisseurs in the focus group 1 discussion when using technical terms such as 'a rare study' (297a, FG1).

The category of judgement is the most prominent in the selection of appraisal values for this image, as discussed at the beginning of this section. There is a predominance of positive judgement of 59 per cent. Various cognitive models have been identified as being at interplay in such a selection.

SCRs about the IKEA brand are inferred to interact with the selection of judgement values: 'because IKEA is relatively well-established in everybody's mind' (450b) and, once again, the speakers resort to an event schema describing some sort of scripted behaviour in relation to IKEA shopping: 'IKEA is like you just set up home go and get all your flat pack stuff and build it yourselves', 'the allen key never fits' (479). This is an extension of the event schema for shopping at IKEA which had predominantly values of affect associated to the groups' own shopping experiences. Similarly, the group seem to have pre-conceived SCRs of the age group that shops at IKEA, more likely to be young people who are setting up a home (479a). This cognitive model appears to be at odds with the character represented in the advert who does not seem to fit the expected model representing IKEA customers: 'with it being an older woman' (481a). This juxtaposition leads to the conclusion that the advertisers or IKEA are trying to broaden their market and to reach a new audience which is assumed to be outside the IKEA target market: ''cos that would actually appeal to older people some of the older generation who wouldn't even dream of doing that' (709c). This reinforces SCRs of IKEA shoppers, which do not seem to encompass older people. The presence of the older woman in the advert who is seen as representing IKEA reinforces and adapts that cognitive model, in that the perceived current target groups (young people setting up a home) are complemented by the older generation (709c) whom the advertisers try to win over. Once again, as in advert 1, the theme of the advertiser's efforts to broaden the target market comes to light, signalling, both signalling the focused nature of the discussion on

the purpose of the ads, as opposed to the function of art, as was the case of FG1, and the interdiscursive references to specialised terminology.

The group's interpretation of the advertising message as encouragement to use their imagination and creativity is evidenced in the FREEDOM metaphor 'It's like saying … unleash your imagination' (428) which is seen as encapsulating positive judgements of capacity. Further SCRs about group membership seem to be triggered, perhaps by the advert's copy: 'set you apart from people who don't go to IKEA but make you part of all the people that go to IKEA' (445). This is reinforced by the audience positioning themselves closer to IKEA, as conveyed by the direct address of the audience by the pronoun 'you' and the deictic 'come' (661a): 'they are saying come to IKEA, we've got lots of things here that will help you'. Metaphors of FREEDOM ('unleash', 'run away', 661) hence shed light onto the SCR of IKEA as being 'well-established' but committed to 'change the established world'. This array of positive appraisal linked to the idea of freedom and individuality despite the mass-produced nature of IKEA products (675) is also indexed by an instance of logico-semantic relations marked by juxtaposition: 'You can still use IKEA products I think in a way where you put your own stamp on them' (665).

As opposed to other adverts where art was unequivocally seen in a negative light, the use of art in the IKEA advert is seen positively on the grounds that advertising 'brings it out to people' (814e), 'I think they brought that more to the average person' (860b). The material process 'bring' is deictically anchored as it presupposes movement from 'there' to 'here'. In this case, the movement is metaphorical but the conceptual spatial relation still implies that the speakers are at the deictic centre (here, that is, closer to the 'average' group). In other words, by using this device, the speakers invoke positive capacity and position themselves as part of the collective of 'average people' (epithet inscribing normality). This stands in direct opposition to the first group (FG1), who positioned themselves as art connoisseurs and detached from the 'your average person in the street' who was assumed not to know about art.

There also seems to be a link between the represented character and the woman represented in the painting 'obviously the reason why they chose a woman like that obviously is to match the painting' (409b). Because of the lack of textual evidence, it is difficult to

assert on what grounds the woman is assumed to have been chosen to match the painting, whether it is based on age, beauty, and so on. It is my assumption that in the course of the conversation the woman became more highly regarded than at the beginning: from 'makes me sick' (379c) to 'she's got good legs though for an older woman I must admit' (531) and 'good on her' (780c). Other SCRs revolving around the woman which seem to lead to positive values of normality relate to her assumed nationality 'she's obviously very English cause she's holding a cup of tea' (578) and her social status 'the finger poised like that she's posh' (582).

SCRs relating to nationality that have an impact of the appraisal are also manifested in relation to the IKEA brand. This is reflected in the selection of positive values of normality inscribed as attributes in relation to the Swedish (IKEA's nationality): 'like that Swedish quirky humour' (387c), 'Swedish are well-formed', 'ordered', 'make safe cars' (607). Interestingly, the group's SCRs of Swedish people also seem to include nudity, triggered probably by the presence of the naked woman: 'like 'cause nudity and Swedish is quite' (611). The SCR is anchored by the logico-semantic relation denoting a cause and effect relationship. The turn, however, is incomplete and no attribute is placed following 'quite' which leaves us with an incomplete conceptual structure regarding the group's SCRs of Sweden and nudity relying on shared knowledge to complete the conceptual structure and capture the evaluative force.

The selection of positive judgement in this section of the conversation is also triggered by the activation of SCRs about the inferred audience as well as IKEA products (the mural seems to be assumed to be for sale at IKEA): 'I bet you some people probably think oh bet I can get that mural be alright for me shed' (567b). This again is reflective of the view of this advert in particular bringing art closer to the average people. The possessive 'me' rather than 'my', a feature of language varieties found in colloquial English (Trudgill and Chambers, 1991), may work to reinforce this idea. We can also interpret this turn as having a hint of parody aimed to create a detachment from the perceived 'pretentions' and (857a) and 'snotty' (862a) art connoisseurs. Despite the abundance of positive appraisal in this section of the discussion and welcoming the use of Botticelli's painting in the advert, the use of art in general is still questioned. This is reflected in negative values of capacity directed at the advertisers through the

use of the generic 'you' implying the widespread view of the use of art in general, not only in the advert: 'I mean who are you appealing to with some art' (804). Other values relate to SCRs encompassing members of the assumed audience who claim to be art connoisseurs: 'and you do get a lot of people who you know go *oh yes that's such and such*' (852d), ''cause they know all the different artists and whatever' (852e), 'sort of everybody is going like *isn't it amazing*' (863a). The phonetic features of turns 852d and 863a are paramount to the understanding of the negative attitude displayed in these turns. The italics indicate a parody of an assumed higher social status speech. This functions to signpost an SCR and event schema of art connoisseurs and galleries visitors and can be understood as functioning in direct opposition to the parody of speech associated with colloquial English discussed earlier in this paragraph (Trudgill and Chambers, 1991). This is also indicative of the distance created by the speakers and their positioning as non-art enthusiasts. It is interesting to note, however, how the speaker concludes this appraisal with a self-reflection evidencing yet another cognitive model, a self-schema, relating to age and art: 'so now because I'm getting middle aged I think probably should know that' (869), marked by the high deontic modality marker 'should'; the age SRC being brought to prominence once again.

Finally, a case of interdiscursivity is registered in turn 575: 'Just made me think of … a holiday advert' serves to invoke positive judgement triggered by the presence of the woman sitting naked in what appears to be an outdoor space in a leisurely atmosphere perceived as representing freedom and relaxation. Interestingly enough, the IKEA (that is, the household items retailer) advert is seen as conveying a better idea of leisure and spare time than the Holland (that is, the tourism) advert.

This concludes the socio-cognitive interpretation of the FG2 appraisal findings. The next section will provide a comparative summary of findings of the appraisal analysis in both focus groups as well as the assumed socio-cognitive resources inferred to have shaped the appraisal before considering what these findings entail for appraisal theory, for socio-cognitive discourse analysis of reception data and for advertising practices.

5
Implications for a Theory of Evaluation in Advertising Reception

The individual focus groups descriptive appraisal results of this study, and their socio-cognitive interpretation, were presented in the relevant sections of Chapter 4. I now want to provide a broad summative account of those results in order to introduce coherently a discussion of the implications for how socially constructed knowledge and beliefs existing in the audience's socio-cognitive environment need to be accounted for as they lay the foundation upon which evaluative positions are built and expanded upon. The chapter finishes by also offering a discussion of the implications of this study for a discourse analysis approach to reception and for advertising practices.

5.1 Comparison and appraisal and socio-cognitive recourses

Throughout the discussion of the three images, the highest number of appraisal occurrences were found in the subtype category of judgement (54 per cent in FG1 and 55 per cent in FG2), followed by appreciation (24 per cent in FG1 and 23 per cent in FG2) and affect (22 per cent in both FGs). Positive polarity predominates in both FGs (Table 5.1, below). In both focus groups, the discussion centres on the following elements being appraised. These are the advertisers and the advertised product; the audience, both actual and inferred; and the advert and the compositional features, the message conveyed, the use of art and the represented characters. Table 5.2 below shows a breakdown of targets of appraisal in both data sets.

Table 5.1 Appraisal in FG1 and FG2

Percentages as per total number of appraisal instances per FG (i.e. 233 in FG1 and 389 in FG2).	**FG1**	**FG2**
	per cent	**per cent**
Positive	56	47
Negative	37	46
Ambiguous	7	7
Inscribed	58	58
Invoked	42	42
Affect	22	22
Appreciation	24	23
Judgement	54	55

Table 5.2 FG1 and FG2 targets of appraisal

	FG1 (n233) per cent	**FG2 (n389) per cent**
Advert/image	35	30
Advertisers	11	10
Audience	23	22
Audience (inferred)	16	13
Character	22	8
Product	6	9

The table shows that the advert overall presents the higher occurrences of evaluation in both focus groups. The represented characters present higher percentages of occurrences in FG1 than in FG2. These figures can be related to the predominance of non-authorial affect in FG1 as these were targeted or attributed to the represented characters, especially in the discussions of adverts 1 and 3. The inferred audience is attributed with 16 per cent and 13 per cent of the evaluations in both data sets accordingly. Similarly, the advertisers have been identified as being explicit targets of the informants' evaluation with 11 per cent of the occurrences in FG1 and 10 per cent in FG2. These figures, however, do not account for cases of metonymy where the advert was appraised as standing for its producers. Finally, the products advertised present 6 per cent and 9 per cent occurrences in each data set. It is worth pointing out, however, that this distinction may be blurry also in the advert 3 discussion where the brand holder

(IKEA) is sometimes seen as the human agent advertising the product (i.e. advertisers) or as the advertised product itself. Other targets of evaluation with smaller percentages registered in FG2 are the use or presence of art (or art in itself) and advertisements in general.

Table 5.3 below shows a comparison of the main values found in both data sets which may help to illustrate the discussion that follows. A closer look at the distribution of values per appraisal category reveals that affect presents the highest number of occurrences (26 per cent) in advert 3 in FG1 while the same percentage is registered for advert 2 in FG2 for this category. Appreciation values are highest for advert 1 in FG1 and in Figure advert 2 for FG2. Finally, the highest number of judgement values is registered in advert 3 in both FGs.

5.1.1 Affect

A closer look at the breakdown per category shows that affect is predominantly negative for advert 1 in both focus groups. In contrast, the discussion of advert 2 presents higher positive values in both data sets. Advert 3, however, presents predominantly positive values in FG1 and higher negative values in FG2.

In adverts1 and 3 (FG1), affect values concentrate on the speakers' attribution of feelings onto the characters represented, as illustrated by the predominance of non-authorial appraisal in such images in this data set. In advert 1, the character is attributed mainly negative feelings ('sadness', 34c, 58b) relating mostly to values of unhappiness. Conversely, the represented character in advert 3 is attributed mostly positive affectual values of satisfaction and happiness. These seem to be motivated by cognitive resources relating to home and leisurely activities. We witness how the picture triggers SCRs for holidays and sunny places and how COLOUR metaphors play a constitutive force in the formation of such cognitive models. Affect is also

Table 5.3 FG1 and FG2 percentages of appraisal per category per advert

	FG1			**FG2**		
	Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3	Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3
Affect	23	17	26	18	26	21
Appreciation	32	31	12	25	31	18
Judgement	45	52	62	57	43	61

Table 5.4 FG1 and FG2 comparison of affect

		FG1			FG2		
Advert		Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3	Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3
per cent	+	7	60	95	35	52	30
	–	86	40	5	65	48	68
	A	7	-	-	-	-	2
Authorial		21	67	43	94	67	76
Non-auth		79	33	57	6	33	24

informed by interdiscursive references to the genre of drama, triggered by both the intertextual reference to the painting and the film.

Authorial appraisal is predominant throughout the discussion of all three adverts in FG2. These values tend to be predominantly negative in advertss 1 and 3 (Table A2.4, Appendix). These mainly relate to the feelings that the images evoke in the audience and are predominantly manifested as values of dissatisfaction. The authorial affect values for advert 1 might have been triggered by the references to popular culture (actors, films, etc.) the speakers hold in their socio-cognitive environment. Similarly, affect in the advert 2 discussion arises from the speakers' feeling about their own shopping experiences at IKEA and art-related experiences (such as visits to art galleries or museums).

Interestingly, advert 2 presents equally higher authorial appraisal in both focus groups' data sets (67 per cent; Table 5.4). References to action films and cognitive models of escape and freedom trigger positive values which may account for such selection in FG1. Similarly, in FG2, the discussion is dominated by the contrast of cognitive models of stillness versus movement as well as intertextual references to advertisements in general.

5.1.2 Appreciation

Appreciation values are predominantly positive for advert 3 in FG1 and mostly positive for adverts 2 and 3 in FG2 (Table 5.5).

The advert 1 discussion in FG1 presents a high number of ambivalent occurrences; that is, appraisal which has not been allocated either positive or negative valence. The ambiguous polarity is brought about as the speakers, as art connoisseurs or practitioners themselves, are engaged in a discussion of the technical elements of the composition of the image. Of particular relevance to this is turn

Table 5.5 FG1 and FG2 comparison of appreciation

		FG1			FG2		
		Appreciation			Appreciation		
Advert		Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3	Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3
per cent	+	35	48	80	46	67	55
	–	20	48	10	50	30	33
	A	45	4	10	4	3	12

60 (FG1), where the speakers discuss brushstrokes in terms of their similarities or differences to the original Vermeer painting without apparent evaluative remarks. Similarly, in turn 88, the speakers discuss the composition as 'a contemporary looking photograph of an old painting'. The attributes 'contemporary' and 'old' have been coded as having ambiguous valence given that they are descriptive of what the speakers perceive and provide the context to the evaluations that follow. In contrast to this, in FG2, the opposition between old and new (the painting vs the advert) presents negative and positive valence respectively (turns 126 a and b).

