Dissertation

By

ENESITI, Chirume

UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA

Texts in dialogue: Intertextuality in Advertising in Botswana

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August 2010

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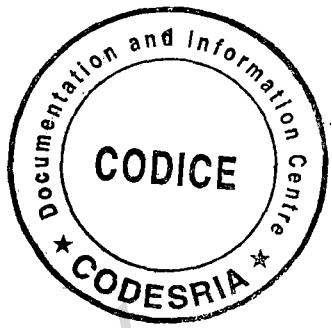

Texts in Dialogue: Intertextuality in Advertising in Botswana.

By

CHIRUME ENESITI

(200608085)

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (English Language and Linguistics).

SUPERVISOR

Dr. S. Ellece

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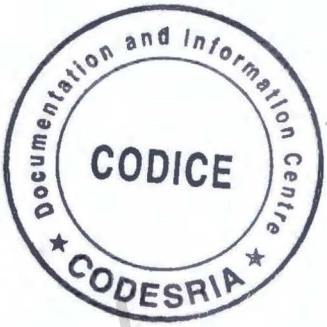

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APPROVAL

This research project has been examined and is approved as meeting the required standards of scholarship for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English Language and Linguistics.

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Supervisor	Date
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Internal Examiner	Date
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Dean, School of Graduate	Date
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External Examiner	Date

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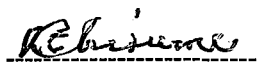
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my original study conducted between January 2009 and April 2010. Where other people have been referred to, due credit has been given and acknowledged.



Researcher's Signature

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DEDICATION

Producing this study has been difficult. My relatives sacrificed deeply as I focused my attention to my study. I struggled with unemployment and illness. I dedicate this work to my son, Bradshaw Nicholas, and daughter Glenda Rudo, my wife Alice, who selflessly endured isolation during my years of study. Special dedication goes to Erasmus and my parents, Evangelista and Nicholas.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"Better the end of a thing than the beginning of it," Ecclesiastes 7 verse 8.

At the end of it all, I want to thank The All Mighty God, the Giver of life. I thank the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for the financial assistance they extended towards my research. My gratitude is also extended to Prof. Arua Arua (H.O.D. English), Prof. Alec Pongweni, Dr. Setumele Morapedi, Dr. Ndana Ndana, Dr. Mopoloki M. Bagwasi, Dr. Kemmonye Monaka, and Dr. Connie Rapoo, Dr. Victor C. D. Mtubani. My deepest regards go to my supervisor, Dr. Sibonile Ellece for her outstanding support, encouragement and supervision from the preliminary stage of formulating the study, to the completion of it. In the course of time, Dr S. Ellece helped me to develop a grounded understanding of conducting and reporting a study in the area of Linguistics. During my illness, Dr. S. Ellece remained a valuable source of enlightenment and spiritual upliftment at a time the body grew weary. I take the opportunity to thank Dr. Thapelo Otlogetswe and Dr Alfred Matikiti who worked so hard with me as members of my thesis committee. They kept me going even when challenges seemed insurmountable. I want to thank the Dean, of Graduate School Prof. Schmitt and Ms Mazebedi, the faculty administrator for their patience in handling issues regarding payment of my tuition to the university, given the difficulty circumstances I found myself in as I studied at the University of Botswana. My thanks also go to my brother Dr. Erasmus Chirume for standing by my side in spirit and always encouraging me to move forward with my work in spite of financial hardships. I offer my love and blessings to my friends who supported me along the way as I worked on this project to its completion.

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate and explore the technique of intertextuality in a variety of print advertisements in Botswana. The exploration was undertaken to determine the types of intertextual transfer of meanings and those aspects of culture and texts that inform intertextual meaning transfer in advertising in Botswana. The study attempted to answer questions such as: what forms of intertextuality are found in advertisements in Botswana? What linguistic innovations are achieved in these advertisements? What social domains are the main sources of intertextual reference? How does intertextuality shape social meanings? The study used a Critical Discourse Analysis approach as the main theoretical and analytical framework and relied on qualitative methods of text analysis.

As evidenced in a number of advertisements in this study, intertextual messages in advertising can be regarded as generally-accepted shared knowledge between the marketer and the target market which is based on certain dominant world views. This study found that effective advertising is really intertextual; a process that involves how a given text alludes to and incorporates various other texts. Most importantly, the study established that intertextuality is not only a case where one text alludes to another; a text spreads across associations, different fields, references, metaphors and, as such, intertextuality is a very complex phenomenon whereby a text feeds off and articulates a total history and culture in which it is produced. The study established that in both commercial and social advertisements, intertextual reference occurs. In both types of advertisements, sources of intertextual reference are multiple, complex and often opaque. The study showed that, for the industries that market controversial products, such as cigarettes, advertising is done in such a way that it subverts legislations. The research found out that intertextuality is employed as a

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device for dominance in the advertising industry. This position of dominance is manifest at various levels, not only with commercial but also with social services advertising. The study concludes by suggesting that intertextuality is a tool used to market goods and services in an increasingly competitive world, and as such, advertisers need to find new innovative ways of marketing their products. To do this they need to be able to use language in new surprising ways. This involves mixing of discourses to create new hybrid discourses that engage the reader both intellectually and aesthetically. The study also concludes that by doing this, advertising in Botswana contributes significantly to the growth of a consumerist and materialist society.

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Abstract

Introduction

This abstract synthesizes the major research issues, research methodology and research findings arrived at in the project "***Texts in dialogue: Intertextuality in advertising in Botswana***"

Among the research issues in the project, was an investigation and exploration of the technique of intertextuality in a variety of print advertisements in Botswana. The exploration was undertaken to determine the types of intertextual transfer of meanings and those aspects of culture and texts that inform intertextual meaning transfer in advertising in Botswana. The study attempted to answer questions such as: what forms of intertextuality are found in advertisements in Botswana? What linguistic innovations are achieved in these advertisements? And so on. The study used a Critical Discourse Analysis approach as the main methodological and analytical tool and relied on qualitative analysis of texts. Findings were that intertextual messages in advertising can be regarded as generally-accepted shared knowledge between the marketer and the target market which is based on certain dominant world views. The study found that effective advertising is really intertextual; a process that involves how a given text alludes to and incorporates various other texts. Most importantly, the study established that intertextuality is not only a case where one text alludes to another but spreads across associations, references and, as such, interpretations vary. The study established that in both commercial and social advertisements, sources of intertextual reference are multiple, complex and often opaque. The study also established that intertextuality acts as a unifier that pulls perceptions together where, for example, entertainment and education are brought together to create a new meaning. The study showed that, for the industries that market controversial products, such as cigarettes, advertising is done in a way that it subverts legislations. In other words intertextuality provides a solution to deal with the problem by merely linking concepts to a product. An advertisement can manage to allude to desire, thus demonstrating one way in which the advertiser can attempt to covertly allude to qualities, or suggest reasons for buying a product. The research found out that intertextuality is employed as a device that has gained a position of dominance in the advertising industry. This position of dominance is manipulated at various levels not only with commercial activity but also with social service advertising. This study finds itself therefore, quite illuminating and broadening the knowledge about advertising techniques.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

The late poet John Donne (1977:3) said "No man is an island." Donne meant that any individual man is nothing outside the body of mankind. In the same vein, no text is an island. Just as Donne believes man to be nothing outside the context of his culture, modern literary, criticism supports the idea that a text is nothing outside of the whole body of a culture's literature. It is, therefore, fair to say that no text is an island.

In the field of modern and post-modern criticism, Barthes (1977:33) uses the term intertextuality to refer to "the phenomenon of interconnectedness that exists among texts". Intertextuality has also been defined as the shaping of texts' meaning by other texts. It can refer to an author's borrowing and transformation of a prior text or to a reader's referencing of one text in reading another (Kristeva 1966). Similarly, Danesi (1994:276) defines intertextuality as "where a text alludes to another text". Intertextuality, therefore, points to the productivity of texts; it points to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions to generate new ones. The *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* defines intertextuality as the whole network of relations, conventions, and expectations by which the text is defined; the relationship between texts (Sinclair, 1987). Therefore, in intertextuality, we see a transformation occurring when new associations are created between the message and a product or service.

The objective of this study is to explore the phenomenon of intertextuality in print advertisements in Botswana to discover how it works and how it creates meaning and influences the readers. The study will also focus on those social domains that act as sources

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of intertextual reference; that is, the prior texts from which the advertisements draw intertextual meaning.

1.2. Background to the Study

Today, individuals working in a variety of disciplines recognize the ways in which changes in language use are linked to wider social and cultural processes, and hence the individuals are coming to appreciate the importance of using language analysis as a method of studying social phenomena (Fairclough 1992). "Discourse' is a term widely used in social theory and analysis to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice. Discourses in this sense are manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms such as visual images (Thompson 1990). Linguistics has been broadening its scope to include, however marginally, certain areas of study (psychology, sociology, philosophy-to name but a few) which in the past were deemed to lie outside its domain. Most linguists now accept that to discuss language without its socio-cultural setting is uninformative, that language form is intimately related to its function in social interaction (Schwarts 1974). That is why Fairclough (1992) says that language is dialectically related to social life, by which he means that language is a product of society and that in turn society (or social life) is shaped by language. That is why this study is especially relevant. It will show how advertisements do not just reflect a pre-existing consumerist society, but actively create such a society through the influence of the language advertisements employ. It is the language of advertisements that shapes our consumer patterns and our value systems in general. This is an assumption that has the greatest bearing on this study.

Another important area of focus is how different discourses combine under particular social conditions to produce a new, complex discourse. For example, in the following slogan (as analysed in Chapter Five), is a very good example of intertextuality in that there is

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explicit mixing of genres: legal genre and health genre: "If you get HIV/AIDS infected, there is **no** bail, **no** appeal and **no** retrial" (National AIDS Coordinating Agency 2009). In this advertisement, there is a merging of texts belonging to two social domains (law and health) and this has produced a new text. The advertisement uses lexical items associated with the two domains to articulate what happens to someone who contracts HIV. The two domains, which are *health* and *law,* can be said to be in dialogue. The problem of contracting HIV is conceptually linked to being convicted and jailed with no hope of release. There has been re-cycling and re-routing of the legal jargon which has been used to communicate a health message. The intertextual reference of the courtroom discourse adds a shocking tone (which would, hopefully, act as a deterrent) to the message on HIV infection that HIV is similar to condemnation for which there is no recourse. As pointed out earlier, language use is dialectically related to social life so that social and cultural processes are directly influenced by and, in turn, influence language use. The use of language in the advertisement above is a response to the social problem of HIV/AIDS. The language of the advert will, in turn, shape how people respond to the HIV problem.

Fairclough (1992: I) opines that, "claims about the social importance of language are not new...social theory in recent years has given language a more central place in social life". He further points out that "what is open to question is whether such a theory recognizes the importance that language has always had in social life but which has previously not been sufficiently acknowledged or it actually reflects an increase in the social importance of language. There has been a significant shift in the recognition of the social function of language," a shift which is reflected in the salience of language in the major social changes which have been taking place over the years. Many of these social changes do not just involve language, but are constituted to a significant degree by changes in language practices.

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As the industrial and commercial sectors of Botswana continue to expand and develop, more and more people are becoming members of the working class and active consumers of available goods and services. With expanding quantities and varieties of goods and services, advertising, as a way of creating or expanding a market for these goods and services, has become indispensable if companies are to make profits out of their products. One way in which businesses attempt to attract markets for their goods and services is to engage in aggressive advertising, which demands more creativity and innovation. Intertextuality is not just one way in which advertisers are being creative; it is arguably, the most important tool for creative advertising.

The importance of language in society today cannot be over-emphasized. As I have pointed out earlier, linguistic practices are inextricably linked to socio- cultural practices, so that any change in practices must necessarily be accompanied by change in linguistic practices and vice versa. For example, in the recent past in Botswana, attempts to influence members of the public to be more tolerant and more compassionate towards disabled people have been driven by changes in the use of certain lexical items traditionally used to label marginalized or disabled people. Lexical items in the Setswana language such as *digole* (cripples), *difofu* (the blind), *dimumu* (the dumb) have been relexicalized to *banalebogole* (those (people) with disabilities), *batlhokapono* (those who have no sight) and *batlhokapuo* (those who have no language). These new lexical items are perceived to label the less fortunate as humans rather than objects, thereby constructing them as equals rather than a sub-species of the human race. This is due to the fact that the (plural) nominal prefix /di-/ tends to be associated with non-human reference, whereas the (plural) nominal prefix / ba-/ typically refers to human subjects. Therefore, to refer to blind people as *batlhokapono* is a way to assert their humanity and to lessen their marginalization. (But there are other acceptable terms with a /di-/ prefix (such as *ditswerere* (talented people) *diopedi* (singers)

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dithakga (good dancers), *dikakapa* (strong -men), which are positive and, if used, are particularly complimentary). But negative words starting with the prefix /di-/ are particularly derogatory (for example, *ditshururu (*untalented people*),* because they are not just negative, they are also dehumanising.

In business circles, there has been an upsurge in the extension of the market to new areas of social life. Sectors such as education, healthcare and the arts have found a compelling need to restructure and conceptualize their activities as far as the production and marketing of commodities and services for consumers is concerned (Urry 1997). These changes have profoundly affected the activities, social relations, as well as social and professional identities of people working in such sectors. A major part of the impact described above comprises changes in discourse practices, that is, changes in language. In education for instance, there is an emerging corporate discourse that involves the re-lexicalisation of learners as "consumers" or "clients"; and courses as "packages" or "products". At the University of Botswana, for example, there has been an adoption of corporate labels such as "directors", "managers", etc., where before there were traditional labels such as registrar, assistant registrar, and so on. The change in the use of linguistic labels through borrowing from the corporate discourse was intended to change the image and practices of the University of Botswana to give it a more attractive, contemporary corporate image.

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The increasing salience of discourse in social transformation is being matched by a concern to control discourse; to bring about changes in discourse practices as part of the engineering of social and cultural change. The rapid transformation and restructuring of textual traditions and orders of discourse is a striking contemporary phenomenon. At this point, a comment on what orders of discourse are is important for this research. According to

Urry (1997:33), in any discourse, it is clear that speakers or readers are rarely "on equal terms". Usually, there is a hierarchy of power or a power relationship involved, wherein one participant, through language choices, can "position" the other participant in a less powerful position. An analysis of men and women in conversation has revealed many ways in which apparently innocent uses of language create a power relationship between the participants.

The language of advertising, like any other linguistic practice, positions the readers in particular subject positions; for example as needing a particular product to improve their lives. The use of intertextuality is important in creating messages that position readers in a certain way in discourse. This suggests that intertextuality ought to be one of the major foci in discourse analysis. Since the concept of intertextuality is about the productiveness of texts, to include how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions to generate new ones, it can be argued that such a phenomenon is worth exploring, especially in the context of our rapidly changing globe. This study will focus on intertextuality in the social practice of print media advertising in Botswana. Some writers, such as Packard (2007) and others, have observed that in advertising, certain general features of the language are used by copywriters. For example, copywriters tend to break the rules of grammar of a language and generate many other deviations from the norm. It would appear therefore; that the language of advertising has a grammar and orthography of its own, carefully and appropriately fashioned to perform various functions. Advertising language is a good example of a symbolic system adapted to a particular goal.

One of the motivations for studying advertising is to find out how its features reflect aspects of the situation for which the advertisement is designed. The language of advertising is often characterised as "loaded language" because it is deliberately intended to persuade people to change their habits and feelings. But the features of the language that matter are not

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always obvious, because they do not have to be obvious to persuade; it is this implicitness that has the power to persuade. It is in cognizance of this fact that Vance Packard's (2007) book is called *The Hidden Persuaders,* a book which deals with the language of persuasion, which is often opaque.

Just as the aims of the advertiser are practical and well-defined, so are the formal demands made on the language he or she uses. Advertising houses urge copywriters to prefer the familiar word to the unfamiliar one, but to use the familiar word unfamiliarly if possible. This often results in some syntactic peculiarity which inevitably catches the reader's eye. For example, is an advertisement selling fruits for the Choppies Stores that reads as follows:

Unzip the banana

then add

1/2 cup fresh orange juice.

1 tablespoon fresh lime juice. 1/4 cup plain yogurt.

1 teaspoon sugar.

(Source :Choppies Stores)

Consider a word such as *unzip* is in the above advertisement, then in another in the Sahara Motors one, which reads as follows:

Sahara Motors

Where better to save costs

MPG petrol-**miser** automobile

Cars That Save You Money.

(Source: Sahara Motors)

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A word such as *miser* is used. These words are used to capture the reader's attention. In both examples, the words owe their force to an incongruous juxtaposition of two lexical items which constitutes an unusual but clever and innovative language use which is not only aesthetically pleasing but also ideologically powerful and therefore persuasive. In *Transformational Grammar* (Chomsky 1965) terms, the verb *unzip* will have selectional restrictions in the lexicon specifying that it is a transitive verb which takes as its object a lexical item having such features as item of clothing or an item such as a purse. Foodstuffs would therefore be excluded from the list of items which can be "unzipped". Similarly, "miser", a usually pejorative term used to describe certain categories of people who lack generosity, will attract amused attention by being applied to a non-human object. The copywriter is making use of creative license, by using familiar words in unfamiliar collocational contexts.

The use of such opaque and "loaded" language engages the reader's intellect as it presents familiar words in unfamiliar contexts. It also forces the reader to apply the knowledge of how zips are used and apply it to how fruits (bananas) are eaten, thus using a very broad cultural context in the interpretation of the message of the advert. The implicit reference to context in designing the advertisement is an essential feature of intertextuality.

Overall, successful advertisements must draw attention to themselves, sustain the interest they have generated, should be memorable, and be able to prompt the right action from the readers (Leech 1966). In Botswana, what the copywriter selects from the community's linguistic code, the way he or she re-arranges and adds to it, (intertextually) is the object of this study (see section 1.3 below).

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to explore the technique of intertextuality in a variety of print

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advertisements in Botswana. The exploration is undertaken in order to determine the types of intertextual transfer of meanings and those aspects of culture and texts that inform intertextual meaning transfer in advertising in Botswana.

The objectives of this study are summarized as follows:

I. To identify different forms of intertextuality in advertisements in Botswana.
II. To explore how linguistic innovations are used in advertisements to influence society.
III. To identify the contextual domains used as sources of intertextuality in advertising discourse.

1.4. Research Questions

In order to realize the objectives of this study, the research intends to answer the following questions:

I. What forms of intertextuality are found in advertisements in Botswana?
II. What linguistic innovations are achieved through intertextuality?
III. What social domains are the main sources of intertextual reference?
IV. How does intertextuality shape the meaning of advertisements, i.e., how do advertisements construct the consumers?

1.5. Rationale

By investigating the forms of intertextuality in advertisements it is possible to learn about the society in which we live. Through such investigation people learn how advertisements are constructed by society and how they then work towards constructing that society. The choice of advertisements as the focus of this study was also influenced by the fact that they are tiny texts which are easily accessible and compact in terms of meaning. It is easier to analyze a

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whole advertisement than a whole book and, as this project is small scale, advertisements seemed more fitting for the study.

In Botswana, advertisements play an increasingly significant role not just in the marketing of goods and services, but also in health education, especially in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Advertisements are not valued only as sources of information, but also for their aesthetic value. They manipulate language in innovative, surprising and unusual ways. They are, therefore, as entertaining as they are informative. This study focuses on advertisements because of their simplicity and their importance in human communication. Such a study may also de-automatize what people take for granted about society. Currently, no work exists on advertising in Botswana which focuses on intertextuality. Therefore, by conducting this study, the researcher hopes to fill this gap and to stimulate further research in the area of intertextuality in other domains of life.

It is also hoped that this study would contribute to the development of the existing body of linguistic knowledge in and about Botswana. It is for all the above reasons, but especially the effect of advertising on the society, that intertextuality was chosen for this study. This is in line with the concept of Critical Discourses Analysis, the overarching theory, which emphasises the social role of language and whose practitioners base their research on social goals.

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1.6. The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. The first chapter provides a background to the study. It begins by providing a brief definition of the concept of "intertextuality', which is a key concept in this research. The chapter proceeds with the background to the study in order to situate the research within similar research in the field and to explain why it is an important topic of research in Botswana. It also states the aim and the objectives of the study,

and introduces sections on the research questions and the rationale for the study. The chapter closes with a brief definition of the key terms in this study.

