# GHD Advertising Campaign Across Cultures. A Case Study\*

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#### ABSTRACT

The type of advertisements addressed to young people seem to reinforce values conveyed by music, films and fashion. In this new cultural trend, GHD advertising apparently proceeds in an opposite direction, as the visual element of the new GHD advertising campaign is strongly interrelated with religion. Yet the new religious values GHD is offering appear to be more in line with urban trends than with asceticism.

It is the aim of this paper to illustrate how the GHD advertising campaign in the UK establishes the identity and success thanks to intertextuality. I will further compare the same ad as it appeared in the Italian press and will point out how the GHD Italian version not only loses its grasp of religion but is also less incisive in style than the English advertisement text. The result is a text in strong opposition to the visual it is linked with.

#### 1. Introduction

In an era in which no set values seem to exist, young people are turning to their own invented values – conveyed and confirmed by music, films and fashion – which help them to have some reference points in order to survive in our increasingly confused and high-speed frenzied urban environment. The type of advertisements addressed to young people is no exception as it creates, supports and reinforces their hectic lifestyles. In this turmoil offered by such a new cultural trend, GHD¹ advertising seems to proceed in an opposite direction, as the visual element of the new GHD advertising campaign is strongly

interrelated with religion. However, the *new* value GHD is offering to young people is a kind of religion that appears to be more in line with urban trends than with asceticism. By exploiting the linguistic strategies of traditional religious discourse, GHD manages to create an intriguingly new identity in which texts and pictures are interwoven in such a way as to perfectly conform to the exigencies of modern urban life. While this may be true with the English version of GHD ads, the message is lost with the Italian copy.

It is the aim of this paper to illustrate how the GHD advertising campaign in the UK establishes the identity and success of the firm within the hair-product market thanks to intertextuality, which has played a fundamental role in creating a network of relationships with both religious visual art, the Holy Scriptures, and metropolitan settings. The investigation into GHD illustrated ads will reveal how pictures are employed and exploited to intermingle with the text in order to skilfully lead the target audience towards the right interpretation of the copy.

I will further compare the same ad as it appeared in the Italian press and will point out how the GHD Italian version loses its grasp of religion. This is, obviously, necessary for cultural reasons: in a country where the Catholic religion constitutes the nation's heritage of beliefs and has so deeply influenced arts, literature and science for centuries, it is basically impossible to eradicate such a cultural and religious background from any aspects characterizing the Italian lifestyle. To maintain the religious idea at the basis of the English copy and transplant it into an Italian context would have meant hurting most Italian people's sensitivity and running the risk of being blasphemous. In order to avoid that, GHD copywriters have modified the advertisement text in such a way as to annihilate its impact and make it less incisive in style than the English advertisement text. The result is a text in strong opposition to the visual it is linked with.

### 2. GHD Background

In 2001, GHD² hair-straighteners became phenomenally successful when trend-setting stars like Madonna, Gwyneth Paltrow, Renee Zellweger, Jennifer Aninston and Victoria Beckham started using them.³ However, to turn short-term success into long-term sustainable sales, GHD had to convert positive consumer perceptions of the hair-straighteners into GHD brand loyalty. Indeed, the hair-straighteners held near-iconic status, and the language used to describe the product had strong religious overtones. People who had used the irons *worshipped* them, while even those who had not used them *believed* that these tools were capable of *hair miracles*. *Belief* was therefore firmly at the heart of the GHD brand, and it was this powerful theme which inspired 'A New Religion for Hair' as the cornerstone of the brand-building strategy. The advertising campaign was entrusted to Propaganda.<sup>4</sup>

The new GHD ad campaign started in 2003 with so-called *Iconic Worship*<sup>5</sup>: advertisements were visible both outdoor as posters and in the various GHD sales outlets. In all of them the model occupied most of the space of the illustration, thus assuming a

central role. Light focussed on her and the trademark. A sort of halo was visible thanks to a visual effect which conveyed the sensation of being in front of an angel. In these ads, although the illustration was decontextualized, the headline provided the *anchorage* to the visual element (Barthes, 1977), i.e. the link between the image and its context that allows us to see in words exactly how the subject's expression ought to be interpreted. There, such a link was present at an idealistic level only and yet it provided a certain relevance for the reader. It could be seen to *anchor* the interpretation of an image: "to *fix* the floating chain of signifieds" (Barthes, 1977: 39).