The discussion of advert 2 (FG1) features high values of reaction impact, mainly of negative valence (Table A2.5, Appendix). Valuation and composition complexity are also parameters for evaluation evident throughout the discussion and they are predominant in Figures 3.3 and 3.1 respectively. The values of appreciation are also triggered by intertextual references to paintings (*Mona Lisa*, in advert 1 and van Gogh's *The Bedroom* in advert 2). SCRs of cars and the brand advertised, structured by the movement versus stillness models, are identified as potentially underlying the appraisal of advert 2. Aderve 3 presents low values of appreciation and these seem to be motivated by SCRs of advertisements in general. The speakers' positioning as art connoisseurs and their SCRs about the advertised car and its inferred stereotypical audience lead to an interesting case of positive appreciation of the advert ('a masterpiece of engineering' turn 193, FG1).

The values of appreciation in the FG2 discussion are predominantly positive for Figures 3.2 and 3.3. The most predominant category is that of reaction impact (Table A2.5, Appendix). This is reflective of the effect that the images have had on the audience. The transition from negative reaction impact values to positive valuation values in advert 3 as the discussion progresses and their attitude towards the image

and the character changes is reflective of the dynamic nature of focus groups whereby meaning is negotiated and, at times, attitudes influenced and changed (Schrøder et al., 2003). Similar to FG1, for advert 2, the opposition of stillness (conveyed by the woman in the painting) versus movement (conveyed by the car) seems to be constitutive of cognitive models that serve as a basis for the emergent values of reaction. Those models are also reflective of attitudes the audience has towards advertising in general and car adverts in particular which are manifested as valuation. The opposition between darkness and light, inscribing negative and positive valence respectively, is also inferred to underlie the appraisal of advert 2 in both data sets.

A shared SCR about the advertised car is at interplay in both focus groups' data sets, which is manifested in the selection of appreciation values: 'flashy colours' (turn 204g, FG1) and 'flashing advertising' (turn 327e, FG2). An interesting feature also shared by both focus groups is the interdiscursive use of technical discourse used to inscribe their valuation of the adverts. In FG1, the group uses art-related discourse in their appraisal: 'a rare study' (297a). Similarly, in FG2, the speakers resort to managerial discourse for their evaluation: 'a risky strategy' (823a). This is reflective of the speaker's positioning within the art-connoisseurs in-group on the one hand, and perhaps as more management professionals, on the other. Turn 823a (FG2) may also indicate that the informants' sense-making discourse seems to have been colonised by managerial discourse (Koller, 2010c).

5.1.3 Judgement

Judgement values are strongly positive for advert 3 in FG1 and predominantly positive in FG2. Judgement is also mainly positive in advert 2 in FG2 while negative values prevail for advert 1 in both data sets and for advert 2 in FG1 (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 FG1 and FG2 comparison of judgement

		FG1			**FG2**		
		Judgement			Judgement		
Advert		Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3	Advert 1	Advert 2	Advert 3
per cent	+	32	40	87	20	63	59
	–	68	53	12	61	37	33
	A	-	7	1	19	-	8

Owing to the prevalence of judgement values over the other two appraisal categories in both focus groups data sets (54 per cent and 55 per cent, table 5.1), the discussion of the findings in this category is more extensive than the other two.

The majority of judgement values fall into the category of capacity (Tables A2.1 and A2.6, Appendix) in both data sets. The main issue to arise from the selection of values of judgement in both FG discussions is the use of metonymy whereby the speakers appraise the advertisers by means of evaluating the advert in a product for producer relationship.

In FG1, appraisal of advert 1 seems to be triggered by the activation of various cognitive models. The choices of normality and capacity values seem to be bound to country (Holland) stereotypes. These relate to cheese and tulip production, possibly the sex industry, as well as to the stereotypical visitor to the country. Negative values of capacity are elicited in relation to the audience's inability to make sense of the advert (especially in FG2 due to the art reference) which appear to be projected onto the advertisers. We thus see various devices at play aiding the sense-making process for the image. For example, we witness the activation of existing SCRs in relation to holidays and holiday advertisements via intertextual and interdiscursive references that result in the expression of capacity and normality values. It also becomes evident how values of propriety are used to elicit negative capacity, thus shedding light onto cognitive structures that denote attitudinal positioning. In particular, these relate to the SCRs potentially alluding to the sex industry, which are called upon (via values of propriety) to invoke negative capacity towards the advertisers: 'if it's lust we are seeing in their eyes, then come to Holland and lust over somebody?' (turn 85e, FG1).

Similar stereotypes are also at interplay in the FG2 discussion of advert 1. However, as opposed to FG1, the speakers in FG2 have a more positive attitude towards Holland ('an excellent place', 110). Despite both groups using the deictically anchored verb 'come' in their assumed direct discourse representation of the advertisers, they both constitute instances of opposing polarity. In FG1, the speakers parody the advertisers' message by eliciting negative propriety based possibly on the sex industry. On the other hand, in FG2, the speakers try to infer the advertising message in a more positive light 'they're trying to present different reasons for coming to Holland' (turn 59),

a view that is consistent with that of the advertising and art experts interviewed. Despite this difference, however, advert 1 presents predominantly negative values in FG2 as well, although higher ambiguous values than FG1 are registered. The reason for the predominance of negative judgement in FG2 also lies in the audience's elicitation of negative polarity in relation to their inability to comprehend the message and the advertisers' perceived inability to produce and target the advert clearly and widely. It is worth bearing in mind, though, that the participants were shown the cropped version of the original advert as it was displayed as a billboard poster. The original image facilitated by the Holland Tourist board when requested for this study provides more context which, perhaps would have led to different appraisal responses if shown to the informants instead. The implications of cropping images for, presumably, reducing advertising costs are clear from the results of this study.

Age and gender stereotypes seem to be at interplay in the appraisal of advert 2 in both focus groups. The perception of the car as mainly bought by men of a certain age and social status seems to underlie the elicitation of values of capacity and normality in both discussions of this image. The presence of the female character in the advert helps break away from the stereotypical view of the marketing and targeting of the car (hitherto perceived as only being male orientated) thus generating positive evaluative instances. The positive values of judgement registered in both discussions also arise from the opposition of stillness versus movement generated by the counterparts of the advert (the woman is still in the painting but she is movingin the advert). Despite these similarities, negative values are predominant for this advert in FG1. The knowledge and positioning of the FG1 participants as art connoisseurs may account for this difference. Values of propriety are elicited to inscribe a strong negative attitude towards the use of the painting in advertising in FG1. Metaphors of PHYSICAL ABUSE (rape) and CRIME (stolen) shed light onto cognitive models at stake in the appraisal of the use of art in advertising. These values seem to outweigh the positive attitude displayed towards the perception of the represented character being liberated from the perceived repressed environment she is seen to be embedded in in the painting (also an evaluation that springs from the speakers' knowledge of the painting and the circumstances surrounding its creation). Despite the group's characteristics, and indeed

positioning, as art connoisseurs, their views on the use of art in this advert were at odds with that of the art historians interviewed who considered that the advert respected the 'heritage' of the work of art, which also included an element of humour. On the other hand, positive values registered in FG2 also seem to arise from the speakers' own interest and enthusiasm for cars.

Values of capacity, with predominantly positive valence, are elicited in the advert 3 discussion in both data sets. The message, the product and the audience (both inferred and actual) seem to be targets of positive appraisal. The presence of the woman triggers positive values of tenacity in both FGs shedding light onto SCRs of gender, age, freedom and individuality. Intertextual references seem to be at interplay in the selection of tenacity values in FG1 (such as the reference to the film *Calendar Girls*). In FG2, the represented character's assumed social status ('posh' 582) and nationality ('very English', 578) seem to have an impact on the change of attitude towards the woman, shifting from negative polarity at the start of the conversation and switching to positive polarity towards the end. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this is a good example of the dynamic nature of focus groups and their impact on the change of perception, attitude and, by extension, appraisal: 'it makes me sick' (turn 379c); 'good on her' (turn 780c). Other nationality stereotypes are illuminated by values of normality and capacity, elicited by associating the brand holder with the naked character represented in the advert (Swedish people and nudity). Event schemas are consistent throughout the FG2 discussion of advert 3. These relate to IKEA shopping, housework, museum and gallery visiting, and so on. SCRs of gender, age and lifestyle are also predominant in this section and seem to underlie the appraisal. The use of art is seen in a positive light in both discussions as it is seen as complementing the representation of the character to convey the message of the advert ('the woman is an extension of the painting', 296). In addition, this view is consistent with that of the experts interviewed who saw the use of the work of art as breaking from conventions and appealing to new markets.

The presence of the woman and the painting also result in positive values in relation to the use of art in advertising in both focus groups. This represents a change in view for both groups who consistently rejected art in the other two adverts. The painting-represented

character relation also leads to SCRs' activation (constituted by self-schemas) in relation to age and art 'so now because I'm getting middle aged I think probably should know that' (869, FG2).

Finally, the advertising message seems to have a greater impact on the advert 3 discussion than other images in both FGs. Evidence of this is not only shown in the high number of positive appraisal occurrences in relation to the message but also in the use of language by the speakers. In both FGs, the speakers represent the advertisers' assumed discourse. The speakers' extension of the message (or explanation of how they interpret it) when addressing the assumed audience is consistent in mood and agency with that of the advert's copy (second person 'you' and imperative mood: 'come to IKEA' 661a).

The self-positioning of the speakers as art connoisseurs in FG1 is evidenced throughout the discussion via various linguistic devices informed by apparent cognitive models such as elitism (advert 1), physical abuse (advert 2) and individuality (advert 3). These result in attitudinal positioning towards the adverts. In advert 1, this is evident in their selection of propriety values which appraise the advert as 'elitist' (87a) on the grounds that the 'average person' (87b) would not be able to understand the connection to the painting. A detachment between the group and 'your average' public is marked by the possessive pronoun (87b). In advert 2, we witness the use of PHYSICAL ABUSE metaphors to shed light onto an apparent purist or essentialist view of art ('it is kind of almost like a rape of the picture', 221f). Furthermore, the connection to the painting and the time period when it was created, in advert 2, play a key role in the appraisal of the character ('repressed' 136a and b) and the advert. In advert 2, however, the use of art is seen as inclusive (rather than elitist) and accepted. This positive appraisal is related to how the audience are able to form a link between the painting (and Venus in particular) and the represented character ('the woman in an extension of the painting', 296). It is likely that the nudity of the woman and that of Venus, as well as the idea of unconventional beauty and individuality (as the advert's message was interpreted), have given rise to a positive attitudinal positioning towards the advert and the use of art. This is also manifested in FG2. Similarly, such positive values may be indicative of the effect of the brand on the audience.

The use of art plays an important role in the instantiation of SCRs that influence the FG2 evaluation. The disapproval towards the use

of art in the adverts is evident in the appraisal of Figures 3.1 and 3.2, where it is assigned negative values and in some cases even parodied. These evaluations tend to be based mainly on SCRs of art and museums as well as SCRs of people who are interested in art. Personal experience of art in general and exposure to some of the paintings (or reproductions) in particular also comes into the evaluation. On the other hand, the use of art in advert 3 is positively accepted as discussed above.

This section has discussed the appraisal analysis findings in both focus group data sets, by integrating the appraisal findings and the SCRs assumed to have been activated by speakers in their sense-making process, which was the main objective of this work. It has also raised several questions as to what this means for theories of appraisal, for socio-cognitive discourse analysis and for advertising practices. These questions will be examined in the next section where I address the implications of this study.

5.2 Implications for discourse analysis

The application of appraisal theory provides an innovative approach to explaining the construction of evaluative stance in advertising reception. At the same time, in taking this approach to a reception study, the theory itself needs to be scrutinised to measure its suitability to account for the kinds of meanings and resources that are salient to a reception methodology in discourse analysis.

One salient feature in the application of appraisal theory in this study of evaluation of advertisements is the category of judgement. Both data sets were characterised by an extensive use of values of judgement. In using judgement values as the most prominent resource, the speakers conveyed their evaluation of the adverts in terms of moral and ethical standpoints. The aesthetic and affectual values of the images were also conveyed but less frequently. This allows us to conclude that the attitudinal positioning in the data was disposed to praising or criticising human behaviour, with reference to some set of social norms (Martin and White, 2005). We saw from the data that these judgements were directed at the assumed behaviours of the represented characters (for example, the woman in the IKEA advert), of the advertisers and of the audience. The latter referred to both the actual audience, that is, the focus groups participants, as

well as the inferred audience or consumer of the advertised products. Within judgement, a significant finding was the salience of the dimension of capacity within the category of social esteem. There were multiple instances of capacity in the texts. The implication is that the entity was valued in terms of its ability to perform a certain task. In the case of the advertisers, this task would be to persuade the audience to buy the product. The predominance of capacity values can be accounted for by the number of invoked appraisal occurrences which have been interpreted as working towards appraising the efficiency of the advertisers in conveying the message to the audience.