Chapter Two constitutes the literature review and is divided into five sub-sections that include a discussion of the genealogy of the concept of intertextuality, a review of debates on the functions and effects of advertising, and a brief note on the language of advertising. It concludes by reviewing literature on advertising in Botswana to situate the study within similar research conducted in the country.

Chapter Three deals with the research methods in three sub-headings. These include a discussion on how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the main theoretical and analytical framework is relevant to this study and how it is related to intertextuality. The chapter is essential because, among other theoretical issues, it discusses the qualitative methodology which is relevant to this study. It also outlines methods of data collection and analysis.

Chapter Four comprises the analysis of the commercial advertisements, which are classified under different semantic domains. A summary of the advertisements used is provided in tabular form in this chapter. Chapter Five analyzes social advertisements. It looks at advertisements that focus on morals and values, such as the HIV/AIDS awareness advertisements

Finally, Chapter Six presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of the study. It starts by reminding the reader what the objectives of the study were and what the study sought to achieve. Then it restates the research questions in order to show how these were answered in the study. It concludes by stating how the study contributed to research and knowledge, and what further research could be done on intertextuality in Botswana.

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1.7. Operational Terms

Many lexical items are defined in dictionary terms. But dictionary definitions are limited in the sense that they don't take into account varied and complex uses of certain technical terms in specialised research. The terms below are therefore defined in terms of how they are technically used in discourse analysis in general and in this study in particular.

a) **Intertextuality**: Barthes (1977:27) uses the term intertextuality to refer to "the phenomenon of interconnectedness that exists among texts". The research takes note of the covert clues to textual reference in this study (unspoken forms).

b) **Discourse** shall be treated as a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within a particular context, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more movements in the social formation (Vestergaad 1985).

c) **Advertising**: an organized method of communicating information about a product or service which a company or individual wants to sell to the people. In this project, advertising is not a static institution-it evolves as society evolves. It is not the same force today that it was yesterday or will be tomorrow. We may be sure it will be different still. Its discipline, though, will remain the same to serve the consumer (Sinclair 1987).

d) **Consumers** are men, women and children of all ages, living in all geographic areas and using products and services in this country.

e) **Text**: A unit of meaning which has a specific social function. For example, a book, a diary, a notice on a notice board, and so on. These may be as short as one word, or as long as a book. (In this study the unit may include print images).

f) **Dialogue**: An exchange of ideas or opinions between entities: in this study, it is the "conversation" between texts. When used to refer to texts, it implies a relationship of

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some kind, implicit or explicit among texts.

g) **Domain**: Region of uniformity in a sphere of influence or area of activity by entities. In this study "domain" classifies advertisements according to subject categories. For example, for those that advertise foodstuffs, food becomes the category or domain.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter constitutes a brief background to the study of intertextuality in advertising in Botswana. It provides a brief introduction to the concept of intertextuality. It also provides an outline of the structure of the whole study in order to help the reader to navigate the dissertation with ease. It also states the objectives, research questions and rationale for this study. The next chapter is a review of the existing literature on intertextuality and advertising.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter traces the genealogy of the concept of intertextuality by reviewing related literature in order to situate my study in the context of other studies in the area. The chapter also includes a critical review of theories on advertising. The chapter ends with a review of the literature on advertising in Botswana with the view of situating the study within similar studies in the country.

2.2. Intertextuality: A Genealogy

This section constitutes a theoretical discussion of the term intertextuality. This is in order to make the reader appreciate the origins and development of the concept of intertextuality and how this study fits in with the established theories. Derived from the Latin *intertexto*, meaning to intermingle while weaving, intertextuality is a term first introduced by a French semiotican, Julia Kristeva, in the late sixties. Kristeva (1966:64) argues that, "all signifying systems from table settings to poems are constituted by the manner in which they transform earlier signifying systems". This implies then that a text is not simply the product of a single author, but of its relationship to other texts and to the structures of language itself.

For Barthes (1977), who proclaimed the *death of the author,* "it is the fact of intertextuality that allows the text to come into being" (p71). Like Kristeva (1966), Barthes argues against the concept of text as an isolated entity which operates in a self-contained manner, and states that "...any text is the absorption of and transformation of another." (p.34). Barthes explores this idea of intertextuality in a literary context, where he argues that "any text is a new tissue of past citations. Bits of codes, fragments of social languages and so

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on, are passed into the text and redistributed within the text itself for there is always language before and around the text" (p.56). He also highlights that the condition of any text whatsoever, cannot be reduced to a problem of sources; the inter-text is a general field of *anonymous origin*. Thus, writing is always a re-writing which foregrounds traces of various texts. Writing places and displaces discourses, both knowingly and unknowingly. No text, therefore, operates in isolation. Barthes goes on to point out that the formation of a text and its interpretation is influenced by the creator's and audiences' prior knowledge of other texts and cultural conventions. Dyer (1982:187) also opines that "Meanings are not given, but are constructed. Advertisements only offer us a text; it is our own experiences and knowledge that allow us to make meaning out of what we see". Since interpretation is an active and individualistic process, texts may also contain covert allusions which the creator of the text may not even have conscious knowledge of, let alone have intended. In other words, it is not only the text producer who brings in echoes of other prior texts into a text, but the reader also utilises his or her knowledge of other texts to make sense of a particular text.

Fairclough (1995) regards textual analysis as subsuming two complementary types of analysis: linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis. He understands linguistic analysis in an extended sense to cover not only the traditional levels of analysis within linguistics (phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax) but also an analysis of textual organization above the sentence, including inter-sentential cohesion and various aspects of the structure of texts. He emphasises that intertextual analysis shows how texts selectively draw upon orders of discourse - the particular configurations of conventionalized practices which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances. In other words, new discourses are built on old discourses; new texts are built on old texts. What makes it possible to comprehend a text is knowledge of other texts and cultural conventions that precede the text. Readers draw upon their knowledge of the world which is a result of their consumption

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of other prior texts to interpret new ones. Bakhtin (1986, cited in Fairclough 1995) argues in favour of intertextual analysis as a necessary complement to linguistic analysis. His argument has been supported by, amongst others, social semioticians such as Kress and Threadgold (1988) and Thibault (1991). However, I suggest, as I will show in this study, that intertextuality can be studied in its own right, not as a complementary methodology.

Intertextual analysis draws attention to the dependence of texts upon society and history in the form of the resources made available within the order of discourse (genres, discourses) which, according to Bakhtin (1986), are "...the drive belts from the history of society and the history of language" (p.65). Intertextual analysis consequently presupposes accounts of individual genres and types of discourse. For example, the accounts of conversation which have been produced by conversation analysts, or accounts of what are sometimes called "registers", such as scientific (German or the English of advertising), are all presupposed. Intertextual analysis, as it is dynamically and dialectically conceived by Bakhtin, also draws attention to how texts may transform these social and historical resources, how texts may "re-accentuate" genres, and how genres may be mixed in texts, as this study will show in most advertisements.

Since advertising needs to make an immediate impact on the recipient, it has to rely to a great extent on the beliefs and attitudes that the recipient already has (Schwartz 1974). In other words, according to Debord (1977), effective advertising is intertextual:

> ...advertisements often refer to other texts and just expect readers to notice the allusion. But, intertextuality does not just refer to other texts; it ransacks and devours them in the relentless search for new sign values (p.11).

Debord (1977) argues that as a result, collective memory is no longer grounded entirely in history or social context, but also in the perpetual process of abstracting and re-

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routing meanings. The process of recycling and re-routing cultural fragments in search of new exchange values, ironically, contributes to a collapse in the hierarchy of cultural values. As Berman (1982) argues, "All that is solid melts into air" (p. 43). So, traditional values can be re-engineered, reinforced, challenged and transformed. In order to challenge established values, there is need to transcend boundaries and to push convention to the limit. Intertextuality, as we shall see, is used to achieve just that, if only in reference to pushing linguistic conventions.

Because textual allusion relies on a banking approach to knowledge, it requires that readers collect and recognize discrete units of information. Advertisements depend on the ability of the viewer or reader to recognise the existence of previous media (and other) texts in order to establish marginally differentiated meanings. Bruner (1990) states that, "intertextual references work as a hook to anchor the association of the commodity or service with the everyday life of the consumer" (p: 33). Bruner is also of the view that another way of getting an intuitive sense of intertextuality as a ground or condition for meaning in all our language systems is to consider dependency in meaning, which means the meaning obtained from shared backgrounds. Similarly, Perris (1985:45) describes a text as having to presuppose;

> ...a set of prior instances of the signs which function as a learned archive or encyclopaedia of references through which we recognize meaning in what we are viewing, reading or interpreting." The generative meaning-making process that the term intertextuality attempts to describe is a foundation to culture. It names the grammar of the possibility of ongoing meaning in a culture, and allows us to see culture as living process of meaning-making. People

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> have a response to intertexual texts that is associative; they imbue intertextulity with meaning by relating it to the contexts in which they encounter it. (p.45)

Perris's observations that intertextuality has the capacity to evoke associations and provide readers with the cues to deduce meaning of media messages through inferring relevant associations the texts make, is underlined in this study.

In agreeing with the theories of intertextuality above, Kristeva (1966:37) and Lefebvre (1971) are of the view that meaning and intelligibility in discourse and texts are based on a network of prior and concurrent discourses and texts; every text is "a mosaic of references to other texts, genres, and discourses" (p36). Lefebvre emphasizes the point by arguing that the principle of intertextuality "is a ground or precondition for meaning beyond 'texts' and whatever meaning we discover or posit can only occur through a network of prior texts that provide the context of possible meanings". Intertextuality involves substituting other texts for experience in daily life as a reference system.

Although studies of intertextuality originally emerged within literary theory, they have since been made to encompass other disciplines, including various branches of linguistics. It is relevant here to mention discourse analysis as also having been inspired by the theoretical work of Mikhail Bakhtin. Discourse, in this project, as stated under the operational terms, shall be treated as a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices within a particular context, and in so doing both reproduce and construct afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more movements in the social formation. That is why critical discourse analysis is an appropriate theoretical and methodological framework in the study of intertextuality. The theories of intertextuality and critical discourse analysis both

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converge in their recognition of (social) context as necessary for the production and interpretation of texts. Critical Discourse Analysis is discussed in Section 3.4 of the study.

2.3. Debates on the Social Functions and Effects of Advertising

This section discusses advertising as a social practice. It specifically discusses what advertising involves and what roles it plays in the society. The discussion revolves around the advantages and disadvantages of advertising as is perceived in academic literature on advertising. The section then proceeds to examine the role of language in advertising and ends with studies on advertising that were done in Botswana. I start by critically assessing literature that seems to perceive advertising as being detrimental to society.

2.3.1. Disadvantages of Advertisements

A perennial debate in advertising revolves around the question of truth. The practitioners of advertising have been engaged in a fierce debate around the world. The advertising process is fraught with politics which some observers see as positively injecting much needed scepticism, whilst others take a more negative view.

As far back as 1933, Leavis and Thomson (1945) talked about the impact of advertising in America during the industrialization and urbanization of a hitherto pastoral life, a situation which could be comparable to that of Batswana society a few decades ago. In *Culture and Environment*, the authors quote an American copywriter's manual as saying, "the advertisement must be the wittiest piece of writing in the newspaper in which it appears. It must challenge comparison with the editorial pages" (p.35), where *witty* is to be understood as *pithy* and *humorous*. Most likely the intention of the producer, by being witty, is one of maximizing profit. The article that may be advertised may assume the status of a landmark or watershed to demarcate the past from the future, with the customer's life represented as

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unexciting and infested with problems until he or she buys the product advertised, thereby transforming and improving him or herself. The above effect is criticised by the opponents of advertising such as Priestley (1933), that it only gives distorted information.

In Western Europe, the language used in advertising has enjoyed the attention of scholarship and literary criticism for some time. Priestley (1933) describes an advertising agency in *They walk in the City* as "a small army of extremely clever and quite unscrupulous persons, trained to lie with enthusiasm" (p.44). The idea of lying with enthusiasm is best exemplified in advertisements on beauty products for women in the sense that there is an assumption by copywriters that women worry about their appearance much more than men and beauty products miraculously improve their looks and lessen women's worries. Another assumption is that women wish to create an image with which they want to be associated. The assumption is that, when a woman establishes her own image and finds it to be acceptable and even admirable her problem is to find ways of maintaining it. The single most effective device she uses is make-up, to arrest age and to conform to popular definitions of beauty. The manufacturers of perfumes claim to know these perennial feminine pre-occupations and their advertising campaigns take these facts as their launching pads. It is not only on beauty products that manufacturers 'lie with enthusiasm', but also on other products such as drinks, clothes, cars, furniture, and so forth. In the advertising of beauty products, it seems, copywriters rely on gendered stereotypes, that women value and are obsessed with image, and as such capitalise on that assumption. Unfortunately, the use of such stereotypes in advertisements only reinforces the stereotypes.

Advertising is also accused by some scholars, such as Fox (1993), of making certain assumptions about the public for which they are written. For example, the advertisement of health products may give the impression that the public do not know the workings of the

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human body. So, the advertisement is a detailed manual designed to inform and make the potential buyer aware of the speed with which the human skin can deteriorate and the need to use beauty products to arrest the aging process. But nothing is further from the truth.

Fox (1993) critiques the danger of *lying with enthusiasm* and observes that it has its source in the desire for success by businessmen. Advertisers spare no effort to identify real human needs and buying motives. Once the human needs and motives are identified, they are put to lucrative commercial use. For example, when advertisers discover a character in a social group, they tend to build their sales promotion campaigns around it. So, the strongest argument advanced by the advocates for advertising is that the economy benefits. Firms can double their profits and can contribute more to the public coffers and pay employees better.

Williamson (1978:19) comments on perfume advertisements and says that an advertisement might read: "...by using this perfume you become impossible to resist... by wearing these perfumes you are irresistible to the opposite sex, and become smart." The use of perfumes in the advertisement in itself is not necessarily a bad thing as people need cheering up and to believe that their lives can change so quickly and easily. However, a new perfume may provide confidence but it cannot change everything. It is when people come to believe that it can transform their lives that the influence of advertisements is seen as dangerous. Williamson (1978:1) says that "advertisements are selling us something else besides consumer goods and services; they are selling us ourselves". Buying or failing to buy certain products, the potential customer is told, will influence certain human relationships favourably or adversely. Advertising companies manipulate consumers to the benefit of the companies. This manipulation is done in many ways; through the use of stereotypes, the reliance by the media on the sponsorship that comes from advertising, and the way that advertising campaigns tell people who or what they are, or rather should be. Vestergaard and

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Schroder (1985) explain this very aptly when they say that "...advertising does not simply reflect the real world as we experience it; the world portrayed in advertisements moves on a day-dream level, which implies a dissatisfaction with the real world expressed through imaginary representations of the future as it might be: a Utopia" (p.122).

Stereotypes are widely accepted, but it is interesting to discover where they stem from. The most common stereotypes are those portrayed through the media on specific advertisements. Criticism is levelled by writers such as Myers (1994), against advertisements that portray entire groups of people in stereotypical ways. For example, some advertisements show only women as homemakers, and elderly people as senile. This can reinforce negative views of such groups and injure them and for that reason, adverts of that nature do not escape criticism.

Myers (1994) dwells on commercial advertising, pointing out that the main reason behind it is to increase familiarity and goodwill with the name and image of a company, rather than the actual product itself. In order to sell products, advertising has to appeal to people's needs, and prove how it can play a role in their lives. Schroder (1985:32) writes about commercial advertising as follows:

> "All mass media are dependent on the co-operation of their readers for their success...why should people bother if they get nothing out of it, if somehow the meaning communicated did not respond to the attitudes, hopes and dreams of those reading media messages? The content of the mass media can, therefore, be seen as a celebration of common experiences, of socially shared dreams and hopes,

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which are validated for their readers by this celebration" (p.11).

Schroder (1985) argues that advertisements try to prove how much easier one's life would be if only one bought product X. Advertising is constantly criticized for this. It is in the same vein that Myers accuses commercial advertising, stating that it creates and encourages materialism, reinforces group stereotypes, and causes people to purchase items for which they have no need. He accuses it of taking advantage of children and generally contributing to the downfall of a people's social system, such as when children become copycats of anti-social behaviour.

Miller (1985) also expresses the above view by pointing out that, "advertisements allow consumers to enter a fantasy that it will only take one product to transform one's life" (p.37). Copywriters manipulate the emotions of the public with skill, and such skill depends on the clever use of language. In the case of soaps that are advertised, Miller (1985) argues that, there may be no doubt that keeping clean is a factor in being attractive, but that there is a problem when the advertisement states that the kind of soap would keep or restore youthful charm. That way he finds it distorting reality. The same scholar also clearly states that, often times, the meanings of advertisements are not given in these advertisements, but are constructed by the consumers themselves.

Dyer (1982) points out that advertisements are becoming increasingly more complex and sophisticated. He says "due to the large scale production of goods, there is an increased need to create a market for products that people do not really need" (p7-8). He explains that it is this large scale production that is the factor originally behind the types of advertisements present today. It is because there are many similar products, and so many competing brands, such that advertisers cannot rely on rational arguments to sell their goods in sufficient

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quantity, hence they find themselves lying.

According to Dyer (1982), companies, such as Cigarette companies, face added complications due to the ever increasing restrictions on the media they can use, the laws governing the portrayal of their products, anti-smoking campaigns, and the social climate in which smoking has an ever increasing social stigma attached to it. As stated in the British advertising Code of Practice, advertisements for tobacco products are no longer allowed to be associated with glamour, sport, success in business, masculinity or femininity, and advertisers are not allowed to target individual groups of people.

Eldridge (1988) also observes that advertising is not just the simple promotion of products that we flip past in magazines, or make cups of tea during or in television breaks, they have become "...the linchpin upon which the survival of the press and commercial broadcasting depends" (p.31). Copywriters manipulate emotional appeal with perhaps more craft. The soft drink companies like Coca-Cola and Pepsi, for example, spend enormous sums of money on advertising, and their advertisements rely completely on emotion. It would be interesting to find out how much advertisements rely on intertextual reference for their effectiveness.

Pongweni (1983) also argues that some advertisements show prior research that is carried out into social realities before these advertisements are crafted but, unfortunately, the findings are abused and misused. An industry whose aim is to "advise" people, for instance, as to which clothes to buy, what kind of food to eat, beer to drink, which cars to buy or be driven in, the perfumes to wear in order to win friends and maintain certain vital social positions, may not be doing justice to consumers. Pongweni gives an example of an advertisement for a Bradlaw furniture shop in Harare (Zimbabwe) that urged people to buy household furniture on Hire Purchase (HP) terms. The advertisement illustrates the above by

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telling the sad story of a father who insisted on paying cash for everything he bought. His pay was however not high enough to enable him to save money at the same time. Consequently, when his son died in an accident, the father was unable to meet the funeral expenses. The advertisement ends with a jingle "In this country of ours we were the first to trust you" (Pongweni 1983: 11).

Pongweni (1983) holds the view that, the success of the above advertisement depends on factors such as the community's shared disgust for people who fail to honour their dead; and the pride of the Zimbabwean community in this case by being told that a particular chain of stores has superior service and places its trust in them. This, somehow, is based on the results of careful research into local realities, but it also manipulates consumers, by playing around with language and taking advantage of current social realities.

Critics of the advertising industry accuse it of flouting the rules and conventions of language. One example includes using incorrect spelling and grammar to make a point, which encourages the audience to use the same style even in formal writing. This affects school children. An example is the quotations in asterisk (*) in the popular American tobacco brand Winston. Its advertisement carries the words "Winston tastes good "* like a cigarette should". But the correct phrasing should be "as a cigarette should." Further, it reads "*Think different" whereas it should be "think differently". The Sara Lee classic tagline in a British advertisement for a type of jean (clothing) has crossed international boundaries with the same grammatical error; "Nobody doesn't like Sara Lee." It survived for almost a century despite its grammatically incorrect double negative (Bruner 1990). It is from such observations that some critics view advertising as distorting the English language. However, my view is that advertising language should be granted the liberty to use language creatively. Besides, criticisms like these, just like prescriptive grammatical rules, cannot stop people from using

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language in unconventional, creative and subversive ways.