In the 2003 *Iconic Worship-Christmas Angel Campaign*<sup>6</sup>, the model appeared in a metropolitan context. Compared to the previous ads, here the visual illusion was created by various sources of light, such as the moon, a light in a disco or in a pub. The resulting visual illusion formed a sort of halo that, being a source of light, illuminated and emphasized not only the model but also both the products and the trademark. The context of these ads and the intertextual relationship with the previous *urban angel* ads conveyed the unconscious idea that here too the depicted models were indeed *urban angels*, a concept further augmented by the presence of the halo. Incidentally, the layout of the trademark GHD, written in small letters, could be interpreted as a misspelling of God, thus unconsciously emphasizing the existence of a link between GHD and God.

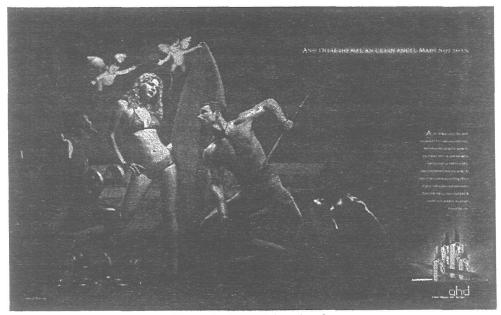


Figure 1. GHD Urban Angel.

A new set of ads<sup>7</sup> was published between 2004 and 2005 in the most popular women's magazines. Amongst them, the *Urban Angel* advertisement (see Fig. 1) particularly struck me because of the evident relationship between the urban setting, the miraculous effects of

GHD products, and the new established religion helping young people to live in and cope with an urban context. After the great success GDH products reached both in the US and the UK, GHD tried to launch them in Italy too. The campaign started with the *Urban Angel* ad that appeared for the first time in Italy in 2005.

### 3. Information systems in GHD Urban Angel advertisement

The layout of the Urban Angel advertisement follows a very precise composition plan that takes the reader by the hand and accompanies him/her along the correct path of interpretation. The positions of the figures in the illustration, the headline, the text (technically called copy) and the trademark, their interrelation and interaction, form what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 181) define as "composition". Composition is conveyed to the reader thanks to various interrelated systems of information, more precisely known as the information value system, the salience system and the framing system, existing within any text, regardless of whether the text is visual, written or even both. The way in which composition is realized basically depends on the fact that in our Western culture, when we read we follow a Z-reading pattern (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 218): text is written from left to right, from top to bottom, line by line. The most immediate and natural division created by the Z-reading pattern of the page is into left and right, top and bottom, and centre and margins which help us to define the zones where the different elements of the visual are placed. Their corresponding informational values are Given and New, Ideal and Real, Centre and Margins (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 181-229; Kress and van Leeuwen 1998).

Elements placed to the left of the vertical axis of the page are presented as *Given* pieces of information, or things that the reader already knows; *New* elements on the right are not yet known or agreed upon. The values of *Given* and *New* in the advertisement components are assumed by the advertiser, and it is up to the reader to accept or reject the roles as presented.

A sense of contrast is presented through layouts based on the horizontal axis. Elements in the upper part of the page appeal to the reader's emotions, expressing what might be. The bottom elements have an informative appeal, showing what is. These contrasting appeals can be awarded the values of *Ideal* and *Real*, where *Ideal* elements are more salient and simply contain the general points of information; *Real* elements give more practical and specific information.

The elements which in the illustration are placed in the *Centre* are the essential nucleus of information, with those set at the *Margins* as subsidiary parts of the image core. "For something to be the Centre means that it is represented as the nucleus of the information on which all the other elements are in some sense subservient" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 206). One way to combine *Given-New* with *Centre-Margin* is evident in the medieval triptych, with the *Centre* showing a key religious theme (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 207).

Elements are positioned so as to attract readers' attention and direct it to different levels of importance. These various levels are created through relative choices of colour, size, image sharpness and position. Often *vectors*, i.e. ideal lines created by the shape and position of elements, help to lead the eye from one element to another, in order of decreasing impact. This determines the *Salience* of each element (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; 212-214).

Sometimes, there are some characteristics through elements that imply division or that frame lines, which helps the readership to connect or differentiate the layout. These sections, or frames, give an advertisement a sense of unity and progression. The *Framing* of an element suggests its differentiation and individuality, while the lack of *Framing* suggests unity and presents the picture as a whole (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 214-218).

Applying this methodological approach to the GHD *Urban Angel* ad, its linguistic analysis is somewhat particular: the division is more on the vertical plane (*Given* vs *New*), than on the horizontal (*Ideal* vs. *Real*) as we have everything but the trademark and the images of GHD products on the *Ideal* plane where the visual element is presented as a *Given* piece of information and the text as the *New* information.

