

Ideological Assumptions and Covert Communication in Christian Advertisement Discourse

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Abstract

Advertising communication relies considerably on inferences and assumptions which help proceed towards eventual interpretation(s). It is the task of the audience to supply those implications based on the presumption of optimal relevance. Christian advertising as a specific domain draws largely from Christian ideological assumptions and communicates certain overt and covert messages. The audience's background knowledge and assumptions are crucial factors in the relevance-theoretic interpretation of advertisement messages. This work examines how ideological meanings and implicatures are communicated, what they communicate and how they are interpreted in Christian advertisements. The Relevance theoretical framework is employed for the analysis of the data. Seventeen (17) textual samples of Christian adverts drawn from handbills, posters and billboards in Abakaliki, Nigeria, are analysed. It is observed that Christian advertisers and their target audience share common values, which usually form the background, based upon which they both interact within the platform of language of advertising. The advertisers appeal to the audience through the offer of some benefits, mostly abstract, for which they cannot be held responsible if not fulfilled.

Keywords: advertising, ideological assumptions, covert communication, Christian advertisements, relevance theory

1. Introduction

When an expression is made, much more than is actually written or spoken is often communicated. In other words, every written or spoken utterance bears both overt and covert messages. Often times, what is covertly communicated is even more salient than what is overtly spoken or written. Formal semantics, basically, having the task of explaining linguistic meaning, that is, what a given utterance means by virtue of the words used and the way they are put together, often finds itself at loss when it comes to explaining how people communicate more than what the words or phrases of their utterances mean by themselves and how they make these interpretations. This gap necessitates another approach, other than the semantic decontextualised approach, to explaining language meaning. Thus, pragmatics came to fill this gap by trying to explain how participants in communicative transaction move from the linguistically encoded meanings of words and phrases to a grasp of their meanings in context.

One of the communicative modes in which language is grossly charged and loaded with hidden meanings is advertisement. The audience usually relies on either linguistic or non linguistic, or both factors to arrive at conclusions that might addictively hook him/her to consumption of goods and services, even the ones he/she does not need essentially.

Although few people admit to being greatly influenced by adverts, surveys and sales figures show that a well-designed advertising campaign has dramatic effects (see Shrank 1976). A logical conclusion is that "advertising works below the level of conscious awareness" (Shrank 1976) and it works even on those who claim immunity to its message. Adverts are designed to have an effect while being laughed at, belittled, and all but ignored (Schrank). As Schrank points out, a person unaware of advertising's claim on him or her is precisely the one most defenceless against the adwriter's attack. Advertisers, Schrank observes, delight in an audience which believes adverts to be harmless nonsense, for such an audience is rendered defenceless by its belief that there is no attack taking place. This is more so in church adverts: they appear innocuous, particularly as it is generally believed that any piece of writing anywhere, bearing the name of God or Christ is purely evangelistic, with no pecuniary motive on the part of the author/sender; hence, no manipulation is meant.

Although, generally, advertisement is seen as a commercial exercise, that is, a process meant to attract people's patronage and consumption of goods and services in order to boost commercial gain, advertising of religion that uses the same techniques as commercial advertising is not a new phenomenon. Moore (1994) has observed that religious services operate in a greatly competitive environment, where religion is taken for a product. Because religion is seen in the same light as commercial products, there exists a variety of services adjusted to the demand of the consumer (believer). However, the goal of religious advertisements is not usually to directly persuade the reader into faith, but to convince him/her to visit a particular church, attend a particular church programme or use a particular Christian service. In fact, everywhere we turn in the streets of our towns and cities today, we find some handbills, posters and billboards with advert messages designed to persuade people to attend church programmes and receive divine protection and provision, prophetic diagnosis of and solutions to their problems and unspeakable miracles.



There are various reasons for studying advertisements. In today's world adverts are omnipresent and we are exposed to them and their influence every day. They can be studied for the way they work, for their content, structure, language or the impact they have. Study of advertisements is meaningful as advertisements can show us a lot about our society and ourselves (Muni nd). With particular reference to Christian advertisements, looking at them with the lens of pragmatics could expose some latent devices and strategies used by authors/advertisers to break the walls of defence of the audience.

Researches from different perspective have subjected advertising discourse to detailed analysis. Muni (n.d) observing this says: "Advertising has been of immense importance and there exist many studies of its language and/or impact. While some try to describe the pictures or other elements of advertising without paying any attention to language, others concentrate on various aspects of language used. Some of the significant studies on the language of advertising include: Leech (1966), Williamson (1978), Bovée and Arens (1992), Dyer (1982), Vestergaard and Schroder (1992), Myers (1994), Cook (2001), Goddard (2002), Chukwukere (2008), Diaz (2011), El-daly (2011), Afolayan (2011), Njoku (2011), Nwankwegu, Noke and Nwode (2014).

Describing advertising as discourse is both a complex and difficult task. As Cook (2001: 5) rightly points out, it would be both depressing and self-deceptive to believe that one could exhaust all the aspects of the genre, and presents an answer to the entire problem it poses. This study examines the nature of the discourse of advertising, focusing on church advertising, which is directed towards the promotion and optimization of some religious ideologies and services to the general public. The study is not meant to exhaust all the aspects of this particular discourse, or present an answer to all the problems it poses; rather, it aims at uncovering the basic elements of one of the most pervasive, influential and inescapable discourse of our time; the church advertising text. It focuses on the language used and the advertising strategies employed. Using the relevance theory, the study seeks to show how Christian advertisers, relying on the implicit common ground of Christian belief already shared with the audience, communicate through handbills and posters, and are thus able to pass covert messages in terms of Christian ideological assumptions.

1.1 Conceptual framework

1.1.1 Ideology

The Cambridge Dictionaries Online define "ideology" as "a theory, or set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party or organization is based". Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy goes further to state that ideology "today is generally taken to mean not a science of ideas, but the ideas themselves, and moreover ideas of a particular kind". The definition offered by Daniel Bell speaks of "an action oriented system of beliefs" (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, cited in Muni n.d). Both of the definitions view ideology as a self contained system of thought that acts to motivate or discourage people to do or believe certain things.

It could be concluded that in accordance with the definitions of ideology provided in the preceding paragraphs, religion can be studied as an ideological system; it may be classified as a set of principles which is followed by a particular group of people (believers). As an ideology, religion influences the way how a person perceives, understands and interprets the world. A culture influenced by a religion thus uses its commonsense (ideological) assumptions, as a basis which influences or even determines the meaning of what is communicated (Muni n.d). Therefore, Christian advertising leans on the ideology of Christianity as the basis on which it communicates with the target audience.

