

MARTA DAŁBROWSKA
Jagiellonian University
marta.b.dabrowska@uj.edu.pl

“SAFE DRIVE, SAVE LIFE.” ENGLISH AS A TOOL IN THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA’S PUBLIC SPACE

English in India evokes connotations of worldliness, education, class, and power. Although many less socially fortunate groups lack in the English language competence, its presence in the Indian street is increasing, and not only in the context of tourism and marketing. The investigation of the linguistic landscapes of a number of localities in northern India will focus on public service advertisements written in English which convey guidelines for the creation of a healthier Indian society. The study, informed by the rhetoric of social intervention approach, investigates the choice and the frequency of the persuasive rhetorical devices used in the texts. It also discusses which of the three modes of persuasion typically underlie the analysed advertisements, thereby highlighting the preferred approach to tackling local issues and, indirectly, contributing to strengthening the role of English through the positive perception of the messages conveyed.

Keywords: Indian English, linguistic landscape, public service advertisements, rhetoric of social intervention

1. Introduction

India, like many other countries in Asia and Africa, is a post-colonial state which is marked by both an extensive multilingualism (at the state level) and plurilingualism (at an individual level). The multiplicity of languages used daily at work, in education, in the street, in informal encounters, even at home, certainly constitutes a massive challenge not only for the users themselves when it comes to achieving mutual understanding and deciding which language to choose in particular circumstances. This aspect of social coexistence is possibly

even more demanding as regards policy makers, educationalists, politicians, and local authorities. It has been made their responsibility to decide how and when the numerous languages are to be used, what rights are assigned to them and their users, which language is to be used in education, which at work, which in the media, and which tongue(s) is/are to represent the country at an international arena. While this situation is not unique to India, the extent of the problem is undoubtedly higher than in other countries due to the geographical size of the area. The present study attempts to investigate the use of only one of the multitude of languages co-existing within the country's borders, English, whose visibility in the Indian public space is, however, constantly growing. Its form as well as motivation for its use will be investigated here in the context of public service advertising. More specifically, the analysis of the collected samples will focus on the rhetorical devices found in the texts, with the aim to identify which of them appear to be best suited for the task of promoting social change in India, as well as which of them make the message, regarding both its content and its form memorable and catchy.

2. English in India

English in India is not only an associate language used instrumentally for communication across the states (Kirkpatrick 2007, Pingali 2009). Over the last decades it has also grown enormously in prestige (Kothari 2011) parallel to its role connected with the development of global economy, and due to the fact that it has, both organically and through efforts of language spreading educational institutions like the British Council (cf. Phillipson 2009, Jenkins 2015), been made the primary tool of international communication. Indeed, Hindi is the most widely used language in India, both as the first and the second language¹ (cf. Graddol 2010). However, as a result of rather unsuccessful attempts to enforce the knowledge of Hindi in the Dravidian speaking southern states since the time of India's gaining independence in 1947 there has been a growing demand for the use of English due to its being neutral and unconnected with any ethnic or religious group in the country, as opposed to Hindi. The choice of the latter, in turn, would have implicated a greater power vested in native Hindi speakers (cf. Crystal 2003, Biswas 2004, Kirkpatrick 2007). English is very much socially desired in India. However, although English is located in Kachru's Outer Circle as India's second language (cf. Kachru 1992) and although after the

¹ 528 million inhabitants speak Hindi as a first language. It is both the most widely spoken first as well as second language in India, while English is only the 44th most widely spoken first language, even though it is the second-most widely spoken second language (cf. <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/in-india-who-speaks-in-english-and-where-1557814101428.html>)

1997 *English Today* Kachru claimed that as many as 333 million Indians could speak English (cf. Kachru 2004), the current estimates show that only about 55 million speakers in India know the language to a varying degree (Graddol 2010). This, in fact, constitutes barely 5% of all the inhabitants.²

English in India is perceived as a language of higher educational aspirations and upward mobility,³ of getting greater chances for a better paid job, and hence its knowledge is socially encouraged (cf. Kothari 2011, Bhattacharya 2016). This need, however, cannot be met with a suitable level of English education as, especially at the state schools, there are not enough teachers, and students achieve poor results. Private education, the English-medium one, in turn, is limited to the select few who can afford it, and even there the English-medium instruction offered to children who do not know the language sufficiently well at the start of their education to understand the content does not bring expected results. The demand for exposure to English in India, in both its spoken and written form, as a source of at least peripheral learning and practice, is therefore very high.⁴

In view of the above, the following analysis will focus on an informal way of spreading the knowledge of English achieved, at least partly, by means of public signs, which, as will be discussed later in the section, are a helpful assistance in language teaching and learning. As Graddol (2010: 88) says, for instance in rural areas, where public road signs are rare, schools resort to writing public notices in the school area and its neighbourhood in English to enhance children's exposure to it. It is very common for the multilingual Indian context to see a variety of languages on public signs in the streets, and there are usually very many of them. They will naturally be in the first place in the official language of respective states, as Oriya in Odisha, Bengali in West Bengal, Kannada in Karnataka, etc., and they will appear on shop signs, billboards, public notices, tourist information boards, hotels, etc. Everyday practice shows that there will also be a notable number of signs in Hindi, in keeping with the “three language formula”

² The 2011 Census showed that English is the mother tongue of 2,59,678 people, with the largest number of native English speakers in Maharashtra (106,656) (https://censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/C-16_25062018_NEW.pdf).

³ According to the Lok Foundation survey (cf. Graddol 2010), 41% of the rich can speak English vs. less than 2% of the poor. English is far more an urban (12% of speakers) than a rural (3% of speakers) phenomenon. Moreover, a higher share of residents of several northern and north-eastern states speak English than those in the south. Speaking English is also linked with a state's prosperity (Delhi, Haryana) and the presence of Christianity (Goa, Meghalaya). According to [statista.com](https://www.statista.com), the survey conducted in 2019 showed that the share of the respondents who spoke English in urban areas was as high as 88%, while in the rural areas the share remained very low, at around 3% (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1007578/india-share-of-english-speakers-by-region/>).

