THE LANGUAGE OF NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING IN CHINESE

DISSERTATION

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By

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* * * * *

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To
My Wife
C. Y.
and
My Children
Joy and Liz
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ABBREVIATIONS

A: Assertion
AdjP: Adjective Phrase
ASP: Aspective
BE: Verb "to be"
CLF: Classifier (Measure Word)
CP: Cooperative Principle
LI: Logical Implication
NP: Noun Phrase
[NP]: Topic NP
T
FAR: Particle
POSS: Possessive ( -de )
PI: Pragmatic Implication
PL: Plural
PronP: Pronoun Phrase
PVP: Postverb Phrase
PW: Place Word
S-R: Stimulus-Response
T: Topic
V-O: Verb-Object
VP: Verb Phrase

x
BJCB: 北京晨报 Beijing Chenbao
DGB: 大公報 Dagong Bao
GSWB: 工商晚報 Gongshang Wanbao
HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HQRB: 華僑日報 Huaqiao Ribao
H-Y: Harvard-Yenching
JFRB: 解放日報 Jiefang Ribao
JJRB: 經濟日報 Jingji Ribao
MB: 明報 Ming Bao
NYSB: 南洋商报 Nanyang Shangbao
OED: Oxford English Dictionary
QGXXB: 輕工信息報 Qinggong Xinxiobao
RMRB [H]: 人民日報「海外版」Renmin Ribao [haiwaiban]
SB: 申報 Shen Bao
SJRB: 世界日報 Shijie Ribao
WHB: 文汇报 Wenhui Bao
XMWB: 新民晚報 Xinmin Wanbao
XSB: 新生報 Xinsheng Bao
ZB: 中報 Zhong Bao
ZGGG: 中國廣告 Zhongguo guanggao
ZGGGB: 中國廣告報 Zhongguo guanggaobao
ZHRB: 中華日報 Zhonghua Ribao
ZLWB: 自立晚報 Zili Wanbao
ZYRB: 中央日報 Zhongyang Ribao
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The present research will examine in some detail not only a form of the Chinese language that has been developing certain features for the needs of newspaper advertising in Chinese, but also the content of Chinese newspaper advertisements, which reflects some aspects of Chinese society and life. This research aims to describe along the line of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, or psycholinguistics how Chinese newspaper advertisements work and how customers may interpret them.

Prior to the discussion of the language of newspaper advertising in Chinese, this research will start in its first chapter with considerations of the definition, history and social functions of Chinese newspaper advertising.

1.1. Definition of Chinese Newspaper Advertising

Before the term "Chinese newspaper advertising" is defined, it is necessary to define "a Chinese newspaper" and "advertising," respectively.
1.1.1. Definition of a Chinese Newspaper

According to The Oxford English Dictionary (OED), a newspaper is "a printed, now usually daily or weekly, publication containing the news, commonly with the addition of advertisements and other matter of interest" (OED. V. 1. 1989. p. 191). Ge Gongzhen believes that Zhongwai xinbao ("Hong Kong Daily Press") beginning in 1858 was the first Chinese daily newspaper (Ge. 1964. p. 102). It came out seventy four years after the Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser, the supposedly first daily newspaper in the world. Later, Shen Bao (SB) began in 1872. Chen Shouyi describes it as a "daily newspaper with feature columns supplementary to the carrying of international and domestic news" (Chen. 1961. p. 603). It also carried many commercial advertisements.

1.1.2. Definition of Advertising

The word "advertising" has its origin in "ad vertere" in Latin and "avetir" in French. The 1989 edition of OED defines "advertising" as follows:

[advertising is] 1. Warning, notification, information; 2. A bringing into notice . . .by paid announcement in a printed journal, by prominent display of placards, etc.

(OED. V. 10. 1989. p. 376)
The above explanation fails to make a very clear distinction in the English language between advertisements and public notices or announcements. In my opinion, the above definition of "advertising" is too broad.

"Advertising" in Chinese is called 廣告 광고
"widely announce" or "make something known to the public."

According to 橋宮三郎 Yokokyo Saburo's research quoted by Manhan, 광고 is a word introduced from Japan to China by 內山嘉吉 Uchiyama Yoshikichi, a Japanese Sinologist. Not until 1887 was the word 광고 widely used (Manhan. 1984. p. 47). Before then 광고 was called 告白 告白, 報條 報道, or 引條 引道.

광고 in China now is limited to the commercial, while 公告 公告, 通告 通告, 佈告 佈告, or 啓事 啟事 are used for public notices, announcements, and any classified advertisements (although there are some people who sometimes use the term 광고 for 公告, 通告, 佈告, or 啟事 interchangeably). The following is the explanation of 광고 in 辭海 Ci Hai ("The Sea of Words"):

[광고] a way of making products or services or entertaining programs known to the public.


In this sense, 광고 in Chinese is narrower in scope than "advertising" as defined by OED. In the present
research, whenever advertising in Chinese is mentioned, it refers to commercial consumer advertising, unless it is noted otherwise.

1.2. Historical Development of Chinese Newspaper Advertising

Just as the daily newspaper is not indigenous to China, neither are newspaper advertisements. Both were imported to China in great numbers in the latter part of the 19th century. Both became a regular part of urban Chinese culture by the end of the nineteenth century and remain so throughout the twentieth century.

At the early stage of Chinese newspapers the majority of their readers and advertisers were foreign businessmen or the Chinese who had business relationships with foreigners. The advertisements in early Chinese newspapers were laid out like today's classified advertisements with few illustrations. Most Chinese newspaper advertisements then took the form of a bald statement of facts. The style and language used in Chinese newspaper advertisements then were similar to that used in their Western contemporaries: direct and informative. In Fig. 1 are shown some advertisements in the first issue of Shen Bao in Shanghai (Fig. 1a) and some similar advertisements in The New York Times (Fig. 1b) on the same day of March 24, 1872. At that
STEAMBOATS.

To Bridgeport and All Points on Housatonic and Naugatuck Railroad. — Fare, $1. Steamer leave Catharine slip at 12 noon, Sundays excepted.


Figure 1: a) Some sample advertisements in the first issue of SB and b) in The New York Times both on the same day (3/24/1872).
time only certain things were advertised, such as sailing departures and arrivals, cosmetics, and patent medicine, especially anti-VD drugs. A study conducted by Kuang Meiling and Cheng Xuezhen shows that the early period of newspaper advertising in Chinese was dominated by advertisements for traditional Chinese medical doctors, who made and peddled a variety of pills, purges, and elixirs to meet the increasing needs of patients (Kuang and Cheng. HQRB. 11/25/1988. p. 28). The domination of Chinese newspaper advertising by medical advertisements is significant because it represents society as it was then and it also indicates traditional medicine was one of the major consumer goods at that time. Chinese medicine was in a waning state at the point when these advertisements were written and these traditional doctors may in fact had been worried about continuing their business and therefore bought more advertisements.

In addition to Chinese herbal medicine, Xu Baiyi considers that in early Chinese newspaper advertisements, cigarettes were the object that was advertised most (Xu. 1986. p. 45). Most of the customers then who read newspaper advertisements were urban middle-class people. The newspaper advertisements introduced such products as cigarettes, cosmetics, and theatre news to help city dwellers who just came from rural areas to adjust
themselves in urban life. Because the illiteracy rate was high in the countryside and the farmers could not read the newspaper advertisements, not a single advertisement for farm tools was published in newspapers. Moreover, the farm tools were only locally manufactured and distributed. Therefore, it was of no need to advertise them in city newspapers.

In the early stage of Chinese newspaper advertising, the newspaper agencies themselves did not pay attention to their advertising pages. Lu Meiseng quotes the regulation of Zhengzhi guanbao ("Official Newspaper in Politics") stated in its first issue in 1906 that "Official banks, money markets, art and crafts exhibitions, railway and mine companies, and all kinds of other business registered at the Ministry of Agriculture-Industry-Commerce are permitted to advertise in our newspaper. These advertisements will be handled the way those advertisements have been done on the official newspapers in Eastern and Western countries" (Lu. 1947. p. 6). During the emerging period of Chinese newspaper advertising, management rigidly stipulated the advertisers who could insert advertisements and the products or services that could be inserted. Meanwhile, the situation that newspaper advertising in Chinese was handled the same way as that in Eastern and Western countries (mainly Japan and the United States) led
some of the Chinese newspaper advertisements to direct imitations of their foreign counterparts.

Xiang Chongan says that, during the period of the May 4th Movement of 1919, advertisements appeared in revolutionary newspapers. Some advertisements served the political struggles and the promotion of China-made products (Xiang. 1988. p. 62).

During the Sino-Japanese war, newspaper advertising in China declined. Even 新聞報 Xinwenbao (XWB) which was famous for abundance in advertisements had to reduce the amount of space of advertisements. Before 1949 when the Chinese Communists took over Mainland China, Chinese newspaper advertising was facing a terrible situation because of inflation and the depression of industry and commerce. Later in the 1950s, because of insufficient funds Shen Bao had to close down. Xinwenbao had to be reorganized and reduced its space of advertisements once again. In the 1960s, supply failed short of demand. Therefore, people could not see any need for advertising. Besides, the Chinese traditionally had a deep-seated distrust of advertising because they believed that if a product or a service was good it automatically attracted customers. Newspaper advertising was reduced to a minimum then and finally terminated during the Cultural Revolution.
James Chu points out that starting from their early
days, the Chinese Communists, following Marx's theory that
advertising is "parasitic" and Lenin's view that
advertising is a drain on the economy, believed that
advertising was an "unproductive exploitation" (Chu. 1982.
p. 40). Advertising was branded as "practice of
capitalism" in China. The Chinese Communists also believed
that Capitalism could not overcome its crisis of
overproduction unless advertising came to its rescue. In a
Socialist or Communist economy, they argued, the appearance
of overproduction would be a signal that attention should
be switched to areas of underproduction or that prices
should be lowered to meet customers' purchasing power.
Hence, there is no need of advertising. A more important
reason that advertising was attacked by the Chinese
Communists might be that they saw in its promises of
material pleasure the means by which proletarian
revolutionaries would be corrupted. Up until a very brief
time ago, Communism in China aimed at a certain level of
non-commercial purity, and advertisements of any sort were
considered to be a capitalist aberration, and they were
thus banned for decades. For this reason the notion of
advertising per se is a relatively new one in Mainland
China, even though advertising in Chinese newspapers goes
back a hundred years. However, Chinese Communist
leaders recently have gradually realized the importance of advertising and that advertising, as information and as persuasion, is crucial to a highly industrialized and market-oriented society. Advertising also enhances international trade to meet foreign companies' wish to sell in China and to sell Chinese goods overseas. Commercial advertising at last awakened from a long nightmare. As is recorded by Jan Prybyla, Shanghai television in 1979 began to show commercials for medicines, while the city's paper 文汇报 Wenhui Bao (WHB) ran advertisements for a local brand of soft drinks called 幸福可乐 xìngfú kēlè "Lucky Cola," which, it was claimed, had "a taste that revives the spirits and pleases the palate."

Advertisements were also run for 蝴蝶 Húdié "Butterfly" hair oil, 鳳凰 Fènghuáng "Phoenix" anti-wrinkle cream, and 牡丹 Mǔdān "Peony" face cream. WHB explained the rationale behind the advertisements: "We should use advertisements to convey knowledge and help people as well as to establish and cement the ties between people and the departments responsible for the production and sale of commodities" (Prybyla. 1981. Pp. 228-229). 广告 Guanggào in Mainland China, carrying the flavor of 宣傳 xuānchuán, is thus both

1 Timothy Light was informed by some people who came from China that before 1979 there were medical advertisements (Personal communication: 9/14/1990).
propaganda and advertisement. This is one of the most significant differences between Chinese and Western practices.

Since they have paid more and more attention to the functions of advertising, the Chinese gradually know that advertising, on the one hand, plays on people's fears, insecurities, and anxieties and, on the other hand, it makes people dissatisfied with what they already have until they decide to buy the products or services advertised. Chu summarizes four functions of advertising, derived from recent Chinese publications. They are: "1) To provide information about new products; 2) to establish ties between commercial units and manufacturing units; 3) to help the consumer in the selection of goods and services; and 4) to fulfill the overall economic plan by redirecting demand, rather than creating new ones" (Chu. 1982. p. 40). However, in China mass media such as newspapers, TV and radio programs, being the mouthpiece of the ruling party, are controlled by the government. Every piece of news is likely to be censored. So are advertisements. The censor greatly affects the contents and style of advertisements.

By Western standards, newspapers in Mainland China are thin, usually have only four to eight pages each issue. The amount of space devoted to advertising is small because
newspapers in Mainland China do not depend on advertising for their revenue. Recently with the general improvement in the supply of commodities in Mainland China in relation to effective demand or purchasing power, the amount of space devoted to advertising has increased, though still limited. Chu's survey tells us that in 1980 Renmin Ribao (RMRB), which has the second largest circulation, with a daily press run of six million, devoted an average of 8% of its total space to advertisements in its eight-page issue. Nowadays the demand for advertising is getting higher, even higher than the amount of space available in newspapers. Especially in Renmin Ribao, it is usually necessary to wait a long time to get an advertisement published.

Unlike advertising in Western countries, in Taiwan, or in Hong Kong, which is managed by private agencies, all advertising in Mainland China is handled by government specialists. When advertised, the products are simply listed in newspapers along with the local stores where those products can be bought. Although there have been some newspaper advertisements appealing very much to customers, during past years newspaper advertisements in Mainland China have generally been full of political or social cliches.
While newspaper advertising in Mainland China was inching its way forward, newspaper advertising in Taiwan and Hong Kong was in full swing. According to Zhongguo guanggaobao (ZGGG), some advertisements were even recommended and reprinted in Mainland China (ZGGG. II. 1990. pp. 22-23). Some reprinted Taiwan newspaper advertisements will be discussed in the following chapters of the present research.

After the above external study of Chinese newspaper advertising, the present research will focus upon the internal study. First, what the contents of Chinese newspaper advertisements reveal besides the sales message.

1.3. Chinese Newspaper Advertising: A Mirror of Social Life and Political Trends

Advertisements have not only introduced the public to the products, services, or ideas which are advertised, but to certain values and images as well. Allen Grimshaw states that "...there is a sense in which the study of language is inseparable from the study of society..." or, as Gumperz has phrased it (Personal communication: 1967), "linguistic interaction is social interaction" (Grimshaw. 1971. p. 99). As a type of public media, Chinese newspaper advertisements to some degree reflect certain aspects of China's social, economic and political structure. Through
a study of the contents of Chinese newspaper advertisements in different regions, such as Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas Chinese communities, one may have some ideas about what happened, and when, in Chinese contemporary history.

In this section two issues concerning the mirror function of Chinese newspaper advertising are to be addressed.

The first issue is that in the mirror of Chinese newspaper advertising, Chinese society and Chinese life may be partially reflected.

1.3.1. Displaying Some Aspects of Social Life

In order to make profits, businessmen constantly keep alert on what is happening around the world and sensitive to its impact upon the markets. After the information of the market is thoroughly studied, appropriate advertisements can be designed. Consequently, the designed advertisements, in step with current Chinese sensibilities, are closely related to some aspects of Chinese social life and politics. Now let us observe these aspects that are visible through Chinese newspaper advertising:
Chinese newspaper advertisers know well how to appeal to social customs in order to win customers' favor. There is an advertisement for a Sunkist Giftbox (JJRB. 8/9/1986. p. 1), whose headline is very simple:

有禮走天下
Yǒu lǐ zǒu tiānxìà.
have gift walk world

"With gifts one can go anywhere."

In China today or in the past, the Chinese pay special attention to interpersonal relationships. The Chinese think that a good gift may shorten the distance between people. The advertisement under discussion is a play on words of a well-known Chinese idiom 有理走天下 yǒu lǐ zǒu tiānxìà "have reason walk world" or "With justice on your side, you can go anywhere." 礼 Lǐ in the headline is a homophone of 理 lǐ in the idiom. Homophones, as one of the rhetorical devices used in Chinese newspaper advertising, will be discussed in the section of "Homophones" in Chapter Two.

A great many antiquated sex role patterns can be found in Chinese advertising: women have traditionally been regarded as center of Chinese advertisements, not in a positive image, but in a negative one. Most of them were sex objects. Illustrations in newspaper advertisements
have followed such a pattern as "beautiful girls +
advertised objects," no matter whether the advertised
objects have anything to do with the girls. Unlike the
advertisements in Western countries, in which men, accorded
relatively equal status with women, are also targets of
toilet articles, such as mouth wash, skin and hair lotions,
and soaps, all the Chinese newspaper advertisements I have
read for these products are all pointed to women or
children only. The women in these advertisements tried to
make themselves look and smell pleasant by using the
advertised products to please men. A female reader once
complained in a Chinese newspaper that all Chinese
newspaper advertisements for mouth wash were directed to
women. The advertiser seemed to send a message that only
women needed mouth wash in case their bad breath might
scare away men. The female reader called advertisers to
account whether or not men have bad breath (HQRB.
11/25/1988. p. 28). Early in the 1930s women were already
targets of toilet articles. In an advertisement for
Lever's sanitary medicated soap (BJCB. 9/7/1935. p. 14),
Miss Hu felt depressed because she failed to figure out why
Mr. Li, her boy friend, drifted apart from her recently.
Miss Hu's girl friend told her that because she had body
odor. Miss Hu thereupon took a thorough bath with Lever's
sanitary medicated soap. As a result, Mr. Li returned to
Miss Hu.
The advertiser's view was a reflection of the tone of the times. Even the name of the girl, 胡 Hú in the advertisement under discussion is a homophone of 狐 hú "fox," an insulting figure for women. 胡 Hú may also imply 狐臭 húchìu "bromhidrosis." Therefore, the advertiser tried to tell the customer that Miss Hu, having bromhidrosis, really needed Lever's sanitary medicated soap to wash away her body odor.

In Chinese newspaper advertising, women are generally portrayed as members of the work force in Mainland China, while they are generally portrayed as housewives in Taiwan or Hong Kong (See Fig. 2a and 2b). Although the roles they play in society are different, working women and housewives are equally important. However, it is the Communist view that being a housewife is a shameful thing and women should go out working so as not to depend upon their husbands. Such a view is straightforwardly expressed in the advertisement for 蝴蝶 Húdié "Butterfly" Brand sewing machines (JFRB. 6/20/1950. p. 5. Fig. 2a). A couplet in the advertisement says:

依賴家庭是恥辱自食其力最光榮
yīlài jiātíng shì chǐrǔ, zì shí qí lì zuì guāng róng
rely family BE shame self eat her effort most glory

"It is a shame to depend upon your family. It is a glory to live on one's own."
Figure 2: a) An advertisement for Butterfly Brand sewing machines (JFRB. 6/20/1950) and b) An advertisement for Beixin real estate (ZYRB. 11/2/1976)
The above advertisement reflects women's life under the influence of Communist ideology. The advertiser does not care how women in Mainland China really think of themselves or how they think about leaving their families behind to join the work force. The advertiser just does what the Party expects him or her to do. In this way whether the life mirrored in the newspaper advertisement in Mainland China is real or not is still a question.

Likewise, newspaper advertising in Taiwan, Hong Kong and other Chinese communities will by no means contradict the norms of the society or go beyond the scope of social views. Chinese newspaper advertising does not lead Chinese society but follows it. The advertisements praise the bright side of society, but they do not show its dark side. There is hardly any mention of Chinese poor living conditions in newspaper advertising; there is hardly any mention of corruption and injustice of the social system in newspaper advertising. Backward equipment and hard manual labor are rarely manifested in Chinese newspaper advertising. On the contrary, high consumption and enjoyment of leisure time and luxury are emphasized. In this sense, Chinese newspaper advertisements do not accurately reflect social reality, but a fantasy. They may serve well the escapist need of Chinese customers. The image in Chinese newspaper advertising is refracted and
distorted as not all the values of society are reflected therein, nor is what is reflected necessarily perfectly accurate. I would like to quote as a closing sentence of this section what Randall Rothenberg says in his article. He points out that "rather than look at advertising as a clear reflection of the times in which it was created, cultural historians consider it . . ., a Zerrspiegel, a fun-house mirror that distorts reality but nonetheless captures some reflection of everything within its purview" (Rothenberg. The N.Y Times. 10/9/1988).

The second issue is that in the mirror of Chinese newspaper advertising, the customer can see the political reflection.

1.3.2. Reflecting Political Trends

Not long after newspaper advertising emerged in China, there was a fierce rivalry between foreign imported commodities and China-made commodities. During the 1940s, the advertisements for foreign goods overflowed the newspapers in China. At that time the Chinese people's patriotism was rising. Some Chinese businessmen designed advertisements to promote China-made products. For example, they promoted China-made cigarettes to boycott the cigarettes imported from Japan. The brand names of these China-made cigarettes were meaningful and in accordance
with patriotism permeated within the advertisements. 小長城
xiǎo chángchéng "The Little Great Wall" and
紅金龍
Hóngjinlóng "Red Golden Dragon" were symbols of China and
the Chinese people. 大鴻珠 Dàhóngzhū "Pearls" were a
symbol of purity, smoothness and unity. During the Korean
war in the early 1950s, patriotism was once more used by
advertisers. This time the United States was the target.
Consider an advertisement for 紅人 Hóngrén "The Red
Man" Brand cigarettes (DGB. 2/4/1951. p. 1. Fig. 3):

思 想 問 題
sīxiǎng wèntí
ideology problem

在思想搞通以後 對於 吸烟
zài sīxiǎng gǎotōng yīzhòu, duì yú xīyān,
at ideology do through after to smoke cigarettes
發生了 問題 船來的 外國煙
fāshēngle wèntí: bólái de wàiguó yān
produce ASP problem boat come POSS abroad cigarettes
絕對 不肯 吸 有 殖民地 意識的
juéduì bù kěn xī, yǒu zhímìndì yǐshíde
absolute not will smoke have colony consciousness POSS
煙 不願 吸 有 封建 色彩的
yān, bù yuàn xī, yǒu fēngjiān sècǎi de
-cigarettes not willing smoke have feudalism color POSS
煙 不想 吸 要 吸 具有 正確
yān, bù xiǎng xī. yào xǐ jùyǒu zhèngquè
-cigarettes not want smoke want smoke have correct
意識 和 色彩的 國產 好 烟
yǐshí hé sècǎi de guóchǎn hǎo yān
-consciousness and color POSS domestic good cigarette
只有 紅人 牌 香 烟
zhǐ yǒu Hóngrén pái xiāngyān
only have Red Man Brand cigarette
Figure 3: An advertisement for Red Man Brand cigarettes (DGB. 2/4/1951)
"Ideological Problems: After one's ideas are straightened out, there are problems about smoking: 1) the cigarettes from abroad will absolutely not be smoked; 2) the cigarettes with colonialist consciousness will not be smoked; 3) the cigarettes with feudalist colors will not be smoked. If one wants to smoke the good China-made cigarettes with right consciousness and colors, there is only The Red Man Brand cigarette."

This advertisement is an example of nationalism. The advertiser of the Hóngrén advertisement told the customer that the choice of what one smoked demonstrated one's political choice.

During the Cultural Revolution in Mainland China, almost every brand name bore references to revolutionary events or places of revolutionary significance. For example, 長征牌 Chángzhēng-pái "The Long March Brand" to cherish the memory of the Red Army's 25,000 li Long March from 1934 to 1935, 向陽牌 Xiàngyáng-pái "Towards-the-Sun Brand" to pay respect to Mao Zedong, who was worshiped as the red sun by his people, 瑞金牌 Rúijīn-pái "Ruijin Brand," and 井岡山牌 Jǐnggāngshān-pái "Mt. Jinggang Brand" in memory of the city of Ruijin and Mt. Jinggang, two revolutionary base areas, etc.

Some names of advertised objects could even evoke political controversy. For example, there is a front-page newspaper advertisement in Taiwan's 自立晚報 Zìlì Wanbao (ZLWB, 3/20/1983) for a newly-opened "guest-house"
named 梦乡 Mèng xiāng (Fig. 4). The advertisement is fresh and alluring. The services listed in the advertisement, such as power-operated beds and mirror rooms suggest the advertised "guest-house" be most likely a brothel. However, Wang Dazhao, to meet the needs of political propaganda, asserts in such a way that the name of the "guest-house" advertised shows that the Chinese in Taiwan dream of their hometowns in Mainland China (Wang. RMRB. 4/17/1983). Mèng xiāng is thus a Verb-Object (V-O) phrase: "to dream of one's hometown." Jizhi in Hong Kong objects to Wang's interpretation and points out that the name of the "guest-house" advertised can only suggest that the "guest-house" be a brothel where patrons can enjoy their romantic dreams (Jizhi. May 1983. p. 8). Mèngxiāng with this interpretation is a compound noun: "dreamland." The linguistic devices employed in designing names of advertised objects will be discussed in detail in the section of "Nouns" in Chapter Two.

In sum, Chinese newspaper advertising in Mainland China has changed in terms of the needs of politics. In the forty years of the Communist regime, newspaper advertisements in Mainland China are coated with political colors, and their originality was gradually lost. At the same time, newspaper advertisers in Taiwan and Hong Kong enjoy more freedom of creativity.
Figure 4: An advertisement for Mengxiang guest-house (ZLWB. 3/20/1983)
The internal study of Chinese newspaper advertising also requires the answer to another question, that is, what does a Chinese newspaper advertisement look like? Then, forms of Chinese newspaper advertising need to be examined.

1.4. Forms of Chinese Newspaper Advertising

This section will first observe the composition of a Chinese newspaper advertisement.

1.4.1. Physical Components of a Chinese Newspaper Advertisement

A Chinese newspaper advertisement usually consists of a headline, body copy, a signature line together with illustration and the trade-mark logo of the advertised object. Fig. 5 is an advertisement for May May drinks (HQRB. 7/29/1989. p. 19). It shows all the constituents in a Chinese newspaper advertisement. However, all the constituents are optional except for the body copy where the advertising claim is made.

Not only do the physical components make a Chinese newspaper advertisement recognizable, but so does the language, whose special features make a Chinese newspaper advertisement quite distinguishable.
夏日的特色 清凉兼有益

炎熱的夏天，
飲品是補充體能的泉源。
美美公司的最新貢獻，
各項新穎的飲品，
採用新鮮原料配製，
不含雜質，不恐污染，
最清、最純、最解渴。

美美飲品，
方便衛生，
夏天消暑的佳品。

Figure 5: An advertisement for May May drinks
(HQRB, 7/29/1989)
1.4.2. Language of a Chinese Newspaper Advertisement

Advertising language is part and parcel of advertisements. As Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schroder suggest, "Advertising takes many forms, but in most of them language is of crucial importance. The wording of advertisements is, in most cases, carefully crafted to meet particular ends" (Vestergaard & Schroder. 1985. Preface). It informs the customer of features and functions of the product or the service advertised, attracts the customer's attention, and persuades the customer into the action of purchase. "A Wei"'s conclusion of his study proves that effectiveness of advertisements relies upon words ("A Wei." 1986a. p.33). The present research shows concern with not only the form, but also the meaning or transmission, of Chinese newspaper advertising. The research tries to discover the prominent features of language in Chinese newspaper advertising and at the same time to find out the "Chineseness" that sets newspaper advertisements in Chinese apart from those in English.

