___

Figures of Rhetoric in Advertising Language

EDWARD F. MCQUARRIE
DAVID GLEN MICK*

A rhetorical figure can be defined as an artful deviation in the form taken by a statement. Since antiquity dozens of figures have been cataloged, ranging from the familiar (rhyme, pun) to the obscure (antimetabole). Despite the frequent appearance of rhetorical figures in print advertisements, their incorporation into advertising theory and research has been minimal. This article develops a framework for classifying rhetorical figures that distinguishes between figurative and nonfigurative text, between two types of figures (schemes and tropes), and among four rhetorical operations that underlie individual figures (repetition, reversal, substitution, and destabilization). These differentiations in the framework are supported by preliminary validation data and are linked to suggested consumer responses. The article also considers the theoretical import of the proposed framework for future research on rhetorical structure in advertising.

From Aristotle through the advent of modern social psychology, the discipline of rhetoric was the primary repository of Western thinking about persuasion (Barthes [1970] 1988). The central concern of rhetoric has always been method and manner: how to discover the most effective way to express a thought in a given situation, and how to alter its expression to suit different situations. Unfortunately, the many techniques cataloged by rhetoricians since antiquity (e.g., rhyme, antimetabole, pun, hyperbole) have remained largely unacknowledged, undifferentiated, and uninfluential in advertising theory. This article attempts to correct that neglect.

There exist three major reasons why consumer research needs to address the topic of rhetorical figures (also known as figures of speech). First, newly available content analyses have demonstrated the pervasiveness of figuration in the language of advertising (Leigh 1994). Moreover, the reliance on rhetoric is not exclusive to American or European culture (see Fernandez 1991). The second reason stems from the continued, inadvertent use of rhetorical figures in experimental protocols, without appreciation of their history and distinctiveness.[1] Third, the paradigmatic ferment associated with the advent of postmodern (Sherry 1991), semiotic (Mick 1986), and text-based perspectives (Hirschman and Holbrook 1992) is conducive to a focus on rhetorical

phenomena in advertising (see also Deighton 1985; McQuarrie and Mick 1992; Scott 1990; Sherry 1987; Stern 1988; Wells 1988). Now that consumer researchers have at last permitted themselves to talk about meaning as well as information, interpretation as well as stimulation, perhaps rhetorical phenomena can be grasped and integrated into consumer research (McCracken 1987; Scott 1994a).

The principal purpose of this article is to contribute a richer and more systematic conceptual understanding of rhetorical structure in advertising language. In contrast to previous analyses of rhetorical figures in consumer research that focused on isolated cases (e.g., rhetorical questions, Swasy and Munch [1985]; puns, McQuarrie and Mick [1992]), we provide a framework that integrates a wide range of figures appearing in advertisements.

RHETORICAL FIGURES IN ADVERTISING

Rhetoricians maintain that any proposition can be expressed in a variety of ways and that in any given situation one of these ways will be the most effective in swaying an audience. Hence, when persuasion is the overriding goal, the rhetorical perspective suggests that the manner in which a statement is expressed may be more important than its propositional content. Moreover, rhetoric promises a system for identifying the most effective form of expression in any given case. Specifically, a rhetorical approach to advertising language rests

[1] A search of the literature uncovered numerous instances of rhetorical figures across all categories of the framework developed in this article. A list of sources can be obtained by writing the authors.

424

on three premises: (1) that variations in the style of advertising language, in particular the presence of rhetorical figures, can be expected to have important consequences for how the ad is processed, (2) that these consequences can in turn be derived from the formal properties of the rhetorical figures themselves, and (3) that these formal properties are systematically interrelated.

Classification of Figures

Rhetorical figures were first identified and discussed over two thousand years ago in classical antiquity (Todorov 1982). Efforts to systematize the wealth of available figures are almost as old (Wenzel 1990). Modern efforts at systematization begin with Jakobson and Halle (1956) and Burke (1950) and culminate in the elaborate typologies of Dubois et al. (1970) and Durand (1987). Despite some attention to individual figures, no effort in the social sciences to date has incorporated a wide range of rhetorical figures (see Gibbs 1993; Kreuz and Roberts 1993). In fact, from the perspective of advertising theory, previous efforts to systematize the set of rhetorical figures have all been handicapped by one or more of the following shortcomings: the taxonomic categories are vague or too coarse grained, the categories are not linked to consumer responses, or the focus is on outcomes other than persuasion.

To overcome these limitations we proceeded on a dual front by (1) reading the literature on classical rhetoric, drawing on Corbett (1990), Leech (1969), and Vickers (1988) in particular, and (2) immersing ourselves in a large sample of contemporary magazine ads.[2] We sought a framework that would be both comprehensive and parsimonious, capable of reflecting the range of rhetorical figures present in advertisements but also restricted to include only those rhetorical figures that actually appear in ads. Because the framework is grounded in real ads, we present examples of both nonfigurative and figurative headlines for purposes of illustration and clarification. To complete the framework we suggest how the underlying concepts that unite or distinguish different figures may be connected to standard ideas about consumer advertising response.

As shown in Figure 1, the framework takes the form of a tree diagram with three levels corresponding to figuration per se, to two different modes of figuration,

and to four fundamental, generative rhetorical operations. These operations are arrayed on a gradient of deviation and also vary in complexity. The third level of the framework maps onto the individual figures found in our sample of ads. In building the framework we adopted the rule that a figure would only be included if a clear instance could be found in our sample. Future expansion of the framework can thus occur as more evidence accumulates.
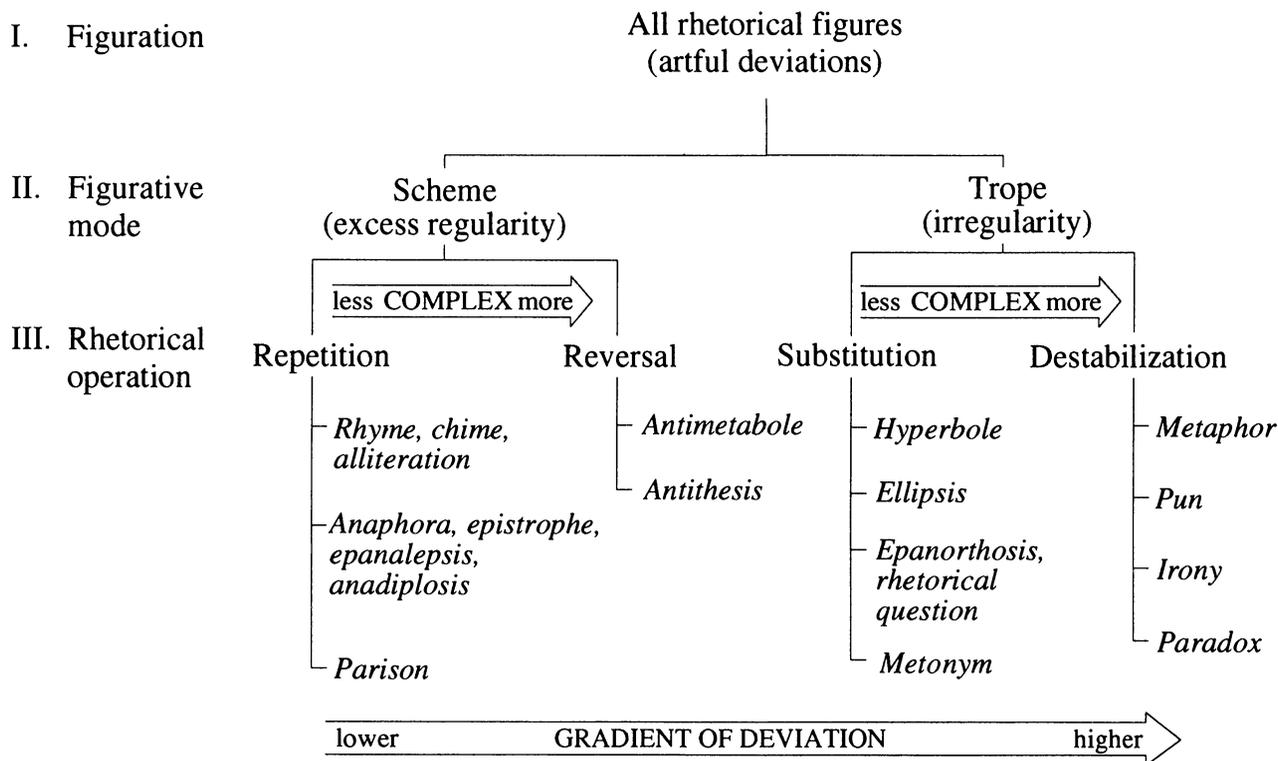
Figuration

