Bread, the Staff of Advertising (II)[1]

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ANALYSIS OF THE CORPUS

2. Advertisements for bakeries and bakery equipment

These cannot be easy to devise: as with baked goods, there are no obvious differences between the products on sale. How then to attract favourable attention when advertising what is essentially an unglamorous product?

Mercopan (1)

Mercopan, a bakery in the departmental capital Salto, Uruguay, came up with an interesting solution to the problem, and decided to use what is arguably the most popular advertising technique in Uruguay — the trade calendar, given away to suppliers of goods, business contacts and customers. More often than not, these are extremely functional, not especially colourful or amusing, containing the basic calendar information and the name of the company, garage, restaurant or bar, and providing twelve months of effectively advertising Mercopan and their copywriter, Antonio Oliva, went one better, using wordplay in conjunction with cultural iconicity in order to get their slogan across to the public "Merco Pan se hace con arte".

Wordplay has given rise to the name of the bakery, Mercopan, which combines the noun "pan", bread, with the verb "mercar", to sell — "I sell bread". The name Mercopan was chosen to because of its closeness the name of Mercosur, the South American Common Market, set up to promote and facilitate commercial relations between the participating countries. At the same time it recalls such popular words as the compound noun "mercachifle", the travelling, salesman who until recently did his rounds in the interior of the country, and has now acquired folkloric status.

According to Vinay & Darbelnet, "allusion prestigieuses" are "les textes publicitaires qui exploitent la connaissance répandue dans le public de certains faits historiques, certaines valeurs culturelles el sociales, qui confèrent un éclat particulier au produit qu'on veut vendre" (1958: 244). In the Uruguayan case, the cultural icons selected as "allusions prestigieuses" to enhance the Mercopan bakery are famous paintings, related to cultivating and harvesting corn, or baking and eating bread. Oliva's criteria for selecting the particular works of art were personal preference, thematic coherence, but above all, availability of materials.

The picture for January-February is Vincent Van Gogh's *Cornfield with Cypresses*, painted in July 1889 in Saint-Rémy. The lack of tranquility in this landscape may be attributable to the fact that he confined to the insane asylum at the time. The months of March and April are represented by Vermeer's most popular painting, *The Milkmaid* (1658-1660). This painting is notable for the dignity with which it depicts the maid, and shows a whole loaf as well as pieces of bread.

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[1] La primera parte de este trabajo se encuentra en el nº 9 de *Paremia*, 2000: 103-110.

May-June has *Las Hormigas*, a painting of women gleaning in a field, by a less well-known artist, the Aragonese painter Mariano Barbasán Laguarela (1864-1924), who studied in Valencia, Madrid and Rome, and is noted for his luminous outdoor scenes, and *costumbrista* style.

For July and August, Brueghel's *Peasant Wedding* (1565-66) has been selected. Coincidentally, this painting was recently used in a television advertisement. Through computer graphic technology, the painting was animated, music was added and the feast was certainly livened up (animada) in order to advertise Wall's icecream.

September-October displays *Peasants at Supper* (1645-1648) by Louis le Nain (c. 1593-1648). Like Vermeer, Le Nain depicts lowly characters with dignity rather than as grotesque, comic figures, thus initiating a new trend in art.

Finally, November-December has as its illustration a photograph from a UNESCO publication (1987), which shows Egyptian women using traditional baking methods, and is accompanied by the following proverbial saying and text:

Bueno como el pan.

> Una sonrisa de satisfacción ilumina los rostros de estas campesinas egipcias cuando terminan el rito tradicional de hornear el pan. En muchas partes del mundo el pan ha sido la base de la alimentación desde hace unos doce mil años. El primer pan, cuya preparación se remonta al período neolítico, se elabora con agua y se cocía sobre piedras recalentadas cubriéndolo con cenizas calientes. A los antiguos egipcios debemos el invento del horno para el pan y el descubrimiento del proceso de fermentación de la masa de harina de trigo que permitió hacer panes ligeros y blandos.

The advertisers simultaneously educate their customers and remind them of bread's long and distinguished history. Notably, none of the images selected is Uruguayan in origin or offers a visual representation of Uruguayan people, landscapes or social customs. Nevertheless, the images transcend national boundaries. Firstly, we should not forget the prevalent myth that Uruguay, "the Switzerland of South America", is the most European of Latin American countries, and can thus lay claim to a common western cultural heritage. Secondly, the business of cultivating cereals and processing them into bread is not confined to one country or continent, but is probably the most universal of human experiences The only difference lies in the technology used. Thirdly, those paintings with human subjects all seem to underline the fundamental dignity of those who contribute to the process of producing this essential foodstuff.

Mercopan (2)

The Mercopan calendar for 1999 is much simpler, and thus easier and less expensive to produce. It consists of a single sheet in a thin metal frame that can be hung on the wall. In addition to the twelve months of the year, there are three photographs, of ears of wheat, grains of wheat, and loaves of bread — three stages in the process. The accompanying text is a quotation from Enrique Amorim (1900-1960), a canonical Uruguayan author, himself from Salto: "...El surco donde el pan empieza", which translates as "...The furrow where the bread begins".