⁴ The 2009 Indian TV channel CNN-IBN “State of the Nation” poll, for instance, demonstrated that most Indians accord English high importance (Graddol 2010: 64).

advertised by the state (cf. Biswas 2004: 107) and other major local languages, more of the Hindi signs naturally being used in the Northern Belt of India. Side by side with those, English texts will be very visible too, both in commercial signs, road signs, advertisements, tourist establishments, as well as private notices in general. English can also be found particularly often in information signs on various public institutions, like schools, offices, police stations, museums, etc., especially in the northern states.

It is obvious, however, that a linguistic analysis of the signs cannot focus on their totality, as their various categories have different authors and a different aim to fulfil. The material for discussion in the present paper will not be the neutral information signs, like, e.g. names of institutions in English, or commercial or informational ones, which make use of English possibly in order to reach as wide audience as possible due to the language being one which is most widely understood in a multilingual nation, but public service advertisements. They will be represented here by short persuasive texts posted along public roads by official institutions, e.g. state or municipal authorities, police, or educational set ups, like high schools and universities, with the aim to encourage the public to take certain steps in order to create a well functioning, healthy society, spread good social practices, enhance the sense social unity and national pride, and, broadly speaking, bring in positive change.

The fact that the means of spreading the message is English, and not any of the local varieties (though at times the name of the institution was written in e.g. Hindi) warrants an assumption advanced in this study that the positive perception of the message, which implicates some advantageous developments or good social practices to the benefit of the community, will also lead to a positive perception of the institution behind it as well as the medium it was communicated in, because these will be inseparably linked in the mind of the recipients.

Attempts to enhance a positive social perception of certain languages (i.e. prestige planning) have not been unknown. For instance, in Israel, when the new state was being formed, public signs fostered the positive image of Hebrew by passing on a positive message through and about the language (cf. Cooper 1989). In Namibia, in turn, the positive perception of being Namibian advertised on billboards and on commercial signs was expressed by means of English as the new official language of the state, although it is estimated that only 2% of the population use the language as L1 and only about 20% can speak it (cf. Heine 1992, Crystal 2003, Dąbrowska 2017). As regards India, comments made by public officials, like that of the Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee in 2009, who declared that “as part of that upskilling programme, India now aspires to make English universal, after a couple centuries of it being the preserve of an elite” (in Graddol 2010: 11) indicate that the knowledge of English is fostered by the state too, as the country needs a dynamic economic advantage which would be a result

of the right kind of education and skills. English is viewed as an aspirational language in India, yet, as indicated above, its actual knowledge and communication skills have not yet reached a satisfactory level (cf. Bhattacharya 2016). Therefore, since not everyone is fortunate enough to afford English-medium education to at least be able to read in the language, the self-improvement opportunities are sought after by those at a lower social level.⁵ As cited in Graddol (2010: 120), “[w]ith determination, a reading knowledge of English – perhaps enough to fill in forms, and even take an exam – can be acquired outside the classroom.” In view of the above it is assumed that the use of public service advertising communicated by means of English can contribute not only to the improvement of the society’s functioning, but also upgrade citizens’ skills by spreading the knowledge of English, which in turn will gain in its positive social perception, too (cf. Cenoz and Gorter 2008).

It needs to be noted that media texts and public signs of various kinds have been used widely as a material and a method of teaching a foreign culture and a foreign language, notably English (cf. e.g. Johnson and Rinvoluceri 2010, Hobbs *et al.* 2014, Yagcioglu 2018). As Hobbs *et al.* (2014: 1) indicate, by focusing on printed adverts, e.g. in magazines, one may “exploit the rich visual communication, limited use of words, and relative simplicity of elements as a means to promote language production, reception and comprehension.” Such materials not only help to develop language skills, but also critical thinking. As Hobbs *et al.* (*ibid.*: 3) further argue, “[i]n sociocultural approaches, language learning occurs socially as members of communities share knowledge and understandings shaped by cultural and historical contexts, rather than through direct instruction and memorization,” which is what the public service advertisements no doubts also contribute to. Not only the use of the media texts in the classroom context for the purpose of practising skills and understanding the culture behind the target languages has been advocated by foreign language instructors, however. Scholars also emphasise the use of media texts, including the Internet, TV, advertisements, product labels, traffic signs, etc. as important sources of peripheral language learning, which is directly linked with the method of language teaching called Suggestopedia developed by Lozanov (1978). Peripheral learning means learning from the environment that students find themselves in; it is encouraged by “the presence in the learning environment of posters and decorations featuring the target language and various grammatical information” (Fatemipour 2013: 1395). In his investigation of the mastery of English lexis by, respectively, Iranian and Indian students, Fatemipour (*ibid.*) observed a much larger and active use of the vocabulary in the latter group. As

⁵ For instance, the Dalit movement, which has embraced English as a tool to not only improve their social position, but in the first place because “it allows escape from the traditional caste positioning which is encoded into the regional languages themselves” (Graddol 2010: 65).

a result of the comparison of the two groups he concluded that, even though Indian students may have been offered some simple definitions of words at school, they learnt their sense mainly from the context, i.e. primarily from the media or the instruction in other subjects offered in English. India as a country where English is a second language abounds in such opportunities, while Iran, where English is a foreign language, does not, therefore, as a result, a recommendation was put forward that traffic signs, notices, warnings, etc. in Iran should be made bilingual too. In view of the above the material analysed here may be treated as a tool to enhance the knowledge of English as well, which in itself may constitute a positive and desirable social change.

3. Linguistic landscape

The theoretical framework of the present study is broadly that of the linguistic landscape. The approach was first officially named this way by Landry and Bouhris (1997), although it was already used in the investigation of public signs in Israel in the 1970s (Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper and Fishman 1977). Landry and Bouhris (1997: 23) defined it as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs,” which Gorter (2018) calls the short definition. The long definition (*ibid.*) offered by the scholars depicts the concept as follows: “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” which “combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration⁶” (*ibid.*: 25, cf. Gorter 2018). Also, as the study of public signs often concentrates on those in the urban environment, as opposed to the rural one, the concept of *multilingual cityscape* was introduced by Gorter (2006, 2013), and this understanding appears to fit in well with the current analysis. The analysis of linguistic landscape (LL) was used in its earlier stage primarily in a descriptive way. At present, more complex approaches to the study of LL have been postulated. As Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 1) observe, nowadays the study of LL does not only refer to language as such, but also to other aspects of public life; as they state in the comment: “attention to language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces that is the centre of attention in (...) LL.” With, however, a progressive development of both the field itself and a greater accessibility of other less public spaces for scholars, as e.g. the cyberspace or non-public set-ups, like schools, etc. (cf. Gorter 2018), also these have become a subject of LL study. Hence, further subtypes of spaces and other concepts have been put forward by scholars, e.g. that of *environmental*

⁶ Cf. also Itagi and Singh (2002b: ix) and Backhaus (2007: 10): “a language use in its written form (visible language) in its public sphere.”

print (Huebner 2006), the *decorum of the public life* (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006), *semiotic landscape* (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010), *schoolscape* (Brown 2012, Yoel 2020), *soundscape* (Scarvaglieri *et al.* 2013), *cyberscape* (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009), etc. In this vein *The Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal* (2015: <https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/22149961>) offered a definition of LL as follows: “field of Linguistic Landscape (LL) attempts to understand the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of ‘languages’ as they are displayed in public spaces.”