Explaining the ways by which ideology may be analyzed within the RT, Muni, citing Tanaka (1994), posits that the reader's search for relevance causes that a particular word meaning may be "stretched" to include concepts that would not be contained in the referential meaning of the word in another context. The study of the extension or change of word meaning in context may be used to gain insight into the values of the particular society (Tanaka, 1994 130 -131).

Zegarac (2003:8) writes that language labels are not unambiguous, rather they include a "socially ratified system of beliefs and actions". The socially ratified meaning of words and utterances is, according to Zegarac (2003) accepted by the reader with the presumption of relevance of the utterance to the particular communicative situation.

1.1.2 Advertisement

The term 'advertise' comes from the medieval Latin verb "advertere" meaning, 'to direct one's attention to' (Eldaly, 2011:25). It is any type or form of public announcement intended to direct people's attention to the availability, qualities, and/or cost of specific commodities or services or activities. In doing this, adverts use both linguistic and non-linguistic appeals. Thus, according to Bovee and Arens (1989: 13), advertisement is "a communication process, a marketing process, an economic and social process or an information process, a public relation and persuasion process, depending on the point of view".

Daramola (1997: 145), cited in Afolayan (2011), defines advertisement as "any paid form of non – personal presentation and promotion of products, services, or ideas by an identifiable individual or organization". Therefore, advertisement is a communicative process that informs and influences the audience. Similarly, Muni



(n.d) defines advertising as a form of communication where the advertiser is typically communicating to the consumer why he or she should invest in the particular product.

Tracing its origin, Muni states that in the western culture, advertising is linked to the emergence of a large literate middle class, and the mass production of goods. Overproduction and under-demand led to the introduction of advertising on a mass scale and it developed into an independent industry as we know it today (Bovée and Arens, 1992:38).

According to El-daly 2011:25), advertising can be seen to fall into three main categories: (1) consumer advertising, which is directed towards the promotion of some products or services to the general public; (2) trade advertising, which is directed to dealers and professionals through appropriate trade publications and media, and (3) public relations advertising, which is directed towards society by citizens or community groups, or by politicians, in order to promote some issue of social concern or political agenda. Christian/church adverts combines elements of (1) and (2). The focus of this paper is, therefore, on the first and last categories, into which church advertising falls.

1.1.3 Objectives of advertising

People advertise to announce the arrival in the market of a new product or service; announce a product modification; announce a new pack; announce a price change; make a special offer; expand the market to buyers; invite enquiries; test the medium of communication; educate the consumers; sustain and maintain the market; recruit personnel, among others. The overall goal of adverts is to sell or at least, to make the public aware of their product and all the elements they are made up of. All the elements of adverts (including language) are designed to contribute to the achievement of this goal. In other words, as Durán (1982) argues: "advertising is a phenomenon through which someone tries to communicate something to a group of people and whose aim is to persuade them to act in a certain way." Thus, advertisements use communicative techniques to enliven commercial activities and create awareness, specifically the mass acceptance, patronage and consumption of goods and services.

As advertising is a feature of the culture of overproduction, the goods it is promoting are often goods that are identical to other similar products, or goods that the reader does not necessarily need. Goddard (2002:101) informs that the main element of advertising is the "conscious intention behind the text", which has as its goal to benefit the advertiser either materially or "through some other less tangible gain, such as enhancement of status or image." To put it simply, to sell a product or an idea is the ultimate aim. Moreover, Dyer (1982:6) notes that the central function of advertising is to "create desires that previously did not exist". The task of the advertiser, Dyer concludes, is not to inform, but to persuade. How then does advertisement serve the purpose of Christianity? The correlation between religion and commercial products as set up by some scholars seeks to answer this question.

1.1.4 Religion as a product

Religion has been viewed as a product. Muni argues that religious services operate in a greatly competitive environment, where religion is taken for a product. There exists a variety of services adjusted to the demand of the consumer (believer). As a result, many Christian adverts use the same techniques as commercial advertising. In agreement with Moore (1994), Muni (n.d) suggests, that the number of denominations and non-existence of one centralized body of Christian authority may have led to greater competitiveness among the Christian sects. Moore has argued that the great number of sects introduced competition to the market of Christianity. However, Moore points out that next to the competition with other Christian denominations, there were other entertainments that lured people out of the reach of the pulpit (Moore 1994: 214). Such circumstances created a highly competitive market environment in which church leaders were competing with commercial entertainments. Moore observes that, church leaders of the fastest growing (and successful) denominations were open to adapt to the changing times and advertising was one of the tools they were fast to utilize. According to Moore (1994:214), "Advertising as a professional science to move products through the market was a new opportunity that progressive religious leaders quickly endorsed. This situation is very palpable in context of this present study

2. Previous Studies

Nwankwegu et al (2014) examines some features of language use in advertising discourse. They seek to reveal the pragmatic strategies employed by the advertisers to persuade or manipulate the audience. Like the present study, Nwankwegu et al (2014) also focuses on church advertisements as displayed on handbills, posters and billboards. X-raying some Christian handbill to determine their compliance or otherwise with Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) and its maxims, Nwankwegu et al observe that most of the adverts are inadequate. According to them, many of the adverts violate maxim of quantity by state far less than is required for meaningful interpretation: they are not cooperative. Citing the following examples,

1. Christ Alive Winners Ministry (aka Jesus House of Prayer)



Declares

13 days operation set the captive free

Theme:

And the Grave Opened

4th -16th Nov 2012

they argue that the theme leaves information gaps, making it difficult for the reader to make relevant inferences that would lead him/her to action. Similarly, Nwankwegu et al commenting on the following advert

2. Jesus Calvary Grace Mission

Theme:

MY TEARS HAS ENDED

Date: 16-20 Nov., 2012

argue that the theme 'my tear has ended' flouts maxim of quality because it is not verifiable and does not reflect the reality of life. They also examine some adverts for presuppositions and implicatures. Following from their analyses, Nwankwegu et al surmise that church programme advertisers make many presuppositions and hidden claims. According to them,

virtually all the adverts are presupposive and implicatural, drawing from varieties of context. Many of the adverts flout the Grice's conversational maxims of cooperative principle and also make unrealistic claims to create illusions of lack, fear, inadequacy and necessities.

