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## **POLITICAL LANGUAGE AND ADVERTISING LANGUAGE IN RELEVANCE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: A QUEST FOR DIFFERENCES**

**Abstract:** The paper looks at two types of Polish data; political speech and TV advertisements, which, having similar aims but rather different status, may possibly use the same means to achieve success. The relevance framework is applied to analyse and compare the mechanisms behind the linguistic effects and looks into particular stages of processing the linguistic input, taking a closer look into the explicature in both the political speech of a TV election campaign and TV advertisements. Particular pragmatic processes are presented (disambiguation, ad hoc concept construction) as well as implicature formation, non-literal talk and covert communication in order to address the question of whether political speech and advertising are similar and, if yes, in what respects and to what extent.

**Key words:** relevance theory, political speech, TV advertisements, explicature, implicature

### **Introduction**

There is certainly a strong tendency to compare politics with advertising, treating political parties and their policies as products to be bought by the public. Political ideas or solutions will not succeed, in present times, unless they are well aired in public. The question remains whether advertising techniques are the right tools to promote politics, and in the limited space of this paper it is not possible to answer the question. In its limited format however, it looks at the ways the political speeches of an election campaign are similar to, or rather different from, the language and mechanisms used in advertising.

The aim of the paper therefore is to compare and contrast within the Theory of Relevance the rhetoric of a Polish political election campaign by analysing party political broadcasts, the short TV programmes broadcast free during a parliamentary election campaign together with Polish TV commercials. It concentrates on the type of similarities and differences as well as on their sources.

## **Data**

The data used for the analysis consist of political speech corpora and TV commercials. The political speech corpora were recorded during the first days of the media campaign for the parliamentary elections in Poland in 2005 and 2007. It consists of four party political broadcasts (hereafter PPBs); two from Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) herein referred to as PiS, relating to their campaigns in 2005 and 2007 and two produced by Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform) hereafter PO, also coming from the campaigns in 2005 and 2007. Such programs are around 3 to 4 minutes long each and are broadcast free on Polish public television; such free time is available to every party taking part in the elections.

The other part of the data consists of 11 randomly chosen TV commercials whose total time equals the total time of the material coming from one political party. The TV commercials were broadcast during the same time of day on the same channels to ensure that the viewers were equally exposed to the political as well as to the commercial advertisements.

Such data also enables an analysis of the development of political speech used in campaigns and provides answers to the interesting question of whether the direction of development is moving towards the style of advertising, which of course can easily be predicted; however, as the title of the paper suggests, more attention is given to the differences.

## **Explicatures**

Analysing utterances starts with formulating explicatures, which are the content of what is explicitly communicated, as determined by the availability principle (Recanati 1991a, 1991b). The principle resorts to common sense and states that decisions on what is explicitly communicated should conform to pre-theoretic intuitions on the matter. Therefore, the availability principle presupposes that what is said is available or accessible to the unsophisticated speaker and/or hearer, through their intuition.

The length of the utterance usually correlates with the complexity of the proposition expressed, which, when it raises the processing effort, according to the principle of relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1996), should give additional cognitive effects. In the case of the TV commercials, the average length of the utterances (7.7 words per utterance) is almost half the length of those coming from the PPBs (13.2 words per utterance). The shorter explicatures mean smaller processing effort on the part of the hearer, which in the end raises the relevance of the whole utterance, which is clearly of high importance to any advertiser.

	PiS 2005	PiS 2007	PO 2005	PO 2007	PPBs 2005	PPBs 2007	PPBs Average	Commerc ials
Explicatures/ utterance (word rate)	11.8	15.3	13.1	12.7	12.4	14	13.2	7.1
Reference assignment	68.5%	67.8%	71.1%	70%	69.8%	68.9%	69.3%	73.5%
Vague terms specification	16.5	16	14.1	21.5	15.2	18.5	16.8	13.2
Disambiguation	2.5	5.1	0.7	1.8	1.6	3.4	2.5	7.9
Ad hoc concept construction	5	6	7	5.3	6	6.1	5.8	1.3
Free enrichment	15	5	7.3	1.1	11.1	3	7.1	3.9

Table 1. Rates of pragmatic processes necessary to construct explicatures of the utterances in the corpus analysed.

The next findings displayed in Table 1 concern the analysis of pragmatic processes involved in explicature formation, such as reference assignment, disambiguation, vague term specification, free enrichment and ad hoc concepts construction, which show important changes within the political speech.

Processes of decoding are used to recover the intended referents of referring expressions, but then the hearer has to consider the immediate context to check whether there is a referent, which would yield a propositional form consistent with the principle of relevance. If this is not the case, the hearer has to extend the context and repeat the procedure (Sperber and Wilson 1996). Here the type of reference assignment that does not need free enrichment is meant.

The rate of terms in PPBs that needed only **reference assignment** drops, (from 69.8% in 2005 to 68.9% in 2007), which suggests that fewer issues are being discussed or presented by the parties. In TV commercials the rate of concepts that needed only reference assignment is higher (at 73.5 %) than the average in PPBs (which is 69.3%). Commercials, usually having as little as 30 seconds to present a product, devote the majority of the time to the actual presentation of the product and its best and innovative features. In the case of PPBs they are given more time therefore they may be vaguer.

