

COVERT COMMUNICATION IN THE PROMOTION OF ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO IN SPANISH PRESS ADVERTISEMENTS.

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, we will prove that the intentional use of English in most tobacco and alcohol advertising campaigns published in the Spanish press aims at designing an effective communicative strategy specifically addressed to the youngest segment of consumers, mostly teenagers, who are one of the main sources of current and prospective customers for alcohol and tobacco companies. This practice is not allowed by the Spanish legislation on advertising and the writing of article 37 of the Regulations in Public Health (Reglamento de la Ley General de Salud) is very clear. However, the use of covert communication works as a subterfuge which enables this kind of adverts to exist, thereby subtly breaking the existing law on advertising and avoiding the social consequences derived from this particularly perlocutive communicative process.

KEY WORDS: Covert communication, Advertising Discourse, Relevance Theory, Anglicisms.

RESUMEN: En este artículo mostraremos cómo el uso intencional de la lengua inglesa en la mayor parte de las campañas publicitarias de tabaco y bebidas alcohólicas que aparecen en la prensa española persigue el objetivo de diseñar una efectiva estrategia comunicativa específicamente dirigida al sector más joven de consumidores, adolescentes mayormente, que a su vez constituyen una de las principales fuentes de clientes, presentes y futuros, para las empresas tabacaleras y de bebidas alcohólicas. Esta práctica no está permitida por la legislación española, como muestra de manera incontestable el artículo 37 del Reglamento de la Ley General de Salud. Sin embargo, el uso de la comunicación encubierta funciona como un subterfugio que posibilita la existencia de este tipo de anuncios publicitarios, violando la legislación existente sobre publicidad y evitando las consecuencias sociales derivadas de este peculiar proceso comunicativo perlocutivo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Comunicación encubierta, discurso publicitario, Teoría de la relevancia, Anglicismos

1. RELEVANCE THEORY AND THE USE OF ENGLISH IN SPANISH ADVERTS

Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995) starts from the following

fundamental assumption: the addressee will make the needed effort to process a piece of information if he/she deems it relevant in a specific situation. A piece of information is considered relevant when, being processed in the particular cognitive environment of a specific hearer; it causes a certain number of contextual effects. The relationship between contextual effects and processing effort is of crucial importance in Relevance Theory and it leads to the key notion of optimal relevance, explained by Sperber and Wilson (1987: 16) with the following maxims:

(1)

A - Other things being equal, the greater the contextual effects, the greater the relevance.

B - Other things being equal, the smaller the processing effort needed to achieve those effects, the greater the relevance.

Relevance Theory emphasizes that the starting point of communication is not zero. Thus, when the addressee is involved in any kind of communicative act, he will have to select the interpretation which gives greater contextual effects in each particular situation because this is the easiest way to adjust to both the immediate context and the encyclopedic knowledge of the addressee. The following table¹ outlines in a simple way the six main principles of the communicative model developed by Sperber and Wilson (1987):

<p>1. Cognitive Principle of Relevance</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance</p> <p>2. Relevance</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(i) The greater the cognitive effects, the greater the relevance;</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(ii) The smaller the processing effort needed to achieve those effects, the greater the relevance.</p> <p>3. Cognitive effects</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(i) Strengthening an existing assumption;</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(ii) Contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption;</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(iii) Combining with an existing assumption to yield a contextual implication.</p> <p>4. Optimal relevance</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">An utterance is optimally relevant to an addressee if:</p> <p style="padding-left: 80px;">(i) it is relevant enough to be worth the addressee's processing effort;</p> <p style="padding-left: 80px;">(ii) it is the most relevant one compatible with the speaker's abilities and preferences.</p> <p>5. Communicative principle of relevance</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Every utterance communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance.</p> <p>6. Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(i) consider cognitive effects in their order of accessibility (i.e. follow a path of least effort);</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(ii) stop when the expected level of relevance is achieved.</p>
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Table 1: Sperber and Wilson's (1987) Communicative model

We deem Relevance Theory (1986/1995) the most appropriate framework for the analysis of the intentional use of the English language in the promotion of alcohol and tobacco products owing, among other factors, to the importance it grants to the role of the addressee in the advertising communicative act. We also consider that the use of a linguistic stimulus – the English language – that is different to the one expected by the audience – the Spanish language - represents relevant communicative behaviour, as should be expected from any kind of paid communicative act.