It is a fact that advertising communication relies considerably on inferences and assumptions which help proceed towards eventual interpretation(s).

Based on Grice's (1975) seminal theory of cooperative communication (cooperative principles CP) and inferencing through maxim "filling in" or/and flouting, different interpretations could be accommodated by the linguistic theory. However, as Tanaka (1994), argues, cooperation is a misnomer for the marketing communication and hence the nature of the relationship between participants challenges the possibility of applying Grice's approach to the study of inferences in advertising. From Grice's view of communication as intention recognition, Relevance Theory (RT) (Sperber and Wilson 1986) proposes a simplification of the maxims as assessment means, and distinguishes two types of intention:

- the informative intention,
- the communicative intention, i.e. of having the informative intention recognized.

According to Anisoara (2008) the claim of RT is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable enough to guide the reader towards the speaker's meaning. Utterances raise expectations of relevance not because speakers are expected to obey a CP and maxims, but because the search for relevance is a basic feature of human cognition, which advertisers may exploit. For this reasons, therefore, we will differ from Nwankwegu et al (2014) on empirical ground.

Njoku (2011) studies some selected political posters drawn from the pages of three national newspapers (The Nation, The Sun and The Vanguard), using the pragmatic approach. The posters were analysed pragmatically by stating the action they performed. Based on his analysis, Njoku (2011:33) states that political posters can be used to achieve brevity and clarity when pragmatic elements are applied on them. Justifying the pragmatic approach employed, Njoku claims that it has played important roles in the decoding of conveyed messages on political posters. He goes on to claim,

The analysis of each of them (posters) brought to the limelight the deep meaning that can be deduced and the meanings that could not be discovered at the surface level. The strength of pragmatic *elements* [approach] in bringing out the needed effects from political posters is now understandable. One true fact observed herein is that without the presence of these elements i.e. context, implicature, presupposition and the like, it would be daunting getting to understand or comprehend political posters of any sort.

On the basis of the above claim, Njoku (2011:34) challenges Mey's (2001:308) assertion which, according to Njoku, portrayed pragmatic use of language as "a particular clear case of manipulation, understood as: making people behave in a certain way without their knowing why, even against their wish and best interest...". Njoku argues, "We must realise that rather than manipulate people, pragmatics through its various tools, help the reader(s) (people) to understand, judge and come to term with what a speaker says."

An advert is a blend of messages with emotional appeal and factual information. Thus, advertisements contain not only facts about the product, but they persuade the reader by appealing to his or her emotions. The mix of factual information and emotional appeal is usually evident in advertisements of all sorts. The pragmatic approach as employed by Njoku (2011), no doubt, can determine the presuppositions, contexts, implicature, etc of advert copy, like political posters, but it cannot determine the emotional effect these elements have on the reader and how they conspire in persuading or manipulating him, as the case may be. Njoku, cannot deny that some adverts, especially political ones, are usually full of exaggerated facts and propagandas, thus highly manipulative. I am departing from Njoku's approach because, apart from our differing with him in the advert



category of focus, we are examining our corpus for ideological assumptions, not for pragmatic elements per se.

2.1 Theoretical framework

This work is theoretically guided by the Relevance Theory (RT), which was introduced by Sperber and Wilson (1986; 1995), built on earlier works in pragmatics, in particular the work of H. P. Grice. RT is an inferential theory of communication, which, according to Unger (2001:1) aims to explain how the audience infers the communicators intended meaning. The relevance-theoretic explanation of these inference processes is rooted in an account of cognition. The theory assumes that the speaker provides evidence of his/her intention to convey certain meaning. The meaning is then inferred by the hearer based on the evidence provided. The communicative intention and recognition of the intention by the hearer is crucial in the inferential model (Sperber and Wilson, 1995). Sperber and Wilson says that the universal cognitive tendency to maximize relevance makes it possible, at least to some extent, to predict and manipulate the mental states of others.

RT presumes that it is natural for all humans to process information in terms of its relevance. Relevance of an input is dependent on two things: the cognitive effects and the mental effort required to process the input (Muni, n.d). Byrne (1992:23) explains that, the hearer's background assumptions are a crucial factor in the relevance-theoretic interpretation of an utterance. Sperber and Wilson(2004:107 - 108) refers to the instances where the conclusion is deducible from the input and the context together as contextual implication. This notion indicates the importance of contextual knowledge to the interpretation of the input.

According to Sperber and Wilson (2004), the theory presumes that the relevance of information for an individual can be measured against the effort expended on the processing of the same information. This relevance of an input to an individual is expressed in the following two points:

- a. Other things being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.
- b. Other things being equal, the greater the processing effort expended, the lower the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.

What the above means is that an individual makes choices between different stimuli to pick those that will bring him/her the first interpretation with the least expended effort. The reader will process the information in the given context and, with the help of his/her background information, draw conclusions that are the most probable (and require the least processing effort) under the circumstances. For the purpose of better understanding, the illustration of Anisoara (2008:404) becomes relevant here. According to Anisoara,

Relevance is a function of effort and effect: the greater the positive cognitive effects, the greater the relevance; the greater the expenditure of processing effort, the more restricted the relevance. Consider, for example, the following three artificial illustrations of relevance for a student who tries to find out the examination date, illustrations which might be compared in terms of effort and effect:

- a. The exam takes place at the end of September,
- b. The exam takes place on the 30th of September,
- c. Either the exam takes place on September 30th, or (72-3) is not 46.

According to the definition of relevance, all the three utterances are relevant to the student but b) would be more relevant than either a) or c). It is more relevant than a) for reasons of enhanced cognitive effects as b) entails a) and therefore yields all the conclusions derivable from a), and more besides. It is more relevant than c) for reasons of processing effort: although b) and c) are logically equivalent and therefore yield exactly the same cognitive effects, these effects are easier to derive from b) than from c), the latter requiring an additional effort of parsing and inferencing in order to work out that the latter disjunct is false and the former is true. Thus b) would be the most relevant utterance for the student, for reasons of both effort and effect.

The Relevance theory has been suggested to be suitable for the analysis of advertisements and has been successfully applied to the study of the language of advertising by (Byrne 1992; Tanaka 1994; Taillard 2000, Muni, n.d) and ideology (Zegarac 2003). According to Muni (n.d), as a pragmatic theory, RT stresses the importance of reader-related factors. The reader approaches each utterance as being relevant to the communicative situation by drawing inferences from that which has been stated. In doing so, the reader takes into account the whole of the communicative situation and consequently achieves understanding of the meaning of what has been communicated.