Landry and Bourhis (1997) divide signs into private and public ones (cf. Garrett 2010: 151), as the two categories carry a different message. Private signs mark people’s individual choices concerning their property (e.g. shops or services) (cf. Garrett 2010). In public signs the use of various languages on road signs, governmental buildings, educational institutions, etc., is motivated by the official language policy. They also, especially the latter, tend to reflect the often invisible, unspoken power play and decisions lying behind the linguistic distribution. As Coupland (2008, 2010) rightly points out (using Adam’s (1998: 54) quote), linguistic landscapes have “invisible constitutive activities inescapably embedded in them.” This realisation is reflected in the employment of the critical approach often used in the research on LL, not only a purely descriptive one. The current study assumes a critical perspective too in its attempt to investigate the collected material in terms of the social motivation behind and the reflection of power distribution regarding the role and the perception of the language used. As Rudenko (2017: 3) argues, “[p]ublic service advertising has a considerable manipulative potential for it gives an opportunity for a disguised control of the subconsciousness and behaviour,” which in the analysed cases may extend to the language choice in such texts too.

4. Rhetoric and advertising

As indicated above, the public service advertisements to be discussed in the present study attempt to rectify public behaviour where it does not meet social expectations or foster certain positive activities or approaches to some social issues. They, therefore, belong to the category of persuasive texts, and as such will be analysed with the help of the methodology of rhetorical analysis of language. Aristotle (2007: 37) states that rhetoric is an “ability in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion.” According to Brummet (2006: 4), rhetoric are the “ways in which signs influence people.” The particular view which further informs the analysis here is that of the rhetoric of social intervention (RSI), originally postulated by Brown (1978, 1982, 1986). Opt and Gring (2009: 4) explain the above term by pointing to the fact that RSI is: “rhetorical because it involves communication, social because our rhetorical

acts occur in interaction with other people, and interventional because these acts potentially shift the way in which we (and others) interpret and respond to experience.” The authors understand the term intervention as “an intentional intercession or act to bring about change” (Opt and Gring 2009: 5), which might be designed to promote or encourage as well as prevent certain types of behaviour. According to Boulding (1985), interventions take place within a system, and in the social system change communication is viewed as a catalyst. As he claims, “[s]ocial systems change as a result of our naming and renaming of our needs, relationships and experience” (ibid.: 11).

Advertisements, a genre to be discussed in the paper, according to Rotzoll (1985: 94), are broadly defined as “paid, nonpersonal communication forms used by identified sources through various media with persuasive intent.” There are a variety of advertisement types (ibid.), e.g. advertisements by producers of consumer goods to individuals, to retailers or wholesalers, advertisements of producers of business goods and services to other businesses, or to individuals for public relation purposes, advertisements by producers in international distribution, advertisements of individuals to other individuals, and, finally, advertisements of governments, social institutions and other interest groups – the latter are typically referred to as public service advertisements. The most notable linguistic features of advertisements, according to Simpson and Mayr (2010: 90–93, cf. Delin 2000) are: the use of direct address, disjunctive syntax, parallelisms and repetition. Chetia (2015: 980–984), in turn, provides a more extensive list, in which she includes the use of simile, personification, metaphor, hypophora, epizeuxis, hyperbole, parallelism, and the use of puns. Additionally, McQuarrie and Mick (1996, after Phillips and McQuarrie 2002: 3) speak about a broad division of the rhetorical devices used in advertisements into schemes (e.g. rhyme or antithesis as schemes of repetition) and tropes (e.g. metaphor, ellipsis, or pun).

While the analysis of rhetorical devices in advertisements and commercials is a frequent topic of investigation, rhetorical analysis of public service advertising is not yet a well developed field (cf. Benoit and Harthcock 2009, Rudenko 2017, Singh and Singh 2017). Considering the shortage of the analytical studies, the discussion provided by Rudenko (2017) is particularly interesting. Following her functional and pragmatic analysis of English public service advertisements excerpted from the American Internet sites Rudenko (2017: 4) demonstrates that the most frequent communicative strategies used in the English PSA are: (a) identification of the addressee with the problem (mainly by means of constatives and menaces, personal pronouns, adverbs *here* and *now*, as well as imperatives); (b) declaring of social norms and values (realised primarily through verbs of senses, imperatives, comparisons, positively valued adjectives, and the use of exact data); (c) revealing social drawbacks to make the addressee aware of negative consequences of certain behaviours (achieved through interroga-

tives, mainly rhetorical questions, constatives, directives, conditionals and comparison constructions, as well as puns and proverbs), (d) threat and appeals to the sense of fear (attained by providing quantitative data and words connected with the topic of death, as well as the tactic of the victim experience reference expressed by means of constatives, puns, comparisons, negative constructions and metaphors), and (e) strategy of cooperation (realised by means of references to authority/powerful organisations and quoting statistics). As the scholar sums it up (2017: 5), “[h]ence the characteristic traits of the speech acts in the discourse of English public service advertising are: initiation of thoughts about the problem (questives), informing about it (constatives), appealing to act and solve or prevent it (directives), threatening to prevent the consequences of the dangerous conduct (menacives).”