The use of English in Spanish press adverts is coherent with the notion of optimal relevance. Following the principles of Relevance Theory it could be argued that the use of a language not expected by the audience would force the addressee to make an extra processing effort, which would go against the principles established by this theory. Nevertheless, although the use of a language not expected by the addressee means, at first, a bigger processing effort than the use of Spanish, the cognitive effects derived from an utterance written in English are greater than the extra processing effort. Referring to the use of different stylistic effects, Wilson and Sperber (1987: 19) state that on some occasions “by demanding extra processing effort [...] the speaker can encourage the hearer to look for additional contextual effects in the form of additional weak or strong implicatures.” In the case of the intentional use of English in Spanish adverts, optimal relevance is achieved despite this initial need for an extra processing effort because copywriters consider it to be the easiest way to achieve the desired contextual effects on the audience.

2. COVERT COMMUNICATION IN THE DISCOURSE OF ADVERTISING

In advertising, communication takes place in a context where cooperation between sender and addressee is not at all guaranteed and this factor hinders the communicative process. The audience automatically recognizes adverts owing to their particular layout and common elements and is immediately aware of their aim: to persuade their audience to buy a certain product and not a similar one. This particular cognitive environment on the part of the addressee explains why advertisers resort to different persuasive devices that will not require a trusting and cooperative relationship between sender and

addressee, rather than sending explicit messages such as *IBM – The Best Computers in the World*.

On many occasions, the discourse of advertising tries to compensate this poor cooperation (and trust) on the social level by increasing cooperation on the cognitive level, consciously trying to involve the addressee in the recovery of a meaning that is not manifest. The strategy of adverts is to make the hearer access the intended implications and therefore make him/her at least partly responsible for the assumptions that can be inferred from the advert. Moreover, the audience sometimes needs to process assumptions derived from the advert in order to understand the explicit message and it is at this particular moment when the persuasive process works most efficiently: advertisers carefully work out the amount of information that will necessarily be explicitly introduced, while deliberately leaving most of it implicit for the audience to access. The fact that those deductive processes needed to fully understand the text were not explicitly presented makes it more difficult to hinder their truthfulness. As it shall be shown when discussing the adverts we are going to examine here, explicit information works as a premise that invites the audience to draw some implicit conclusions, often approaching the terrain of covert communication.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that when the sender does not make his informative intention manifest in one way or the other, we should not be talking about ostensive, or overt communication but rather about a covert form of information transmission. Becherif & Tanaka (1987: 127) sum up the differences between ostensive and covert communication in the following definitions:

(2)

Ostensive communication: an overt form of communication on which there is, on the part of the speaker, an intention to alter the mutual cognitive environment of the speaker and the hearer.

Covert communication: a case of communication where the intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive environment of the hearer, i.e. to make a set of assumptions more manifest to her, without making this intention mutually manifest.

Relevance Theory also distinguishes between informative intention - “to make manifest or more manifest a set of assumptions to an individual (**I**)”- and communicative intention – “to make it mutually manifest to audience and communicator that the communicator has this informative intention (**I**)” (1995: 58). In covert communication the sender tries to inform the addressee without showing his informative intention. Unlike what is usually the case with ostensive communication, he does not reveal the aim of the communicative act:

He does intend to affect the cognitive environment of his addressee by making her recover certain assumptions, but he avoids the modification of the mutual cognitive environment of the addressee and himself by not making this intention mutually manifest. In other words, he does not publicise his informative intention. (Tanaka 1994: 41)

From the point of view of the copywriter, different advantages can be mentioned when designing an advert following the principles of covert communication: as cooperation and trust are really low at the social level, the advertiser knows that revealing his informative intention – selling a product in order to make a profit – would have an adverse effect on its fulfillment. Covert communication also makes the audience become more involved in the process of communication, inviting them to spend a certain amount of time in processing the utterance of the advert. However, the reason for the use of covert communication that we find the most relevant for our aim in this paper refers to the avoidance of the social consequences derived from the communicative process: “a major

advantage of covert communication is that it enables the speaker to avoid accepting responsibility for social consequences which might result from overt communication of the information” (Tanaka 1994: 42).