An important implication of this study is the need to acknowledge metonymic connections when coding targets of appraisal. In coding and analysing the targets of appraisal in the data, a major issue I came across was deciding who the target of the evaluation was, mostly in the judgement (capacity) section. This refers in particular to instances where the advertisers, as the producers and senders of the message, constituted such a target. As discussed in Chapter 4, some cases were straightforward and the advertisers were constructed directly as the target of the appraisal via various linguistic resources such as the selection of agency: 'they are only just appealing ...' (87e, FG1). In some other cases, however, such a distinction was not as clear cut and the advert was taken (and appraised) as standing for its producers: 'it is reminding people ...' (353a, FG1). In such instances, I posed the question as to what we consider the target of the evaluation, the advert or its producers. If we consider the image, that is, the entity, then the most straightforward coding, according to the appraisal typology, would be appreciation. However, if we consider the co-text, we realise that the appraisal seems to go beyond the aesthetic features of the advert and implies the presence of a deciding force behind it. In other words, the fact that the advert is 'clever' (for example 587a, FG2) is not a feature of the advert but it denotes the quality or intention of the human agent who created such an advert. Martin and White (2005) mention that in such ambivalent cases we assume the human agent behind the creation of an entity. They advise that in such instances we need to rely strongly upon the importance of the actual context in which such values occur. It is also worth considering the attribute 'clever' as an example of this. The *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learners' English Dictionary* (Sinclair, 2003, p. 250) defines 'clever' as 'displaying sharp intelligence or

mental alertness'. This definition suggests that 'clever' is thus an attribute generally used in relation to a human being. In the data, I identified two types of realisations of blurry boundaries. In the first case, the attribute 'clever' functions as an epithet pre-modifying a noun, for example 'a clever advert'. In such cases, given the grammatical construction and direct relation to the noun (that is, entity), I considered them as instances of appreciation as the attribute is explicitly inscribed as a quality or attribute of the noun and serves to provide an overall valuation of the image. On the other hand, there were instances where the explicit target of the appraisal was still the image, that is, the entity but were coded as judgement based on the metonymic connection to the human agent. For example, turn 353a, FG1: 'it is reminding people ...'. In such cases, it was clear from the co-text that the evaluation extended beyond the text (as an attribute of the image) to reach to the human agent assumed to have had the intention described by the mental process 'reminding'. In other words, the product was appraised under the conscious, taken-for-granted assumption that the interlocutors would understand this evaluation to fall on the producer of the product seemingly being appraised. I thus coded these types of occurrences as judgement, indirectly evaluating human behaviour. By so doing, this work has extended the appraisal framework beyond the textual level and acknowledged that in such instances 'it' (that is, the image) is actually a device used to refer to the relation between the product and its creators in the mind of the appraising participants, a case of metonymy. In other words, the appraisal, although apparently directed at the images, was actually related to the advertisers. Such a relation is embedded and taken for granted in the socio-cognitive environment of the speakers and it was not necessary for them to clarify or establish such ground in the evaluation for their listeners to understand. Such is the extent of the embedding that it even appears in dictionary entries. To illustrate this, 'clever' was a recurrent appraisal item coded as metonymy. The use of 'clever' as metonymy appears as the second entry meaning for such word in *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learners English Dictionary* (Sinclair, 2003, p. 250): '2: a clever idea, book or invention is extremely effective and shows the skill of the people involved'. Acknowledging such a realisation helps account for the seemingly confusing targets of evaluations in the data, an important contribution to those who wish to research appraisal in general

and in spoken data in particular. It is not sufficient though, to consider metonymy alone in the realisation of appraisal as it is only one feature of the socio-cognitive functions at stake in the evaluative process, as will be discussed later in this section.

Another instance of problematic coding arose when coding the 'audience' as the target of the appraisal. In some instances, the focus group participants placed themselves as the recipient audience and as target of the appraisal on the basis of their ability to understand or perceive the degree of impact the adverts had on them (for example 'I really did not make any link', 34, FG2). In other cases, they created a distinction between themselves and an outside audience inferred to be recipients of the advert, clearly marked by the selection of agency: 'I', for example 'I've just made that connection' (308a, FG1) vs. 'they': for example 'they'll recognise it' (277d, FG1). This was the case particularly when the groups positioned themselves in certain roles such as art connoisseurs or management professionals, members of a gender group (for example 'your average macho bloke', 283a, FG2), and so on. As this distinction was theoretically important in terms of their positioning as subject connoisseurs and the SCRs assumed to be triggered by each group in their appraisal, I solved this problem by differentiating between the actual audience (that is, the focus group participants) and the inferred audience (that is, the focus group participants' inferred receivers of the advert). By so doing, it was possible to compare the SCRs of the inferred audience that each group had and thus gain a better understanding of their selection of appraisal values, as in the case of art connoisseurs and their views about uses of art, for example. This distinction, however, became blurred when the participants used the generic 'you' to refer to the audience ('you can make your own masterpiece', 268c, FG1). In such instances, it was not possible to differentiate between the actual and the inferred audience or whether by using such a device, the speakers felt included as part of the general audience. In these cases, I had to rely on the co-text and examine each individual turn in isolation in order to draw conclusions not only in terms of appraisal selection but also as to the reasons why such a selection of agency was made.

The way in which appraisal was linguistically manifested in the data also represented an important complexity in the data coding and analysis. In Martin and White's (2005) model of attitude analysis,

evaluation is understood as the infusion of values in a range of features and functions of language. In other words, evaluation happens not only at the lexico-grammar level (for example, processes) but also at the discourse semantic level (for example, cohesive devices). This study has identified a number of language features and functions for the inscription of appraisal that are consistent with those discussed in the literature (Martin and White, 2005 and especially Hood, 2010) and outlined in Chapter 3. This was very useful for the identification of inscribed values throughout the data, especially in cases where appraisal was identified as eliciting affect and appreciation values.

In the data, however, it was found that such a clear-cut distinction is not always possible, if we consider the metaphorical meaning that certain appraising items inherit when these features are considered as realising meaning across categories (that is, blurry boundaries or tokens of a category invoking evaluation in another category). Let me exemplify this by referring to turn 203d, FG1 as an instance of such cases: 'it doesn't really grab me as an advert for a car'. Appraisal here is realised by the material process 'grab', which, on its own, inscribes appreciation (reaction impact). However, when looking at the co-text, I interpreted this as an instance of judgement appraising the advert (or metonymically the advertisers). In this case, then, the material process 'grab' inherits a metaphorical meaning such as 'seem' or 'look like'. As a material process, it may inscribe a more literal meaning (token of appreciation) which serves to invoke a different evaluation under another category (judgement) aided by the metaphorical meaning of the material process 'grab', which is indeed mental 'seem'. In functional terms, it conveys inner experience of the participants by metaphorically referring to an outer experience via the material process 'grab'. This problem was addressed by coding such processes as mental/material. This also supports my argument of conceptual units of meaning and interpretation being paramount to realise the full meaning potential of the appraisal as they constitute concrete sources to abstract target domains (Kövecses, 2002).

Also salient, and complex in both its manifestation and analysis, is the invoking of attitudinal meanings, especially in the judgement category. Instances of inscribed appraisal values were identified as realised across various functions of language such as transitivity, logical relations systems, mood and modality. Although Martin and White (2005) advise on differentiating between 'inviting' and 'provoking' attitude

as subcategories of 'invoking' appraisal, I decided to concentrate my study of attitude on inscribed and invoked appraisal only. I did this for two reasons: first, I found that such subdivisions were not as clear cut and are difficult to identify. Besides, in the data, there appeared to be cases which could even be treated as belonging to more than one category. Further, an in-depth study of invoked appraisal would have demanded concentrating on the realisation of appraisal at text-level and left little scope for the examination of cognitive structures aiding appraisal, which was the aim of this study. This brings me to the second reason. While analysing the spoken data for attitude, it became obvious that apart from implicit evaluative positions being invoked via use of a variety of discourse semantic strategies, in some cases the evaluative force was present in the implicit intertextual and interdiscursive references that the speaker made. Despite their textual realisation, such references still needed an in-depth examination and it soon became apparent that for the evaluation to be successful, it was necessary that the interlocutors be equipped with the necessary resources. In other words, some evaluative meanings were only decoded by those with the necessary socio-cognitive resources to decipher the intertextual or interdiscursive reference. This provides further evidence to support my thesis that attitude and social cognition are interlinked, a point I will return to later in this section.

I hence approached attitude as either inscribed (discussed above) or invoked. I identified two main processes of invoking appraisal. The first process was invoking appraisal via discourse semantic resources. These consisted of features such as logico-semantic relations that construed the co-text and functions such as mood and modality (for example 'so what's the point?' 104b, FG1). In some cases, metonymy was identified as accounting for invoked appraisal (as discussed above). The second process invoking appraisal was via the use of tokens of appraisal. This was a feature mainly of the category of judgement, although such cases were found to a lesser extent in the other two categories.

The use of tokens of other categories presented complexities in terms of the data coding. The main issue was how to tabulate tokens in terms of the category they realised. For the cases of invoked appraisal, I coded each appraisal occurrence under the category that realised the invoked meaning and made mention of the token at stake in the co-text column. To exemplify this, let

us consider a token of appreciation used to invoke judgement: 'it doesn't really grab me as an advert for the car' (203d, FG1). I said that this turn was indexed as invoking negative capacity with regards to the ability of the advert to convey its intended message. The appraisal, however, is conveyed by an instance of appreciation (realised by the metaphor 'grab' and the metaphoric material/mental process). Despite the value of reaction: impact (appreciation) being selected to convey the evaluation, I interpreted this turn as the speakers selecting a token of appreciation to explain why they considered the advert to be ineffective (and thus invoke negative capacity). The tabulation was done by coding appraisal as invoked negative capacity contextually aided by the token of appreciation. This was also the case in instances of metonymy. For example, in 'I think it's quite clever' (221e, FG1), the textually realised evaluation is a case of appreciation, however, it was coded as capacity as I interpreted the evaluation to be directed towards the advertisers' perceived skill or ability.

As a final note on the application of the appraisal framework to the analysis of spoken data in making sense of advertisements, during the discussion of findings, I demonstrated that the appraisal framework does allow for a characterisation or distinction of the attitudinal response the audience has towards the stimulus. We have seen how affective, aesthetic and even moral or ethical values of the speakers are evidenced through their selection of attitudinal lexis. However, it soon became evident that appraisal on its own cannot offer an explanation of the socio-cognitive resources that may account for the attitudinal disposition. The use of the appraisal framework in isolation does not suffice in accounting for world knowledge and thought processing that interacts in sense-making and choice of evaluative language. In other words, the question is why one advert, or aspects of it, may trigger evaluations based on affectual or aesthetic values while another aspect of the same advert may trigger moral values. How are these accounted for? One answer to that, as evidenced in the data findings, may lie in the socio-cognitive environment the informants are embedded in and vice-versa.

In Chapter 2, I discussed that socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) can be seen as dynamic, structures of knowledge containing evaluative elements which may result in attitudinal positions. Throughout the discussion of the findings, I outlined how appraisal

arises when incoming information is checked against the framework of knowledge contained in SCRs. In this light, I discussed how SCRs activated in the spoken data provide a framework for evaluation and can be seen to be indexed in discourse by various linguistic resources, such as agency, process types and modality. The implication of this study is that appraisal, as embedded in meaning-making, is underpinned by, and reliant upon, cognitive models of the recipient audience. In this way, the adverts seemed to trigger SCRs in the informants, which determined the type of attitudinal stance they took towards the adverts (i.e. affectual, aesthetic or moral/ethical). We saw in the data an example of how the Holland advert triggered SCRs of holidays which, in turn, had an impact on the appraisal of the advert for tourism as 'not normal', hence resulting in a negative evaluation (turn 106b, FG1). Such attitudinal positioning may, in a cyclical process, inform discourse participants' cognitive models and these cyclical models may inform future sense-making (Koller, 2008). In other words, there seems to be a cyclical relationship between cognitive models and discourse.

I also mentioned that social schemas and social representations are interlinked and complementary as they offer different levels of explanations of social cognitive processes (Augoustinos et al., 2006). They are complementary since their interaction allows for a more complete explanation and understanding of human social thought and behaviour. Social event schemas are an element of social representations and contribute to their overall structure. In the data findings, I discussed how some instances of appraisal seem to be bound to social schemas, in particular event schemas. Let us look at one event schema in particular that, I argued, served as the basis for the evaluation of the IKEA image. During the discussion, we saw the participants inferring DIY and household tasks event schemas that served as the basis for an evaluative instance. Interestingly, the IKEA advert seemed to trigger event schemas in both data sets. These represent specific aspects of the world, such as buying and assembling household items from IKEA, through the use of categorisation, that is, processes such tasks entail. So, the speakers made sense of the new stimulus they were confronted with (i.e. the adverts) by assimilating their own experiences to such schemas. According to the findings, the informants' schema of going to IKEA includes going through the long and winding one-way system, struggling to find a parking space, encountering people

of a certain age and specific behaviours (people arguing), SCRs of gender-specific activities (for example, men looking bored and women actively choosing products), eating at the restaurant, etc. Similarly, after the purchase, the schemas comprise assembling the furniture with all the complications this entails. The speakers made sense of the advert, and indeed appraised it, in light of such schematic structure. In a nutshell, the findings suggest that evaluative meanings may also arise from world categorisation or schemas. These schematic structures seem to be not only individual (that is, shaped by personal experience) but collectively naturalised. In turn, they are inferred to interact in the appraisal process.

I also pointed out that SCRs may sometimes be informed, and shaped, by other cognitive features such as metaphors, and by intertextuality and interdiscursivity. I noted that I see metaphors as culturally shared elements that provide access to an underlying cognitive structure. Through their realisation at text-level, they allow access to the conceptual level, thus revealing the cultural framework of the naturalised thought they form part of. The latter refers to the socio-cognitive representations shared by the informants of each particular group and inferred to interact in the appraisal process. In the data analysis of the Mercedes-Benz advertisement reception (FG1), for example, the negative appraisal of propriety in relation to the use of the painting in the advert seems to be framed by metaphors of physical assault, linguistically manifested by utterances such as 'a rape of the picture'. This may form part of SCRs of art, which may activate purist feelings towards art in the audience, and their position in defence of its use is reflected in the negative appraisal of judgement. Such cognitive models also help gain an insight into the group's self-positioning with regard to art and in relation to outgroups who do not share such principles and connoisseurship. It is worth noting that the group are not art experts but practitioners as none of them has formally studied art nor practises it as a profession. Their knowledge of art, in Moscovici and Duveen's (2000) terms, is consensual, in other words, specific knowledge that became widespread and socially shared, in other words, an SCR, as discussed in Chapter 2.