Generally speaking, an advertiser uses language to influence his or her customer on two linguistic levels: first: the cognitive level, on which the advertiser uses familiar words or expressions to make the sales message easily understood; second, the expressive level, on which
the advertiser uses various linguistic forms to make impact upon the customer's attitudes and feelings. In so doing, the advertiser tries hard to exploit every possibility of the language in Chinese newspaper advertising. Consequently, the language of Chinese newspaper advertising has some prominent features that make a Chinese newspaper advertisement recognizable.
CHAPTER II

PROMINENT LANGUAGE FEATURES IN CHINESE NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING

This chapter deals with some linguistic features in Chinese newspaper advertising. These features are not exclusively for Chinese newspaper advertising. They exist in the Chinese language itself. Our discussion of these features aims to show, however, that they are more prominent in Chinese newspaper advertising than in other Chinese written contexts.

When we discuss language, we discuss discourse. By discourse, we mean some kind of language situation in which given sentences occur. We may start our discussion with an analysis of Chinese newspaper advertising discourse, which has some special characteristics.

2.1. Special Characteristics of Discourse

In this section two important discourse elements are to be examined. They are discourse topic and discourse opening. Of all the discourse elements, a discourse topic is worth our first observation.
2.1.1. A Salient Discourse Topic

Almost any Chinese discourse mode has a topic, but the topic in a newspaper advertising discourse is either the product and the service being advertised or something closely related to the product and the service being advertised, whereas a topic in other Chinese discourse modes may not necessarily be.

Although the topic is a discourse element, the existence of a topic is assumed at the level of sentence grammar. The use of the term "topic" is associated with description of sentence structure. In the present research, the general notion of "topic" is considered to be "what is being talked/written about" in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse.

From a linguistic point of view, a topic in a Chinese newspaper advertising discourse is a noun phrase (NP) (always the advertised object or anything which is closely related to the advertised object) in the shared knowledge of the advertiser and the customer. Although some linguists like Charles Li and Sandra Thompson may argue that a clause or a verb phrase (VP) can also be a topic (Li and Thompson. 1981. p. 87), the clause which is a topic must be a noun clause and the VP which is a topic must be a nominalized VP (Although a VP is not morphologically or
syntactically marked as being nominalized, its position in a sentence which is normally taken by a noun and the function of the VP in the sentence suggest that the VP be nominalized, or in Chinese syntax the role of subject or object is not limited to NPs), as in the following two examples:

1) Yífèn Shehui Kexue Pinglun zài shǒu, & jiāng one CLF social science review at hand will 会 極大的 開 潤 您的 視野
huǐ jídàde kāikuò nínde shíyě, can extreme big POSS open wide you POSS view
bìng 助 您 了解 中國的 社 會 科學
&q bǎngzhù nín...liǎojiě Zhōngguó de shèhuì kēxué help you know China POSS social science

("A Social Sciences Review at hand will widen your perspective, and it will help you to understand social sciences in China."

2) Pūchén Fengchuán pái Tiānjīn dītǎn, & jiāng huǐ spread show Fengchuan brand Tianjin carpet will can
給您居室增加光輝 使您得到美好
gěi nín jūshì zēngjiā guānghuī, & shǐ nín dédào měihǎo
give you room add glamor make you gain good
的 藝術 享受 給您生活 增添 樂趣
de yìshù xiǎngshòu, & gěi nín shēnghuó zēngtiān làqù.
POSS art enjoyment give you life add fun

("To spread and display Fengchuan Brand Tianjin carpet will add glamour to your room, give you wonderful artistic enjoyment, and add much fun to your life.

(RMRB [H]. 12/31/1986. p. 7);
In the above advertisement for the journal 社会科学评论 Shehui kexue pinglun "society science comments" or "Social Sciences Review," one may argue that it may be the journal that the advertisement is talking about, but if the reader looks more closely, he or she will find that it is actually the event 一般社会 kexue pinglun 在手 "one-CLF society science comments at hand" or "A Social Sciences Review is at hand" [closely related to the advertised object] that is talked about. In addition, the initial noun clause 一般社会 pinglun 在手 is referred to by the deleted element in the discourse continuation. Hence, the noun clause becomes a topic. In the advertisement for 风船牌天津地毯 Fengchuán-pái Tiānjīn dìtǎn "Fengchuan Brand Tianjin carpet," it is 铺陈风船牌天津地毯 pūchén Fengchuán-pái Tiānjīn dìtǎn "To spread and display Fengchuan Brand Tianjin carpet" [closely related to the advertised object] is talked about; hence the topic. It is a VP in form, but an NP in functions in the sentence.

The above properties of topics in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse are not different from those in Chinese discourse modes. For example, a noun clause, 那条狗会说话 nèitiáo gǒu huì shuōhuà "that-CLF dog can speak" or "That dog can speak," is a topic in the following discourse:
That dog can speak, I don't believe. It is strange.

Also, a nominalized VP, 燒飯 shāo fàn "burn rice" or "to cook meals," is a topic in the following discourse:

Cooking, I hate most, but my wife likes most.

However, neither nèitiáo gǒu huǐ shuōhuà nor shāo fàn has anything to do with any advertised objects. Therefore, they cannot be advertising discourse topics. In the above discussion the sign "∅" indicates something deleted. In addition to controlling deletion, a topic also controls pronominalization and copying of all the coreferential NPs within its domain. In the next section, the controlling role a topic plays will be further discussed.

2.1.2. The Controlling Role of a Discourse Topic

Tsao Feng-fu considers that sentences under the domain

Maybe, nèitiáo gǒu huǐ shuōhuà can be a discourse topic in a newspaper advertisement for selling pet dogs.
of the topic form a topic chain (Tsao. 1979. p.221). The topic is in control of deletion or pronominalization or copying of all the coreferential NPs in the topic chain. The control of deletion can be seen from a newspaper advertisement for 青春丸 Qīngchūn wán "green spring pill" or "Youth pills" (SJRB May 1986 Weekly. Fig. 6). There are thirteen sentences within the domain of the topic Qīngchūn wán [the advertised object], four of which are listed below:

1) 青春丸含有防止人体衰老
   Qīngchūnwán hán yǒu fáng zhǐ rén tǐ shuāilǎo
   Youth Pill contain prevent human body senile
   之高貴成份
   zhī gāogū chéngfèn
   POSS noble formula
   對老人病態及
   duì lǎorén bìntài jí
to old man sick state and

2) 有關人體衰老狀狀具有
   yǒu guān rén tǐ shuāilǎo zhēng zhù huàng jù yǒu
   relate human body senile symptom have
   特效之最新藥物
   tè xiàो
   special effect
   zhī zuì xīn yào wù
   POSS most new medicine
   能 增 強 血 液 循 環

3) 能增強血液循環
   néng zēng qiáng xiě yè xún huán
   can promote blood circulate
   不論是青年中年老年人
   bù lùn shì qīng nián, zhōng nián, lǎo nián rén
   no matter BE young middle-aged aged person
   均可服用
   jūn kě fú yòng
   all can take

4) 均可服用
   jūn kě fú yòng
   all can take
Figure 6: An advertisement for Youth pills
(SJRB. May 1986 Weekly)
"Youth pills contain precious ingredients which can prevent human body from being senile. Youth pills which have the special effect on symptoms of senility are new medicine. Youth Pills can enhance human blood circulation. No matter whether young, middle-aged or aged persons, all people can take Youth pills."

In the above example of Qīngchūn wán all the coreferential NPs in all the sentences within the topic chain are deleted. Also the topic controls pronominalization of coreferential NPs in its chain as in the advertisement for Lever's sanitary medicated soap (BJCB. 9/7/1935. p. 14) mentioned in Chapter One:

利華衛生藥皂與衆不同試
Lì Huá wèishēng yào zào yúzhòng bùtóng shì
Lever's sanitary medicine soap with many not same try

呑其濃厚藥味可以立即認識
xiù qí nónghòu yàowèi kěyǐ lìjí rènshí
sniff its dense medicine smell can immediately know

其殺菌消毒之奇效且
qí shā jūn xiāo dú zhǐ qíxiào , qíě
its kill germ disinfect POSS strange effect but also

其藥味洗過消除然其
qí yào wèi xǐguò xiāochù rán qí
its medicine smell wash-ASP disappear but its

護膚之能力則仍在
hùfū zhī nénglì zé rěng zài
protect skin POSS ability but still at

"Lever's sanitary medicated soap is different from others. Try to sniff its dense medicinal smell and you will notice its strong germ-killing and disinfectant effects immediately. The medicinal smell will be gone after washing, but the soap's capability of protecting skin still remains."
However, when the coreferential NP is the coverbal object, the topic loses its control of deletion of the coreferential NP in its chain. Therefore, in the following discourse of an advertisement for MSG-free oyster sauce (HQRB. 8/14/1987. p. 13), even though a coreferential NP to the Topic NP, 味精 wèijīng "taste essence" or "MSG" cannot be deleted because it is an object of the coverb 对 duì "to." Otherwise, the fragment of discourse makes no sense:

* 味精 是一種 廉價 調味品 會對你
Wèijīng shì yízhǒng liánjià tiáowèipǐn...& huì duì nǐ
MSG BE one CLF low price seasoning will to you
健康 有 影響 特別 是 兒童 及 對
jiànkāng yǒu yǐngxiǎng, tèbié shì értóng jí duì
health have effect especially BE child and to
敏感 的 人
& mǐngǎnde rén
MSG allergic man

"MSG is a kind of cheap seasoning. It is harmful to your health, especially to children and those who are allergic to."

Chen Ping claims that the control of deletion by the topic is more frequently found in written than in unplanned discourse (Chen. 1984. p. 19). It is still an open question that awaits investigation whether or not there are more cases of the control of deletion by the topic than there are cases of the control of pronominalization by the topic. My analysis of the Chinese newspaper advertisements
would lead me to an answer that there are. Copying NPs which are coreferential with the topic would make a discourse redundant. Therefore, the control of copying by the topic is least found in most Chinese discourse modes. However, there are more cases of the control of copying (repeating) the NP which is coreferential with the \([\text{NP}_T]\) by the topic in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse than in other Chinese discourse modes. That is the other reason why the topic in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse needs special mentioning. For example, in an advertisement for the newly-built Jinling Hotel (RMB [H]. 7/27/1985. Fig. 7):

金 凌 飯 店 是 一 座 具 有 國 際
Jínlíng fàndiàn...shì yízuò jùyòu guójì
Jinling Hotel BE one CLF have international

一流的 賓 館
yīliúdé...bīnguǎn
1st-class guest-house

金 凌 飯 店 樓 高 三 十 七 層
Jínlíng fàndiàn lóu gāo sān-shí-qī céng
Jinling Hotel store high 37 floor

金 凌 飯 店 始 終 以 服 務 至 上 爲
Jínlíng fàndiàn shǐzhōng yī fúwù zhìshàng...wèi
Jinling Hotel always with service above all as

辦 店 宗 旨
bàn diàn zōngzhǐ
run store goal

"Jinling Hotel is a first-class international guest-house. It has 37 floors. In running the hotel, Jinling Hotel always puts service above anything else."
Figure 7: An advertisement for Jinling Hotel (RMRB [H]. 7/27/1985)
Usually the repeated [NP] is in bold-face for the sake of emphasis and attention. Repetition has a bearing on advertising language. It is a kind of persuasive or manipulative device. The essential role of repetition in memorization and in cohesion is quite noticeable in Chinese newspaper advertisements. As to the rhetorical force of repetition, we will discuss it in the "Repetition" section of this chapter.

In terms of Tsao's theory, within a discourse topic chain the deleted NP in the comment must be coreferential with its [NP], otherwise, deletion is not acceptable (Tsao, 1979. p. 73). Consider a made-up advertisement:

上海華通開關廠的斷路器
Shànghǎi Huáttōng kāiguān chǎng de...duànlùqì, &
Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory POSS breaker 1
已被泰國訂購 並
yǐ bèi Tàiguó... dìnggōu, & bīng
already by Thailand order purchase 2 also
被國內使用
bèi guónèi...shǐyòng.
by domestic use

"The breaker produced by Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory has already been ordered and purchased by Thailand...etc., and it has been in domestic use."

In the above discourse the deleted NP and NP are both coreferential with [NP], that is, 上海華通開關廠的斷路器
Shànghǎi Huáttōng...
kāiguān chǎngde duànlùqì "Shanghai Huatong open-close factory POSS break circuit equipment" or "the circuit breaker produced by Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory."

Therefore, the deletion is acceptable. However, in practice, an advertising discourse may violate the theory, as in a real advertisement for a circuit breaker produced by Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory (RMRB. 1/16/1987. p. 7):

上海 華通 開關 廠的
Shànghǎi Huátōng kāiguān chǎngde
Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory POSS

"As for the circuit breaker produced by Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory, we have already accepted orders from Thailand...etc, and it has been in domestic use."

In this advertisement, the deleted NP

is Shanghai Huatong Switch Factory. The NP is thus not T

coreferential with [NP]. Although the deletion of NP

T

may be theoretically problematic, but practically understood.

Now the focus of our discussion is shifted to another discourse element, that is, the discourse opening.
2.1.3. 如果 Rúguǒ-clause as a Discourse Opening

There are several ways to open newspaper advertising discourse in Chinese. Rhetorical questions, metaphors, and 如果 Rúguǒ "if"-clauses are among the most popular openings. Since rhetorical questions and metaphors are types of figurative speech, they will be addressed separately in the sections of "Rhetorical Questions" and "Metaphor and Simile" of this chapter. In this section, only Rúguǒ-clauses are being dwelt on.

The Rúguǒ-clause is a frequent opening of Chinese advertising discourse. On the one hand, this singling-out function that the Rúguǒ-clause is performing arouses and holds the customer's interest. On the other hand, since the singling-out function makes the advertisement direct to special groups of customers, the customers feel proud of being chosen, as in an advertisement for Linsuo art studio (HQRB. 6/17/1989. p. 15. Fig. 8):

如果您想真正学习绘画
Rúguǒ nǐn xiǎng zhēnzhēng xuéxí huàhuà,
if you want real learn draw

请跟我们联络
qǐng gēn wǒmen liánluò.
please with we contact

"If you really want to learn how to draw, please make contact with us."
如果您想真正學習繪畫
請跟我們連絡

林莊 藝文教室

● 兒童繪畫班 ● 成人素描 ● 國畫 ● 水彩畫 ● 油畫班 ●

版畫班 ● 1週7天均有課，每節課1:5~2小時，每天接受報名
(718)358-0922 學費兒童班：11次100 (時間任選)

Figure 8: An advertisement for Linso art studio
(HQRB. 6/17/1989)
It seems that the rúguǒ-clause in the above advertisement limits customers to those who would seriously consider to learn how to draw. However, since most art learners think themselves serious learners, this advertisement, in fact, is directed to all potential art learners, who feel good about being regarded as serious learners by the advertiser and would naturally feel closer to the advertised studio. Although a rúguǒ-clause seemingly has a single-out function, the target is always the general public or the whole population of potential customers, and the subject of the rúguǒ-clause is always 你 nǐ, 您 nín, or 你们 nǐmen "you," the customer(s).

Very often do we interpret a proposition occurring in an advertisement without a rúguǒ-clause by creating a condition. For example, in an advertisement for English learning tapes, the headline is:

說英語就像說國語一樣棒
Shuō yīngyǔ jiù xiàng shuō guóyǔ yíyàng bàng
speak English just like speak mandarin same good

"You speak English just as well as you speak Mandarin."

To interpret this headline logically, we have to add an implicit protasis: 如果你用英語學習錄音帶
Rúguǒ nǐ yòng yīngyǔ xuéxí lùyīndài "if you use English
study record sound tape" or "if you use the English learning tapes."

Also on some occasions, the conjunction rúguǒ is deleted, but the connotation of condition is still there, as in an advertisement for real estate X (JJRB. 9/26/1985. p. 4):

向往悠闲自在如鱼得水的

záì, rú yú dé shuǐde
look forward to relaxing comfortable as fish get water

modern life then to X come

"(If) you look forward to relaxing and comfortable modern life just like fish in water, then come to X."

This kind of deletion is linguistically called parataxis. Light generalizes a formula for parataxis as follows: "(Conj.) Clause , Clause " (Personal communication: 6/19/1990). Parataxis, being without any linking words, makes a compound or a complex sentence terser.

Besides discourse analysis, a study of style is also a crucial part of textual research. The second prominent feature of language in Chinese newspaper advertising is a combination of classical Chinese (literary) and vernacular styles.
2.2. A Combination of Literary and Vernacular Styles

Generally speaking, the language in Chinese newspaper advertising tends to be straightforward and direct. Sometimes it is even rude in social interchanges.

Consider:

- 分 錢 - 份 貨 淘大 產 品 靚 得 多
1) Yi fēn qián yī fèn huò Táodà chǎnpǐn jǐng de duō one-CLF money one-CLF goods Amoy product good PAR many

   "You pay for what you get. What you get is what you pay for. Amoy products are much better."

- 是否 公 道 有 否 吹牛 顧客 眼睛
2) Shìfǒu gōngdào yǒu wù chuīniú gúkè yǎnjīng be not fair have no boast customer eye

   雪亮 公道 是 在 人 心 硬 碰 硬
   xuěliàng, gōngdào shì zài rén xīn, yīng pèng yīng! snow light fair be at people heart hard against hard
   不 吹 牛 不 虚 僞
   bù chuīniú! bù xūwěi!
   not boast not hypocritical

   "The customer can see clearly whether we are fair or bragging. Fairness is in people's minds. We are tough, and we never boast or be hypocritical."

However, sometimes the language in Chinese newspaper advertising can be literary or of classical Chinese style. For example, the claim in an advertisement for 婆爾露爽身粉 Póěrlù shuāngshēnfěn "Purol smooth body powder" or "Purol powder" (NYSB. 3/22/1952. p. 7)

is 君曾受熱疹皮膚病痛之苦乎 Jūn chéng shòu
rènzhēn pífūbìngtòng zhī kǔ hu? "you ever receive hot rash
skin sick ache POSS bitter PAR" or "Have you ever suffered
from rashes or other skin diseases?" 君 jūn "you," 之
zhī "nominalization PAR or Possessive PAR," and 乎 hu "mode
PAR" are all classical Chinese words. The other words such
as 其 qí "the third person possessive" and 及 jí "and"
are also frequently used instead of 他 tā(de),
and 和 hé.

Y. R. Chao states that ". . . a numeral cannot directly
That is to say that in classical Chinese a numeral can
directly modify a noun without any need for a classifier in
between. Similar to classical Chinese, brand-naming in
Chinese newspaper advertising does not need to use the
classifier to combine the numeral and the noun, either.
For example, 三星 白蘭地 Sān xīng báilángdī "three
star white orchid earth" or "Three-star brandy,"
not 三顆 星 白蘭地 Sān-kē-xīng báilángdī,
and 五 翠 敷 Wǔ é chènshān "Five-Goose shirt,"
not 五 鰲 翠 敷 Wǔ-zī-é chènshān.

Li and Thompson believe that "if the head noun is more
literary and has a closer affinity to written classical
Chinese, a modifying adjective is more likely to be able to
occur without the nominalization particle de" (Li &
Thompson. 1981. p. 122). In some Chinese newspaper advertisements the nominalization particle de is not present, which suggests that the head NP following the modifying adjective is quite literary. Consider:

新到精巧中國竹製鳥籠
1) Xīndào jīngqiǎo & Zhōngguó zhúzhì niǎolóng
   new come exquisite China bamboo made bird cage

"Newly arrived and exquisite bird-cage made of bamboo"


使用×美髪品顯示高貴身份
2) Shǐyòng X měifàpǐn xiǎnshí gāoguì & shènfèn
   use X beauty hair product show elitist status

"To use X hair lotion to show your elitist status."

(XMWB. 4/12/1989. p. 7)

In Classical Chinese, to verbalize an adjective was a common and acceptable practice. For example, in 論語 窮曰 Lunyu. Rao yue "The Analects: Rao says," there is a line: 君子正其衣冠 Jūnzi zhèng qí yīguān "gentleman straight his clothes hat" or "A gentleman wears his clothes in a right manner and puts his hat straight." 正 zhèng "to straighten" here is a verbalized adjective. Liu Yiling has noticed that the verbalization of an adjective can also be found in Chinese newspaper advertising, as in 理想改革 lǐxiǎng gǎigé "to make reform ideal," 健康身心 jiànkāng shēnxīn "to make one physically and mentally healthy," 健美皮膚 jiànměi
pífū "to make one's skin healthy and beautiful,"
and 結實肌肉 jiēshí jiēròu "to make one's muscles solid" (Liu. 1987. p. 7). This use is very similar to the use of the suffixes "-en" and "-ize" in English to change an adjective into a transitive verb as in "to weaken" and "to idealize," etc. The verbalization enables the advertising message terser, which can be seen by a comparison between lǐxiǎng gǎigé
with 使改革變得理想 shǐ gǎigé biànde lǐxiǎng "make reform change PAR ideal" or "to make reform become ideal." Moreover, the verbalization in the above examples makes possible four-character expressions, one of the special features which are unique in Chinese newspaper advertising. The predominant use of four-character phrases and sentences is a characteristic form of literary style, which will be further examined in Chapter Three.

The above examples represent classical Chinese grammar operating in modern Chinese newspaper advertising. Style serves the content. The literary style of a newspaper advertisement makes the advertisement look quaint; especially when the advertisement is for a medicine. The customer may subconsciously associate such a kind of antiqueness with the "long-tested dependability" of the medicine. If an advertisement is for a new electronic product, the literary style may be incompatible with the
advertised object. It has also been found that there are more newspaper advertisements written in literary style in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the overseas Chinese communities than in Mainland China.

The third prominent feature of the language in Chinese newspaper advertising is the high frequency of certain words and expressions which are used in Chinese daily life but appear much more in Chinese newspaper advertising.

2.3. Stock Vocabulary and Prescribed Patterns

Now let us first examine the vocabulary in Chinese newspaper advertisements.

2.3.1. Stock Vocabulary

The vocabulary is to be discussed in terms of parts of speech.

2.3.1.1. Adjectives

In Chinese newspaper advertising, it is possible that there is not a single verb in an advertisement, but there must be one or more adjectives. The reason for the popularity of adjective vocabulary in advertising language is, just as Gillian Dyer suggests, that adjectives can "stimulate envy, dreams, and desires by evoking looks, touch, taste, smell and sounds. . ." (Dyer. 1982. p. 149).
Adjectives frequently used in Chinese newspaper advertising can generally be listed below according to the properties of advertised objects:

**General properties:** 好 hǎo "good," 新 xīn "new," 第一 dìyī "the first," 唯一 wéiyī "only," 高贵 gāoguì "noble," 精緻 jīnghūi "exquisite," 理想 lǐxiǎng "ideal," et;

**Technology:** 精湛 jīngzhàn "consummate," 先進 xiànjìn "advanced," 優良 yōuliáng "excellent," etc;

**Equipment:** 精良 jīngliáng "super," 完善 wánshàn "perfect," etc;

**Quality:** 可靠 kěkào "reliable," 優秀 yōuxiù "top," 經久耐用 jīngjǐǔnànyòng "everlasting and durable," etc;

**Price:** 合理 hélǐ "reasonable," 合算 hésuàn "worthwhile," 經濟 jīngjì "economical," 便宜 piányì "cheap," etc;

**Shipment:** 迅速 xùnsù "fast," 及時 jíshí "on time," etc;
Touch: 柔软 róuruǎn "soft," 細膩 xìnlì "fine and smooth," 舒服 shūfú "comfortable," etc;

Taste: 鮮美 xiānměi "delicious," 可口 kěkǒu "tasty," 新鮮 xīnxīān "fresh," etc;

Smell: 芬芳 fēnfāng "fragrant," 清香 qīngxiāng "scented," etc;


Style: 新穎 xīnyīng "new," 繁多 fánduō "many," 齊全 qíquán "complete," etc;

Color: 鮮豔 xiānyàn "colorful," 素雅 sùyǎ "simple and elegant," etc;

2.3.1.2. Adverbs

One adverb frequently used to modify most adjectives in Chinese newspaper advertising is 最 zuì "most, among the most." Sometimes it passes the boundary of believability. For example, in the following claims, zuì is unbelievable because of lack of strong factual proof (statistics or authority's recommendations, etc.):

全美最具規模的東方

1) quán Měi zuì jù guīmóde dōngfāng
whole America most have scale POSS orient
連鎖店
lián suǒ diàn
chain store

(SJRBB. 7/17/1986. p. 1)

"The most up-scale oriental chain store in the United States."

世界日報是最佳讀物

2) Shìjie Ribao shì...... zuì jiā dàwù.
world daily be most good reading material


"The World Journal is the best reading material."

品質最新鮮價格最公道服務最

3) pǐnzhì zuì xīnxīān, jiàgé zuì gōngdào, fúwù zuì kūnqiè, diànpu zuì qīngjiè.
quality most fresh price most fair service most cordial store most clean

(SJRBB. 7/6/1986. p. 22)

"The freshest quality, the fairest price, the best service, and the cleanest store."
In general, the "loud shout" of the superlative is, as Herman Holtz phrases, "screaming the writer's self-doubts and feelings of insecurity" (Holtz. 1983. p. 78). The Chinese superlative zuì is a typical marker of advertising puffery, which will be discussed in the section of "Puffed Assertion" in Chapter Five.

Some adverbs expressing doubts or uncertainty, such as 可能 kěnéng "possibly" and 也許 yěxǐ "maybe" are rare in Chinese newspaper advertisements because these adverbs might jeopardize the sales message with inconclusiveness. Even if these adverbs do sometimes appear in a Chinese newspaper advertisement, they clearly have nothing to do with the product or service advertised, but hypothesize different situations under which the product or service advertised would be badly needed. For example, in a newspaper advertisement for 愛的列車 àide lèchē "love FOSS train" or "The Love Train," a matchmaking service (ZH. 11/12/1986. p. 18):

也許您正在尋找一位知心的
yěxǐ nín zhēngzài xúnzhǎo yíwèi zhīxīn de
maybe you right at look for one CLF know heart FOSS

襲人
zhǐrén...
sincere person

也許
yěxǐ............
maybe.............
"Maybe you are looking for a sincere friend to whom you can bare your heart. Maybe.... Possibly you even do not know the taste of spring. Possibly...."

2.3.1.3. Pronouns

Since advertisements are direct discourse, the second person pronoun (including an understood or recoverable second person which is deleted) has a crucial importance in advertising discourse and is one of the factors that makes a Chinese newspaper advertisement recognizable. In Chinese newspaper advertising, the second person singular pronoun nǐ and nín are equally noticeable. When the advertiser tries to show that the seller is doing the buyer a favor by offering the buyer the best deal and that the seller will not make any profits out of it, nǐ would be most likely to be used. When the advertiser tries to allure the customer into purchasing, the advertiser would like to use nín.