Vestergaad and Schroder (1985) even go on to say that, "the objects that we use and consume cease to be mere objects of use; they become carriers of information about what kind of people we are, or would like to be" (p.54). In a way, the two scholars view advertising as justifying its existence by claiming that it offers choices to consumers, a position they view as contestable. This now leads to the views of those who favour advertising.

2.3.2. Advantages of Advertising

This section discusses positive appraisals of advertising through an examination of the views of those who support it as a social practice.

The exchange of goods and the need to link buyers and sellers go back to prehistoric times. Different positive views emerge from a number of scholars. According to Packard (2007), there is evidence of messages offering goods for sale dating back to 5000B.C. So then, the urge to advertise seems to be a part of human nature, if it has gone on for such a long time. Packard (2007:23) states the primary role of advertising as "to convey truthful information about products, services, or ideas to a targeted audience"

Polloy (1986:3) views advertising as a "powerful social and cultural force in society." He elaborates that advertising has been viewed as being both "a mirror of social values and moulder of our beliefs and norms" (p12). Jhlly (1987) argues that "advertising is the most influential institution of socialization in modern society" (p.56). Williamson (1978) says that "advertisements are a common and accepted part of life, in print, in magazines and newspapers, as well as in vision on television and cinema screens, and increasingly on the internet as well as on radio" (p.11). He goes on to explain that advertisements can be studied

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in visual terms the language used in them, their structure, their meaning, and the reactions they evoke. They can be studied for their aesthetic and artistic value. He further states that by answering questions like "why do slogans appeal to us?", and "why do different advertisements all use a similar structure?" we are able to discover much about what appeals to us as consumers.

In as far as furniture and domestic chores are concerned, Ewan (1988) argues that theaim of the advertiser seems to be to assist in two ways. In the first place, "the consumer must be made to feel some social obligation in making the home presentable, secondly, looking after the home must not be seen as a chore but a worthwhile undertaking" (p.61). The cliché "The woman's place is in the home must be metamorphosed into a compliment" (p.44). With furniture, the advertiser is not selling emotional security, but prestige and exotic success. Furniture is a status symbol-one's social standing is enhanced by the quality of the furniture and the prestigious store from which it is purchased. The product is the ladder for the social climber. Chasin (2000) also observes that since people shop on the basis of their identities, or on the basis of their inclusion in an identifiable social group, advertising becomes an important tool for legitimizing and publicizing the existence of their target groups.

One other crucial role played by advertising is informing the consumer about new and improved products and teaching consumers how to use these products. It helps consumers to compare products and features which enable them to make informed choices. Coples (1997) declares that "advertising mirrors fashion and design trends and appeals to our aesthetic sense" (p.23). Whether advertising follows trends or leads them, the position remains that advertising is part of the cultural and economic fabric of society; it grows in concert with a dynamic and advancing economy. It presents the most pervasive possible

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selling message to the right people for the product or service. Littlefield (1975) wraps up the virtues of advertising by stating that, "advertising encourages the introduction and publicity of new and improved products that would not get to the attention of consumers easily" (p.20). Advertising, it seems, performs the function of informing the public about the latest and trendiest products in the market place. Clearly, this is information people need, or is made to invoke need.

Cross (1996) points out those changes in culture that also have a great influence in the advertising industry. Culture is dynamic and so are the products that are valued in society. As a result, advertisements have to keep on evolving with the changing culture and societal values so as to match the consumers' expectations. The language used in advertisements at different points in time has to bear a relation to the type of life the society lives. The language has to be related to the norms and values of the society. In supporting the above view, there is always a tie between cultural dynamism and advertising language.

The differing perspectives from the practitioners of advertising give a rational analysis of the advertisements in this project. The meanings of advertisements are however, back- grounded, although intertextuality involves transfer of meanings across texts.

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2.4. Language and Advertising

This section briefly reviews the styles and uses of language in relation to advertising. The study proceeds with research on advertisements done on advertising in Botswana. Such a review is serves to situate this study firmly in the context of similar studies in the country, the continent, and elsewhere, and to ascertain points of departure.

A number of techniques have been observed in advertisements. Not all such techniques can be discussed in this section. But the following cannot be ignored: the lexical

innovation as regards neologism, ambiguity, alliteration, pun, and rhyme.

The first technique involves lexical innovation, which consists mainly of neologisms. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* the term *neologism* was first used in print in 1772. It is the coinage of words which conform to the morphological structure of the language being used. In other words, the new lexical items do not violate the morphological rules of the language used in the advertisements. For example, in the Shona language, the syllable structure does not allow a consonantal segment in syllable final position. The language of advertising tends to abide by the abovementioned rule and names given to new products will all have a vowel as their final segment in conformity with the words of the language which has gained institutional currency and is contained in the lexicon. It is clear that certain words are possible in English since they are formed following rules of English derivational morphology, using established derivational morphemes, such as –ate and -ity for verb and noun formations in words such as "activates" and "probability", respectively. Another example would be the advertisement for the Beverly Building Society in Zimbabwe which goes: "Are you ***reddy*** to paint the town? Beverly Building Society. With us you can paint the town red." Although r*eddy* in this advertisement is a newly coined pun and looks awkward in print, it draws attention of the reader to its self. The pun on the word *reddy* is resolved by the signature line. It stands out that on one hand *reddy* means "ready" (preparedness), and on the other it means "red", the colour. Of course, the interpretation is made easier by the background surroundings at every Beverly Building Society in Zimbabwe which are painted red. The problem of neologisms is the negative influence on word spellings that it may have on school children who are expected to use formal writing.

The use of puns is quite popular with copywriters. In the following advertisement, "There is a new interest in you at the P.O.S.B. The people's bank", the word *interest*

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constitutes a witty pun. It might mean a downward review of the money earned per time unit by an amount of money borrowed. The second meaning is the sense of concern for someone (customer). Scholars are interested in how these puns operate. When one reads this advertisement both meanings strike at once because of the context in which the word is used. Because the advertisement carries such associations of meaning as described above, there is evidence of intertextuality carried in the association.

Ambiguity could be taken as openness to different interpretations; or an instance in which some use of language may be understood in diverse ways. It is sometimes known as 'multiple meaning'. Ambiguity is also a central concept in the interpretation of texts after Empson (1930) defended it, as a source of poetic richness rather than a fault of imprecision, in his *Seven Types of Ambiguity*. Ambiguities in everyday speech are usually resolved by their context, but isolated statements, such as "hunting dogs", or very compressed phrases like "book titles" and "newspaper headlines" can remain ambiguous.

Ambiguity is prevalent in advertisements, as in, "Ours is the only paper **left.**" To the reader, the word "left" might mean that the stocks are diminishing and on the other hand it might mean that it is the only anti-establishment paper available around the place. In the next advertisement, any scholar can work out the double meaning in the text with ease: Max **Funeral Undertakers. The most efficient in town. We are the last to let you down.** The signature line in the above advert displays an interesting pun. To begin with, the first meaning might be that this funeral company never disappoints its customers. The second meaning is one that has to do with the company's job. For example, relatives of the deceased would cry and do everything else, but the undertakers would be the last to do the final and actual burying of the body [let you down].

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Alliteration is another technique employed in advertisements. In the following slogans, we can explain the impact of alliteration as given: **Ch**ibuku. The beer of good **ch**eer. **T**rust **T**rek to **t**ake you there. Dairibord **n**ourishes the **n**ation. Land Rover, the best **f**our by **f**our by **f**ar. The repetition of the sounds */t /, /t/, /n/* and */f/*, respectively, makes the advertisement memorable and gives it aesthetic appeal. It has also been shown by scholars how alliteration recommends messages to memory. In the following: **This is** Texan **t**erritory; better **t**aste **T**exan: **T**exan tastes better," (Northside **Texans**" *2009 Football & Cheer Season* www.eteamz.com/northside**texans).** The alliteration results in a musical beat that entertains the reader and at the same time drives the message home, so that the consumer commits it to memory.

In the same way, *jingles* have also been researched by scholars such as Huron (1986), who found that their use in advertisements appeals to consumers. Huron (1986) gives an example of an advertisement for Factory Carpet, where the singers chant words that would sound vague and irrelevant if they were spoken. Part of the song goes: "...after we have chosen our carpet it will do the rest." The lyrics, as Huron (1986) says, appeal to the emotions more than to reason. Few listeners, however, are attentive enough to notice that there is nothing about the words to substantiate the sentiment raised. For instance, Factory Carpet is making a meaningless claim because it does not explain what 'doing the rest' involves. Although the verse promises nothing in particular, it can inspire a general sense of confidence in the store, but through very unorthodox means. The inclusion of jingles in an advert has the capacity to move people to buy products without thinking much about them. For example, products such as beer demand low cognitive involvement (Bruner, 1990). Indeed, choosing a brand of beer has more to do with mood than reason. The advertisements without music, as Bruner (1990) also observes, have a specific connotation, usually of seriousness.

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Research has also been conducted on aspects such as the layout of written advertisements as generally consisting of the headline, body and the signature line (Whitehead & Price 1954). According to the authors, usually the headline contains catch phrases and other devices to attract the readers' attention. The body provides more details concerning the product or service provided. The signature line concludes the advertisement; it may be the slogan or the name of the product or both. There is a particular trend followed in the headlines that follow: [1]... you can laugh at money worries. [2] The deaf now hear whispers. By reading headline [1], even before getting into the body of it, so that the complete advertisement reads:

You can laugh at money worries

if you follow this simple plan

ABC life Insurance Company.

The readers instantly learn that a certain company has a plan that will help them solve their money problems. Similarly, headline [2] above appeals directly to the target audience and offers them the thing they want - an invention that aids the deaf. There is also a curiosity value in the headline. The reader wonders what this device can be that enables formerly deaf people to hear whispers.

It has also been found through research by scholars, such as Savan (1988) that people do not read advertisements backwards but read the headline first. Only then, if they are interested, do they read the rest. He suggests that, "in order for an advertisement to impress, it is necessary to put the headline into brief, simple language that hits the prospective readers where they live - in the heart or in the head" (p.54).

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In relation to this thesis, what has been discussed so far largely shapes the direction of my study. The language used in advertisements shows that whatever meaning we discover or posit, on say, the above techniques, can only occur through a network of prior texts that provide the context of possible meanings. The above assertion shall be helpful in the analysis chapters. The views about intertextuality cited earlier inform the study especially in the way the term intertextuality is used in this study. These views indicate the way this study treats and applies the concept of intertextuality in the analysis of advertisements in Botswana. Intertextuality is treated as a category of analysis comparable to a range of other analytical categories such as alliteration, neologism, pun, ambiguity, parallelism, vagueness, repetition, disjunctive language, and so on. The theorizing of linguistic categories used in advertising techniques has given insight to this study. This shows that language plays an important role in advertising. This explains my focus on language.

Lefebvre (1971) contends that intertextuality does not just refer to other texts; it ransacks and devours them in the relentless search for new sign values. In the same vein, this study examines linguistic innovation at the intertextual level because, just like neologisms, puns, and so on, intertextuality constitutes a very powerful linguistic and semantic innovation.

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2.5. Studies on Advertising in Botswana.

The ever expanding body of studies on this topic has not left Botswana out. This section reviews some of the studies carried out in Botswana. Three such studies are reviewed.

Oremeng (2009) carried out research on *Changes in Advertising Language in Botswana Newspapers: Comparative Study of 1997 and 2007 Advertisements.* Oremeng

primarily investigated changes in advertising language in Botswana Media through a comparison of advertisements that appeared in 1997 and 2007.

In his findings, Oremeng (2009) observed that changes have occurred and that the 2007 advertisements, unlike the sampled 1997 advertisements, used other languages apart from English, such as Setswana, Sheyeyi and Seherero. His results also showed that 1997 advertisements did not use many of the stylistic features, which were predominant in 2007 advertisements. Notably, the two sets of advertisements (1997 and 2007advertisements) differed with respect to a number of variables, which emerged naturally in his data. The variables noted included language choice, language style, openness, wordiness of advertisements; changes such as use of rhetorical figures and repetition were predominantly realized in his study, particularly in the 2007 advertisements.

His other finding was that the 1997 advertisements were made up of more words than those from 2007, and that 2007 advertisements were generally open, which meant they were liable to multiple meanings. In comparison, 1997 advertisements were plain and clear. Indeed, his study showed that there had been a change in advertising language in the Botswana Media. While Oremeng focused on the changes in advertising language over a certain period of time, this current study looks at intertextuality in advertisements of the same country.

Another study of advertising in Botswana was conducted by Leepile (2007). Leepile, in an article on "Newspaper and TV advertisements", made a comparison of the two types of advertisements and observed that television commercials combined sight, sound, and motion, and that they were more dramatic than any other form of advertising since they blended excitement and appeal. Leepile asserts that "the idea communicates the emotion, whereas with the sound, the emotion communicates the idea, which is more direct and more powerful"

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(p.66). He observed that television could be an excellent medium to build a product's brand image or to create excitement around a particular event. His comparison of newspaper and TV advertisements showed that newspaper advertisements failed to convey the kind of emotional images that build brand image. He went on to make suggestions about advertising styles that could work for the print media advertisements. The suggestions, however, were targeted at advertising agencies. The first dealt with the design, where he stated that the design should deliver its message at a glance. Secondly, he suggested that companies should consider websites that would be appropriate for their advertisements. He gave an example that focused on the layout, and said that "too much and excessive white space can act as a barrier to viewing advertisements" (p.78).

Ndlovu's (2008) *Advertising Music on the Radio* is another interesting research that is worth commenting on. Ndlovu focused on music in radio advertisements and examined how advertisers use music's evocative capacities to attract their listeners. To accomplish that objective, the researcher chose excerpts from the radio advertisements from Botswana's popular RB2 and Gabz FM stations. He began by outlining what it is about music that makes it appropriate for advertisement. His study noted music's capacity to evoke associations for listeners. The researcher described the excerpts' use of hit songs to sell goods and services.

His study is of interest here because of similarities that were found. Ndlovu made the point that music has been used through time to convey various ideas and attitudes to people. Music, according to Ndlovu, can be a powerful conduit for propaganda which, if used effectively, can dispose an audience to listen to a message and even to accept it. Ndlovu observed that music enhances the impact of the words that accompany it, whether those words are spoken or sung. Music, he asserted, produces the above mentioned effect because people react to it in particular ways. The researcher opined that people have a response to

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music that is associative; that they imbue music with meaning by relating it to the contexts in which they hear it.

Of particular interest, Ndlovu (2008) held the view that people have a response to music that is associative. There is an allusion made to intertextual reference in his statement above. This study conceptualizes the "evoking of associations" as bringing other texts to listeners' minds. However, this issue of associations is not fully explored in his study. This researcher is of the view that though Ndlovu did not mention intertextuality, these associations are actually intertextual relationships between the advertisements and other texts. The researcher will borrow and utilize the idea of associations as they appear in advertisements and explore further the concept of intertextual references. The researcher acknowledges that components of music also carry meaning as a result of their power to attract association references. Ndlovu cited Firth (1988) as saying:

> There is a standard musicological exercise...in which people are played pieces of instrumental music and asked to write down their "associations." The results suggest both that there are widely shared conventions of musical meaning and that these conventions are partly derived from people's shared experiences of film soundtracks.

Similar to the observation made in the quotation above, this study intends to investigate intertextuality in advertising, to see how advertisers make use of their knowledge of Botswana culture and use it intertextually in their advertisements in order to market goods and services.

In the ordinary and general sense, Ndlovu (2008) argued that people use music

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primarily to alter their moods; playing a slow song would, for instance, soothe people when they feel tense, or a raucous song to invigorate them when they feel tired. He also stated that if a song pleases the audience, then the words that it carries will survive and the message will persist.

The other finding in Ndlovu is that music is a way of sugar-coating the message, making it easier to process. That is, music makes it less tortuous for us to receive new information about a service or a product. The researcher cited a number of other uses of music in advertisements; that music can be used to emphasize specific parts of an advertisement through the use of crescendos or rises in pitch. In the form of jingles, music can also increase the memorability of the advertised message. Part of the findings in his study is that music's tenacity for mental loitering is evident even when the mind is an unwilling host. Ndlovu remarked that music is quite effective at conveying evocative and lyrical words. In this respect, the researcher noted that in many advertisements, the spoken words differ markedly from the sung words.

In his study, he held the view that music is highly appropriate for advertising. Interestingly, the study acknowledged that music can be effective, but less so, with regards to products whose purchase requires more thought, like cars and appliances. Ndlovu concluded that music enhances the persuasiveness of advertisements and that different types of music can evoke different feelings which add impact to the advertisements. He also asserted that evocative music can also convey ideas and feelings concisely.

Nevertheless, Ndlovu's description of music as a force in persuasion and control over people seems to have overlooked the need to acknowledge the important role that the listener plays in decoding the message. Certainly, there is no reason to reject the fact that music has the power to involve people, but there should also be recognition that the listener has the

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independence of will to disagree with the words conveyed through music, however effectively it supports them.

In this study, the researcher identifies different forms of intertextuality in advertising in Botswana. This intertextual approach involves examining how a given text alludes to and incorporates various other texts. The idea is to show intertextual references in advertisements in Botswana and how they are used to enhance the messages of advertisements. There seems to be no evidence of research that has attempted to investigate different discourses in advertisements that are articulated and blended in advertisements in Botswana. Ndlovu's study above comes close to what I intend to do in that it implicitly alludes to intertextuality by saying that music plays the role of evoking meaning associations in the listener. But it does not recognise intertextuality as an associative technique in itself, with or without music. This study therefore, explicitly looks at intertextuality as the foundation of meaning associations. This is because in producing or interpreting text (include advertisements) people utilise their memories of other, previous texts.

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2.6. Conclusion

This chapter gave a brief history of the concept of intertextuality and what it entails. The review also dealt with debates on the social functions and effects of advertising. It then moved on to language and advertising techniques, and concluded with a review of the literature on advertising in Botswana. The next chapter discusses the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methods and procedures used to collect data for this project. It gives an overview description of the qualitative approach to research used in this research. The chapter also discusses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is an overarching theoretical and analytical framework used in this study. Further it gives an explanation of how these procedures enable the study to investigate and answer the research questions. The chapter concludes with the actual procedures that were used to collect data.

3.2. Qualitative Approach

This section discusses the main approach adopted in this study. Firstly, the principles of qualitative research in general are discussed and why the qualitative approach is appropriate to this study. The linguistic approach that specifically emphasizes qualitative research, namely Critical Discourse Analysis, is explored. The chapter ends with an outline of the steps taken in the data collection.

Dezin (1970) states that there was a time when most researchers believed that the only phenomena that counted in the social sciences were those that counted in the natural sciences and could be measured. Unfortunately, not many phenomena in the human world come naturally in quantities and, as such, quantitative studies are not always appropriate as they tend to reduce human experience to mere numbers. It is for this reason that a qualitative approach was chosen for this study.

Best and Kahn (2006) observe that qualitative research is often described by a negative, that is, as research that is non-quantitative. Secondly, a definition of qualitative

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research is seen as representing the positivist view, that it is only what quantitative research is not, rather than positively state what it is. The issue is that quantitative research utilizes experimental research methodologies (logical positive paradigm), whereas qualitative research is based on the phenomenological paradigm which uses a variety of interpretive research methodologies.

There is a misconception, as Best and Kahn (2006) put it, that qualitative research is a unitary approach when; in fact, it is a variety of alternative approaches to the traditional positivist research. The term "qualitative" is confusing because it can mean different things to different people. Some researchers gather data by means of interviews and observation techniques normally associated with qualitative methods. However, they then code that data to allow for statistical analysis. They are in effect quantifying qualitative data. This study does not refer to such a process here, but to a non-mathematical analytic procedure. Due to the misconception cited above, this study chose the qualitative approach as a naturalistic inquiry and it contrasts with tests, surveys and the like, that are used in quantitative approaches. At the same time, qualitative research offers opportunities for conducting exploratory and descriptive research that uses the context and setting to search for a deeper understanding of the issues studied and, in this case, intertextuality in advertising (Brickson, 1985).