I concluded earlier on in this section that one of the implications of this study for appraisal analysis was that the (assumed) shared knowledge in the evaluation seems to be used as a strategy to avoid

overtly explicit (if not face-threatening) evaluation by invoking appraisal. I argued in the theoretical framework that the social and cultural references that viewers bring into the engagement with the text and meaning-making are organised in patterns of meaning-making or 'higher-level units' that shape the way recipients comprehend and evaluate texts they come across (Meinhof and Smith, 2000, p. 11). I discussed, and demonstrated in the data discussion how the reader makes sense of the new stimulus by tracing the latter's intertextual and interdiscursive relationship with other texts stored in the reader's own knowledge bank (Chapter 2). In other words, previous texts the readers has come across and stored in their socio-cognitive environment are traced back and brought over to the sense-making process of the new text. This is particularly the case of culturally salient texts such as the *Mona Lisa* painting. The discussion of findings in Chapter 4 has shown that the invocation of attitude is reliant upon the audience's shared reservoir of knowledge stored in the socio-cognitive environment (and linguistically realised) to fulfil its evaluative function. Several instances of invoked attitude reliant on shared knowledge are registered in the data. To name one example of this, let us consider turn 96, FG1, where the group discuss the Holland image. Invoked attitude had to be interpreted by the group members by resorting to their reservoir of knowledge that may contain destination advertising criteria (based on previous destination advertising encountered) and stereotypical features of Holland. The knowledge of these elements is paramount to understanding invoked attitude in this turn.

Further implications of the data findings relate to the informants positioning themselves as in-group members. The data findings have shown that a socio-cognitive study of appraisal can provide a bottom-up approach to uncovering how readings are positioned. By applying such an analysis, a group profile based on evaluative disposition was obtained. The appropriate sampling was very important to achieve such findings. The data showed that each group positioned itself, and the inferred audience, in relation to art, and associated art and audiences with in-groups and out-groups. Both groups started from the premise that the use of art in general was discriminatory and that the inferred audience (that is, the general public assumed to be the target market of adverts) would not understand the connection of the advert with art. The nature of each group led to appraisal

which acted to position the group in relation to the inferred audience. In this way, the characteristics of both groups became evident and oppositional. FG1, by virtue of their subject matter knowledge (art) selected appraisal values and inferred SCRs that positioned the non-art-connoisseur inferred audience as an out-group. On the other hand, FG2 selected evaluative values that positioned themselves closer to the non-art knowledgeable inferred audience, thus creating an in-group identification. In conclusion, the findings show that the positioning of each group can be differentiated by means of comparing the types of attitude used and the cognitive models inferred to have been at interplay in such a selection of evaluative language. One important implication of this study for appraisal and socio-cognitive theory is the evidence that appraisal analysis and its socio-cognitive interpretation enable a thorough investigation of how roles and status are negotiated in the evaluation in audience studies. Further work in this area, placing appraisal within the domains of socio-cognitive critical discourse analysis, can provide an insight as to how group identity may be performed as legitimised social practice in advertising sense-making.

On a concluding note for this section, interrogating the lexico-grammar and discourse semantic resources identified in the appraisal analysis of the spoken data has allowed me to expand systematic functional based model of language analysis in a constructive way. The implications discussed indicate the need to go beyond the text-level in order to gain a comprehensive insight into the selection of appraisal values underpinning the attitudinal stance of the discourse participants towards the advertising stimulus. I thus conclude by stressing the premise that I have discussed throughout this book: sense-making, of intertextual advertising stimuli in particular, has proved to have an inherent attitudinal position which leads to evaluative stances. In order to explain this attitudinal positioning and, by extension, the appraisal, we need to look at the social and cognitive context the sense-makers (that is, the audience) are embedded in. Otherwise, we are left with unaccounted for instances of language selection. Appraisal theory on its own can indeed give a thorough and comprehensive account of the linguistic resources used to develop an attitudinal stance, whether it is affectual, aesthetic or moral/ethical, towards a stimulus. However, the motivation behind such an attitudinal stance requires looking at the cognitive structures

realising meaning, that is, the interaction between discourse, ideology and cognition, as suggested by Koller (2008). This work has taken such an approach to study advertising sense making and its findings have left us with several implications for advertising practices, as will be discussed in the section below.

5.3 Implications of findings for advertising practices

The previous section finished with a discussion of the implications of group positioning in the appraisal process based on the group's characteristics. Let us now examine what implications can be drawn from this group positioning for advertising practices. I will also discuss implications of this study in terms of branding and advertising strategies in relation to evaluative positioning.

This study worked with two focus groups; one group was made up of informants who had a non-expert knowledge of art and art history, while the other group claimed not to have any knowledge of, or particular interest in, art. The data findings show that both groups displayed clear positioning towards the use of art in advertising which, in some instances, seemed to account for their attitudinal disposition towards the advertising stimuli as evidenced by their selection of appraisal values and the socio-cognitive resources assumed to have been triggered in the evaluative process.

In terms of the use of art in advertising, I discussed Messaris' (1997) view that art is used in advertising as an indicator of social status, which aims to make the art-connoisseur recipient feel special for being able to trace the connection to the work of art (Chapter 3). This was evidenced in the data by the speakers' presumption of the inferred audience's inability to trace the connection to art as well as by each group's positioning in regard to the audience. Let me explain this. One recurrent theme emerging from both focus group discussions was that the speakers assumed that the general or 'average' audience of the adverts (especially in relation to adverts 1 and 2) would not trace the connection to art straightaway. Group positioning was then evidenced in regards to whether the groups placed themselves among the 'average' audience of the advert (in-group) or at a distance from them (out-group). The findings revealed that FG1 placed themselves outside the 'average' (inferred) audience while FG2 felt part of the 'average' group, as discussed in the

previous section. Messaris' (1997) notion of status also extended to the groups' positioning towards the advertisers and the solidarity created with the advertisers. In FG1, for example, the speakers felt part of the 'privileged' group who traced the connection to art and conveyed a sense of solidarity with the advertisers. In other words, it was assumed that the advertisers intended to and indeed did convey a sense of complicity between themselves and the knowledgeable audience, excluding the 'average person in the street' (87b, FG1). Status was further reinforced by the idea of leisure as another indicator of superiority (Messaris, 1997). The concept of leisure and its link to social status was also evidenced by the selection of appraisal values. Despite both groups having similar income, different positioning towards the adverts and their selection of appraisal values and inferred SCRs were revealing of FG1's assumed social stance. Group status was also indicated by attitude towards leisure activities or places: 'Amsterdam is an excellent place', turn 110, FG2 and 'it's more than your normal holiday', 106b, FG1.

This brings me to the next implication. The opposing views towards the use of art in advertising as well as the evaluative positioning of both groups towards the adverts, despite their demographic similarities, can be explained by post-modern marketing theory and the notion of 'tribal marketing' (Cova, 1996). Based on the assumption that individuals want to break away from familiar patterns of identity, tribal marketing describes new forms of collective identity whereby individuals regroup into new tribes based on shared practices created through cultural consumption rather than pre-established criteria such as demographics. These 'identity tribes' (Bilton, 2007, p. 141) offer an alternative to the fixed categories of traditional market segments as they become self-segmenting with new patterns forming around specific products. The notion of identity tribes may lead to 'affinity branding' whereby one product benefits from collective associations of another product's brand (Bilton, 2007, p. 141). 'Identity tribes' also allow marketers to track new trends and styles, which in a cyclical process they attempt to sell back to consumers. Identity tribes may also be related or compared to 'communities of practice' (Wenger et al., 2002) which have been defined as 'groups of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise' (Wenger and Snyder, 2000, p. 139). Clearly the traditional market segmentation criteria did not work in this study as

both focus groups were gender balanced and of similar demographic characteristics: middle class, middle aged, British professionals who fall within the target market for all three adverts, according to traditional market segmentation parameters. The answer to this seems to rely on such notions of tribal marketing and communities of consumption addressed above. The differences between the groups' attitudes to the advertisement do not seem to be led by economic value but by interest. Pre-existing brand associations and behaviour as consumers (as evidenced by the event schemas identified) also seem to have interacted in the appraisal of the adverts. I will return to the issue of branding later on in this section.

Finally, status was also indicated by FG1 resisting the use art in advertising ('it's an abuse of the picture', turn 195b). On the other hand, FG2 compared the use of art in advertising to the use of music in terms of them bridging the knowledge gap among consumers. The findings of the focus group data show the dichotomy presented in the literature in terms of the opposition between a purist approach to art and the opposition to its use in popular culture and the advocacy of the hybridity of contemporary media (Chapter 2). FG1 felt that advertising was the oppressor who forcefully appropriated art (for example in the advert 2 discussion, evidenced by the PHYSICAL ABUSE metaphor). On the other hand, FG2 proposed that art was actually being sold at IKEA and made available to the masses, as evidenced by the use of the colloquial possessive form 'me' in 'be alright for me shed' (567b, FG2).

The use of art in advertising in adverts 1 and 2 was negatively perceived in both focus groups but for different reasons. While FG1 showed an essentialist approach to the use of art, FG2 felt that the use of art was an off-putting distraction (Hennion and Meadel, 1989) as it worked against the communicative purpose of the advert because that not many people would be able to understand it. The IKEA advert, however, stood in opposition to the other two adverts possibly because both groups were able to empathise with the character. Both groups considered the represented character as 'an extension of the painting' (296, FG1) put there to 'match the painting' (409b, FG2). This view may allow us to conclude that art was perceived as a colonising force in this advert. Art was also seen as bringing style to mass production and as having an emancipating role by repositioning the brand as one that differs from the previous budget

mass-produced product lacking in individuality and quality. But the question still remains as to what may account for such responses from an advertising perspective.

Two final points arise from the findings, which may account for the different response to the IKEA advert irrespective of the groups' characteristics. First, it is necessary to consider the issue of branding. I have argued that brands can be seen as SCRs in that they embody conceptions about them held in the mind of consumers, generally on a collective basis (Koller, 2008). The findings have demonstrated that the brands advertised do fulfil this function. In other words, mainly Mercedes-Benz and IKEA encompass conceptions, if not evaluations, about them in the mind of the speakers and these seem to have been brought into the appraisal. These SCRs had an influence on the evaluation of both the product and the advertisement. FG2 evaluated the advert as 'flashy' possibly based on the SCR of the car, reflecting the values of the consumers. The quality assigned to the Mercedes-Benz car was also evidenced in the evaluation of the product in FG1, which translated into a positive evaluation of the car as 'a masterpiece of engineering' (193, FG1). Furthermore, the use of art once again seems to have influenced the advert as the product was evaluated as a 'masterpiece'. Furthermore, culture stereotypes contained in SCRs were brought into the evaluation. These are quality for Mercedes-Benz, presumably based on stereotypes of German culture, or country-of-origin effect, and a relaxed attitude towards nudity for Swedish IKEA. Finally, the expression of a self-image or self-schema was also triggered by the product in FG2: 'I fall for that all the time', turn 212d. Similarly, in the advert, IKEA seems to have successfully captured the perceived negative SCRs contained in the brand (i.e. mass-produced products and lack of individuality) and turned them into positive attributes by offering an endless combination of designs which may result in the consumer's own, individual world. The use of language in the advert's copy ('it's your world') suggesting a personalised 'consumer as an individual' (Brown, 1993, p. 26) service may also account for the positive audience response. Let us examine this last point of the use of language in the IKEA advert. As revealed by the findings, the discussion of this advert was the one with the most occurrences of ambivalence in terms of the audience as target. The speakers resorted to the generic 'you' as the agent selected to carry the weight of the evaluation on several

occasions making it indistinguishable whether they were referring to the inferred audience or to themselves. In the copy, the selection of agency and mood ('it's your world, live better') was catchy enough to extend it to the conversation, thus conveying IKEA's commitment to give primacy to the individual's needs. With this advert carrying the majority of the positive values, the speakers perhaps identified more with the inferred audience, thus reducing the gap created earlier between the assumed non-art-connoisseur inferred audience and themselves (FG1). As discussed by Brown (1993), one feature of post-modern marketing is that consumers are addressed as individuals rather than as a group which shares certain demographic characteristics. This notion is known as 'primacy of the individual' (Brown, 1993, p. 26). The IKEA advert seems to have succeeded in conveying this notion to the audience as evidenced by the appraisal values selected and the SCRs inferred. I concluded that this might have made the audience feel that IKEA pays attention to their needs for individuality thus leading to a positive evaluation of the advert. This also ties to the notion of the 'consumer as an individual' (Brown, 1993, p. 26) which goes against the traditional marketing practices of predicting collective patterns of identity. According to Bilton (2007), marketers try to map out individual preferences and address the customer as a 'market of one' (p. 141). Bilton illustrates this with Amazon using personalised accounts based on previous purchases whereby they are able to recommend future ones. This trend of 'primacy of the individual' is also reflected in advertising slogans such as 'do your own thing' for instance (Brown, 1993, p. 26). A clear example of this is presented in the IKEA advertisement used in this work where the slogan reads 'it's your world'.

By recruiting informants according to common practices and interests in relation to art rather than traditional demographic variables such as income power, and so on, this study has complied with the notion of communities of practice (Wenger et al., 2002) discussed above. The findings revealed that the speakers positioned themselves as groups who share certain practices and interests and detaching themselves from other groups who do not. By taking this stance, they also positioned themselves as sharing similar cognitive structures which may determine how they carry, and indeed evaluate, such practices. Examples of this are the event schemas and SCRs inferred to have been retrieved from the informants' cognitive

environment and influenced the appraisal. From a reception perspective, the IKEA advert seems to have complied with principles of allowing freedom for making sense of the marketed product within each consumer's own framework of understanding or their own 'world'. In my opinion, those principles of post-modern marketing provide an explanation for the different attitudinal positioning and evaluation of the adverts by the audience.