A pronominalized NP which is coreferential with the topic in advertising discourse can be in its possessive case as in “它 (的) tā(de) "its" and 其 qī "its" or a deictic name as in "此 cǐ 'this' or 該 gāi 'that' +
product or service name." Another demonstrative pronoun is 本 bèn "this," as in 本公司 bèn gōngsī "this company," 本廠 bèn zhǎng "this factory," and 本店 bèn diàn "this store." This demonstrative pronoun bèn sounds business-like and lacks the emotive force that the personal possessive pronoun 我們 (的) wǒmen (de) "our" usually has. However, bèn, as a prefix, is to some degree a humilific, and therefore, it is used as a form of politeness in the same way as it would be done by individuals who are talking in a meeting where they might use the term 本人 bènrén "I." Yan-shuan Lao notices that in Mainland China there is a strong tendency to replace bèn or wǒmen (de) with 我 wǒ, especially in the language of newspapers, as in 我 廠 wǒ zhǎng "our factory" and 我 店 wǒ diàn "our store," etc (Personal communication: 7/11/1990). Moreover, wǒ in Classical Chinese is both singular and plural. The Classical Chinese influence upon the advertisement as well as upon newspaper writing is effective in the use of pronoun in that way.

Li and Thompson argue that "pronouns do not allow any modifier" (Li & Thompson. 1981. p. 133). However, it has been noticed in the present research that in advertising Chinese the personal pronoun has a tendency to carry a pre-modifier, as in an advertisement for books (SJRB. 12/28/1988. p. 9), which says: 愛書的你非富即貴
Ài shūde nǐ, fēi fù jí quì "You who love books are either wealthy or honorable."

2.3.1.4. Nouns

Nouns in Chinese newspaper advertising directly point to the product or service or to the characteristics of the product or service. Sometimes the noun can also point to the people who are related to the product or service. Nouns in Chinese newspaper advertising are either concrete or abstract. When concrete, the nouns are used to provide the information. Consider the underlined concrete NPs below:

春風 健康 飲料 中國 天然 植物
Chūnfēng jiànkāng yǐnliào.....Zhōngguó tiānrán zhíwù,
Chunfeng health drink China nature plant
茶為 原料 無 任何 人工 添加劑 無 任何
chá wèi yuánliào wú rènhé réngōng tiānjíàjì, wú rènhé
tea as material no any man-made additive no any
副作用
fùzùyǒng.
side-effect

(KMRB [H]. 10/3/1986. p. 8)

"Chunfeng Health Drink is made of Chinese natural tea. There is no artificial additive or side-effect."

On the other hand, when abstract, the nouns (in most cases, nominalized adjectives) are used to evoke the customer's feelings. Consider the underlined abstract NPs below:
忠孝東路四段它的精緻
Zhōngxiàodōng lù sì duàn... tāde jīngzhì,
 Zhongxiao east road four section it POSS refinement
 優雅和便利正襯托您的身份
yōuyǎ hé biànli, zhēng chèntuǒ nǐde shēnfèn
elegance and convenience just set off you POSS status
時髦和地位
shímào, hé dìwèi
fashion and position

(JJRB. 9/30/1985. p. 4)
"The refinement, fashion, elegance and convenience of
 the Fourth Section of Zhongxiao Road (E) reflect your
 social status and position."

There are many noun compounds in Chinese newspaper
advertising. Most of them are straightforward, accepted
and used in other Chinese contexts. In a compound
[NP NP ], NP qualifies or modifies NP. However,
1 2   1
 to meet the needs for advertising discourse, some new noun
compounds have been created. Attention should be paid to
the grammatical relation between the nouns which are
combined together into a noun compound. For
example: 奶油燙 nǎiyōu tàng "cream hairdress" or "a
cream-like substance is used to produce the

1
Li and Thompson point out that there is a great deal of
disagreement over the definition of "compounds." Thus,
they consider as compounds "all polysyllabic units that
have certain properties of single words and that can be
analyzed into two or more meaningful elements, or
morphemes, even if these morphemes cannot occur
independently in modern Mandarin" (Li & Thompson. 1981. p.
46). This definition of "compounds" is used in my research.
perm," 電腦燙 diànnǎo tàng "computer hairdress" or 
"the hair is done by the computer," and 皇帝 燙 huángdì tàng "emperor hairdress" or "the hair-do is just as 
an emperor's hair-do." In these cases something must be 
added to the grammatical understanding in order to produce 
the semantic understanding. In other words, the semantic 
relation between the components of the innovated noun 
compounds is dependent upon the discourse context.

Brand names are always noun phrases or noun clauses. 
Names are very special lexical items. Michael Geis' 
investigation shows that the fish packers failed to market 
a fish named "horse mackerel" until they changed its name 
into "tuna." Geis believes that "human perception is 
selective and the language we use to refer to things and to 
describe these things can influence how we perceive them 
and the judgments we make about them" (Geis. 1982. p. 
109). Therefore, it is very important for an advertiser to 
choose appropriate brand names to shape customers' 
attitudes and feelings. In most cases the brand-naming 
operation is consistent with the special features of the 
product. For example, to name refrigerators after 白雪 
Báixuě "White Snow" and 霜花 Shuānghuā "Frost Flakes" 
brings the customer an association of coldness; to name 
underwear after 小羊 Xiǎoyáng "Little Lamb" 
or 小天鹅 Xiǎotīānē "Little Swan" would bring the
customer a feeling of softness and warmth. Therefore, to some extent the brand name itself is an advertisement, providing sufficient information about the advertised object. The brand name, being a mini-advertisement in its own right, meets customers' demands for qualities of the products. Otherwise, if an electric fan is brandnamed 火焰 Huǒyàn "Flame" or women's lingerie, 大锤 Dàchuí "Sledgehammer," the customer may not be interested in buying these products.

Generally speaking, all brand names in Chinese newspaper advertising can be categorized into seven groups:

1. Famous traditional producers' names as brand names:
   e.g. 張小泉剪刀 Zhāng Xiǎoquán jiǎndāo "Zhang Xiaoquan scissors" or "Scissors made by Zhang Xiaoquan," and 陸稿薑肉 Lù Gǎojia jiàngròu "Lu Gaojian sauce meat" or "Fork seasoned with red sauce braised by Lu gaojian;" sometimes, only the last name of the producer is used as in 麗湯圓 Lèi tāngyuán "Lai dumpling" or "Dumplings made by the Lais" or 臭抄手 Wù chàoshǒu "Wu wonton" or "Wontons made by the Wus;"

2. Imaginative and symbolic brand names:
   e.g. 旋風牌電扇 Xuánfēng-pái diànshàn "Whirl
Wind Brand electric fans" and 飛虎牌轎車 Fēihǔ-pái jiàochē "Flying Tiger Brand sedans;"

3. Place names as brand names:
   e.g. 北京牌吉普 Běijīng-pái jípù "Beijing Brand jeeps" and 西湖牌藕粉 Xīhú-pái ǒufěn "West Lake Brand lotus powder;"

4. Brands named after celebrities and historical figures:
   e.g. 時珍牙膏 Shízhēn yágāo "Li Shizhen toothpaste," 太白酒 Tàibái jiǔ "Li Po wine," 鼎耳牌鋼琴 Nìèr-pái gāngqín "Nier Brand pianos," and 西施牌蘭夏露 Xīshī-pái lánxiàlù "Xishi Brand lanxia lotion;"

5. Brands named after animals or plants:
   e.g. 麂牌皮鞋 Lù-pái píxié "Deer Brand shoes" and 荷花牌洗衣機 Héhuā-pái xǐyǐjī "Lotus Brand washing machines;"

6. Good-will brand names:
   e.g. 長壽牌藥酒 Chángshòu-pái yàojiǔ "Longevity Brand herb wine," and 美麗牌香粉 Měilì-pái xiāngfěn "Beauty Brand powder;" and
7. Ingredients as brand names:

  e.g. 鸡汁酒 Jižhù jiǔ "chicken juice wine"
and 三蛇膽汁酒 Sānshé dánzhǐ jiǔ "three-snake bile wine"

The name of a magazine published by The World Book Company is 我们的 Wǒmen de "Ours." The name of the magazine was linked to an idea, made synonymous with "ours." The name suggests that the reader of the magazine could also become the owner of the magazine. Likewise, there is a cigarette in the U.S. named "More," which suggests the measure of quantity.

Brand names for children's products have striking features to appeal to children. Very often there are duplicated syllables, a kind of imitation of children's speech, as in

  哈哈 (童装) Hā hā (tóng zhuāng) "Ha Ha children clothing"
  爽爽 (浴液) Shuǎng Shuǎng (yù yè) "Smooth, Smooth baby bath lotion"
  康康 (健膚皂) Kāng Kāng (jiànfū zào) "Healthy, Healthy skin-protecting soap"
  芳芳 (小兒爽身粉) Fāng Fāng (xiǎoér shuǎngshēn fěn) "Fragrant, fragrant baby powder"
味味（儿童香皂）Wèi Wèi (értóng xiāngzào) "Scented, scented children soap"

Bilingual transcription of foreign brand names is an interesting feature of newspaper advertisements only in Chinese. This unique feature is to be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

2.3.1.5. Verbs

Finally, let us consider verbs in Chinese newspaper advertising. Because in Chinese newspaper advertising nouns can group together to provide enough information without the aid of any verbs, the function of verbs in Chinese newspaper advertising is not very noticeable. The hackneyed verbs in Chinese newspaper advertisements are 提供 tígòng "to provide," 奉献 fèngxiàn "to contribute," 推出 tuīchū "to push out," 歡迎 huānyíng "to welcome," and 選購 xuǎnggòu "to select and buy." Although they do not play an important role in Chinese newspaper advertising, verbs still play a role. As discussed early in the section of "A Combination of Literary and Vernacular Styles" in this chapter, some adjectives can be more significant in style if verbalized.
The subject of the verbs tīgòng, fèngxiàn, tuīchū and huānyíng is always the advertiser so as to show the advertiser's willingness to help, readiness to contribute and the advertiser's great effort. On the other hand, the customer is always the receiver of the action. Hence, the subject of xuǎngdù is always the customer; however, when xuǎngdù is used, the subject nǐ or nín is often omitted to avoid stirring the customer's unhappy feeling of parting from money.

In addition to stock vocabulary, there are certain patterns in the language of Chinese newspaper advertising, which are very striking.

2.3.2. Prescribed Patterns

The language of Chinese newspaper advertisements usually follows two prescribed patterns of discourse:

first, a pattern for advertised products:

本厂生产的 X 产品

1) Běn chǎng shēngchǎn de X chǎnpǐn, this factory produce POSS X product

有 Y 成份 有 Z 特點

yǒu Y chéngfèn, yǒu Z tèdiǎn, have Y composition have Z special feature

欢迎 选购

huānyíng xuǎngdù
welcome select buy
"Product X produced by this factory is composed of material Y and has special feature Z. Welcome to select and buy X."

Second, a pattern for advertised services:

2) 本公司提供X服务能帮助解决Y问题有Z特点
    gōngsī tíngōng X fúwù, néng bāngzhù jiějué Y wèntí, yǒu Z tèdiǎn, yuàn wùi dàzhòng fúwù
    this company provide X service can help solve Y problem have Z special feature willing
    for public serve

"This company provides service X, which can help solve problem Y and has special feature Z. We are willing to serve the public."

Stock words, expressions, and platitude patterns make the newspaper advertisement recognizable, but since overused, they are no longer refreshing.

2.3.3. Overused Words and Expressions

John Lund points out that "words are sharp instruments that can draw clear lines in the minds of the readers. However, some words and phrases have been used so much that they have lost their sharp cutting edge and are dull" (Lund. 1947. p. 112). Some words such as 合算 hésuàn "worthwhile," 理想 lǐxiǎng "ideal," 好 hǎo "good," 唯一 wéiyī "only," 第一 dìyī "first," 新 xīn "new," and 最 zuì "most, among the most" have
become commonplace in Chinese newspaper advertising. They can be used for illustrating general properties of foods, clothes, home appliances, services, ideas, and almost of everything.

Some brand names in Chinese advertising have also become platitudes. In Mainland China, 熊猫牌 Xióngmāo-pái "Panda Brand" and 长城牌 Chángchéng-pái "The Great Wall Brand" have been used for naming most products. Statistics provided by the Journal of China Advertising show that there were 210 brand names in Hangzhou one year, 58 of which were named 西湖牌 Xīhú-pái "West Lake Brand" (China Advertising. V. 3. 1985. p. 15).

In addition to the above cliche words, there are some other worn-out expressions in Chinese newspaper advertising as follows:

實行三包 shíxíng sānbāo "to carry out the policy of Three Guarantees," 譽滿全球 yù mǎn guǎnqiú "honor over the world," 保證質量 bǎozhèng zhìliàng "quality is guaranteed," and 效果顯著 xiàoguǒ xiǎnzhù "remarkable effect."
These cliches have become typical of advertising discourse. They make advertisements recognizable, and the sales message they send seems to be strong. However, Watson Dunn does not consider that overworked words or phrases "evoke any image in the reader's mind when he sees them" (Dunn. 1956. p. 246). Thus, the efficacy of these cliche words or expressions still remains a question.

Since people are usually attracted to and curious about something extraordinary and unexpected, unorthodox use of language in Chinese newspaper advertising serves well the purpose of catching the customer's attention as well as expanding the advertiser's linguistic possibilities.

2.4. Rhetorical Devices

According to OED, rhetoric is "the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others" (OED. V. 13. 1989. p. 857). Therefore, advertising really provides rich soil for the practice of rhetoric. Advertisers use rhetorical devices consciously, providing themselves with multiple opportunities to be original. As to customers, they enjoy the aesthetic pleasure generated by the application of rhetoric. Very often they are imperceptibly persuaded by the advertisers even without knowing it.
There are many rhetorical devices used in Chinese newspaper advertising. Some are more frequently used than others. Now let us first observe rhetorical questions.

2.4.1. Rhetorical Questions

Generally speaking, there are two kinds of rhetorical questions used in Chinese newspaper advertising. They are 設問句 shèwènjiù and 反問句 fǎnwènjiù. Neither shèwènjiù nor fǎnwènjiù needs any answer because the answer is either provided in the advertisement by the advertiser or known to all in terms of common sense. In addition, a fǎnwènjiù in newspaper advertising expects an answer opposite to the conventional implication. In Chinese newspaper advertising, the shèwènjiù usually has two manifestations: alternative questions and conditional questions, and the fǎnwènjiù is often in the form of SH-questions (similar to WH-questions in English, such as 誰 shéi "who," 甚麼 shénme "what," 甚麼時候 shénme shíhòu "when, what time," 甚麼地方 shénme dìfāng "where, what place," 怎麼樣 zěnmeyàng "how," and 爲甚麼 wèishénme "why, for what").

Let us start with alternative questions. Although seemingly providing linguistic options, the alternative questions in Chinese newspaper advertisements have obvious and definite answers. Alternative questions are active in
newspaper advertising in English. For example, a headline of a newspaper advertisement for the United Airline says: "Fly 'bare bones' or fly the friendly skies?" (The Boston Globe. 9/13/1984. p. 76). The answer is quite obvious, because every passenger enjoys flying the friendly skies. Likewise, consider the following two alternative questions in the Chinese newspaper advertisements for the oyster sauce and for real estate, respectively:

1) Shí háoyóu yíhùb shí wèijìng?  
eat oyster sauce or eat MSG  

(HQRB. 8/14/1987. p. 13)

"Eat oyster sauce or eat MSG?"

2) Nín shì quòkè, háishí zhūrén?  
You BE transient or owner  

(JJRB. 11/2/1985. p. 1)

"Are you a transient or the owner?"

The customer does not even bother to make any choice because the answers are known. The answer to "eat oyster sauce or MSG?" is "to eat oyster sauce" because common sense tells the customer that MSG is a kind of chemical compound, which is not as good to our health as natural oyster sauce. The answer to "are you a transient or the owner?" is "the owner" because the Chinese, like Americans, all dream of having their own houses.
Then, let us examine conditional questions. In English a conditional question can be represented by "Do you need. . .?" as in "Do you need a new matress," a headline of a newspaper advertisement for Siesta Sleep Shops (The Boston Globe. 10/15/1990. p. 25). Likewise, conditional questions in Chinese newspaper advertising, in most cases, appear with the form of 你想要…………嗎 "Nǐ xiǎng yào…..ma?" "you think need. . . PAR" or "Do you need . . .?" They are YES/NO questions in form, but conditional premise in essence. We can easily convert those "nǐ xiǎng yào...ma?" questions into rúguǒ-clauses, as in

1) Nǐ yào zhīdào Zhōngguó qíngkuàng ma? Qíng dú yǒu need know China situation PAR Please read

人民 日報

. . . Remmin Ribao.

. . . People's Daily

(RMRB [H]. 8/14/1987. p. 13)

"Do you need to know what is happening in China? Please read the People's Daily."

如果 你要 知道 中國 情況 請 讀

==>Rúguǒ nǐ yào zhīdào Zhōngguó qíngkuàng, qíng dú if you need know China situation please read

人民 日報

. . . Remmin Ribao.

. . . People's Daily

"If you need to know what is happening in China, please read the People's Daily."
您(們) 想要 一間 乾淨的 廚房 嗎
2) Mín(men) xiǎng yào yìjiān...gānjìngde chúfáng ma?
you(Pl.) think need one CLF clean kitchen PAR
請用 X 牌 抽油煙機
Qǐng yòng X pái chōu yóu yān jī.
please use X brand draw oil smoke machine

(SJRB. 7/12/1985. p. 1)

"Do you need a clean kitchen? Please use X-Brand cooking smoke exhauster."

如果您(們) 想要 一間 乾淨的 廚房
==> Rúguǒ nín(men) xiǎng yào yìjiān...gānjìngde chúfáng,
if you(Pl.) think need one CLF clean kitchen
請用 X 牌 抽油煙機
Qǐng yòng X pái chōu yóu yān jī.
please use X brand draw oil smoke machine

"If you need a clean kitchen, please use X-Brand cooking smoke exhauster."

Conditional questions will expect the reader of the advertisement (the potential customer) to respond. The customer's response is always agreeable with the advertiser's expectation. Almost all conditional questions in Chinese newspaper advertisements are followed by a platitudinous imperative sentence: 請用 X Qǐngyòng X "Please use X." Here, X is the advertised product or service.

In newspaper advertising in English, WH-questions, when directed at the customer, cannot but be interpreted as rhetorical questions, even though they look like
informative questions, as in a headline of a newspaper advertisement for Schwab One, a financial institution:
"Why pay $80 for a brokerage account with checking. . .?" (The Wall Street Journal. 10/12/1990. c3). The headline does not intend to know the reason why one has to pay $80, but present the fact that you do not have the reason to pay $80 to your brokerage accounts if you invest in Schwab One. English WH-questions in newspaper advertising are rhetorical. So are Chinese SH-questions. In a newspaper advertisement for 華利痛片 Huáilitòng piān "Hualitong pills" (XSB. 7/7/1961. p. 1), the headline is:

為何 忍受 痛苦
Wèihé rěnshòu tòngkǔ?
why bear pain

(XSB. 7/7/1961. p. 1)

"Why should you bear pain?"

Conventionally, the question is asked for the information about the reason why "you" (the customer) endure pains, or in other words, the question implies that you have got some reason to endure pains. However, if the question in the advertisement under discussion is interpreted as a 反問句, it expects an answer opposite to the conventional implication, that is, you do not have any reason to endure pains (because there is a strong pain reliever Hualitong pills available). One more example is a headline of an advertisement for soft drinks:
誰不說俺飲料好
Shéi bù shuō 俺 yǐnliào hǎo?
who not say I drink good

"Who does not say that my drinks are good?"

If the above headline is interpreted as a conventional SH-question, it implies that "someone does not say that my drinks are good." It intends to ask: "Who does not say that my drinks are good?" However, the headline, if interpreted as a fǎnwènjù, carries the expectation that "everyone says that my drinks are good," which is opposite to the conventional implication.

As was mentioned in the section of "如果 Rúguǒ-clause as a Discourse Opening," the question is also one of the most common openings in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse. Questions are intended to attract the customer and make him or her think. William Lycan believes that questions are not thought to have truth-values (Lycan. 1984. p. 82). Therefore, the advertiser is not held responsible for the truth-value of an advertising claim which is a question. Moreover, Holtz states that to ask questions or to make statements in the form of questions is a way to lead your reader to analyze the situation and to reach the conclusion that you want your reader to reach (Holtz. 1983. p. 83). Thus, the advertiser is not responsible for a wrong conclusion the customer might
reach. The rhetorical question is one of the reasons why some Chinese newspaper advertisements are misleading, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The second rhetorical device in Chinese newspaper advertising deals with some expressions which are used in such a way that they will not normally be used in other Chinese written contexts.

2.4.2. The Use of a Marked Member as an Unmarked One

Jonathan Evans quotes Clark's principle of lexical marking that "...many pairs of bi-polar adjectives are asymmetrical. One adjective may have a neutral unmarked sense, while the other has only a contrastive marked sense" (Evans. 1982. p. 54). The adjective "old" is an unmarked member, while "young" is a marked one. For example, we would ask "How OLD are you?" instead of "how YOUNG are you?" when we want to know a person's age. By the same token, we would ask "How THICK is the plate?" instead of "how THIN is the plate?" However, in advertising, marked adjectives sometimes are used as if they were unmarked. For example, an advertisement for an optical lens says: 薄度僅為普通鏡片的一半 Báodù jīnwèi pǔtōng jìngpiàn de yībàn "thin degree only BE regular lens POSS one half" or "The thinness of the lens is only half of the regular lens'.” Here the "thinness" should be
"thickness" in terms of convention. The unorthodox use of a marked member can also be seen in English advertising, as in an advertisement for real estate, which says: "The house is only 18 years YOUNG."

The use of a marked member as an unmarked one aims to avoid some unfavorable associations. In the above advertisement for lenses, the advertiser does not want to lead the customer to associate the lenses with being thick, whereas in the real estate advertisement the advertiser does not like to lead the customer to associate the house with being old. Moreover, in light of Potts and Scholz's investigation cited by Janice Keenan, "Marked and unmarked adjectives are stored in the same form" (Keenan. 1978. p. 24). Therefore, the use of a marked adjective as an unmarked one will not affect the customer's comprehension or memory.

The third rhetorical device in Chinese newspaper advertising is one of the most interesting linguistic phenomena in the study of advertising language, that is, pun-making.

2.4.3. Puns (I): Play on Words

Chao believes that "punning and other forms of playing on words are further examples of intentional ambiguity"
(Chao. 1976. p. 294). A pun is an intentional form of ambiguity that needs knowledge of linguistics and talent of creativity. Ambiguity in linguistic description is a many-to-one relationship. Ambiguity performs the poetic function of language. In Chinese, ambiguity is totally a semantic property. A psycholinguistic study of ambiguity conducted by Wayne Cowart and me at The Ohio State University in 1986 showed that when a subject read an ambiguous word, a "clash" in his mind made him prolong his reading time significantly. Therefore, when a pun occurs in an advertisement, the reader's train of thought will be interrupted, creating two divergent fields of meaning where the reader expects only one. This intentional interruption provides a basis for humorous reaction. The ambiguity created by a pun obviously had a stopping power to keep the subject's attention for a longer time.

Michel Monnot claims that "puns function on a variety of levels and use the total spectrum of linguistic possibilities" (Monnot. 1981. p. 13). Puns in Chinese newspaper advertising may be formed on multiple meaning, homophone, or homograph.

2.4.3.1. Words of Multiple Meaning

A word of multiple meaning is used by the advertiser for creating puns in the advertisement. For example, a
headline of a newspaper advertisement for spring water is as follows:

"口服"心服
"Kǒu fú", xīn fú.
mouth take/convince heart convince

We are familiar with the idiom 口服心服 kǒu fú
xīn fú "to be sincerely convinced," where the meaning of 服 fú is "to be convinced." This is the meaning that comes to the customer's mind first on reading this spring water advertisement. However, if the customer pays close attention and especially notices that fú is in quotation marks, he or she will automatically realize that he or she has overlooked the second meaning of fú, which is "to take (medicine) orally." Spring water is supposed to be helpful to human health. Therefore, it can be regarded as a kind of tonic medicine because of its therapeutic function. The two meanings of fú can provide the satisfactory explanation of the headline of this spring water advertisement. As a result, the headline in question can mean either "You will be sincerely convinced both in speech and in thought" or "Drink the spring water, you will be convinced."

Another headline of a newspaper advertisement for a typewriter is a Chinese saying:
不 "打" 不 相識
Bù "dǎ" bù xiāngshí
not fight not know

This Chinese saying means that "friendship may grow from an exchange of blows," or "no discord, nor concord." 打 Dǎ in bù dǎ bù xiāngshí means "to fight," and 相識 xiāngshí means "to acquaint oneself with, to know." Dǎ in Chinese is a word of multiple meaning. It can mean "to hit" as in 打人 dǎ rén "to hit people;" "to play" as in 打球 dǎ qiú "hit ball" or "to play ball;" "to type" as in 打字 dǎ zì "hit word" or "to type;" "to do" as in 打雜 dǎ zá "hit miscellany" or "to do odd jobs;" "to knit" as in 打毛衣 dǎ máoyī "hit wool clothes" or "to knit a sweater;" "to insert" as in 打針 dǎ zhēn "hit needle" or "to give or to receive shots;" and "to make" as in 打交道 dǎ jiāodào "hit bargain" or "to have dealings with," etc. Dǎ in the headline under discussion means "to type." The saying serves the promotion of the product, namely, the typewriter. The headline suggests that the customer would not realize the good qualities of the advertised typewriter and the difference between the advertised typewriter and the typewriters of other brands until he or she types on the advertised typewriter. It implies that the advertised typewriter is really super.
One more example of multiple meaning is an idiom 秀外慧中 xiù wài huì zhōng "pretty outside merit inside" or "good looking and virtuous," a headline of an advertisement for a watch, an inanimate thing in an attempt to show that the watch advertised has outer beauty and inner merits. Since 慧 huì "virtuous" is the equal of 慧 huì "beneficial," the idiom xiù wài huì zhōng can also be used as a headline of an advertisement for socks to illustrate that the advertised socks are good looking outside and also beneficial for what is inside (i.e. the feet).

Now let us consider a kind of pun, which is formed on homophone.

2.4.3.2. Homophones

Different from the situation in advertising English, ambiguity in advertising Chinese hinges heavily on pronunciation rather than orthography. Most puns in the category of homophone are mainly found in print advertisements where they can be read because of their dependence upon visual transmission. For instance, there was a headline of an advertisement in a Taiwan newspaper for a washing machine, which says:

“闲”麦良母
"xián" mài liáng mǔ
leisurely wife good mother
賢妻良母 xián qī liáng mǔ is a well-known Chinese saying, meaning "virtuous wife and good mother". 贤 xián in this idiom is different from 閒 xián in the headline in question. Both 贤 xián "virtuous" and 閒 xián "leisurely" are homophones. But why should 閒 xián replace 贤 xián in a headline of an advertisement for a washing machine in this case? There are two reasons: one is, of course, to provoke fun; the other, is to make the merits of the advertised product more prominent, that is, the washing machine frees the wife from the toil of hand washing, and the wife feels much relaxed. As a result, she becomes a truly "virtuous wife and good mother."