### 4. GHD visual element

The visual element is in the foreground and thus is given more emphasis; light is focussed on the picture. This light source is outside the depicted image: it comes from an indefinite angle located on the right of the image but outside the picture itself- in the observer's world. It creates luminous vectors which help the reader to find the right path according to which the real meaning of this multi-modal text may be perceived: from the image to the headline, back to the image; from the image to the copy, back to the image and finally from the image to the illustrations of the products themselves. If the visual element may recall Botticelli's Birth of Venus<sup>9</sup> (since the birth of a beautiful woman from the sea and of 'a new religion for hair' is celebrated in the ad), the way in which light focusses only on certain elements immediately reminds readers of the religious painting by Caravaggio, La Madonna di Loreto. 10 Caravaggio (1573-1610) adopted a realistic style of painting. This did not result from observing and copying nature but from accepting reality as it is; to him this meant excluding the search for the beautiful and aiming merely at truth. For him painting was not a means by which to detach himself from reality and observe it but a means through which to live reality (Argan, 1970: 271). The GHD picture makes a visual statement for the reader: just as in Caravaggio's paintings, people using GHD products are not observing reality: they are living it. Those who do not acquire GHD products can merely observe reality.

As the GHD illustration is printed on a left-hand page of the magazine, it may be read as a semiotic unit independent from the text, with the girl at the centre of Kress and van Leeuwen's triptych. The long distance shot of the girl, the perspective, and her upright

position compared to that of the young men transmit an idea of detachment from both readers and the youths. Her position expresses superiority and offers a hierarchical order in which both males and readers are subordinate to her. 11 The startling use of light and colour emphasizes the position of the angel-woman, whereas the men (and the observers) are left in darkness. Ever since the Middle Ages, light has been associated with the idea of perfect life, beauty and purity. Therefore an unconscious message is conveyed: those who use GHD products attain perfection in life and in their souls. This message is supported by the common perception of "photographs as a naturalistic, un-mediated and un-coded representation of reality" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 162). We all know that the camera does not lie - though those who use one may - and the picture offered by GHD represents a real moment frozen in time: GHD ads allow readers to perceive an instant of adoration (both received and offered) capable of freezing the rush hours of our frenzied urban society. If this is something we all want to believe – just for a moment to forget stress and the high-speed lifestyle we are required to cope with each day - the GHD ad campaign goes even further: it offers us a belief (the visual element) that can come true with words (the text). Words do depict a process that takes a certain amount of time to unfold but by describing facts that speak for themselves they make beliefs become truths. The way in which we use pictures and/or words expresses modality, i.e. the representation of the truths of the world we live in. So if a picture is the popular assessment of a belief (low modality of truth), words are the popular assessment of truths (high modality of truth) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 159-161). This is the role of both headline and copy of the GHD advertisement: respectively that of providing a metropolitan context of the visual element and that of transforming a belief into an absolute truth. Both the headline and the copy are positioned in the New part of the ad. If the picture represents the Given (traditionally there has always been a beauty on every beach, and if not, we all know Botticelli's Venus - a beauty emerging from the sea), the text is the *New* part since we will be introduced to the new urban Holy Gospel.

## 5. GHD Urban Angel: English vs Italian advertising texts

# 5.1. The English and the Italian Headlines

"And there she was. An urban angel. Made not born". The English headline is very catchy for three basic reasons:

- 1. The sentence "and there she was" links the picture to the successive text. The parallelism with a religious text is conveyed by the presence of the conjunction at the beginning of the sentence. Thus a religious register is introduced which hints at and confirms the miraculous effects of GHD products;
- 2. The "Urban Angel" is the beauty on the beach. We are allowed to realize that she is not a woman, but an angel and not a mere angel, but an urban one. If religious angels are

- created by God, urban angels are created according to GHD rules, and the pun between GHD and God establishes that GHD is God's *urban* religion;
- 3. The source of light coming from the right-hand angle outside the illustration underlines a specific part of the headline: "she was an urban angel made". Even if *made* belongs to a different sentence, the words are read as though forming one complete sentence, thus breaking away from the slow rhythmic path offered by the use of parataxis, typical of religious language. Such contrast sets in opposition the usual contemplation offered by a religious creed, and the hectic life of our modern cities. We are not required to choose between religion and rush-hour: we are offered both. We do not have to deny either religion or modernity. GHD guarantees both. GHD seems to move in an opposite direction to society: it returns to religion. Yet by moving away from the mainstream, GHD emerges from globalization, and offers consumers new values to which to anchor in order not to lose their own identity.