Similarly, hypotheses about **disambiguation**, the next pragmatic process analysed, are not recovered by decoding only; they are then evaluated inferentially. Disambiguation concerns cases where there is a lexical or structural ambiguity. Even though the rate of the process has increased (from 1.6% in 2005 to 3.4% in 2007), still quite low rates of disambiguation seem to be a feature of political speech in general, as political speech avoids structural or lexical ambiguity. In the case of TV commercials the number of concepts requiring disambiguation is at a higher level (7.9%) than those found in political broadcasts. It seems that both the analysed political and advertising messages are most often not ambiguous (in political speech the tendency is stronger) as they rather sent a straight and simple message, so the impact is stronger and no place for possible misinterpretation is allowed. There may be cases of intended ambiguity; however, such cases are not present in the analysed political material. Advertising language, however, can be deliberately ambiguous (Byrne 1992) and often two or more alternative interpretations may be intended at the same time. In example (1) below, the question is intended to be ambiguous. It may be interpreted figuratively, "What is there that makes them so cute?" or literally as "What is there inside?" The former interpretation is additionally invited by the accompanying pictures of a mother kissing a baby on the belly. However the literal interpretation is taken up in the next part of the ad "Gerber knows what there should be" and further assurance that with Gerber "you may be sure that the tummy of your little one is full of the best there is."

- (1) Co takiego jest w tych małych brzuskach? Gerber wie co być powinno.  
[What is there in those little tummies? Gerber knows what there should be.] (Gerber ad)

In the case of ambiguity the viewers activate parallel interpretations necessarily raising the processing effort and the processing time. Though the effect is rather minor (the raising of the processing effort and the processing time is not substantial) it is a desirable effect in advertising as longer processing time means arresting the attention of the viewer for a longer period and it further results in more extra-contextual effects (Perez & Javier 2000). What is more, ambiguity is often accompanied with elements of humour which hopefully for the advertiser will make the commercial remembered longer (Díez Arroyo 1998) and maybe even talked about.

There are cases in which reference assignment and disambiguation do not result in the formation of a complete semantic representation. Then a semantic representation has to be enriched by inferential processes triggered by the presence of semantically incomplete or manifestly vague terms. The hearer has to find the first accessible enrichment, which would give an interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance. Overall, the process of **vague terms specification** is more frequent in the recovery of explicatures for interpretation

of PPBs from 2007 (18.5% compared to 15.2% in 2005) and even more frequent when compared to the TV commercials, where they take 13.2% of all the pragmatic processes. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that politicians are vaguer than the copywriters of TV commercials are when they present their plans. The examples (2) - (4) show how politicians refer to the present, the past and the future: each time being vague.

- (2) W ostatnich dniach, wszędzie gdzie spotykam się z ludźmi, czuję, że **jest jakoś inaczej**. Odżywa nadzieja, że **coś** się może zmienić.  
[In the last days, everywhere I meet people I feel **it is different** this time. There is hope that **something** might change] (PO 2005)
- (3) Przez ostatnie dwa lata sytuacja budżetówki **drastycznie się pogorszyła**.  
[For the last two years the situation of the public sector has **worsened drastically**] (PO 2007)
- (4) Jest szansą na to, że Polska będzie się rozwijała **prawidłowo**, że nie będziemy zaściankiem.  
[It gives the chance that Poland will develop **properly**; that we won't be a province] (PiS 2007)

In example (2) the leader of the party, who would like to take over power in the parliament and form the government, expresses his feelings of hope and enthusiasm as to the nearest future (i.e. election results). The whole fragment is full of vagueness as it refers to quite vague feelings, which may be presented in this way deliberately, so that every listener might come up with his or her slightly different interpretation; one that would certainly be the result of the contextual assumptions which at that point seem to be most relevant to the hearer (Wilson and Sperber 2004). This naturally leads to various interpretations not necessarily in line with those intended by the politicians. Additionally, it is important to remember that the target audience of such programs are the supporters of the party and the section of the voters who have not yet decided which party to vote for. The opponents are not the target audience, they do not typically arrive at the intended interpretation; or rather they do not stop at the intended interpretations, but interpret further to end on interpretations quite the contrary to the speakers' ones: the addresser's direct or indirect intention (Yus 1998). Example (3) similarly leaves the audience to specify the way and the degree to which the situation has worsened. However, the sentences that follow in the program present instances of the situation (in the health care, education and expressways construction), but still, it is up to the audience to refer to their own experience and specify what is actually conveyed, "how much and in what way the situation has worsened", so the interpretation meets the expectation of its own optimal relevance. In example (4) the MP from a farming background claims that the agriculture section in the party "gives the chance that Poland will

develop **properly**" adding that "we will not be a province". This helps a little in finding the suitable interpretation of the idea of "proper development" in practice; possibly one that does not leave agriculture behind. The following examples present instances of vagueness in commercials.

- (5) **Piękno to swoboda.**  
[Beauty is freedom] (Nivea deodorant ad)
  
- (6) Fastum działa **szybko.**  
[Fastum works fast] (Fastum pain relief gel ad)

The first of the advertisements, example (5), contains instances of vagueness, presenting a slogan displayed at the end of the advertisement; here the whole slogan is vague. The terms are here used almost out of context, with the obvious exception suggested by the very fact that the message is a commercial one: that "beauty" comes from the company's cosmetics. However, "freedom" is mostly left for the audience to interpret, with one hint coming from the context created by the advertisement itself, which refers to the less frequent necessity to shave armpits as the deodorant slows down the speed of hair growth. Example (6) is a typical example of vagueness in this type of communication, here the word 'fast' may be interpreted in a slightly different way by particular hearers, as what is fast (in minutes or seconds) is bound to differ from person to person.