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The term 'qualitative' is understood to mean any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. This study involves textual or content analysis of advertisements in Botswana. The approach makes it possible to gain novel and fresh ideas on knowledge taken for granted about advertisements. The outcome of the qualitative research is a collage-like creation that tells a story about texts (advertisements). The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows the use of hermeneutics in the interpretation of data. Hermeneutics is the practice of understanding

written texts by drawing upon personal experiences and, cultural knowledge and through that, reach an understanding based on what one shares with other human beings despite cultural differences (Habemas's, 1973). The study hopes to decode the meaning or meanings of texts by sustaining a dialogue between itself and advertisers through their works of art. The study emphasizes processes of meaning-making and stresses the socially constructed meaning of reality.

3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This section discusses the over-arching theoretical framework that informs the study and makes it possible to do an analysis of advertisements in terms of intertextuality. Stemming from Habemas's (1973) critical theory, CDA aims to help the analyst understand functions of language and uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of the written text. CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (Fairclough, 1993). CDA tries to unite and determine the relationship between three levels of analysis, which are the actual text, the discursive practices (that is the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading, and hearing), and the larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000). Van Dijk (2000) acknowledges that CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework or methodology because it is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches instead of one school. One key principle of CDA is that the way we write, and what we say, is not arbitrary. It is purposeful, whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious (Sheyholisiami, 2001). CDA allows analysts to place the text in its genre, for example, public speech, manual, conference paper, and so on. Each genre-orientation has a style of its own, a set of characteristics that identify it. We can all recognize an advertisement and a curriculum document as having different features

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that make them unique from other types of documents. Having determined the genre of a text and how the message is framed, the analyst is ready to move onto the more minute levels of analysis, such as the analysis of phrases and words. Several CDA techniques have been developed to facilitate this level of analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used as an overarching framework in this study since it is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, one which views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social interactions present themselves in written text and talk. Critical discourse analysis is founded on the idea that the patterns of access to discourse and communicative events are one essential element of communication (Wodak, 1997). In addition to this linguistic theory, the approach also draws from social theory. CDA does not limit itself to the analysis of specific structures of text or talk, but systematically relates these to structures of the social context and intertextuality is fed through reference to context (Wodak, 1997).

In addition to being a theoretical framework, CDA is also a method of analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2001). It describes discursive practices in which texts are embedded rather than focus on linguistic form only. CDA goes a step further than other theoretical frameworks by looking at both linguistic patterns and social life. It sees discourse as a form of social practice and allows researchers to investigate external factors that influence language use.. It is an approach that looks at the dialectical relationship between language and society. These two are mutually constitutive. Language shapes society and is also shaped by society. CDA is interested in how language constructs what it names (Fairclough, 1999). It analyses real and extended instances of social interaction which take a linguistic form or partially take a linguistic form (Fairclough, 1999). One of the questions that the study seeks to answer is how the meanings constructed through intertextuality influence the society. It is

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here that the mutual constitutiveness of discourse practices (language) and society is relevant (see section 3.4 below).

3.4. Critical Discourse Analysis and Intertextuality

This section discusses how Critical Discourse Analysis informs the study of intertextuality. Specifically, the section outlines how Fairclough (1992) proposes the way texts should be analyzed. The final part of the section discusses ways of analyzing texts in terms of intertextuality, and some perspectives and analytical approaches to intertextuality. This leads to the discussion on methodology, data collection and analysis.

Fairclough (1992) proposes a systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context. He suggests three stages of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. Linguistic properties of texts are described (text analysis). The relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice and the texts is interpreted, and the relationship between discursive practice and social practice is explained (Fairclough, 1995). In so doing, Fairclough (1992), attempts to establish a systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context. This analytical framework informs the present study in the following ways. First, text is at the core of the analysis. Text is, thus, analyzed for linguistic evidence of claims made out of the discourse analytical work. CDA goes beyond textual analysis and analyses the intertextual dimension of texts. It is not only interpretative, but also explanatory (Fairclough et al, 1997). These interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open, and may be affected by new readings and new contextual information.

The notion of intertextuality offers a perspective of both reading and writing texts as a way of looking at a text's interactions with prior texts, writers, readers, and conventions.

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Thibault (1994) explains this perspective, stating that "...all texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings which text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in social formation" (p.33).

Bakhtin (1986) argues that every text is dialogical, in the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts. Kristeva (1981) points out that a given text is "a permutation of texts: an intertextuality, in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another" (p.37). Kristeva's (1981) use of the term intertextuality aims to describe the complex and heterogeneous nature of discursive materials which intersect in particular textual production. For her, text is a kind of 'productivity' in which various meaning relations are both combined and transformed. Kristeva, as does Bakhtin, sees all texts as being constituted out of, and understood in relation to, other texts in the same social formation (Thibault, 1994).

There is no single approach to analyzing the complex phenomenon of intertextuality in writing and interpretation. An elementary type of analysis is to examine the intertextual composition of a single text, describing both the explicit and the implicit content. As noted by Fairclough (1995:44), intertextuality "is concerned with how texts are produced in relation to prior texts and how texts help to construct the existing conventions in producing new texts." In his 1995 book, *Media Discourse*, Fairclough, on the one hand, puts forward a three-dimensional framework for analyzing intertextuality in media discourse. This is the analysis of discourse representation, generic analysis of discourse types, and an analysis of discourses in texts (Fairclough, 1995b). To Fairclough (1992), discourse representation is a form of intertextuality in which parts of specific texts are incorporated into a text and are usually, but not always, explicitly marked with devices such as quotation marks.

Bazerman (1993), on the other hand, approaches intertextual relations as social

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practice, as more or less stable conventions of a particular discourse community. Bazerman (1993) puts forward a procedure of analyzing intertextuality. The basic concepts he describes include levels of intertextuality, techniques of intertextual representation, intertextual distance or reach, and translation across contexts/recontextualization. The basic procedure Bazerman (1993) outlines can be briefly summarized as follows:

- Identify one's purpose for doing intertextual analysis and what questions one hopes to answer by doing it;

- Identify the specific texts one wants to examine; in other words, identify the corpus;

- Identify the traces of other texts by examining explicit, overt references to them;
- Start making observations and interpretations by considering the reference in relation to the context of what the copywriters are saying;

- Look for more subtle clues to cater for your analytical purpose.

He states further that "intertextuality" is not just a matter of which other text refers to another, but how one uses them, what one uses them for, and ultimately how one positions him or herself as a writer of the text to make one's own statement.

The study of intertextuality, for Lemke (1995), is concerned with the recurrent discourse and activity patterns of the community and how they are constituted by, instanced in, and interconnected or disjoined through, particular texts. That is, by exploring intertextuality, the relationship between a specific text and a genre could be revealed, or the relationship between a text and its cultural context could be partially understood. Intertextuality, then, offers a bridge or interface between the context of culture and the text.

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In the case of this present study, intertextuality was crucial to understanding the genre rules (i.e. the use of discourse patterns in a culture) that have influenced the production of advertisements in this country. In his book *Analyzing verbal data*, Lemke (1995) states that intertextual analysis "allows us to see the bigger picture" (p.35) of a text in terms of what its meanings are and how they relate to other meanings held in the society as framing a particular text. In this way, it can be seen to be putting on display socially established patterns of meaning that are held against the larger background of the potential of all the meanings that could be held.

Bazerman's framework is particularly useful as it is more explicit about what to look for and it is the one which will be mainly drawn upon in the analysis stage. In particular I will be looking at explicit as well as implicit references to other texts in my analysis of advertisements. This will include allusions, however vague, to a text or cultural convention that I as the researcher have in my memory. I concede that this is problematic in the sense that as the analysis relies on the researcher's memory of prior texts and practices for interpretation, there is bound to be strong bias. But that is what one cannot escape from, because producers and consumers (including researchers) of texts are co-constructors of knowledge. The reader and researcher bring meaning into the text as much as he or she derives meaning from the text.

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3.5. Methods of Data Collection and analysis

In this section I discuss the methods of data collection and the processes that I went through to obtain data for my research. First I discuss how the data were collected and then I outline the analytical categories that I focus on in my analysis of the data.

The data were collected using two methods. The first one involved using a group of

undergraduate students to collect advertisements for me, and the second involved visiting individual companies to ask for samples of advertisements. For the former, a class of undergraduate students at the University of Botswana volunteered to help in collecting advertisements from different print sources such as news-papers, billboards and magazines. Secondly, the researcher visited a number of organizations to collect advertisements in person. For the latter method, a letter to seek access to different organisations was obtained from the Head of the English Department University of Botswana. The purpose of the letter was to explain my research and to solicit co-operation from selected organisations. With the letter from the HOD, the researcher made prior arrangements with organisations that were picked at random. The following are some of the companies that were visited: National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA), the Standard Chartered Bank, Limkokwing University, UB Clinic, Princes Marina Hospital, and private institutions such as Strategic Consultant in African Mall, Furniture shops (Furnm^rt), Gaborone Hotel, and Choppies supermarkets. The researcher also got advertisements from Galefele Molema, an employee at one of the Advertising Agencies in Gaborone. A total of one hundred and twenty (120) advertisements were collected between January and December 2009, and were classified according to the following domains: banking, food, drinks, goods, education, employment, health services, insurance, and so on. Because examining intertextuality in advertisements was the main intent of this study, advertisements with some elements of intertextuality were then selected from the one hundred and twenty advertisements (although in truth all texts are intertextual, some exhibit more explicit intertextual characteristics than others). The number of the advertisements selected for analysis was limited to forty-six (46). This was due to the limited time and scope of this project. The decision to use a small sample was also made in order to allow for an in-depth analysis of the selected advertisements, which would be impossible if all the advertisements were to be used. Although the sample is small, efforts were made to

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make it as representative of the different economic and social domains as possible. Below is a table of advertisements used in this study by subject category and company names:

Table 1: Commercial Advertisements

Product	Title/Slogan	Advertising Company	Number of advertisements per domain
Banking **Educational policy**	1-"2010FIF World Cup..." 2-"FNB Kiosk how can we help..." 3 "-(BIC) …" 4-Pula -"Medical and Educational plan..."	.First National Bank .FNB .Botswana Insurance Company "PULA medical and Educational Co."	**4**
Shell Helix Oil	5-"We came! We conquered…" 6 -"If cheese could speak…"	Shell Helix Oil Co. River Walk Nando's	**2**
Cell phones	7-Dithopo (Elections have arrived)	Orange	**1**
Sports bike	8-"Daddy I want a divorce…" 9-"The way to a woman's future husband..."	Tata Save Store Score Super-Market	**2**
Professional courses	10-"Ignite your creativity..."	Limkomkwing University	**1**

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Product	Title/Slogan	Advertising Company	Number of advertisements per domain
Shoe	11.-"A good shoe …"	Smarty Company Gaborone	**1**
Lotion	12-"Five skin type blemish fighting..."	Score Super Market	**3**
Food	13-"Your dog doesn't have a choice…"	River-Walk Nando's	
	14-"Our chickens don't have their friends"	Woolworths	
Computers	15-"Everyone can perform a miracle..."	Feedza Co.	**1**
Perfume	16-"Every woman knows..."	Sab Bib ball Co.	**6**
Toothpaste	17-"Quick plus—"	Colgate Plax	
Beer	18-"Castle larger..."	Castle beverages	
Jerseys	19-"Jersey advert..."	Woolworths	
Cheese	20-"Cheese....."	Score Supermarket	
bread	21-"Our harm..."	Choppies	
Electric appliances	22-"www.feedza..."	www.feedza .com	**3**
Groceries	23-"Ask for more details in stores…"	Choppies Stores	
Tyres	24-"Our prices have teeth..."	Dunlop Tyre Company	
Tea leaves	25-"The best pot is not only legal…"	Li pton tea Co.	**1**
Sofa	26-"No one wants to eat sitting cross..."	Furnm^art	**2**
Frames	27-Frame your memories"	Frame gallery	

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Product	Title/Slogan	Advertising Company	Number of advertisements per domain
vehicles	28-Car van rental..."	Van rental Co	**1**
Cigarettes	29-Silk cut cigarette 30-Richness of colour	Gaborone Sun Hotel	**2**
Total			**30**

Table 2: Social Services Advertisement

Product	Title/Slogan	Advertising Company	Number of advertisements per domain
Road safety	1-"Alcohol wrecks lives..."	Traffic Safety Board of Botswana	1
HIV/AIDS Awareness	2-"If you get HIV/AIDS infected…"	Health and Wellness Centre (UB)	1
Education **Private tuition**	3-"Give yourself an edge over others…" 4-"About tuition …"	Alliance Francaise Main mall billboard	2
Environmental protection	5-"People start pollution and people should stop it..."	Gaborone City Council	1
Disability	6-"People look at you.....!"	Botswana Society of People with Disabilities	1
Child caring	7-"To make children grow..."	Department of Water Affairs	1

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Product	Title/Slogan	Advertising Company	Number of advertisements per domain
HIV/AIDS Awareness	8"She has her father's eyes..."	Public Health Department	6
	9-" AIDS - o icheke"	National AIDS Coordinating Agency	
HIV/AIDS Awareness	10-"It's time to tell your kids..."	National AIDS Coordinating Agency	
A(HI NI) Prevention	11-A (HI NI)	Public Health Department of Botswana.	
HIV/AIDS Awareness	12-"No bail, no appeal and no retrial"	National AIDS coordinating agency	
	13-"HIV and Diet..."	University of Botswana	

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Product	Title/Slogan	Advertising Company	Number of advertisements per domain
Child abuse	14-"What we are not saying..."	National AIDS coordinating agency	1
Societal Values	15-"A nation without a past..."	National Archives Botswana.	2
	16—"If we serve together we can save more...."	Electricity Board of Botswana	
TOTAL			**16**

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The analysis focused on intertextuality primarily, considering aspects of the brand name and headline or slogan, depending on the more relevant of the two for each advertisement used. Full texts on some of the advertisements were not necessary in the analysis since intertextual reference could be in the headline of an advertisement. The images and pictures that accompany some of the advertisements were, however, presented by description and

explained.

The data necessitated an analysis in two chapters where the first focused on commercial advertisements and the other on advertisements that sell social services.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the qualitative research approach and CDA framework. The discussion provided reasons for choosing the qualitative approach and CDA as appropriate to this study. It also discussed the specific procedures taken to collect data. The next chapter presents the analysis, starting with commercial advertisements, to determine their intertextual characteristics, the source domains for the intertextual transfer of meaning, and the function of intertextual reference. In doing so, the next chapter is an analysis of data and looks at commercial advertisements.

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CHAPTER FOUR

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENTS ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the workings of intertextuality in various commercial advertisements. It illustrates the uses and effects that advertisers can produce through intertextuality, and which aid them to sell their products. At this point, the need to restate the research questions that the analysis will be answering in this and the next chapter is important for purposes of immediate reference by the reader. The objectives of the study are re-stated as follows:

I. To identify different forms of intertextuality in advertisements in Botswana.
II. To explore how linguistic innovations are used in advertisements to influence society.
III. To identify the contextual domains used as sources of intertextuality in advertising discourse.

The chapter seeks to answer the following questions:

I. What forms of intertextuality are found in advertisements in Botswana?
II. What linguistic innovations are achieved through intertextuality?
III. What social domains are the main sources of intertextual reference?
IV. How does intertextuality shape the meaning of advertisements, i.e., how do advertisements construct the consumers?

The two working definitions of intertextuality from Degennar (1990) are restated here for the same reason as objectives. The first definition makes it clear that intertextuality is not only a literary phenomenon, but also includes the interrelatedness of signs and texts with specific historical context. The second definition of intertextuality by Goddard (1998) states, that

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intertextuality is the way in which one text echoes or refers to another text. For example, a slogan such as "To be in Florida in winter or not to be in Florida in winter" would contain an intertextual reference to a key speech in Shakespearean Works. Although the speech reads: "To be or not to be", the association is evident. Intertextuality can operate at many levels of language, from phonological and lexical references in titles and slogans to visual aspects such as layouts and images.

Given the many different levels at which intertextuality operates, Jenny (1982) states that "the condition for the use of intertextuality is found on the one hand, in the code; on the other hand, it can be explicitly present in the content of the text" (p.133). This raises the question about the degree of presence required for a text to qualify as intertextual. In this study, in order to be able to identify an intertextual advertisement, there is need to have a clear understanding of the different formulations of the text; such as the shortened repetition of a text (ellipsis), or an alteration of the original text in terms of the sound by altering the spelling, and so on. Jenny (1982) expresses this problem of the presence of intertextuality in a text as follows: "At what point can one begin to speak of the presence of a text as within another in terms of intertextuality?" (p.29). The analysis will use Bazerman's framework of analysis and focuses at, among others, allusions, references, quotations, and metaphors.

The next few sections discuss samples of commercial advertisements in Botswana and analyse them in terms of intertextuality. To make the analysis easy, the advertisements have been classified according to the different social domains to which they belong. These domains include banking, literature, food, health, beauty, marriage, motor engineering, religion, language, law and order, politics, sport, and so forth (see Table 1 Section3.2).

4.2. Money/Banking and Sport (commerce and leisure)

The advertisement below does not overtly tell consumers to open bank accounts with the First

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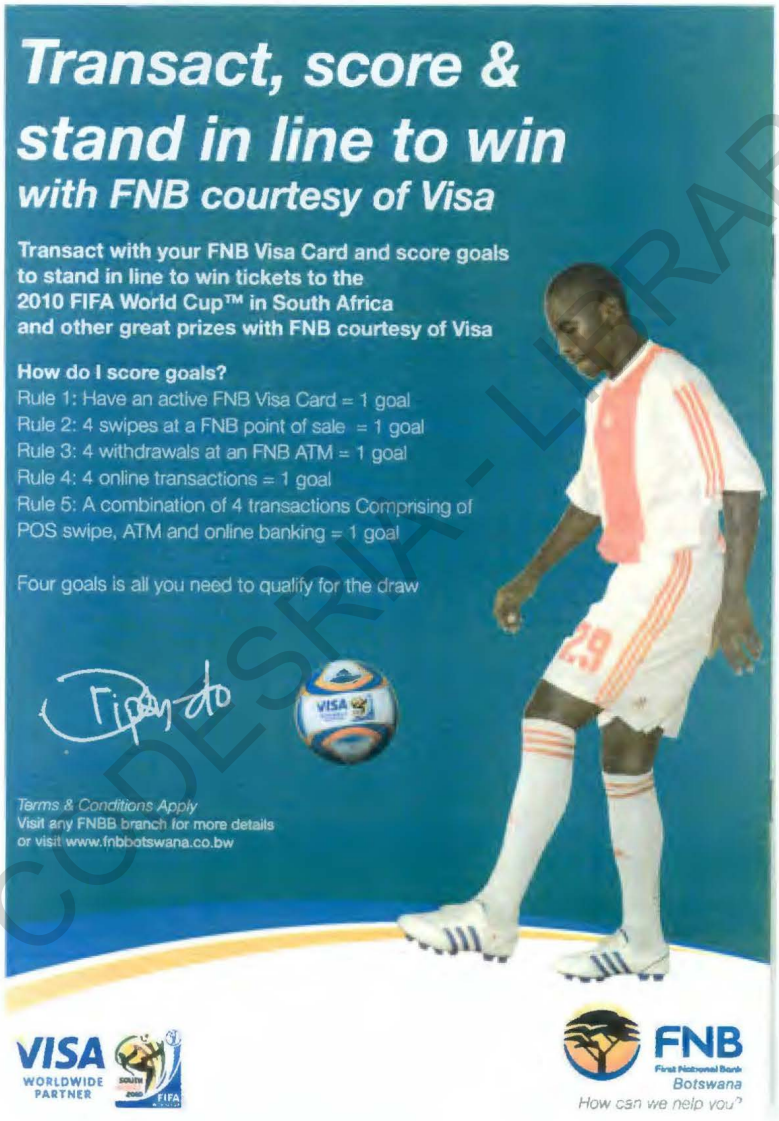
National Bank (FNB) but, through intertextuality, consumers are heuristically persuaded to. The advertisement persuades the existing FNB customers to use their credit cards in order to win tickets as in the words "transect, score and...Win ..." But, hidden and unspoken is the desire of the bank to make profit through bank charges when customers use their cards, which brings in the idea of lottery.