Another example of a homophone can also be found in the headline of an advertisement for Hitachi electric fans (MB. 6/1/1982. p. 21):

你 家中的 知己 "凉" 伴
Nǐ jiāzhōngde zhījǐ "liáng" bàn
you home inside POSS know self cool company

"The familiar cool company in your home"

There is no such expression as 凉 伴 liáng bàn "cool company," but 良伴 liáng bàn "good company." 凉 Liáng "cool" and 良 liáng "good" are both homophones. But every customer is clear that 凉 liáng "cool" used here
in the headline of the advertisement for Hitachi electric fans is not simply evoking amusement, but have its commercial purpose: to introduce the merits of the product advertised. In this case, 涼 liáng is what the customer expects from an electric fan.

In either multiple meaning cases or homophone cases, the quotation mark helps solve ambiguity. The quotation marks in "kǒu fú" xīn fú or in "xián" qī liáng mǔ cases give the customer a hint that there is something unusual in the quoted words. The quotation marks enable the customer to realize that he or she may have overlooked other meaning(s) of the quoted words. Thus, the quotation mark itself is an effective rhetorical device. It alerts the customer to pay closer attention to the quoted words, and it serves to remove ambiguities.

Homophones do not exist in the language of Chinese newspaper advertising by accident. They are very common in the Chinese language. There are only about 400 basic syllables; and if plus tones, there are only about 1,200 syllables in Maindarin Chinese. However, Ci Hai lists about 15,000 Chinese characters. Therefore, as Chao believes, "The Chinese language is of course well known for its abundance in homophones. . . " (Chao. 1968. p. 172). For example, homophones are widely used for making jokes in
Chinese comic talks. A comedian says that he believes that 張飛 Zhang Fei, a main character in The Three
Kingdoms, used to make a living by selling rice cakes.
When asked why, the comedian explains that he hears the
character of Zhang Fei sing in a Beijing opera that 我老邁年高 "I
old stride year high" or "I am advanced in years," but 邁
mài "to advance" is heard as its homophone 賣 mài "to
sell," and 高 gāo "high" is heard as its homophone 糕
gāo "cake." Therefore, the comedian says what he hears
is 我老販年糕 "I old sell year cake" or "I always sell
rice cakes." Also homophones can be found in poetry.
在道是無晴卻有晴 Dào shì wú qíng què yǒu qíng "say
BE no fine weather but have fine weather" or "It is
uncertain whether or not the weather is fine," a famous
line in 劉禹錫 Liu Yuxi's 竹枝詞 Zhúzhīcí, 晴 qíng
"fine weather" is a homophone of 情 qíng "passion."
Therefore, the line can be interpreted as "It is uncertain
whether or not he has passion to me." In 紅樓夢
Hongloumeng ("A Dream of Red Mansions"), the well-known
novel, the homophones of the names of some characters
suggest what kinds of persons these characters are. For
instance, the name of 鐘士隱 Zhèn Shìyín
implies 鐘士隱 zhēnshǐ yǐn "to cover the truth."
The reverse of the ambiguity of a homophone is the ambiguity of a homograph.

2.4.3.3. Homographs

Of all the Chinese newspaper advertisements I have collected, only one example of homograph is found. This homograph is interesting and worth recording. It is a headline of an advertisement for a newly-open bean-sprout store (ZGGGB. 6/13/1986):

長長長長長
長長長長長

The ambiguity caused by the homograph of this example can be cleared up by its reading:

cháng zhǎng, cháng zhǎng, cháng cháng zhǎng
always grow always grow ever ever grow

zhǎng cháng, zhǎng cháng, zhǎng zhǎng cháng
grow long grow long grow grow long

In sum, the pun in Chinese newspaper advertising is an effective means by which the customer’s attention is attracted and interest aroused. Monroe Beardsley believes that in any long utterance “the ambiguity is almost certain to be lost” (Beardsley. 1966. p. 158). Since headlines are

1 In classical Chinese, 長 also means "always, ever," as in 長青, cháng qīng "always green" or "evergreen," 長年, cháng nián "always year" or "all the year round."
usually short, the pun is more than often used in the headlines of the advertisements.

We now move on to the discussion on the fourth rhetorical device. It is known to almost everyone that the idiomatic meaning of some expressions has been established by usage and accepted through common use. However, in Chinese newspaper advertising, the advertiser deliberately uses the literal meaning of these expressions to create humor so as to attract the customer.

2.4.4. The Use of Literal Meaning of an Idiomatic Expression

Some words are not lexically ambiguous like fú in the kǒu fú case, dǎ in bù dǎ bù xiāngshí case, or hū in xiù wài hū zhōng case. However, the advertiser tries to explore their literal meaning to supplement or complement their idiomatic meaning. An interpretation of the literal meaning of a word or an expression is sometimes important in appreciation of Chinese newspaper advertisements. The idiomatic meaning is usually where the humor lies. For instance, in the headline of an advertisement for a SANYO Gold Wolf150 motorcycle (ZHRB. 7/27/1986. p. 1):

Sānyáng ràng nǐn yǒu "zuò dà" jīhuì.
SANYO let you have sit big chance
A designation was assigned to the phrase 坐大 zuò dà. It means "to become big and strong on one's own." This designation has become the standard one. But because zuò dà is in the quotation marks, the customer will consider the other meaning of zuò dà, that is, its literal meaning: "to sit on a big object." Thus, the headline has two meanings, which are interwoven so as to reinforce the effect upon the customer:

1) Sanyo Gold Wolf150 motorcycle is prestigious transportation. What you get is not only a motorcycle but a chance to become strong (zuò dà is idiomatically interpreted);

2) Sanyo Gold Wolf150 is really big. You feel much more comfortable sitting on a big motorcycle (zuò dà is literally interpreted).

Likewise, another headline of an advertisement for a set of educational videotapes (JJRB. 9/19/1985. p. 1) says:

教育 员工 要 有一套
Jìngyuè yuán gōng yào yǒu yītào.
education staff must have one set

有一套 yǒu yītào has an idiomatic meaning in China, that is, "to have ways to run things well," while it also has its literal meaning, that is, "to have a set of...."
It is obvious that in the present case, **yǒu yítào** means "to have a set of videotapes." However, we can take both the idiomatic and the literal meanings into consideration in the advertisement under discussion because they are internally related. The advertiser tries to tell the customer that in order to have ways to run education well, teaching faculty and staff must have a set of educational videotapes.

One more example is the headline of a shoe-polish advertisement (**China Advertising**, V. 3. 1984. p. 29), which is as follows:

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為足下增光
wèi zú xià zēng guāng
for foot under add light
```

Idiomatically, 足下 **zú xià** is an honorific and a formal term to address the second person 你 **nǐ**. The literal meaning is "underneath the feet," implying either "shoes" or "the place where you are." In this shoe-polish case, the literal meaning of 足下 **zú xià** must have something to do with shoes. Moreover, 增光 **zēng guāng** idiomatically means "to add to your prestige," while its literal meaning is "to add lustre to." So the headline has the two following meanings:
1. Your shoe-polish adds lustre to your shoes (the literal meaning);

2. Your shoe-polish adds to your prestige (the idiomatic meaning).

Consider a headline of a newspaper advertisement for TOSHIBA air-conditioners (MB. 6/3/1982. p. 7), which is also an example to show how the literal and the idiomatic meanings are well connected:

冷靜看東芝
lěngjìng kàn Dōngzhī
cold quiet look TOSHIBA

Without any difficulty, the customer understands that 冷靜 lěngjìng idiomatically means "sober and calm." However, the customer will have a feeling that this interpretation of lěngjìng is irrelevant to the product advertised here. So the reader would try the literal meaning of 冷靜, that is, "cool and quiet." Thus, the idiomatic meaning of the headline describes the personality of the customer, while the literal meaning of 冷靜 well describes the quality of TOSHIBA air-conditioners [cool and quiet, the desired quality of the air-conditioners]. The advertiser wants to tell the customer that only a sober and calm customer will look for a cool and quiet TOSHIBA air-conditioner.
When we take both the idiomatic and the literal meanings of words or expressions into consideration, each supplements and complements the other. If both idiomatic interpretation and literal interpretation are appropriate, the pun is of high quality in wit.

However, as Chao says: "In many such cases the context will make only one interpretation appropriate to the situation, and the effect is good in proportion to the vividness of the wrong interpretation, which is thus shown to be all the more incongruous" (Chao. 1976. p. 294). In some advertisements, only the literal meaning of the word or the expression is what the advertiser wants his customer to understand. If the customer tries to adopt the idiomatic meaning of the word or the expression, he or she will find the idiomatic meaning is totally incongruous and becomes nonsensical. Therein lies humor.

If the idiomatic meaning of the word or the expression is not relevant to the advertisement, but the literal meaning is, the consideration of the idiomatic meaning may merely provoke amusement. For example, in Shanghai there is a shoe store that has a newspaper advertisement, in which the leather shoes in this store are described as 老面皮 lǎo miànpí. The idiomatic meaning of lǎo
miàn pí is "thick-skinned," satirizing brazen people, but lǎo miàn pí is literally used in the advertisement under discussion to display the durable quality of the upper part of shoes. Also a headline of an advertisement for a tooth-brush is — 毛不拔 yì máo bù bá. Its idiomatic meaning is "stingy," while its literal meaning is "not a single hair (bristle) will be pulled off." Apparently, the advertiser tries to use the literal meaning of the saying to show off the quality of the advertised tooth-brush. There is a newspaper advertisement for the Sharp FO-1800 Fax machine (JJRB. 11/25/1985. p. 4). The machine only weighs 6 kg and is thinner than A3 paper. It is considered to be the lightest and thinnest Fax machine in the world. In that advertisement there is also a big picture of a young beautiful girl dressed in a small vest and a mini-skirt, holding a Sharp FO-1800 Fax machine. The headline of the advertisement is:

軼薄 短 小
Qīngbó duǎnxiǎo
light thin short small

With the improvement of tooth-brushes, none of the bristles of any tooth-brushes now fall off. 

Thus no longer reflects the quality of the tooth-brush. Therefore, the advertiser has changed this headline into 像牙醫的工具 Xìng yá yī de gōng jù "like dentist POSS tool" or "like dentist's instrument".
The idiomatic meaning of 轻薄 qīngbó is "frivolous." Therefore, the customer may momentarily be led to think that this headline might aim at that scantily-clad girl. However, the customer later finds that the literal meaning of qīngbó "light and thin" is expected to show exactly the characteristics of Sharp FO-1800 Fax machines.

The idiomatic meaning of 老面皮, yì mào bù bá, or qīngbó does not supplement or complement the literal meaning. Thus, 老面皮, yì mào bù bá, and qīngbó only have a mild entertaining value. In addition, 老面皮, yì mào bù bá and qīngbó are derogatory terms. They do not build a good image of the advertised products. Lao argues that there is actually a trade-off, while such terms do not enhance the good image of the advertised objects, the emphasis on quality far outweighs the image (Personal communication: 7/11/1990).

The fifth rhetorical device in Chinese newspaper advertising is the quotation of some ready-made lines from well-known poetry or sayings.

2.4.5. Distorted Use of Quotations

Quotations from well-known poems or literary works are often used in Chinese newspaper advertising because being from already-established sources, they sound quite
authoritative and convincing, and they amuse the customer because their new meanings used by the advertiser are quite different from their traditional meanings.

2.4.5.1. New Meaning of Well-known Quotations

A quotation can be a line from familiar literary works. For example, a headline of a newspaper advertisement for shoes is from 老子 Laozi's 道德經 Daodejing ("The Way and Its Power"):

千里之行 始於足下
Qiān lǐ zhī xíng, shǐ yú zú xià. thousand li POSS walk begin at foot under

"A thousand-li journey starts where you are."

As I mentioned before in the Shoe-polish advertisement, zú xià has two literal meanings, one is "shoes," and the other, "the place where you are." Apparently, Laozi's original meaning of zú xià is our second literal meaning, that is, "where you are." However, in this shoe advertisement, the advertiser purposely ignored Laozi's original meaning and picked the first literal meaning, that is, "the shoes." The advertiser's intention of quoting this line from Laozi's works is clear: to effectively deliver the sales message that "a long travel starts with shoes" even though it sacrifices the original meaning of the quotation from Laozi.
There is another advertisement for shoes (ZGGGB. 6/26/1987. p. 3), whose headline includes a partial quotation from The Analects of Confucius:

三人行 必 有 我 師 三人行
Sān rén xíng bì yǒu wǒ shī, sān rén xíng
three person walk must have I teacher three person walk

必 穿 我 鞋
bì chuān wǒ xié.
must wear I shoe

"There must be a teacher among three people walking together. There must be someone wearing my shoes among three people walking together."

The first sentence of the headline is a faithful quotation from The Analects of Confucius, and the second sentence is a distorted version by the advertiser to meet his purpose of selling the shoes. However, there is still an association between the original version of the Confucius' saying and a distorted version of the Confucius' saying, that is, the association of "walking" and "shoes."

In an advertisement for Telota hair darkening pomade (GSWB. 9/8/1950. p. 1), there is a line from 岳飛 Yue Fei's famous 滿 江 紅 Mǎnjiānghóng "All the River is Red:"

莫 等 閒 白 了 少 年 頭 空 悲 切
Mò děng xián bái le shào nián tóu, kōng bēi qiè.
don't wait idle white ASP young head, vain sad

"Don't waste time until you are old and feel sad in vain."
Many people feel miserable when they are still young, as their hair has already turned white. However, what Yue Fei wanted to say in his poem was that everyone should make some contributions to his country when he is young, otherwise, he would feel miserable when he became old and found that he had wasted his precious youth. No one can find any relation between Yue Fei's patriotism and the hair darkening pomade. Nevertheless, the advertiser is quick to find something in common, that is, "white," "a young person's hair," and "to feel miserable in vain." Thus, the line in the advertisement in question can be interpreted as "Don't feel sad, if your hair has turned white while you are still young. Get Telota hair darkening pomade!"

One newspaper advertisement even quotes a whole poem.

It is an advertisement for a villa named 江南春
Jiāngnánchūn "Spring in the South of Yangtze" (ZGGGB. 6/26/1987. p. 3), whose headline is:

中國人忘不掉 江南風味
Zhōngguórén wàng-bú-diào jiāngnán fēngwèi
Chinese forget not fall river south flavor

"The Chinese will not forget the flavor of the south of the Yangtze."

The body copy following the above headline is a complete quotation of 李煜 Li Yu's 虞美人 Yú měirén
"The Beautiful Yu," 春花秋月何时了 Chūnhuā qiūyuè
hēshí liǎo "spring flower autumn moon when end" or "When will spring flowers and the autumn moon end?" The signature line of the advertisement is:

中國人忘不掉江南風味
Zhōngguórén wàng -bú-diào jiāngnán fēngwèi,
the Chinese forget not fall river south flavor

中國人應該享受最具
Zhōngguórén yīnggǎi xiǎngshòu zuǐ jù
the Chinese should enjoy most have

風味的生活
fēngwèi de shēnghuó
flavor POSS life

"The Chinese will not forget the flavor of the South of the Yangtze. They deserve to enjoy a life with utmost flavor."

Although there are not many advertiser's own words in the advertisement under discussion, yet, owing to the appropriate quotation of Li Yu's poem, the customers may feel that they would enjoy the beautiful view and flavor when they come to Jiangnanchun Villa. The customers incline to associate the quotation of Li Yu's poem with the villa advertised.

Sometimes, words or expressions in poems, idioms, or sayings are purposely replaced in Chinese newspaper advertisements. In this case the substitution of words or expressions must have something to do with the advertised object.
2.4.5.2. Substitution of Well-known Quotations

An advertisement for 大前門香煙 Dàqiánmén xīāngyān "Chienmen Grande cigarettes" (BJCB. 11/7/1913. p. 4) reads:

作文 時節 神 昏昏
zuòwén shíjiē shén hūn hūn
make article time thought muddled

眼暗 心疲 欲 斷魂
yǎn àn xīn pí yù duàn hún
eye dark mind tired want break soul

借 問 名 烟 何處有
jiè wèn míng yān hé chǔ yǒu
borrow ask famous cigarettes where have

書童 笑 指 大前門
shū tóng xiào zhǐ Dàqiánmén
book boy smile point Daqianmen

"The time I wrote, I felt in a daze. My eyes were dim, and my mind, tired. I felt as if my soul had been broken. I asked where a famous cigarette was. My page pointed to Chienmen Grande cigarettes with a smile."

Apparently, this advertising poem is an alteration of the following poem by 杜牧 Tu Mu in the Tang Dynasty:

清明 時節 雨 紛紛
Qīngmíng shíjiē yǔ fēn fēn,
"Clean Bright" time rain frequent

路上 行人 欲 斷 魂
Lùshàng xíng rén yù duàn hún;
road up walk people want break soul

借 問 酒家 何處有
jí wèn jiǔ jiā hé chǔ yǒu,
borrow ask wine shop where have
牧童遥指杏花村
Mùtóng yáo zhǐ Xìnghuācūn.
shepherd child far point Xinghua village

"It rained a lot in the 'Clear and Bright' festival. People walking on the street felt very sad. I asked where the tavern was. The shepherd boy pointed to Xinghua Village far away."

The advertiser for Chienmen Grande cigarettes ingeniously alters Tu Mu's poem by substituting some words and expressions such as 作文 zuòwén, 神昏昏 shén hūnhūn, 眼暗心疲 yǎn àn xīn pí, 名烟 míng yān, 書童 shūtóng, 笑 xiào, and 大前門 Dàqiánmén for some words and expressions in the poem such as 清明 qīngmíng, 雨紛紛 yǔ fēnfēn, 路上行人 lùshàng xíng rén, 酒家 jiǔjiā, 牧童 mùtóng, 偏 yáo, and 杏花村 Xìnghuācūn, respectively. The advertisement emphasizes 名烟大前門 míng yān, Dàqiánmén, while the poem, emphasizes 酒家杏花村 jiǔjiā, Xìnghuācūn. The first two lines of the advertisement describe that Dàqiánmén cigarettes are needed when people feel exhausted from writing. Likewise, the first two lines of the poem also tell us that people want to go to the tavern in Xinghua Village when they feel sad and low spirited. In a sense, the original poem itself is a good advertisement for a tavern named Xinghua Village.

As discussed above, in newspaper advertisements some idioms or sayings as xián qǐ liáng mǔ and zhīyǐ liáng bàn
are quoted with some words replaced by their homophones. More frequently some words in idioms or sayings are replaced by related words, which are not necessarily homophones, as in a headline of an advertisement for a kind of medicine to treat acne:

對 "痘" 下 藥
Duì "dòu" xià yào
to acne down medicine
"Suit the medicine to the acne."

We are familiar with the saying 對痘下藥 duì zhēng xià yào "to sick below medicine" or "Fit the medicine to the illness." Here in the headline under discussion, 痘 dòu "acne" is a substitute for 病 zhēng "sickness." However, dòu is a kind of zhēng. Their relation can be told by their identical radical "疒".

In the advertisement for the Jinling Hotel discussed early in this chapter, its signature line is 鶴立古城 hè lì gǔchéng "crane stand old city" or "Towering aloft in the ancient city." The word 古城 gǔchéng "the ancient city" is a substitute for 鶴群 jīqún "flocks of roosters" in a Chinese saying 鶴立鶴群 hè lì jīqún "crane stand rooster flock" or "A crane stands out among flocks of roosters." The signature line emphasizes two points: the first one is that the Jinling Hotel, the advertised object, is towering over other buildings, and
the second one is that the Jinling Hotel, in contrast with the other parts of the old city of Nanjing, is completely modern.

There is an advertisement for Jinge beds (JJRBB. 11/3/1985. p. 4), whose headline is:

愛你入骨
Ài nǐ rù gǔ
love you into bone
"love you extremely"

There is an idiom 恨你(之)入骨 hèn nǐ(zhī) rù gǔ "hate you(3rd person) into bone" or "to hate you (or a third person) extremely." Apparently, 愛 ài "love" is a substitute for 恨 hèn "hate." Both ài and hèn are emotional. The headline of ài nǐ rù gǔ is an example not only of substitution in an idiom but also of a pun hinging on the literal meaning of the idiom. 入骨 Rù gǔ is an idiomatic expression of "to the extreme," but its literal meaning is "into the bone." The claim in the body copy following the headline under discussion helps the customer understand both the idiomatic and the literal meanings of rù gǔ:

為了使您與家人脊椎的健康讓
Wèile shǐ nín yǔ jiārén jǐzhúde jiànkāng, ràng
for make you and family member spine POSS health let
您睡得更甜，站得更挺

nín shuìde gèng tián, zhànde gèng tǐng.
you sleep PAR more sweet stand PAR more straight

"For the health of you and your family members' spinal bones, let you sleep more sweetly and stand more straightly."

According to the above claim, the specially designed Jinge beds will protect your spinal bones, and thus the manufacturer loves you to the bones (spinal bones).

The above-discussed examples demonstrate that there is a tight association between the original and its replacement. Otherwise, the replacement will hardly be accepted by the customer, and the customer will not be able to associate the altered quotation with the product or service advertised.

The sixth rhetorical device in Chinese newspaper advertising is comparison. There are two kinds of comparison: straight comparison and figurative comparison. Straight comparison is made of sentence patterns like "A 比 bǐ 'than' B Adj," "A 更 gèng Adj," "A 最 zuì Adj," and "A Adj." Straight comparison will be examined in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. The following section will dwell on the figurative comparison, in which focus will be upon metaphor and simile.
2.4.6. Metaphor and Simile

2.4.6.1. Metaphor

Metaphor, as Elizabeth Traugott and Mary Pratt define it, is "A figure of speech whereby sentence transfer is created through anomaly." (Traugott & Pratt. 1980. p. 425). Beardsley tells us two great things about metaphors: that is, they are economical and creative. Beardsley says: "They are economical in that they condense a good many statements into one, which is what makes them so significant and exciting. They are creative in that they give us new meanings and enlarge the capacities of our language to express subtle distinctions that till then we had no words for" (Beardsley. 1966. p. 193). Metaphors are useful in newspaper advertising because they contain much but occupy little space.

As discussed previously, an advertising headline may not make any sense until its literal meaning is considered. A metaphorical statement also has two features: literal description and metaphorical application. When we try to interpret a metaphorical statement from its literal description, the statement will inevitably involve a logical contradiction or a physical impossibility. Therefore, in a linguist's eyes a metaphor is a kind of semantic or lexical violation. For example,
in the advertisement for Sunkist Giftbox (JJRB. 8/9/1986. p. 1) introduced in Chapter One:

香吉士禮盒系列濃縮了營養
Xiangjishe lihei xiliexongso-le......yingyang,
Sunkist gift box series condense ASP nutrition
也濃縮了人情味
yeshongso-le......rengqiongwai.
also condense ASP human touch

"Sunkist giftbox series condenses not only nutrition, but also human touch."

Semantically,營養 yingyang "nutrition" can be condensed, but人情味 rengqiongwai "person feeling taste" or "human touch" cannot. The second clause in the above advertisement consists in an incompatibility of meanings (how a giftbox truly condenses "human touch."). Lexically, it is an unorthodox combination of the verb "condense" with the noun "human touch."

As mentioned early in this chapter, in many cases, the brand names of products are consistent with the special features of the products. In this sense, brand names can be regarded as metaphors. Let us consider again Bai Xue-pai "White Snow Brand" refrigerator. The link between the symbol "white snow" and the advertised refrigerator is obvious because the mediating metaphor (white snow = coldness = refrigerator) occurs in the brand name itself.
Metaphors are sometimes manifested in the opening of Chinese advertising discourse through "comparison" and "inspiration" which originated from the Six Principles during the time of The Book of Songs. The opening of a discourse with comparison and inspiration can well be shown in an advertisement for Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (HQRB. 12/1/1986. p. 1. Fig. 9):

万里长城是闻名世界的
county is famous world POSS

雄伟建筑是人人向往的
magnificent building BE people people think see POSS

古迹它在历史上曾是堡垒
historic site it at history up once BE safeguard

国家的 stronghold up to now still BE protect

与"安全"的光辉象征
"safe" POSS brilliant symbol

在 美 国 還 有 一 座 看 不 見 的
in USA also have one CLF look not see POSS

长城它就是大都会保险公司
long wall it just BE Metropolitan insurance company

然而 是 坚固 可靠 與 雄伟
but BE solid reliable and magnificent

它已有 一百 多 年 的 歷史 BE
it already have one hundred more year POSS history BE
萬里長城，是聞名世界的雄偉建築，是人人向往的古蹟，它在歷史上曾是保障國家的堡垒，至今，仍是“保障”與“安全”的光輝象徵。
在美國，還有一座看不見的長城，它就是大都會保險公司，然而它堅固、可靠與雄偉，它已有百多年的歷史，是美國保險界權威，這座無形的長城，永遠帶給您無限的安全感。

大都會保險公司

Metropolitan Life

Figure 9: An advertisement for Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (HQRB, 12/1/1986)
The Great Wall is a world-renowned magnificent architecture. It is a historic site attracting everyone. In history, it was a stronghold to protect the country. Up to now it is still a symbol of protection and safety.

"In the United States, there is an invisible Great Wall. That is Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. It is solid, reliable, and magnificent. It has already had more than one hundred years' history. It is an authority in the American insurance world. This invisible Great Wall will bring you unlimited sense of safety forever."

The advertisement under discussion uses a metaphor of 万里长城 Wànlǐ Chángchéng "10 thousand-li long city" or "The Great Wall" as a discourse opening. The advertiser tries to convince the customer that Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is solid, reliable, and magnificent just as the Great Wall. The metaphor builds on the equation: The Great Wall = solidness and reliability = Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The metaphor of "The Great Wall" used in the claim makes concrete some abstract concepts such as "solidness" and "reliability." If the advertiser tries to explicate the solid and reliable services Metropolitan Life Insurance Company can render, the advertiser might use many more words. However, the cost of the space in a newspaper for the advertisement will not allow the advertiser to do so.
The marker of a metaphor is 是 shì "to be." The pattern thus would be: "A shì B." This pattern looks like the pattern of 是字句 Shìzìjù in Chinese grammar, that is, a sentence with shì as a link word to form a compound predicate with a noun or a pronoun. However, a metaphorical statement is essentially different from Shìzìjù in that in a metaphor, A and B are not of the same semantic or lexical category, but both share the sameness in certain qualities, while in Shìzìjù, A is the equal of B. For example, in a newspaper advertisement for a kind of toilet water, the advertiser first tells a story about a famous emperor's concubine Yang in the late Tang Dynasty using a kind of precious perfume after bath. Then the signature line of that advertisement is:

這種香水就是今日之花露水
Zhèizhǒng xiāngshuǐ jiùshí jīnrìzhī huālùshuǐ. this kind perfume just BE today POSS flower dew water

"This kind of perfume is indeed today's toilet water."

The two things "perfume" and "toilet water" both belong to the same category of "scented cosmetic liquid." The claim asserted that this kind of perfume the emperor's concubine Yang used in the Tang Dynasty was nothing else but today's toilet water. The customer would not regard this claim as a metaphor, but a statement, although the truthfulness of the signature line is not proved anywhere
in the whole advertisement copy or in terms of the common knowledge shared by the customer. This claim is essentially different from the Metropolitan's claim. The two things "Metropolitan Life Insurance Company" and "The Great Wall" belong to different unrelated categories: an insurance company is an organization while the Great Wall is an architecture. The advertiser of Metropolitan advertisement just tries to use "The Great Wall" metaphorically by comparing the solidness and protectiveness of the Great Wall to the quality of Metropolitan Insurance Company. Therefore, when a customer reads such a claim in an advertisement like "A shì B," he or she would first consider A to be the possible equal of B. If it is not possible for A to be the equal of B [superficially at any rate,] the customer would automatically view this claim as a metaphor. On the other hand, if it is possible for A to be the equal of B, the customer will think that the claim, being a Shìzījù, is a statement from the advertiser. Then, if the customer fails to find any proof in the advertisement itself or in terms of his or her own knowledge, the customer would naturally doubt the credibility of the claim in the advertisement. Thus, the advertisement (such as the toilet water advertisement) can hardly work.
Then, let us observe simile.

2.4.6.2. Simile

Similes are as actively used in newspaper advertising as are metaphors, but they are more explicit than metaphors. The typical markers of a simile are 像 xiàng "to be like" and 如 rú "as." Consider the following two examples, one is a headline of an advertisement for an air-conditioner and the other is an advertisement for Nivea cream:

靜止 如 水 涼 如 泉
1) Jìngzhǐ rú shuǐ liáng rú quán
still as water cool as spring

"Stillness is like water, and coolness like a spring."

經 常 抹 用 "Nivea Cream," 你 就 會
2) Jīngcháng mǒ yòng "Nivea Cream," nǐ jiù huì
often smear use "Nivea Cream," you just can
在 鏡 子 裏 瞧 到 一 張 像 剃 光 鸚 蛋 的
zài jìngzi lǐ qiáodào yīzhāng xiàng bō quāng jīdìàndè
at mirror in see one CLF like strip egg POSS
面 龐
miàn pánɡ.
face

(WHE. 9/29/1946. p. 1)

"If you often apply Nivea Cream, you will find your face in the mirror like a boiled egg without shell."

In the first example, the properties of 水 shuǐ "water" and 泉 quán "spring" are directly compared to
stillness and coolness of the air-conditioner so that the top qualities of the air-conditioner advertised can be well portrayed.

In the second example, the advertiser does not say much about the smooth and healthy-looking face after Nivea Cream is applied. A simile, 像剝光殻蛋的 xiàng bō guāng jiǎn dàn de "like a boiled egg without shell," generalizes all the characteristics of a pretty face.

Overall, metaphors are more powerful than similes. In a metaphor something X has ALL the properties that Y to which X is being compared has. The context evokes only one referent. In a simile, X has some (most?) similarities with Y. When a simile is used, the similarities and differences are noted in two referents.

The seventh rhetorical device is repetition. Geoffrey Leech believes that "the repetition of a lexical item, or of a whole phrase, may also be considered a variety of cohesion" (Leech. 1966. p. 142). Roger Brown also says that ". . . repetition is the first law of persuasion" (Brown. 1958. p. 333). In my point of view, repetition in advertising, not only provides continuity and creates
emphasis, but also plays an important role in memorization.

2.4.7. Repetition

Roughly, there are three types of repetition in Chinese newspaper advertising. They are the repetition of lexical items, the repetition of syllable finals, which is also called rhymes, and the repetition of linguistic patterns, which is also called parallelism. We will discuss the three types of repetition below.

2.4.7.1. Repetition of Lexical Items

The lexical items repeated are the brand names of the products or services advertised. Ott Lerbinger claims that this type of repetition is a technique most closely connected with the S-R design. Lerbinger points out that the stimulus, that is, the brand name, "is presented over and over again; just as blow after blow of a hammer finally drives a nail home, so the communicator hopes that this constant hammering will get the point of a message across" (Lerbinger. 1972. p. 61). In addition to the Jinling Hotel advertisement mentioned in this chapter, in which Jinlíng fàndiàn is repeated three times, consider the advertisement for Yangtze electric fans (ZGGGB. 2/10/1987. p. 3):

揚子江畔揚子扇

Yangtze River bank Yangtze fan
"Yangtze electric fans are produced by the Yangtze River. The reputation of the Yangtze is known to all over the world."

The two lines in the above example consist of only 14 characters, but the brand name Yángzǐ is repeated three times (6 characters out of a total of 14 characters). The name of the electric fan is associated with the Yangtze River. Especially in the second line, Yángzǐ měimíng "Yangtze beautiful name" or "the beautiful reputation of the Yangtze" is quite thought-provoking. Whose good reputation is suggested to be known to the world? The Yangtze River or the Yangtze electric fan? Apparently, the advertiser suggests the latter in the former's name.

Sometimes, the lexical items repeated may not be the brand names but the key words closely related to the products advertised as in an advertisement for Ruby cosmetic series:

焕然一新的露美将使你的容貌
Huànrán yī xīn de Lùměi jiāng shǐ nǐ de róngmào
sudden one new POSS Ruby will make you POSS appearance

焕然一新
huànrán yìxīn
sudden one new
"The newly appeared Ruby will make your appearance new."

The iteration of 無然一新 huànrán yīxīn "shinning manner one new" or "take on an entirely new look" not only reflects the characteristics of the Ruby cosmetic series and its effects after use, but delivers the message that the Ruby cosmetic series is a new product and its function is to bring a new appearance to its user. As a result of repeating brand names or advertising claims as many times as the advertiser can, the advertiser attempts to make a lasting impression upon the customer.

Another technique of repetition of lexical items used in Chinese newspaper advertising is 頂真 dǐng zhēn "very serious" or "tail-head connection." In this technique the initial word in a following sentence repeats the final word in the preceding sentence. An example is a newspaper advertisement for Toyota automobiles (ZGGGB. 2/10/1987. p. 3):

車到山前必有路

Chē dào shān qián bì yǒu lù vehicle to mountain front must have road

有路必有豐田車

Yǒu lù bì yǒu fēngtián chē have road must have Toyota vehicle

"There must be a road when a car approaches the mountain; where there is a road, there must be Toyota cars."
The first sentence ends with 有路 yǒu lù "have road" or "there is a road," and the second line begins with yǒu lù. This dǐng zhēn approach reinforces the cohesion of the advertising discourse. The entire advertisement becomes an integral whole.

Now let us observe the second type of repetition, the repetition of syllable finals.

2.4.7.2. Repetition of Syllable Finals: Rhymes

Consider the following advertisement for 美佳 Měijiā "beautiful good" or "Beautiful and good" laundry detergent:

美佳 美佳
Měijiā, Měijiā,
Meijia, Meijia

進行 戶戶 家家
Jìnèr hùhù jiājiā.
enter house home

"Meijia, Meijia, it enters every household."

In the advertisement for the Yangtze electric fan and the advertisement for Meijia detergent, there is not only the type of repetition of lexical items, but also the repetition of syllable finals. In the Yangtze advertisement, 扇 shàn "fans" rhymes with 傳 chuán "to spread;" and in the Meijia advertisement, 佳 jiā "good"
does not only rhyme with 家 jiā "home," but they are homophones. To achieve the goal of repetition of finals, the advertiser of the Meijia advertisement changes the normal order of the phrase 家家戸戸 jiājiā húhù "home home door door" or "every household" into 戸戸家家 húhù jiājiā in the second line without sacrificing its meaning.

The rhyme in an advertisement for 鮮大王 Xiān dàwáng "delicious big king" or "Delicious King," a brand of soy sauce makes the advertisement sound like a jingle.

家 有 鮮 大王
Jiā yǒu Xiān dàwáng,
home have delicious king
清 水 變 鍋湯
Qīng shuǐ biàn jiātāng.
plain water turn chicken-broth

"With Delicious King at home, even plain water will turn into chicken-broth."

The rhyme is the most phenomenal rhetorical approach used in advertising jingles. It enhances customers' memory of advertisements. Rhyme is probably also the most consciously sought-after sound repetition in Chinese poetry. Rhyme gives poetry its musical effect and its structure.
The third type of repetition is the repetition of linguistic forms.

2.4.7.3. Repetition of Linguistic Forms: Parallelism

In the advertisement for the Jinling Hotel we previously discussed, there are five short lines as follows:

設計 新穎
Shèjì xīnyíng
design new

建築 華美
Jiànzhŭ huánměi
architecture grand

裝璜 典雅
Zhuānghuāng diànyà
decoration elegant

設備 先進
Shèbèi xiánjìn
equipment advanced

設施 完善
Shèshī wánshàn
facility perfect

The above five lines with four characters in each line give the customer a visual tidiness. A formal pattern "NP + AdjP" is repeated. Semantically, a relationship of similarity in new design, grand architecture, elegant decoration, advanced equipment, and perfect facility is also established through parallelism.
2.4.8. Other Rhetorical Devices

There are other rhetorical devices in Chinese newspaper advertising, such as personification, symbol, and paradox. Since they are not as prominent as the seven rhetorical devices mentioned above, they will not be dealt with in the present research.

In the section of "Stock Vocabulary" in this chapter, I mentioned that it is possible that there can be a Chinese newspaper advertisement in which there is not a single verb. Such a linguistic phenomenon, which is called "block language," is one of the prominent features of language in Chinese newspaper advertising.

2.5. Block Language:

"Block language," as defined by Leech, means the language in which messages "utilize only nominal group structure" (Leech. 1966. p. 91). In general, newspaper advertising is extremely abundant in block language. Consider the following two newspaper advertisements.

The first one is an American advertisement for Macy women's clothings (The N.Y. Times. 10/12/1986. p. 4), which says: "Coats and jackets for day, night or weekend wear/Now at special savings during our Columbus Day sale."
The second one is a Chinese newspaper advertisement for a food store (2GGGB), which says:

淮海中路上海市食品二店
Huái ihái zhōng lù Shànghǎi shì shí pǐn èr diàn
Huaihai Middle road Shanghai municipal food 2nd store

供應的 速凍 南翔 小籠 包子
gōngyǐng de sùdòng Nánxiáng xiǎolóng bāozi,
provide POSS quick frozen Nanxiang small steamer bun

每袋 四隻 售価 四角
měi dài sì zhī, shùojià sì jiǎo
each bag 4 CLF price 40 cent

"The quickly-frozen Nanxiang small-steamer buns by The Shanghai 2nd Food store on Huaihai Road (M), four pieces each bag. Forty cents."

The above two newspaper advertisements have one thing in common, that is, there is not a single verb in either advertisement. The advertiser is able to build the image of the advertised object only by grouping nominals. Grammatical description does not need further units for references. That explains why verbs do not play an important role in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse.

The extensive use of block language is prominent in Chinese newspaper advertising. Many Chinese newspaper advertisements simply list like an account book a series of advertised objects or highlight all their attractive qualities totally in nominal groups which provide enough
information and easily build images. The whole sales
message can be conveyed without a single verb.

Apposition is in the sphere of block language and also
a typical characteristic of the newspaper advertising. For
example:

染 髮 梳子 烏 黑 頭 髮的 恩 物
Rǎn fà shūzǐ.... wūhēi tóufàde ēnwù
dye hair comb dark black hair POSS favorite

(SJRB. 3/19/1986. p. 17)
"A hair-dyeing comb,...a favorite to dark black hair."

An apposition implies referential equivalence, in which
the relationship between the elements is not denoted by a
linking word. Therefore, Rǎn fà shūzǐ...., wūhēi tóufàde
ēnwù might be equal to 染 髮 梳子 是 烏 黑 頭 髮 的 恩 物
Rǎn fà shūzǐ SHì wūhēi tóufàde ēnwù "dye hair comb. . . . BE
dark black hair POSS benefit material" or "A hair-dyeing
comb IS a favorite to dark black hair." However, these two
expressions are only connotatively equal. Leech argues
that the truth or falsehood of an apposition cannot be
questioned (Leech. 1966. p. 150). Thus, a subtle
difference in the use of language means much to the
advertiser, who favors such claims with indeterminate truth
value like appositions.
In conventional Chinese syntax, NPs do not play as an important role as do VPs. Light suggests a Phrase Structure Rule in Chinese syntax as follows:

Sentence--->(NP) VP

This rule tells us that in a minimal Chinese sentence VP is obligatory, while NP is optional. In advertising Chinese, block language with VP deletion goes against convention. This unorthodoxy can also be found in classical Chinese poetry. The VP deletion demonstrates that although from a syntactic point of view they cannot compose complete sentences, the nominal groups are still capable enough to be grammatically independent in certain Chinese contexts. For example, in 李 白 Li Po's 逸 友 人 Sòng yōurén "See a Friend off," there is a couplet:

浮雲 遊子 意
Fúyún yóuzǐ yì
float cloud travel person mood

落日 故人 情
Lúbìrì gùrén qíng
set sun old friend feeling

There are at least two textual linkages between 浮雲 fúyún "the floating clouds" and 遊子意 yóuzǐ yì "travel son mood" or "the sojourner's mood" and between 落日 Lúbìrì "the setting sun" and 故人情 gùrén qíng "old person
feeling" or "the old friend's feelings." One is that "The sojourner's mood is LIKE floating clouds; the old friend's feelings are LIKE the setting sun." The other is that "The sojourner's mood IS floating clouds; the old friend's feelings ARE the setting sun." The former interpretation makes the couplet two similes, while the latter, two metaphors. There is no need to decide which interpretation is correct because the reader will hardly fail to understand the resemblance of fúyún to yóuzǐ yì and luòrì to gùrén qíng. Such a resemblance induced by a simultaneous presence of two objects can perhaps be best explained as what Yip Wai-lim once called "cinematic technique of montage" (Yip. 1969. p. 22). Kao Yu-kung and Mei Tsu-lin believe that when syntax is weak, textual relations abound (Kao & Mei. 1971. p. 43). Fúyún and yóuzǐ yì, luòrì and gùrén qíng can easily achieve independence and become the vehicle of two individual images without any need for VPs.

Since most of the four prominent features discussed in this chapter are universally valid in the newspaper advertisements in the West, especially the advertisements in English, an important issue might be brought up: what linguistic features make newspaper advertisements in Chinese different from those in English? In other words,
what is unique "Chineseness" in Chinese newspaper advertising along the linguistic line? In the next chapter some divergence on the part of Chinese newspaper advertisements will be established.
CHAPTER III
UNIQUE "CHINESENESS" IN THE LANGUAGE OF
CHINESE NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING

There are at least four special features which are
unique in CHINESE newspaper advertising.

As discussed in Chapter Two, many Chinese newspaper
advertisements are a combination of literary and vernacular
styles. One of the special features of the literary style
is the use of four-character phrases and sentences.

3.1. Four-character Phrases and Sentences

Poetry started with four-character verses early in the
years of The Book of Songs. Later on, five-character and
seven-character verses developed in the Eastern Han Dynasty
and the Three Kingdoms. The four-character verses have
gradually declined since then. In the Southern
Dynasties 四六文 sīlìùwén "four or six-character prose"
was established, and it flourished in the Tang and Song
Dynasties. As the name suggests, sīlìùwén is a kind
of 骈文 piánwén "rhythmical prose marked by parallelism and
ornateness" with a four-character verse alternating with a
six-character verse. Four-character lines have flourished in Chinese newspaper advertisements. The four-character phrases and sentences have become a specific feature of the language in Chinese newspaper advertising.

Four-character phrases and sentences in Chinese newspaper advertisements are of three types: 2 + 2, 1 + 3, and 3 + 1. Lu Shuxiang believes that "there are a great number of four-character expressions in the Chinese language. Most of them are composed of two disyllables." Lu explains that a disyllabic word needs the word which follows and matches it also to be a disyllabic word (Lu. 1984. p. 3). This present research agrees with Lu that in the language of Chinese newspaper advertising, 2 + 2 is the most predominant type of four-character phrases and sentences with a variety of internal structures.

Examples are:

1) NP-AdjP: 設計　新穎
   shèjì xīnyìng
   "design new"

2) AdjP-NP: 新鮮　蔬菜
   xīnxiān shūcài
   "fresh vegetable"

3) NP-NP: 圖書　唱　帶
   túshū　chàngdài
   "picture book sing tape"

   "books and tapes"
4) **AdjP-AdjP:** 熱心 親切
   rěxīn qīnqiè
   hot heart amiable
   "warm-hearted and amiable"

5) **VP-NP:** 保證 質量
   bǎozhèng zhìliàng
   guarantee quality
   "to guarantee the quality"

6) **NP-VP:** 酒牌 申請
   jiǔpái shěngqǐng
   wine licence apply
   "to apply the wine licence"

The above Structure 3 may be either a noun compound as in 房屋貸款 fángwū dài kuǎn "housing loan," or two separate nouns as in túshū chǎngdài. Structure 6 may be either an S-V relation as in 名廚主 理 míngchú zhǔlǐ "famous cook chief manage" or "The famous chef is in charge" or an O-V relation as in jiùpái shěngqǐng.

The type of 2 + 2 can also be further analyzed as (1 + 1) + (1 + 1) as in:

1) **VP-NP-VP-NP:** 止血縫傷
   zhǐ xuè yù shāng
   stop blood heal wound
   "to stop bleeding and heal the wound"

2) **NP-VP-NP-VP:** 自產 自銷
   zì chǎn zì xiāo
   self produce self sell
   "One sells what he produces."

3) **AdjP-NP-AdjP-NP:** 真材實料
   zhēn cái shí liào
   true material real material
   "the real materials"
4) NP-AdjP-NP-AdjP: 价廉物美
jià lián wù měi
price low product pretty
"low price and good product"

In the 1 + 3 type, there may be three structures:

1) NP-VP: 享誉全球
Yù mǎn quán qiú
fame over whole globe
"famed the world over"

2) VP-NP: 舒适您寂寞
wèi nín jǐmò
comfort you lonely
"to comfort your loneliness"

3) VP-NPV: 吃在广州
chī zài Guǎngzhōu
eat at Guangzhou
"to eat at Guangzhou"

Type 3 + 1 is rare in Chinese newspaper advertising except in brand names. The 3 is more likely to be the brand name and the 1, the product name, as in 竹叶青酒 zhúyèqīng jiǔ "bamboo-leaf-green wine" or "Zhuyeqing wine."

In Chinese newspaper advertising, the advertiser's effort in making phrases or sentences of four characters is obvious. To fit the pattern of four characters per line, the advertiser manipulates words in many ways. For example, according to convention, 服务 fúwù "to serve" is an intransitive verb as in 爲人民服务 wèi rénmín fúwù "for people serve" or "to serve the people." However, fúwù in print advertisements is frequently transitively used. For
example, 服務人羣，服務社會，服務消費，服務四化 服務
to mankind, serve society, serve consumers and serve the Four
Modernizations." Although it is rare to use 服務 服務
transitively, it is still understandable for the advertiser
do so because "to serve," the English counterpart of
服務, is a transitive verb. Light further suggests that
the internal structure of the other verb compounds with 服
as one of its component morphemes should also be taken into
consideration. Since most verb compounds with 服
as one of their components such as 說服 服 submit to"
or "to convince," 服務 服 submit to" or "to
attend to," and 服用 服 用 "take use" or "to take"
are transitive, the advertiser may be justified to use 服務
transitively by analogy in order to yield four-character
phrases (Personal communication: 9/14/1990).

Sometimes, the rigid four-character pattern gives the
advertiser fewer possibilities of choosing words to fit the
fixed number of words (as in tabulated lists or
itemization) and the parallelism required by the pattern.
Thus, a problem might be produced. Some words chosen by
the advertiser might not be the words the advertiser really
means to choose. For example, the adjective 貴 貴
can mean either "expensive" as in 昂 貴 ángguì or
"elitist" as in 高貴 gāo guì. But when guì is used predicatively, the basic meaning of guì is "expensive."

In an advertisement for a sun-tan lotion (Hanyu xuexi. V. 4. 1989. p. 41), the claim says:

防 晒 之 王
fáng shài zhī wáng
prevent sunburn POSS king

今 夏 之 最
jīn xià zhī zuì
this summer POSS most

效 果 特 佳
xiào guǒ tè jiā
result special good

國內 最 貴
guó nèi zuì guì
domestic most ???

To follow the four-character pattern in the fourth line, the advertiser cannot use a two-character adjective such as 高貴 gāo guì, 名貴 míng guì "famous and precious," 尊 貴 zūn guì "distinguished," 華貴 huá guì "luxurious" since 國內最 guó nèi zuì have already occupied three slots. The advertiser is forced to use a one-character adjective guì to fill in the remaining slot [of a predicative]. Therefore, 國內最 貴 guó nèi zuì guì becomes "It is the most expensive one at home." This hurts the sales message.

The second special feature in the language of Chinese newspaper advertising is matching couplets.
3.2. Matching Couplets

Although a matching couplet 对偶 duìshǒu and parallelism 排比 páibǐ are the same in that both are repetition of linguistic forms, still both are different in the following aspects: first, a matching couplet involves only two lines, but parallelism involves three or more; second, in a matching couplet the number of the characters in each line is the same, but it is not necessarily so in parallelism; third, in a matching couplet matching words are tried not to be identical. [The so-called 合掌 hé zhǎng "to put the palms together" is a taboo in writing a matching couplet in a poem], but parallelism often involves repetition of lexical items (especially at the initial position of each line). Besides, parallelism also exists in other languages, especially in Hebrew poetry and Anglo-Saxon poetry, whereas the matching couplet exists only in the Chinese language. Therefore, a matching couplet is a linguistic feature that newspaper advertisements in other languages do not have.

Syntactically, the two lines in a matching couplet should follow same patterns. Semantically, the two lines in a matching couplet may convey similarity or contrast. For example, in an advertisement for 凯歌牌 Kǎigē-pái "Triumphant Song Brand" TV Set, the headline is as follows:
遠在萬里外
Yuǎn zài wàn lǐ wài
far at 10 thousand out
近在咫尺間
Jìng zài zhǐ chǐ jiān
close at 8 inch foot inside

Both lines in the above couplet strictly match each other in syntax. Two lines both follow the same syntactic pattern: "Adj + zài + Length Measure + Localizer." There is a contrast between 遠 "far" and 近 "near," between 万 里 wàn lǐ "10 thousand miles" and 咫 尺 zhǐ chǐ "8 inches or one foot," and between 外 wài "outside" and 間 jiān "in the middle." The couplet under discussion shows the characteristic of a TV set: zhǐ chǐ can be the short distance between one and one's TV screen from which one can see what is going on ten thousand miles away, whereas literally, zhǐ chǐ can also be the measurement of the TV screen. What is happening outside can be seen on a small screen.

Consider the following couplet in a newspaper advertisement for a travel agency (ZGGGB. 2/10/1987. p. 3):

山川醉我心靈
Shān chuān zuǐ wǒ xīn líng
mountain river intoxicated I heart soul
湖海蕩我胸襟
Hú hài dàng wǒ xiōng jīn
lake sea wash I chest bosom
"Mountains and rivers make my heart and soul intoxicated. Lakes and seas wash my chest and bosom clean."

Both lines in the above couplet match syntactically, following the same pattern: "NP-NP-VP-PronP-NP-NP."
Semantically speaking, both lines also match well: "[+part of nature]-[+part of nature]-[+Verb Transitive]-
[+Possessive Pron]-[+part of body]-[+part of body]."

One interesting case of a matching couplet in a Chinese newspaper advertisement recorded in 中國廣告報
Zhongguo guanggaobao (ZGGGB) is one for a brandy winery. In order to promote its new brandy, the winery printed the first line of a couplet in a newspaper advertisement, and solicited from its customers the second line to match the first one. The first one was 五月黃梅天 wǔyuè huángméitiān "five month yellow plum heaven" or "the rainy season in May." The second line which was best matching the first one was sent back to the winery by one of the customers. It was 三星白蘭地 sānxīng báilándì "three star white orchid earth" or "Three-star brandy," which was exactly the name of the brandy the winery intended to promote (ZGGGB. 2/17/1987. p. 3).

In the above-mentioned examples of the matching couplets in the advertisements for the travel agency and
for Kǎigē-pái TV set, hé zhǎng is not strictly avoided, that is, the identical characters are not supposed to match each other, but they do in both examples (wǒ vs. wǒ in the advertisement for the travel agency and zài vs. zài in the advertisement for Kǎigē-pái TV set). However, in classical Chinese poetry the use of matching couplets is more rigidly stipulated. Poets try hard to avoid hé zhǎng and pay more attention to tonal patterns (a level tone vs. an oblique one). For example, the first two lines of 王之涣 Wang Zhihuan's 登鹳雀楼 Dēng Guànquèlóu "To Climb Onto Guanque" constitute a well-known matching couplet. The first line matches well the second line semantically, syntactically, and phonologically.

白日依山盡
Báirì yī shān jìn
white sun lean mountain end

黃河入海流
huáng hé rù hǎi liú
yellow river enter sea flow

1 Especially in "modern-style" poetry, referring to innovations in classical poetry in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) marked by strict tonal patterns and rhyme schemes.

2 白 bái "white" was a 入聲字 rùshēngzì "a character with an entering tone" or a 仄聲字 zhèshēngzì "a character with an oblique tone" [which is marked with a "x" in this research] in the Tang Dynasty. It was not until the period of 中原音韵 Zhōngyuán yīnyùn ("Zhongyuan Rhymes") in the Yuan Dynasty bái became a 平聲字 píngshēngzì "a character with a level tone" [which is marked with a "o" in this research].
"The white sun sets along the mountain side./ The yellow river flows into the sea."

In the above matching couplet, 白 bái "white" [+color, +Adj] matches 黃 huáng "yellow" [+color, +Adj], 日 rì "the sun" [+nature, +N] matches 河 hé "river" [+nature, +N], 依 yī "to go along" [+action, +V] matches 入 rù "to enter" [+action, +V], 山 shān "mountain" [+nature, +N] matches 海 hǎi "sea" [+nature, +N], and 盡 jìn "to end" [+action, +V.I.] matches 流 liú "to flow" [+action, +V.I.]. As to the tonal pattern, a pingshengzi "o" or a zeshengzi "x" in the first line matches a zeshengzi "x" or a pinshengzi "o" in the second line, respectively.

There is one type of matching couplets called 流水對 liúshuǐduì "flow water match" or "A couplet matching like flowing water." In a liúshuǐduì, the first sentence in the couplet partially matches the second sentence in the couplet and the meaning of the first sentence is not completed unless complemented by the meaning of the second sentence. Consider a headline of a newspaper advertisement for 佳潔牌 Jiājié-pái vacumm cleaners (XMWB. 11/3/1989. p. 2):

不怕不識貨只怕貨比

Bú pà bú shí huò, zhī pà huò bǐ
not afraid not know goods only afraid goods compare
"It does not matter whether you know the product or not. You can know the product by comparison."

Literally translated as "liquor" is also very popular in Chinese poetry. In Li Bai's *Sòng yǒurén* discussed in the section of "Block Language" in Chapter Two, the third and the fourth line are a *liúshūyīduì*:

```
cǐ dì yī wèi biē
this place one as depart
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gū péng wàn lǐ zhēng
lonely fleabane 10 thousand mile journey
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"Once we say good-bye here, / you will fly ten thousand miles away like lonely fleabane.