The next process analysed, **ad hoc concept construction**, involves concepts constructed from lexically encoded concepts present in the logical form, which undergo a process of pragmatic adjustment. The adjustment bridges the gap between a particular concept encoded by a lexical item and the concept, which is inferentially communicated. The process may involve narrowing, loosening or a combination of the two or, alternatively, the denotation of the item may overlap in some respects with the denotation of the concept communicated. In example (7) the concept "sacred" is loosened and at the same time narrowed to mean a very special place not only for Jacek Kurski (saying those words). The hearer inferentially arrives at the interpretation "a place of very special historic importance where the very first events leading to the change of the political system in Poland took place" which gives the highest cognitive effect and ensures relevance. In the following example (8), the word "today" is certainly loosened, but also slightly narrowed to mean "a longer stretch of time which is completed at the moment of speaking". In example (9) the term "all" is used and it is adjusted to mean "the only thing you need to (...)" transform ingredients into a meal, without other seasonings and even without much work, not to mention the necessary equipment as some utensils and a cooker.

- (7) Miejsce gdzie się znajdujemy, Stocznia Gdańska, jest dla mnie **święte.**  
[The place where we are now, Gdansk shipyard, is **sacred** for me.] (PiS 2005)

- (8) (...), **dzisiaj** dotrzymano słowa,  
 [(...), **today** the word was kept] (PiS 2007)
- (9) Co dziś na obiad? (*pauza*) Leczo! Nowy Fix Knorr to **wszystko** czego potrzebujesz aby zamienić świeże składniki w pyszne Leczo.  
 [What's for dinner today? (*pause*) letcho! The new Knorr Fix is **all** you need to turn fresh ingredients into delicious letcho] (Knorr ad)

The frequency of concepts requiring ad hoc concept construction is higher in the case of PPBs (5.82% against 1.3% in commercials), which suggests that political speech relies more on the audience to supply some of the semantic content and, importantly, leaves little hesitation as to the intended interpretation. This can be explained by the fact that politicians need to carefully control the possible interpretations of their messages to ensure success and, secondly, that such programmes often contain parts of more or less spontaneous speech which is more prone to include such concepts.

The last pragmatic process analysed, **free enrichment** (Carston 2004, 2010), which is unarticulated constituent construction, is a pragmatic process involved in the very determination of what is explicitly communicated. The process is not linguistically triggered but arises from the very fact of uttering a sentence in a given context and searching for its relevance in this context. Free enrichment involves introducing an unarticulated constituent and is a top-down process.

- (10) Marek znów przed telewizorem.  
 [Mark again in front of the TV] (Luxia shower gel ad)
- (11) Zaproponujemy bon oświatowy. I jeśli będzie taka potrzeba zaproponujemy ogólnonarodowe referendum — niech Polacy wypowiedzą się o swojej szkole, by podjąć zasadnicze zmiany.  
 [We will propose educational credits. And if there is such a need we will propose a national referendum – let Poles decide about their schools, so important changes can be started] (PO 2005)
- (12) To, że mogę brać udział w wyborach 25 września jest dla mnie najlepszym dowodem, że Prawo i Sprawiedliwość wnosi nową jakość do polskiej polityki. Jestem przekonany, że po zakończeniu kadencji politycy odpowiedzialni za losy Polski, będą bardziej dostrzegać problemy osób niepełnosprawnych.  
 [The fact that I can take part in the elections on the 25th of September is the best evidence that Law and Justice brings a new quality to Polish politics. I'm sure that when the term of office is finished the politicians responsible for the fate of Poland will more easily see the problems of the disabled] (PiS 2005)

Typically, without free enrichment the proposition would be trivially true, too general or too vague and would not yield sufficient cognitive effects. In example (10) there is a verb missing which in fact is evidently "is sitting" and also naturally "and at the same time is watching TV".

Example (11) is quite typical for campaign programmes, where one way or another politicians describe the desirable future actions, which are more or less phrased as declarations for their future decisions or actions, naturally, when they win the elections. Therefore each of the sentences in (11) can be started with the phrase "when we win the elections". Additionally, as in the majority of utterances, the cause-effect relationships are not lexically expressed but left to be inserted by the hearer. Therefore example (11) would need the following enrichment:

(11a.) "(If/When we win the elections) We will propose educational credits And (then) if there is such a need we will propose a national referendum – (and then) let Poles decide (in the referendum) about their schools, so (then, as a result) important changes can be started."

The utterance in example (12) is spoken by a disabled man sitting in a wheelchair, which automatically enriches the utterance into;

(12a.) "The fact that I (as a disabled person) can take part in the elections on the 25th of September is the best evidence that Law and Justice brings a new quality to Polish politics (taking into consideration the needs of the disabled more). (If I am elected) I'm sure that when the term of office is finished the politicians responsible for the fate of Poland will see the problems of the disabled more easily."

The process of free enrichment is rather infrequent and it is less often applied in the case of TV commercials (3.9% as opposed to 7.1% in PPBs). In comparison, political programs include more cases of free enrichment. On one the hand this might be due to the almost spontaneous speech which seems to involve free enrichment more often, and on the other it is due to the very situation of the election campaign where numerous declarations, proposals and promises are made which are to be carried out after the party wins the election; naturally each time the promise is made it is not repeated when or by whom exactly it will possibly be fulfilled.