A rhetorical figure has traditionally been defined as an artful deviation (Corbett 1990). More formally, we submit that a rhetorical figure occurs when an expression deviates from expectation, the expression is not rejected as nonsensical or faulty, the deviation occurs at the level of form rather than content, and the deviation conforms to a template that is invariant across a variety of content and contexts. This definition supplies the standard against which deviation is to be measured (i.e., expectations), sets a limit on the amount and kind of deviation (i.e., short of a mistake), situates the deviation at the level of the formal structure of a text, and imposes a grouping requirement (i.e., there are a limited number of templates, each with distinct characteristics).

The exact nature of the deviation that constitutes a figure has been the subject of dispute (see Cohen 1982; Genette 1982). For classical authors, a figure was an artful deviation from the normal or ordinary manner of expression (Corbett 1990). However, it has been shown that metaphor and other figurative expressions are common in everyday speech (see Pollio, Smith, and Pollio 1990; Todorov 1982). Hence, we conceptualize the deviation relative to expectation in order to overcome the difficulties associated with defining figures as abnormalities. Our use of expectation is consistent with several aspects of the classical tradition, particularly the notion that a figure represents an unorthodox use or a violation of some norm or convention.

In terms of speech act theory, every communication encounter sets up expectations as it proceeds, and more general expectations that hold across encounters function as conventions or constraints (Grice 1989). Consider the case of metaphor. Listeners are aware of conventions with respect to the use of words, one of which might be formulated as follows: words are generally used to convey one of the lead meanings given in their dictionary entry. However, a metaphor violates that convention, as in this headline for Johnson & Johnson Band-Aids, "Say hello to your child's new bodyguards," accompanied by a picture of Band-Aids emblazoned with cartoon characters. In the dictionary, a bodyguard is a large, strong individual, often assigned to a celebrity or political figure for protection against violent assault, but in this context the ad is describing a Band-Aid decorated with imaginary beings. Sperber and Wilson (1986) contend that listeners know exactly what to do

---

[2] In a pilot phase we perused ads appearing in 20 different magazines during 1990–1991. We then selected six magazines from among the 50 with the highest ad revenues to reflect a range of editorial content and audiences (*People, Business Week, Car and Driver, Sports Illustrated, Cosmopolitan,* and *Good Housekeeping*). One issue of each was randomly sampled during 1991, and a second issue during April 1993. Of the 621 ads in the sample, 57 percent of the headlines and 46 percent of the tag lines contained one or more identifiable rhetorical figures (31 percent of the ads contained no recognizable rhetorical figure). Table 1 lists some of the headlines in which no rhetorical figure was identified. These are included to offer a comparison and contrast for the figurative headlines in Table 2.

FIGURE 1

A TAXONOMY OF RHETORICAL FIGURES IN ADVERTISING

when a speaker violates a convention: they search for a context that will render the violation intelligible. If context permits an inference that the Band-Aid is particularly strong or that the world inhabited by children is particularly threatening, then the consumer will achieve an understanding of the advertiser's statement. If the ad had said, "Say hello to your child's new petunias," however, most consumers would have considerable difficulty. Nonsensical or anomalous statements represent a double violation or a deviation of the second degree. In other words, consumers have conventions available to deal with violations of convention. When a search for context successfully restores understanding, the consumer assumes a figurative use and responds accordingly (discussed further below). Else, the consumer assumes some failure of communication.

Because it is a deviation, any figure carries at least one additional meaning (Genette 1982). This overlaid meaning might be expressed as "Look, I chose to violate a convention here—take note." When told that the Band-Aid is a bodyguard, the consumer both finds a translation supported by context—this Band-Aid is particularly strong, provides a greater degree of protection, will treat your child like a celebrity, and so on— and understands that the advertiser was unwilling to

simply say, "Band-Aids are strong," "Band-Aids provide extra protection," or "Your child is important." The implication is that none of these three paraphrases just given quite succeeds in capturing the advertiser's intent; in fact, no single, univocal predication applied to the Band-Aid appears adequate to capture the advertiser's thought. Thus, the resort to a figure prompts the consumer to consider a variety of predications concerning Band-Aids that will be consistent with the use of "bodyguard" and, therefore, render it comprehensible in context (see Sperber and Wilson 1986, pp. 231– 237). In Genette's (1982) terms, every figure represents a "gap." The figure both points to a translation (it is the impossibility in this context of translating "Say hello to your child's new petunias" that is the key to its incomprehensibility) and denies the adequacy of that translation, thus encouraging further interpretation.

Deviation is used here in the neutral sense of a swerve or departure—a way of marking the text (Mukarovsky 1964; van Peer 1986). Like aesthetic objects generally (Berlyne 1971), a rhetorical figure provides a means for making the familiar strange. Deviation, then, is a matter of creating what consumer researchers might have called incongruity. A key contribution of rhetoric is to explain how certain kinds of text structure

(i.e., rhetorical figures) can produce incongruity in advertising texts.

It is important to acknowledge that any particular figurative expression can deviate to a greater or lesser extent and, thus, be more or less incongruous (Leech 1969). This corollary applies to both individual instances of any figure (e.g., a particular occurrence of a pun) and to entire categories of figures (some types of figure, e.g., puns, may in general involve a greater degree of deviation than others, such as alliteration). All of our statements that compare rhetorical figures or situate them on the gradient of deviation (Fig. 1) refer to the hypothetical "average" instance of that category of figure. Moreover, if the deviation drops below some threshold, then it is no longer a figure. This occurs, for example, in the case of metaphors that have become frozen or conventional (e.g., the sports car that "hugs" the road). Because deviation may be temporally situated, what once was a figure need not always remain one. This example, together with the bodyguard metaphor, also serves as a reminder that rhetorical structure resides and operates in a complex web of sociocultural signs and meanings (Eco 1979; Mick 1986; Scott 1994a).

The three limiting conditions in the definition of figuration presented earlier are intended to clarify the concept by explaining what it does not include. Bad grammar and faulty diction also deviate from expectations, but these constitute a failure of expression. Figures deviate but do not err. Deviations in message content are also not figures. For example, a claim that "cereal X is preferred by retired airplane mechanics" would deviate from our expectations but would not constitute a rhetorical figure because the deviation lies at the level of content: the reference to retired airplane mechanics rather than the more customary reference to champions or athletes. The final limiting condition distinguishes figures in the broader category of stylistic device. For a deviation to be a figure, it must be possible to define the deviation independent of any individual occurrence. Skillful deviations in form that have a one-time character, or where a rule applicable across content elements cannot be formulated, are only stylistic devices.

Figuration and Consumer Response

A rhetorician must assume that the widespread use of rhetorical figures is deliberate and designed to serve as an effective adaptation to the circumstances in which the advertisement is encountered. A fundamental feature of field exposure conditions is that the consumer has complete freedom to ignore an ad or to devote the barest minimum of processing effort to it (Greenwald and Leavitt 1984). Because consumers are under no compulsion to start reading a headline, finish reading it, or continue on to read the rest of the ad, an important function of rhetorical figures is to motivate the potential reader. In this regard, Berlyne (1971) found that incon-

gruity (i.e., deviation) is among those factors that attract and arrest attention. Hence, when ad exposure is not forced, consumers should allocate a greater amount of attention to figurative ad language as compared to nonfigurative ad language, ceteris paribus.[3] (For examples of nonfigurative ads, see Table 1.)