A final point relates to the different ways in which advertisers appeal to consumers when conveying a message. Kotler et al. (2005) and MacRury (2009) discuss three types of appeal that have been identified that advertisers resort to when conveying the message content. The first concerns aesthetic and rational appeals, whereby the advertisers address the artistic or aesthetic preferences of consumers. Advertising messages with rational appeals usually feature messages showing the quality of a product, economy, value or performance. Thus, in its ads, Mercedes offers automobiles that are 'engineered like no other car in the world' or 'unlike any other', stressing engineering design, performance and safety. A second type relates to emotional appeals which resort to consumers' anxieties and desires, and attempt to bring out either positive or negative emotions that can motivate purchase. For example, IKEA's emotional appeal is evidenced in a previous campaign where they use the phrase in their catalogue 'home is the most important place in the world' (IKEA online catalogue, 2007); this is also displayed in the wallet for the London transport pass, known as the Oyster card, which is sponsored by IKEA. Equally, Echtner and Ritchie (1993) comment on the effectiveness of emotional appeals created by images of destinations in place advertising. Finally, moral appeals are directed at the audience's sense of propriety and ethics and are usually intended to urge people to support social causes such as environmental issues, the latter also being a strategy lately used by IKEA in their environmentally sensitive campaigns. These categories seem to have a counterpart in the appraisal framework, the categories of which also account for affectual, aesthetic and moral/ethical positioning, what I have been referring to as affect, appreciation and judgement. The findings of the focus groups data have revealed that the matching of the distinctions in the models seems viable, but that the processing may not match what the advertisers expected. The findings showed that the predominant category is that of judgement, implying a moral/ethical

motivation for the attitudinal positioning towards the stimuli on the part of the audience. From the expert interviews, discussed in Chapter 3, I was also able to gain an insight into the advertisers' purposes behind the creation of the ads used as stimulus material. Results of such interviews revealed that the motivations behind the design were varied. A closer look at the focus group data showed that, in fact, the images conveyed all three types of appeal, which had a different impact on each group. Furthermore, different aspects of each advert appealed to the audience in different ways. Consider the Holland advert. From interviews with advertising practitioners and a travel agent, I found out that the purpose of this advert might have been to publicise the cultural aspects of Holland and attract tourists with such interests, perhaps in an attempt to break away from the image of the stereotypical visitors to Holland. From this perspective, we can see this appeal as being based on moral/ethical motivations (Kotler et al., 2005; MacRury, 2009). The focus group data, however, revealed that the speakers' cognitive models and stereotypes of the country led to negative evaluation and attitudes based on different moral and ethical issues, as evidenced by the values of judgement in both focus groups that the image shown to them (the cropped version of the original displayed in the billboard poster) triggered. Similarly, the expression of the woman brought about various instances of affect (authorial and non-authorial, that is, attributed to her by the speakers), thus also revealing an emotional reaction the advert. The Mercedes-Benz advert had an equal number of appreciation evaluations in both data sets, which related to the car's aesthetic features and SCRs relating to car performance revealing some degree of success in the aesthetic and rational appeals in the design. However, SCRs relating to the brand and the perceived consumer audience as well as the use of art in the advert worked to counteract such appeals making judgement values more predominant. Finally, the IKEA advert resorts to humour successfully conveying emotional appeal through its design. This was evidenced in the values of affect selected by the participants. Once again, judgement values were highest for both data sets but they mainly related to the positive effect that the advertisement had on the audience, which, it may be argued, could result from the emotional appeal that the advert conveyed in the first place. The implication here is that the correlation between types of appeals encoded in the advertisements

and the positioning that their readings produce, despite the apparent equivalent taxonomy, is not as straightforward and is an area that warrants further research. For now, though, the findings, and scope of this book, allow me to link this conclusion, as it stands, to the notion of 'unlimited semiosis' (Eco, 1979) and meaning negotiation (Hall, 1980; Hodge and Kress, 1988) discussed in Chapter 2, which centred on the notion of audiences' active participation in advertising reception. This also links to claims made by Fowles (1996) which suggests that the audience necessarily bridges together the symbolic domains of advertising and popular culture by means of personal association and intertextual chains. This work has called upon the notion of a 'variety of interpretations' advocated by reception studies and, as such, it warrants the conclusion that, as evidenced by the findings, readers not only bring a variety of interpretations aided by stored stock of knowledge into the sense-making process but also that they 'establish their identities' through the diversity of meanings brought into text interpretation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 14), as evidence by the focus group informants in relation to their positioning as art connoisseurs and their standing as members of the non-art knowledgeable 'average' public or not. This constitutes another important implication to consider in the context of advertising production if advertising practitioners are to focus solely on the types of appeal they intend to make disregarding the role the audience plays in the 'process of mediation' between producers and consumers (Leiss, 1994, p. 131).

5.4 Concluding remarks

The book presented a methodological approach to the study of advertising reception based on the premise that sense-making is a socio-cognitive process intrinsically linked to attitudinal positioning that results in evaluative stances on the part of the participants involved in the reception context.

The previous sections presented a summary of the findings of this study as contributing to an understanding of how evaluative stance is construed in the advertising reception context. They also outlined the main socio-cognitive resources inferred to underlie the evaluation and discussed the importance of an approach that integrates text analysis at the discourse semantic level as well as at a socio-cognitive

level. The implications of the findings for linguistic theory building and for advertising practices were also considered.

The prime aim of this work was to explain comprehensively how the informants construct an evaluative stance in the reception of advertising stimuli. One key finding was that sense-making tends to be predisposed to evaluating, either directly or indirectly, the human entity behind the creation of the advertisement, be it the advertisers or the brand holder perceived as sending the message, on moral or ethical grounds. Furthermore, affective and aesthetic appeals were also found to be at interplay and triggered by various elements in the adverts.

The second premise of this book is that the evaluation derived from the attitudinal positioning is socially as well as cognitively shaped. The second aim of this work was thus to identify what socio-cognitive resources can be inferred to underlie such evaluative positioning. The main findings indicate that the socio-cognitive resources inferred to be at interplay in the evaluative process vary between the groups due to their interests and patterns of consumption. For instance, for those informants with an interest in art, the stimulus material seems to have triggered different SCRs than for informants with no knowledge or interest, despite both groups sharing the same demographic characteristics. These, in turn, resulted in different evaluative positioning. In some cases, however, the adverts seem to have triggered similar SCRs in both groups. This was particularly the case of country stereotypes. These similarities, however, did not always manifest themselves in the same selection of appraisal values, even if the valence was the same, that is, even if a country stereotype was inferred to be at stake and this led to a negative positioning in both groups, the type of appraisal value selected – affect, appreciation or judgement – might have been different. Based on this interpretation, I arrived at various models and processes assumed to underlie the evaluation, such as inferred SRCs, schemas and metaphors. I concluded that socially constructed knowledge and beliefs incorporated in the audience's socio-cognitive environment to constitute a platform upon which evaluative positions rest and arise from when the informants are confronted with new stimuli (that is, the adverts and vice-versa, in a cyclical fashion).

From a marketing perspective, the findings of this study point to the importance of the notion of the consumer as an individual and

seeing groups as tribes of consumption as advocated by post-modern marketing theories. Such notion is concerned with grouping individual consumers by similarity of interests leading to similar patterns of consumption rather than falling under the same demographic characteristics as traditional marketing segmentation practices determined. Another key finding of this book was that the audience's evaluative disposition seems to be conditioned by the group's positioning towards the hybridity of media texts, or the recontextualisation of media texts in other genres. These were indicated by the socio-cognitive resources assumed to have been at interplay in the evaluation process and that were manifested by the language choices and the selection of appraisal values. Such positioning towards art and hybridity in advertising was also linked to the point made above about the 'tribal' characteristics of the focus group participants, who were purposefully selected on the basis of their interest and knowledge of art.

Throughout this book, I have been referring to assumed or inferred SCRs, which is indicative of my claim that such models of cognition cannot be proven by text analysis but can be assumed to inform the appraisal. Hence, further empirical proof within the field of cognitive psychology would be required. I then closed my empirical study by discussing those models' impact not only on evaluation and how this reflects group positioning but ultimately on attitudes towards the advertisements and the broader frame of advertising and branding.

Finally, this research also contributed to the fields of appraisal theory, socio-cognitive discourse analysis and advertising practices. The application of a socio-cognitive approach to the functional analysis of sense-making, presents an innovative approach to advertising reception studies. In the previous chapter, I discussed the implications the study had for advertising practices in terms of attitudes to the use of art in advertising and their relation to group positioning and identity. Among the main difficulties encountered in the coding of attitude was the lack of tools within the appraisal framework to systematically account for blurry boundaries in the coding of targets of attitude, which led to an extension of a typology that considers metonymic relationships in targeting appraisal as well as metaphorical processes. Similarly, the invocation of attitude in sense-making presented coding difficulties. I made reference to the fact that despite the appraisal framework allowing for a differentiation of various ways of invoking appraisal, the full use of the

typology would have demanded sole concentration on the application of appraisal, leaving little scope for the study of socio-cognitive resources inferred to be activated by the informants in the appraisal process. Of special interest for the field of advertising practices is the premise underpinning the selection of informants for the focus group discussions. As mentioned above, the sampling was purposive and based on the premise of communities of consumption rather than traditional demographic segmentation criteria. Such a method allowed me to gain a deeper insight into group characteristics and models of cognition assumed to underlie the evaluative positioning. Such results would not have been gained from a demographic sampling where the diversity of interest and models of consumption would have been counterproductive to the study of the informants as a group and would have given more individualised responses. It is important, however, to point out that this study has only compared two focus groups. Further, more insightful studies running several focus groups with informants from those two communities of practice would provide more comparable and generalisable data which would then inform advertising strategies in more depth.

As a final note, this study set out to illustrate that, in the context of this book, sense-making as appraisal cannot be separated from cognition as the latter informs SCRs which are then reflected in the discourse of evaluation. The book findings revealed that structures of knowledge are present in evaluative discourse and occur as 'the interface between the cognitive and the social' (Koller, 2004, p. 42). In other words, the evaluative discourse arising from the discourse participants' socio-cultural environment seems to be informed by cognition, which is in turn constituted or informed by such discourse in a cyclical fashion (Koller, 2004). I feel that this study has demonstrated my position that a full account of sense-making, as deriving in attitudinal and evaluative positioning, cannot neglect the role of social cognition in the process.

Appendix 1: Appraisal Coding: Focus Groups 1 and 2

Focus group 1

24 I thought it was a very strange expression to have anyway two people looking at each other [*APP React: imp,* 1, Qual: epithet, character]
26a I was drawn straight to her eyes [*APP React: imp*, 1, Pr: mat/men; audience]
26b and I thought her eyes were looking very longingly at the other person [–AFF NA DISINCLINATION; 1; Qual: circums; character]
26c and I thought about you know is it lusting [–JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
26d is it desire [JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
26e I kind of thought definitely in her eyes they were very deep [+*APP React: imp*; 1; Qual: attrib; character]
34a I saw the door handle next after her eyes and I thought there was a doorway there which she was either wanting the person to come with her to the doorway [AFF NA DISINCLINATION; 1; Pr: mental; character
34b or is she leaving [– t, AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: material; character]
34c and I thought maybe there was a look of sadness in her eyes as well if she was leaving [– AFF NA UNHAPPINESS; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
35 it's enigmatic it particularly the expression like the Mona Lisa [*APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib; character]
54a I thought the colours were really warming [+ *APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
54b and kind of fall and autumn type [+ t; *APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: nominal; image]
54c I also thought about lusting as well [– JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
57 or wishful [+ AFF NA INCLINATION; 1; Qual: attrib; character]
58a yeah wishful maybe [+ AFF NA INCLINATION; 1; Qual: attrib; character]
58b after I start thinking there was some sadness [– AFF NA UNHAPPINESS; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
58c that maybe something a moment had passed [– t; AFF NA DISINCLINATION; 1; Pr: material; character]
58d as well she wanted to [– t; AFF NA DISINCLINATION; 1; Pr: mental; character]
58e this was her opportunity to say something [– t; AFF NA DISINCLINATION; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
58f and we were going to miss it [– t; AFF A DISINCLINATION; 1; Pr: mat/men; audience]
58g maybe she was leaving through the door [– t; AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: material; character]

60a it looks as if the brushes are quite similar [*APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
60b and the mouth is quite similar [*APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
60c and the shape of the nose is quite similar [*APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
60d odd earrings [– *APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib; character]
66 if you take that bit on the left it looks more ambiguous [– *APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
68a and then I suddenly thought oh it's a mirror [t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Prosodic feat; image]
68b I don't have that connection because I *would never* look at myself like that in a mirror [–t; JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: circums; charac/aud]
74 there's a cheese-maker's outfit? [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
75 It's a mock-up of the picture [*APP val*; 1; Qual: nominal; image]
76 she looks Dutch, doesn't she [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: behavioural; character]
82 you're not really sure it's an advert for the Dutch tourist board are you [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Epistemic modal adjunct: audience]
85a I think then why would you choose that picture [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material: advertisers]
85b it's quite interesting really isn't it [+ *APP val*; 1; Qual: attrib; image]
85c does that say that they value women? [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
85d or that if it's lust that we are seeing in their eyes [– JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: nominal; character]
85e *then* come to Holland and lust after somebody you know [– t; JUD SS prop; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
87a If it's for tourism then it's very elitist [– JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: attrib; image]
87b because your average person in the street [– JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
87c wouldn't recognise [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
87d and make that connection [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mat/men; inf aud]
87e they're only just appealing to [– t; JUD SS prop; 1; Pr: mental; advertisers]
88a is quite a contemporary looking photograph [*APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: epithet; image]
88b and an old painting [*APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: epithet; image]
96 there's no cheese or tulips are there so you know [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
97 perhaps that's what they were trying to do [JUD SE ten; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
98 they could have had cheese and tulips in a different advert aimed at another market [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Dynamic modal verb; advertisers]
100 'cos this is aimed at people who are going to see the galleries [– t; JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
103 in this case if it's an advert they're running the risk of it being lost on the majority of the people looking at it [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]