Byrne (1992:34), having studied the applicability of the RT to the study of the language of advertising, states: "in advertising there is always a general direction or area of contextual implications that the advertiser wishes the hearer to access." Muni (n.d) states that advertising being a loaded language, the advertiser communicates with certain intention and it is the task of the audience to supply those implications based on the presumption of optimal relevance. According to Muni, observing how these implicatures are communicated and what they communicate can be interesting for the investigation of ideology.

The choice of RT as the framework for this study is informed by the reasoning put forward by Sells and



Gonzalez (n.d). According to Sells and Gonzalez (n.d), relevance is a key concept in understanding advertisements, because it is a primary component of all aspects of human communication. Again, Sperber and Wilson's approach to communication is based on the observation that much natural communication does not involve sequences of totally directly informative utterances, or questions followed by literal answers. However, speakers and hearers in a conversation each assume that the others are rational and cooperative participants, and therefore conversation moves forward as each hearer finds the relevance of what was just said.

A textual analysis by means of the relevance theory can expose the interactions between the reader and the context and it can show how more is communicated than what actually is verbalized (Muni n.d). This, as Muni posits, would have importance for the investigation of ideology of the Christian advertisement, since, the language employed in the Christian advertisement is influenced by the ideology of Christianity. The advertiser and the audience communicate within the frame of reference of the Christian ideology.

3. Data

The data used in this study comprise 17 samples of advert drawn from different parts of Abakaliki, Ebonyi State, South-East Nigeria. They include adverts on handbills, posters and billboards of different sizes, colours and styles, inviting or drawing the attention of the public to some church activities and programmes of different types – regular Sunday services, crusade, rally; outdoor and indoor, denominational and non-denominational, etc. Only the linguistic (textual) aspects of the adverts were subjected to different aspects of relevance theoretic tools of analysis chosen for this study. The raw data, in form of hand bills, are attached at the end of this work as appendices.

4. Data Analysis

In this section, I illustrate how the RT is applied to the study of the discourse of advertising and to the study of the ideological meanings in Christian adverting in particular. Christian advertising in Nigeria is a specific domain, which draws on the knowledge of Christianity and advertising conventions as well as on the knowledge of the Nigerian culture and use of language. The reader's interpretation of the advertisement as well as the influence that the advertisement may have can vary depending on the familiarity of the reader with the aforementioned criteria. The corpus will be analyzed for some of the means that advertisers use to communicate ideological messages. With relevant examples, we will illustrate the notions of the *context*, the *ostensive stimulus*, *ostensive-inferential (overt)* and *covert* communication as they interplay in Christian adverts.

4.1 Relevance, context and ideological meanings of the selected church advert themes

As stated earlier, the presumption of RT is that humans naturally process information in terms of its relevance. Audience of adverts would pay attention to an advert they consider relevant. Verifying the relevance of an input is factored by the cognitive effects of the input and the mental effort required to process the input (Muni, n.d).

The universal tendency to maximise relevance makes it possible to predict and manipulate the mental states of interlocutors. In advertising terms, given the readers' tendency to pick out the most relevant stimuli in the environment and process them so as to maximise relevance, advertisers may produce stimuli likely to attract attention, to prompt the retrieval of specific contextual assumptions, and to point towards an intended conclusion (Anisoara 2008:405). Consider the following:

Just before the holidays
 Go and tell Herod

I am not John the Baptist

@ All Saints Cathedral Abakaliki Wed., 12-12-12 – Friday 14th Morning session: 6.00am Evening session: 5.00 pm Free Accommodation Available

The headline/theme of example (3) reads, "Just before the holidays, Go and tell Herod, I am not John the Baptist." The word 'holidays' means days set aside by law or statute as exempt from regular labour or business activities, usually to celebrate or commemorate something that happened on or near that date. To recover the meaning of this word in this context, the reader will consider the context of the medium, which is known to focus on Christians, and his or her encyclopedic knowledge of Christianity. The word is used here instead of 'feast' which is more typically a better term in the Christian register; but in the context of Nigerian society, only one holiday period is at hand as at the date of this advert. There are other feasts in the church



calendar that the use of it here would constitute ambiguity. The reader will recover the *associated concept* by deducing the logical meaning of the word and consider it in its context. (An associated concept is drawn by the reader based on the lexical and logical meaning considered in the context - Sperber and Wilson 2004:90). The context of time is important in this case. In the context of time (December), 'the holidays' here means the Christmas period.

"Herod" and "John the Baptist" are other terms (names), which raise a range of relevant contextual implications for the intended target reader. In the example (3), Herod, used in the linguistic context of John the Baptist raises an associative meaning, drawing from the incident in which King Herod beheaded John the Baptist.

The knowledge of the meaning of these chosen words in the context of biblical incidence is important. Without the encyclopedic knowledge, the reader would not arrive at the correct concepts of the utterances and so would not interpret the advertisement correctly. Notably, a person who is not familiar with the Christian religion might not have the knowledge of the subject necessary for the correct interpretation. Such a reader could be perplexed about the message. On the other hand, a reader for whom the advertisement will yield enough correct contextual implications will be successful in interpreting it. Ideologically, biblical personalities and incidences are metaphorically related to the Christians' life and environment. The personalities who acted godly are associated with the Christians whereas those that acted wickedly are associated with Satan. Against this background, Herod is associated with powers and principalities that fight against the likes of John the Baptist – the Christian.

The word 'tell' in (3) is used in a special sense typical for the language of Christianity. The word means spiritual declaration through prayers. The reader's search for relevance causes that a particular word meaning may be "stretched" to include concepts that would not be contained in the referential meaning of the word in another context. The study of the extension or change of word meaning in context may be used to gain insight into the values of the particular society (Tanaka, 1994:130 -131)

The most probable interpretation of the theme: "Just before the holidays, go and tell Herod, I am not John the Baptist" could take one of the following paths:

- I need to let the powers and principalities operating this festive period to know that they can't do to me what they did to John the Baptist (because John did not appropriate his powers; but I will)
- I am at risk of suffering the same fate as John (metaphorical), I need to declare to Herod (powers and principalities) the difference between me and John. inter alia,
 - John did not appropriate his powers and authority and so easily submitted himself
 - I will use my power and authority and can't surrender like John

Note that, according to Muni (n.d), the relevance-theoretical approach allows for the exact interpretation to vary from reader to reader, since a reader's knowledge of context and encyclopedic knowledge varies. As this advertisement is directed at readers who have knowledge of Christianity already, the message would be understood by the audience correctly. The audience would probably arrive at a set of inferences similar to those outlined above. The reader's background assumptions facilitate the process of correct interpretation.