Another aspect analysed in the process of explicature formation is the type of **encyclopaedic knowledge** accessed. Each of the processes involved in recovering explicatures concerns a number of concepts that need to be activated. The focus is on the character of the concepts; that is, on the type of encyclopaedic knowledge within which they are rooted. The encyclopaedic knowledge that is activated in the course of recovering explicatures for interpretation of PPBs can range from strict political knowledge on the one hand to general non-political knowledge on the other. The encyclopaedic knowledge has been classified (Rut-Kluz 2009) into political and general non-political knowledge; the former has been also further divided into strict political knowledge and general political knowledge. Therefore, the concepts may be rooted in the following three types of encyclopaedic knowledge:

- **Strict political knowledge** includes (particular) past political situations in Poland and their recent developments (e.g. "the Gdansk shipyard", "underground Solidarity" PiS 2005; "Rywingate scandal" PiS 2007; "Poland peacefully regaining independence", "political prisoners" PO 2007).
- The name **General political knowledge** labels general knowledge that naturally contains, as its part, political information, which is then activated. General political knowledge primarily includes knowledge about the general political situation in Poland together with knowledge about the way the political system works. (e.g. "campaign manager", "losing a government position" PiS 2005; "subsidy funds" PiS 2007; "political immunity" PO 2005).
- **General non-political knowledge** is general knowledge with no political information activated. (e.g. "a uniform (flat) tax rate", "unemployment rate", "well-paid teachers", "well-paid nurses and doctors" PO 2007; "natural resources" PiS 2005; "dynamic development of the economy" PiS 2007).

Explicatures	PiS 2005	PiS 2007	PO 2005	PO 2007	PPBs 2005	PPBs 2007	PPBs Average	Comm ercials
Concepts rooted in:								
Strict political knowledge	7	0	6.5	3.5	6.7%	1.7%	4.25	-
General political knowledge	40	56	52	36	46	46	46	-
Non-political knowledge	53	44	41.5	60.5	47.2	52.2	49.7	-

*Table 2.* Rates of concepts rooted in particular types of encyclopaedic knowledge necessary to construct explicatures of the utterances in the corpus analysed.

As Table 2 shows, the number of concepts rooted in strict political knowledge on the whole drops significantly (from an average of 6.75% in 2005 to 1.75% in 2007) and there is only a slight shift between general political knowledge and non-political knowledge. PiS used more concepts rooted in general political knowledge (56% in 2007 compared to 40% in 2005) while PO used more concepts rooted in non-political knowledge (60,5% in 2007 and 41,5% in 2005). This invites the conclusion that PiS in its campaign was more politically oriented while PO positioned themselves at a slight distance from the purely political issues in favour of social and economic matters. Generally speaking, the content of political speech distances itself from purely political questions in favour of more general content which includes the social and economic matters.

Naturally, in TV commercials, the type of encyclopaedic knowledge activated is only connected with the product advertised and possibly other concepts rooted in general encyclopaedic knowledge (e.g. "back pain", "perfect breakfast", "no salt added", "fresh ingredients", "antiperspirant"), there are no strictly technical concepts connected with the products.

### **Implicatures**

Most of the explicatures can be interpreted further as implicating some information. The Availability Principle and the Scope Principle determine information implicated, the latter requires that an implicature should not fall within the scope of logical operators. Therefore if a pragmatically determined aspect of an utterance does fall within the scope of logical operators (such as negation and conditional), then it is part of what is explicitly communicated rather than of what is implicated (Wilson 1986).

Also Carston's (1995: 467) Functional Independence principle (weakened version), is used. It says that an implicature should not entail the proposition expressed in the explicature as the proposition expressed by an utterance and its implicatures play independent roles in the hearer's inferential processing.

In the present analysis, the continuum of implicatures, from strong to weak, is divided into three parts (Sperber and Wilson 1996): strong, middle and weak. Strong implicatures are always speaker intended and the relevance of an utterance is gained by virtue of the strong implicature. Middle implicatures are partially intended by the speaker; there is some responsibility of the hearer for recovering them and the relevance of an utterance hinges less on the implicature as it also comes partially from the explicature. In weak implicatures the hearer is solely responsible for deriving the weak implicature (even though the hearer treats them as intended by the speaker) and the relevance of an utterance is obtained with hardly any help from the weak implicature.

The rates of strong, middle and weak implicatures have also been investigated and summarised in Table 3. The different kinds of implicatures do not point to any significant changes in the political speech in 2007; however, there are shifts within the types of implicatures used by the particular parties. This is because the implicatures that had to be drawn to interpret the programmes made by PiS generally become more implicit while those made by PO become more explicit in the period analysed. In the case of the material from the TV commercials, the majority of implicatures are middle implicatures, while the numbers of strong and weak implicatures are more or less equal. Therefore, it seems that the weak implicatures in the case of political speech (43.7%), which are twice as high compared to the TV commercials (18%), can mainly be explained by implicatures concerning the opposite party.

<b>Implicatures</b>	PiS 2005	PiS 2007	PO 2005	PO 2007	<b>PPBs 2005</b>	<b>PPBs 2007</b>	<b>PPBs Average</b>	<b>Comm ercials</b>
Strong	34%	22.2%	23.5%	34%	28,7%	22,8%	28.4%	25%
Middle	29	41	23.5	18	26	29.5	27.7	55
Weak	37	37	53	48	45	42.5	43.7	18
<b>Premises</b>								
Strict political knowledge	21	0	20	0	10.5	10	10.2	-
General political knowledge	61	86	70	74	65.5	80	72.75	-
Non-political knowledge	17	14	10	26	13.5	20	16.7	
<b>Explicatures</b>	65	49	64.5	53	64.7	51	64	64
<b>Implicatures</b>	35	51	35.5	47	35,2	49	36	36
Ratio of implicatures to explicatures	1.8	0.9	1.8	1.1	1.8	1	1.4	1,7

*Table 3.* Rates of particular types of implicatures and premises containing concepts rooted in particular types of encyclopaedic knowledge necessary to construct implicatures of the utterances in the corpus analysed.