In this paper, we will prove that the intentional use of English in most tobacco and alcohol advertising campaigns in Spain aims at designing an effective communicative strategy specifically addressed to the youngest segment of consumers, mostly teenagers, who are the main source of current and prospective customers for alcohol and tobacco companies. This practice is not allowed by the Spanish legislation on advertising and the writing of article 37 of the Regulations in Public Health (Reglamento de la Ley General de Salud) is very clear. However, the use of covert communication works as a subterfuge which enables this kind of adverts to exist, thereby subtly breaking the existing law on advertising.

3. ENGLISH IN SPANISH PRESS ADVERTISEMENTS

The outstanding presence of English in alcohol and tobacco adverts in Spain² tends to be explained by referring to a constellation of factors such as the nature of the advertised product, the multinational scope of advertising campaigns, the fact that these adverts are more evocative than informative or the general knowledge that the product comes from an English speaking country. Without rejecting these factors, in our paper we will focus on two reasons that, in our view, are crucial to explain the use of English in alcohol and tobacco advertising campaigns in Spain: on the one hand, the perlocutive force that is added to the advertising communicative act by using the English language as an attention grabbing device to involve the audience in the communicative process and, on the

other hand, the ability to promote products aimed at a specific target – teenagers – through the use of covert communication.

3.1. English as an attention grabbing device

Following the communicative principle of relevance, the audience of advertising texts takes for granted that all the information in an advert obeys a certain logical sense. In order to find it, the addressee will resort to his/her frames of knowledge (Van Dijk 1985) whose main aim is to organize in the mind the actions necessary to take part in different kinds of social interaction: i. e. reading an advert in a magazine. Those frames of knowledge provide the addressee with the framework needed to face the different persuasive devices – i.e. the English language – commonly used by adverts.

The presence of a linguistic stimulus in a code which is not expected by the addressee must be interpreted as an attention grabbing device. The use of texts, partially or completely written in English to promote products aimed at a general public whose everyday language is Spanish must be seen as unconventional communicative behaviour in this particular kind of situation and as Leech (1966: 27) points out, “any kind of unconventional behaviour, linguistic or otherwise, compels notice.”

The use of the English language helps the advert – often placed on the periphery of our attention – to attract the attention of the audience, working as an attention grabbing device. Any extra processing effort that the addressee may need to interpret the text in English will be compensated by the richer contextual effects that will hopefully be yielded in his/her cognitive environment. Leech (1966: 29) also links the ease to recall adverts with two factors: both the typical recurrence of the same message in the advertising discourse and the first impact made on the audience: “What makes

one piece of language intrinsically more memorable than another? To some extent, the ease with which we remember things depends on the impact it first made on us; in this the goal of memorability coincides with that of attention value.” Presumably, in Spain and in Spanish speaking countries this first impact will be stronger on the target audience of alcohol and tobacco products when the utterances of the advert are written in English.

3.2. In search of the involvement of the addressee

As we have already mentioned, the advertising communicative act occurs in a context where cooperation between sender and addressee is not at all guaranteed, mainly owing to the fact that the addressee is aware of the perlocutive aim of this communicative situation. One of the most widely used techniques for solving this problem lies in making the audience take charge of the assumptions derived from the advert: the copywriter forces the addressee to carry out a certain number of implicit deductive operations, which are necessary to understand the text and which, at the same time, give rise to different contextual effects which will hopefully be positive towards the advertised product. The purpose of exclusively giving the needed information to reach the implicatures pursued by the copywriter is twofold. On the one hand, the implicit nature of these operations makes it more difficult to question their truthfulness. On the other hand, it shows a wish to achieve the involvement of the addressee. As Sperber and Wilson (1995: 218) point out: “The more information she leaves implicit, the greater the degree of mutual understanding she makes it manifest that she takes to exist between her and her hearer.” Mutual understanding with their audience is one of the main targets of copywriters to counteract the initial lack of cooperation on the part of the addressee. To that end, they employ different techniques attributable to the style

of the discourse of advertising: puns, ironic texts, slogans and catch-phrases, phoneme substitution, rhymes, funny situations, etc. If the audience considers that the advert is intelligent, funny or daring, it may develop a sense of involvement with the message and the perception of the advertised product will be regarded more positively.