Advertising of consumer goods in India has a long tradition going back to the 19th c., but it experienced a massive expansion only in the 1990s (Ciochetto 2010). Although public service advertising has been of interest to scholars from the social point of view since the 1970s, the tradition of analysing PSA in the Indian context is very new (Singh and Singh 2017), and no reliable research of the linguistics tool has been conducted to date (*ibid.*). While there has been a greater visibility of scholarly analyses of Public Service Broadcasting and social aspects of TV commercials (*cf.* Chhetri 2011, Sachdeva 2015), the studies of written PSA have concentrated mainly on the identification of social needs behind the adverts, the topics tackled by campaigns, and their effectiveness. According to Austin and Pinkleton (2015, after Singh and Singh 2017: 55), “[s] election of mode for effective media campaign, choosing the effective and appealing message for campaign, allocating the sufficient budget for advertisements, are the main concern in public service advertisements.” On the whole, it has been claimed that PSA in India often employs emotional or fear appeals, yet, as has been discovered, the latter has not been very well received by Indian youth (*ibid.*). It has also been observed that very effective in the Indian context are public service advertisements and commercial which are endorsed by celebrities (*cf.* Leiss *et al.* 2005, Sachdeva 2015), which is why the method has been particularly recommended as a way of changing people’s lifestyle. Otherwise, since no systematic rhetorical studies of PSA have been conducted in India to date, and not on the English language text samples (it is noteworthy that the examples of public service commercials discussed by *e.g.* Sachdeva (2015) were either fully in Hindi or in Hindi with elements of English), the present study is necessarily to be viewed as only a preliminary contribution to the investigation of the strategies typically found in the English-phrased Indian public service advertisements. The analysis makes no claims to being exhaustive or culturally distinctive, and its primary aim is to highlight one of the roles the English language plays in the social development of India.

5. Materials and methods

The investigation of data will be based on the material collected from street signs found in 6 states, mostly in the Northern Belt, i.e. Maharashtra, West Bengal, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, Meghalaya, Goa in the course of one month (the study was conducted in February 2019). It is therefore not limited to one area, however, it is assumed that the use of a similar type of texts, some even with the same wording, yet found in geographically as distant parts as, West Bengal (*Keep Kolkata clean and green*) and Goa (*Keep Benaulim clean and green*) is motivated by official state institutions aiming to enhance the well being of the whole society and can therefore be considered as a common denominator of these. The final sample, after the elimination of the purely commercial and private establishments' texts, has been reduced to 41 short texts carrying messages of relevance to the public.

The analysis below will look into the rhetorical strategies and rhetorical devices which the short persuasive texts collected in the sample have used in order to foster social change. The texts consist of one-two clauses, and due to their brevity, their content, and the catchy character will also be referred to as slogans, parallel to the understanding of the term in advertising as “a memorable phrase or line that may in time become the touchstone of the product” (Simpson and Mayr 2010: 36). The analysed texts will be broken down and grouped according to the predominant patterns which have been used to make the content of the text memorable and hence persuasive. They will encompass the following rhetorical devices which the preliminary overview has identified: syntax (imperatives, assertions, disjunctive syntax), the use of pronouns, parallelisms, repetitions, the rule of three, emotive vocabulary, rhyme, metaphor, quoting authority and the use of hashtag (cf. McQuarrie and Mick 1996, Delin 2000, Simpson and Mayr 2010, Rudenko 2017). They will further be discussed from the point of view of which of the three modes of persuasion have been used in the interventions: ethos (appeal to the authority or credibility of the persuader, appeal to ethics), logos (appeal to logic) or pathos (appeal to the audience's emotions). In conclusion, it will be shown which persuasive techniques dominate in the collected public service advertisements, how the Indian state and public institutions attempt to foster social change and a sense of national unity by means of propagating it on public signs, and how the structures and vocabulary of English are utilised to this effect.

6. Results of data analysis

6.1. Syntactic aspects

The overall analysis will first involve a division of the collected forms in terms of their syntax. The overview of the 41 elements has led to the identification of three categories of more or less equal number: imperatives – 34,14%, assertions – 31.7%, disjunctive syntax – 29.26%, as well as one instance of an interrogative (*Clean cities are also citizens' responsibility. Don't you think that sanitation workers deserve dignity, honour and our love*) and one of 1st p.pl imperative (*Let's contribute towards a cleaner world*).

6.1.1. Imperatives

The first to be discussed among the three categories are imperatives, items which implicate a direct communication (albeit in writing) with the addressee. This form of the sentence also most visibly imitates spoken interaction, especially those imperatives which make a direct use of the pronoun *you*. The forms of imperatives recorded in the public signs are:

- (1) *You must become* the change you want to see;
- (2) Safe drive *save* life;
- (3) *Protect* the bees, *save* the earth;
- (4) *Break* the bottle before it breaks your life;
- (5) *Keep* rivers clean;
- (6) *Save* our ocean. *Save* marine life. *Say* no to plastic;
- (7) Love can't be measured. *Keep* Kolkata clean and green. Courtesy: Union Bank of India;
- (8) Benaulim Village Panchayat welcomes you. *Keep* Benaulim clean and green;
- (9) A small habit that can have a big impact. *Segregate* wet and dry waste to contribute towards the wellbeing of your colony;
- (10) *Be* a dreamer! 'Dream is not that which you see while sleeping, it is something that does not let you sleep' Dr APJ Abdul Kalam. University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. Unveiling excellence;
- (11) *Follow* Traffic Rules. Kolkata Traffic Police;
- (12) #Our Values at BHS Respect. Pro Activity. "*Connect! Make* things happen. Yes, now";
- (13) #Our Values at BHS Respect. The World. "It is precious. *Value* it greatly";
- (14) Welcome to North Bengal. *Enjoy* the beauty of Dooars and Hills. Tourism Department. Government of West Bengal.

The above are examples of very direct instructions and encouragements to take certain actions, which often have a form of a directive. When analysed from the point of view of Rudenko's (2017) typology, they can be classified as advertisements which uphold social norms and values, mostly by giving positive examples to follow. The most forceful item here is a paraphrase of Gandhi's statement *You must become the change you want to see*. Otherwise, as can be noted, some of the imperatives are paired up in the text either with a statement which presents a current state of affairs or, more often, as already indicated above, provides some positive example or a general truth, e.g. examples (7) or (9), which should be a goal for the potential addressee to achieve. Pronouns *you* and especially *your* are visible in this section (7 instances recorded), next to two uses of *our*. The direct address is then not that frequent and somewhat hidden behind the imperative verbal forms, except when a certain action, a current one but with a negative effect, or a future one but with a positive effect may affect the addressee's life, as e.g. in example (4), which makes use of antithesis. Instead, there may also be a sequence of events or actions listed, e.g. examples (6) and (12).