104a yeah, you would imagine people who could make that connection would know there's lots of art galleries in Holland anyway [+JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
104b so what's the point of [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Interrogative; advertisers]
106a the door thing is there and you go back to the mysterious walk through the door [*APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: epithet; image]
106b it's a bit more than your normal holiday [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Qual: epithet; product]
107 the doorknob just makes it look much more modern than it would without it it [*APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
110a without the door knob if you take them all away you see it can be completely different [+ t; *APP Comp: compl*; 1; Qual: attrib; image]
110b it can become so much more [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Dynamic modal verb; image]
110c could be so many more things [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Dynamic modal verb; image]
110d cos they are very important [+ *APP val;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
110e that's why they put them in there ain't it [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
121 it's quite funny [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
136a a woman in a very repressed Victorian dress meant to symbolise [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: epithet; character]
136b and it's all in grey so repressed [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
136c perhaps so in the next one you see the headdress thrown out the window of a car and that should represent the exact opposite in that scene [t; JUD SE cap; 2; Deontic modal verb; image]
139 I thought oh she's gone I can relax [+ AFF A SECURITY; 2; Pr: behavioural; audience]
142a I couldn't make any sense of the images until I read [– JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
142b and then suddenly boring yeah whatever [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
144 I thought that was quite fun you know flying out the window [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 2; Qual: attrib; character]
150 an escape isn't it [+ AFF NA SATISFACTION; 2; Qual: nominal; image]
152a I was also thinking of the car and I was thinking about films where you have people in car chases and that whole racy sort of feel [+ t; AFF NA SATISFACTION; 2; Qual: epithet; audience?]
152b and kind of like you know this is a really sexy [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: epithet; product]
152c fast thing to do [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: epithet; product]
153a I think the car is a bit boring looking at it [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; product]
153b it's very dull [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; product]
155 fairly reliable [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: attrib; product]
157a is very elitist [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]

157b and snobby [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
157c again it's speaking to an elite group what it all means. [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
179a they're saying that you're the best dressed man [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
179b that's the boring thing [– *APP React: imp*; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
179c and to really spice your life up [– JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; inf aud]
179d you need to get this car [JUD SE cap; 2; Deontic modal verb; inf aud]
181 she's not really there pondering [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; character]
183a that escape into the country would have to be about the car but I thought the car didn't look that amazing in the picture really [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; product]
183b so I thought maybe it's about speeding off into the forest to have a great day out [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: epithet; image]
186a everything is in the right place [+ *APP Comp: bal;* 2; Qual: epithet; image]
186b which holds very nicely [+ *APP Comp: bal;* 2; Qual: circums; image]
186c the colour scheme balanced [+ *APP Comp: bal;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
186d and harmonious [+ *APP Comp: bal;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
186e it's all put together very carefully [+ *APP Comp: bal;* 2; Qual: circums; image]
187a It doesn't leap out [– t; *APP React: imp;* 2; Pr: mat/men; image]
187b and grab you does it [– t; *APP React: imp;* 2; Pr: mat/men; image]
188 it wouldn't stop you in your tracks but [– t; *APP React: imp;* 2; Pr: mat/men; image]
189 I don't particularly like the whole thing [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
191 I think, admire is not quite the right word, but I think it is a clever picture [+ t; *APP val;* 2; Qual: epithet; image]
192a and then I kind of think the advertising department are trying to be clever [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
192b to flog this car and [– JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; advertisers]
193 I think in your mind it's like a masterpiece of engineering [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: nominal; product]
195a then it kind of switches me off [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; image]
195b because it's almost like an abuse of the picture [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: nominal; advertisers]
195c because they're stealing the picture's beauty [– JUD SS prop; 2; Pr: material; advertisers]
195d and using it to advertise something [– JUD SS prop; 2; Pr: material; advertisers]
196a it's that elitist thing [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: epithet; advertisers]
196b appealing to a minority [– t; JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: nominal; advertisers]
196c who they're saying you're special [+ JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
196d you know that [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]

196e because you've got taste [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
196f it's a special painting [+ *APP val; 2*; Qual: epithet; image]
198 that you have that kind of take of it [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
200a they like to feel [+ AFF NA SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
200b they know about it [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
202a most car adverts though are about power [– t; JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: nominal; image]
202b they're quite male orientated aren't they [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
202c for me I think it is quite clever [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
203a yeah this is quite gender neutral I think [+ JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
203b it's quite witty but [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
203c it's quite interesting [+ *APP val*; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
203d it doesn't really grab me as an advert for the car [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mat/men; image]
203e I'm interested as well [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Qual: attrib; audience]
203f they've got an old lady as the customer in a sense [+ JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
204a I thought it was perhaps you know advertising for older men [JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
204b you know accomplished men that [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
204c may know something about art [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
204d would appreciate you know the beauty of it [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
204e but the colours I think are quite unusual for the whole thing really [*APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
204f very dull greens and things [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: epithet; image]
204g It's not the normal flashy colours [– JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: epithet; product]
204h and then the car itself is the only black thing in there but yeah it's not that bright that it stands out [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; product]
205a I wouldn't say it is directed at women [– t; JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
205b because certainly the inscription, the wording of the inscription is very I watch Top Gear [– t; JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
217a when I first looked at this picture I just saw the empty chair the chair before the painting you know so I thought which one do I know was famous for a chair or why I would think that was important [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
217b yeah, I remember the Van Gogh one blue chair in that room but then I tried to work out a connection didn't really [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental (elliptic); image]
219a I think it's quite a clever joke [+ t *APP val;* 2; Qual: epithet; image]

219b as an advert I don't find it particularly enticing [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
219c I don't like the wording in the inscription [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
219d but I think the use of the images is quite clever [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
221a I like the joke [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
221b but I don't particularly like the advert [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
221c or the dullness or either really [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: nominal; image]
221d but I don't like it particularly [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
221e I think it's clever [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
221f and I also think it is kind of almost like a rape of the picture if you like [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: nominal; image]
221g it's been taken without its owner's permission [– t; JUD SS prop; 2; Pr: material; image]
222a yeah I don't have a problem with that [+ t; AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: relational; audience]
222b and it can be [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Dynamic modal verb; product]
222c as individual as you are [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
233 I thought well *Calendar Girls*, you know represents strong women [+ JUD SE ten; 3; Qual: epithet; character]
234 to make it different from everybody else [+ *APP React: imp;* 3; Qual: attrib; product]
235a and that she sat down thinking right good job done cup of tea [+ t; AFF NA SATISFACTION; 3; Qual: nominal; character]
235b and then trying to equate herself with the picture [+ JUD SE ten; 3; Pr: mental; character]
235c sitting there enjoying it now [+ AFF NA SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; character]
236 she's naked and she's got her own view on life [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; character]
237a and I think it's a reaction against [+ t; JUD SE ten; 3; Qual: nominal; character]
237b the fact that all the beach huts are the same except hers [+ t; *APP React: imp;* 3; Logico-semantic marker; character]
237c because people are a bit fed up of all the flat pack things [– AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
237d so they're trying to say yes you can have [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Dynamic modal verb; inf aud]
237e the same basic flat pack [– *APP Comp: compl;* 3; Qual: epithet; product]
237f *but* you can still make it your own and decorate it [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Dynamic modal verb; inf aud]
237g and I think the advert really works [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]

238a it immediately struck me [+ *APP React: imp*; 3; Pr: mat/men; image]
238b she was just sitting enjoying herself [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mental; character]
238c and couldn't give a . what anybody else thought [+ t AFF NA SECURITY; 3; Pr: mat/men; character]
238d I like that I like that [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
242a I felt she'd somehow brought the sun with her [+ t; AFF A HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mat/men; character]
242b and lit up [+ AFF A HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mat/men; character]
242c and is enjoying it [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mental; character]
244a I think it's aimed at women I think they are kind of saying you're a strong woman [+ JUD SE ten; 3; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
244b you make decisions about the way you want your house [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mat/men; inf aud]
246a you make the decisions as a woman [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: circums; inf aud]
246b therefore you know [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
247a this is more about the lifestyle [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
247b Ikea trying to sell you [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
248 being an individual [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
250a even though you start off [t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
250b with the same basic package [– *APP Comp: compl;* 3; Qual: epithet; product]
250c as every other Tom, Dick or Harry [– t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
268a so they are trying to reach out to those people [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
268b saying OK you might not be able to afford the masterpiece [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: relational; inf aud]
268c but you can make your own masterpiece [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Dynamic modal verb; aud/inf aud]
268d so that they're broadening their [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
269a it's appealing to the people at the lower end [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
269b who have a lower budget [– JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
270a so it's appealing to everybody I suppose [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
274a I don't think it really matters what the picture is [*APP val;* 3; Pr: mental; image]
274b because she likes it [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mental; character]
274b but the fact that it's a picture that this woman has chosen [+ t; JUD SE ten; 3; Pr: material; character]
274c she doesn't really care whether [+ AFF NA SECURITY; 3; Pr: mental; character]

276 she just likes it [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mental; character]
277a I think it does matter though that it's a piece of art [+ *APP val;* 3; Pr: mental; image]
277b because I think it works on lots of levels [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: circums; image]
277c that people that don't necessarily recognise it as a piece of art [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
277d they'll recognise it [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
277e as being something different on a beach hut [+ *APP val;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
281a because we're making assumptions about her but she might be a punk rocker or anything [t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: epithet; character]
281b the painting is telling us something about her as well isn't it [t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: verbal; image]
286a the fact that she's not perfect [– *APP React: imp;* 3; Qual: attrib; character]
286b and she doesn't care [+ AFF NA SECURITY; 3; Pr: mental; character]
287a and I think it's the age, her age the fact that she's older is appealing to another sector of the market [+t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
287b who you might not normally consider going to Ikea [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Epistemic modal adjunct; inf aud]
288a but I think if it was a man it might not work as well for Ikea [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
288b and I think the woman suggests making your home your own place [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: verbal; character]
288c but I don't think a man has that connection [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: relational; inf aud]
290 I think that it's stronger for Ikea to use a woman than it would be a man [+ JUD SE ten; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
291a I think the feeling of freedom of saying I'm just going to sit here naked [+ t; AFF NA SATISFACTION; 3; Qual: nominal; character]
291b and I don't care [+ AFF NA SECURITY; 3; Pr: mental; character]
291c is a bit different [+ *APP val;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
296 woman is an extension of the painting [+ t; JUD SE ten; 3; Qual: nominal; character]
297a well it's quite a rare study [*APP val;* 3; Qual: epithet; image]
299b and she's just being natural herself [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; character]
303 I like the concept of art [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
304 yeah I do [+ t; AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
305 I do [+ t; AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
308a and perhaps I've just made that connection again [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mat/men; audience]
308b and warmed towards it [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/men; audience]
309 clever [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
321a the Holland one is a little bit frustrating [– *APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]

321b because we don't wholly get it [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mat/men; audience]
321c I find that a bit annoying [– *APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
328 I felt it was abused almost [– JUD SS prop; 2; Pr: material; image]
330a I don't know whether it should be used for a car [– t; JUD SS prop; 2; Deontic modal verb; image]
330b I don't connect with cars [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mat/men; audience]
330c I just feel it's wrong [– JUD SS prop; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
342 I'm intrigued by it [the Holland ad] [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 1; Qual: attrib; image]
349 It's quite a comical advert [+ *APP val;* 3; Qual: epithet; image]
351a it's making me want to go and buy the product and go to Ikea [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mat/men; image]
351b it's one I like enough to remember [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
353a I think it's just reminding people that arts and crafts and individuality [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
353b are back in vogue [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
353c and you can still have what you used to like getting from Ikea as well [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Dynamic modal verb; inf aud]
353d and I think that's quite clever [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
358a but it also reaches the top end if you like [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
358b or the more intellectual person [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
358c that might think oh there's a bit more to this than meets the eye [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
372a it is right to target the exact market you want [+ JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
372b it doesn't have to be used to discriminate [+ JUD SS prop; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
372c and the Ikea one I think thought of that [+ t; JUD SS prop; 3; Pr: mental; advertisers]
374 yeah, you just think here's an individual woman [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: epithet; character]

Focus group 2

2 pretty girl, facing across to herself, or in the mirror [+ *APP React: qual*; 1; Qual: epithet; character]
4 a woman giving a knowing look [JUD SE cap; 1; Qual: epithet; character]
11 don't really like it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
13a I don't think it's a happy picture. [– *APP val;* 1; Qual: epithet; image]
13b it wouldn't attract my attention for long [– *APP React: imp;* 1; Pr: mat/ment; image]

15a no I don't particularly like it either [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; image]
15b Obviously it's an advert, but I can't really connect with anything [– JUD SE cap; 1; Dynamic modal verb; audience]
15c if I see an advert I like to try to work out what the message is and there yeah maybe it's just too simple [– t; *APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
17 if you smoke enough, you become paranoid don't you [– JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: attrib; audience]
18 in some ways, tantalizing it's the angle it's taken from [*APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
22a it draws you [+ *APP React: imp;* 1; Pr: mat/ment; image]
22b to try to work out what she's thinking [JUD SE ten; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
23a I want to know the story behind it [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
23b the sort of sensual mood [+ *APP React: imp*; 1; Qual: epithet; image]
24a I probably wouldn't be interested in the product being sold [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Qual: attrib; audience]
24b I just like it as an image as in book cover or something [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
25a I like the colours [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
25b I like the the sort of style of clothes [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
25c cause it looks a little bit ethnic [+ t; *APP React: qual;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
26a you know a bit sort of um yeah maybe from the last century or so [– t; *APP React: qual;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
26c But what the message is about, I don't know [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
28 it reminds me of rich people. [– JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
30 it reminds me of that film *Girl with a Pearl Earring* starring Scarlet Johannson [JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; image]
34 but I really did not make any link with this Holland thing at all [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mat/ment; image]
38 It also reminds me of Uma Thurman JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; image]
40 Yeah a painting by I put Dutch chap, couldn't remember his name [JUD SE cap; 1; Dynamic modal verb; audience]
51 There are no marijuana symbols [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Pr: existential; image]
53 I would want tulips [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
58 they're trying to break with the usual stereotypes. [+ t; JUD SE ten; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
59 they're trying to present with different reasons for coming to Holland [+ t; JUD SE ten; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
60a the ones we've just quoted are all the usual things JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; product]
60b that you think of about the Holland [t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience]