4. Christ Alive Winners Ministry (aka Jesus House of Prayer)
Declares

13 days operation set the captive free

Theme:

And the Grave Opened

4th -16th Nov 2012

The word "grave" in (4) is another word used in a special sense in the biblical teaching and application. The literal meaning of 'grave' is a burial place in the ground, or place of interment or a final resting place. In the Christian ideology, the grave is seen as a place of captivity and children of God are not supposed to remain in the grave. The biblical context,

Matt 27:50-53 provides the background assumption based upon which the interpretation is made:

- 50 Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.
- 51 And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;
- 52 And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose,
- 53 And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. (Mat. 27:50-53 KJV).



The grave, inferred from the above context, is a place where the bodies of the saints (believers – the Pentecostal context) are held captive, hindering them from entering into heaven (from maximizing the benefit of the Kingdom). In the characteristic metaphoric extension of biblical incidences, the reader will interpret the graves to mean satanic bondages/ hindrances in every sphere of life, the bodies of the saints to mean believers, and coming out of the graves to mean deliverance. It is pertinent to note that a person who is not familiar with the Pentecostal Christian ideologies would find it difficult, because he/she might lack the knowledge of the kind of exocentric subjects necessary for the correct interpretation of the theme. Based on the doctrinal bias of the reader, the information may be seen as relevant or otherwise. A Pentecostal/charismatic Christian will be successful in interpreting the advert but to a non-penticostal/charismatic, the advert might yield incorrect contextual implications. He/she may interpret it as having to do with resurrection of the dead, hence less likely to respond to it for lack of relevance. This means that relevance and context may differ from person to person, not only on the account of being a Christian or not, but also based on the person's doctrinal domain or bias within the Christian faith.

5. The Zion Intercessory Ministry Theme:

Dealing with Your Faulty Foundation

Date: $20^{th} - 25^{th}$ Nov 2012

The word 'foundation' in (5) is a term that conjures a special meaning in Christian world, particularly, the penticostal world. Foundation means the support for a building, usually underground, or the basis for something – idea, theory, etc. In the Penticostal/Christian context, foundation means the ancestral begining or cradle of relationship (especially marital). It is believed in some Christian ministries that a Christian would remain stagnant in life endeavours if his/her foundation was left with an 'unforgiven' sin or is accursed. It is believed that if one's marriage is not properly contracted, guided by biblical injunctions, the marriage would be faulty. Situations like these are referred to as a 'faulty foundation.' The Bible rhetorically states the helplessness of those whose foundations are destroyed (faulty) thus: "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" (Psalm 11:3, KJV). Every believer whose fore-parents, and parents are/were not Christians is assumed to have a faulty foundation. The reader of the advert (5) will interpret the advert with the background assumption provided by this biblical context and his/her Christian encyclopaedic knowledge and conclude that the advertiser is providing him/her a rare solution of dealing with his/her faulty foundation. Without this encyclopaedic knowledge, the reader would not connect the correct concept of the utterance and would not interpret the advertisement correctly. Thus, unless a Christian or having biblical knowledge, a reader would be perplexed by the advert (5).

There are several other meanings that can be inferred from the adverts (5) but the efforts expendable in processing the information towards such other meanings would be far greater. Also, cognitive effects would be far less, thus the less the relevance. Recall that, according to Anisoara (2008), "Relevance is a function of effort and effect: the greater the positive cognitive effects, the greater the relevance; the greater the expenditure of processing effort, the more restricted the relevance.

4.2 Ostensive-Inferential Communication in Christian Adverts

The ostensive-inferential communication is the relevance-theoretic model of communication which explains the production of utterances on the part of the speaker and their interpretation on the part of the audience (Muni, n.d:19). The ostensive-inferential communication is defined as:

The communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to the communicator and the audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest a set of assumptions (Sperber and Wilson, 2004:63).

The model of the ostensive-inferential communication, according to (Sperber and Wilson, 2004) contains two levels of intention:

(a) The informative intention:

The intention to inform an audience of something.

(b) The communicative intention:

The intention to inform the audience of one's informative intention.

In ostensive-inferential (or overt) communication both of the layers of intention are made mutually manifest to the audience. In the words of Anisoara (2008:406), "Inferential communication is ostensive (overt) if it involves the extra-layer of communicative intention of informing about one's informative intention besides the informative intention." When on the other hand, the communicator fulfils the communicative intention without making this mutually manifest, such communication is termed as covert (Muni). In the other words, the



advertiser may undertake to convey information in a covert way when his communicative intention is not manifest, leaving it up to the audience to draw inferences that he wants to be drawn and thus avoid taking responsibility for them. In the case of covert communication, inferences are less controllable, the reader being exposed and vulnerable to manipulation (Anisoara, 2008).

4.2.1 Ostensive Stimuli in Christian Advertisements

Ostensive stimuli are the components that draw attention and direct the reader's interpretation. In the advertising discourse they would be attention seeking devices, the prominent components of advertising copies (Muni). The advertising communication requires that the advertisement first gains the reader's attention. Byrne describes how crucial attention seeking is in advertising in relevance-theoretic terms:

While the average hearer in the canonical conversational situation will make a minimum effort to process utterances no matter how boring, rather than appear impolite, the advertiser has no certainty of a captive audience even if the physical presence of the audience can be guaranteed, and so has to weigh the implications of using a more interesting style to convey the message, even if this involves more processing (Byrne, 1992:6).

This step in the interpretation of a message is accounted for by the use of an **ostensive stimulus**. In a successful communication "the communicator must attract the audience's attention, so that an act of ostension can be described as a request for attention" (Tanaka 19). An advertisement that does not attract the reader's goes unnoticed. The advertiser employs ostensive stimuli in their advertising communications to make them attractive enough for the reader to pay attention to the advertisements. According to Muni (n.d), an ostensive stimulus may be a prominent headline employing interesting linguistic devices or a font that makes it stand out. It may also be some other eye catching element such as an image or a slogan. If the reader's attention is captured, i.e. s/he reads the headline or observes the image, the probability that s/he will go on to read the advertisement increases.