6.1.2. Assertions

The number of assertions matches that of imperatives closely, as already indicated above:

- (1) Alcohol abuse *can stop* you in your tracks;
- (2) Life *doesn't* have a reset button. Speed *thrills* but *kills*;
- (3) Smarties *litter* less, "idiots" *make* a mess;
- (4) Small habit that *can* have a big impact. Segregate wet and dry waste to contribute towards the wellbeing of your colony;
- (5) #Our Values at BHS Respect. "*We honour* ourselves. *We honour* others too";
- (6) *We care*. Grow more trees;
- (7) Clean cities *are* also citizens' responsibility. Don't you think that sanitation workers deserve dignity, honour and our love!;
- (8) Every job *wants* you to meet the targets. This one *wants* you to take them down;
- (9) "My vote *counts*" speaker Sri Sunil Ambedkar;
- (10) Elliot Park, Kolkata's Pride, Our Beauty. To safeguard it, *is* everybody's duty;
- (11) Bengal Global Business Summit. #Bengal *means* business;
- (12) RAMCO *salutes* Odisha's Hockey Spirit. World class hockey aspirations *are born* young in Odisha!;
- (13) "Real teachers *are* those who not only *teach* with honesty but also *motivate* and give vision to the students" University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. Our vision, your passion, fulfilling the USTM mission.

Assertions may also be paired up with imperatives in one slogan, as already indicated above. As can be seen, some of the collected slogans point to negative facts about life, bad habits that people have and their negative effects, as the first three examples illustrate, and the use of antithesis is noteworthy here as well. Examples in this category could also be identified as constatives, which Rudenko (2017) linked mainly with the identification strategy, one that draws the readers' attention to the existing problem and helps them break away from it. Interestingly, the negativity of the problem does not seem to be of primary focus in the Indian items. A notable share of the examples in the category rather tend to stress the positive outcome of the action that the slogan advocates. This is certainly enhanced by the visible use of the 1st person pronouns *we* (3 items) and *our* (4 items), as well as *my* (1 item). Five instances of pronouns *you* and *your* can also be noted here, either in the impersonal sense, or in the forms of appeal for confirmation. Altogether, the use of pronouns appears to make the experience advocated in the text both very personal for each of the addressees of the message and also attainable; at the same time, it stresses the importance of the community and shows examples of good practice, e.g. examples (5), (6), (7), (9), (10), (13). Thereby the use of assertions fosters change by quoting general truths, highlighting reasons for state/national pride (items 11 and 12), and pointing to ethical principles.

6.1.3. Disjunctive syntax

The number of uses of disjunctive syntax is also almost on a par with the other two categories. As Simpson and Mayr (2010, cf. Delin, 2000) claim, the short, verbless messages resemble spoken conversation. They are therefore very succinct in grasping the essence of a certain phenomenon, they also often give and air of informality, and hence have a greater power to persuade the recipient:

- (1) Kolkata Traffic Police. *Faster Safer Friendlier*;
- (2) *A gift to the city of joy*. Rotary Club of Calcutta Mahangar. *Cold drinking water*;
- (3) *Green bin for wet waste, blue bin for dry waste*;
- (4) *#Our Values at BHS Respect. Wisdom. 'Not just smartness. Kindness as well'*;
- (5) *Mumbai metro work in progress for better future*;
- (6) *Better vision for safe drive*;
- (7) *United as fans*;
- (8) Mumbai metro line 3. Churchgate station. *Connecting the unconnected*;
- (9) *Bengal Global Business Summit. #Bengal means business*;
- (10) University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. *Unveiling excellence*;
- (11) *Housing for all by the year 2020*;
- (12) *Visitors amenities. Drinking water. Clean toilets*.

As can be seen, disjunctive syntax often appears in slogans next to the name of some public institution, as *Kolkata Traffic Police*, *The Rotary Club of Calcutta Mahangar*, the *BHS* (“The Billimoria High School”), *Mumbai metro line*, such ads, therefore, sound more like mottos or slogans attributed to or describing the character of these institutions, or else they stress the positive contribution of these to the public wellbeing, as e.g. in (1), (2), (4), (5), (8). Slogans with disjunctive syntax, therefore, unlike the two previous categories, do not attempt to impact the readers by either trying to involve them directly by means of imperatives or exerting influence by making the readers identify with the advocated line of action through the use of the 1st p. pl. pronouns. They rather persuade the readers indirectly by means of establishing an association between them and the institutions which work for public good and are connected with authority. If the institutions are marked with certain attributes or perform certain actions which are ethical or have a positive effect, they are a model to follow.

6.2. Stylistic devices

Having discussed the persuasive acts from the point of view of their general syntactic form and the typical pragmatic goals which tend to be linked with the respective structures (it will be noted that menacive strategies were hardly detected) we will now investigate the more specific stylistic devices employed in them in order to make the slogan (more) persuasive. The list will include: emotive vocabulary (17), rhyme (7), metaphor (7), parallelism (6), hashtag # (6), citing authorities (5), repetition and rule of three (4).

6.2.1. *Emotive vocabulary*

- (1) *Smarties* litter less, “*idiots*” make a mess;
- (2) Elliot Park, Kolkata’s *Pride*, Our *Beauty*. To safeguard it, is everybody’s duty;
- (3) Kolkata Traffic Police. *Faster Safer Friendlier*;
- (4) Clean cities are also citizens’ responsibility. Don’t you think that sanitation workers deserve *dignity, honour* and our *love!*;
- (5) #Our Values at BHS Respect. The World. “It is *precious*. Value it *greatly*”;
- (6) #Our Values at BHS Respect. Pro Activity. ‘*Connect!* Make things happen. *Yes, now*’;
- (7) Our Values at BHS Respect. Wisdom. “Not just smartness. *Kindness* as well”;
- (8) Department of Tourism Govt of West Bengal. *Beautiful* Bengal;
- (9) *Dreams* have taken flight. With Ugwala, many homes are shining *bright*.