Another aim of the use of the English language in Spanish adverts is to achieve the cooperation of the particular section of the audience acquainted with the English language. Once copywriters have come into contact with their audience, using different attention seeking devices, their efforts are geared to getting the cooperation of the addressee in the communicative act. As our analysis will prove, the use of the English language in Spanish press advertisements can achieve both objectives, acting both as an attention grabbing device and as yet another element attributable to the style of the discourse of advertising, one specifically intended to involve the part of the audience acquainted with the English language.

4. THE PROMOTION OF TOBACCO PRODUCTS THROUGH ENGLISH

As we have already mentioned, the English language has an outstanding presence in tobacco advertising campaigns in Spain mainly because different American stereotypes have monopolized the image of tobacco products (see Leon 1996: 207). In our paper, we will examine some examples of the most common adverts, published by Spanish color supplements such as *El País Semanal*, *El Dominical* and *El Semanal* in the last eight years.

Leo Burnett's campaign for Marlboro created a brand image that "made this product become the best selling brand in the world" (Ogilvy 1995). The figure of the cowboy smoking Marlboro cigarettes in a stereotypical American countryside has spread

with minor changes through the whole planet and still seems to be strong enough to continue. In Spain, the illustrations of this campaign are always followed by short texts, invariably written in English: *Come to Marlboro Country, Merry Christmas from Marlboro Country, NEW MEDIUM: A new way to flavor, Marlboro Lights, etc.*

Traditionally, Chesterfield adverts also show images which follow American stereotypes although they are specifically aimed at a young audience, as will be the case in the rest of the tobacco campaigns that will be examined in our paper. In one of the most traditional adverts for Chesterfield cigarettes a teenager is depicted resting on the bonnet of his car. The only text on the advert is the slogan: *The Chesterfield experience*. Another advert from the same product uses as slogan the utterance - *The Chesterfield way of life*, following the syntactic structure of one of the most-widely known American sayings: *The American way of life*, together with an image of a group of youngsters. Even when stereotypical American settings are not used in the adverts, the English language and illustrations of young people are still outstandingly present in them.

Lucky Strike also resorts to stereotypical American images, though using a slightly different approach. Its campaigns develop diverse situations bound by the thread of good luck, already noticeable in the brand name of the product. Two utterances, written in English, open and close the adverts:

(3)

GET LUCKY

AN AMERICAN ORIGINAL

When advertising Lucky Strike Light cigarettes, this brand resorts to texts written completely in English, except for the compulsory warning from the Ministry of Health. The different texts used for the promotion of this product highlight the English word

Full to link the idea of a light product with a second notion written in English, *Emotion*, *Sensation*, *Temptation*, clearly transparent to any Spanish teenager though utterly alien to the nature of the product itself:

(4)

Lucky Strike

Full Emotion

Full lights

AN AMERICAN ORIGINAL

Up to here, we have examined tobacco campaigns marketed by American companies. Let us now analyze the advertising campaign of a brand marketed by a Franco-Spanish company: Fortuna. We believe that this campaign deserves special attention both for its particular use of the English language and for being the best selling brand of cigarettes in the Spanish market, reaching a 27.8 % quota in 1999³. Moreover, the “grammar of its visual design” (Kress 1996) is meant to appeal to the youngest sector of consumers since these cigarettes are one of the cheapest in the Spanish market.

In the campaign we are examining, Fortuna adverts display different pictures of young people together with a packet of the advertised brand of cigarettes. The main text – i.e. *For ever* – is written in English whereas the slogan – *a tu aire* – resorts to Spanish. As in the rest of the campaign this short text in English is clearly divided into two parts: the first one, consisting of the first syllable of the brand product, makes use of the characteristic design and layout of its brand image to implicitly convey the name of the product. This first syllable also matches up with the English preposition “for”, which is used to introduce the second part of the text, coherently written in English: *ever / friends / you / light*. Therefore, the main text of the advert implicitly conveys the brand name of the

product and at the same time invites the addressee to buy this product using a text written in English that will hopefully highlight diverse positive qualities of the product. An illustration of the packet of cigarettes is placed on the right hand side corner on the bottom of the page to emphasize the relationship between the text and the advertised product: *Forever – Fortuna, for friends – Fortuna, for you – Fortuna, etc.*