60c all the stereotypes like bicycles you know things like flowers [t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: nominal; product]
64a maybe trying to get people [+ JUD SE ten; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
64b to like see Holland in a different way and you know [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
64c then again it's not really saying anything about Holland [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: verbal; image]
67 but if you've never seen the film you wouldn't even pay attention [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
70 it's only a small section of the population that would even link that to Holland [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience?]
71 yeah you would walk past it and just think oh the picture of a woman and off you go you wouldn't [– t; AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: material aud/ inf aud]
72 so they obviously are trying to appeal to a certain clientele [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
74 a narrower market [– [t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
75 you know mass market will be the drugs, the cheese the bikes [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Pr: relational; product]
77 the women [– t; JUD SS prop; 1; Qual: nominal; product]
78a of course people would just see that perspective [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
78b but there's only a small percentage of population I think [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
78c that'd make that link between maybe the movie [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
80a and then maybe secondly (they'd make the link) with the painting she talked about [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; inf aud]
80b so can have many targets [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Dynamic modal verb; image]
84 I remember looking prettier in the original [– *APP React: qual* 1; Qual: attrib; character]
88 I think she looks older as well [– *APP React: qual* 1; Qual: attrib; character]
96a it's as if they're trying to sell holland JUD SE ten; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
96b you know all the aspects and places [+ t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: nominal; advertisers]
96c we say Holland and associate it to Amsterdam don't we generally [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
97 everybody does get their easyjet flights [t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
110 oh Amsterdam it's an excellent place [+ *APP val*; 1; Qual: epithet; product]
111 (ref turn 97) generally wouldn't go to an art gallery [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Pr: material; inf aud]
112 you don't see lots of people outside them [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: nominal; inf aud]

113a well you see the average person you meet on the plane going to Amsterdam [– JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
113b is certainly not going to the art gallery [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Epistemic modal adjunt; inf aud]
123 people look twice don't they [+ t; *APP React: imp;* 1; *Pr:* behavioural; inf aud]
125 if you look at a painting is dead boring [– *APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib art]
126a old [-fashioned [– *APP React: qual;* 1; Qual: attrib art]
126b whereas if you look at that on first impression looks a bit looks relatively current [+ *APP React: qual;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
126c you thought that ethnic thing [+ t; *APP React: qual;* 1; *Qual:* epithet; image]
127 that's clearly the trick [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
129 I think to use the original painting would be a bit dull [– *APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib art]
130a well it cancels out quite a lot people perhaps straight away [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; image]
130b they'll think this is about art I'm not interested [– AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 1; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
134 that's why you might leave it open to lots of different interpretations [+ t; JUD SE cap; 1; Logico-semantic marker; advertisers]
135a probably the reason why it's so vague [– *APP Comp: compl;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
135b and not as appealing to your mass public [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Qual: attrib; image]
136a these days you assume everybody's IT friendly [t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: attrib aud/ inf aud]
136b and assuming people will go I wonder what's that about [t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; advertisers]
136c go and look on the website [t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; inf aud]
137 And again, that's is generally hitting a young audience [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; image]
141a It's interesting that they put it on the billboard in the middle of Manchester [+ JUD SE norm; 1; Pr: material; advertisers]
141b which is mass market [*APP React: qual*; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
143a well some of us are saying that that will appeal to a particular [– t; JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
143b very small niche [– JUD SE norm; 1; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
143c why use a billboard in the centre of Manchester to do that [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; interrogative; advertisers]
143d why not use *Saga* magazine or you know what I mean? [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; interrogative; advertisers]
144 It won't work that well [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; image]
147a I would have walked past it and wouldn't have even associated Holland with it [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience]

147b and realised it was Holland the country [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
148 It wouldn't have made me want to do anything I don't think [– JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; image]
159 well I like it as just as an image [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; image]
160 wouldn't make me do anything as a result of it [– t; JUD SE cap; 1; Pr: material; image]
161 It's just pleasing to the eye to me [+ *APP React: imp;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
166 don't really like it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; image]
168 not particularly like it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; image]
171a well I just get so fed up by car adverts and stuff [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Qual: attrib; audience]
171b I'm not interested [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
172 the whole thing about having porches sporty cars and everything is just it's a negativity [– *APP val;* 2; Qual: nominal; product]
173a I would look at it and think nothing [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
173b and turn away [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: material; audience]
179 I think this is somebody's mother [2] [no appraisal, included as context]
180 is it Whistlers's [2] [no appraisal, included as context]
187 Whistlers Mother. I don't know where I've seen it [– JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
191 All right. there used to be a pub called Whistler's Mother [2] [no appraisal, included as context]
202 Mr. Bean video yeah cause he takes the Whistler's Mother painting [2] [no appraisal, included as context]
204 I like it [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
208 I love car adverts [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
211a so um that would appeal to me [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Pr: mental; image]
211b because it's a really good way you know [+t; *APP val;* 2; Qual: epithet; image]
211c it's really boring [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
211d serious [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
211e and she's up for a change [+ t; JUD SE ten; 2; Qual: attrib; character]
211f cause she's so excited about driving this Mercedes [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 2; Qual: attrib; character]
211g thrown her head scarf [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2 Pr: material; character]
211h well you know I can relate to that [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
212a That would sell me [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; image]
212b quite like it [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; image]
212c and I like when I read that there when they talk about five litre B8 engine [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; image]
212d I mean I just fall for that all time [+ t; AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mat/ment; audience]
214a I know more about cars than the average woman [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; audience]

214b I do like cars you know [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; product]
217a I think it's a bit you know incorporates a bit of fun [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: nominal; image]
217b even though it looks quite serious [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
217c but just it's just discreet with it perhaps [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
217d that's what I thought I like about that [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; image]
221 bits of fun [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: nominal; image]
222 wouldn't make me go out to buy the car [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; audience]
227a I don't mind car adverts generally [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
227b but I think it's a bit contradictory to be honest [– JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
233a you know you may recognize the painting from being in the pub [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
233b but you know, I think it's contradictory [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
246 I think it's quite funny [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
249a They imagine some people look at it in the magazine and go that's boring [– *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
249b and you turn the page [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: material; audience]
250 then suddenly she's disappeared she's connected to the first image [*APP Comp: compl;* 2; Qual: attrib; character]
251a She's disappeared, and she's in the car she's so excited about this car [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 2; Qual: attrib; character]
251b and the prospect that she can go really fast with it [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Dynamic modal verb; character]
251c you know do all these amazing things [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: epithet; product]
251d suddenly it's not boring anymore [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
251e It's this exciting thing [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: epithet; product]
251f and the speed and the picture of the car where the photography's gone all blurred and her bonnet's flying up onto wherever it is [*APP React: imp; 2;* Qual: epithet; image]
253 No. I doubt it [MOD: do you think they're expecting the audience to know the painting?] [– JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; advertisers]
255 I don't think it makes any difference to the message [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: nominal; art]
257 they were obviously looking for a boring picture [– *APP React: imp;* 2 Qual: epithet; art]
262a Turn the next page perhaps it's not boring [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]

262b cause look, she's stepped out [+ JUD SE ten; 2; Pr: material; character]
262c she's jumped in this car [+ JUD SE ten; 2; Pr: material; character]
262d which isn't boring [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; product]
275 I mean it is a boring picture isn't it [– *APP React: imp*; 2; Qual: epithet; art]
276a seems to be staring into space [– AFF NA UNHAPPINESS; 2; Pr: behavioural; character]
276b rather than enjoying herself [– AFF NA UNHAPPINESS; 2; Pr: mental; character]
281 appeal to women as well [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; image]
283a I think actually your average macho bloke [– JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
283b (a man) probably wouldn't pay as much attention to that advert [– t; AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
283c as much as a woman would [pay attention] [+ t; AFF NA SATISFACTION; 2; Epictemic modal; inf aud]
285a I think a man would just probably go straight to what's in the Mercedes [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
285b and I don't think they would really bother with the; image] [– AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
287a I think that's made me think as a woman [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; image]
287b but I couldn't imagine my other half weighting that up [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
291a they're not expecting people [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mental; advertisers]
291b to kind of pay any attention [– AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
297 they are never gonna spend time having a read or something [– t; AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mat/behav; inf aud]
298 you'd only read if you are really interested in the car [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Epictemic modal marker; inf aud]
302 I mean you see thousands of images of advertising cars are all pretty similar to that sort of thing [– *APP Comp: compl;* 2; Qual: attrib; adverts]
310a I generally quite like car adverts anyway [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
310b so probably would spend time looking at what the mileage was and all that [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mat/behav; audience]
325 I wouldn't be interested in necessarily [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Qual: attrib; audience]
327a it would interest me [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; image]
327b just because it's a bit of fun [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: nominal; image]
327c and it's more interesting [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
327d more appealing [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
327e it's a bit flashing advertising to me [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: epithet; adverts]
327f that's what's going to grab my attention [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Pr: mat/ment; product]

328 Holland been there got bored [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Qual: attrib; audience]
334a I think the ad is effective [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
334b 'cause car manufactures are always trying to do something different all the time you know [+ t; JUD SE ten; 2; Pr: material; advertisers]
334c I just think all the car adverts are really interesting [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: attrib; adverts]
334d I yeah I do prefer that [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 2; Pr: mental; audience]
337a it's targeted at a specific audience [+ JUD SE norm; 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
337b to them it might be appealing [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; image]
337c it serves an interest [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; image]
340a also we are a bit sort of tired [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Qual: attrib; audience]
340b of static adverts you know billboard type image [– *APP Comp: compl;* 2; Qual: epithet; adverts]
340c that's if the advert is distinctive enough [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: attrib; adverts]
340d to get the general layperson's attention [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: mat/ment; image]
343a nowadays becomes like you live with them [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 2; Qual: nominal; adverts]
343b maybe you want something that's a different kind of experience you know, motion or sound [+ *APP React: imp;* 2; Qual: epithet; adverts]
345 mentally stimulating [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
354 I think the general car adverts are very good [+ *APP val;* 2; Qual: attrib; adverts]
356 And very clever you know [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
357a but again the cars generally are very expensive [– *APP val;* 2; Qual: attrib; product]
357b and do need to be JUD SE cap; 2; Deontic modal verb; adverts]
357c really quick [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; adverts]
357d and clever [+ JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: attrib; adverts]
357e but then it's not a huge amount of population [– t; JUD SE norm, 2; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
357f that can buy them [– JUD SE cap; 2; Dynamic modal verb; inf aud]
359a I think that's what happens to people you know who they end up having to buy a Ford Fiesta [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Deontic modal verb; inf aud]
359b but in the end they really want one of them [+ AFF NA INCLINATION; 2; Pr: mental; inf aud]
360 get you to throw your bonnet off [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Pr: material; inf aud]
361 get in debt [– t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
367 that is humourless [– *APP val;* 1; Qual: attrib; image]
369a I can't stand it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]
369b I don't even like looking at it anymore [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 1; Pr: mental; audience]

373 oh she's naked I just realized [t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; character]
377 don't like it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
379a I understand the humour [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
379b obviously this is humourous [+ *APP val;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
379c but it actually personally makes me sick [–t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
380 that wouldn't make me go to IKEA at all [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
381 that would make me stay away from IKEA [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
382 it'd even put me off of going to the café having something to eat yeah [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/ment; image]
386 that's just a little bit too quirky [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
387a but that just puts me off [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3 Pr: mat/ment; image]
387b as a woman as well I think most blokes would be put off [– AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
387c like that Swedish quirky humour [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: epithet; product]
395a no it doesn't appeal [– *APP React: imp;* 3; Pr: mental; image]
395b but I wouldn't wanna go to see that [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
395c I mean I like IKEA [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; product]
397 it's gotta be an aesthetically pleasing and that's not really too beautiful [– *APP React: qual;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
398 I thought I thought it was fine [+ *APP React: qual;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
401 so it would not have any effect in making me do any extra or more business with them [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: relational; image]
402 but it's just I would look at it because it's just the whole image catches my eye [+ *APP React: imp;* 3; Pr: mat/ment; image]
407 I think it is tasteless [– *APP val;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
409a it's a sort of thing when you keep looking back it's clever because [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
409b obviously the reason why they chose a woman like that obviously is to match the painting [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
412 tastelessness [– *APP val;* 3; Qual: nominal; image]
421a Birth of Venus, you know that's nice [+ *APP val* 3; Qual: attrib; art]
421b you know it appeals [+ *APP React: imp;* 3; Pr: mental; art]
421c well I think when you look at it all together when you just realise oh yeah IKEA you know [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
421d it appeals [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
422 but I didn't understand it at all [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
423 they seem to be saying just to let your imagination run wild [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: verbal; advertisers]
425 all the other houses are blank and a bit of boring looking [– t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; image]

427 a mural on the side of it, but um why not? [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; interrogative; image]
428a it's like saying well be different [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
428b be quirky [+ JUD SE norm 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
428c unleash your imagination and then [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
434 different certainly [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
435 yes, stand out from the crowd [+ JUD SE norm; 3 Pr: material; inf aud]
438 otherwise you get lost in it [– JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
439 and when then that's sort of irony about IKEA though isn't it [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
442a that thing that's what's contradictory as well [– *APP val;* 3; Qual: attrib; image]
442b because it says it's your world live better go to IKEA [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3 Pr: verbal; image]
442c *get* things that set you apart from the crowd [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
445a set you apart from people who don't go to IKEA [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
445b but make you part of all the people that go to IKEA [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
448a not realistic [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
448b I don't like this one at all either [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; image]
449a that's the challenge side [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
449b IKEA is different [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
450a I think it's strange as well they advertise like that [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
450b because IKEA is relatively well [-established in everybody's mind [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
455 so it's like what is the point almost [– t; JUD SE cap; 3 Qual: nominal; advertisers]
459 I wouldn't necessarily know that the chair was something an IKEA product [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
478a I think probably this is trying to appeal to the older [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
478b I think the older generation [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: epithet; inf aud]
478c that would probably never dream of going to IKEA [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
479a cause IKEA is like you just set up home go and get all your flat pack stuff and build it yourselves [+t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
479b and when you get older you realise that you know it's very hard to do that [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
479c and the allen key never fits [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; product]
481a and with it be an older woman I am wondering if they're saying you know change the established world [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]