6. Champions Cathedral
12-12-12
Final Millennial
Dates, Times and
Wonders

Date: Sat. 1st - Wed. 12th Dec. 2012.

CHINEKE Champion,

Okaka! Ekwueme!! Onyeoma!!!

In example (6) above, the date 12-12-12 is an ostensive stimulus. An ostensive stimulus, besides attention attraction, serves to lead the reader's attention in the intended direction via the **Presumption of Optimal Relevance**. Sperber and Wilson describe the Presumption of Optimal Relevance in these two points:

- (a) The ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's while to process it;
- (b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:270; cf Muni, n.d:19).

As Taillard (200:157) writes, a communication is more efficient, if the reader is "focused on a set of assumptions, via a presumption of relevance". A stimulus is approached by the hearer as being an **optimally relevant** contribution to the communication and as such it serves to raise in the hearer the intended expectations about the communication or directs the reader's attention towards the information chosen by the speaker. The ostensive stimulus leads the reader's attention to the communicator's informative intention. (Example (6) is still relevant here). The processing effort is supposed to interrupt the reader's continuous search for relevance at an optimal level, the optimal relevance (OR). To arrive at OR an advertiser may make an efficient, overt attempt to secure his audience's attention and make it **mutually manifest** that he intended that information (overtly communicated) (Anisoara, 2008).

4.3 Mutual Manifestness

Sperber and Wilson define mutually manifest communication as a communication where the communicator's informative intention must be recognized by both the audience and the communicator. When the informative intention is recognized, understanding is achieved (Sperber and Wilson 1990a, cited in Zegarac (2003: 6) and Taillard 154).

According to Zegarac (2003), manifestness may be concerning only a proportion of communication



and some partial information can be accepted by the reader without closer inspection. Given that the communicator and the audience share the same basic beliefs (that have been made mutually manifest), the communicator may present some of her/his own assumptions to the audience with higher chances of these being accepted (Zegarac 2003: 9; cf Muni n.d). Such behavior is accounted for by the **Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure** according to which the reader will expend only so much effort as is necessary and not more; when the reader's interpretation meets the expectation of relevance, the interpreting stops (Sperber and Wilson, 2004; Muni n.d).

To put Zegarac's claim in other words, Muni (n.d:20) states that not all of the belief-assumptions proposed in a given text need be made mutually manifest, yet the reader may accept them, since he or she intuitively expects them to be relevant to the common ground which has already been established. "Provided the readership is gullible enough, these assumptions are likely to be accepted without being checked for consistency with other already held beliefs" (Zegarac 2003:9). The example below serves to illustrate the working of mutual manifestness.

7. THE SOUL WINNERS

INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL MISSION Invites you to a

5Day Total Liberation Programme

Theme: OVERCOMING

December Disasters

On 1st, 3rd,4th,6th,7th & 9th Dec., 2012 (...) Come with the names of all your family members for prayer against DECEMBER DISASTERS

The ostensive stimuli in (7) used to attract attention are distinct and enlarged font and an emotive image (the image of the host pastor and his wife, and the guest speaker) and use of homophonic word play. Their purpose is to direct the reader to the cognitive frame on which grounds this advertisement is to be interpreted. The theme sets the general frame of reference for this advertisement. It suggests that the advertisement contains a solution on the problem of disasters usually associated with the December period. Following from the text in the frame, the reader may interpret the mutually manifest common ground as the following:

- December is rife with disasters
- There is need to be at alert during this period
- One needs special prayers to overcome the kind of disaster that occurs during December time

What the interpretation above presents seems to be a mere set of assumptions about the world that the advertisement is built upon. The aim of the advertisement is however not to promote these assumptions in the reader or simply to present a reality. According to Gonzalez and Sells (n.d), this is where the crossover between information and persuasion becomes important; an advertisement does not have to be factually informative (but it cannot be factually misleading). The advertiser in the above example has just established these assumptions as mutually manifest and uses them to achieve its informative intention. The advertiser's ultimate informative intention is to sell the product - draw attendees to the programme. According to Muni (n.d), "The success of the advertisement may differ according to the level to which the advertisement manages to attract the right audience and establish common ground through mutual manifestness." Using the ostensive stimuli the advertisements selects the right readers: it focuses on a readership with a particular set of belief assumptions.

The theme of the advertisement, Overcoming December Disaster' as can be seen, is not the headline/initial paragraph of the advertisement. The headline is

8. THE SOUL WINNERS

INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL MISSION

Invites you to a

5Day Total Liberation

Programme.

The advertiser, in his wisdom, figured out that this headline could not establish the needed common cognitive environment upon which the advertisement could achieve its informative intention. If the advertiser had used TOTAL LIBERATION the readers would have seen it as not relevant, hence would not have gone further to read down to the phrase that provides a common ground – the reader would simply say, 'I am not in



bondage', the advertisement/programme is targeted at people in bondage. SOUL WINNERS would have produced a similar rebuff as the reader would interpret it to mean that the programme was designed for unbelievers, whose souls were yet to be won. However, the programme plan (5-day total liberation programme) describes the range and scope of the programme and the information overleaf (see appendix VI) further broadly identify the categories of people based upon which the advertisement should be interpreted. The ostensive stimulus only serves to establish a common cognitive environment. It is in the programme scope description in the headline and the testimonial information overleaf (the body copy of) the advertisement that the advertiser presents more expectations to the readers, persuade the them and fulfill the advertisement's informative intention.

4.4 Overt and Covert Communication in Christian Advertisements

Sperber and Wilson (2004:254) cited by Muni (n.d) suggest that the principle of relevance makes it possible to derive rich precise non-demonstrative inferences about the communicator's informative intention. According to them, given, that the principle of the ostensive stimulus sets the inferential process "on the right track", communicator's informative intention does not need to be explicitly spelled out. The relevant implications will instead be inferred by the audience. Drawing upon Sperber and Wilson (1986; 1995), Tanaka proposed that there are two ways that may be taken in getting the audience to arrive at the intended implicatures: **Ostensive (or Overt)** and **Covert** type of communication (Tanaka 1994:36; cf Muni n.d).