Figure 1: 2010 FIFA World Cup



Source: (FNB flyer)

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There is creativity through intertextuality in the advertisement above. The domain of sport and football in particular, has been drawn upon in advertising of services available at the bank. The most conspicuous inscriptions above emphasize the chance to go to the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. Most Batswana would recall their Zebras' striker Dipsy Selolwane, who also currently plays for Ajax a Cape Town team in South Africa on a full time basis. Like the rules of any other game such as netball, rugby, volleyball and so on, all that is needed here is a series of transactions that translate to goals. And when these transactions count up to four, one automatically becomes a winner just like a team of football would. The stages in this advertisement translate to goals through merging of discourses. The advertisement proceeds to illustrate the services of the Bank. Marketing, in this advertisement, borrows heavily from a popular sport. So First National Bank (FNB) capitalises on the excitement people have for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In this advertisement, the language of football has been appropriated to talk about financial transactions. By appropriating the language of sport, in particular football, the advertiser is merging two discourses so that the result is a hybrid discourse about sport and finance. The two discourses can therefore be said to be in dialogue. Heuristically, football is such a popular sport among many that anything that has to do with it attracts attention. By appropriating the language of football at the time of the World Cup, the bank hopes to take advantage of the excitement surrounding the tournament to market its own products.

In another advertisement below, FNB builds its name further by launching a "kiosk" that assumes characteristics of a real kiosk. A kiosk is a small corner shop that usually sells food stuffs and drinks, and it is a convenience shop for people on the move. In this advert FNB appropriates the idea of a small corner shop and uses an image of a kiosk counter to promote products such as housing and school fees loans. The use of the idea of the kiosk enables the bank to take advantage of its popularity.

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Figure 2: FNB Kiosk

Source: (FNB flyer)

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The services provided at the kiosk are just an extension of the bank services, done in a way that associates service delivery processes with those of a kiosk that sells edible substances. Intertextuality is therefore manifest in the merging of the discourse of convenience shopping and that of financial services. The bank, a large and powerful institution, is implicitly equated to a small corner shop, with which ordinary people on the street can identify.

Similarly, the Botswana Insurance Company's (BIC) advertisement makes use of a domain that the general viewers would understand from observing nature. In the home,

individuals know certain items that need special attention to avoid damages from accidents or careless use. The eggs in Fig.2 below are well protected.

Figure 3: Botswana Insurance Company Advert

Source: (Botswana Insurance Company)

By using the fragility and delicateness of eggs, the company extends that meaning to include all the things we treasure and which we feel need our jealous protection from harm or damage. The individual thinks about his or her valuables. Such an interpretation is arrived at through reference to our knowledge of the world, including our knowledge of the value of eggs to nesting birds, as the eggs are their only insurance to the continuation of the species. The copywriter uses alliteration in the signature line: Unsure? Insure! Be sure!. The above advertisement borrows from a familiar domain which deals with the preservation of

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valuables; an idea that can now be applicable to the protection of one's valuables by joining the insurance company. The advertisement, through such referential meaning, prompts the reader to find out more about this Insurance Company. In a few words, the viewer is then persuaded to make "sure" that he or she "insures" his or her valuables. There is clear re-routing of fragments in search of new exchange values. There is explicit reference to other forms of knowledge, such as knowledge of being unsure or sure, and the role of insurance. With such an advertisement, we cannot doubt Bazerman's (2004) assertion that "intertextuality is not just a matter of which other texts one refers to, but how one uses them" (p.34). Intertextuality can, therefore, be regarded as a kind of activity in which meaning relations are both combined and transformed, as is the case in the signature line above. The other characteristic of intertextuality in this advertisement is that meanings are not given, but constructed. The advertisement only offers us a text and it is our own knowledge and experiences that allow us to make meaning out of what we read.

The next advertisement for medical and educational plans is of interest in terms of its intertextual reference. We see here an implicit reference to family values, in terms of how health and education are important to contemporary families.

PULA medical and educational plan

Want the best schools for your kids?

Want to give them a better chance?

Unless you have our policy

Source: (The Botswana Advertiser)

The reference made to the education domain captures the attention of readers since they cannot reject opportunities of sending their children to the best private schools that give them better chances. It is clear that copywriters use their knowledge of the desires of people

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and create advertisements using that knowledge. In Botswana, there is a preference for private schools at the pre-, primary and secondary school levels as well as for private medical care. The advertiser of this product is aware of this prevailing social reality and therefore takes advantage of it. Only those who send their children to private schools and use private medical centres in Botswana are likely to purchase the products advertised. Implicitly, the advert does not target the middle class as those lower in the social strata will not even consider it. The advert does not refer to any particular text that one can pin-point, but refers generally to the socio-economic conditions that prevail in the country, to which the reader refers in order to interpret and respond to the advertisement.

Clearley, advertisements move with time. When insurance policies were introduced, people in most African countries were unfamiliar with them and had a negative attitude towards them. One reason could have been that society did not want to contemplate death. Yet insurance salesmen used to be quite direct in their messages meant to persuade people to buy policies. They used slogans such as the one from the Southampton Insurance Company, "You may **die** and your family will be left **stranded.**" If this assumption is accepted, then the language of the salesman has gone unveiled through changes in line with social changes.

The use of direct language no longer has a place in contemporary advertising. In the above advertisement, the desire for education is exploited to promote the company's sales. The company tactfully uses "Pula" as its name, which is also the country's currency and which equally implies that policy holders would pay money.

4.3. The Literature Domain

Literature is one of the domains that are used as sources of intertextuality. The Shell Helix Oil advertisement below has its slogan as follows:

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We came! We saw! We conquered

Brailles smooth oil

Best oil

Helix

Source (The Botswana Advertiser)

This Shell Helix Oil advertisement is loaded with associations in its headline statement. Though this is an advertisement selling a type of engine oil, attention is drawn to the language of war carried in it. The word "conquered" is an expression of feelings of victory. The advert is making reference to a classical text which is

> ...a three-part sentence or motto and is classed as a tricolon and a hendriatis. The sentence appears in Plutarch and Suetonius (Plut. *Caes.* 50, Suet. *Iul.* 37.) Plutarch reports that he "gave Amantius, a friend of his at Rome, an account of this action", whereas Suetonius says "In his Pontic triumph he displayed among the show-pieces of the procession an inscription of but three words, "I came, I saw, I conquered". "Veni", "vidi", and "vici" ... (http:www.wikipedia.org/wiki/veni,_vidi,_vici)

There are obvious connotations of happiness and celebration. Producers of merchandise find that, while there are various ways to create a new product that will out-compete existing products, the use of intertextuality is a way in which advertising can equally be innovative. By making reference to such a catchy sentence, the advertiser is making the message interesting and memorable. But that is not all. The aesthetically pleasing message is very persuasive and is likely to convince a potential customer to try the product as the sentence is sometimes regarded as magic words (ibid.)

A flyer advertised cheese at Nando's restaurant in River Walk (see below):

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If cheese could speak,

Our cheese would be Eybers…

Source: (Nando's restaurant flyer)

Eybers is an acclaimed South African poet. By making explicit reference to Eybers, the advertisement implies that the product's qualities are associated with those of the works of a renowned poet. This is particularly true even where the celebrity has no plausible ground for being interested in the product. What attracts attention here are the words referring to poetry verses, rhymes, and also the highest accolade in the background subtext supporting the message. The plate of cheese is exhibited on two large books. The marketing message is that cheese is as highly regarded as Eybers the poet. The involvement of celebrities in the advertisement is the greatest intertextual reference that we see. What makes the advertisement successful is the merging of poetic discourse with the product and a wish for the cheese to speak out. The text also makes an allusion to the common English saying "If wishes were horses, beggars would ride," which is used to express strong desire for something.

4.4. Politics

In its marketing of a certain brand of cell phones, Orange makes explicit reference to Botswana's 2009 General election. The way the advertisement is structured also makes reference to the idiomatic expression "if wishes were horses, beggars would ride". The advertisement for Orange below, a telecommunication service provider, draws upon the political discourse and takes advantage of the 2009 Botswana parliamentary and council elections to market its products. Intertextually, the advertisement draws a parallel between choosing political representatives and choosing a phone. By making explicit reference to a line from a popular song, *Ditlhopho di tsile*,(elections have arrived), which the Independent Electoral Commission used to promote the general elections, the advertiser is showing how

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texts can draw their meanings from the socio- political context.

Figure 4: Ditlhopho di tsile!!! (Elections have arrived)

Source :(Orange flyer)

Elections bring excitement to people as they anticipate a fierce contest between the rival political parties for seats in the councils and parliament. The advertiser uses the hype generated by the political elections to create interest in the product by drawing or constructing a parallel between the choice of political leader and the choice of phone. Reference is made to the process of elections where contenders in real life campaign for nominations. Like candidates in an election, the phones are personified and have names that they "use" to attract consumers. Their trade names range from Vee Pack, Funky Pack, Zebras Pack, Scar Pack to Orange Pack. The phones are neatly and distinctly arranged in a raw for customers to make their selection. The arrangement, again, serves to display the phones in the same way that the candidates are campaigning. When "voters cast their votes", they are

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buying the phones. Through the merging of the two independent ideas, new meaning has been created. The phones in the advertisement seem to be calling for their own nominations from potential consumers to choose the true one (phone) as substantiated in the statement; *tlhopha ya gago ya nnete*-choose your own true one.

4.5. Marriage and Relationships: (the discourse of relationships).

The following advertisement for a bike incorporates the domain of marriage to come up with new meaning. The benefit of the concept of intertextuality is evident in the advertisement below, when the advertisement invites matrimonial language into it. In the advertisement, a child talks to its father in very unusual language for a child to do so. The advertisement makes use of matrimonial language in the headline. The advertisement reads as follows:

Daddy I want a divorce

And where would you go?

I will take mummy into the car and leave you

Unless you buy me the Savannah new Excel bicycle

I am leaving

Source: (The Botswana Advertiser)

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It is the headline in the advertisement alone that compels the father in the advertisement and the rest of the readers to listen to what the child is saying. Divorce is an unpleasant topic; it implies a breakdown of relationships. It involves separation and brings pain. Coming from a child, it makes the reader want to know more. In real life, a child cannot divorce his or her father. Divorce can only be between legally married persons, something that does not exist between a father and a child. It is when the text unfolds that the reader gets

to know that the child wants the father to buy him a particular kind of sports-bicycle, Savannah new Excel. The threat in the advertisement is vivid as a result of the transfer of meaning from the discourse of marriage and family relationships to marketing discourse. The domain chosen works very well in the advertisement since the reader becomes eager to find out what kind of divorce the child is talking about. From the above advertisement, one observes that creativity (in the form of intertextuality) has become the entry ticket to the contemporary advertising marketplace. Intertextuality has opened a whole new vista for creativity. It enriches advertising in the same way it enriches speech. Interestingly, the child uses the language of marriage and matrimonial relations to recreate meaning that concerns filial relations.

In the advertisement for eggs below, the Score Super-Market uses the following slogan:

The way to a woman's future husband's heart is through his stomach

Try our eggs today

Be a good cook

Our eggs can prove their worth for every house wife

Source: (Score Super-Market flyer)

There is borrowing from cultural societal stereotypes regarding the way women and husbands relate. The idiomatic expression "the way to a woman's future husband's heart is through his stomach" evokes cultural memories and beliefs about how men and women relate. The implication is that a woman has to be a good cook if she wants a male companion. The assertion is that the message would force the women to provide husbands with good food. In other words, if a woman loves her husband, she should see to it that he eats healthily. The subtext explains the belief and puts it into context. The visuals form the focus of the

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advertisement and link to the intertextual traces very well; they show a friendly but fat man with two fried eggs on his forehead in place of his real eyes. The advertisement declares that with this product, one can enjoy tasty cholesterol rich food and still be healthy and happy. Usually, people are told that eggs are high in bad cholesterol and therefore unhealthy. The advertisement now tries to reverse and subvert the claim.

4.6. Motor Engineering: (auto-mechanical discourse).

The Limkomkwing University of Technology has its advertisement with the following headline:

Ignite your creativity; unlock your potential

Source: (Limkomkwing University of Technology flyer)

In this slogan, the word "ignite" makes reference to starting a fire or an engine. There is a close association constructed between learning and making fire, implying that the courses, just like fire, would give the students (creative) energy. The courses advertised by the university are technical in nature and the advertisement uses the word "ignite", a term which expresses how a motor engine is (metaphorically) brought to life. The inclusion of such a mechanical term in an educational domain suggests that the courses unlock one's creative potential just as turning the ignition key starts an engine. So creativity can also be ignited! On one hand, igniting might mean to light a fire. Fire is a source of energy and therefore energises one's creative potential. The borrowing of lexical items from motor engineering that has occurred in the above advertisement leads to the hybridisation of discourse, as has also been shown in the other texts above. Educational discourse has merged with motor mechanical discourse to produce a text that requires the reader to interpret the text by referring, consciously or unconsciously, to the two domains.

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4.7. Building Engineering: (engineering discourse).

Building engineering is another source domain for intertextual meaning transference. In the advertisement below, the domain of building engineering is involved in advertising a type of shoe. To begin with, the assertion that advertisements need not be complex and ground-breaking to be successful and effective can be illustrated in building engineering. Textual reference is aptly drawn from building engineering in the advertisement's sub text of the shoe advertisement below, which reads: "**A good shoe sets a good foundation.**" Reference in this advertisement is made to the concrete foundation of a building.

Figure 5: A good shoe

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Source: (Khuli's Sneakers Company)

The ideas that are merged come from the building construction discourse. All buildings must rest on a solid concrete foundation in order to remain steady. By the same principle, in order for a person to be steady, he/she must stand on a good solid boot, a shoe that has a strong and firm foundation (sole). Readers are able to work out the meaning of the adverts to be saying the company is offering a product of superior quality by making a link between the strength

of a building's concrete foundation and the sole of a shoe. The reader unravels the meaning of the advertisement by reference to the nature of a foundation. It is associated with building structures, so its association with the sole of a shoe makes the advertisement convincing. The picture of a shoe helps to anchor the idea of a good "foundation." This advertisement shows that intertextuality involves reference not only to other previous texts, but to different domains of our experience in general. In this case, knowledge about building engineering is employed to bring the meaning to the reader. That is, if a building has a good foundation, it lasts very long. The lexical item "foundation" helps the reader to work out the kind of meaning association intended.

4.8. Health, Food and Beauty (health discourse)

The March 2009 issue of the *Smarty Consumer Digest* had a feature on "Health and Beauty Products." Five skin types are distinguished and described in fairly technical language in the subtext. The language used gives ample evidence of it having been borrowed from the health domain for the same effect. Part of the advertisement reads as follows:

An unusually effective, blemish-fighting skin treatment.

We are not talking about any fighting

But blemish-fighting

Or about any treatment

"But skin-treatment.

Feeling taut and looking dry,

The beauty salons and the expert consultants are your friends

Lubricate your skin

Source: (Smarty Consumer Digest)

The subtext then goes on to lecture on five different skin types. What attracts attention

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is the use of lotion as a lubricant. The skin thus has to be cared for with the same vigilance we exercise when we are in charge of a piece of machinery (lubricate). The skin is like a machine which needs regular lubrication.

The term "lubrication", borrowed from the usual mechanical field, makes clear the reference made. The advertisement tries to convince anyone who worries about image and ageing. No product is mentioned by name; the types of skins determine a specific product from the salons and the consultants. The beauty salons and the expert consultants are the friends the customer has. This means that, if both the copywriter and beauty consultants in the salons are sponsored by the same manufacturer, there is a complete commercial circle. In another instance, a flyer for the Score Supermarket carrying an advertisement for pork makes its impact by presenting choices.

He (your dog) doesn't have a choice.

You have...

Source: (Score Supermarket flyer)

The domain is that of education and involves reference to multiple questions used in examinations and tests. There is a multiple choice questionnaire, where one can choose what to eat. There is not much subtext. The visuals show a dog begging for scraps. The marketing message is that there is more than one kind of *white* meat to choose from for the consumer, unlike for the dog. Reference is made to the comparison made between animals and human beings. The advertisement tries to explain that choices can be made by human beings and not animals. The impact of intertextual merging of the human and animal worlds is vivid.

The headline for the Woolworths advertisement for chickens, for example, provokes associations between the reader's knowledge of heath and food. The headline reads as below:

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Our chickens don't have their friends over for dinner.

Source: (Woolworths pamphlet)

The domain referenced in the advertisement is domestic hospitality, where people invite friends for dinners. The advertisement goes with pictures that show free-range chickens, as opposed to the cruelty of modern day slaughtering of mass produced chickens. The chickens, according to the advertisements, are healthier in their natural environment and are not fed bone meal containing animal products. The advertisement draws parallels between natural and artificial environments which chickens can be subjected to.

4.9. Sex and Sexuality (sex discourse).

The Sure Bib ball underarm roll-on deodorant carries the headline below:

Every woman knows size matters.

Source: *(The Botswana Advertiser)*

The advertisement echoes dominant discourses about sex and sexuality. For example, it uses the myth that women are concerned about the size of their partners' sexual organs and that men are defined by and obsessed with the size of their penises. The subtext of the advertisement explains the innocent meaning of "size" in that advertisement. The sexual overtones that the size of genitals is important for sexual pleasure are craftily employed. The visuals show two sizes of roll-on deodorants. Size, then, matters for both sex and for the ball in roll-on deodorant. An analogy is drawn between sexual size (man's balls) and the extent of the effectiveness of the antiperspirant.

Similarly, the Castle Lager advertisement intertextually refers to this stereotypical assumption, that man is obsessed with size (see below):

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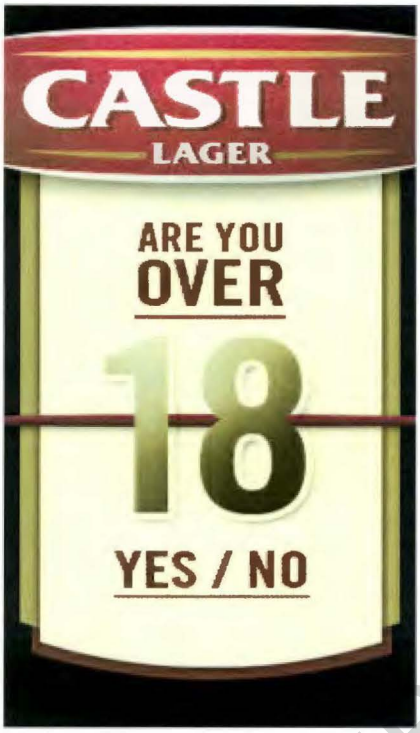
Figure 6: Castle the man-size beer - For real man



Castle the man-size beer.

I concur with Jenny (1982) when he says that when advertisers discover a trait of character in a social group, they tend to build their sales promotion campaign around it. It is noticeable in the advertisement for a brand of beer as above that an imagined and stereotypical characteristic of men has been exploited to create appeal in the Castle Brand beer. This is however, not to say that the assumption built into the advertisement is taken seriously. It may just be meant as a source of amusement.

In the caption of the advertisement, reference to the inflated male ego is tied up with man's obsession with size. The inscription of the yes/no question only serves as a precautionary measure but may not deter the drinking habit. The advertisement makes associations with what the men in society would regard as the "in-thing." Of course, nowadays women also drink pints of Castle in most drinking places, perhaps asserting their

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equality with men. The assumption, however, is that man can demonstrate their manhood by taking the beer (Castle). The element of masculinity has been capitalized on in this advertisement so that any man who takes Castle is considered the real man and, perhaps, sees himself as such. In the next section we see how sex and sexuality are used as sources of intertextual meaning transfer.

In the Colgate Plax advertisement the subtext is the connection between the products and the intertextual message. The mouthwash is also quick to use and has a long lasting effect. The intertextual reference is to sexual intercourse. The picture in the advertisement is of the product only. The message makes the point that the product is quick and easy to use and lasts twelve hours. Here the intertextual reference is explicit and is achieved via the simile "like the sexual quickies."

The quickie that lasts for 12 hours.

Plax mouthwash

Like the sexual quickie; will have a long lasting effect

Source: (The Botswana Advertiser)

In a similar advertisement to the two above, the Botswana Advertiser carried an advertisement for a type of cheese that makes one's mind explore sexual meanings and fantasies.

Cheese, the food for men!

Cheese has unique taste

Taste that makes men want MORE

Get your wife to buy cheese every pay day.