Figures also yield what the semiotician Barthes (1985) called a "pleasure of the text"—the reward that comes from processing a clever arrangement of signs. This in turn corresponds to Berlyne's (1971) argument, based on his research in experimental aesthetics, that incongruity (i.e., deviation) can produce a pleasurable degree of arousal. The rewarding character of artful deviation thus suggests that figurative ad language, as compared with literal ad language, should produce a more positive attitude toward the ad (A_{ad}).

Last, we expect figurative ad language to be more memorable. However, because the processes underlying memorability are quite different for schemes and for tropes, we will defer discussion of this consumer response until the next section.

Because positive effects on attention, ad liking, and recall derive from the artful deviation that constitutes a figure, all rhetorical figures can be expected to confer these advantages to some extent. This may explain why Leigh (1994) found rhetorical figures in three-fourths of the magazine ads studied. However, as we move down the taxonomy (see Fig. 1), we come to properties that differentiate specific types of figures. Here both qualitative and quantitative distinctions can be drawn. These distinctions indicate that consumer responses are not uniform across all kinds of rhetorical figures and suggest circumstances in which we can expect one kind of figure to be more effective than another in a particular respect.

Figurative Mode

These modes (Fig. 1) correspond to the classical distinction between schemes and tropes (Leech 1969). A figure in the schematic mode occurs when a text contains excessive order or regularity, while a figure in the tropic mode occurs when a text contains a deficiency of order or irregularities. Schemes and tropes thus encompass two distinct modes of formal deviation. Familiar examples of schematic figures include rhyme and alliteration, while metaphors and puns are familiar examples of tropic figures.

The deviations that constitute schemes and tropes can be understood in part through the linguistic distinction between combination and selection constraints, respectively (Leech 1969).[4] A combination constraint

---

[3]This ceteris paribus restriction applies to all the predicted effects to be discussed subsequently, inasmuch as it will always be possible to find a nonequivalent literal statement (e.g., one that addresses a more important brand attribute) that is superior to some specific figurative statement.

[4]In Saussurean semiotics, these would be labeled as syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes, respectively.

TABLE 1

EXAMPLES OF NONFIGURATIVE (LITERAL) HEADLINES IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

Type of headline	Brief description	Recent instances	
		Text	Brand, product, and ad source
Direct linkage of product and attribute	Claims some property for the product or brand	Dual airbags, antilock brakes, traction control . . . it's even supercharged	Pontiac auto (CD2)
		The circuit that helps reduce background noise	Miracle Ear hearing aid (P2)
Direct linkage of product and situation	Associates the product with some desirable situation, action, or event	Everything you expect from a leader	BellSouth telecommunications (BW1)
News announcement	Indicates that something is new	The intelligent choice	Beltronics radar detector (CD1)
		Introducing the new Virginia Slims 10-pack	Virginia Slims cigarettes (CO2)
Direct naming	Gives the brand (and possibly the product category) name	New Special Lights	Camel cigarettes (P2)
		The Tire Rack	The Tire Rack store (CD2)
		The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists Balanced Fitness Workout	Instructional video (GH2)
Direct titling	Introduces the subject matter of the ad	Some expert advice about wheel cleaning	Eagle One wheel cleaner (CD2)
		This week on HBO	HBO cable television (P2)
Specific price information	Provides information about price or terms	20% off when you buy two	Escort radar detector (CD2)
		Free with membership	Doubleday book club (GH2)

NOTE.—The source code indicates the magazine and the issue where the headline or tag line was located, as follows: BW = *Business Week,* 1 = 5/6/91, 2 = 4/5/93; CD = *Car & Driver,* 1 = 6/91, 2 = 4/93; CO = *Cosmopolitan,* 1 = 8/91, 2 = 4/93; GH = *Good Housekeeping,* 1 = 6/91, 2 = 4/93; P = *People,* 1 = 8/5/91, 2 = 4/5/93; SI = *Sports Illustrated,* 1 = 9/1/91, 2 = 4/5/93.

limits how signs can be combined into sentences, while a selection constraint limits which signs can fill certain positions (e.g., subject, object, verb) in a sentence. Schemes can be understood as deviant combinations, as in the headline, "Now Stouffers makes a real fast real mean Lean Cuisine." This headline is excessively regular because of its repetition of sounds and words. It violates the convention that sounds are generally irrelevant to the sense of an utterance; that is, it violates the expectation held by receivers that the distribution of sounds through an utterance will be essentially unordered except by the grammatical and semantic constraints required to make a well-formed sentence. Sound play can be used to build up meaning in a wide variety of ways (Ross 1991; van Peer 1986).

Many tropes, particularly metaphors and puns effected in a single word, can be understood as deviant selections. Thus, in the Jergens skin care headline (Table 2) "Science you can touch," there is a figurative metaphor, because "touch" does not belong to the set of verbs that can take as their object an abstract collective endeavor such as science. However, not all tropes are effected in a single word, so that tropes such as rhetorical question or paradox must be explained with the aid of

the more general semiotic distinction between under- and overcoded texts (Eco 1979). In overcoding there are more possible organizations of information than are necessary for message reception, while in undercoding the readily available organizations of information are insufficient. Schemes thus fit a model of overcoding, while tropes fit a model of undercoding.

In addition to being qualitatively distinct from tropes, schemes are also quantitatively distinct. Specifically, a depth-of-processing perspective argues that, on average, schemes will be less deviant than tropes. This is because excess regularity is obtained via rearrangements of the surface of the text; it occurs at a sensory level, as when one repeats sounds to achieve a rhyme or inverts the order of words to create an antimetabole. By contrast, rhetorical questions or puns are not sensorially apparent features of the headline but become manifest as the text is related to semantic and background knowledge (see Childers and Houston [1984] for an experimental instantiation of a depth of processing manipulation based on this sensory vs. semantic distinction). Deviation thus tends to be greater in the case of tropes because irregularity represents incongruity at a deeper, semantic level of processing.

Figurative Mode and Consumer Response

Both the qualitative and quantitative distinctions between modes of figuration have implications for consumer response. With regard to the qualitative distinction, although both schematic ad language and tropic ad language should be more memorable than literal ad language, the underlying process will differ as follows. Because they are overcoded, schemes add internal redundancy to advertising messages. Repetition in a text can be expected to enhance recall just as repetition of the entire text does. For example, a rhyme forges extra phonemic links among the headline elements. When reading that "Performax protects to the max," the consumer has several encoding possibilities available, including the propositional content, the phonemic equivalence (i.e., Performax = max), and the syllable node (other words ending in the syllable "ax"). In terms of a spreading activation model, these multiple encoding possibilities lead to multiple opportunities for subsequent retrieval of the headline (Mitchell 1983).

The memorability of tropes rests on a different mechanism. Because they are undercoded, tropes are incomplete in the sense of lacking closure. Tropes thus invite elaboration by the reader. For example, consider the Ford ad with the headline "Make fun of the road" (Table 2). "Road" is unexpectedly included in the set of things to mock or belittle. Via reinterpretation, the first meaning, to mock, takes on a more resurgent quality, namely that Ford will help the consumer to overcome the road. The second meaning, to enjoy, is also given an edge, so that it takes on the more triumphant quality of an achievement against obstacles. This tropic headline, whose resolution sets in motion a rich network of associations, may lead to multiple encodings and/or the strengthening of existing conceptual linkages in memory (involving, e.g., Ford, driving pleasures, driving challenges, and personal needs for achievement). Thus, the additional cognitive activity expended in the reinterpretation increases the number of associative pathways stored in memory (Mitchell 1983).