The use of emotive vocabulary, especially adjectives, but as can be seen here, also some nouns and adverbs, as well as exclamatory effects, reflects the emotional

attitude of the author of the text, or, as in e.g., item (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (8), and (9), of the respective institution sponsoring the advertisement (e.g. Elliot Park authorities, Kolkata Traffic Police, the Billimoria High School, etc.). It needs to be remembered that the attitude expressed can be positive or negative, and both of these can act as persuasive techniques. The positive ones express satisfaction and happiness about a given situation or what it will be like when things change, as in e.g. (3), (6), (7) or (8). Negatively marked vocabulary can also serve a similar purpose in that it criticises behaviour that underlies some negative situation, as in (1). It is notable that the frequency of emotively marked vocabulary is relatively low (only ca. 25% of the slogans make use of them, although sometimes employing two or more in a sentence), which means that evoking emotional reactions among Indian recipients may not be a strategy favoured by the institutions which are behind the slogans. The negative vocabulary is limited to a minimum – even the use of the inverted commas appears to indicate that in public service advertising negative representation of social actors is a delicate issue and better avoided altogether, which ties in well with Singh and Singh's (2017) comment about the tendency to avoid negative emotions and threats in Indian PSA.

6.2.2. Rhyme

- (1) Safe *drive* save *life*;
- (2) Elliot Park, Kolkata's Pride, Our *Beauty*. To safeguard it, is everybody's *duty*;
- (3) Love Can't Be Measured. Keep Kolkata *clean* and *green*. Courtesy: Union Bank of India;
- (4) Smarties litter *less*, "idiots" make a *mess*;
- (5) Life doesn't have a reset button. Speed *thrills* but *kills*;
- (6) Dreams have taken *flight*. With Ugwala, many homes are shining *bright*;
- (7) Clean *cities* are also citizens' *responsibility*. Don't you think that sanitation workers deserve dignity, honour and our love!

Rhyme is a very useful mnemonic technique allowing one to store ideas in mind more readily. As can be seen, the use of this device is also not very marked, yet, undeniably, rhymes have been rather skilfully incorporated into the slogans. The rhyme constitutes the whole message, necessarily making it brief, but therefore much easier to comprehend and store in mind, e.g. (1), (4). It may also be preceded by a more general statement, e.g. (7); or else it may be a part of a longer, more complex structure, as in (2). It is interesting to observe that the use of rhyme may be antithetic in combining two opposites visible in the situation highlighted by the slogans, e.g. (4) or (5), in which the rhyme effectively juxtaposes the bad and the good, or the current state of events and the change that may ensue.

6.2.3. *Metaphor*

- (1) A gift to the *city of joy*. Rotary Club of Calcutta Mahangar. Cold drinking water;
- (2) *Life doesn't have a reset button*. Speed thrills but kills;
- (3) Break the bottle before *it breaks your life*;
- (4) *Better vision* for safe drive;
- (5) *Step ahead in life* with LIC. Reinsurance Corporation of India;
- (6) Alcohol abuse can *stop you in your tracks*;
- (7) RAMCO salutes Odisha's *hockey spirit*. World class *hockey aspirations are born* young in Odisha!

The above examples show that the language of the slogans and mottos of public institutions and public service advertising in India may not be very metaphorical, as there have only been eight instances of metaphors found in the sample. Interestingly, a visible element here is the concept of life, which may be viewed as a journey, e.g. in (5), or as an object (a computer, something fragile), as in (2) or (3). The concept of a journey is also evoked in the last but one example, where the forward movement can be terminated by alcohol. Both the third and the fourth example, on the other hand, make use of personalisation of objects, i.e. alcohol and bottle, which are viewed as agents in physically affecting one's life. The same can be said about aspirations which are born, in other words, they are treated as an animate object that is attained by way of a natural development. As regards the first example, Kolkata is described there as a city of joy, which may, in turn, be viewed as hyperbole, as the image evoked does not exactly match the actual state of the city, ridden with poverty and full of squalor. It should be noted that the phrase is in itself a reference to a novel and then a movie set in the Kolkata slum area called City of Joy. Lastly, example (4) focuses on the ambiguity of the word *vision*, which may mean some (positive) view into the future, yet in itself is an advertisement for eye tests, which may be seen as beneficial for the safety on the road. These are then not very complicated stylistic figures on the whole, and it may indicate that public service advertisements in India on the whole rather tend to opt for clarity and plainness of expression.

6.2.4. *Parallelism*

- (1) *Safe drive save life*;
- (2) *Protect the bees, save the earth*;
- (3) #Our Values at BHS Respect. "*We honour ourselves. We honour others too*";
- (4) Every job *wants you to meet* the targets. This one *wants you to take* them down;

- (5) #Our Values at BHS Respect. Wisdom. “*Not just smartness. Kindness as well*”;
- (6) Green bin for wet *waste*, blue bin for dry *waste*.

Parallelism is a device which involves the use of the same grammatical structure or a similar lexical concept repeated by means of different words one after the other. In this way the content of such structures is highlighted and remains in the memory of the reader more easily. Represented by a slightly lower number of examples than the previous devices, parallelism is visible in the repetition of the same structure, as in two imperatives one by one, viz. (1) and (2) or a repetition of an assertion, as in (3) and (4) (the latter being an advert about joining the Indian military force). The structure may also be limited to a similar category of a noun alone, as in (5), or a noun phrase, as in (6). It may be noted that parallelisms, even though they use a similar structure and often stress the meaning by means of conveying the same interpretation, may show an increase of the force of the element in the second clause, as in (2) or (3). Some also tend to convey the message by means of a juxtaposition or a contrast, as e.g. *we vs. others, smartness vs. kindness, some do this vs. we do that*. The use of antithesis in the analysed slogans and mottos is, therefore, notable.

6.2.5. *Hashtag*

- (1) Bengal Global Business Summit. #Bengal means business
- (2) Farmers’ income trebled in the last 7 years. # Kolkata means business;
- (3) #Our Values at BHS Respect. “We honour ourselves. We honour others too”
- (4) #Our Values at BHS Respect. Pro Activity. “Connect! Make things happen. Yes, now”;
- (5) #Our Values at BHS Respect. Wisdom. “Not just smartness. Kindness as well”;
- (6) #Our Values at BHS Respect. The World. “It is precious. Value it greatly.”