481b it is for everybody [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; product]
488c I think it would make older age groups look at it more [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
489 it's a kind of lifestyle advert isn't it [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
494 the whole point of advertising is to make you think [t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
497a cause that's it's the repetition you keep seeing it don't you everyday [t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
497b and then subliminally [– JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: circums adverts]
497c you might need to buy that thing [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; audience]
498 that's brainwashing [– JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; advertisers]
499a it does happen you find yourself buying a certain thing [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/ment; audience]
499b that's getting plugged at you [– t; JUD SS prop; 3; Pr: mat/ment; advertisers]
523 I think it's awful [– *APP React: qual*; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
531 she's got good legs though for an *older* woman I must admit [+ t; *APP React: qual;* 3; Qual: epithet; character]
542 I find that quite horrible to look at [– *APP React: qual*; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
543 and then I look at her and that's just the deal done [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
545 I don't want to look any of it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
547a I think I hate the painting in itself [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
547b just I don't like these paintings [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
548 the whole thing that's just a sexual thing [– JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: epithet; image]
558 It's not the best behaviour [– JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: epithet; character]
562a it's your world do what you want you know [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; art]
562b feel free [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Qual: nominal inf aud/char]
562c you wanna paint your shed paint your shed [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material inf aud/char]
562d I can relate to that [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
566a feel free to do what you want paint your shed with that mural and then go chill out [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
566b that's the whole part of being naturists [+ t; AFF NA SATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; character]
566c you know feel free [JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
566d sit outside having a brew in the morning, sat in front of your crazy shed [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]

566e you know like naturists always do what they want don't they [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
567a I bet you some people probably think oh bet I can get that mural [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
567b be alright for me shed [+ *APP React: qual*; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
575 Just made me think of being on holiday or something, a holiday advert [t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
578 she's obviously very English cause she's holding a cup of tea [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; character]
582 the finger poised like that she's posh [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; character]
587a but that's very clever really [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
587b cause if that was a young woman probably wouldn't get away doing it [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; character]
592 yeah cause she'll be more of a figure of fun won't she [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; character]
595a still don't know what you'll be going to IKEA for [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
595b for a bit fun maybe [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: nominal; product]
595c going up, maybe going have something to eat in the café that'd probably appeal to people [+ *APP React: imp;* 3; Pr: mental; product]
595d who like going up for Swedish dumplings and meatballs [+ AFF NA HAPPINESS; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
595e cause I do find IKEA very boring [– *APP React: imp*; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
603a you go walk around that system [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: nominal; product]
603b you've been there five days [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: epithet; product]
604 I think IKEA being Swedish is perceived as being really *boring* [– t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
607a (Swedish are) well-formed [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
607b Ordered [+ JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
607c make safe cars [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; product]
611 like cause nudity and Swedish is quite [t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
613 I saw there were chalets and I assumed that was more Swedish than English [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
618 could be interpreted in all sorts of ways [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
645 because I think it's off putting a little bit [– *APP React: imp*; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
661a they are saying come to IKEA, we've got lots of things here that will help you [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
661b to unleash your imaginative juices [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]

661c and run away [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
661d and make your house so fantastic [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
663 it's how you use their products [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
665a You can still use IKEA products I think in [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Dynamic modal verb; inf aud]
665b a way where you put your own stamp on them [+t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
670 no they do have really quirky things [+ *APP val*; 3; Qual: epithet; product]
675 I think it's just people see that image of everybody coming out with a flat pack [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; product]
676a finding car parks can't get space [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
676b screaming at the wives and husbands [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: verbal; inf aud]
676c It's quite dangerous going to IKEA [– *APP val*; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
692 no still don't like it [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
693a I don't dislike it [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; audience]
693b I just think it's wouldn't necessarily make go to IKEA but [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
693c I admit I think it's all right [+ *APP React: imp*; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
693d don't find it offensive [+ JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
704 but that doesn't really say anything about the product does it [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: verbal; image]
706 I think its appealing to a certain age group as well [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
707 70 year old naturist [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: epithet; character]
708 cause IKEA is the place you go when you are setting up a home or you are student, or you know you can't afford but you need to get things quickly [t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; product]
709a I think they're trying to target [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
709b cos that would actually appeal to older people [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
709c some of the older generation who wouldn't even dream of doing that [+ t; JUD SE norm; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
709d cause when you get to that age you don't really care do you [+ t; AFF NA SECURITY; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
737a I wouldn't spend much time if any looking at that to be honest [– t; AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/behav; image]
737b there's nothing that appeals to me [– *APP React: imp*; 3; Pr: mental; image]
737c they're trying to differentiate themselves [+ t; JUD SE ten; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
739a whether they're trying to say okay round my spark it'll be rather *quirky* as well [+ t; JUD SE ten; 3; Pr: verbal; advertisers]

739b does nothing. does nothing. sorry [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
756a don't like the woman [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; character]
756b I don't like the art [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental art]
756c I don't like the colour [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; image]
756d and it's just boring [– *APP React: imp*; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
768a from a point of view of advertising, doesn't mean anything [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; image]
768b but as an image is interesting [+ *APP val*; 3; Qual: attrib; image]
771 that would put me off [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/ment; image]
780a it's got an element of humour in it [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: nominal; image]
780b she shed all the clothes you know [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; character]
780c but I think good on her [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: attrib; character]
781a I think it's funny that bonnet's flying off speeding down the road [+ *APP React: imp*; 2; Qual: attrib; image]
781b but I mean I just I think it's a clever advert [+ *APP React: imp*; 2; Qual: epithet; image]
781c there's a bit of story to it [+ t; JUD SE cap; 2; Qual: nominal; image]
798 can be pretentious (the use of art in advertising) [– JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib advertisers/image]
804 I mean who are you appealing to with some art [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; advertisers]
812 it's specific audience isn't it [– JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
814a I'm not a big art fan, you know in terms of paintings [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; audience]
814b but because I'm a big music fan [+ AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; audience]
814c and I've discovered so many fantastic piece of music through adverts [+ JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; audience]
814d I think it's a good thing (the use of art in advertising) [+ JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: epithet; advertisers/image]
814e cause it brings it out to people [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
815a people who might not necessarily see some of these images in any other place [– t; JUD SE norm; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
815b or they wouldn't necessarily go to a gallery or whatever [– t; JUD SE norm; 3; Pr: material; inf aud]
815c so I think it's not a bad thing necessarily [+ t; JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib advertisers/image]
823a I think the use of art in adverts can be quite risky strategy [– *APP val*; 3; Qual: epithet advertisers/image]
823b people put up with art [– t; AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
823c they're not really interested [– AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]
823d art is usually very much you like it or don't [– t; AFF NA DISSATISFACTION; 3; Qual: attrib; inf aud]

852a I think it's only when you get to a certain age that you actually pay any attention to art [+ t; AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/ment; inf aud]
852b I've been dragged round galleries because you know it's either part of a school tour or dad or mum [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: material; audience]
852c I do think art is still quite pretentious [– JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; art]
852d and you do get a lot of people who you know go *oh yes that's such and such* [– t; JUD SE norm; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
852e cause they know all the different artists and whatever [– JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: mental; inf aud]
857a it becomes less pretentious by being out there in a way [+ JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; art]
857b and you can play around with it [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
860a now I can relate to it and [+ AFF A SECURITY; 3 Pr: mental; image]
860b I think they brought that more to the average person [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
860c it's not as snotty now [+ JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; art]
862a before you walked around an art gallery was quite snotty [– JUD SS prop; 3; Qual: attrib; art]
862b you felt a bit intimidated [– AFF A INSECURITY; 3; Qual: attrib; audience]
863a sort of everybody is going like *isn't it amazing* [– t; JUD SE cap; 3; Qual: nominal; inf aud]
863b it'd be like a box rubbish [– *APP val;* 3; Qual: nominal; art]
865 horrible [– *APP val*; 3; Qual: attrib; art]
869 so now because I'm getting middle aged I think probably should know that [– JUD SE cap; 3; Epistemic modal adjunct; audience]
870a I think if you use the right image to promote what you want [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; advertisers]
870b then it works whether it's art or whether it's something else [+ t; JUD SE cap; 3; Pr: material; image]
871 if the subject matter is interesting in the first place I look twice [+ t; AFF A SATISFACTION; 3; Pr: behavioural; audience]
872 that will put me off [– AFF A DISSATISFACTION; 3; Pr: mat/ment; image]

Appendix 2: Appraisal Tables

Table A2.1 Affect in focus group 1

Affect	**Ad 1**	**Ad 2**	**Ad 3**
Authorial:	**21**	**67**	**41**
+	4	40	100
–	33	60	
A[i]	63		
Non-authorial	**79**	**33**	**59**
+		100	92
–	100		8
A			
Total	**23**	**17**	**26**
+	7	60	95
–	86	40	5
A	7	0	0
t,[ii]	50	27	27

Note: [i]A: ambivalent values.
[ii]Inscribed appraisal.

Table A2.2 Appreciation in focus group 1

Appreciation	**Ad 1**	**Ad 2**	**Ad 3**
Reaction impact	**45**	**56**	**33**
+	22	7	67
–	33	87	33
A	45	6	
Composition Balance		**18**	
+		100	
Composition Complexity	**50**		
+	40		
–	10		
A	50		
Valuation	**5**	**26**	**67**
+	100	100	83

(*continued*)

Table A2.2 Continued

Appreciation	**Ad 1**	**Ad 2**	**Ad 3**
A			17
Total	**32**	**31**	**12**
+	35	48	80
–	20	48	10
A	45	4	10
t,	10	15	20

Table A2.3 Judgement in focus group 1

Judgement	**Ad 1**	**Ad 2**	**Ad 3**
	Social esteem (SE)		
SE capacity	**100**	**83**	**76**
+	42	63	84
–	58	25	13
A		12	3
SE normality		**17**	**12**
+		40	83
–		60	17
SE tenacity			**12**
+			100
total SE	**68**	**64**	**94**
+	42	59	86
–	58	31	12
A		10	2
	Social sanction (SS)		
SS propriety	**100**	**100**	**100**
+	11	6	100
–	89	94	
total SS	**32**	**36**	**6**
+	11	6	100
–	89	94	
	Total values of judgement: SE and SS		
total SS and SE	**45**	**52**	**62**
+	32	40	87
–	68	53	12
A		7	1
t,	64	40	69

Table A2.4 Affect in focus group 2

Affect	**Ad 1**	**Ad 2**	**Ad 3**
Authorial:	**94**	**67**	**76**
+	4	58	21
–	63	42	75
A	33		4
Non-authorial	**6**	**33**	**24**
+		40	56
–	100	60	44
A			
Total	**18**	**26**	**21**
+	35	52	30
–	65	48	68
A			2
t,	12	17	35

Table A2.5 Appreciation in focus group 2

Appreciation	**Ad 1**	**Ad 2**	**Ad 3**
Reaction impact	**33**	**67**	**52**
+	50	73	35
–	50	23	47
A		4	18
Reaction Quality	**13**	**6**	**21**
+	33	100	43
–	67		43
A			14
Composition Complexity	**33**	**12**	
+	50	25	
–	50	75	
Valuation	**21**	**15**	**27**
+	40	60	55
–	40	40	45
A	20		
Total	**25**	**31**	**18**
+	46	67	55
–	50	30	33
A	4	3	12
t,	21		3

Table A2.6 Judgement in focus group 2

Judgement	Ad 1	Ad 2	Ad 3
	Social esteem (SE)		
Capacity	**60**	**88**	**70**
+	19	64	61
–	59	36	33
A	22		6
Normality	**30**	**8**	**27**
+	6	25	58
–	81	75	27
A	13		15
Tenacity	**9**	**4**	**3**
+	80	100	100
A	20		
Total	**98**	**100**	**88**
+	21	63	61
–	60	37	31
A	19		8
	Social sanction (SS)		
Propriety	**100**		**12**
+			46
–	100		54
Total SS	**2**		**12**
+			46
–	100		54
	Total values of judgement: SS and SE		
Total SS and SE	**57**	**43**	**61**
+	20	63	59
–	61	37	33
A	19		8
t,	72	73	66

Notes

2 Reception, Language and Sense-Making

1. Conceptual metaphors are graphically represented in SMALL CAPITALS.
2. SFL proposes that language is multi-stratal and meanings are realised across a number of strata: phonology/graphology, lexico-grammar and discourse semantics (e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

3 Investigating Evaluation in Advertising Reception

1. Webber, P. (2003). *Girl with the Pearl Earring* [Motion picture]. United States: Lions Gate Films.
2. PRNewswire (2002). '"Unlike Any Other" – Mercedes-Benz USA Launches New Brand Campaign'. *Goliath: Business knowledge on demand*. 11 March. Available from http://goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/gi_0199-1583480/Unlike-Any-Other-Mercedes-Benz.html (accessed February 2010).
3. Information of the statue can be found at: Kirby, D; Smith, K and Wilkins, M. (1996–2014). *Roadside America*. Whistler's Mother Statue. Available from http://www.roadsideamerica.com/story/2195 (last accessed 10 February 2014).
4. IKEA online UK catalogue (2007). Available from www.ikea.com (accessed March 2010).
5. Token of attitude: used to signal instances of inscribed appraisal.
6. Used in the IKEA advert discussion, this metaphor is not straightforward because it is not clear what exactly 'brought the sun' means. We are not sure whether it means that the woman made things bright and cheerful with her careless presence or whether she actually caused the sun to shine. In the context of the conversation, I interpret 'sun' in this turn as having a metaphorical meaning as the contextual meaning seems to be 'cheerful', further evidenced by the last clause 'is enjoying it' (turn 242, FG1).
7. Sinclair, J. (2003) *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learners English Dictionary* (4th edition). Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers, p. 1452.

4 The Discourse of Advertising Reception

1. Aristotle's elements of drama are: play structure, character, language and scenography (Barranger, 2004).
2. Sinclair, J. (2003) *Collins Cobuild Advanced Learners English Dictionary* (4th edition) (p. 428). Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers.

3. The appraisal of the car as a 'masterpiece of engineering' is best explained as a case of conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002) which is not within the scope of this book. I discuss conceptual blending theory and its relation to intertextuality and interdiscursivity in a separate project titled 'Investigating intertextuality and interdiscursivity in reception: The case of conceptual blending' (forthcoming).
4. The chair in *The Bedroom* painting is actually not blue but light brown. The walls of the bedroom are blue.
5. The 'Top Gear' website advises, however, that they have a 'roughly 50/50 male/female split' in their audience. http://www.bbc.co.uk/topgear/show/participate.shtml (accessed July 2009).

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