Since this is a Spanish product promoted in Spain through the use of the English language, the use of English is particularly meaningful in Fortuna adverts. Marlboro, Chesterfield or Lucky Strike are products belonging to American multinational companies (*Phillip Morris Products* or *Reynolds*) with world prestige in the production of Virginia tobacco and their use of stereotypical American images comes naturally. These adverts can explicitly mention, and they usually do, their American origin. However, Fortuna cannot overtly state that its products are American because legal sanctions could be imposed for the use of information that is manifestly false. Nevertheless, the use of a linguistic stimulus such as the English language with the aim of enabling the audience to associate the qualities of a certain product – i.e. Fortuna cigarettes – with the qualities of American Virginia cigarettes cannot be prosecuted. We consider this fact as an evident example of covert communication: the advertised product benefits from the inference that the audience draws about the features of a certain product without being in any case explicitly stated by the copywriter.

Most tobacco adverts published in the Spanish press only use the Spanish language to send the following kind of messages: “Health authorities warn that tobacco seriously damages your health”, “Smoking may kill you”; “Health authorities warn that tobacco causes cancer”. However, these adverts try to establish a strong contrast between the advert itself and the message about the consequences of smoking. This second text, compulsory in tobacco adverts, moves away from the style and register of the main part of the advert: it

is printed in plain typography without any kind of illustrations, its nature is clearly informative (not evocative), it introduces the notion of (health) authority in contrast to notions such as freedom, youth and pleasure, which are typical of tobacco and alcohol adverts. Furthermore, this contrast is highlighted by using Spanish, a language that is barely present in most tobacco adverts. Owing to this communicative situation, the message from the health authorities has a weaker perlocutive effect than the advert itself on the targeted audience: teenagers. It is widely believed (see Sánchez Pardo 2004) that tobacco companies try to appeal to the youngest group of tobacco consumers because they are easier to influence than adults. Moreover, they consider that this is the best way to ensure consumers in the future: the younger the consumers, the greater the effort to quit smoking. Countries such as Canada have implemented legal measures to avoid this state of affairs and there tobacco adverts are accompanied by an illustrated message where the main problems of smoking are featured - halitosis, erection difficulties, and poor physical conditions - following the different registers of the discourse of advertising.

5. THE PROMOTION OF SPIRITS THROUGH ENGLISH

Alcohol adverts are extremely common in the Spanish press owing to the legal restrictions existing in the promotion of alcoholic drinks on television (see Sánchez Pardo 2004). In this section, we will briefly examine two of the most popular products advertised in Spanish color supplements: J&B whisky and Beefeater Gin.

J&B advertising campaigns, designed by the company Young and Rubicam, have developed from the early nineties up to now using the English language as one of their most relevant and common features in their approach to the target audience. The

label of the product, consisting of a text written in English, has worked as the main thread of J&B advertising campaigns over the last fifteen years. The adverts in the early nineties combined a colored copy of part of the label with a black and white illustration: on these adverts half of the page was devoted to the label of the product where one of the words referring to one of the alleged features of the product– *old, different, rare, scotch* – had been cut out. This colored word was included with a distinctive silhouette in the black and white illustration. The word was always accompanied by a short text written in Spanish:

(5)

Page 1

OLD (Silhouette of a castle)

Page 2

Erase una vez...

Invítame a un J&B y déjate de cuentos

J&B Scotch Whisky

J&B adverts in the mid-nineties kept on using similar elements: black and white illustrations, most of them depicting young people, the colored label of the product and, on this occasion, two words in English making up the main text in the advert. However, this campaign showed some relevant changes: the centre of the label of the J&B bottle was always included and in the middle of it we could clearly see an ampersand - & - , which though at first was merely a linking element of the two surnames of the brand name of the product, next worked as a bond of the two English words we previously referred to: the first of them was part of the label and was clearly connected with the

product while the second term in English referred to the content of the illustration with little or no direct connection with the nature of the product. In these adverts, the illustration was responsible for building the context where the target audience would recover the meaning of the English words used in the advert.