There are three major reasons why matching couplets are popular in Chinese newspaper advertising. First, since the number of the characters in either line of the couplet is the same, the matching couplet has a visual beauty in symmetry; second, since there is no need to use any conjunctions to connect the two lines of the couplet (parataxis), it is economical; third, Chinese people easily accept and well memorize matching couplets because the Chinese usually pay more attention to and are more interested in the form and the rhythm of matching couplets."
The third special feature in the language of Chinese newspaper advertising is the use of puns on brand names. It is an original approach the advertiser adopts skillfully.

3.3. Puns (II): Bilingual Transcription of Foreign Brand Names

Before the Communists took over China, a certain type of expensive shirt for wealthy Chinese people was fashionable in Shanghai. It had an English brand name "Smart." The manufacturer also gave the shirt a Chinese name 獅馬塔 shī mà tǎ "lion, horse, and pagoda," which in the Shanghai dialect was near-homophonic to "smart" in English. A combination of three concrete images: lion, horse, and pagoda conveyed an abstract concept of "smartness." Moreover, lion, horse, and pagoda were not three images chosen at random. On the one hand, they meet the requirement of near-homophonic function; on the other hand, they were symbols of "authority, power, and high-level," respectively.

The bilingual pun causes a foreign brand name, product name or service name to reflect the sense of a Chinese word, whether by homophonic accident, semantic contrivance or literal translation. For example, a service was named 快必達公司 kuài bì dá gōngsī "quick must reach
company" or "Computer company." Although kuài bì dá cannot be a real homophone of the English word "computer," still both words have something in common. Both kuài bì dá and "computer" have three syllables. The three initial consonants of the syllables in Kuài bì dá and the three consonants of the syllables in "computer" are all Stop Sounds. To some extent, the initial consonant of a syllable is crucial. For example, on seeing "bldg," we know that it is an abbreviation for "building." Similar examples are "ltr" for "letter" and "blvd" for "boulevard." Hence, the use of kuài bì dá as the transliteration of "computer" is justified. Besides, kuài bì dá shows well the effect of a computer: quickness is surely reached.

When Coca-Cola was first introduced in China, its name was translated into Chinese characters sounding like "Coca-Cola" but reading as "bite the wax tadpole." Therefore, to better compete with the rivals, the advertiser felt it necessary to pay attention to linguistic detail. Later, "Coca Cola" was transliterated into 可口可樂 kě kǒu kě lè. The transliteration was not only similar in sound to its foreign name (even the alliteration in "Coca Cola" remained in its Chinese transliteration), but also meaningful. Kě kǒu kě lè means "tasteful and enjoyable." There was another soft drink 黑松菸露 Hēisōng quánlù
"black pine fruit juice" or "Heisong fruit juice" produced by a soda company in Taiwan. It was reported by 新生報 Xinsheng Bao (XSB) that Hēisōng guòlù was originally named Hēisōng ké lè "black pine may happy" or "Heisong Cola."
However, the soda company was later involved in a lawsuit brought by the American Coca Cola Company. Therefore, the soda company changed 可乐 ké lè "may happy" or "Cola" into 果露 guòlù "fruit juice" (XSB. 7/25/1961. p. 1).
The name not only sounded like "Cola," but also informed the customer of the ingredients of the drink, that is, natural fruit juice. Another meaningful example was English word "mini," which was transliterated into míni "infatuate you" or "you are infatuated." The transliteration was homophonic to its foreign original and also showed how people felt about little cute objects.

Other ingenious examples of meaningful transliteration are 全錄 Quánlù "whole record" or "to record all" for Xerox, 固特異 Gùtèyì "solid special unusual" or "sturdy and extraordinarily distinguished" for Goodyear (tires), 增你智 Zēngnéizhì "increase you knowledge" or "to enrich your knowledge" for Zenith, 飞歌 Fēigē "fly song" or "flying songs" for Philco (radio), 福特 Fútè "fortune special" or "special fortune" for Ford, 奇異 Qíyì "strange unusual" or "unique" for GE, and 席夢思
xímèngsì "mat dream thought" or "to dream on the mattress" for Simmons (mattress), etc.

Some brand names sound like transliteration of foreign words, although they are not. For example: 美迪思 Měidísi, 派丽 Pàili, 達爾美 Dáěrměi, 露美 Lùměi, and 司其樂 Sīqílè. Such foreign-sounding brand names are particularly fashionable in advertisements for cosmetics. The reason is that modern cosmetics are not native to China and the Chinese usually have such an impression that cosmetics with more foreign color are preferable. In this way, the advertiser caters to the customer's taste. There are not many words used for this purpose—維 wéi, 能 néng, 思 sī, 其 qí, 美 měi, 達 dá, and 樂 lè are among the most frequently used. Lao points out that such words also have syntactic meaning especially in classical Chinese context. Therefore, Sīqílè can imply "to take care of his or her happiness" since in classical Chinese, 司 sī means "to take care of," 其 qí means "his or her," and 樂 lè means "happiness" (Personal communication: 7/11/1990).

The fourth special feature in the language of Chinese newspaper advertising is the abundance of cultural elements.
3.4. Chinese Cultural Elements

Compared to Western culture, which emphasizes the outward appearance (style and fashion) and multi-function of the advertised products, Chinese culture stresses more about durability and workmanship of the advertised products. Therefore,牢固 läogū "firm," 堅固 jiāngū "solid," 結實 jiēshí "sturdy," and 經久耐用 jīngjiǔnéiyòng "durable and long-lasting" are commonplace words in Chinese advertisements for consumer goods.

Advertisers carefully choose the words for their advertisements in order to avoid some taboo words in the dialect area at which the advertisements are aimed. For example, Měijīā detergent mentioned in Chapter Two sold well in some areas other than Hong Kong and Macao. Nevertheless, the advertiser anticipated that the advertised detergent might have problems selling in Hong Kong and Macao because the brand name Měijīā was pronounced in Hong Kong and Macao as a homophone of 霧冢 Měijīā "an unlucky family." People in Hong Kong and Macao were particularly sensitive about ill-omened sounds. Therefore, the advertiser changed the brand name into 白貓酵漿精 Báimāo jiàojiéjīng "White Cat yeast detergent," which is accompanied by a Cantonese headline, 以後唔使咁辛苦啲 yǐhòu mm sài gùm sūnfú la, meaning "Next time I will not
have to work so hard as now." A cultural taboo was thus cleverly avoided. Clearly, semantic usage can be a critical variable in effective advertising.

careful consideration of the words used in advertisements is manifested in saying the same thing with different words to appeal to different feelings of the customer. For example: there are many ways to say 死 "to die" in Chinese: 逝世 shìshì, 謝世 xìeshì, 死亡 sǐwáng, 永別 yǒngbié, 犧牲 xīshēng, 殉命 bìmìng, 嗟呼 wūhū, 長眠 chángmián, 報銷 báoxiāo, 完蛋 wánhàn, 與世長辭 yǔshì chángcí, 停止呼吸 tíngzhí hūxī, 見马克思去 jiàn Mǎkè sī qù, and 翱翔 qiāo xián, etc. Although their rational meaning is same, their emotional colors are quite different. In Chinese culture the word sǐ is a taboo word. To mention sǐ is ominous. Therefore, in the entire advertisement for 新英格蘭人壽保險公司 Xīn Yīnggélán rénshòu bǎoxiān gōngsī, "New England Mutual Life Insurance Company" (HQRB. 11/10/1986. p. 31) not a single sǐ is mentioned, but 不測 bùcè "unexpected," 痛失 tòngshī "painfully lose," 善後 shànhòu "handle the business afterwards," and 百年以後 bǎinián yīhòu "after one hundred years" are euphemistically used, instead. By the same token, not a word of 臭 chòu "stinky, bad odor" is
mentioned in an advertisement for 西施蓝夏露 XISHI lánxiànlù "Xishi lanxia lotion," a skin lotion for bromhidrosis (China Advertising, vol. 1, 1987. p. 14) in order to prevent the customer from "losing face." This is also a reflection of Chinese culture. In Chinese newspaper advertising, only complimentary words are used so as not to offend but to please the customer who lives in the Chinese culture.

A word like 低價 dījià "low price", though tempting, is highly suspected by the Chinese customer because a low-priced product is usually inferior in quality. Therefore, the advertiser uses 試銷價 shìxiāojià "a sale-trial price," 處理價 chǔlíjià "a bargain price," 內部價 nèibùjià "an inside price," or 批發價 pīfājià "a whole-sale price." The advertiser is reluctant to use 高價 gāojià "a high price" in case it would scare away the Chinese customer. Instead, the advertiser uses 議價 yìjià "a discussed price."

The advertiser's sensitivity to Chinese culture can also be clearly revealed in brandnaming. In spite of the fact that so many little animals are used to name brands in Chinese newspaper advertising, still "fox," "pig," or "wolf" will not be considered because in Chinese culture,

In the advertisement for Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the Great Wall, the pride of the Chinese culture, is metaphorically used as a symbol of stability and solidness. Metaphorical use sometimes yields different results in different cultures. An example is the famous line of Esso gasoline advertisement: "Put a tiger in your tank," where the word "tiger" is used metaphorically, meaning to give your engine power (tiger = power = Esso gasoline). However, the advertiser should be very careful about using this metaphor in a Chinese advertisement because "tiger" in Chinese is often metaphorically used for ravenous devourers. Therefore, the Chinese rendering of this line of the Esso advertisement will be a metaphor, meaning that "your engine needs to guzzle gallons of Esso to keep going." The Chinese metaphor builds upon the equation: "tiger = a hungry and big consumer = Esso gasoline." That is why Chinese people customarily call a big utility consumer 電老虎 diànlǎohǔ "electricity tiger," 水老虎 shuǐlǎohǔ "water tiger," or 煤老虎 méilǎohǔ "coal tiger." Hence, just because of the difference in the two cultures the metaphor used in Esso advertisement is not suitable for Chinese advertisements for utility.
Most advertisers have been paying attention to the Chinese style of their newspaper advertisements. However, overemphasizing the Chinese traditional style is likely to cause a tendency of restoring ancient ways. The advertisements for medicine and cosmetics made from secret recipes of imperial courts become more and more popular in Chinese newspapers. The advertisement for Youth pills and the toilet water introduced in Chapter Two are two examples. It is said in the Youth pill advertisement that the advertised pills are exclusively made from the secret recipes of imperial courts for several dynasties recorded in a notebook handwritten by an imperial doctor in the Qing Dynasty. The toilet water advertisement asserts that the advertised cosmetic is what imperial concubine Yang used to apply. Historical figures like imperial concubine Yang show that cultural allusions play an important part in Chinese newspaper advertising.

Sometimes, without adequate knowledge of Chinese culture, the customer may feel hard to understand the advertisement. For example, there is an advertisement for 黃山牌 Huangshan Brand electric rice cookers (QGXXB. V. 43. 1986. p. 4), which says:

出門前輕輕一按 回到家有
Chú mén qián qīngqīng yī àn huí dào jiā yǒu
out door before lightly ONE press return to home have
菜有饭田螺姑娘的美好传说
dish have rice snail girl POSS pretty good legend

由黄山电饭锅实现
have Yellow mountain electric rice cooker realize

请安心上班它正在家中为您
please ease heart go work it right at home in for you

准备饭菜
prepare rice dish.

"Gentle press it before you go out. You will have meal ready when you return. The beautiful legend of the Snail Girl comes true because of the Huangshan Brand electric rice cooker. Please go to work at ease. She is preparing your meals for you at your home."

The Snail Girl is a well-known figure in a Chinese legend. The legend has been a part of Chinese culture for centuries. The Snail Girl helped a young man cooking secretly at his house when he was out working. When the young man returned home, the delicious meal had already been served on his dinner table. Without knowing this legend, the customer may not be able to appreciate fully the merits the advertised rice cooker has. The director of Huangshan Electric Rice Cookers Factory said that the rice cookers his factory made should have been named 螺女牌 Luǒnǚ-pái "Snail-Girl Brand," which would have been more culture-prominent than Huangshan Brand.
To sum up, Chapters One, Two, and Three of the present research discuss in detail what Chinese newspaper advertisements look like and what characteristics the language of Chinese newspaper advertising has. The topics to be dealt with in the following chapters are whether or not the characteristics of the language really make the Chinese newspaper advertisement worx and; if so, how.
CHAPTER IV
LINGUISTIC PERSUASION OF CHINESE NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING

In this chapter we will observe from a linguistic point of view how the language in Chinese works in persuading customers. As we know, the ultimate goal of advertising is to persuade the customer into the action of purchase. Dyer believes that "anybody can be persuaded if the right techniques are used" (Dyer. 1982. p. 75). Two major persuasive techniques used in Chinese newspaper advertising are to present rational explanations why the advertised object is good and should be bought and to direct the customer's emotions towards the advertised object.

Usually an advertisement tends to be more objective when it is rational and more subjective when emotional. A rational advertisement can provide the customer with the information concerning a relatively objective description of the nature of the advertised object, testimonies of users and authorities, reasons why the advertised object is worth buying, and straight comparisons with other competing objects. On the other hand, an emotional advertisement can
arouse the customer's curiosity, pride, joy, fear, and guilt so as to persuade the customer to buy the advertised object to meet his or her emotional needs.

First, let us examine how Chinese newspaper advertisers try to persuade their customers with rational appeals:

4.1. Persuasion Through Reasoning

Because every customer considers himself or herself a rational being, he or she likes to think that he or she is reasonable in assessing an advertisement. That requires the advertiser to try all means to make the advertisement appeal to the customer's sense of reasonableness. A customer's ideal product or service should be of low price but of high quality. To persuade the customer into buying the advertised product or service through rational appeals, the advertiser should specify the information concerning these two important factors. Such a line as 質量優秀，價格公道 zhìliàng yōuxiù, jiàgé gōngdào "quality excellent price fair" or "Quality is excellent, and price is reasonable" is common in Chinese newspaper advertising. Consider the following lines in an advertisement for ABC grape bread (WHE. 11/4/1946. p. 1):

看看是 麵包 吃吃是 蛋糕
Kànkàn shì miànbāo, chīchī shì dànɡāo
look look BE bread eat eat BE egg cake
"It looks like bread, but tastes like a cake. It is of aristocratic quality but of plebeian price."

This advertisement portrays the high quality and low price of the advertised grape bread. If a cake can be bought only at a price of bread and noble's food can be bought at an ordinary price, it is a good bargain. Likewise, the headline of an advertisement for 中視攝影禮服公司 Zhōngshì shèyǐng lǐfú gōngsī "China-TV Photography and Costume Company" (JJRB. 10/31/1986. p. 8) is 高貴不貴 gāoguì bú guì "high noble not costly" or "elitist but inexpensive." A customer with the low-cost rental costume still can look like one of the upper-class members. The headline caters to the taste of some people who have a fantasy to become celebrities or at least to look like celebrities on certain occasions.

However, customers in China strongly believe that one gets what one pays for. Hence, the advertiser seldom emphasizes the low price alone. A detailed description of the good quality of the advertised object is the advertiser's first priority.

There are three methods by which the advertiser tries to persuade the customer through reasoning. First, in
order to succeed in persuading the customer into the action of purchase, the advertiser often provides the customer with the reason why the advertised object is worth buying. This method, we might as well call a "reason-why" method.

4.1.1. A Method of "Reason-Why"

Consider the following claim in a newspaper advertisement for GE Addison Old Brand light bulbs (DGB. 3/29/1951. p. 4):

節省電費的秘訣在乎買燈泡
jiēshěng diànhuìde mìjué zài hū mǎi dēngpào
save electricity fare POSS secret lie buy lamp bulb

時寧可多出一些價錢指定要買
shí nìng kě duō chū yī xiē jià qián zhǐ dìng yào mǎi
time prefer more out some price definitely want buy

Qǐyì Andíshēng lǎo pái
GE Addison old brand

"The secret to save the electricity cost lies in preferring to spend more money when you specifically want to buy GE Addison Old Brand light bulbs."

On reading this claim, the customer cannot help feeling strange because what the customer expects to hear from the advertiser is a promise to save money by buying a product. On the contrary, the advertiser suggests the customer spend more money in buying GE Addison Old Brand light bulbs. Thus, the customer is interested in knowing the reason. Naturally, the reason is provided immediately after:
Because this Old Brand light bulb can increase the brightness by 10% or 30%. In other words, it can save 10% or 30% of your electricity cost. It actually is most economical.

Here the advertiser provides the reason why even though you pay more for a GE Addison Old Brand light bulb, you still get a better deal because you may save more on your electricity bill.

This kind of "reason-why" method is a prevailing one in Chinese newspaper advertising. Consider:

1) shìjièshàng yǒu shù bǎiwàn zhī
world upon have several million

小兒用貴格麥片為早餐
little child use Quaker oat piece as breakfast

者皆因貴格麥片能壯肌肉
person all because Quaker oat piece can strong muscle
"There are millions of little children in the world who have Quaker Oats as their breakfast BECAUSE Quaker Oats can strengthen their muscles."

2) Yīnhái mǔyù yī yōng shàngdēng xiāngzào, baby bath suitable use first class scent soap 因 能 除垢 而 不 傷 嫩膚 yīn néng chúgòu ér bù shāng nèn fū, because can rid dirt and not hurt delicate skin.

"It is preferable for babies to take bath with a piece of top-class scented soap BECAUSE it will not hurt babies' delicate skin."

In most Chinese complex sentences, the subordinate clauses are located before the main clauses. Liu Yuehua and others consider that a 因(為) yīn(wei) "because"-clause cannot be used independently, that is, it should be followed by a so yǐ "therefore"-clause (Liu et al. 1983. pp. 566-567). For example:

因 爲 我 沒 錢 所 以 我 沒 去 看 電 影 yīnwei wǒ méi qián, suǒyǐ wǒ méi qù kàn diànyīng
because I no money so I no go see movie

"Because I did not have money, I did not go to see the movie."

However, in advertising, especially in most "reason-why" advertising copy, not only is yīn(wei) used alone but also the yīn(wei) clause (the clause of reason/cause) is often
after the suǒyì clause (the clause of result/effect) as in the above advertisements for Quaker oats and baby soap. In terms of the information processing, the beginning part of a sentence is usually old information, while the end part, new information. By putting the result or effect of the advertised object at the beginning of the sentence, the advertiser intentionally assumes that the result or effect of the advertised object has been known to the customer.

The second persuasive method through rational appeals is straight comparison. By straight comparison, I mean to make comparison between the advertised object and other objects of the same kind.

4.1.2. A Method of Straight Comparison

We have discussed figurative comparisons in Chapter Two such as metaphors and similes, which can suggest emotive associations between the advertised product or service and any other items (not the same kind of the products or services as the advertised one). Figurative comparisons are valuable in persuasion through emotive language, while straight comparisons are equally valuable in persuasion through presenting facts about the advertised object and other competitors’ objects. An advertisement for 龍城電扇 Lóngchéng diànshàn “Longcheng electric
fans" (RMRB [H]. 9/30/1986. p. 8) displays a deep-rooted Chinese belief in straight comparisons:

不 怕 不 識 貨 歡 迎 貨 比 貨
Bú pà bú shí huò, huānyíng huò bǐ huò.
not afraid not know goods welcome goods compare goods.

"It does not matter whether or not you know the product. Welcome to compare our products with others."

Also, in an advertisement for a kind of matches (SB. 12/26/1883) is the straight comparison used:

望 買 客 將 本 廠 所 出 之 自 城 火 炮
Wàng mǎikè jiāng běn chǎng suǒ chū zhī zì láihuò yǔ hope customer take our factory producePOSS match and
外 洋 來 者 比 較 即 可 知 其 妙 也
wài yáng lái zhě bǐ jiào jí kě zhī qǐ miào yě. out ocean come compare soon can know its wonder PAR

"(We) hope our customer to compare our matches with the matches from abroad, and the wonder of our matches will be immediately known."

Straight comparisons sometimes can be implicit, which is achieved through the use of adjectives. Light explains that Chinese adjectives may be comparative in two different ways: "First, adjectives may compare two objects belonging to the same class in terms of a quality that one object has and the other object does not have,... the second way in which adjectivals may be comparative is in terms of degree of the indicated quality" (Light. 1980. pp. 51-52). Hence, if an advertiser indicates that the advertised product
is 質量 好 zhìliàng hǎo "The quality is good," the advertiser most likely means that "the quality is better," or "the quality is the best."

Elliptical or open comparisons as defined by Geis are comparisons in which the object terms of comparatives are not identified (Geis. 1982. p. 86). In the case of the elliptical comparison in Chinese newspaper advertising, the unidentified object becomes a problem. It causes the advertisement to be misleading. This will be further discussed in the section of "Pragmatic Implication" in Chapter Five.

The third method of persuasion through reasoning is helping the customer to reduce or to solve particular problems.

4.1.3. A Method of Problem-Reducing or Problem-Solving

A problem-reducing or problem-solving advertisement often follows the following pattern:

---You (the customer) have Problem P;

---Way W can reduce or solve P;

---Advertised product or service A can do the same thing as W;
---Thus, A can reduce or solve P; and
---Please get (buy) A, and you will have less or no P.

Here is an example. In an advertisement for 百樂冰淇淋
淋漢堡 Báilè bǐngqílín hànábào "Bresler's ice cream
hamburgers" (JJRB. 8/9/1986. p. 9. Fig. 10), the advertiser
raises three problems P, P, and P:

---P: The beautiful sun is shining high in summer.
1
Are you worried about where to choose to have your meals?

---P: After finishing cooking do you feel annoyed
2
at losing your appetite by oil and smoke?

---P: Facing the hot meal (in summer), are your
3
children tossing their heads with deep sighs?

Then you have three ways W, W, and W to solve
1 2 3
P, P, and P, respectively:
1 2 3

---W: Do not dine out. Stay at home and enjoy the
1
indoor coolness.

---W: Do not cook. Eat some ready-made foods.
2

---W: Let your children eat cold foods in summer.
3
今夏的特別餐
冰淇淋漢堡
新上市

今夏的新口味，請您來嚐一嚐！

夏日的暑熱高照，您常為選擇到
那兒吃飯而煩惱嗎？

烹飪豐盛的一餐，您常被油煙燒
得吃不下而傷腦筋嗎？

面對熱騰騰的飯菜，您的孩子常
會望菜興嘆而搖頭吧！

百樂冰淇淋漢堡讓您來享受一個
冰涼簡便的餐點餐餐、爽口，漢
堡夾冰淇淋，吃得您透心涼，小
孩愉快，大人開心。

百樂冰淇淋漢堡

Figure 10: An advertisement for Bresler's Ice Cream Hambergers (JJRB. 8/9/1986)
During this stage the advertised product A is introduced: **Bǎilè bǐngqílín hànbaò**, which can do exactly the same as W₁, W₂, and W₃:

1 2 3

百樂 冰淇淋 漢堡 請您來享受
Bǎilè bǐngqílín hànbaò qǐng nín lái xiǎngshòu
Bresler's ice cream hamburger invite you come enjoy

一個冰涼簡便的餐點營養爽口
yīge bīngliáng jiǎnbìándé cāndiàn, yǐngyǎng, shuāngkǒu
one CLF ice cold easy POSS meal nutritious, smooth

漢堡 夾冰淇 淋
hànbaò jiā bǐngqílín.
hamburger with ice cream

"Bresler's ice cream hamburger invites you to come to enjoy an ice-cold, simple meal, which is a nutritious and tasty hamburger with ice cream."

The **Bǎilè** advertisement helps the customer solve the problem of cooking and dining in a hot summer. Usually ice cream cannot be regarded as a meal, but a dessert after the meal. However, since **Bǎilè** is both ice cream and a hamburger, **Bǎilè** is a good combination of a meal and a dessert. Therefore, the advertiser urges the customer to come and enjoy the Bresler's ice cream hamburgers. Moreover, in the **Bǎilè** advertisement, the housewife's cooking technique is by no means downgraded, but a more convenient and comfortable way for dining in summer is offered.
However, persuasion through reasoning is far from being the prevalent feature in the advertising persuasion process. Holtz points out that "persuasion campaigns based on pure reason inevitably must fail" because "...reasonable arguments [must] be presented to your reader after the emotional appeal is firmly established and the customer is now looking for the rationalization of the rightness of the emotionally based decision already made" (Holtz. 1983. pp. 63-64). In other words, it is not until customers are emotionally touched by the advertiser that it will become easier for them to accept the facts and reasons the advertiser presents to them in the advertisement.

Now, let us examine how Chinese newspaper advertisers try to persuade customers mainly through emotional appeals:

4.2. Persuasion Through Emotion

At a time when most top products perform pretty much at the same level, the product or service that sells best is frequently the one that makes the right emotional contact with the customers. It is reported by Kuang and Cheng that Qidi Pan, CEO of Shengshi Advertising company in Hong Kong, even suggests that when the advertised object is not as good as its competitors, an emotional appeal be directed to the customer because the advertiser cannot present factual
information about the advertised object to rationally persuade the customer (Xuang and Cheng. HQRB. 11/25/1988. p. 28). Generally speaking, there are several ways to move the customer by emotive language. The following are six common ways that the advertiser uses with facility:

4.2.1. Personal References

As discussed earlier in Chapter Two of the present research, personal references in Chinese newspaper advertising, such as nǐn and nǐ (both nǐ and nǐn are often collocated with the Chinese AUX 能 néng "can" and 会 huì "can;" hence, starting a promise) and 我们 wǒmen, have emotive force. The use of personal references enables the advertiser to build a new relationship, a more personal relationship between friends instead of a business relationship between the seller and the buyer. Once the new relationship is built, the customer will feel good about the advertisement and will more easily accept the claims made in the advertisement. Hence, the customer will be more easily persuaded into the action of purchase.

4.2.2. Claims of Urgency

The advertiser tries to push the customer into a buying decision by using a claim of urgency like 数量有限，欲购从速 shùliàng yǒu xiàn, yù
gòu cōng sù "quantity have limit, want buy in a manner fast" or "Limited quantity, and quick purchase is needed." This kind of claim burrows its way into the customer's consciousness while the customer is not aware of the influences. The customer does not bother to consider a purchase but grabs the advertised object without conscious volition, instead.