Overall then, figurative ad language should be more memorable than literal ad language. However, in view of the distinct processes involved, there are no grounds for expecting a main effect on ad recall between modes of figuration. Instead, a variety of moderating factors will determine whether schematic ad language or tropic ad language is more memorable in a given instance. A general view of the nature of these moderating factors can be derived from the distinction between undercoded and overcoded text. For instance, consider factors that tend to inhibit elaborative processing (e.g., distractions, lack of ability). When such factors are operating, the processing resources available to the consumer are minimized and the invitation to elaborate provided by a trope may not be accepted (cf. Anand and Sternthal 1990), leading to diminished memory for tropic lan-

guage. In fact, in such cases the trope risks not being comprehended at all (see experiment 2 in McQuarrie and Mick [1992]). Under these same circumstances of restricted or limited resources, schemes will actually be advantaged because of their overcoded and redundant nature, leading to enhanced memorability relative to tropes.

Consider now the quantitative distinction between modes of figuration in terms of the greater deviation characteristic of tropes. Consistent with Berlyne's assertions (1971), the greater incongruity of tropes should lead to enhanced "stopping power" relative to schemes. This suggests that a main effect for tropes over schemes should be found for attention to ad language. Similarly, the aesthetic reward from successfully processing deviant text argues for a more positive A_{ad} in the case of tropes relative to schemes. However, we would expect the tropic advantage over schemes in terms of A_{ad} to be augmented or diminished as a function of moderating factors that make the successful resolution of tropic irregularity more or less likely. Thus, although the invitation posed by a trope may be sufficient to draw attention, that invitation must be accepted and followed through in order to enhance favorableness toward the ad.

Rhetorical Operations

This third level of the framework (Fig. 1) distinguishes simple from complex schemes and tropes to yield four rhetorical operations—repetition, reversal, substitution, and destabilization. These operations are the immediate sources of the excessive order or disorder that produces the deviation that constitutes a rhetorical figure. An important implication of the framework is that particular named rhetorical figures handed down by the classical tradition ought not to be considered as entities sui generis that have distinctive impacts on ad processing. In our framework individual rhetorical figures are not causal loci for explaining advertising effects but rather names that distinguish different applications of a rhetorical operation. Instead, it is artful deviation, irregularity, and complexity that explain the effects of a headline such as "Say hello to your child's new bodyguards," and not its assignment to the metaphor category. Nonetheless, we retain the old names because they serve as useful pointers to particular applications of the rhetorical operations and also provide a connection to the historical literature on rhetoric.

Repetition

The rhetorical operation of repetition combines multiple instances of some element of the expression without changing the meaning of that element. In advertising we find repetition applied to sounds so as to create the figures of rhyme, chime, and alliteration or assonance (Table 2). Repetition applied to words creates

TABLE 2

EXAMPLES OF FIGURATIVE HEADLINES FORMED BY FOUR RHETORICAL OPERATIONS IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS

		Recent instances	
Operation and formal element	Brief description	Text	Brand, product, and ad source
Repetition:			
Sounds:			
Rhyme	Repetition of syllables at the end of words	KitchenAid. For the way it's made.	KitchenAid refrigerator (GH2)
		Performax protects to the max.	Pennzoil motor oil (SI2)
Chime	Key words in a phrase begin with identical sounds or letters	A tradition of trust.	Merrill Lynch brokerage (BW2)
		The best in the business.	AT&T telecommunication (BW2)
Assonance and alliteration	Three or more repetitions of a vowel or constant	No one knows the land like a Navajo.	Mazda four-wheel drive (CD1)
		Now Stouffer's makes a real fast real mean Lean Cuisine.	Stouffer's frozen dinners (CO2)
Words:			
Anaphora	Repetition of words at the beginning of phrases	Early treatment. Early cure.	Gyne Lotrimin medicine (P1)
Epistrophe	Repetition of words at the end of phrases	Choose to be your most beautiful. Salon beautiful.	Salon Selectives hair products (CO2)
Epanalepsis	Repetition of a word toward the beginning and end of a phrase	Smart phone smarts.	AT&T telecommunications (BW1)
Anadiplosis	Repetition of a word toward the end of one phrase and the beginning of the next	Kleenex Ultra. Ultra softness is all you feel.	Kleenex facial tissue (GH2)
Phrase structure:			
Parison	Marked parallelism between successive phrases; often involves the use of one or more embedded repeated words	You never had it so easy. Your tires never had it so good.	Notouch tire cleaner (CD1)
		The quality you need. The price you want.	Kmart Stores (SI1)
Reversal:			
Syntax:			
Antimetabole	Repetition of a pair of words in a phrase in reverse order	Stops static before static stops you.	Bounce fabric softener (GH2)
		It says what it does. It does what it says.	Listerine mouthwash (P1)
Semantic:			
Antithesis	Incorporation of binary opposites in a phrase	We got hot prices on cool stuff.	Musicland stores (P2)
		Easy on eyes. Tough on tangles.	Pert Plus shampoo (GH2)
Substitution:			
Claim extremity:			
Hyperbole	Exaggerated or extreme claim	Experience color so rich you can feel it.	Cover Girl lipstick (CO2)
		Laser beams move at the speed of light. Fortunately, our engineers move somewhat faster.	Uniden laser and radar detector (CD2)
Assertive force:			
Rhetorical question	Asking a question so as to make an assertion	Are you protecting only half your dog from worms?	Interceptor pet medicine (GH1)
		Don't you have something better to do?	Hewlett-Packard plain paper fax (P2)
Epanorthosis	Making an assertion so as to call it into question	Take away his writing, his philosophy and his music, and he was nothing but a country doctor. In his case, a whole country.	BellSouth telecommunications (BW1)
		Chances are, you'll buy a Ranger for its value, economy and quality. Yeah, right.	Ford pickup truck (CD1)

430

TABLE 2 (*Continued*)

Operation and formal element	Brief description	Recent instances	
		Text	Brand, product, and ad source
Presence or Absence:			
Ellipsis	A gap or omission that has to be completed	A lot of tires cost less than Michelin. That's because they should.	Michelin tires (BW1)
		Everyday vehicles that aren't.	Suzuki four-wheel drive (CD1)
Center or periphery:			
Metonym	Use of a portion, or any associated element, to represent the whole	You're looking at 2 slumber parties, 3 midnight raids, 5 unexpected guests, 1 late snooze and 1 Super Bowl.	Hormel frozen foods (GH2)
		The imports are getting nervous.	Buick automobile (P1)
Destabilization:			
Similarity:			
Metaphor	Substitution based on underlying resemblance	Say hello to your child's new bodyguards.	Johnson & Johnson Band-Aids (GH1)
		Science you can touch.	Jergens skin care (CO2)
Pun (general)	Substitution based on accidental similarity		
Homonym	One word can be taken in two senses	Make fun of the road.	Ford automobile (CD2)
		How to make a home run.	Whirlpool appliances (GH2)
Antanaclasis	Repeating a word in two different senses	Today's Slims at a very slim price.	Misty ultralight cigarettes (CO2)
		Nobody knows the athletes foot like the Athletes Foot.	The Athletes Foot shoe store (SI2)
Syllepsis	A verb takes on a different sense as clauses it modifies unfold	It's too bad other brands don't pad their shoes as much as their prices.	Keds shoes (GH2)
		Built to handle the years as well as the groceries.	Frigidaire refrigerator (GH2)
Resonance	A phrase is given a different meaning by its juxtaposition with a picture	Will bite when cornered (with a picture of car splashing up water as it makes a turn).	Goodyear tires (CD2)
		Success Rice brings out the ham in you (with a picture of ham pieces in sauce).	Hormel rice (GH2)
Opposition:			
Paradox	A self-contradictory, false, or impossible statement	This picture was taken by someone who didn't bring a camera.	Kodak film (P1)
		Mark McGwire hit 42 home runs last year. But we held the bat.	Franklin batting glove (SI2)
Irony	A statement that means the opposite of what is said	Just another wholesome family sitcom (with a picture of the male lead licking cream off thighs).	HBO cable TV (CO1)
		We spent years developing this incredibly comfortable contact lens, and this is how you treat it (with a picture of a finger flicking a lens away).	Accuvue disposable contacts (P1)

NOTE.—See note to Table 1 for an explanation of sources.

the figures known as anaphora (beginning words), epistrophe (ending words), epanalepsis (beginning and ending), and anadiplosis (ending and beginning). Repetition applied to phrase structure yields the figure of parison, as in Kmart's tag line: "The price you want. The quality you need." A limiting condition is that repeated words not shift their meaning with each repetition (such a shift would create the trope known as antanaclasis, described near the bottom of Table 2).