Overt communication is, according to Tanaka (1994:41), as a form of communication "where there is, on the part of the speaker, an intention to alter the mutual cognitive environment of the speaker and the hearer". Thus, Muni (n.d) states: "an advertisement can influence the reader's attitude by making the informative intention mutually manifest (it makes both communicative and informative intention manifest by establishing common ground and providing the audience with evidence about benefits of the product). "

Covert communication is defined as "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" (Tanaka1994:41). In covert type of communication the informative intention is not made manifest to the reader, but it is fulfilled without the use of mutually manifest communicative intention. Thus, according to Muni, in covert communication, the reader is left to interpret the covert (hidden) information by himself or herself.

Applied to advertising discourse the two types of communication have been discussed by Tanaka (1995), Taillard (2000) and Muni (n.d). Tanaka has shown that the distinction between overt, as opposed to covert, type of communication is particularly useful in the analysis of the advertising discourse. Advertisers may use the two types of communication to achieve different effects on the audience. The distinction allows for an analysis of what is implied openly and what is only implied covertly (and could be denied) by the advertiser if this is advantageous for him or her (Muni, n.d).

According to Muni (n.d:22), "The advantageous effect of ostensive communication is *trust* and *fixation* of belief." As Tanaka (1994:37) explains, "If the speaker's intention to inform his hearer of something is recognized by the hearer, this can help make her believe it". On the other hand, a particular advantage of covert communication in advertising is the ability to avoid direct assertions about the product advertised, as a set of assumptions is merely made more manifest to the audience without being directly stated (Muni, n.d). According to Tanaka (1994:44), the advertiser uses the covert strategy "to avoid taking responsibility for the social consequences of certain implications arising from advertisements." The principle of covert implicature that an advertising message may contain is demonstrated and discussed in what follow.

4.4.1 Covert Communication

Starting from the premise expressed by Tanaka (1994:40) that "advertising is typical of a situation in which the speaker is not trustworthy and the hearer is not trusting" it is highly probable that advertisers will employ covert strategies to overcome audience distrust. Therefore, it is contended that exploitation of social taboos, sexual innuendo, etc., are likely to be bypassed by the use of a covert communicative approach. In Christian advertisements, some ideological messages are often preferably left unstated by the advertisers. The corpus below has been analyzed for some examples of the possible covert meanings implied by the advertisers.

9. MOUNT HOREB 2012

- At Mount Horeb, God's audible voice is heard by his people, bringing succour, hope and liberation to the depressed, oppressed and possessed of devils.
- At mount Horeb, the law of God is received with thunder, lightening, and smoke of divine fire, leaving the participants with unspeakable miracles.
- At Mount Horeb 2012, your stones will surely be turned into pillows and mountains into fountains.
- Come and witness God's transforming power

Watchman CCRM, Abakaliki.



The headline of the above advert "MOUNT HOREB 2012" is an ostensive stimulus meant to attract the reader's attention. The body copy gives a run-down of what transpired in Mount Horeb. Notice the use of simple present tense to give the incidence a habitual reading. Since this is an advertisement, the reader will also infer that the programme will provide him/her a platform to experience the reliving of God's presence as in Mount Horeb. The reader will infer and understand these implications. He/she might also get influenced by the advertisement so much as to come to believe the implications. Note that the experiences are merely described without stating that the reader will be made to have them. It is just implied. The last paragraph imperatively enjoins the reader to come and "witness" God's transformation power. Notice that the advertiser avoided the use of the word "experience" which would have been more appropriate. An attendee who complains of not experiencing God's presence would have no grounds to complain since he/she is invited only to 'witness' and not to 'experience', though the latter is obviously implied, reading from the body copy of the advertisement. Even when the reader is overtly invited to 'experience' (as in 10, "Come and experience Divine Visitation"), the advertiser cannot be held responsible if the invitee ended up not experiencing what he/she expected.

10. Divine faith Ministry

Theme:

Come and Experience

The Divine Visitation of God

30th Nov -1st of Dec

Importantly, in this kind of advertisement with implied claims, the advertiser (the church in this case) is not the actor, as observed by Muni (n.d). The power to fulfill that which is implied by the ostensive stimulus rests with the attendee and with God.

11. New Mindset Christian Centre

Theme:

You Can Buy Without Money

 $16^{th} - 20^{th}$ Nov 2012

Similarly, the New Mindset Christian Centre's advertisement (11) is another example of overt communication. Here, the implication is conveyed through the use of subjunctive (possibility): "You can buy without money." The advertiser (the church) is promising the reader that he/she will be made or taught how to buy without money. The reader will infer that by attending the programme, he/she will be made or taught how to buy without money. The one making this promise (the church-advertiser) is however not overtly stated; it is simply made to be recovered as a covert inference from the context. The advertiser/church avoids taking responsibility for complaints that this promise is not fulfilled.

12. Jesus Calvary Grace Mission

Theme:

MY TEARS HAS ENDED

Date: 16-20 Nov., 2012

In the Jesus Calvary Grace Mission's advert (12), the theme: "MY TEARS HAS ENDED" has some covert implications. By reference assignment, i.e. giving indexes to deictic expression, "my" in this case, has exophoric reference with realisation in the external situational context of the advert and is understood to define the addressee/s. The reader will infer it to be referring to him/her, not the advertiser. This implies, by the reading of the advert, that the declaration/condition of 'ended tears' would be applicable to the reader. However, since this is not directly stated, the advertiser cannot be held responsible if the condition is not met.

13. Rich Harvest Fold (RHF)

Presents

3 Days of

DIVINE INTERVENTION

...the end of man's frustration

The Rich Harvest Fold (RHF)'s advertisement (13) also conveys some covert implications. The theme reads "3 Days of Divine Intervention" with a sub-theme "...the end of Man's Frustration" (see also appendix IV). Here, 'man' is used in generic sense. Since the reader, invariably, must be man (human), he/she will interpret the elliptical statement to mean the end of his/her frustration. The information inferable from the theme is that the reader is invited to a 3-day programme where God will intervene and bring man's (the reader's) frustration to an end. The promise that his/her frustration will be ended is only implied. The church cannot be held responsible for not fulfilling this promise if the reader attends the programme and his/her frustration does not end.

14. Come and Experience Great

Empowerment *for*SPIRITUAL CONQUEST
DEEPER LIFE BIBLE CHURCH
36 Water Works Road, Abakaliki.



19 - 20 OCT., 2013

SAT, 6pm SUN, 8am

Victory is sure!