Naturally, considerable attention is devoted in the analysis to the political content brought by context; that is the knowledge that needs to be activated in order to derive implicatures. In comparing the political speeches of the 2005 and 2007 campaigns there is an evident drop in the strict political knowledge (from 20.5% in 2005 to 0% in 2007) activated for premises construction for interpretation of the PPBs coming from the latter campaign and a rise in the general political knowledge (from 65.5% in 2005 to 80% in 2007) in the programmes of both of the parties. In fact, the majority of premises necessary for interpretation of the PPBs were rooted in general political knowledge. In the case of encyclopaedic knowledge, the shift within general knowledge with no political information activated for premises construction for interpretation of the two PPBs is different. It drops in the case of PiS (from 17% to 14%) and rises in the case of PO (from 10% to 26%). This fact suggests that where PO is concerned, more of the implicated content is not political.

The total number of implicatures involved in the interpretation of TV commercials is almost equal to those coming from PPBs, though the proportions of strong, middle and weak implicatures are different. In the PPBs, the weak implicatures are the most frequent (43.7%) while the majority of implicatures derived in interpretation of TV commercials are the middle implicatures (55%).

In analysis of the implicatures in the political speech of the two parties, it can be noticed that the number of implicatures to explicatures has risen over the two years (from 1.8 in 2005 to 1 in 2007), and the number of explicatures and

implicatures is on average equal. In TV commercials, implicatures compared with explicatures are less frequent (1.7). This means that the political speech contains more of the implicated content than does the language of the commercial messages. In political speech the content implicated strongly is often at the same time political; that is, the concepts in the premises are rooted in the general political part of encyclopaedic knowledge. The concepts rooted in strictly political knowledge are usually part of the premises leading to the middle (or weak) implicatures.

- (13) Dziś w Platformie Obywatelskiej spotkali się ludzie, którzy swą młodość poświęcili w walce o **wolność Polski**. Są to m.in. **Stefan Niesiołowski, Andrzej Czuma, więźniowie polityczni, działacze ruchu najstarszej organizacji** opozycyjnej w PRL (...) **Radosław Sikorski, Donald Tusk**. Każdemu, kto spyta o to skąd przychodzimy by zmieniać Polskę i budować Jej dobrobyt możemy śmiało odpowiedzieć: jesteśmy z soli tej ziemi, jesteśmy po to by Jej służyć, by ludziom żyło się lepiej – wszystkim.

[Today people, who have met in Civic Platform, devoted their youth to the struggle for **Poland's freedom**. Those are, to mention a few, **Stefan Niesiołowski, Andrzej Czuma, political prisoners, members of the oldest opposition organization** in PRL<sup>1</sup>. (...) **Radosław Sikorski, Donald Tusk**. To everyone who asks where we come from to change Poland and build her wellbeing, we can bravely say we are the people of the soil, we are to serve her, to make people's lives better - for everybody.] (PO 2007)

Example (13) illustrates a longer utterance (the omitted part includes more names and their positions in important past opposition organisations) which leads to a number of middle and weak explicatures involving the origins of the party and their main members including the leader Donald Tusk. The concepts of the premises needed to be constructed here are rooted in strict political knowledge, as they regard past political situations (i.e. "the oldest opposition organization in PRL"). The actual name of the organization may be in fact difficult, if at all possible, to retrieve from the viewer's memory. However, the party seems to deliberately pick up this particular characteristic to refer to the organization (being the oldest) as it will bring more relevant contextual implications of the sort intended by the party (i.e. stressing the origins of the party), which would not be that salient from reference only to its name. With this information the party commends itself as fit to become the governing party, introducing new bills (middle implicature) and therefore deserving to win the elections (weak implicature).

- (14) (...) zmienimy **prawo wyborcze** oddając **prawo do decydowania** ludziom a nie partiom (...)  
[(...) we will change the **election regulations** by giving **the right to chose** to the voters not the parties (...)] (PO 2005)

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<sup>1</sup> People's Republic of Poland

- (15) Przedstawimy, (...) propozycję podatku liniowego (...) początkowo będzie **wyglądał jak pocztówka z wakacji**.  
 [We will propose a linear tax (...) in the beginning it will **look like a postcard**.]  
 (PO 2005)
- (16) Wierzę, że uda nam się zrealizować marzenie o silnym, **prawym i sprawiedliwym państwie**.  
 [I believe that our dream of a strong **lawful and just country** will come true.] (PiS 2005)

Example (14) presents a weak implicature where the premises involve general political knowledge. The implicated content weakly communicates that the party wants the voters to have the right to choose which candidates will finally become MPs (regarding technical elements in the election system), and it also weakly communicates that the party is voter oriented. The utterance in example (15), using the simile "look like a postcard", weakly implicates a departure from typical economic language and in this way brings the matters closer to the average viewer and also the party presents itself as being viewer oriented, imaginative, creative and expressive. It is a case where poetic effect (Sperber and Wilson 1991) is used and gains its relevance through a wide array of weak implicatures.