Reversal

The idea of excess regularity that is intrinsic to any scheme can be manifest in relatively simple or complex ways. Thinking in more general terms of parallelism (Jakobson 1967) rather than iteration alone indicates the possibility for a second kind of schematic figure, which would be produced via an operation that we have named "reversal." The rhetorical operation of reversal combines elements that are mirror images of one another in an expression. A characteristic of a mirror image, of course, is that it repeats the original, but in reverse. Consider this tag line for Bounce fabric softener: "Stops static before static stops you." In the first part, the noun "static" is the object of the verb "stops," while in the second part the noun "static" functions as a subject for the verb "stops." The classical literature applied the term "antimetabole" to figures of this type (see Table 2). Note the marked alliteration that also characterizes the "stops static . . ." tag line. Multiple rhetorical operations can be and often are integrated into a single expression.

The English language permits semantic as well as syntactic reversals, in the form of binary pairs in which one term may be thought of as the reverse or opposite of the other (i.e., high/low, easy/tough). When a message structure includes both members of such a pair, the figure known as antithesis results, as in this Pert Plus shampoo ad: "Easy on eyes. Tough on tangles." Note how, in this instance, the accompanying chime (e . . . e, t . . . t) provides additional parallelism, in a role similar to that played by alliteration in the previously discussed tag line for Bounce fabric softener.

Substitution

The rhetorical operation of substitution selects an expression that requires an adjustment by the message recipient in order to grasp the intended content. Although both of the tropic operations involve a turn such that an expression takes on an unexpected or unconventional meaning, simple tropes produced by substitution have a tightly constrained resolution, while complex tropes produced by destabilization have a loosely constrained resolution. Because tropes of substitution have a single resolution, we can speak of the recipient applying a correction to what the communicator offers (Fogelin 1988). The adjustments required

by tropes of substitution always take place along a dimension or, more generally, in some kind of preestablished relationship. Four dimensions were pertinent to the analysis of our sample of advertisements: exaggerated/understated claims (e.g., hyperbole), absence/plenitude of expression elements (e.g., ellipsis), strong/weak assertive force (e.g., rhetorical question), and part/whole relations (e.g., metonym).

Hyperbole results when a statement makes a claim that strictly speaking is impossible. Consider this headline for a computer system: "Witness the destruction of an entire department" (i.e., because someone pressed the wrong button on a computer terminal).[5] Destruction here is an exaggeration, and what the message recipient has to do in response to this hyperbole is perform a correction of the following sort: "Yes, computer systems that lack fail-safe features certainly can cause problems." Note that a requirement for hyperbole is that the claim made must be literally impossible. An unduly positive portrayal of a brand, as in puffery, represents hype rather than hyperbole and need not be figurative.

The figure of ellipsis occurs when one substitutes a gap or lacuna for an explicit or complete statement, that is, an empty place which the recipient corrects by filling in the blank (Garnham and Oakhill 1992). A familiar example would be the slogan "You can take Salem out of the country, but you can't take the country out of ————." Note how in this instance the antimetabole facilitates comprehension of the ellipsis, showing again how multiple figures can be combined in a single headline. In our sample a simpler example of ellipsis is the Suzuki headline, "Everyday vehicles that aren't." Here the recipient must fill in the gap following the verb by supplying a particular sense of the word "everyday" (i.e., ordinary).

Substitution can also occur along the dimension of strong or weak assertive force, by altering the manner in which a claim is asserted. Consider the rhetorical question in this ad for Hewlett-Packard fax machines: "Don't you have something better to do?" Instead of asserting a claim straight out, one supplies an interrogative phrasing, thus treating the claim as open to doubt, whereas the intent is for it to be taken as certain. Epanorthosis can be thought of as the inverse of a rhetorical question.[6] Here one makes an assertion straight out with the purpose of rendering it uncertain or dubitable, as in this ad for a Ford truck: "Chances are you'll buy a Ranger for its value, economy and quality. Yeah, right." Like all tropes of substitution, rhetorical question and

---

[5]This headline appeared in the pilot sample in the November 12, 1990, *Business Week*. Here and in the case of irony, we use examples drawn from the pilot study because their brevity, clarity, or interpretability was superior to anything in the main sample. Hyperbole and irony were not very common in either sample.

[6]Note that in the classical tradition both hyperbole and ellipsis also had logical complements or inverses (litotes, i.e., understatement, and periphrasis, i.e., superfluity of words). For whatever reason, we found no clear instances of either in our sample.

epanorthosis require the message recipient to correct the sense, replacing the meaning conventionally linked to the expression with a meaning that better accords with the context of interpretation.

Finally, substitution can also occur in a relationship of part to whole. A metonym makes use of the fact that objects and events in the world are represented mentally as complex schemata built up from molecular concepts. When Buick advertises that "the imports are getting nervous," a metonym is constructed: "being an import" is a constituent concept of Toyota, BMW, and the like. Using a part in place of the whole makes that part more salient. Any unconventional substitution of a part for the whole (or whole for the part, as in the Hormel ad in Table 2) functions as a metonym.[7]

Destabilization

The rhetorical operation of destabilization selects an expression such that the initial context renders its meaning indeterminate. By "indeterminate" we mean that multiple coexisting meanings are made available, no one of which offers a final resolution. Whereas in a trope of substitution, one says something other than what is meant and relies on the recipient to make the necessary correction, in a trope of destabilization, one means more than is said and relies on the recipient to develop the implications. Tropes of substitution make a switch, while tropes of destabilization unsettle.

In order to render multiple meanings tenable, destabilization may make use of relationships involving either opposition or similarity. The figure of irony capitalizes on opposition. Consider this headline for Range Rover: "The British have always driven on the wrong side of the road," accompanied by a picture of the automobile driven on a steep slope off to one side of the road.[8] To understand this headline, the consumer must be aware that the British drive on the left side of the road (here, as is so often the case, a rhetorical figure draws on a specific body of preexisting sociocultural knowledge) and that the left side is the correct side in Britain, even though it seems wrong to those accustomed to the alternative. The message recipient may then further reflect that for a four-wheel drive vehicle, the "wrong" side of the road (i.e., off the road altogether) is the "right" side. Further reflections may also ensue about how it is wrong for an auto to leave the road but right (pleasurable, advantageous) not to be bound to the road. The point is not that each message recipient will make all of these inferences but that the advertiser's choice of a message that signifies the opposite of what it at first appears to signify has a destabilizing effect that liberates a variety of meanings for consideration.

In the rhetorical figure of paradox, a statement is made that cannot be true as given but that can nonetheless be made true by reinterpretation, as in this headline by Kodak: "This picture was taken by someone who didn't bring a camera." This statement appears to contradict itself: a photograph by definition requires a camera. It can be made meaningful only by reinterpreting some aspect of it—in this case, by assimilating the concept of a disposable camera that can be bought on the spot. As a result of the paradox, a concept conventionally part of the understanding of "camera" (i.e., something that has to be brought along before a photo can be taken) has been destabilized.