The English headline "And there she was. An urban angel. Made not born" is rendered in Italian as "Angeli metropolitani si diventa. Non si nasce" (*Urban Angels are Made. Not Born*) As in English, the beauty on the beach is not simply a woman, but an *urban angel*. Although the reference to religious angels is clear, and although urban angels are created according to GHD rules, there is however nothing that supports the fact that GHD is God's *urban* religion, which on the contrary is what we have seen in the English version.

The first striking element in the Italian version of the English headline is that the sentences Angeli metropolitani si diventa. Non si nasce (Urban angels are made. Not born) reproduces a cliché that should be constructed the other way round and basically Angeli metropolitani non si nasce. Si diventa (Urban angels are not born. They are made). This may well be a linguistic violation employed as a strategy to startle the audience and attract their attention by going against their expectations. Yet, in this way, emphasis is not only given to the words Angeli metropolitani (Urban angels), but also to Non si nasce (they are not born), whereas the position of the key-words si diventa (They are made) is blurred and thus underevaluated. The Italian headline just seems to be a parallel, though imperfect, version of the English text. In Italian, too, there is a sort of paratactical relationship, typical of religious language, between the two sentences. It is rendered with punctuation: the full-stop instead of the comma conveys the idea of a longer pause between one clause and the other. However, the Italian version loses the original force and subtlety characterizing the English headline.

Furthermore, there is no relationship between the headline and the text: the former, formulated in an impersonal way, refers to the audience formally; the latter is linked to the image as it acts as a long caption describing the ad illustration. The register is neutral, in the sense that it has no religious anticipation and therefore contrasts with the depicted image: although we understand that the *Urban Angel* is the beautiful girl on the beach, the Italian audience is not able to identify the pun between GHD's *religion* and God's because the following text does not imitate the language of the Gospels. Furthermore, the source of light does not emphasize any words of the headline. The synaesthetic possibility of

reading three sentences instead of just two is lost in Italian, where everything is much more explicit.

## 5.2. The English Copy

The headline and the text, as stated previously, form the *New* part of the triptych and are set in the *Ideal* sector, where the emotional appeal is strongest and where we can see "what might be" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 193). The fact that what GHD offers goes against the mainstream is evident in the layout of the text, which breaks away from the conventional rules of writing but at the same time recalls the layout of literary works written at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this idea being further augmented because of the presence of enjambments.

Just as in a biblical parable, the copy represents the idealized essence of the information, and elaborates the belief represented in the picture on the left<sup>12</sup>:

As she walked upon the sand the eyes of the multitude followed.

And when she turned to speak to them, they saw that the sea spritz had blessed her with beautiful natural movement. And she spoke to them of the miraculous soothing effects of GHD cooling mist, and astonished them with sun survivor shampoo & conditioner and they no longer feared the sun

The first lines immediately recall St. Mark's words (13:7-11)<sup>13</sup>:

Jesus withdrew himself with his disciples to the sea: and a great multitude from Galilee followed him, (...) when they had heard what great things he did, came unto him.

And he spake to his disciples, (...) For he had healed many; insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him, as many as had plagues.

And unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God. (St. Mark, 13: 7-1)

The relationship between GHD and the religious theme is further established thanks to the intertextual link to the Holy Gospel. As in the Gospel according to St. Mark, the contrast is between the main character and *them*. The dichotomy is between Christ/She – the *Urban Angel* – and the multitude. Yet in St. Mark's Gospel it is Christ who speaks to the multitude in order to convert them to the new religion, whereas in the GHD ad the *Urban Angel* does not need to do so: the facts speak for themselves, as "they saw that the sea spritz had blessed her with beautiful natural movement". Her words come after the crowds saw with

their own eyes. They are already convinced of the *blessed*, *miraculous effects*. Indeed, they were astonished and no longer feared the sun.

The syntactical structure of the text reproduces that of religious discourse, with a high exploitation of past tense verbs and a strong use of parataxis rather than hypotaxis, this being pinpointed by the presence of the conjunction at the beginning of each sentence. According to the Christian religion, God revealed Himself and His essence through the Holy Scriptures, which makes of the Bible a powerful manifestation of sacred reality. Ever since the Middle Ages, perfect religious speech has always imitated that of the Holy Scriptures. It is characterized by directness and precision aiming at a harmony which totally reflects that of the Gospels. Simplicity and transparency of language are a means by which the author wishes to narrate the religious story without the influence resulting from the connotative qualities of the words or the manipulative effects of rhetoric (Witalisz, 2001). This is what the GHD ad achieves. The fact that the text is not anachronistic depends on its interrelation with both its layout (it bridges the gap between ancient religious discourse and modern literary works) and the illustration (the bikini-clad beauty on the beach, the young men and their surf-boards).