Source: (Botswana advertiser)

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The advertisement is accompanied by a picture of a virile man (old but possessing high sexual drive and capacity for intercourse). The old man in the picture is eating cheese and smiling mischievously. The advertiser draws upon and capitalises on the benefit that eating cheese makes men more sexually active, an assumption that is pseudo-scientific. The subtext explains the connection between cheese and beer as equated to roasting meat while drinking. The signature line successfully draws from other associations that viewers easily take as part of their beliefs and attitudes. Intertextuality here is at work in interesting ways. The advertisement shows four types of cheese: Cheddar, Cheshire, Mattoon and Coda, which evidently only differ in their colours, "white" "whiter" "orange" and "red-skin". One assumes that the merchandiser has no interest in people's beer consumption, but if it happens that beer-drinking is most men's favourite pastime, then they will not seem to compete with the Breweries. Instead, in this advertisement, men are advised that beer and cheese are complementary. Together they make men want **MORE.** The **MORE** is made prominent by capitalization and punctuation because it is a deliberate ambiguity; men demand more cheese or their sexual desires are insatiable. The copywriter capitalizes on the somewhat ubiquitous belief among the male community that cheese makes men sexually potent. It ends, like most, with a command: "Get your wife to buy cheese every pay day". Again, exploiting the chauvinism in men, this particular command is apt. The advertiser is commanding the man to command, not ask, his wife to buy cheese. The role of the man as the boss of the family is not challenged; on the contrary, it is affirmed. The three advertisements above make use of gendered stereotypes. They also use sex appeal, showing that the advertiser recognises the power of sex in contemporary society. Everything, including inanimate objects, is being sexualised in order to sell products.

The Botswana Guardian carried a Woolworth's clothes advertisement with perfect antidotes to cold weather. The advertisement is not about the quality this time, but about

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protection from adverse weather.

4.10. Clothing (Seasons and clothing)

The following advertisement draws its intertextual meaning through an allusion to the weather and its associated problems, such as the common cold

Woolworths clothes: Men's blue-black-and-white winter cycling jersey

Made of 100% polyester Cool max fabric on the outside,

With a fleeced inside. Doubles, as a cycling jacket. Beat the price! Beat the cold!

More.....!!!

Figure 7: Jersey

Source: (Botswana Guardian)

The advertisement attracts attention in the manner in which it asserts that despite Woolworths being a clothing and food store, its advertisement alludes to cold weather, which is associated with diseases such as influenza. The advertisement also alludes to an antidote, a preventative measure, in this case, of diseases associated with cold weather. In a nutshell, it has adapted medicinal discourse. It regards the clothes as antidotes to diseases caused by cold weather. It views the warmth of clothes as a preventative measure against all ills associated with cold weather.

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4.11. Religion (looks at biblical discourse).

The intertextual reference found in the advertisement for ham below (Choppies Supermarket chains) is based on the Bible. The text borrows phrases used in the Lord's Prayer (Matthew chapter 6 verses 9-13): "our daily bread," thereby making explicit reference to the religious text:

Our ham Daily bread

Your daily bread

Get the good taste

Try our ham

Source: (Feedsa Company flyer)

The advertisement makes explicit reference to the Lord's Prayer, by appropriating the phrase "daily bread" and using it to refer to bread in the shop which will be used with ham to make a sandwich. The subtext explains the good taste of the ham but does that by equating the biblical version to the type of bread. The visuals show a slice of bread with ham on it. The marketing message suggests that the ham is good to enjoy every day. This connection between the "spiritual bread" and "everyday bread" constitutes intertextuality.

Similar to the ham advertisement above, the Feedsa Company's advertisement, which appeared in the Advertiser of May 2009, draws a link between X owning a computer and divine power.

www. Feedsa co.za

Now everyone can perform a miracle

Source: (Feedsa Company flyer)

In advertising the company's laptops, the advertisement merges the bible discourse

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with computer science discourse. It alludes to a Bible story of the miracle of bread and fish. The implication is that a similar miracle can take place if one buys a laptop from their company. The subtext is the link between the story of the multiplication of bread and fish and the suggestion that anyone can perform a similar miracle by purchasing the company product. The visual images show the latest technological laptops which the company sells. It is left to readers to discover the miracles by visiting the website. The advertisement is both a means for readers to access fascinating products and to view the miracle. There is, in the above advertisement a deliberate effort made to bring the association with divine power.

The following section deals with language as a source of intertextuality.

4.12. Language: (language as source of intertextuality).

Language itself is a source of intertextual reference as the advertisement for stamp makers shows below.

Figure 8: Trodat & Stamp Makers

Source: *(Botswana advertiser)*

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The idea and concept of engraving goes beyond just cutting words on metal, wood, glass and so on and so forth. It also involves fixing the identity of objects in one's memory or mind or heart so that an object becomes impossible to forget. The vivid meaning carried by the word "engraving" allows for mental imagination of the work done by the company. Writing is a form of engraving. When the process is done it carries with it a sense of permanence. Intertextuality, therefore, can be manifested in ways in which it influences language change in terms of meaning and its social practices.

In the same vein, the Choppies advertisement uses language in a way that invokes associations in the reader's mind.

Buy any Orange product from our Shop

Stand to win
Ask for more details in store

Source: (Choppies flyer)

There is interaction between the advertisement and the reader. This comes through the pun in the word 'store' that generates ambiguity, which in turn stimulates the reader to reconstruct the message. 'In store' might mean inside the shop's building, but it might also mean surprise prizes kept for customers. The advertisement provides an important principle in copy-writing: more information in less text. As stated by Jenny (1982:45) "intertextuality speaks a language whose vocabulary is the sum of all the existing texts". The consumer becomes an active participant in creating the new text and is able to reconstruct the message. He or she feels "rewarded" and can even come up with varied associations. It is also part of the advertising strategy to maintain a certain measure of suspense on the reader's part, and this is achieved in the advertisement above since the "more details" are unknown.

The Dunlop advertisement below depends on the viewer's recognition of previous

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texts for the interpretation of its meanings. The meaning which it conveys comes from the association of the physical objects on sale with the biological function(s) of teeth as explained below.

Figure 9: Dunlop Advertisement

Source: (Dunlop Company)

The role of human teeth is to cut substances such as food. But with other animals, teeth are used to bite. This advertisement makes use of those roles known to us to generate new meaning apart from the cutting and chewing that we already know. The response achieved in this advertisement is associative. It is associative in the explicit sense that prices of the commodities can never have teeth. The advertisement implies that once prices have teeth they can do the cutting (reduction) on their own. An alternative reading could be that the advertisement depends on the expression that something has or does not have teeth meaning

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that it is effective or can enforce something. So the prices have an effect on the economy. The impact of the reference to other domains in this advertisement occurs through a network of prior knowledge that the readers already have. This knowledge deals with the different roles of teeth in general. Readers work out possible meanings from the context. There is substitution of one domain through a reference system. In the above advertisement, there is evidence of a constant demand for creative solutions to message problems, as evidenced by the creation of a new role for teeth. There is evidence of intertextuality influencing language change in terms of meaning. "Teeth" is used metaphorically and, as a result, the term attracts wider meaning. There is generation of multiple meanings in words.

The impact of the reference to other domains in this advertisement occurs through a network of prior knowledge that the readers already have and this knowledge deals with the different roles of teeth in general. There is substitution of one domain through a reference system which neatly explains intertextuality.

4.13. Law and Order: (legal discourse).

In the Lipton tea advertisement carried in The Botswana Advertiser, the signature line, **the best pot is not only legal,** shows reference to domains ranging from health issues, law and order, and drugs. There is a visible pun in "pot". Pot is also the slang term for marijuana, which is both illegal and unhealthy. The subtext explains that, in this case, a pot of tea is being referred to. To interpret the meaning of "pot", the reader is expected to utilise his or her exposure to prior texts to infer the meaning but also to appreciate the pun. So the reader makes an interpretation that, for the marketing message, the Lipton tea is, in contrast with the drug, both healthy and legal. Marijuana is said by its users, and even by established medical science, to be a cure for certain ailments. The advertisement is based on associations between the controversial pot and the law.

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4.14. Life Style: (lifestyle discourse).

The Furnm^rt household furniture advertisement juxtaposes old and modern beliefs to sell their furniture. There is the register of the old ways and the new ways, of living, and the new ideal ways.

No one wants to eat sitting cross-legged

Or to entertain friends sitting on prickly pieces of wood

Or to sleep bundled up close to a burning fire

With Furnm^rt, your lifestyle changes

Everyone wants comfort...

Source: (Furnm^rt pamphlet)

The old practices given in the first three lines are constructed as being outdated. If this construction is accepted, then one may assume that the above advertisement shows evidence of market research which may have found that people prefer to move with the times. The language reflecting ancient and modern times has been crafted to bring about a convincing argument to prospective buyers of furniture. There are three aspects to this advertisement. Firstly, it highlights what it claims to be every modern person's crave: the heights of success and luxury. The second meaning, which is an assumption, is that most people want progress and do not want to live like they did in the past when they were poorer. To eat while sitting cross-legged is compared and contrasted with dining in well-furnished surroundings, and prickly pieces of wood are set against luxurious sofas. The bare, cold ground is contrasted with comfortable beds. Throughout, the new lifestyle is highlighted by the constant reference to what *everyone* wants and what *everyone* frowns upon. This intertextual reference is implicit between our shared knowledge of what obtained in the poorer past and the more

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affluent present. The message, therefore, is that consumers should shake off their poorer past status and embrace the comforts of modernity.

In an advertisement for the Frame Gallery Shop, the advertisement states that a house without pictures is like a garden without flowers.

Figure 10: Frame Gallery

Source :(Botswana Advertiser)

Apart from the garden and house reference there is the expected reference to framing memories in the same way that documents are framed. The above advertisement employs association in two ways. The reader is driven to imagine walls of a house without pictures through associating that with a garden without flowers. The use of language, especially the idea of "framing memories", gives the other function of the frames apart from beautifying the walls. Documents and pictures are kept safely and refresh one's memory, especially the memory of good experiences and loved ones who may have passed on. Not only pictures and documents but also all aspects of one's life which must be cherished and remembered are

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framed.

Intertextual reference is realised in the advertisement below through visual images of car-birds flying. The images show a hybrid entity which is part car and part bird, suggesting that the advertised car possesses the speed of birds in flight. A fleet of fast cars is visually compared to a flock of birds.

Figure 11 Car &Van Rental

Source: (The Botswana advertiser)

The intertextual reference in the above advertisement largely comes through the visual images. The speed that the cars advertised can achieve is associated with the art of "flying". The impression is given not through description, but through the image of wings which are attached to the cars. Anything that has wings can fly and the reader's association of the concept of "flying"comes to mind. "Flock" would generally refer to birds, but here it refers to cars that have been given imaginary wings. There is word play that yields intertextuality. The intertextual reference has created new meaning for readers. Just as Ewen (1988) wrote,

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intertextual advertising dissociates images from their original context as the images take on new significance through the process. The advertisement above clearly shows images that have been dissociated from their original context when wings are attached to cars; a new significance for wings is created, partly as a result of textual reference.

4.15. Education: (academic discourse).

An Alliance Francaise advertisement for students of French carried the following headline;

Give yourself an edge over others.

Figure 12: Learn French

Source: (Alliance Francaise)

The above slogan is an example of where intertextuality involves reference not to other previous texts only, but to different other domains in our experience in general. There is a pun on the word "edge". The everyday meaning of the word is thin, sharpened side as of the

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blade of a cutting instrument (*www.thefreedictionaary .com/on edge).* In this advertisement, however, it invites associations and implies a margin of superiority, an advantage, to surpass or beat by a margin. One of the worlds' best known and most widely read and studied philosophers, Plato, born around 428 or 427 B.C., once said to his son, "When others walk, try to run; when they run, try to fly and when they fly – fly with them." The philosopher's words explain his wish for his son to stay ahead of others, to maintain the edge. The visual image is a well known animal, the giraffe, with its towering neck. One benefit of a long neck for the giraffe is that it enjoys fresh twigs from tall plants inaccessible to most animals. Similarly, such intertextual reference to the animal world creates a new form of meaning for human beings. This advertisement is likely to have an impact because; French is among the world's major *lingua francas*, such as English, Spanish, and Portuguese. It has earned international prominence and so its attraction to readers is immediate. Like the philosopher's piece of advice to the son, the advertisement makes explicit reference, through the use of the word "edge", to the advancement in education. Although the advertisement is commercial in nature, it is one that shows a synergy between creativity and strategy through intertextual reference.

Billboards are also a popular advertising print medium in Botswana. There is evidence of a constant demand for creative solutions to message dissemination. Copywriters use intertextuality as a way of enhancing messages in a creative and innovative way. This is shown in the advertisement below:

About tuition! If it's about that

It's not about climbing Mt

Everest. Call 72715433.

Source: (Main Mall billboard)

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The interesting thing is that, though the advertisement does not explicitly refer to any particular text, it alludes to other domains familiar to the readers. The advertisement compares the difficult task of climbing mountains, which may fall in the domain of sport, to the task of putting a child through school. The use of intertextuality shows that payment of tuition fees is difficult, but that the ability to pay high fees is just as fulfilling as reaching the peak of Mount Everest. The advertisement makes reference to mountain climbing and, in this case, the reference is made to the highest mountain in the world.

In trying to capture attention, the copywriter uses associations made through the domains that are familiar to common interpretations of meanings. By juxtaposing the effort needed to climb a mountain and the ease with which one pays fees when assisted by the company, the advertiser succeeds in selling the product. In making reference to the mountain, the advertisement injects motivation for educational achievement. The merging of the two discourses, mountain climbing and paying fees, produces this effect of determination to conquer obstacles.

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4.16. Controversial products: (subversive discourse).

There are companies that face complications due to restrictions on the media they can use to advertise their products. Examples of such products are pesticide chemicals, tobacco, and arms. These products often have the social stigma of posing danger to human beings and animals and, as such, the producers hardly find it easy to advertise their products. A question was posed in chapter 2 to explore the capabilities of intertextuality in dealing with the complications of advertising such products. The tobacco advertisement is of interest here since it shows how intertextuality is used as a subversive tool to advertise otherwise stigmatised products.

stigmatised products.

The Gaborone Sun Hotel, which is one of the biggest hotels in the city of Gaborone, advertises cigarettes. One flyer carried images of mugs of beverages and coffee. The advertisement shows a syntagmatic relationship between the cigarettes, coffee and brandy. Coffee and Brandy have connotations of strength, richness and quality. They work in disguise. The juxtaposition of cigarettes and the two beverages creates a semblance of equivalence so that the consumer should see them as having the same value. Interestingly, all the three have addictive qualities: brandy contains high levels of alcohol, coffee has high levels of caffeine, and cigarettes have high levels of nicotine, all of which are highly addictive. The advertiser implicitly suggests that if brandy and coffee are harmless, so are cigarettes. The message is therefore disguised (see below):

Figure 13: Cigarette -Controversial product advertisement

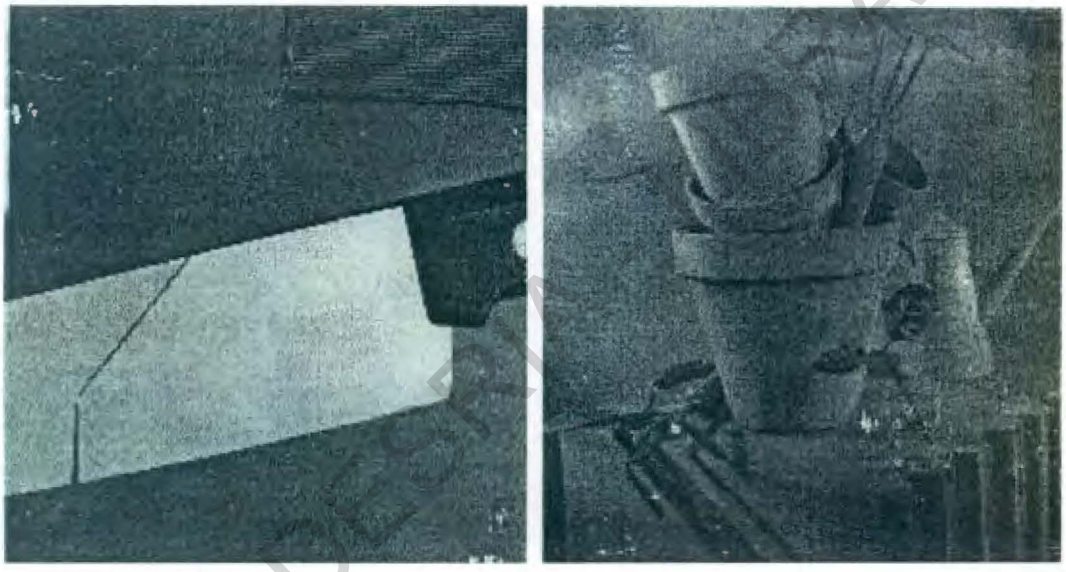
Source: (Gaborone Sun Hotel)

Through the juxtaposition of these beverages with the cigarettes, the same qualities are subconsciously attached to the cigarettes in the mind of the reader. Yet, it is also clear to the reader that the advertisement is actually promoting cigarettes and not the other two

products.

The other tobacco advertisement below demonstrates how advertisers avoid complication with the law when advertising tobacco products. Cigarettes or any tobacco products are not present, nor is the cigarette packet or the brand name. There is no text to anchor the meaning. All that is visible is a deep purple colour (on the original image). The richness of this colour suggests luxury and opulence, and hence evokes the concept of quality, and class. It is, therefore, the purple colour that invokes positive associations with the product.

Figure 14: Richness of Colour – Controversial advertisement



Source: (Gaborone Sun Hotel)

To avert complications, cigarette companies try to sell the name by linking cigarette consumption to some other harmless activity. Goldman (1992: 171) calls this "a method of producing advertisements which are unpredictable and opaque." The reader has to establish the correct interpretation. In this way, the advertiser succeeds in subverting the law and covertly advertising a product that is either socially stigmatised or whose advertising is

legally restricted.

In the above advertisement, the silk as type of colour is associated with glamour and riches. It also has aesthetic and sensual appeal and could be seen to fetishize the product. According to Perris's (1985) levels of interpretation, the cloth is a substitute standing for the absent product. The repetition of this metaphor for the brand produces an important effect. The purple colour has become just as important as the brand name. It now works to anchor the picture, where the silken sheet is absent. That is, through recognition of the colour the viewers are steered towards the desired interpretation of the advertisement. It is mainly the colour, which has become the symbolic tool with which the viewer can approach and "correctly" discover the preferred reading of the advertisements.

Brand loyalty becomes especially important for the cigarette industry, as they cannot target individual groups of people in their advertisements and certainly cannot use their advertisements to encourage non-smokers to smoke because of the media restrictions. Cigarette advertisements try even more than other advertisements to sell the name and to link different concepts to it. Through making sexual in quality of images, such as coffee, an advertisement constructs a link between the product and sensuality, thus demonstrating one way in which advertisers can attempt to covertly sell their products which, due to the strict laws, they may not be able to do overtly.

The analysis of the two advertisements above shows how intertextuality disguises unpalatable messages. The above are good examples of how a concept can be illustrated in a way which is removed from its original source. By constructing associations which link one product to something else, copywriters can retain the message without causing offence.

These advertisements show how advertisers can get readers to engage in their

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produce the feeling, in the viewers, that they are in control of the decoding process and that they have a wide range of interpretations. In the cigarette advertisements therefore, intertextuality is used for two main reasons: to subtly suggest the appealing characteristics of the brand of cigarettes and to aid interpretation of the advertisements, all of which encourages viewers to think about the product in a non-offensive and even desirable way. It does this by inviting them to concentrate on how the content resembles the glamour of the purple colour, and diverting attention from the possibility of dying of cancer caused by cigarette smoking.