Just as irony and paradox both capitalize on a relation of opposition, we can likewise link and distinguish metaphor and pun as two different fashions of using a relation of similarity for purposes of destabilization. A metaphor takes advantage of a conceptual similarity: with respect to our earlier example, Band-Aids are associated with the concept of protection, as are bodyguards. Hence, a metaphor asserts a substantial or fundamental resemblance between two terms that one does not expect to see associated and does so in a way that opens up new implications. A pun, by contrast, rests on a superficial or accidental similarity: two words that sound the same or one word that happens to have two separate meanings. The nature of puns in advertising is nicely captured by Attridge (1988, p. 141): "The pun is the product of a context deliberately constructed to *enforce* an ambiguity, to render impossible the choice between meanings, to leave the reader or hearer endlessly oscillating in semantic space." We observe, consistent with analyses reported by Leigh (1994) and McQuarrie and Mick (1992), that puns of various kinds (see Table 2) appear with greater frequency in headlines than almost any other single figure (see Redfern 1985; Tanaka 1992).

Rhetorical Operations and Consumer Response

The importance of distinguishing the four rhetorical operations can be understood from a resource-matching perspective (Anand and Sternthal 1990), which argues that persuasion attempts will be most successful when the processing demands placed on the message recipient match the processing resources that the recipient has available. Messages that place too few demands are as likely to fail as those that demand too much. In this connection we expect complexity and deviation (incongruity) to have additive effects, consistent with Berlyne (1971), in that both act to increase demands on processing. Thus, more complex figures, whether scheme or trope, should be more difficult to comprehend than their simpler counterparts. However, it is also the case that effortfully processed information is more readily retrieved from memory than less effortfully processed information (Greenwald and Leavitt 1984).

---

[7]Some authors wish to reserve the term "synecdoche" for figures based on the distinction between part and whole. We follow Eco (1984) in eschewing the distinction between synecdoche and metonym.

[8]This ad appeared in the December 1990 *Car and Driver*.

TABLE 3

VALIDATION DATA FOR THE TAXONOMY OF RHETORICAL FIGURES

| Data collection | N | Literal statements | Figurative statements | | | |
| | | | Schemes | | Tropes | |
			Repetition	Reversal	Substitution	Destabilization
Initial	67	1.95 (1.04)	3.63 (1.09)	4.58 (1.29)	4.10 (1.04)	4.89 (.92)
Replication	64	1.86 (1.29)	3.62 (1.29)	4.66 (1.53)	4.25 (1.18)	4.98 (.99)
Extension	64		3.25 (1.26)			4.39 (1.11)

NOTE.—Values shown are means with standard deviations in parentheses. Higher values indicate the statement was perceived as more artful or clever. The literal statements are from Table 1. For the initial and replication studies, the figurative statements are from Table 2; for the extension, they consist of eight repetition and eight destabilization headlines found in published experiments (see nn. 1, 10). The replication and extension data were collected from the same 64 subjects.

Hence, if comprehended, the more cognitively demanding complex figures should also be more memorable than their simpler counterparts, parallel to the argument developed earlier with respect to the greater degree of deviance that distinguishes tropes from schemes.

In sum, the fourfold categorization produced by differentiating schemes from tropes and simple from complex rhetorical operations makes it possible for the advertiser to vary the degree of processing demand over a substantial range. That is, schemes in general are less demanding to process than tropes because excess regularity is less deviant than irregular usage. Moreover, rhyme and other figures of repetition represent the simplest and least demanding type of scheme. A similar pattern holds for tropes, making figures of destabilization such as pun and paradox the most complex and demanding of all rhetorical operations. Taken together, the four rhetorical operations allow the advertiser to accommodate audiences whose resources for processing may differ while continuing to draw the benefits of an artfully deviant message.

VALIDATION OF THE TAXONOMY

It might be questioned whether the distinctions in the taxonomy are phenomenologically real to consumers. We collected data to address the issue of whether naive subjects would give different ratings to simple versus complex and less versus more deviant rhetorical figures in line with the proposed taxonomy. Of course, these data do not test the causal relations that constitute the larger framework linking rhetorical structure to consumer responses; we leave this to future research. For the initial data collection, 67 undergraduates from a psychology course were recruited to rate the headlines reproduced in Tables 1 and 2. To capture the characteristics of both complexity and deviation, a contrast between "clever, artful" and "plain, matter-of-fact" was implemented as a 10-point rating scale. In the rating form each headline was preceded by a boldface label indicating the product category it concerned (e.g.,

"AUTO"). Headlines reflecting different rhetorical operations were interspersed, and three different orders of presentation were used.

Paired-sample t-tests showed that headlines comprising each of the four rhetorical operations were judged significantly more artful and clever than the literal headlines (all p-values < .001). A repeated-measures MANOVA was then used to compare schematic with tropic and simple with complex figures. Tropes were judged more artful and complex than schemes, and complex figures (reversal plus destabilization) were judged more artful and clever than simple figures (repetition plus substitution), with all p-values < .001.[9]

In a second data collection, 64 undergraduates rated the same headlines (Tables 1 and 2). This replication yielded very similar results (Table 3), with all comparisons significant as before. To extend the results we also included figures from a new source: repetition schemes and destabilization tropes drawn from published experiments.[10] Paired-sample t-tests showed that these new sets of figurative headlines were judged significantly more artful and clever than the literal headlines in Table 1 and that the new set of tropes was judged significantly more artful and clever than the new schemes (all p's < .001).

Taken together, these results suggest that consumer judgments are sensitive to differences in the rhetorical structure of advertising. Moreover, the findings support the pattern of distinctions between schemes and tropes

[9]Note that the Table 2 entries were selected before the collection of data was even contemplated (the need to collect data emerged after the first round of reviews). Because the Table 2 entries were initially chosen solely on the basis of the clarity with which they exhibited different types of rhetorical figure, it is less plausible that a biased selection of schemes and tropes from the larger set described in n. 2 can explain the results.

[10]See n. 1; there were too few published instances of reversal and substitution to provide meaningful comparisons. For this extension data set we used a near census of the repetition schemes and destabilization tropes available from published experiments, which again makes it less likely that a biased selection process can explain the results.

and among the four rhetorical operations proposed in the framework.

DISCUSSION

We have made salient a largely unacknowledged and undifferentiated aspect of advertising language. We described how a wide variety of rhetorical figures could be integrated conceptually and related to common consumer responses, and offered an explanation for the pervasiveness of rhetorical figures in print advertising in terms of the beneficial effects associated with artful deviation.

Understanding the structure and function of rhetorical figures in advertising requires a text- and reader-aware approach, and our effort builds on prior work, especially McQuarrie and Mick (1992) and Scott (1994a, 1994b). We would argue that in the absence of appropriate text-centered terminology (e.g., scheme, trope), and without access to the necessary conceptual tools (e.g., deviation), the longstanding and widespread use of rhetorical figures in advertising has simply been overlooked in consumer research. Text-centered approaches to advertising help to direct attention to the causal power that text structure may possess. The underlying assumption is that a rhetorical figure performs a function that makes a difference in how an ad is received. In fact, from the standpoint of text-centered approaches, a notable omission in historical models of advertising response is precisely the lack of a sophisticated system of categories for theorizing about executional aspects of advertising.[11] Our particular contribution in the spectrum of text-centered approaches lies in coupling vocabulary and distinctions inherited from classical rhetoric to modern consumer research concepts. Whereas our analysis of cause is text based, our suggestions concerning possible effects lie squarely in the mainstream of consumer research and build on such familiar concepts as attention, ad liking, and ad recall.

Most advertising texts must perform their function under circumstances in which the consumer is free not to process them at all. Here lies perhaps the most fundamental contribution of this article to consumer research: its explanation of how rhetorical figures function as a useful adaptation to field conditions of advertising exposure. If consumers do not have to read an ad, then one had best motivate that reading. If consumers will only skim an ad, then one must make it memorable at a glance. Rhetoric integrates and explains stylistic devices that may be used to accomplish these and related goals.

Limitations

An important limitation of this article when viewed in the context of the rhetorical tradition is a focus that is simultaneously too narrow and too broad. On the one hand, there is much more to the rhetorical tradition than a discussion of figures (see, e.g., Hart 1990), and both Corbett (1990) and Nash (1989) provide examples of how to conduct a nonfigurative but rhetorical analysis of individual advertisements. On the other hand, the goal of a relatively comprehensive taxonomy in conjunction with article length restrictions has left our treatment of individual rhetorical figures rather brief. Note that in the case of metaphor alone, the literature is massive (Noppen 1990).