Besides being employed as a strategy to avoid being held responsible for some unrealistic or unrealized claims, covert communication is also employed as a cover for claiming to be superior to or communicating negative meanings about advertisers competitors, which would not be acceptable when expressed overtly, since the advertiser would have to be able to defend his claims or would have to face legal charges. Instances of this are found in the Deeper Life Bible Church's advertisement (14) (see appendix II). The use of the qualitative adjective great in the invitation, "Come and Experience Great Empowerment for Spiritual Conquest" implies that such empowerments in other churches are, comparatively less – theirs is 'larger', 'more powerful', etc. than others'.

15. Four Sundays of Unlimited breakthrough @ LIVING FAITH CHURCH [Winners Chapel] Nkaliki

Divine keys to

Success in marriage Termination of Barrenness **Total Salvation** Financial Success Academic Success

[...]

Similarly, in the Living faith Church (Winners Chapel)'s advert (15), it is implied that the programme is an access to "Divine Keys" to success in marriage, termination of barrenness, financial breakthrough, total salvation and academic success. If they have the keys, it means that others have no claims to the advantages mentioned. This is a covert way of the Winners Chapel claiming monopoly of access to the benefits mentioned.

Another advert, Saint Luke's Anglican Church's, reads (16).

16. 3 days Healing Crusade

Theme:

Take Up Your Bed and Walk

With

Pastor XX

Ven. YY

Diocese of Abakaliki (Anglican Communion)

St Luke's Church (Bethsaida) Kpirikpiri

Free transportation

At Mile 4 Hospital and Teaching Hospital Ezza Road

- -A woman healed of menstrual pain and walking problem for two years
- -A girl healed of severe waist pain for four years
- -Delivered a girl from witchcraft spirit

Evang XYZ (organiser) XXY (Guest Artiste)

Taking Christ Life Round the World Speedily

One thing that is conspicuously missing in the above advert (16) is the imperative invitation phrase/clause – 'come...' – but which is obviously the intention of the advertiser. It simply describes an event to come and the features therein, without asking the reader to be part of it. The invitation intention of the advert writer, nonetheless, is communicated covertly. Also, at the end of the advert is also a slogan "Taking Christ Life Round the World Speedily" implying that other churches or ministries with similar mission are rather sluggish.

However, by way of concluding this section, Muni (n.d) has observed that several advertisements do make overt and yet difficult to defend claims. Such stimuli have been found to promise to deliver on product which is abstract or it is difficult to measure whether the product or service advertised is delivered and in what quality. This, observed Muni (n.d), seems to be a feature typical of Christian advertisement, since the issue of faith does not necessarily require to be supported with rational arguments and data. Advertisers seem to rely on



trust of the readers. Example (14) "Come and Experience Great Empowerment for Spiritual Conquest" and (15) "Four Sundays of unlimited breakthrough" are typical instances in this case (see appendix I and II).

5. Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate ideological assumptions and covert communications contained in Christian advertising from the perspective of the Relevance Theory. Advertising communication relies considerably on inferences and assumptions which help proceed towards eventual interpretation(s). It has been suggested under the relevance theoretic approach that Christian advertisers and their audience share common values and that those values could be investigated by considering how the reader and the context interact within the language of Christian advertising.

Religion and its services have been seen as products and as such, church services and programmes need to be marketed, hence Christian advertisement is an accepted form of marketing. This fact was taken into consideration in the analysis of the corpora of this study.

The Relevance theory has been found to provide suitable tools for the analysis of the language of church advertisement and its underlying ideological meanings. The tools of the relevance-theoretic analysis, namely *context*, the *ostensive stimulus*, *ostensive-inferential* (*overt*) and *covert* communication provides insight into how the advertiser may influence the interpretative effort of the reader. The analysis of ideology, following the line of investigation carried out on similar corpora by Muni (n.d), concentrated on the messages communicated via ostensive stimuli, since, as Muni observes and confirmed by this study, these are the components that direct the reader's interpretation.

Our analysis has focused largely, but not exclusively, on the themes and sub-themes of the advertisements studied. The themes and other components examined show that Christian advertisers offer miracles, divine encounter, and transformation; spiritual and material enhancement and so on. Some of these promises are expressed covertly and hinged on biblical teachings and promises, which by extension are believed to apply to and can be appropriated by the reader/believer. Few covert communications observed are those expressing negative implications about or claiming superiority over the advertiser's competitor, or used to avoid responsibility to unrealistic or vague claims. It has been found that advertisements seem to use mainly the ostensive, overt, communication strategy. However, most of the benefits the churches promise to deliver are abstract and difficult to evaluate.

Further investigations, narrowing down on different aspects of religious adverts, such as social network and internet religious advertising methods, comparison between the means and messages employed by different religious organization and in different geographical areas could yield interesting results and are thus recommended.

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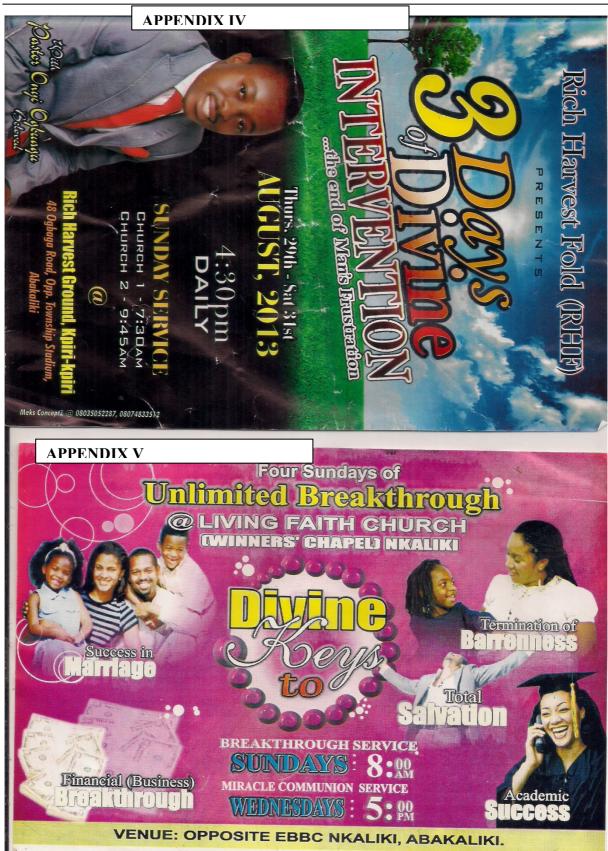
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came back to life, praise the Lord 07063107477

avail, then I started shouting for help.

longer breathing. I

husband last Tuesday,







APPENDIX VII