Example (16) presents an utterance which leads to a middle implicature. The relation between the state characteristics ("lawful and just") and the name of the party (Law and Justice) is quite strong, and invites ad hoc concept construction for "lawful and just country" e.g. "PiS has the total power in the parliament"; "a great majority of the citizens are PiS members"; "a great majority of the citizens follow the policy of the party" (etc.). None of the interpretations seem to be more motivated by the party (yielding more contextual effects) and the choice is left to the viewer. However, the viewer does not necessarily have to arrive at one specific interpretation; it seems enough for him/her to arrive at a general interpretation that "the party wants to have a leading position in the country" for the utterance to achieve optimal relevance. The more specific interpretations of the concept "lawful and just country" encourage the audience to derive further weak implicature(s) (e.g. the Speaker dreams that PiS has the total power in the parliament; the Speaker dreams that a great majority of the citizens are PiS members; the Speaker dreams that a great majority of the citizens follow the policy of the party, etc.); here, however, the audience is at least partially responsible for such a conclusion (Wilson and Sperber 2004).

- (17) Krystalicznie czysta Kropla Beskidu krążąc od wieków wśród skał Beskidu nasycza się naturalnymi minerałami **napelnia cię siłą natury**.  
 [Crystal clear Drop of Beskid for centuries finding its way through the brooks of Beskid fills itself with natural minerals and **fills you with the strength of nature**.]  
 (Drop of Beskid - mineral water ad)

Example (17) is the main part of a mineral water advertisement which implicates that since the water is natural, coming from the mountains of Beskid, it is healthy and therefore makes you strong.

Implicatures have several functions; what is implicated is not as readily questioned as is possible in the case of an open statement (Perez and Javier 2000). Therefore, the content, which is communicated implicitly, allows the avoidance of responsibility for an open statement as the advertiser may deny intending to communicate certain content. Another function is related to maintaining the attention of the audience for a little longer as the implicature takes more time to be processed than an explicit statement. This is certainly a powerful tool in both politics and advertising; though in politics it is resorted to more often.

### **Non-literal talk**

Discourse includes various stylistic devices, which in relevance-theoretical analysis are interpreted in the form of implicatures. Non-literal talk, or loose talk, loose use of language (Sperber and Wilson 1986, Wilson and Sperber 2004) is a broad term; nearly all utterances are non-literal to some degree, as every utterance interpretively resembles the thought that the speaker wants to communicate. Interpretive resemblance is the extent to which two propositions share their analytical and contextual implications in a given context. Literal talk is a special, extreme case of interpretive resemblance, consisting of the identity of the analytical and contextual implications of two utterances or a thought and an utterance expressing this thought.

In order to comprehend the tropes, metaphor and metonymy, the hearer has to determine the level of interpretive resemblance (Sperber and Wilson 1981, 2006 Wilson and Sperber 2004) between the utterance and the thought of the speaker. The speaker, on the other hand, assumes that the hearer can get to the intended contextual effects and disregard the unintended ones. The utterances containing tropes gain relevance through a wide array/range of weak implicatures. Thus, the wider the range the weaker the implicatures and the greater the hearer's responsibility for their raising.

The interpretation of an utterance containing repetition naturally involves extra processing effort induced by processing the repeated material and is paid off by extra contextual effects, which may be the following: the strengthening of the explicature, and/or evoking strong implicatures, or evoking a wide array of weak implicatures. Poetic effects are achieved by a wide array of weak implicatures which do not add new assumptions to the mutual environment but which create common impressions rather than common knowledge. Special effects are analysed together in bulk for the sake of space and they include; non-literal talk, poetic effect, repetition, metaphor, metonymy and simile.

Non-literal talk	PiS 2005	PiS 2007	PO 2005	PO 2007	PPBs 2005	PPBs 2007	PPBs Average	Commercial s
Repetition	10%	14.8%	19.5%	29.6%	14.7%	22.2%	18.5%	37.5%
Poetic effect	32	37	29	37.1	30.5	37.6	33.8	43.7
Metaphor	10	29.6	22.5	14.8	16.2	22.2	19.2	6.2
Metonymy	38	11.1	9.5	18.5	23.7	14.8	26.7	12.5
Loose talk	10	7.4	16	0	13	3.7	-	8.3

Table 4. Rates of particular types of non-literal talk.

During the period analysed, as displayed in Table 4, the total number of special effects rose; also the number of repetitions (from 14.7% in 2005 to 22.2% in 2007) and poetic effects (from 30.5% in 2005 to 37.6% in 2007) was greater. Metaphors and metonymies considered together do not present any considerable shifts though they form a large part of the total of the special effects used by the parties (45.9% of all non-literal talk). It is necessary to point out that metaphors and metonymies are very conventional and lexicalised, they are part of everyday spoken language, which takes the political speech style away from formal speech and closer to everyday utterances.

(18) Polityka ma sens kiedy jest robiona **z ludźmi dla ludzi**.

[Polityka ma sens kiedy jest robiona z ludźmi dla ludzi Politics makes sense when it is done with **the people for the people**] (PiS 2007)

(19) Będzie **szarpnięcie cugli**. Będzie **szarpnięcie cugli** tam, gdzie trzeba zlikwidować interesowność, nieodpowiedzialność i bezsilność państwa.

[There will be **jerking of the reins**. There will be **jerking of the reins** where the interests, lack of responsibility and the impotence of the state should be eliminated] (PO 2005).

In example (18) there is a case of repetition. The repeated phrase "the people" is in this way made more significant, more salient, ensuring greater stress to be implied on the relation of politics to the citizens than would be possible for an utterance which does not involve repetition. Example (19) starts the program of the party. There is both a repetition and a metaphor which intends to describe the style of governing after winning the elections with regard to the way the mechanisms of the state work. The metaphor is quite vivid and gains its relevance through a number of possible implicatures derived on the basis of premises constructed with the help of the phrase "jerking of the reins" which has been broadened to convey the concept of control over the actions on various levels of governing. Repetition is applied to the most powerful part of the initial part of the programme. It may even be interpreted as stressing, allowing more force to the first sentence by not accompanying it with any distracting elements; only later, in the next sentence, are they supplied to guide the interpretation towards the administrative areas to which this kind of attitude is to be applied. (Sperber and Wilson 2006).