4.2.3. Conveyance of Customers' Innermost Feelings

The advertiser makes the advertisement more emotional by tactfully speaking out the customer's innermost feelings about the advertised object, which the customer feels awkward to speak about. It is reported by Tang Rencheng and Shao Longtu that in a survey most women said that they wanted to buy the lingerie that wear conveniently and feel comfortable. However, the market motivational researchers later found that the women also wanted their beauty to be appreciated by their husbands (Tang and Shao. 1987. p. 14). Therefore, a headline of the advertisement for lingeries was carefully crafted in a Chinese newspaper:

使用 X 内衣 不會 孤芳自賞
Shìyòng X nèiyī, bù huì gū fāng zì shǎng
use X lingerie not will alone beauty self appreciate

"Your beauty will not be appreciated by yourself alone when you wear X lingerie."
The language with a strong element of human interest, satisfaction and personal fulfillment in the above headline is effective in arousing support of the customer.

4.2.4. Flattery

Flattery in advertising language makes the customer well disposed to the advertiser and the sales message. For example, in a newspaper advertisement for 高登洋服 Gāodēng yánghú "Gaocheng foreign clothes" or "Gordon men's suits" (HQRB. 11/8/1986. p. 8), the headline is:

高登洋服展示您的个性
Gāodēng yánghú zhǎnshì nín de gèxìng,
Gordon foreign clothes display your character
穿出您的帅劲
chuānchū nín de shuài jìn
wear out your dapper manner

"Gordon men's suits display your character and reflect your dapper manner."

The above headline does not assert any physical features of Gordon men's suits, the advertised product. It is the customer's character and manner that are flattered. The advertiser tactfully combines the customer's character and manner with the advertised product. No man admits that he is of bad character or of bad manner. If he thinks highly of himself, he should also think highly of Gordon men's suits because the advertisement promises that Gordon
men's suits display men's good character and dapper manner. When the customer becomes positively disposed towards the advertiser who flatters him, he will also become positively disposed towards the advertised product. Thus the demands for evidence to show objective facts about the advertised product are set at a lower level.

The customer's emotion can sometimes be positive when she or he is reading the above advertisements for lingerie or for Gordon suits. However, other advertisements can take advantage of feelings of guilt and fear they evoke.

4.2.5. Negative Imperatives

Many people think that unpleasantness in advertising should be avoided, but at certain times negative appeals to customer's emotion are highly useful. The negative appeals are manifested in the form of imperative sentences in Chinese newspaper advertisements. Some negative imperatives sound "poignant." For example, an advertisement for MixMe powdered milk (ZHRB. 8/4/1986. p. 1) says:

對 自己 和 孩子 仁慈 點 不要 光 爲了 討好
Dùì zìjǐ hé háizi réncí diǎn, bùyào guāng wèile tǎohào
to self and child kind a little do not only for favor

嘴辮 將 五顔六色的人工 加味
zuǐbā, jiāng wǔyánliùsè de réngōng jiāwèi
mouth take five color six color POSS manual add taste
奶粉 照单全收
nǎifǎn zhào dān quán shōu
milk powder totally whole receive

"To be a little bit kinder to yourself and your children! Don't take in all kinds of artificially favored powdered milk just for the sake of your palate."

On the surface, the negative imperative is harsh, but behind it the customer knows that the advertiser tries to show his or her good intention. Besides, the result of a research conducted by psychologists Thorson and Friestad and recorded by Jeff Meer proves that the poignant and the negative commercials are recalled more frequently overall (Meer. 1985. p. 9). Therefore, the customer can remember well the advertisements with negative claims. Furthermore, the negative impact of a poignant imperative is always immediately cancelled out by another negative as in 不可不食以贵格麦片  bù-kě-bù shíyī Guīgé màipiàn
"not-may-not eat with Quaker oats" or "Do have to eat Quaker oats" (BJCB. 1/6/1913. p. 1) and 這些書不能不看 zhèxìe shū bù-néng-bù kàn "these book not-can-not see" or "As to these books, you must read them" (JJRB. 10/30/1986. p. 1). The negative impact can also be offset by a contrasting positive assertion. In the above advertisement for MixMe powdered milk, there is a poignant imperative. Right after that there is a positive suggestion: 請選用 Mix Me 奶粉  Qǐng xuǎnyòng MixMe nǎifǎn "Please select and use MixMe powdered milk." The negative imperative
induces customers' sense of guilt so that they will act on impulse to buy the advertised product or service in order to have a quick relief from their self-guilt.

4.2.6. Fear

The advertiser also tries to create a desire for a certain advertised product or service through the application of fear. Typical are the advertisements for life insurance.

At the beginning of the advertisement for New England Mutual Life Insurance Company mentioned in Chapter Three, the advertiser tries to persuade the customer to cast away superstition so as to face the reality. Then, a series of fanwenju is raised such as:

---Once there is something unexpected happening to you, . . . what can your family do?


At the time customers are motivated by fear, they may also be motivated by guilt because the customers think that they owe the advertised service (in this case, the life insurance) to their dear ones.
The advertisement under discussion reveals that these emotional questions will get solved ONLY by buying life insurance. It is always the case that fear appeals must be followed by appropriate reassurances, that is, to get (buy) the advertised product or service.

When advertisers try to persuade their customers through emotion, they should direct the effect they want their claims to have on their customers. The advertisers do not SAY how their advertised product or service is wonderful, but SHOW how it is so wonderful and strategically let the customers provide the best adjectives to modify the advertised product or service.

4.3. General Remarks on Persuasion

In the previous sections of this chapter, persuasion through reasoning and persuasion through emotion are dealt with separately. As a matter of fact, persuasion in a Chinese newspaper advertisement solely through reasoning or solely through emotion is almost impossible.

Holtz believes that "...oddly enough, even that logic and reason so essential to accomplishing persuasion is designed to satisfy an emotional need" (Holtz. 1983. Preface xii). Every advertisement, no matter how rational,
has more or less emotional impact on its customer. Beardsley asserts that "... technical terms... are never used in emotional contexts" (Beardsley. 1966. p. 208). I will argue that Beardsley's assertion is too strong. In my opinion, although they present scientific "facts," which seem to appeal to customers' rationality only, the technical terms, being unintelligible to most customers, make the advertisement appear authoritative. For example, in an advertisement for Mitsubishi Twin Digital VCR (XMWB. 1/21/1989. p. 8. Fig. 11), a scientific explanation of merits of the advertised VCR is not quite understandable to the customers without any background in electronics. The only conclusion the customers can make is that the advertised VCR is supposed to be good. The customers look with awe at the professional jargon and terms in the advertisement. Many times the customers will not take long before the immediate action of purchasing for fear that they might be looked down upon as laymen, unintelligent and without scientific knowledge. People try to avoid being humiliated or made to be inept or impotent. Therefore, the use of technical terms persuades customers into purchasing not only through reasoning but also through emotion.

To carry advertisements in the form of other Chinese written contexts is another example of persuasion through a
Figure 11: An advertisement for Mitzubishi Twin Digital VCR (XMWB, 1/21/1989)
combination of both reasoning and emotion. When a customer reads something which can be recognized as an advertisement, he or she might be on his or her guard against the advertising claims due to the distrust of advertising. A sales message hidden in other written contexts may be easier for the customer to accept. For example, newspaper advertisers sometimes make the advertisements look like news reports. It is indeed hard to tell a news report from an advertisement like the one for a food store introduced in the section of "Block Language" in Chapter Two. Such kinds of "news" advertisements usually begin with 本報訊 Běn bào xùn "this newspaper report" or "It is reported by this news agency that. . . ." Since news is supposed to be more or less accurate (rational), the customers may have belief in the advertisement which looks like a news report (emotional). The combined rational and emotional appeals make the advertisements effective.

However, a combination of rational and emotional appeals should by no means be a half-rational-half-emotional combination. Some advertisements may have more emotional appeals than rational ones, while others may have more rational appeals than emotional ones. In general, in Chinese newspaper
advertising, raw materials, technical products, services and home appliances are advertised chiefly through appeals to reason, while high-grade consumer goods, cosmetics and insurance are advertised mainly through appeals to emotion.

In this chapter we have observed how the language in Chinese newspaper advertising works in persuading customers into the action of purchase through reasoning and emotion. In the next chapter we will further observe how it works in misleading customers and how customers are expected to interpret the language in Chinese newspaper advertising.
CHAPTER V

MISLEADINGNESS IN THE LANGUAGE OF CHINESE NEWSPAPER
ADVERTISING

Before the start of the discussion on misleadingness, it is necessary to explain what "misleadingness" is. According to OED, "misleadingness" is the action "to lead astray in action or conduct; to lead into error; to cause to err; to lead or guide in the wrong direction" (OED. V. 9, 1989. p. 873). Misleadingness in advertising language leads the customer into a wrong belief about expected product performance. Misleadingness is an important issue in the study of Chinese newspaper advertising. "A Wei" records that in a survey of 6,090 advertisements in the Chinese newspapers published in Hong Kong in 1983, 1,532 advertisements are misleading ("A Wei." 1986b. p. 15).

In Chinese newspaper advertising, advertisers usually use two major methods to get their sales messages across. One is assertions and the other, implications. Assertions are explicitly stated claims and implications are logically or pragmatically implied claims. Both methods can be misleading: when an advertising message asserts something
that can hardly be verified objectively, and when an advertising message implies something that can be mistaken as something asserted. In my opinion, whether an advertising message is misleading or not is subjective and relative, which is partly determined by a customer's own interpretation and inference. An advertising message may be misleading to some customers but may not be misleading to others. Richard Jackson Harris and others think that "people do not literally store and retrieve information they read or hear but rather modify it in accordance with their beliefs and the environment in which it is received" (Harris et al. 1986. p. 6). In this chapter are examined not only how Chinese newspaper advertisements assert or imply but also how the customer interprets or infers.

5.1. Assertions

Charles Osgood defines an assertion as "a linguistic construction in which a referent is associated with or dissociated from a complement via a verbal connector" (Osgood. 1959. p. 45). Assertions in Chinese newspaper advertising can be categorized into a factual assertion (or data assertion) that provides the physical reality of the advertised object and an evaluative assertion (or puffed assertion) that characterizes the advertised object by using vague and exaggerated language. In some sense, data
assertions are objectively-stated facts while puffed assertions (or puffy) are subjectively-stated opinions.

5.1.1. Puffed Assertion

Puffed assertion may convey feelings and emotions but definitely not facts. Puffed assertion, often in the form of superlatives, is most likely to mislead customers since most of puffed assertions are not objectively verifiable. For example, in an advertisement for a Chinese department store in the U.S. (HORB. 12/27/1988. p. 32), there is such an assertion that the advertised store is 全美最大的 中國百貨店 QuánMěi zuì dàde Zhōngguó bǎihuòdiàn "whole U.S. most big POSS China department store" or "the biggest Chinese department store in the U.S." There are so many Chinese department stores in the U.S. that it is almost impossible for a customer to verify objectively the assertion under discussion. The customer cannot but be led to a belief that the advertiser must have had sufficient evidence (eg. a thorough investigation of all the Chinese department stores in the U.S.) to make the assertion.

Sometimes, a puffed assertion takes a form of hyperbole. In this case the advertiser is understood as merely making a transparent exaggeration. The customer has no difficulty at all in seeing it through and places no
credence in it. For example, in an advertisement for Fish Brand hanging locks, there is an asserted claim as follows:

Cǐsuǒ zhèbān jiāngǎ, ěn Lǎo Sūn yě nán duìfù. this lock this solid I Old Sun even hard deal with

"This lock is so solid that even I, Old Sun, can hardly deal with it."

The advertisement is accompanied by an illustration of Old Sun (the Monkey King) who hit the Fish Brand hanging lock hard with his Gold-band Rod. Old Sun is a well-known figure in the novel 西遊記 Xīyóujì ("Pilgrimage to the West"), and he is an incarnation of wisdom and physical strength. Even Old Sun cannot break the Fish Brand hanging lock; there is no need to state anything further. The solidness of the lock is beyond one's imagination. But Old Sun is after all a fabricated figure. The ancient Monkey King cannot be a contemporary of the modern Fish Brand hanging lock. Therefore, the customer sees the falsity in the claim in the Fish Brand hanging lock advertisement and consciously rejects it; however, the customer sees that the hyperbole is only intended to entertain. Hence, the customer will not be misled. Likewise, an overly puffed claim as 各種病痛一次見效 Cèzhǒng bìnghuò yìcì jiànxiǎo "every kind sick ache one time see effect" or "Effective [after] one treatment for all diseases" in an
advertisement for Dr. Zhou Zhiyou, a traditional Chinese
doctor (STRB. 7/28/1986. p. 4), is too transparent to be
misleading because common sense tells everyone that it is
impossible for any doctor to be able to cure all diseases
by only one treatment.

5.1.2. Data Assertion

Generally speaking, data assertion seldom misleads
customers since objectively-verified information is
asserted. However, sometimes data assertion does mislead
customers; especially, pseudo scientific assertion. For
example, in an advertisement for 魚油王 Yúyóu Wáng "Yu
Yu King fish oil" (HQRB. 8/15/1987. p. 17), there is an
asserted claim:

醫學 權威 報告 服用 魚油 精 升 天
Yíxué quánwèi bàoɡào: fúyōu yúyóujīnɡ sà tiān
medicine authority report take Yu Yu King 30 day
降低 膽固醇 百分十二
jiǎngdī dānɡùchén bǎi fēn shíèr
reduce cholesterol hundred per 12

"It is reported by medical authorities that after one
takes Yu Yu King thirty days, one's cholesterol will be
reduced by 12%.

J.A.C. Brown believes that when "...advertising seeks
to give specific information about factual matters, it is
very often misleading or lying" (Brown. 1964. p. 172).
Although the assertion in the above advertisement provides
statistics and seems to be specific and factual, yet, it does not tell customers what the sample size is so as to prove the significance of the experiment or how much Yu Yu King one has to take for thirty days. Customers are most likely to be misled if they believe their cholesterol level will be reduced by 12% as long as they take Yu Yu King for thirty days.

5.1.3. "Countermisleadingness"

There is one more assertion which would psychologically cause an advertisement to be misleading. We might as well call this an instance of "countermisleadingness."

R.M. Chisholm and T.D. Feehan tell us that St. Augustine once proposed that a speaker who, knowing or thinking the hearer will not believe what he says, deliberately says X is true [but the speaker intends to say that \(-X\) (the opposite of X) is true]. Therefore, the mistrustful hearer will believe that \(-X\) is true (Chisholm. 1977. p. 154). Some Chinese advertisers are applying to their practice of newspaper advertising the theory which is similar to St. Augustine's proposal, as in an advertisement for 長命牌牙刷 Chángmíng-pái yáshuā "Longevity Brand tooth-brushes": 
"You should have the courage not to be afraid of being ripped off when you buy your first Longevity Brand tooth brush."

The above claim makes an assertion A that the customers may find themselves ripped off after they buy Longevity Brand tooth-brushes. It may be quite true. However, because of customers' distrust of advertising, the customers may consider that -A may be true. In addition, the customers believe that the advertiser will NEVER say anything unfavorable to hurt the image of the advertised object at their own expenses. Hence, the customers do not believe that they will be taken in if they buy the advertised tooth-brushes. The advertiser's brilliant idea behind the assertion is that if the customers find themselves ripped off after they buy the Longevity Brand tooth-brushes, the advertiser might not be held responsible for the consequence. The advertiser has every reason to defend himself or herself because he or she tells the truth at the very beginning in the advertisement.

An assertion can also be misleading when, in a special situation, it implies something that the customer mistakes
as something asserted. Therefore, implications are brought to our attention.

5.2. Implications

The most meaningful and interesting phenomena in advertising language are implications, which are used as a powerful tool in the advertiser's hand. Geis suggests that the customer might even find implications to be more persuasive than assertions (Geis. 1982. p. 50). For example, in the advertisement for Xishi lanxia lotion mentioned in Chapter Three, there are two claims:

1) Shìyòng běn chǎnpǐn hòu, nǐndé mǐn jiàng
   use this product after you POSS secret will
   只有 西施 蘭夏 露 和 您 本人
   zhī yǒu Xīshī lánxià lù hé nín běnrén
   only have Xishi lanxia lotion and you this person
   知道
   zhīdào.
   know

   "After you use Xishi lanxia lotion, your secret is known only to the lotion and to yourself."

2) Shìyòng běn chǎnpǐn hòu, jiāng shī nǐn huīfù
   use this product after will make you restore
   尊嚴
   zūnyán
   dignity

   "After you use Xishi lanxia lotion, your dignity will be restored."
Claim One implies that "you have a secret--you have bromhidrosis," "you are not willing to let others know your secret--people will be disgusted with your secret," "but you cannot do anything to prevent people from knowing your secret--your body odor will betray your secret," and "Xishi lanxia lotion can help you to keep your secret--the lotion can cure your bromhidrosis."

Claim Two implies that "you had your dignity before, but you do not have it now--you feel ashamed of your body odor," and "Xishi lanxia lotion makes your dignity back again--the lotion cures bromhidrosis, and there will be no body odor that makes you feel ashamed of."

The above is an example to demonstrate how implications work. There are two kinds of implications: one is logical, and the other, pragmatic. The above implications are all logical ones, made through a customer's logical deduction. The difference between logical implications and pragmatic implications lies in the outcome of pairing sentences with the denial of its implication, that is, the negation of a logical implication of a claim contradicts the claim while the negation of a pragmatic implication of a claim does not necessarily. In an advertisement for Shanghai Lao T. Kee hair lotion, a claim asserts that the
advertised hair lotion does not have the shortcomings that other hair waxes have, such as making the hair sticky and dirty. Let us examine what kinds of logical implication and pragmatic implication might be inferred from the above assertion and what is the difference between a logical implication and a pragmatic implication:

Assertion (A): The advertised hair lotion does not have the shortcoming that other hair waxes have, such as making the hair sticky and dirty.

Logical Implication (LI): The other hair waxes do have the shortcoming that they make the hair sticky and dirty.

Negated Logical Implication (-LI): The other hair waxes do not have the shortcoming that they make the hair sticky and dirty.

Apparently, -LI contradicts A.

On the other hand, pragmatic implication works differently:

Pragmatic Implication (PI): The advertised hair lotion is better than other hair waxes.

Negated Pragmatic Implication (-PI): The advertised hair lotion is not better than other hair waxes.

Apparently, -PI does not necessarily contradict A. It is perfectly all right to say that although A, still -PI, because the other hair waxes may have more merits than the advertised hair lotion in many other aspects. Therefore,
if a negated implication of an assertion contradicts the assertion, the implication is logical, and if a negated implication does not necessarily contradict the assertion, the implication is pragmatic.

5.2.1. Logical Implication

When reading a newspaper advertisement, the customer is usually governed by logic. For example, an advertisement for a drink called 維大力 Wéidàlì (ZHRB. 7/8/1986. p. 1. Fig. 12) claims:

"Vitamin B has wonderful effect. Weidali drink contains rich Vitamin B2."

I did an informal investigation by showing the advertisement for Weidali drink to 22 native Chinese speakers and then asking them individually whether or not they believe that Weidali would have wonderful effect. Eighteen (82%) people gave the negative response, while four (18%) gave the positive response. I asked some who gave me the negative response why they responded that way. Their answer was frank and open: they did not believe
Figure 12: An Advertisement for Weidali drinks
(ZHRB. 7/8/1986)
advertisements. It seemed impossible for a drink to have wonderful effect (a deep-seated distrust of advertising). I asked two people who gave me the positive response. They told me that they read the advertising claim in a logical point of view. They admitted that although this advertisement did not speak explicitly (or assert) that Weidali drink had a wonderful effect, it logically meant (or implied) that the drink did. They interpreted the implication through a syllogism in logic as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ingredient } X & \quad \text{has Effect } Y \\
\text{Product } Z & \quad \text{contains } X \\
\text{Therefore, } Z & \quad \text{has } Y
\end{align*}
\]

However, they might be misled by the above logic, because they might neglect two important factors, that is, \textit{HOW MUCH X could have Y}, and \textit{HOW MUCH X Z has}. If a large amount of X can have Y while Z only contains little X, then Z might not have much Y. The above syllogism shows how it is possible for the advertiser to start with something with which the customer can agree and then lead the customer by logical deduction to a conclusion (many times, a false belief) desired by the advertiser.

Sometimes, it is also possible for the advertiser to start with an argument that the customer has no time to
ponder over and then to lead the customer to the next proposition. For example, a claim in an advertisement for a tour book says:

美滿家庭必備
měimăn jiătîng bì bèì
perfect family must have

"A perfect family must have (this tour book)."

An implicit conditional logical argument may be drawn upon. The above claim is most likely to be interpreted with the conditional conjunction rúguǒ inserted as 如果是美滿家庭就必備（此書）
shì měimăn jiătîng, jiù bì bèì (cǐ shù) "if BE perfect family then must have this book" or "If a family is perfect, then it must have (this book)." Hence, a Contrapositive statement will be yielded by logic:

Modus Tollens:

P --> Q: If a family is perfect, it must have the book.

~Q: If the family does not have the book,

~P: then, the family must not be a perfect one.

It sounds quite logical, but the first argument itself "If a family is a perfect one, it must have the book" is hardly valid. Therefore, the truth value of the logical conclusion, "If a family does not have the book, then the
family must not be a perfect one," cannot be determined. If a customer believes that the logical conclusion is true, he or she is likely to be misled.

5.2.2. Pragmatic Implication

The most interesting implication is a pragmatic implication which leads the customer to believe something that is neither explicitly asserted nor logically implied. Frank Hsueh points out that linguistic systems have the limitations that they are unable to explain fully the use of the language. He advises that we may hope to depict the strict logic within the limits of the linguistic systems, or we may go beyond the limits by trying to depict how the systems actually function under various conditions. This will lead us to pragmatics (Hsueh. 1989. p. 96). In Chinese newspaper advertising, a pragmatically implied claim can mislead the customer in different ways.

5.2.2.1. "Hedge" Words and Expressions

The so-called "hedge" words is most likely to be misleading. The real lexical meanings of the "hedge" words are either ambiguous or vague. For example, the word 好 hào "good" is equivocal. It is at best a vague word that is not and cannot be substantiated. If an advertising claim asserts that the advertised Chinese department store
is the best in the U.S., it may pragmatically imply or may be pragmatically inferred by the customer that the quality of the items in the store is the best in the U.S. or the service of the store is the best in the U.S. There may be additional possibilities of inferences from this claim. It is unlikely that all inferences are correct. Hence, some customers may be misled if they believe that what they infer from the claim is what is asserted. In addition, 長期 chángqī "long time" is a word that the advertiser likes to use in the advertisement for medicine, such as 長期服用，一定見效 chángqī fúyòng, yídìng jiànxìào "long time take use certainly see effect" or "The effects will be seen after the medicine is taken for a long time." "How long" will be considered as being "long" enough? Besides, what might be "long time" to one person might not be long enough to another. In an attempt to get some idea how chángqī was interpreted, I undertook a casual experiment in which I asked separately 52 native Chinese speakers with at least a high school educational background: how long they would justifiably think chángqī would be. The result was interesting. Nine (17.3%) thought that chángqī would be about one month; nine (17.3%) thought that it would be about two months; nine (17.3%) thought that it would be from three months to six months; ten (19.2%) thought that it would be from six months to one
year: 11 (21.2%) thought that it would be more than one year. There were four people (7.7%), who thought that chángqí was "an unclear term." The experiment proves that such a word like chángqí is unsubstantiated. It only helps produce loss of information. The other "hedge" words frequently used in Chinese newspaper advertising are 可以 kěyǐ "may," and 有助于 yǒu zhù yǔ "help." These words are used to lead the customer to a belief that the advertiser is giving a certain promise and guarantee which actually the advertiser does not.

Overly broad words in Chinese newspaper advertisements are too general to avoid misleading the customer. For example, a claim like 胃活，胃腸良藥 Wèihuò, wèicháng liányào "Weihuo stomach intestine good medicine" or "Weihuo, a good medicine for stomach and intestine ailments" (NYSB. 3/22/1952) may not make it clear that not all stomach and intestine ailments would be appropriate conditions for which to use Wèihuò, the advertised medicine.

Some product names are themselves misleading. Is 鱿油 háoyóu oil or sauce? Is it really taken from oysters or just oyster-flavored? Is 橘子水 júzīshuǐ orange juice or orange-flavored drink? It was mentioned in
Chapter Two that all brand names in Chinese newspaper advertising can be categorized into seven groups. There is a group called "Good-will" brand names, which may be misleading. 世界日报 Shijie Ribao (SJRB) reported that 长寿香烟 Changshou xiāngyǎn "Longevity cigarettes" made in Taiwan had misled some customers to a belief that to smoke the cigarette of this brand really prolonged one's life. Therefore, the Taiwan government ordered this brand name changed (SJRB. 7/22/1989).

Other examples of equivocal words or phrases used in Chinese newspaper advertising are 意想不到 yìxiǎnɡ bùdào "unimaginable," which will be true all the time even if the advertised product is unimaginably bad. Likewise, a phrase 開拓音樂新時代 kāi tōu yīnyuè xīnshídài "to open a new era for music" in an advertisement for an electric organ may be true in either its making unique music or its making weird noise. If the customer believes either one, he or she might be misled. A phrase like 暫不限額 zànbú xiànrèn "no quota temporary," is used by the advertiser to urge the customer to take an immediate action of purchase. There is no way the customer can tell whether the phrase means "there was a quota previously, but there is now no quota for the time being" or "there is no quota for the time being, but there will
be a quota in future." In an advertisement for a law firm (HQRB. 12/27/1986. p. 30), the headline says that 如得不到應有權利不收費 Rú dé bú dào yīng yǒu quánlì bù shòufèi "If you do not get the rights you deserve, we will charge you nothing." The term yīng yǒu quánlì is equivocal. If one cannot get the rights after a law suit, the lawyer still can say confidently that the rights one asks for are not what one deserves, and consequently, one still has to pay.

As stated previously about advertising discourse in Chapter Two, the deletion of NPs is under the condition of NPs' being understood or recoverable. For example, in an advertisement for 裕隆 Yùlóng automobiles, the headline is 我們選擇最好的，最好的也選擇我們 Wǒmen xuǎnzé zui hǎode yī zuì hǎode yě xuǎnzé wǒmen "We choose the best, and the best also choose us" (JJRB. 9/30/1985. p. 4). Although the deleted NP  are not recoverable, they are understood. The deleted NP  is "the materials," while the deleted NP  "the customers." However, sometimes the advertiser deliberately deletes the NPs in advertising discourse which are neither understood nor recoverable. The customer still interprets these deleted NPs as the NPs understood or recoverable. Hence, misleadingness. Consider a newspaper advertisement for
Wanbao refrigerators. The advertisement uses a big sign *買一送二* 煲 yi song er "Buy one, get two free." The customer takes it for granted that the deleted NP (together with the CLF) is the Wanbao refrigerator. Thus, the customer is misled to a false belief that if one buys a Wanbao refrigerator, he or she can get two Wanbao refrigerators free. However, in fact, one buys a Wanbao refrigerator and only gets two electric fans free.

The vagueness caused by the use of equivocal words or phrases is quite different from ambiguity. In the case of ambiguity the customer has a choice between different senses of an ambiguous word or phrase; whereas, in the case of vagueness, the customer has no way to choose.