### 5.3. The Italian Copy

Exactly as with the English version, the Italian headline and text are set in the *New-Ideal* sector of the triptych, where we can emotionally perceive "what might be" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 193). In the Italian version, GHD services seem to go against the mainstream as physically represented by the text layout, just as they do in the English version of the text: here too there is a break from the conventional rules of writing; here, too, there are enjambments. In the Italian version, however, the copy does not elaborate on the belief represented in the picture on the left, as the religious context conveyed by the picture is suppressed in the text<sup>14</sup>:

Lei è una fulgida visione, un'eterea apparizione, una magnifica rivelazione. La linea estiva di prodotti ghd le dà un controllo totale sull'acconciatura: spariti i capelli crespi e danneggiati dall'esposizione ai raggi UV, la sua chioma risplende sfolgorante nel sole. Le piastre per styling in ceramica ghd mettono i trend londinesi alla sua portata: un giorno ricci morbidi e sexy, un altro capelli super lisci e lucenti. Che sia oggetto di venerazione non sorprende: è un angelo metropolitano venuto ad annunciare la venuta di ghd.

The text<sup>15</sup> of the Italian version strikes the audience for its complex though strange Italian syntax. Firstly, in Italian the personal pronoun in a subject position is usually omitted. To start a sentence with 'Lei' (*She*) means attributing to the subject (in a Given position) a marked thematic role (Halliday, 2004: 67) The resulting rhetoric effect is that of pinpointing the pronoun in order to contrast it with other possible subjects (i.e, as in "It is *she* that was a vision, not *Mary*"). Yet here the context is already clear and there is no need to do so.

Secondly, the first three lines show instances of pre-modification: *fulgida visione* (*fulgent vision*), *eterea apparizione* (*ethereal apparition*), and *magnifica rivelazione* (*manificent revelation*). Although in Italian there is no standard rule as to the position of quality adjectives, the trend in oral language indicates that there is a strong preference for post-modification, rather than pre-modification. The latter seems to be more frequent in written clichés or stereotyped utterances. <sup>16</sup> The combination of a marked thematic subject plus pre-modifier adjectives implies the need for a precise identification of both subject and adjectives for which there is actually no need, given the context.

Thirdly, at the beginning of the copy, the language of the text seems to be an imitation of the medieval *Dolce Stil Novo* style, with a register characterized by poetic licences. It is therefore poetical, formal and obsolete. Yet there is a change in lines 4-6, where the style is much more colloquial. As from line 7, the style is once again formal and obsolete, more suited to a medieval sonnet than to an ad: *chioma* (*head of hair/locks*) for *hair* is a word that is rarely used in everyday speech. Besides, the term *chioma* is anachronistically placed near the words *raggi UV (UV-rays)*. The register seems to be a melting pot of ancient and modern, but the result sounds peculiar, rather than poetic.

Fourthly, there is the presence of incorrect idiomatic expressions, such as dà un controllo totale ([they] give her total control over), where the Italian cliché should be lei ha un controllo totale (she has total control over); and mettere alla sua portata (to be placed within her reach), instead of essere alla sua portata (to be within her reach) – the mistake is not actually in the wrong translation of the lexis, but in the wrong mediation of the syntactical structures which should be the other way round, i.e, ha un controllo totale sui suoi capelli grazie alla linea estiva di prodotti GHD (she has total control over her hair thanks to GHD summer line products), and I trend londinesi sono alla sua portata grazie ai prodotti GHD (London trends are within her reach thanks to GHD products): it is evident that English still underlines the Italian version where the effort of emphazising the GHD products has resulted in a non-Italian syntax.

Finally, it is not completely clear why the model should be an *angel*: the religious context created by GHD previous advertising campaigns in the UK is not visible in Italy; furthermore, in the Italian version of the *Urban Angel* advertisement text, there is no religious clues to support the idea that the girl is really an *angel*, as suggested, on the other hand, in the English *Urban Angel* ad.