(20) **Państwo, odwrócone dotąd tyłem do obywatela**, powinno wreszcie zacząć załatwiać sprawy zwykłych Polaków.

[**The state, which has turned its back on the citizen**, should now get to the matters of the ordinary Poles] (PiS 2005)

(21) Chcemy **konfiskacji majątków aferzystów i złodziei**. Pieniądze te przeznaczymy na likwidację **głodu wśród polskich dzieci**.

[We want **confiscation of the fortunes of the corrupt and thieves**. The money we will spend on eliminating **hunger among Polish children**] (PiS 2005)

In example (20) there is a case of metaphor which leads to a strong implicature. Metaphor, and here personification in particular, is a strong and compact way of expressing the idea of service provided by the state to each and every citizen. The "state which has turned its back on the citizen" is here inferentially interpreted to mean "the laws and regulations that may not be particularly convenient or even useful for the citizen". Now the implicature expresses the idea that the laws and regulations should change and become useful to the ordinary citizens, possibly also implying that so far they were useful or convenient for the administration rather than the average citizens.

Example (21) is open to a number of middle and weak implicatures. One of the clearly intended implicatures concentrates on the illegal activities that should be prosecuted and compensated for by helping poor children. Several weak implicatures are also invited as the utterance juxtaposes a number of contrasting concepts, some being overtly expressed, some easily inferred by the hearers. The utterance contrasts the concepts of "criminals" with "innocent children", "the rich" with "the poor", "the clever" with "the inexperienced". The main cognitive effect of the weak implicatures is aimed at stirring emotions and the contrasts make the emotions even more intense. Finally, by overtly specifying the children as "Polish" it stresses the national characteristics of the party and its supporters, since without communicating that feature it is still rather obvious that in the campaign the parties are concentrated on the country rather than other parts of the world. Additionally, it may even weakly implicate that the party is against helping children from other countries, since there are still Polish children who need help.

Non-literal talk	PiS 2005	PiS 2007	PO 2005	PO 2007	PPBs 2005	PPBs 2007	PPBs Average	Commercials
Strict political knowledge	10	0	0	0	5	0	2.5	-
General knowledge	45	92.5	78	62.9	61.5	77.7	69.6	-
Non-political knowledge	45	7.5	22	37.1	33.5	22.3	27.9	-

Table 5. Rates of particular types of non-literal talk.

Considering the type of encyclopaedic knowledge, as Table 5 presents, the content of the given instance of special effect was analysed to determine whether the type of import was political or non-political. In other words, we want to see whether or not a given instance of special effect enhances the political content of the message. This aspect does not show any difference between the political speeches of the two campaigns but shows the changes in the programmes of the individual parties. In the programmes of PiS, we can notice a move away from the use of special effects to convey ideas not connected with politics (the 10% of special effects used to convey concepts rooted in strict political knowledge in 2005 shifts to 0% in 2007) and towards the use of special effects to convey knowledge connected with basic political knowledge (the 92,5% of special effects used to convey concepts rooted in general political knowledge in 2007 had shifted from 45% in 2005) (e.g. the concept "politics" in example (18) and "state" in example (19)). In the case of the PO programmes, this type of knowledge drops (from 78% in 2005 to 62.9% in 2007) but is still more frequent than concepts rooted in knowledge containing no political aspect (37.1% in 2007).

In TV commercials, the number of special effects is lower (19% compared to 27% in PPBs) and the rate of metaphors or metonymies is much lower (9.4% compared to 23 % in PPBs) as the commercials rarely include even conventional metaphors and only occasionally a creative metaphor. Example (21) below illustrates a non-literal use of the concept "disappear" to mean "be eaten" since the sandwiches do not literally disappear, but they are eaten by the family. This is illustrated by the visual part of the commercial, where the children and the husband are quickly and sneakily taking the sandwiches from the plate, so that the mother (who is making the sandwiches) would not notice them.

(22) Teraz każda kanapka **zniknie** nim zrobisz następną.

[Now every sandwich **disappears** before you make another one] (Delma margarine ad)

Special effects in the commercials are used to describe the product in a positive way while in the case of political speech the effects are used not only to describe the parties own policy in the best way but also to overtly show a negative side of their rival(s); here naming the opponent is not rare. In the TV commercials here analysed, the products are not overtly compared; naturally, they occasionally compare their product with rivals in the market but hardly ever giving any clues as to their names.

## Relevance

The relevance of the utterances can be of two types: firstly, immediate relevance, that is the relevance of an individual utterance to the hearer consisting

of the cognitive effects following from the utterance. (Sperber and Wilson 1996). This type of relevance is arrived at by the hearers in both types of corpora but the differences cannot be presented here for lack of space. The second type is overall or global relevance, which is the relevance to the hearer of a longer text or discourse: the general cognitive effects following from interpreting a large discourse unit. (Kitis 1999).

In the PPBs, the global relevance concerned, in the case of PiS, their achievements during their 2-year period in office to confirm their credibility, two important statements of loyalty by former PO politicians and a final encouragement to vote for their candidates. However, their programme starts with a picture of the threat of corruption, which can only be finally defeated by the party leader Jarosław Kaczyński. The construction of this part of the programme resembles the TV commercials for Domestos bathroom detergents, where first the threat of bacteria is possibly exaggerated and then the product is seen to clean the place with ease.