5.2.2.2. Elliptical Comparison

An elliptical or open comparison mentioned in Chapter Four can be misleading. Since the advertiser does not indicate the object with which to be compared, he or she may lead the customer to different inferences or interpretations. For example, in an advertisement for 中報 Zhong Bao "The Central Daily" (ZB. 11/12/1986. p. 6):

中報 在 整體 利益的 爭取 上 更
Zhong Bao.....zai zhengti liyide zhengqushang....geng
Zhong Bao.....at whole interest strive on ....more
願挺身而出
yuàn tǐngshēn ér chū
willing stick body then out

"The Central Daily is more willing to stand up in the interest of the whole people."

The above claim does not tell than whom or than what Zhong Bao is more willing to stand up. However, the customer may infer from the claim that it is the other Chinese language newspapers with which Zhong Bao is making comparison. The advertiser invites the customer to infer beyond what is asserted in the advertisement and thus misleads the customer to a false belief if in fact Zhong Bao is not comparing itself to the other Chinese language newspapers.

In fact, elliptical comparatives are too vague to be meaningful. An advertising claim like 洗衣機 X 把衣服洗得更白 xǐyíjī x bā yīfú xī de gèng bái "wash clothes machine X take clothes wash PAR more white" or "Washing machine X will make your clothes cleaner" can be true when washing machine X makes your clothes much cleaner than washing machine Y, or when the present X can make your clothes much cleaner than the past X, or even when X can make your clothes much cleaner than no X.
5.2.2.3. **Unnecessarily-specified Claims**

A specific claim for which there is no need to be specific is likely to mislead the customer. The advertiser makes a special claim either that the advertised object has some strengths or that the advertised object does not have certain weaknesses. Either case intends to distinguish the advertised object from its competitors.

When a Chinese newspaper advertisement specifically claims that the advertised product does not have some undesirable characteristics, it may sound (look) strange because the customer’s stored knowledge tells the customer that the product is not supposed to have these undesirable characteristics. Why does the advertiser make a specific claim which is unnecessary? The customer would naturally infer that products other than the advertised one might have these undesirable characteristics. In an advertisement for 冠生國菓子露 Guānshēngguó zǐlù "Guansheng Garden fruit juice," is a headline written: 不摻糖精 Bù chān tángjīng "No saccharin added." The headline pragmatically implies or the customer pragmatically infers that the competing fruit juices HAVE saccharin added.
On the other hand, if the advertising claim says that the advertised product or service has some features, it would pragmatically imply or the customer would pragmatically infer that the competing products or services DO NOT HAVE them. This kind of implication would leave loopholes for the advertiser to exploit. Some advertisers introduce some general (or standard) feature of the advertised object as a special one so as to imply pragmatically that its competitors do not have this general feature. Hence, misleadingness. For example, 東亞銀行 Dong yà yín háng "East Asia Bank" in the U.S. made such a newspaper advertising claim as 時間短，利息高 shíjiān duǎn, lìxī gāo "Short term, high interest" to attract the attention of the overseas Chinese. Many customers mistook this feature as a special one of East Bank services. However, as a matter of fact, most banks offered higher interest on short-term C.D.s (Certificates of Deposit). The interest-rate of the short-term C.D. in most banks was even higher than that of East Asia Bank. Another example is the advertisement for 潔字牌婦女衛生巾 JIÉ-zì-pái fùnǚ wèishēngjīn "CLEAN Brand women's sanitary napkin" produced by a papermaking factory in Beijing says that the advertised sanitary napkin has a "special" feature of cleanliness and sanitation, which is supposed to be a general feature (a
requirement) of women's sanitary napkins. If a general feature is advertised as a special one, the customer will be misled to believe that the other competitors' sanitary napkins are neither clean nor sanitary. In fact, the advertising claim that a women's sanitary napkin is clean and sanitary is like a baker's advertising "I bake my cake with flour" quoted by Samm Sinclair Baker (Baker. 1968. p. 39). Although the claim sounds unnecessary, yet, it sometimes works in misleading the customer.

5.2.2.4. Part of the Truth

To tell only part of the truth is the fourth way to mislead the customer. Beardsley declares that one can convince the other "by selection of facts--choosing certain ones and omitting others that are pertinent..." (Beardsley. 1966. pp. 203-204). Therefore, to avoid misleadingness the advertiser is supposed to tell the customer the whole truth [nothing but the truth], that is, both strengths and weaknesses of the advertised objects. Lerbinger considers that "the rationale behind this technique is that the negative side...will be presented in the context of the positive conclusion. It is then assumed that this conclusion takes both sides...into account" (Lerbinger. 1972. p. 73). Since Chinese customers traditionally have a deep-seated disbelief in advertisements, it is particularly
important for the advertiser to present both strengths and weaknesses of the advertised object. However, in reality the advertiser is reluctant to do so. A claim in an advertisement for a refrigerator as follows is rare in advertising practice:

保凍能力超卓但耗電
Bǎo dòng nénglì chāozhūō......dàn hǎodiàn
keep freeze capability super but cost electricity
量較大
liàng jiào dà
amount comparatively big

"Outstanding competence for keeping foods frozen but higher cost of electricity."

In Chapter Four was quoted an advertising claim for GE Addison Old Brand light bulbs. The claim states that because the advertised light bulb can increase the brightness by 10% or 30%, it can save 10% or 30% of the customer's electricity cost. What the claim states is true, but only partly true. The whole truth is that although the characteristics of the light bulbs are such that it is possible that each bulb of said brand may burn brighter than the other brand light bulbs of the same wattage, yet the bulbs burn brighter only at the expense of a shorter life. The advertiser advertises the gain in brightness without mentioning the loss in life span. The claim in question tends to be misleading.
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

6.1. Review of Some Analyses of Language in Chinese

Newspaper Advertising

In order to undertake a relatively comprehensive research on the language of Chinese newspaper advertising, I have studied more than six hundred newspaper advertisements in Chinese published in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Chinese communities in the U.S. These newspaper advertisements are for products like clothing, shoes, fabrics, glassware, watches, pens, toys, ornaments, sports equipment, patent medicine (traditional Chinese and Western), drinks (tea or other soft drinks), wines, candies, foods, cigarettes, flowers, cosmetics, toilet articles (soaps, hair and skin lotions, tooth-paste, tooth-brushes, hair-brushes, and mouth wash), laundry articles, handicrafts, hardware, productive materials, machines and equipment (electric, electronic and mechanical), home appliances, sewing machines, furnishings, carpets, rugs, antiques, automobiles, books, magazines, tapes and discs, etc. and for services like insurance,
photography, car maintenance, employment agencies, match-making agencies, schools (tutorial courses), restaurants, grocery stores, department stores, banks, real estate, telephones (telegrams, answering machines), movies, concerts, accounting (tax, bookkeeping), funerals, travel agencies, airlines, law firms, hair and cosmetic services, etc.

As was elaborated on in Chapter One, the early Chinese newspaper advertisements were direct and informative. They were like the news briefs that told much in detail from whom one could get "what, where, and when" (sometimes, at which price for what reason and how to get what one wanted). The advertisements then were nothing more than a cataloguing of products or services, trying to exhibit the overall details of the advertised products or services. Although as mentioned in Chapter One, in its early stage Chinese newspaper advertising was like Western newspaper advertising. In the later period, owing to political, economic, and cultural reasons, Chinese newspaper advertising did not develop as rapidly as Western newspaper advertising. Especially in Mainland China, newspaper advertising developed at a snail's pace. It was not until recently that Chinese advertisers began paying more and more attention to the importance of adopting linguistic
devices to create more persuasive newspaper
advertisements. The goals of Chinese newspaper advertising
were set for attracting the customers' attention, retaining
their interest, and urging their action to purchase the
advertised objects.

As shown in previous chapters, Chinese newspaper
advertisements provide an interesting source of language
use for sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and psycholinguistic
studies.

6.1.1. A Sociolinguistic Analysis

Sociolinguistically, the language of Chinese newspaper
advertising has changed as a consequence of social
changes. The language of the newspaper advertisements in
Mainland China generally appears much prudish in choice of
words and style, reflecting a rigid image of the
advertising industry controlled by the government.
Comparatively, the newspaper advertisements in Taiwan or
Hong Kong are more liberal, but some Taiwan newspaper
advertisements for Chinese tonic medicine are usually mixed
with vulgarity. The newspaper advertisers in Taiwan use a
more classical writing style than their Mainland
counterparts. Apart from the difference in contents and
style, the lexical difference is also noticeable. For
example, product names vary in different regions. The following is a table of the product names in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Name</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
<th>H.K.</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>計算機</td>
<td>電腦</td>
<td>電腦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color TV</td>
<td>彩電</td>
<td>彩視</td>
<td>彩視</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bra</td>
<td>乳罩</td>
<td>胸圍</td>
<td>胸罩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastics</td>
<td>塑料</td>
<td>塑膠</td>
<td>塑膠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>自行車</td>
<td>單車</td>
<td>腳踏車</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laser</td>
<td>激光，死光</td>
<td>雷射</td>
<td>雷射</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbrella</td>
<td>傘</td>
<td>遮</td>
<td>傘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lysol</td>
<td>萊莎水</td>
<td>滴露</td>
<td>來沙耳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soy Sauce</td>
<td>醬油</td>
<td>攥油</td>
<td>醬油，滴露</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the different meanings of 滴露 dīlù in Hong Kong and Taiwan, 人人來飲滴露 Rénrén lái yǐn dīlù "Come to have dīlù, everyone" is a perfect headline of an advertisement for Wanjiaxiang soy sauce to a Taiwanese, but a silly nonsense to a Hong Kong customer.

The separation of Mainland China from Hong Kong and Taiwan is caused by political reasons. Sometimes, out of political needs, words used in newspaper advertisements are coated with strong political colors. In addition,
influence from dialects and foreign languages, differences in social and cultural backgrounds, and the disequilibrium between the development of 普通話 Pǔtōnghuà "common speech" and 國語 Guóyǔ "Mandarin" also have great impact upon the variation of the Chinese language.

In the 1980s because of the policies of openness, the language used in Mainland newspaper advertisements has two characteristics: one is that more and more transliteration of foreign words is used. Sometimes whole foreign words are used. For example, 色丁 sèdīng for "satin," 卡拉 OK Kālā OK for "Kala OK." Such transliteration does not mean anything in Chinese. Therefore, it is not as sophisticated as the bilingual pun we discussed in Chapter Three. Nevertheless, Zhou Yinong thinks that this kind of non-assimilation of the foreign words can simplify the way to convey ideas and condense information (Zhou. 1986. p. 5). Simplification and condensation are what newspaper advertisers have been pursuing. That may explain why in Chinese newspaper advertising transliteration is popular. The second characteristic is that the Cantonese dialect has gone northward, that is, some elements (mainly, vocabulary) in the Cantonese dialect have been widely spread in Beijing and the areas north of Canton. During the past ten years
many Cantonese expressions have been often used in Beijing newspaper advertisements. Shi Guangheng says that it cannot be determined whether the Cantonese words spread in Beijing are original or adapted or whether they are Cantonese or Hong Kong Cantonese (Shi. 1989. pp. 113-115). The social reason behind Cantonese going northward is that since the city of Canton is a major commercial center located in the south of China and close to Hong Kong and Macao, Canton has become, in the Mainlanders' mind, an important window or channel open to the outside world. Hence, Cantonese has been regarded as an effective communicative vehicle.

The infiltration of the Cantonese words into Pǔtōnghuà can be seen from the following examples:

"髮廊 Fàláng "hair parlor" and 髮屋 fàwū "hair house," the Cantonese terms for "the barber's" have a strong tendency to replace 理髮店 lǐfàdiàn "arrange hair store" in Mainland China. The other Cantonese words frequently appearing in Chinese newspaper advertisements are T恤 tīxù "T pity" or "T-shirt," 馬蹄 mǎtí "horse hoof" or "water chestnut," 爆滿 bào mǎn "explode full" or "full house," 看好 kànghào "look good" or "to develop in a good direction," 掃手 qiāngshǒu "rob
hand" or "popular," 饰售 yǒushòu "have sell" or "to have something on sale", 酬賓 chóubīn "reward guest" or "to entertain the guests," and 雪櫃 xuēguì "snow cabinet" or "refrigerator," etc.

As a result of being influenced by foreign words and Cantonese words and meeting the new demands people make upon language, neologisms have been developing very fast especially in Mainland China since the 1980s and are playing an active role in Chinese newspaper advertising. The use of neologisms represents a type of linguistic creativity. Most neologisms are noun phrases which can be roughly classified into the following categories:

Food and drinks: 方便面 fāngbiànmàn "convenient noodle" or "instant noodles," 軟飲料 ruǎn yǐnliào "soft drinks," etc;

Clothing: 水洗布衫 shuǐxǐbù shān "water-wash clothes," 蠟染夾克 làrǎn jiākè "wax-dyed jacket," 比基尼泳衣 bìjīnī yǒngyī "bikini swimming suit," etc;
Home appliances and furnishings: 組合櫃 zǔhéguì
"sectional cabinet," 彩電 càidìàn "color TV," 空調 kōngtiáo "air conditioner," 壁掛 bìguà "wall hang" or "tapestry," etc;

Some morphemes are developed through neologisms. For example: a prefix 多 duō "many" or "multi-" as in 多功能 duō gōngnéng "multi-functional," 多頻道 duō pín dào "multi-channel;" a suffix 度 dù "degree" as in 透明度 tòumíng dù "degree of transparency," 能見度 néngjiàn dù "degree of visibility," 保鲜度 bǎoxiān dù "degree of keeping fresh;" and a suffix 型 xíng "type" as in 超小型 chāoxiǎo xíng "sub-miniature type" and 超薄型 chāobóu xíng "ultra-thin type;" and a suffix 系列 xíliè "series" as in 化妆系列 huàzhuāng xíliè "cosmetic series," 音響系列 yīnxiǎng xíliè "sound series," etc. Also a syntactic pattern like "V/Adj zài Place word" overflows in Chinese newspaper advertisements in the 1980's: 吃在廣州 chī zài Guǎngzhōu "eat at Guangzhou," 穿在華聯 chuān zài Huálían "buy clothing at Hualian," 美在－店 měi zài yídiàn "beautiful at No. 1 Store." The Place word (PW) in the pattern is always the advertised manufacturers or stores.
6.1.2. A Pragmatic Analysis

Pragmatically, Chinese newspaper advertisements often suggest something that is not asserted in the advertisements. In these cases, the real communication between the advertiser and the customer depends upon the underlying meaning of the language of advertisements.

Light once telephoned one of his friends. Instead of his friend picking up the phone, her child did. After answering Light's question "Is your mom home?" by saying "Yes, she is," the child hung up the phone. In the child's mind he had already answered Light's question. Apparently the child failed to infer the implication (or the intended meaning) of Light's question, that is, "Please ask your mother to come to the phone" and only responded to the surface meaning of Light's question. It is a typical case of violating the Cooperative Principle (CP) H.P. Grice once proposed (Grice. 1975. p. 45). Traugott and Pratt explain that the CP by which "indirect communication works" is an assumption "that when people speak and listen to each other, they normally do have the intention of accomplishing purposeful and effective communication in the context" (Traugott & Pratt. 1980. p. 237). In the above phone story Light took it for granted that the child was a cooperative hearer who was able to discern the purpose of his phone
call (i.e. to get the child's mother on the phone), while the child, lacking full communicative competence, was failing to cooperate. Likewise, the customers sometimes take it for granted that the advertisers do observe the CP, but in fact many times the advertisers, for certain reasons, do not fulfill the CP in their advertising claims [definitely not so linguistically incompetent as the child in Light's phone story]. This is one of the reasons why the customer is likely to be misled.

Grice in his article "Logic and Conversation" distinguishes four categories in accordance with the CP: QUANTITY, QUALITY, RELATION, and MANNER. Under the category QUANTITY fall two maxims:

1.1. Make your contribution as informative as is required;
1.2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Under the category QUALITY fall two maxims:

2.1. Do not say what you believe to be false;
2.2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
Under the category RELATION, there is a single maxim:

3.1. Be relevant.

Under the category MANNER fall various maxims such as:

4.1. Avoid obscurity of expression;
4.2. Avoid ambiguity;
4.3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity);
4.4. Be orderly

(Grice. 1975. pp. 45-46)

In terms of the examples I have used in the previous chapters, it is easy to find that Maxims 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 4.1, 4.2 may be often violated in Chinese newspaper advertising. If the advertiser withholds information and the customer still thinks that the normal communication between the advertiser and the customer observes Maxim 1.1, the customer would be misled to a belief that the information the advertiser contributes in the advertisement is sufficient. If the advertiser says that the advertised store is "the biggest" in the U.S., the customer might believe the advertiser because the customer assumes that the advertiser observes Maxims 2.1. and 2.2,
that is, the customer assumes that the advertiser does not say what the advertiser believes to be false or say something for which the advertiser lacks adequate evidence.

The advertiser, on the one hand, expects the customer to believe that the advertiser cooperates by not infringing the CP or maxims, but on the other hand, the advertiser expects the customer to cooperate. In the advertisement for Purol powder mentioned in Chapter Two, the claim is copied again below for the sake of convenience of discussion:

君曾受熱疹皮膚病痛之苦乎
Jūn céng shòu rèzhěn pífū bìngtòng zhī kǔ hu? you once suffer hot rash skin ill ache POSS bitter PAR
請使用婆爾露爽身粉
Qǐng shǐyòng Poérù shuǎngshēnfěn. please use Purol smooth body powder

"Have you suffered from rashes and other skin diseases? Please use Purol powder."

Here Jūn céng shòu rèzhěn pífū bìngtòng zhī kǔ hu "Have you ever suffered from rashes or other skin diseases?" is literally a question. It sounds like requesting the response from the customer as to whether or not the customer has suffered from skin diseases. However, actually the advertiser expects the customer to observe the CP just as Light expected the child to do. The advertiser
does not expect the customer to answer only "yes,"
"yes, then what can I do to prevent the skin diseases?" In
this way, the advertised product, Purol powder, can be
introduced. However, the whole advertisement never asserts
verbatim that Purol Powder can prevent the skin disease.

Traugott and Pratt have noticed that the CP works
differently from one situation to another (Traugott &
claim is different from cooperating with well-meant
suggestions. A majority of Chinese customers, out of their
deep-seated mistrust of advertisements, are clearly aware
that in reality the advertiser has his or her own financial
interests behind the claims. Therefore, the customers
often "cooperate" with the advertiser in a watchful way
lest they "cooperate" too well to be able to see through
the advertiser's gimmick.

Although the importance of the facts or information in
a newspaper advertisement cannot be neglected, Ivan Preston
still believes that "the ad with the most factual
information is the most vulnerable, and the ad with the
least factual information is least vulnerable" (Preston.
1975. p. 279). Advertisers try to use vague language as
much as they can in their advertisements. The use of the
vague language is a representation of indefinite semantic content. Metaphor, simile, and hyperbole blur the borderline between the advertised objects and those with which they are compared. Especially, hyperbole is an expression of subjective feelings. It has nothing to do with the facts about the advertised objects. "Hedge" words and equivocal expressions are typical characteristics of the vagueness in Chinese newspaper advertising as elaborated on in Chapter Five. They fail to provide the customer with any clear knowledge of their definite meanings. The tautological headline of the newspaper advertisement for Shenhua home appliances (XMWB. 7/21/1989), 不一樣 就是 不一樣 Bù yíyàng jiùshì bù yíyàng "Differences are indeed differences," gives no factual information either but serve to impress rather than to inform the customer.

Beardsley considers that ambiguity and vagueness are two troublesome features of discourse (Beardsley. 1966. p. 169). However, ambiguity and vagueness are highly characteristic of newspaper advertising Chinese. Logically speaking, it is difficult to understand that the advertisers can get their sales message across and persuade the customers by violating the CP (or maxims) or using troublesome features of discourse. On the contrary,
unchordodoxy sometimes does work. It demonstrates that people are interested in the unusual and the logical reason may not be always convincing.

6.1.3. A Psycholinguistic Analysis

Psycholinguistically, Chinese newspaper advertising proves how grammatical structure facilitates processing of messages. After studying the research conducted by Waston, Slobin and Kanouse, Larry Percy concludes that "...active declarative sentences are significantly more easily processed than active questions, which in turn are easier to process than passive sentences; that negative sentences are yet more difficult to process. ..." (Percy. 1988 p. 149). In Chinese newspaper advertising, most claims are active declarative sentences. The rest are questions (almost all the questions are rhetorical questions, which are questions in form, but declarative sentences in nature). As discussed in Chapter Four, negative sentences are in the form of imperatives and are always followed by another negative or a positive suggestion to offset the negativeness. Explicit passive sentences are rare in Chinese newspaper advertising. Passive sentences are only used for the sake of emphasis of the advertised object or the customer. For example, in the duànlèqò advertisement as was discussed in Chapter Two, the
sentence, 斷路器...........被國內...........使用

......duànlùqì...... BÈI guònèi...... shìyòng "... breaker. . . by country inside. . . use" or "The breaker. . . has been in domestic use" enables duànlùqì, the advertised object, to be in a more prominent position.

Compare: duànlùqì BÈI guònèi shìyòng with 國內使用斷路器 guònèi shìyòng duànlùqì "country inside use breaker" or "The country has used the breaker." The former sentence focuses duànlùqì, while the latter one, guònèi. We may not find in Chinese newspaper advertising such a claim as 香港脚被 X 治好了 Xiānggǎngjiǎo BÈI X zhìhǎo le "Hong Kong foot by X cure PAR" or "The athlete's foot has been cured by X" but X 治好了香港脚 X zhìhǎo le Xiānggǎngjiǎo "X cure PAR Hong Kong foot" or "X has cured the athlete's foot" because it is X, the advertised object, that needs the customer's attention.

In Chapter Two it was pointed out that the pun is very often used in headlines of Chinese newspaper advertisements because the headlines are usually short. If the headline is long, the ambiguity caused by the pun might be lost. In addition, there may be another psycholinguistic reason why the headline should be short. According to Qiu Tianxi's research the most ideal length for a headline of a Chinese newspaper advertisement is about 12 characters long. If it
is longer, the reader's remembrance factor would be reduced by 50% (Qiu. 1988. p. 139).

6.2. Summary of the Basic Findings

From the discussion in Chapter Two, we may conclude that the language in Chinese newspaper advertising is not sufficient enough to constitute a register. Chinese in newspaper advertising may not be regarded as an independent subcategory of the Chinese language because the vocabulary and rhetoric used in newspaper advertising are also used in other Chinese written contexts, especially in poetry. However, some linguistic features are so prominent in the language of newspaper advertising that make newspaper advertisements recognizable. For example, after reading the following two texts, most people will agree that Text (II) is more like an advertisement than Text (I) although both have a same discourse topic, namely, 永蟬花布 yǒngyàn huābù "Yongyan printed cloth." The reason mainly lies in the use of language.

Text (I)

X 廠 最近 生產了 一種 永蟬
X chǎng zuìjìn shēngchǎn le yīzhǒng Yǒngyàn
X factory recently produce PAR one kind Yongyan

花布 這種 花布 據說不 易 褪色
huābù, zhèzhǒng huābù jùshuō bú yì tuìsè
flower cloth this kind flower cloth said not easy fade
這樣，這種花布作的衣服
zhèyàng, yòng zhèzhòng huābù zuòde yīfú
thus use this kind flower cloth make POSS clothes
能永遠保持它鮮艷的顏色這種
néng yǒngyuán bǎochí tā xiānyàn de yánse, zhèzhòng
can forever keep it bright POSS color this kind
花布的生產是印染工業上的大
huābù de shēngchǎn shì yìn rǎn gōng yè shì jìng de dà
flower cloth POSS produce BE dyeing industry POSS big
突破
tūpò
directional breakthrough

"Factory X has recently produced a kind of printed cloth named "Yongyan." It is said that this printed cloth does not easily fade. Thus, the clothes made of this kind of printed cloth will keep their bright color. The production of this kind of printed cloth is a big breakthrough of our dyeing industry."

Text (II)
花落知多少
Huā lubǔ zhī duōshǎo
flower fall know many few
如果您常為花布衫洗後褪色
Rúguǒ nín cháng wèi huābù shānr xǐ hòu tuìsè
if you often for flower cloth shirt wash after fade
煩惱請選用X廠最新產品
fánnǎo, qǐng xuǎnyòng X chǎng zuì xīn chǎnpǐn--
vedex please select use X factory newest product--
永艷
yǒng yàn.
forever bright

"Do you know how many flowers have been fallen? If you are often vexed that your printed-cloth shirt fades after washing, please select and use the newest product, Yongyan
printed cloth, which is made by Factory X. The Yongyan
printed cloth, the printed cloth is bright colored
forever."

In light of the four prominent features discussed in
Chapter Two, one has no difficulty in finding out the
reasons why Text (II) looks more like an advertisement:

1) There is a headline, which is a line quoted
from 孟浩然 Meng Haoran's 春 晓 Chūnxiǎo "the Dawn
in Spring." However, 花 huā in huā luò zhǐ duōshào
"flower fall know many few" or "Do you know how many
flowers have been fallen?" means real flower, while huā in
the headline of Text (II) is the flowers printed on the
cloth. Therefore, the quotation from the original poem is
a distorted use;

2) Text (II) has a rúquǒ-clause opening. As
discussed in Chapter Two, rúquǒ-clause is one of the most
common openings in Chinese newspaper advertising discourse;

3) Text (II) is a direct discourse with personal
pronouns nǐn and wǒmen. Nǐn and wǒmen are two words of
high frequency in the stock advertising vocabulary; and
4) Text (II) has a signature line which is composed of two four-character expressions with a rhetorical device 頂 真 dǐng zhēn used. Both four-character expressions and repetition of lexical items are more prominent in newspaper advertising Chinese than in other Chinese written contexts.

Chapters Two and Three of the present research are concerned with documenting the various linguistic devices employed by Chinese newspaper advertisers. As a matter of fact, English in newspaper advertising has almost all the linguistic characteristics discussed in Chapter Two. However, owing to essential distinctions between Chinese and English, the language in Chinese newspaper advertising in Chinese has some characteristics that the language of newspaper advertising in English does not have, such as discussed in Chapter Three: predominant use of four-character phrases and sentences, frequent use of matching couplets, special application of puns to transcribe foreign brand names, and heavy dependence on cultural elements. In a certain sense, Chapters Two and Three show what make a Chinese newspaper advertisement recognizable and unique from a linguistic point of view.
As stated at the beginning of Chapter One, the descriptive aim of the present research is to examine how Chinese is used in newspaper advertising and how the customer is expected to interpret it. The present research has observed and described something of linguistic interest in Chinese newspaper advertising. The research has also shown that language itself can be subtle in its influence. Chapters Four and Five have proved that the language of Chinese newspaper advertising can be both persuasive and misleading. It helps shape the customer's thought. However, effectiveness of linguistic devices in Chinese newspaper advertisements cannot be truly known because there are other non-linguistic factors involved. The present research adds some knowledge to the understanding of why the advertiser say what they say and why the advertiser does not say what he or she really wants to say. The research will constitute the basis for a fuller understanding of the Chinese language in advertising of other media.
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