Hashtag is not a device which features in the classical description of rhetoric, however, it appears to have become an important instrument of spreading information in the modern world, and, thereby, a source of a powerful influence too. Hashtag developed as an internet device, originally on Twitter, in 2007. It means a word or a phrase preceded by the symbol (#), whose use makes it possible to find all other items marked by the same hashtag online. Thereby, a vast and complex network of elements is created, which helps the users to spread the message about an event or a concept far and wide, and link it up with other messages from a similar category. The use of hashtags in PSA allows institutions to put India or more specific localities and events there on the world map and publicise them this way. Among the collected data there are two

hashtags found in Kolkata, West Bengal (1 and 2), and four in Panchgani, Maharashtra, respectively (examples 3–6). Texts (1) and (2) advertise Bengal Global Business Summit, which by means of a hashtag publicise the messages attached to it globally. The message sent in (1) is that Bengal should be associated with business, in other words, it invites prospective business partners to expand Bengal's economy, and in (2) that Kolkata means business, a slogan which is linked with a piece of information about the growth in the farmers' income. These, in turn, advertise a positive image of the state and possibly thereby enhance patriotic feelings in its inhabitants. The other group of hashtag slogans (examples 3, 4, 5, and 6) are more locally oriented – they advertise one of the schools in Panchgani. It can be seen, however, that the school wishes to be associated with positive ethical and moral values which are common to the humanity at large, and by attaching a hashtag to the slogans it encourages positive actions not only in its students, but also the local community, and the whole world too.

6.2.6. Citing authorities

- (1) *“You must become the change you want to see.”* Mahatma Gandhi;
- (2) *“My vote counts”* speaker Sri Sunil Ambedkar;
- (3) *“Real teachers are those who not only teach with honesty but also motivate and give vision to the students”* University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. Our vision, your passion, fulfilling the USTM vision;
- (4) Be a dreamer! *“Dream is not that which you see while sleeping, it is something that does not let you sleep”* Dr APJ Abdul Kalam. University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. Unveiling excellence;
- (5) *“Daughter, be of good comfort thy faith hath made thee whole, go in peace.”* Luke 8:47;

A form of persuasion that can also be found in the public signs studied here is a reference to a recognised authority. If a well known personality has expressed support for a given idea or presented a view that carries some obvious benefit for the society at large, quoting them directly can serve as an excellent argument in support of some steps to be taken by citizens. Example (1) is probably the best known quotation from Mahatma Gandhi. The fact that it has been proudly exposed in the arrival area of the Mumbai Airport is aimed to indicate to those arriving by air, both local and foreign, what the guiding principle of the Indian state is. Examples (3) and (4) are quotations from renowned Indian teachers, used here as an encouragement to study at the Science University of Meghalaya, and thus enhance India's level of education, while a citation from the National Organising Secretary, Sri Sunil Ambedkar (2) encourages the public to take part in the elections. The last example, (5), found in the neighbourhood of a local

church in Benaulim, Goa, is a citation taken from the Bible (Luke 8:47). It aims to strengthen faith in women, which in a Christian state that Goa is carries a particular value. On the whole, even if the examples of appeal to authorities are not very numerous, they can be seen as a strategy parallel to, or even included in that of endorsements offered by celebrities, found more typically in commercial advertising, and these, according to Singh and Singh (2017) are viewed as most influential in India.

6.2.7. Repetition and rule of three

- (1) *Save our ocean. Save marine life. Say no to plastic;*
- (2) *Kolkata Traffic Police. Faster Safer Friendlier;*
- (3) “Real teachers are those who not only teach with honesty but also motivate and give vision to the students” University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. *Our vision, your passion, fulfilling the USTM mission;*
- (4) *Visitors Amenities. Drinking water. Clean toilets.*

Repetition and its particular subcategory, the rule of three, are possibly most typically found in political rhetoric and motivational speeches. A limited use of the devices in the analysed material may mean that their use is more readily associated with spoken language, yet, some examples are also visible here. Their task is, as in the case of parallelisms, to exert a more long-lasting impact on the reader. If used skilfully, the repetition may show a change based on the escalation of certain positive characteristics, as in (2), or a mutual interconnect-edness between the sponsoring institution and the prospective customers, as visible in text in (3) posted by University of Science in Shillong. An interesting example of a rule of three, which also combines in itself parallelism of the structure and the use of alliteration is (1). Example (4) may not belong to exactly the same category as the other slogans, yet the reference to clean toilets, which may still be in want in public areas in India, makes it worth stressing and advertising, which has been the reason why this note has also been included in this set.

6.2.8. Other

There are very few other devices which have been found in the data. Among those an interrogative has been employed in one of the texts, viz. *Don't you think that the sanitation workers deserve dignity, honour and our love!*, although graphically it ended with an exclamation mark. The use of an epistemic interrogative in a way leads to an assumption that there is in fact a general agreement about the attitude presented here. This would indeed constitute an important social step in India – that of an acceptance of and gratitude to those who perform all the mundane tasks, particularly those from the lowest caste

(Dalits), who often deal with the most hateful jobs in society. Another option also identified in the texts is a 1st person plural imperative, *Let's contribute towards a cleaner world*, which calls for a certain socially beneficial action that should be performed jointly. It is therefore a powerful persuasive technique that also carries forth a progressive concept – that it is everyone's responsibility to take care of a clean India. Indeed, the slogan goes even further and asks people to do so for the world, not only for their country.

7. Discussion

The above overview of the rhetorical devices identified in the analysed public service advertisements has foregrounded a greater visibility of certain strategies and structures, as well as the purpose with which they appear to be associated. There is a variety of structures here, but a closer investigation reveals a certain pairing up between the syntactic pattern used and the type of message they convey. As was already highlighted above, the use of imperatives conveys a direct encouragement to change certain behaviours by highlighting positive outcomes. The use of assertions is, in turn, viewed as a carrier of certain valuable models and good practices, often linked with a tendency to use positive emotive vocabulary, references to personal examples and search for their endorsement. Finally, one can also see an application of antithesis in the grammatically parallel constructions, which shows a possible progression from a negative to a positive state. There is, on the other hand, a meagre use of metaphorical language, hardly any visibility of threats, and on the whole a plain expression of the guiding thoughts dominates.