4.17. Conclusion

The foregoing analysis has shown that the objectives of various commercial companies are to attract consumers. This is shown in their effort to be creative and innovative, as shown by the advertisements discussed so far. The chapter has shown that intertextuality involves reference, not only to other previous texts, but to different domains of our experience in general. Traces of other texts can be identified by examining both overt and covert references to them. Intertextual interpretations of texts can also be done through more implicit and opaque utilization of consumers' broad socio-cultural knowledge. The analysis of the advertisements in this section has also shown the recurrent discourse and activity patterns of the community, for example, how different discourses combine under particular social conditions to produce new complex discourses (see the HIV/AIDS advertisement Section 1.3). The advertisements dealt with so far have shown that there is a significant shift in the social functioning of language, such as in Section 4.2.12. This shift can be explained in terms of contemporary creativity and innovation employed in order to meet the needs of the consumer who is becoming increasingly more sophisticated.

Overall, the language in commercial advertisements is deliberately intended to persuade people to change their habits and feelings. One can conclude that commercial

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advertising tries to achieve its ends by emotionally engaging the audience. Commercial advertising does so by capitalising on the assumption that all people have fears, hopes, anxieties, aspirations and insecurities. Advertisers use these assumptions to increase the sales of their products. An analysis of the social service advertisements follows in Chapter Five, where the advertisements are intended to inform and educate readers on matters of public concern.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL SERVICE ADVERTISEMENTS ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the study is concerned with advertising addressed to consumers to promote public services. The chapter considers some social uses of advertising designed to promote change of attitudes as well as to inform the public on a range of social and health issues. Of interest is the identification of intertextual transfers that also occur in social advertisements. The analysis focuses on the source of the material used in those advertisements in order to discover the associations used.

Brown (1983) states that, "social advertising is a form of advertising that is designed to educate and motivate people to undertake socially desirable actions" (p.71). From the onset, social advertising can be viewed differently from other forms of advertising in that developers of such slogans are primarily interested in information intended for the public. Social advertising is one of our most visible forms of communication and people tend to have highly personal reactions to it. Brown (1983) further explains that among the subsurface motivating factors found in the emotional profile of most individuals, are the drive to conformity and the yearning for security. The public service advertising agencies try as much as possible to fashion psycho-social advertisements, as evidenced in the advertisements analyzed in this chapter. Schwartz (1974:69) points out that, "Social Advertising is the form of advertising that tries to systematically correct historically offline dynamics, such as peer-pressure, friend recommendations, and other forms of social influence." In fact, social advertisements, as noted by Zuckerberg (1989: 101), "carry with them the social actions that

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are powerful, because they act as trusted referrals and reinforce the fact that people influence people." With social advertisements, we get the impression that it is no longer just about messages that are broadcast by the agencies, but increasingly about information that is shared between people. So, copywriters use these social actions to build new kinds of advertising. In terms of design, social advertisements use simple summarized data with an occasional graph to help illustrate and, as such, intertextual reference is not as conspicuous as it is in commercial advertisements. However, there are media cross-references in the social advertisements, and that suggests the presence of intertextuality.

The framework of the study (CDA) allows for the unpacking of linguistic features of one text to be interpreted in relation to those in other texts, even those not explicitly mentioned. For that reason, the study depends heavily on linguistic features to uncover intertextuality in the advertisements analyzed in this chapter. Myers (1994) notes that even those advertisements that make no explicit allusions carry associations from other texts. The social advertisements make explicit allusions. Although intertextuality is not very conspicuous in social advertisements, it can still be inferred.

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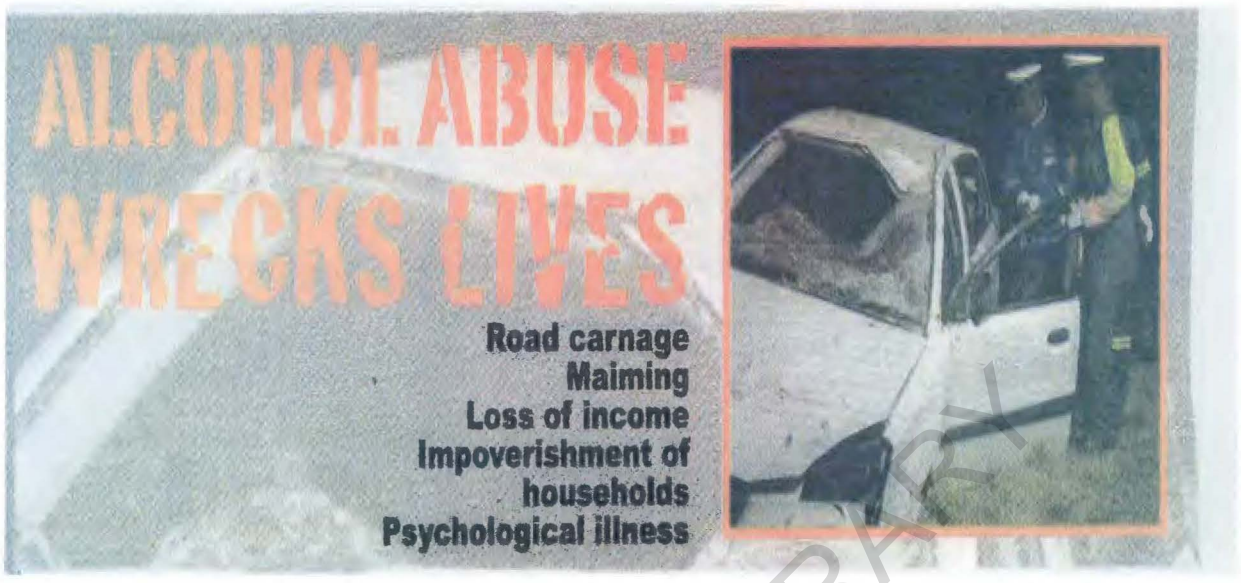
5.2. Alcohol abuse

The advertisement below, from the Traffic Safety Board of Botswana, uses subtle associations that yield intertextual reference. The background to the picture attracts fear and attention. This is because the advertisement uses **red** colour for the "catch phrase", **ALCOHOL ABUSE WRECKS LIVES,** in red on the original, a colour that is normally associated with danger. The advertisement outlines the ripple effects of accidents, such as maiming and psychological illness, that is, if a person remains alive after an accident. On one end of the image is a wrecked car with police officers on the scene. The information is explained by the pictures in the advertisement.

Figure 15: Alcohol abuse and traffic safety in Botswana



Source: (Traffic safety Board Botswana)

The colour red, the colour of blood, invokes a number of associations. In this advertisement, a simple association is used through the choice of colour. It is a powerful reference used to build the message. The rest of the warnings come in simple, summarized points that are straightforward, namely maiming, loss of income, impoverishment of households, and psychological illness. Even if the information is presented in a very straightforward manner, there is that kind of association in the advertisement.

5.3. Environmental Protection

The Gaborone City Council has the following slogan on pollution: **People Start Pollution. People can stop it.** The advertisement goes with a powerful visual image that dramatizes how litter, as a form of pollution, can hurt the environment and how every individual has the responsibility to help protect it. On one hand people are disposing rubbish carelessly. On the

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other hand the City Council labourers clean the garbage and place bins in place. A sense of responsibility is enhanced by the provision of the bins. This advertisement makes associations of the wisdom of self-love, an exceptional interest in and admiration for oneself. The slogan says that nothing appeals more to people than themselves. So, when people are involved in an undertaking they feel a projection of themselves. It is the people who start pollution and they should be the ones to stop it. People love acknowledgement, because it compels them to co-operate.

The next advertisement makes reference to poetry. It carefully draws and presents to people's minds a clear argument in the slogan given in a staccato movement - a movement which is a very diverse artistic presentation of words so that, like poetry, it appeals to sight.

A campaign to sensitise people about discrimination against people with disability from the "Botswana Society of People with Disabilities" carries the following advertisement;

5.4. Disability

People look at you.

They stare.

They all stare.

They point at you.

They shout at you.

They make you feel different.

It is fantastic!

Source: (Mmegi Botswana)

The central aim of the advertisement is to portray the disabled in the same light as celebrities. This cleverly subverts the stigma attached to disability and the disabled, and encourages the general public to see disability in a different light. This campaign has

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borrowed from the experiences and knowledge that people already have when confronted with someone out of their comfort zone. The short statements above are not very far from what people generally do to the disabled. It is clear that the slogan has borrowed from poetry in its style. As an advertisement or awareness campaign, readers have a certain way of looking at and reading it. The borrowing from the domain of poetry has given the text the structure of a poem. It is through the poetic style that the advertisement demonstrates the intertextual reference. The reader is left with the impression that Sinclair's (1987:23) definition of intertextuality, "as the whole network of relations, conventions, and expectations by which the text is defined," now appropriately applies. The source of intertextual reference is popular culture, which is characterised by obsession with celebrity.

5.5. Nature

An advertisement from the Department of Water Affairs reads:

To make our children grow just add water.

Source: *(Department of Water Affairs flyer)*

The visuals show a smiling child drinking from a tap. The subtext shows nature's ability to sustain life. Intertextual reference here is to texts found in drinks, advertisements for where one usually reads instructions such as "just add hot water," for example, to make hot chocolate. Water as a natural resource has to be preserved. The need to do that is further emphasised in the caption, "Like trees, children need water". The intertextual reference to nature is important in this advertisement as environmental discourse is one of the most pervasive in today's world, where the environment is constantly changing for the worse. That people need to conserve natural resources is likened to the caring for children. This slogan therefore draws from environmental discourse through the use of associations derived from juxtaposing natural vegetation and children. The advertisement provides the audience with images of intense experiences and clear psychological rewards for the people who use water

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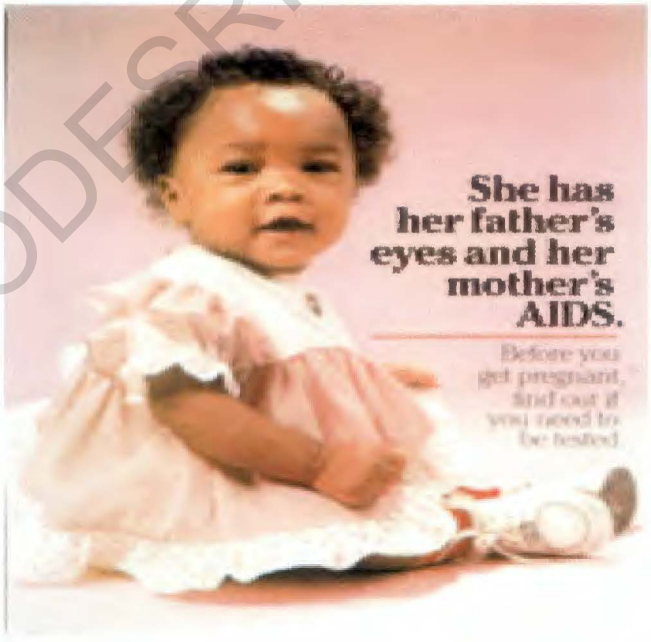
sustainably.

5.6. HIV/AIDS (General)

The following advertisement from the National AIDS Coordinating Agency makes reference to genetic science in order to preach about the prevention of the transmission of AIDS from mother to child. In a somewhat sexist and stereotypical advertisement readers see a positive discourse of gene inheritance from parents mixed with the ill-health discourse of inheriting a disease. Inheritance is often talked about in positive terms. For example, one inherits one's late parents' house and money and their looks, all of which are positive things. But this advertisement cleverly uses this positive discourse in a shocking way in that the inheritance of the father's eyes is connected to and contrasted with the inheritance of the mother's disease, via a coordinating conjunction "and," suggesting that the two phrases are equivalent. Yet the question of who brought the AIDS into the family remains unanswered. Is the father AIDS free? One may ask.

Figure 16: HIV (Mother –to –child Transmission of HIV)



Source: (NACA)

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The phrases "'her father's eyes' and 'her mother's AIDS'" in the advertisement above are equivalent only in form (noun phrases), but one clause is positive (her father's eyes) and the other (her mother's AIDS) is negative. This is unusual and captures readers' attention. The merging of the two statements creates a new meaning which compels the reader to focus attention on the last half of the statement. The inclusion of "AIDS" in the second phrase, *her mother's AIDS*, helps to create shocking perceptions of the deadliness of the disease since it is unexpected. The inheritance of AIDS is compared to inheriting one's parent's genes. We note that the man is constructed as passing on something positive while the woman is passing on something deadly. The discourse of genetic science is merged with medical discourse to create a new hybrid text with a surprising, unusual and shocking message.

Another advertisement by NACA's on HIV/AIDS is crafted in a manner that draws from common cultural knowledge which the reader can use to interpret the meaning and avoid bad social influence. The headline comes in the form of a question stated as "Who is in your sexual network?" "Network" can be described as "an openwork fabric or structure in which cords, threads, or wires cross at regular intervals, or a system of lines or channels that cross or interconnect"(Sinclair 1987:340). The term "network" is usually used in positive ways to refer to links one has with other members of a social group. A social network, for example, is good for communication, but here the term is applied to people who have no knowledge of each other but are still connected in a very intimate way. However, the shocking presentation is justified by the same simplicity in which the term network functions. The application of this concept to health matters has been successfully done in this advertisement as it is intended to shock people who must realise that if they are promiscuous they are not just sexually linked to people they know, but are potentially linked, in a frighteningly intimate fashion, to totally anonymous strangers in a growing web of promiscuous people (see below).

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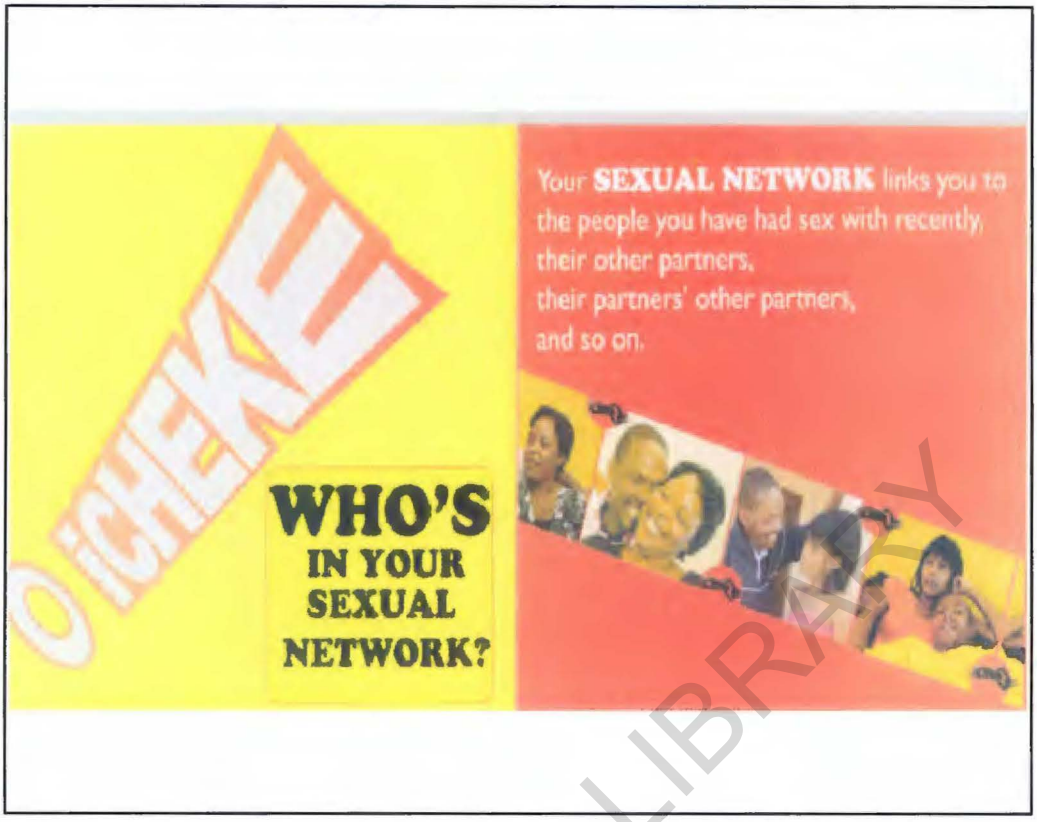
Figure 17: HIV/AIDS advertisement



Source: (NACA)

We can also use the word to refer to a chain of radio or television broadcasting stations, linked by wire or microwave relay, and also to a network of roads. In this advertisement, networks mean the absence of the need to remain in informal contact constantly but venturing into new clients each time. The images of people accompanying the message clarify the meaning of the advertisement. The advertiser uses the concept of "network" to make readers appreciate the gravity of the consequences of having multiple sexual partnerships. The advertiser also uses the current cultural context of Botswana, where multiple concurrent partnerships have been found to be the driving force behind the spread of HIV/AIDS. In the advertisement itself, it is the shared knowledge of this context that readers can use to interpret the term "network." But there is also textual explanation of network. If

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readers of the above advertisement link the usual definitions of 'network' to a new perception of an extended group of people, which one might have for sexual gratification (multi-sexual partners), then the advertisement is successful.. This kind of information has been created following a social need to educate people and make them aware of behaviours that can endanger their lives. Intertextuality seems to take the lead in the linguistic innovations which are demanded by a rapidly changing society. It produces messages in new, innovative and creative ways. For example, the advertisement below shows how a slang expression associated with youth culture has been appropriated to communicate a warning message in an HIV/AIDS advertisement, namely 'o icheke," a Setswana loan word from English 'check.' It means check or test yourself' or 'be careful' and it is meant to advise the reader to check his or her HIV status, but also to beware of his or her sexual behaviour lest he or she falls victim to the HIV virus.

In the next advertisement from the National AIDS Coordinating Agency, intertextuality is also employed. What is overt in the headline of the advertisement below is the use of alliteration, as in poetry, to communicate an AIDS message. From the headline below, alliteration is created by the end rhyme in the words kids, birds, bees and AIDS which is the repetition of the sound /z/. It also comes in the words Time, to, and tell in the repetition of the sound /t/. On the whole, readers can decipher from the advertisement what could be regarded as "entertainment" discourse for children and "health education" discourse. The two discourses are combined to produce a hybridized health message for parents. Telling children stories about birds and bees is not enough, but telling them about AIDS is important. The interpretation above is possible when the reader uses his or her own experience to make meaning out of "birds" and "bees," that is sex, which brings in a reference to parenting discourse in which reference to sex is veiled in euphemistic terms such as "birds" and "bees"

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instead of explicit reference to "sexual intercourse." The visuals go with the slogan: **It's Time to Tell Your Kids about the Birds and the Bees. And AIDS.**

Figure 18: HIV/AIDS (Children)

Source: (NA C A)

Obviously, such a discourse is meant to protect children from the explicit language of sex. But the advertisement is saying that actually parents need to be more explicit about sex if they are to effectively educate their children about the dangers of AIDS. The advertisers, by referring to the 'birds' and the "bees," are acknowledging the paradox of having to protect children from inappropriate, sexually explicit language, and at the same time to be clear enough to make them understand how AIDS is transmitted. The advertisement borrows from

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literature for its creation and uses hidden terms. The allusion to "AIDS" alongside "Birds" and "Bees" is clear use of hidden terms. The image allows the reader to figure out what it is that is likely to occur to kids if parents do not talk to them about AIDS and only concentrate on unimportant and petty issues. The image leaves the reader to imagine what is going on in the minds of the children. But all that comes through associations of past citations.

The advertisement from the Public Health Department in Botswana, promoting awareness of the A (H1 NI) influenza virus, comes as shown below. It prescribes a number of hints as follows:

Cover your nose and mouth when coughing

Do not stay in a crowded place for a long time

Wash your hands with clean water after sneezing...

Source: (Botswana Public Health Department flyer)

There is no doubt that the readers readily need the kind of information that is being disseminated. The message does not allude to other texts but there is no doubt, however, that the copywriter has used the general knowledge people have of science in general, and specifically the knowledge of hygiene. The hints given in the advertisement come from a common background and are passed on through such associations.

On the other hand, the HIV advertisement with the slogan The **No Bail - No Appeal - No Retrial** (NACA AIDS advert) is loaded with intertextual reference and is a very good example of texts in dialogue. The advertisement employs language associated with courtroom discourse to show that contracting HIV is the same as receiving a prison sentence. The discourse of HIV/ AIDS is mixed with legal discourse so that the result is a hybrid text that uses vocabulary from both the legal domain and the health domain. (See below).