In the case of PO, the global relevance concerns the origin of the party to stress that its roots are in the *Solidarność* (Solidarity) movement and then some promises that their policies include. This programme starts with an introduction similar to an anti-aging cream commercial, with a before-and-after structure. First, the negative aspects of current government policy are presented as the result of the PiS administration. These then change for the better as they will become if PO wins the election.

The global relevance in each TV commercial is necessarily the presentation of the unique features of the product as well as to encourage the purchase.

There is also the aspect of the structure of both of the programmes. The structure of TV commercials is only in part similar to those of PPBs. There are two types of language used at the same time, spoken and written language. Some parts of the commercial message are both said (voice over) and displayed on the screen. In some of the commercials it is the same text that is both spoken and displayed; in others it is just the main idea of the spoken message that is displayed. An audience faced with this kind of message doubling would more likely receive it and, what is more important, they would probably notice the essence of the message. The processing effort is greater in such a situation but it seems that arresting the viewers' attention for longer is the main reason for implementing such methods. On the other hand, there are often commercials that start with a longer fragment of pictures accompanied by music, without any verbal message. This also seems to be used to get the attention of the viewers as a lack of any verbal message often attracts the potential viewers to see what is on the screen.

The PPBs tend not to use such methods, and where they do it is quite rare and in a very limited way, and the only reason seems to be to stress a given part of the message. The PPBs do not seem to strive so strongly to get the attention of

the viewer as the expectation is that the interested would watch it. In the case of ubiquitous TV commercials, which actually get in our way when we want to watch something else, many of their features either serve the function of attracting attention or of maintaining the interest gained.

### Covert communication

Covert communication (Tanaka 1994, Durán Martínez 2006) is defined as persuading the hearer that the implicature is true without asserting the fact.

In the materials of both parties, in the majority of cases covert communication concerns the assumption that the viewers should vote for the respective party.

(23) Musimy tylko wygrać te wybory.  
[We just have to win these elections] (PO 2007)

(24) Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – dotrzynamy słowa.  
[Law and Justice – we keep our word] (PiS 2005 and 2007)

The implicature following from example (23) is that the viewer should vote for the party and is responsible for the result of the elections. What is more, the utterance in example (23) ends a longer section illustrating how many aspects of everyday life will improve, and an encouragement that we can do it. Therefore an additional implicature may emerge, that these will only be possible if the party wins, and consequently if one does not vote for the party then they are responsible in a way for its possible failure and not realizing its plans. The implicature is certainly not asserted. The slogan in example (24) is used in both campaigns of PiS closer to the end of the programs, implicating that "keeping our word" is the main feature of the party members and party policy, which leads to the next implication that the party can be trusted and therefore finally it deserves votes for their candidates. Except for the first implication none of the rest are asserted by the party.

In TV commercials, covert communication is slightly more frequent (3% as against 1% in PPBs) and is used to convey additional positive associations with the product advertised.

(25) Idealne śniadanie to świeżo wypieczony domowy chleb z pyszną **Delmą** ekstra.  
[The perfect breakfast is home-baked bread with delicious **Delma** extra] (Delma margarine ad)

The above example (25) implies that other types of breakfast are not as good as the one presented, as only that is "perfect". The implicature is not asserted.

Both in political speech as well as in advertising, covert communication is a powerful tool supplying content which in fact does not have to be asserted, which provides the speakers with a way of implying messages they do not have to take responsibility for.

### **Conclusions**

In conclusion, the main differences between political language and advertising language are to be highlighted. The analysis shows that political speech is vaguer on the one hand and less ambiguous on the other, and that it implies more than advertising language. It uses more non-literal talk and less covert communication. The type of non-literal talk used in political speech is more conventional and at times colloquial but also it is more frequent. It seems that in advertising language ambiguous terms and structures serve to attract the viewer; though intended ambiguity tends not to be used in political speech, which rather uses non-literal talk instead. It seems that overtly ambiguous terms and structures are not at all a part of the semi-formal style of political speech.

The structure of TV commercials is only in part similar to those of political programmes. There are two modes of language used at the same time, the spoken and the written language. Some parts of the commercial message are both said and displayed on the screen. In some of the commercials it is the same text that is both spoken and displayed, in others it is just the main idea of the spoken message that is displayed. Audience faced with this kind of doubling of the message are more likely to receive it and what is more important they would more probably notice the very message. The processing effort would be greater in such situation but it seems that arresting the viewers' attention for longer is the main reason for implementing such methods. On the other hand there are often commercials which start with a longer fragment of pictures accompanied with some music, without any verbal message, that also seems to be used to get the attention of viewers as no message draws the attention to see what is on the screen.

The political programmes do not use such methods and if they do it is quite rare and the only reason seems to be to stress a given part of the message. The political programmes do not seem to strive so strong to get the attention of the viewer as the expectation is that the interested would watch it. In case of ubiquitous TV commercials, which actually get into our way while we want to watch something else, many of their features serve either the function of attracting the attention or latter of maintaining the interest gained.

The reason that PPBs do not use the methods implemented in TV commercials may be twofold. On the one hand, for various reasons, they want to be simply different from and not compared to commercials. On the other hand,

they assume some interest of the audience in the message to be conveyed; they are still more similar, in that respect, to political discussions. Therefore, this can be considered as another main difference between PPBs and TV commercials.

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