For tractability and parsimony during the construction of the framework, we restricted our compass to headlines and tag lines in magazine advertisements. This restriction should not be read as an assertion that rhetorical figures are absent or insignificant in other components of magazine ads (e.g., body copy), other modalities (e.g., pictures), or other media (e.g., billboards, television). For example, Procter and Gamble has just introduced a new pain reliever with a tag line, used across diverse media, that reads "All day strong/All day long"—an example that combines the schemes of anaphora, parison, and rhyme.

Future Research

Crucial to any future research on the framework will be experimental designs that differ from those conventionally used with print ads. As a first step we recommend adopting procedures that create more realistic low-involvement conditions, that do not force exposure, and that embed the ad in other material. There is preliminary experimental evidence that at least some figures produce pleasure when processed (McQuarrie and Mick 1992) and that both schemes and tropes facilitate recall (see Rubin and Wallace [1989] on rhyme and McQuarrie and Mick [1992] on resonant puns). The proposed framework can be used to guide future research toward comparing and distinguishing the effects of different figures rather than focusing on an individual figure in isolation from the rest. It will also be important to examine moderating variables that heighten or limit the persuasiveness of rhetorical figures. These may include individual difference variables such as the need for cognition, tolerance for ambiguity, optimal stimulation level, or even a more specific propensity to respond to figurative language (Yarbrough 1991). In addition, the consumer's level of knowledge or product involvement at the time of ad encounter may be important, in that low levels of knowledge or involvement may favor schemes, while higher levels may favor tropes. These moderator variables can in turn be integrated under a resource-matching perspective (Anand and Sternthal 1990), as suggested earlier.

It might also be useful to consider a more purely cultural and interpretive extension of this work. For instance, Roberts and Kreuz (1994) showed that different figures were perceived by subjects as instrumental to

---

[11]For a nonrhetorical alternative to our framework, see the response-centered approach of MacInnis, Moorman, and Jaworski (1991).

FIGURE 2

TWO EXAMPLES OF VISUAL RHETORIC
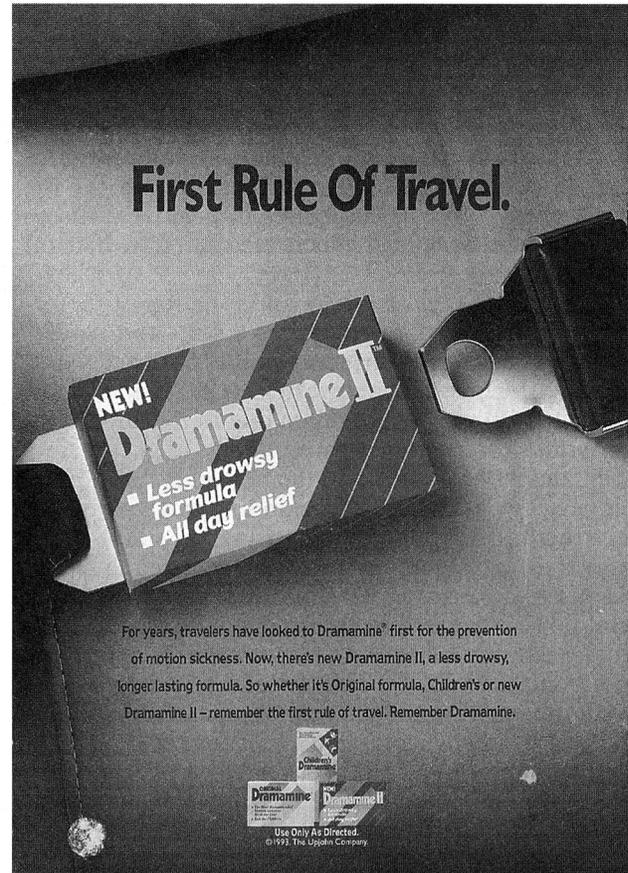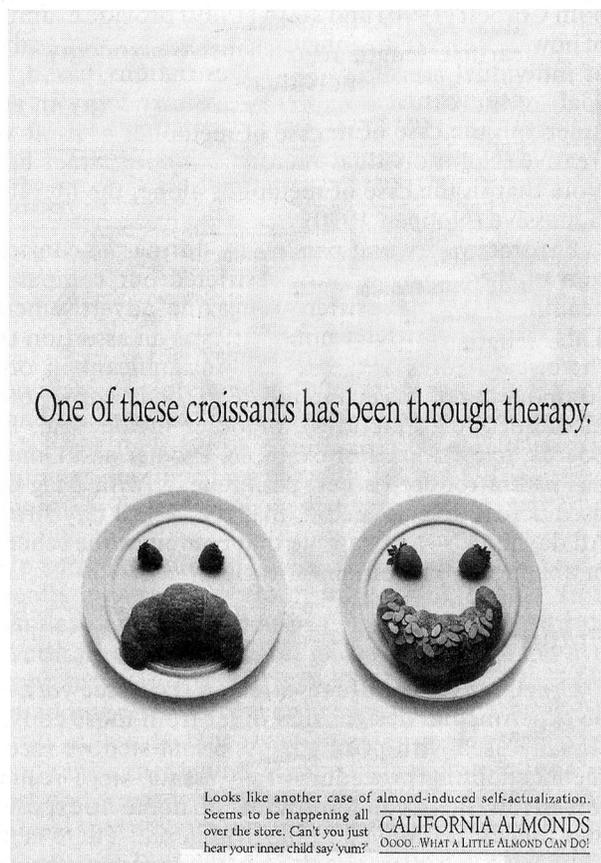
NOTE.—The smiling and frowning croissants provide an example of visual antithesis; the Dramamine box's acting as the seat belt buckle serves as an example of visual metaphor.

quite distinct communication goals (cf. Fernandez 1991; Stern 1990). This suggests that individual figures may have a personality or create an ambiance apart from the meanings they convey in context. For example, if the very fact of using irony conveys an additional meaning, then figures of irony may be included in ads to support a brand's personality or call out to a particular target audience.

The most interesting extensions of the taxonomy may come from setting aside verbal materials altogether and examining the visual component of ads for instances of figuration, along lines originally suggested by Durand (1987; see also Forceville 1994 and Kaplan 1992). Ads do not always use pictures in the manner of straightforward copies of reality; instead, pictorial elements may be fragmented, combined, or altered for rhetorical purposes, and some of these manipulations will possess the patterned deviance that is characteristic of figuration (Scott 1994b). Figure 2 provides two examples: the ad for California almonds makes use of visual antithesis (a scheme) in its presentation of sad and happy crois-

sants, while the Dramamine ad can be thought of as a visual metaphor (a trope) that brings the idea of seat belt protection and nausea protection into unexpected juxtaposition. Similarly, the Peracchio and Meyers-Levy (1994) study, which included ambiguous visual images created by photographic cropping, might be reinterpreted in our framework as a study of visual ellipsis. These examples show how the basic principles of figuration proposed in our framework might be extrapolated from language to pictures. More generally, rhetorical structure appears to hold considerable promise as a fundamental idea for organizing a broad range of text phenomena in advertising.

[Received November 1994. Revised September 1995. Brian Sternthal served as editor and John F. Sherry, Jr., served as associate editor for this article.]

REFERENCES

Anand, Punam and Brian Sternthal (1990), "Ease of Message Processing as a Moderator of Repetition Effects in Ad-

vertising," *Journal of Marketing Research,* 27 (August), 345–353.

Attridge, Derek (1988), "Unpacking the Portmanteau, or Who's Afraid of *Finnegan's Wake,*" in *On Puns: The Foundation of Letters,* ed. Jonathan Culler, New York: Blackwell, 140–155.

Barthes, Roland ([1970] 1988), "The Old Rhetoric: An Aide-Memoire," in *The Semiotic Challenge,* trans. Richard Howard, New York: Hill & Wang, 11–93.