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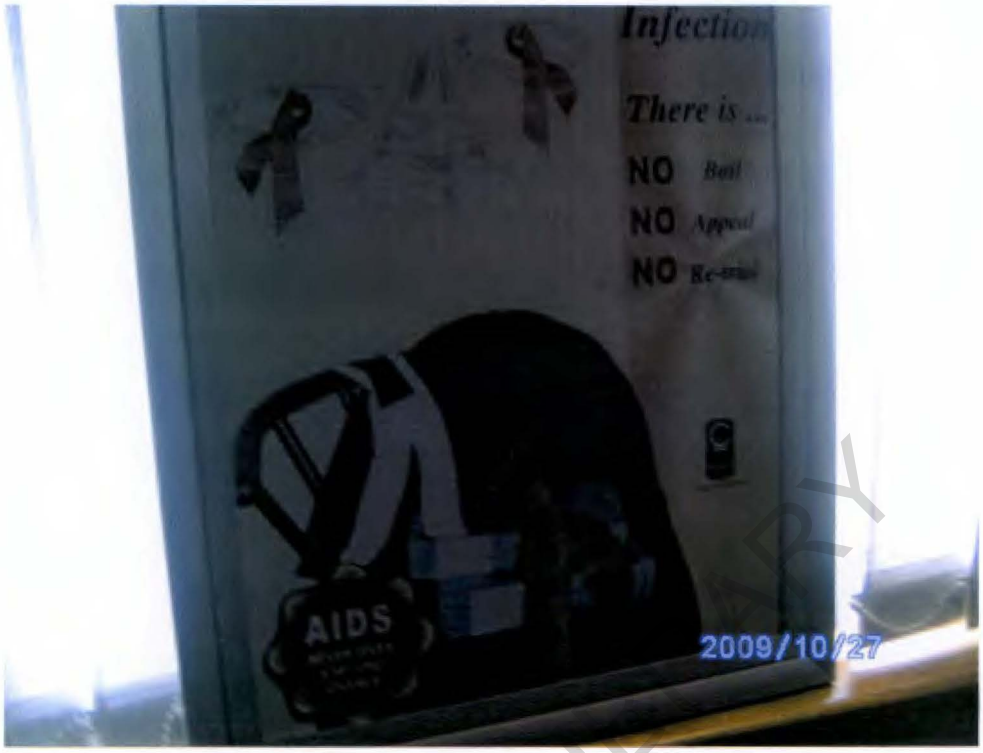
Figure 19: HIV - No Bail No Appeal No Retrial advertisement



Source: (NACA)

The slogan on the advertisement above reads as follows: **if you get HIV/AIDS infection, there is no bail, no appeal and no retrial.** In law, there are certain crimes which do not qualify for bail, for appeal or retrial. Once condemned, the prisoner faces imprisonment. So is the case with someone who contracts HIV. The legal vocabulary that is associated with the processes of prosecution and sentencing is significant in terms of establishing the connection between contracting HIV and going to prison. The impossibility of reversal is expressed in the short legal phrases "no bail", "no appeal" and "no retrial". It gives the message a tone of finality and helps to shock the public out of possible complacency. Readers may be familiar with, or may have witnessed how convicts collapse and die in courts when the sentencing is read, and would recognise the legal language and associate the AIDS disease with the horror of criminal conviction and imprisonment. Intertextuality is therefore a clever way of merging

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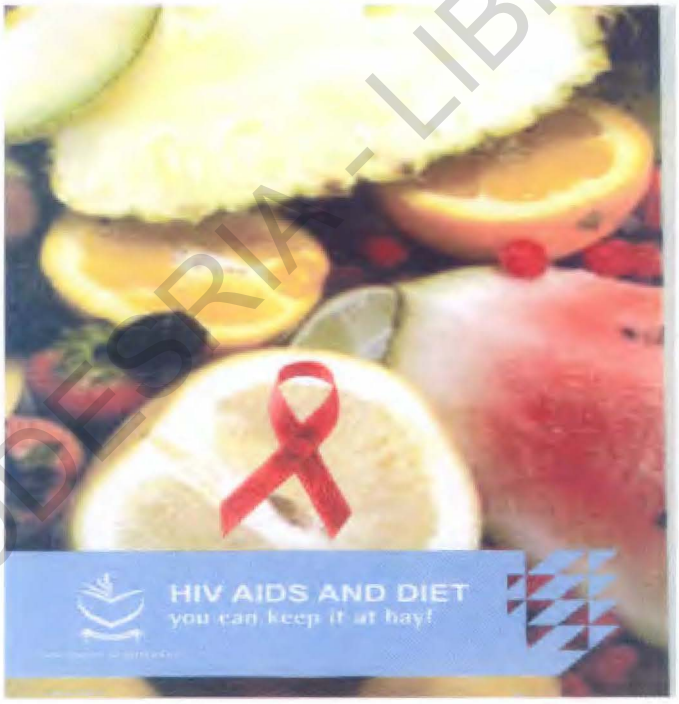
different texts and discourses to produce more interesting and, in this case, very powerful, hybrid discourses... The slogan instils fear in the reader in the same way sentencing instils fear in a criminal defendant. However, this kind of fear brings positive gains, such as change of sexual behaviour.

The next advertisement shows the obvious traces of other texts within a text. The message is basically presented in visuals of one domain, which is food, and the invisible virus that has to be destroyed or overpowered. There is borrowing from food science of the elements that make up for balanced diet. There is not much written information but the combination of parts creates the message.

Figure 20: HIV and diet advertisement



Source: (University of Botswana health leaflet)

There are subtle clues, like the red ribbon, in this text image above, that come to the mind of the reader. There are distinct discourses that are merged to create a message of

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advice. The symbol of a ribbon in the image has no caption. But it normally goes with the words *Ntwa e Bolotse,* translated as "the war has been declared". This is a trace of the AIDS discourse. The food has the role of fighting against AIDS, so that when food and AIDS fight and food wins the patient is saved. The metaphor of war is used to emphasise the seriousness of the campaign against AIDS. Intertextuality in the advertisement is achieved via a metaphor so that the campaign against AIDS is conceptualised in terms of war where food is going to be used to strengthen the body's defence system, known in Setswana as *masole,* (soldiers) in reference to the white blood cells which help fight disease.

The advertisement below represents another anti-AIDS campaign:

Figure 21: Be a voice for these children

Source: (N A C A)

The message comes in three frames. Basically, the formation of the text above and its interpretation is influenced by the creator's and audiences' prior knowledge of other texts and cultural conventions, such as how societies can identify withdrawn individuals. The images are presented in a way that tells a story of children who are abused. The reader gets involved

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in the process of interpretation from a general knowledge of the culture of child abuse which is found in all human societies. The caption in the centre frame draws attention and the reader has to imagine what the children are going through. Through association and reference to culture, the reader is able to draw meaning from the advertisement. The creation of the above advertisement is a result of borrowing from norms and values of society. The idea of our general knowledge about child abuse has been incorporated in the message. Intertextuality manifests itself in a number of ways. In this advertisement the reader interprets the advertisement by making reference to shared knowledge concerning child abuse and how, by extension, abused children can be vulnerable to diseases such as AIDS.

5.7. Values

One way in which intertextuality is achieved in designing advertisements is by appealing to certain values that the society holds dearly. For example, reference to Sir Seretse Khama by the Botswana National Archives and Records Services tries to instil tolerance in readers through persuasion. To the people in this country, Sir Seretse Khama was a highly appealing personality and, as such, campaigns associated with his name are sacred. In a flyer educating people on the facilities and services that the public can access at the Library of National Archives, the words of the late first President of Botswana are quoted in a slogan as:

"A nation without a past is a lost nation and people

without a past are people without a soul."

Source: (Botswana National Archives and Records Services flyer)

Such an explicit form of intertextuality, such as a direct quotation or direct speech, is referred to as manifest intertexuality (Fairclough, 1992: 2003). It is fairly transparent and

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does not require complex processing, like the kind of intertextuality where the source text is unknown and the reader has to use his/her general knowledge of the world to make sense of the text. This slogan accompanies a campaign for people to listen to oral history programmes on radio where interviews on traditional and personal aspects of Botswana's history and heritage are discussed. As a nation, therefore, the mention of the former president's name, together with a campaign message, is geared towards giving potential users of the library the motivation and inspiration to use it. Reference to such a prominent figure is used, therefore, to promote positive values in society and, in this case, the value of reading. Reference to the words of the first president is a tool used to legitimise the importance of the service advertised.

Similarly, in the slogan from the Botswana Electricity Board which reads as follows:

If you save, together we can save more.

Switch off lights when they aren't in use.

Source: (Botswana Electricity Board flyer)

People here are persuaded to uphold positive values of saving energy. The association between the shades of meanings of the word "save" is very subtle. But the advertisement implies that the majority has already taken heed and that if the reader joins in, this would complete the circle. The exclusive use of "you" and the inclusive "we" in this advertisement stresses the value to be achieved when people come together. The use of the word "saving" is linked to the positive social value of putting something aside for future use. In this campaign, the reader is motivated to preserve electricity. By saving, one accumulates money for future use just as by saving electricity, one accumulates power for future use. The advertisement "talks" to the audience through those associations and cross-references and achieve

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engagement with the audience. There is reference to the discourse of environmental conservation. Although the "saving" can be of money, there is also an underlying meaning of saving the environment (environmental conservation). These associations show the psychology of advertising at work.

5.8. Conclusion

The chapter explored the tenets of intertextuality in social advertisements. By examining textual references in those advertisements, the chapter illustrated the forms by which intertextuality is manifested. Overall, social advertising represents and engages the social context of the user viewing the advertisements. Most forms of intertextuality involve implicit reference to the general shared cultural knowledge, and interpretations of the text require the reader to utilise this knowledge. However, there are others that utilise manifest or explicit intertextuality, such as when some famous speech or saying is quoted directly. The next chapter is the final, and it summarizes the findings of this study and makes recommendations for further investigation of the phenomenon of intertextuality.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Introduction

This last chapter summarizes the findings of the study. It makes comments on the findings on both the commercial the social advertisements in relation to the research questions and the objectives of the study, as they are stated in Chapter One. The study set out to investigate intertextuality in advertising in Botswana, and, specifically, was intended to answer the following questions as given in Section 1.6.

I. What forms of intertextuality are found in advertisements in Botswana?

II. What linguistic innovations are achieved through intertextuality?

III. What social domains are the main sources of intertextual reference?

IV. How does intertextuality shape meaning of advertisements, i.e., is how do advertisements construct the consumers?

The findings of this study are presented in brief summaries on the following aspects of the research project: findings on the commercial advertisements and findings on the social advertisements in relation to the research questions.

6.2. Summary findings on Commercial Advertisements

One question sought to find out the forms of intertextuality that are found in advertisements in Botswana. This study established that the commercial advertisements do not stick to a particular trend in terms of domains that advertisements use to yield intertextuality. What is evident is that copywriters use a wide range of different domains with different products. There is evidence of referential texts from a range of domains: from the language of war,

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language of law, language of building engineering, and language of the Bible, literature, politics, and so on. Lexical items associated with these different domains are borrowed and incorporated into the language of marketing products in the advertisements studied. For example, those in which we see implicit reference to family values, in terms of how health and education are important to contemporary families (see section 4.15 Fig. 16).

On the question of their linguistic structures, this study demonstrated that the commercial advertisements generate a great deal of linguistic innovation in their use of intertextual reference. This was shown in how simple messages can be made appealing by merging sometimes incongruent discourses to produce powerful hybrid ones. Innovation was realised through visual images in some advertisements, for example, the one in figure 10. Some commercial advertisements are so opaque that it is not easy to pin down the source of intertextuality, so that the reader utilises a very broad contextual knowledge to work out the intertextual reference and therefore the meaning of the text. Some of the texts make reference to other, prior texts with which the readers are not familiar. This impedes comprehension as seen, for example, in the advertisement on "the Eybers" in the "speaking cheese". The poet is a South African, so that the reader has to know the rituals and cultural beliefs of the indigenous people of South Africa to understand the advertisement. This characteristic of intertextuality confirms what Dyer (1982) means when he says "meanings are not given, but are constructed" (p.187). All the same, commercial advertisements make use of varied linguistic techniques to make the message catchy and memorable. The study has established that new meanings are always possible even without changing the morphological structure of words. Intertextuality as a tool is successful because it is resourceful in language use. This study has found that language is extremely dynamic, as it keeps changing according to the tastes and preferences of the people who use it, in this case, in the genre of advertisements.

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It has also been established that language is a source of intertextuality in commercial advertisements. These language techniques include lexical innovation, such as alliteration, puns, neologisms and metaphors, (see section 4.12). The study observed that commercial advertisements have the power to behave as standing for the truth in people's lives. For example, it was illustrated that in modern media it is acceptable to use sexually suggestive and explicit portrayals of men and women, or to use the Bible as inter-text to sell products and services as shown in Chapter 4 advertisements. On social domains that are the main sources, of intertextual reference, it was observed that the health domain seemed to be borrowing much from literature, law, and food, among other domains, as attested in the vast number of health advertisements.

This study has shown that under the social advertisements category, the advertised products that are controversial in terms of the law, as cigarettes, which cannot be advertised to encourage non-smokers to smoke. So the promotion is done in a subversive way to hide the fact that they are being promoted. This demonstrates that advertisers can covertly suggest reasons for buying a product, without explicitly doing so. The use of intertextuality becomes a solution in selling products such as tobacco whose advertising is restricted by law. In the "tobacco" example, intertextuality was used to subtly suggest the appealing characteristics about a brand. It is also used to aid interpretation of advertisements which encourage viewers to think about the product and hence increase their associations with the product. It does this by inviting consumers to concentrate on how the content resembles what they already know from their previous knowledge. That increases the chances that the brand name will be remembered by the viewer.

6.3. Summary findings on Social Service Advertisements

The analysis for social service advertisement was done in a separate chapter for the reasons

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articulated below.

Clearly, as stated by Brown (1983), social advertising is a form of advertising designed to educate and motivate people to undertake socially desirable actions. The findings confirm this assertion in terms of the overt meaning that social service advertisements carry. Unlike in the commercial advertisements, the language comes in simpler and straightforward ways. The analysis however, focused on the source of the material used in those advertisements to discern intertextuality. The section on social service advertisements revealed that developers of such slogans are primarily interested in information intended for the public welfare and safety. Besides the use of simple language, advertisements under this section have shown extensive harnessing of the knowledge of the reader as traces of association that readers can invoke. For example, the understanding of the meaning of "diet" depends on the harnessing of the knowledge of a context where HIV/AIDS is concerned see (Figure 20).

The social service advertisements make use of metaphors, reference to culture, use of direct speech, and appeals to certain values, as well as making use of celebrities. In support of the above assertion, one observation made in this study is that intertextuality allows for an important principle in copy-writing, which is more information in less text. From one text, the knowledge of two or more other texts is activated, as demonstrated in the majority of the social service advertisements in this study.

With social service advertisements, this study showed that, although the advertisements are primarily in English there is evidence of code mixing where Setswana lexical items are inserted to spice up the message as well as to authentically represent the local culture and commodities. Examples include use of words in the AIDS advertisements such "o icheke" (see Section5.6 fig 16.) Here there is a cross-linguistic textual dialogue and it constructs a

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very powerful intertextuality. In this country one function which social advertising has performed is the creation and continual re-moulding of values. In Botswana, advertising performs crucial functions as it also does in many countries. That is the dissemination of information on HIV/AIDS related issues and the current A (H1 NI). Close to the above observations, this study traced the values of the world in which we live in a general sense. The study shared strongly the belief of Wiles et al. (1996) that the content of advertising messages influences the shaping of general societal values and norms. This has been apparent in the social advertisements where the major issue is that of educating and moulding people's perceptions see (Chapter Five advertisements).

In short, this study endorses the view of social service advertising as advertising that is a fact of life and that reveals national values and life styles. It is apparent that the extent to which these advertisements serve as indices to national values and life styles cannot be overemphasized. The roles assigned to the consumer as final adjudicator make the proposition more acceptable, memorable and influential. Social service advertisements are reality based. This is because they show real situations in real-life settings. Examples of this are in Chapter 5. Similar to the above observation, this study also examined the social domains such as law, health, beauty, sex and sexuality, and discovered that they form the main sources of intertextual reference. Based on the analysed data, it can be argued that advertisements construct a society that is materialistic, that is, one made up of people who define themselves by the things they buy. The materialistic values are articulated by nearly all the commercial advertisements. People are persuaded to accumulate material possessions by purchasing advertised products. The advertisements also construct a society of people obsessed with physical image *(youthful, beautiful and sexy)*. This promotes the view that how one looks characterises one's worth. There is a visible pre-occupation with health-related products. There is also a growing awareness and sensitivity towards minority and vulnerable

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groups.

On the question of how intertextuality shapes meaning in advertisements (i.e., how do advertisements construct the consumers?), it can be argued that intertextuality creates new meanings to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice in those advertisements. This is demonstrated fully in the HIV/ADS advertisements in Chapter 5. These advertisements explicitly showed how new meanings are created through the merging different, often incongruent discourses, to form new hybrid discourses. In one of the advertisement, "network" has actually been intended to shock people who must realise that if they are promiscuous they are not just linked to people they know, but potentially to totally anonymous strangers in a growing web of promiscuous people. The study appreciates the importance of using language analysis as a method of studying social change.

Related to the above observations, without attempting to extrapolate the experience which other cultures have gone through to the local scene, this study concluded that there is an attempt by advertisers to persuade people to believe that consumers are somehow lacking something and the advertised products would perform miracles to satisfy their needs. For example, in the lifestyle discourse (see section 4.8-9) the advertisement suggests that "no one wants to eat sitting cross-legged." Because of this, it constructs the consumer as someone who *needs* furniture. Another example of how advertisements position the consumer as lacking is that of skin care products, which seem to suggest that the consumer has a blemished skin and needs the skin care products to remove those blemishes and attain perfection in skin tone. The study also found that the advertisements tend to feed off stereotypes about certain groups of people: women being obsessed with looks and men being obsessed with size. There is the aspiration drive and the achievement drive, culminating in an individual and his family moving from one level to another (see the Furnm^art

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advertisement). Such movement, from one level to another, is the metamorphosis of goods and property into socially acceptable symbols of success, giving higher social status to the consumer.

6.4. Contributions of the study

Finally, I hope that my exploration of intertextuality builds to some extent on the existing studies of advertising in Botswana. The study done by Oremeng (2009) primarily investigated changes in advertising language in Botswana Media through a comparison of advertisements that appeared in 1997 and 2007. He observed that changes have indeed occurred. He discovered that the 1997advertisements did not use many stylistic features. As for Ndlovu (2008), his investigation attracted interest for its discovery of the role of music in advertising. My study has gone into intertextuality in advertisements. It explored the concept of intertextuality, namely, the claim that every text operates through the absorption and transformation of another text or several other texts. This idea was illustrated through the use of the texts (advertisements).

The research found out that intertextuality is employed as a device that has gained a position of dominance in the advertising industry. This position of dominance is manipulated at various levels not only in commercial activity, but also in social service advertising. This study has therefore, been illuminating in the way it has broadened knowledge about advertising techniques. From such research, scholars could build on the techniques discussed and conduct further research on say "media hegemony in advertising strategies" and explore it in a more or less the same way. For copywriters, the study should give them insight into the ways in which language can be manipulated beyond mere commercial activity. However, more work still needs to be done on advertising.

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6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion therefore, I suggest that because of the abundance in advertising material and the integral part of advertising or marketing communication in our lives, as seen in the quantity of intertextual advertisements which refer to almost every aspect of our daily lives, it should be possible to do more relevant and applied research in this field. As a spirited defence of advertising seems to me to be as untenable as an impassioned condemnation of it, I hope that I have shown readers that a deliberate exploration of this field in this country, at even greater length and in greater depth than I have attempted, is warranted.

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APPENDIX

LETTER FROM (H.O.D) ENGLISH

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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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23 July 2009

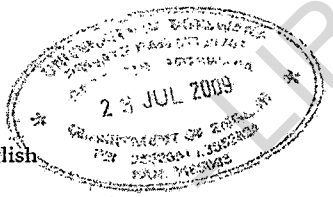
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mr. Enesiti Chirume, a postgraduate student in the Department of English here at the University of Botswana, has identified your organization as one of his data collection points. His research topic is "Texts in Dialogue: Intertextuality in Advertising in Botswana."

Please assist him.

Thank you.

Dr. Arua E. Arua
Head, Department of English



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