#### 6. Conclusion

The new GHD campaign reflects and at the same time offers its readers the modern attitude people would like to assume: that of being regarded as having self-confidence as well as the ability to turn heads wherever they go. They would like to be style-setters who bring colour and glamour to our everyday urban environment. To represent these ideal modern leaders, the GHD ad campaign seems to break away from the mainstream, suggesting values that contrast strongly with the ideals and models offered by our society, which aims at financial gain rather than at a moral creed. However, this going against the flow is merely apparent. The new belief is established thanks to the well-planned layout of the GHD ad where its visual elements and texts are intermingled and interrelated, where both recall ancient religious art and discourse, where both illustrations and texts are transposed into a modern setting, thus bridging the gap between NOW and THEN.

All this, unfortunately, is not evident in the Italian version of the ad, since we have seen that from a linguistic point of view, the GHD Italian version loses its grasp of religion. The Italian advertisement seems to be the parallel but imperfect version of the English syntactical structures. The register is not religious and therefore is at odds with the depicted image. The Italian audience may understand that the *Urban Angel* is the beautiful girl on the beach, but it is not able to realize the pun between GHD and God: the inability to perceive GHD's *urban* religion in further augmented by the absence of a text imitating the language of the Gospels. GHD's aim was to target the Italian market. The choice between running the risk of appearing blasphemous or sticking to the certainty that the ad would be accepted by a Catholic target audience has obviously fallen on the latter – marketing strategy has prevailed over any linguistic incisiveness. The English GHD ad campaign has therefore been transposed in Italian in such a way that the resulting advertisement text has lost its shrewd and clever impact.

#### Notes

- \* Although I wrote many times to both GHD and Propaganda for copyright permission so as to be allowed to linguistically analyse their advertisements, I had no reply at all. Yet, according to GHD legal policy available at http://www.ghdhair.com/uk/legal.php, I apparently can use GHD materials for my "own personal use and research" (under Copyright and Trademark terms). In any case, I wish to acknowledge and thank them.
  - 1. GHD is the acronym for Good Hair Day.
  - 2. See http://www.ghdhair.com/uk/about-ghd-united-kingdom.php.
- 3. For further information, see Propaganda web page at www.propaganda.co.uk. See also endnote 1.
  - 4. See http://www.propaganda.co.uk/results/folio/client/ghd.html.
  - 5. See http://www.propaganda.co.uk/results/folio/client/ghd.html.
- 6. The 2003 *Iconic Worship -Christmas Angel Campaign* advertisements are available at http://www.propaganda.co.uk/results/folio/client/ghd.html.

7. The *US California2* and the *Urban Angel* advertisements were present as printed ads in 2004 women's magazines; the *US Market Straight* and the *US Subway* formed the 2005 New York City Consumer advertising. Information available from Propaganda web page:

[http://www.propaganda.co.uk/results/folio/client/ghd.html].

- 8. I found the Italian version of the *Urban Angel* ad in the July 2005 issue of *Cosmopolitan*.
- 9. Botticelli (1485), The Birth of Venus at http://www.wga.hu/index co.html.
- 10. Caravaggio (1603), La Madonna di Loreto. Available on Internet.

[http://www.thais.it/speciali/Caravaggio/scheda22.htm].

- 11. This is what is technically defined as an *offer* type of ad: the illustration offers an example of the style which the reader may aim at, but no involvement with the audience is incited (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 124-128; Chandler, 1998).
  - 12. In the quotation, the layout is the same as the one in the ad text.
- 13. *The Holy Bible*, King James Version, at the Electronic Text Centre, University of Virginia (http://etext.virginia.edu/kjv.browse.html#kjvbrowse). I made a search in the *Holy Bible Corpus* (http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/kjv2www?specfile=/texts/english/religion/kjv/kjv-pub.o2w), comprising the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Apocrypha, to find any correspondences between GHD copy and the Bible, but found none.
  - 14. In the quotation, the layout is the same as the one in the ad text.
- 15. She is a refulgent vision, an ethereal / apparition, a magnificent / revelation. GHD summer line products / give her total control over her / hair: frizzy and UV-ray / damaged hair disappears, her hair / shines blazing in the sun. / GHD ceramic styling-tools make London trends / be placed within her reach: one day soft curly and / sexy hair, another day / super-smooth and / shining. It is not surprising / that she is venerated: she is and urban / angel arrived at to announce / GHD's coming.
- 16. Antonietta Scarano, *Gli aggettivi qualificativi nell'italiano parlato*, web page available at http://www.uni-duisburg.de/FB3/SILFI/SILFI2000/abstracts/papers/Scarano\_co010.html, last access on 10/02/2006.

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