———— (1985), "The Rhetoric of the Image," in *The Responsibility of Forms,* New York: Hill & Wang, 21–40.

Berlyne, Daniel E. (1971), *Aesthetics and Psychobiology,* New York: Appleton.

Burke, Kenneth (1950), *A Rhetoric of Motives,* New York: Prentice Hall.

Childers, Terry and Michael J. Houston (1984), "Conditions for a Picture Superiority Effect on Consumer Memory," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 11 (September), 643–654.

Cohen, Jean (1982), "A Theory of the Figure," in *French Literary Theory Today: A Reader,* ed. Tzvetan Todorov, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett, Edward P. J. (1990), *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student,* New York: Oxford University Press.

Deighton, John (1985), "Rhetorical Strategies in Advertising," in *Advances in Consumer Research,* Vol. 12, ed. Morris Holbrook and Elizabeth Hirschman, Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, 432–436.

Dubois, Jacques, Francis Edeline, Joan-Marie Klinkenberg, Philippe Minguet, F. Pire, and H. Trinon (1970), *A General Rhetoric,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Durand, Jacques (1987), "Rhetorical Figures in the Advertising Image," in *Marketing and Semiotics: New Directions in the Study of Signs for Sale,* ed. Jean Umiker-Sebeok, New York: de Gruyter, 295–318.

Eco, Umberto (1979), *The Role of the Reader,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———— (1984), *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fernandez, James W. (1991), *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology,* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Fogelin, Robert J. (1988), *Figuratively Speaking,* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Forceville, Charles (1994), *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising,* Wageningen: Ponsen & Looijen.

Garnham, Alan and Jane Oakhill (1992), "Aberrant Ellipsis: Advertisers Do, but Why?" *English Today,* 8 (January), 37–40.

Genette, Gerard (1982), *Figures of Literary Discourse,* trans. Alan Sheridan, New York: Columbia University Press.

Gibbs, Raymond W. (1993), "Process and Products in Making Sense of Tropes," in *Metaphor and Thought,* ed. Andrew Ortony, New York: Cambridge University Press, 252–276.

Greenwald, Anthony G. and Clark Leavitt (1984), "Audience Involvement in Advertising: Four Levels," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 11 (June), 581–592.

Grice, Herbert P. (1989), *Studies in the Way of Words,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hart, Roderick P. (1990), *Modern Rhetorical Criticism,* Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.

Hirschman, Elizabeth C. and Morris B. Holbrook (1992), *Postmodern Consumer Research: The Study of Consumption as Text,* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Jakobson, Roman (1967), "Linguistics and Poetics," in *Essays on the Language of Literature,* ed. Seymour Chatman and Samuel Levin, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 296–322.

———— and Morris Halle (1956), *Fundamentals of Language,* The Hague: Mouton.

Kaplan, Stuart J. (1992), "A Conceptual Analysis of Form and Content in Visual Metaphors," *Communication,* 13 (December), 197–209.

Kreuz, Robert J. and R. M. Roberts (1993), "The Empirical Study of Figurative Language in Literature," *Poetics,* 22 (September), 151.

Leech, Geoffrey N. (1969), *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry,* London: Longman.

Leigh, James H. (1994), "The Use of Figures of Speech in Print Ad Headlines," *Journal of Advertising,* 23 (June), 17–34.

MacInnis, Deborah J., Christine Moorman, and Bernard J. Jaworski (1991), "Enhancing and Measuring Consumers' Motivation, Opportunity and Ability to Process Brand Information from Ads," *Journal of Marketing,* 55 (October), 32–53.

McCracken, Grant (1987), "Advertising: Meaning or Information?" in *Advances in Consumer Research,* Vol. 14, ed. Melanie Wallendorf and Paul Anderson, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 121–124.

McQuarrie, Edward F. and David Glen Mick (1992), "On Resonance: A Critical Pluralistic Inquiry into Advertising Rhetoric," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 19 (September), 180–197.

Mick, David Glen (1986), "Consumer Research and Semiotics: Exploring the Morphology of Signs, Symbols and Significance," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 13 (September), 196–214.

Mitchell, Andrew A. (1983), "Cognitive Processes Initiated by Exposure to Advertising," in *Information Processing Research in Advertising,* ed. Richard J. Harris, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 13–42.

Mukarovsky, Jan (1964), "Standard Language and Poetic Language," in *A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style,* ed. Paul L. Garvin, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Nash, Walter (1989), *Rhetoric: The Wit of Persuasion,* Cambridge: Blackwell.

Noppen, Jean Pierre van (1990), *Metaphor II,* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Peracchio, Laura and Joan Meyers-Levy (1994), "How Ambiguous Cropped Objects in Ad Photos Can Affect Product Evaluations," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 21 (June), 190–204.

Pollio, Howard R., Michael K. Smith and Marilyn R. Pollio (1990), "Figurative Language and Cognitive Psychology," *Language and Cognitive Processes,* 5 (2), 141–167.

Redfern, Walter (1985), *Puns,* New York: Blackwell.

Roberts, Richard M. and Roger J. Kreuz (1994), "Why Do People Use Figurative Language?" *Psychological Science,* 5 (May), 159–163.

Ross, Haj (1991), "Fog Cat Fog," in *Cognition and the Symbolic Processes: Applied and Ecological Perspectives,* ed. Robert R. Hoffman and David S. Palermo, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 187–205.

Rubin, David C. and Wanda T. Wallace (1989), "Rhyme and Reason: Analyses of Dual Retrieval Cues," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition,* 15 (July), 698–709.

Scott, Linda M. (1990), "Understanding Jingles and Needledrop: A Rhetorical Approach to Music in Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 17 (September), 223–236.

——— (1994a), "The Bridge from Text to Mind: Adapting Reader Response Theory to Consumer Research," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 21 (December), 461–480.

——— (1994b), "Images in Advertising: The Need for a Theory of Visual Rhetoric," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 21 (September), 252–273.

Sherry, John F. (1987), "Advertising as a Cultural System," in *Marketing and Semiotics: New Directions in the Study of Signs for Sale,* ed. Jean Umiker-Sebeok, New York: de Gruyter.

——— (1991), "Postmodern Alternatives: The Interpretive Turn in Consumer Research," in *Handbook of Consumer Behavior,* ed. Thomas Robertson and Harold H. Kassarjian, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 548–591.

Sperber, Dan and Deidre Wilson (1986), *Relevance: Communication and Cognition,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stern, Barbara B. (1988), "How Does an Ad Mean? Language in Services Advertising," *Journal of Advertising,* 17 (Summer), 3–14.

——— (1990), "Pleasure and Persuasion in Advertising: Rhetorical Irony as a Humor Technique," *Current Issues and Research in Advertising,* Vol. 12, Ann Arbor, MI: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, 25–42.

Swasy, John L. and James M. Munch (1985), "Examining the Target of Receiver Elaborations: Rhetorical Question Effects on Source Processing and Persuasion," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 11 (March), 877–886.

Tanaka, Keiko (1992), "The Pun in Advertising: A Pragmatic Approach," *Lingua,* 87 (June), 91–102.

Todorov, Tzvetan (1982), *Theories of the Symbol,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

van Peer, Willie (1986), *Stylistics and Psychology: Investigations on Foregrounding,* London: Croom Helm.

Vickers, Brian (1989), *In Defence of Rhetoric,* Oxford: Clarendon.

Wells, William D. (1988), "Lectures and Dramas," in *Cognitive and Affective Responses to Advertising,* ed. Patricia Cafferata and Alice Tybout, Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Wenzel, Peter (1990), "Rhetoric and Semiotics," in *Semiotics in the Individual Sciences,* Vol. 2, ed. Walter A. Koch, Bochum: Brockmeyer, 558–551.

Yarbrough, Donald B. (1991), "The Reliability and Validity of a Measure of Reported Affinity for Figurative Language," *Creativity Research Journal,* 4 (4), 317–335.