(6)

Texto: **DELICATE & DIFFERENT**

Illustration: a young woman wearing an evening dress and holding a pickaxe

Slogan: El único que es único

Texto: **MALT & GRAIN**

Illustration: a barley field

Slogan: El único que es único

Texto: **PURE & DREAM**

Ilustración: cactus with garlands

Slogan: El único que es único

The English language had a leading role in the advert and Spanish was only present in the slogan, resorting to a paradox: “El Único que es Único”. From 2000 to 2003, J&B campaigns stopped using the two-word text in English and now they exclusively resort to the ampersand, which is, along with a small part of the label of the product where the ampersand has been removed, the only linguistic element in the text: we can see the ampersand as part of the Christmas decorations on a street, as a saddle on a camel or personalized as the main guest at a dinner party. These adverts have the linguistic function of the ampersand which works as a linking element to implicitly convey the ideas of union, friendship or celebration; values which are highly regarded

by teenage consumers (see Sánchez Pardo *et al* 2004).

Beefeater adverts are formed by three main elements: an illustration, the label of the product and a short text written in English. The colorful illustrations show pictures of different youngsters in an artificial background full of elements such as flowers, clouds, fish, objects, etc. The short text in English, printed in a highlighted font at the top of the page, is combined with the brand name and the label of the product.

Every text in this campaign starts with the English verb “be”, which is the easiest part of the advert to perceive both for its layout on the page and for the size of the font used. This first word, printed in red capital letters, which completely differs from the rest of the utterance where it is included, makes use of the characteristic design and layout of the brand image of the product to implicitly convey the name of the advertised product. The English imperative verb “be” is followed by an attribute referring to different positive personal characteristics: *natural, good, authentic, fresh, divine, a dreamer, free, yourself, passionate, pure, etc.*

The text and the label of the product tend to be placed in the same position on the page. The bigger size of the word *be* is used to link the utterance in English with the label of the product:

(7)

BE^{pure}
beefeater

However, when utterance and label are separately displayed, the copywriter repeats the word *be*:

(7)

BE yourself

Be befeater

Through a process of repetition, the invitation to the audience to express any of their previously mentioned positive qualities - *natural, good, authentic, fresh, divine, dreamer, free, yourself, passionate, pure* –is inextricably bound to the brand name of the product.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The remarkable presence of the English language in alcohol or tobacco adverts in Spain is commonly attributable to different factors, the American or British origin of the product together with the international scope of the advertising campaigns being the reasons most mentioned (see Durán 2002 for further information). However, we consider that the main aim when designing this effective communicative strategy is to provide a sense of identity for and with the target audience of these products: mostly teenagers. This is because teenagers in Spain have a certain degree of communicative competence in English, which allows them to understand simple and contextualized messages. In the advertising campaigns we have examined, the copywriter tries to please its target audience by sending a short message written in English, built with words which are either well-known by the audience or are similar to their Spanish counterparts. The comprehension of these short messages allows the addressee to perceive that he/she is included in the group of people with a command of the English language. When these texts are successfully understood, the addressee experiments a certain mental pleasure that is similar to the one experienced when solving the multiple

intentional incoherencies typical from the discourse of advertising. The copywriter resorts to a linguistic stimulus through a different language, which, apart from operating as an attention grabbing device, works as a powerful activator of contextual effects, consciously sought by the addresser, and at the same time, issues an invitation to spend a certain amount of time in processing the utterance of the advert, casting a spell on the reader-viewer. This communicative strategy helps to transform the uncooperative attitude of the audience into a neutral or even positive one.

As in any other kind of human communication, the understanding of an advertisement does not depend exclusively on a strictly established coding-decoding process since most of the utterance in the adverts invite the addressee to carry out a certain number of inferential operations where the context enriches the new information and makes it relevant to a particular hearer: “As with other types of communicated messages, advertising can only be relevant to the hearer when it interacts with existing information in his cognitive environment to produce contextual effects” (Byrne 1992: 34). The issue we have examined in this paper – the use of texts written in English to successfully communicate with a particular segment of a Spanish speaking audience – is one of the most striking examples of the use of covert communication in the discourse of advertising.

ENDNOTES

1. This table was adapted from the article “Recent Approaches to Bridging: Truth, Coherence, Relevance” published by Wilson and Matsui (2000) in *Lengua, Discurso y Texto*. J.J. Bustos Tovar et al.(ed.). Madrid: Visor Libros. Pp. 103-131.

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2. In *Análisis estadístico de la presencia de la lengua inglesa en la publicidad comercial española* (Durán 2000), a corpus of 333 adverts from Spanish Sunday Color Supplements was analyzed and the frequency with which different advertising products resort to the English language was measured.
3. This information was published by the financial supplement of the newspaper *La voz de Galicia*, 18/08/00.

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