What can also be evaluated now more systematically is the choice of the three rhetorical modes of persuasion, which appear to underlie the choice of the respective rhetorical devices. The overview of the material has demonstrated that as regards an appeal to logos, i.e. a reference to logic and a specific reason to be found in the above slogans, there were only four reasonably clear cases among the 41 items analysed (9.75%), i.e. *Farmers' income trebled in the last 7 years*.# *Kolkata means business*; *Safe drive save life*; *Life doesn't have a reset button*. *Speed thrills but kills*, and *Better vision for safe drive*. The persuasive element may thus be a citation of a concrete number, i.e. of some objective data that offer an argument in support of a given issue or a fact. The appeal to logos may also be achieved by means of quoting undeniable truths about life and death (here all the appeals, interestingly, relate to safe driving). Thus, although objectively persuasive, this mode does not appear to be attractive for Indian advertisers, at least when judged on the basis of the collected examples.

Another of the three rhetorical appeals is pathos, i.e. evoking a certain emotional state in people, which in turn could convince the readers about the

righteousness of a certain action to be taken. This mode has certainly been more frequently explored, with 36.58% examples resorting to this appeal in all. Some of them are:

- (1) *Smarties* litter less, “*idiots*” make a mess;
- (2) Clean cities are also citizens’ responsibility. Don’t you think that sanitation workers deserve *dignity, honour* and our *love!*;
- (3) We *care*. Grow more trees;
- (4) RAMCO *salutes* Odisha’s Hockey Spirit. *World class* hockey aspirations are born young in Odisha!;
- (5) Break the bottle before *it breaks your life*;
- (6) #Our Values at BHS Respect. Pro Activity. “*Connect! Make things happen. Yes, now!*”;
- (7) *United* as fans.

They appeal to emotions which the issues mentioned in the texts evoke. For instance, in example (7) standing united stresses the sense of national unity and pride evoked by Indian sports achievements (in cricket, India’s most favourite sport) and is accompanied by an image of athletes and actors standing together before a sport competition. This, in turn, puts all message addressees in the same category and makes them feel proud too. On the other hand, the use of emotionally marked vocabulary, like *idiots, dignity, honour, love*, as well as a forceful use of the adverb *now*, etc. brings about emotional reactions in the addressees, which are certainly taken advantage of in the call for social action.

The most frequently explored mode of persuasion which dominates the collected examples, however, appears to be ethos, an appeal to some ethical and moral values that inform a given action. This approach has been identified in 53.65% of the collected examples. Some of them are:

- (1) “*You must become the change you want to see*”. Mahatma Gandhi;
- (2) Elliot Park. *Dedicated to the people of Kolkata by Kolkata Police, Govt. Of West Bengal and TATA Steel*;
- (3) Elliot Park, *Kolkata’s Pride, Our Beauty To safeguard it, is everybody’s duty*;
- (4) *Follow Traffic Rules*. Kolkata Traffic Police;
- (5) *Love Can’t Be Measured. Keep Kolkata Clean and Green*. Courtesy: Union Bank of India;
- (6) *A gift to the city of joy*. Rotary Club of Calcutta Mahangar. *Cold drinking water*;
- (7) “*My vote counts*” speaker Sri Sunil Ambedkar;
- (8) “*Real teachers are those who not only teach with honesty but also motivate and give vision to the students*” University of Science and Technology,

- Meghalaya. Our vision, your passion, fulfilling the USTM vision;
- (9) Be a dreamer! “Dream is not that which you see while sleeping, it is something that does not let you sleep” Dr APJ Abdul Kalam. University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. *Unveiling excellence*;
- (10) Bengal Global Business Summit. *#Bengal means business*.

Among others, the above illustrate well that public service advertising appoints well known personalities or institutions as role models, who are quoted directly or are suggested as either a source of a certain attitude or as showing support for it. Pointing to a positive change happening or about to happen which is endorsed by or attributed to socially recognised actors appears to have a major impact on the citizens of India, as was already highlighted above. This is not only an argumentation for the social change that is found in the persons or institutions that are linked with or are personally responsible for the change, but at the same time it also acts as a promotion of the respective institutions in that they now become associated with those good practices and positive development concerning the future. It is an attempt to bring about social change as a result of quoting or pointing to authorities as those behind certain decisions to be taken in the hope that Indian society, which is one marked by power distance (cf. Hofstede 2015), will recognise and respect authority vested in public figures and consequently, follow those role-models, too.

8. Conclusion

The above analysis has constituted an overview of examples of slogans and, mottos visible in a sample of public service advertisements found in India’s linguistic landscape whose aim was, at least at its face value, to spread the message of social change, enhance the sense of national pride, and develop some good social practices. It has been demonstrated that the implementation of this task was undertaken by means of various rhetorical devices in order to foster the visibility and reticence of these social practices in the memory and consciousness of the public. It was executed particularly through the use of direct addresses to the audience, but also assertions that highlight a possible future action or change, as well as disjunctive syntax simulating that of a more conversational, and therefore informal style. The syntactic structures were supported by emotive vocabulary, rhymes, parallelisms, repetitions, metaphors and quotations from recognised sources and personalities as well as the hashtag dissemination of the message. Since no thorough rhetorical analysis of Indian PSAs has been conducted to date, it is hoped that the foregoing might be viewed as a starting point for a more in-depth and systematic investigation of the phenomenon too.

The critical overview of the content of the messages from the point of view of the rhetoric of social intervention makes it possible to observe that the most prominent areas of needs which demand social intervention are the issues concerning safe driving, obeying traffic rules, fighting alcohol abuse, cleanliness, protecting environment, battling an unfair treatment of others, and gaining better education. The analysis also warrants a conclusion that the ideas conveyed not only support social change but also, indirectly, contribute to the positive image of the institutions and persons quoted in the advertisements. As all these slogans have been formulated in English, the nationwide assistance language of India as well as a major tool of globalisation and internationalisation, the positive associations that have been evoked in the recipients of the messages also, indirectly, contribute to an even more favourable perception of the language itself. It is through this medium that the readers are being taught about the progressive ideas and good practices, so the language will be in a natural way associated with the social change as well. All the discussed devices certainly help retain the message in people's mind, as they are short, succinct, rhymed, corroborated by means of repetitions, etc. This, in turn, not only contributes to a stronger position of English when compared to other local tongues, but it also constitutes a tool for enhancing the knowledge of the language itself through the devices that allow people to notice them, understand them, and remember them better. It may therefore be concluded that positive change and building a healthier, more progressive and better society in India, especially in its northern areas, connotes institutional support as well as the use of English that carries the messages of change and is thereby associated with the idea of change too.

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