Another calendar might have contained medieval manuscript illuminations from a Book of Hours, for instance, *Les très riche heures du Duc de Berry* has sowing and ploughing in March, harvest time in October, June, and tilling and sowing in October. In the seventeenth century, we find Velázquez's *Los músicos* and *El almuerzo*. From the eighteenth century, Thomas Gainsborough's famous work, *The Harvest Wagon*, painted around 1767, and housed in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at the University of Birmingham, England. Or paintings from the nineteenth-century: Jean-Frangois Millet's *The Gleaners* (1857), Monet's *The Luncheon* (1868) and Camille Pissaro's *Haymakers Resting* (1891). From the twentieth century, there is the conté crayon work by George Seurat (1859-1891), *The Gleaner* (1839), itself a tribute to Millet, as well as several paintings by Salvador Dalí, for whom bread was a key element: *La cesta de pan* (1926), *Dos trozos de pan expresando el sentimiento del amor* (1940), *La cesta de pan* (1945).

Agenda del pan 1999. Bellido Panadería y Confiterías. La Tahona de S. Antonio (Kindly supplied by Dr. Matilde Gallardo Barbarroja)

This combined diary and address book, made for members of CEOPAN in Spain, is 160 pages long, and of a graphical quality superior to many books and periodical publications, with a clear layout, agreeable type-faces and numerous colour photographs, as befits an item of prestige advertising. The book contains scientific information on bread, baking and nutrition, as well as sections on gas ("the ecological fuel"), the Gasoducto Magreb-Europa, and Xacobeo '99. The final section, before we reach the diary proper, is entitled *Panes de España*: «D. José Carlos Capel, crítico gastronómico de *El País*, en su libro *El pan* (Ed. Montserrat Mateu, Barcelona 1991, p. 37) recoge en "Glosario de los panes de España" más de 315 variedades autóctonas de pan, propias de cada rincón de nuestra geografía». Some of these varieties are shown in a poster for CGL-GRUPO LESAFFRE, and the agenda shows photographs of the selection, with the name of the loaf and a brief explanation of its characteristics.

The diary pages are preceded by the title "Dietario" which translates variously as engagement book or account book (something of a "false friend" for the English reader, who will automatically think of diets). Each week occupies a double page spread and the saint for each day is given. At the foot of the left hand page there is a recipe, always requiring bread in one form or another. Correspondingly, on the facing page, under the heading *Refranero*, a proverb related in some way to bread (Spanish bread proverbs have been studied in depth by Esther Forgas Berdet and are the subject of several books and numerous articles by the same scholar. See the Bibliographical References). Altogether, there are 53 of these, going from the weeks beginning December 1998-December 27 1999:

1. Buen pan y mucha leña, el invierno nunca empeña.
2. El pan, por el color; y el vino, por el sabor.
3. El pan, de poco peso, y de mucho el queso.
4. Pan acabado quita cuidado.
5. Pan de trigo, aceite de olivo, y de la parra el vino.
6. Pan tierno y vino añejo dan la vida al viejo.
7. Pan reciente, mucho en la mano y poco en el diente.
8. A pan de quince días, hambre de tres semanas.
9. Tanto pan como un pulgtar [*sic*] torna el alma a su lugar.
10. Quien bien come el pan, no ha menester manjar.
11. Pan que presta, pone cara de fiesta.
12. Con pan y vino se anda el camino.
13. Pan vino y carne, crían buena sangre.
14. Con pan y carne ninguno se muere de sangre.
15. De los olores, el pan; de los sabores, la sal.
16. Ni mesa sin pan, ni ejército sin capitán.
17. Bueno es pan, con un pedazo más.
18. Sin pan y tocino, el año es dañino.
19. Todos los juegos con pan son buenos.
20. Pan y nueces, saben a amores.
21. Pan y queso, mesa puesta es.
22. Todo es bueno para comello, si hay pan con ello.
23. Con pan, hasta las sopas.
24. Sin pan, todos los manjares saben mal.
25. Antes pan que vino, y antes vino que tocino,
26. Pan que sobre, carne que baste y vino que falte.
27. El pan es freno del vino.
28. Lo que dice el panadero todo es bueno.
29. Quien vende pan ¿qué comprará?
30. Pan con pan no pringa.
31. Al pan caliente, abrirle un hoyito y echarle aceite.
32. Mucho pan a los muchachos y mucho pienso a los machos.
33. Vino y pan, andar te harán.
34. Con pan, vino y queso, no hay camino tieso.
35. Ni mesa sin pan, ni mocita sin galán.
36. Bueno es pan, con un pedazo más.
37. La hogaza no embaraza.
38. Pan mollete, sin sentir se mete.
39. Pan de hogaza es buen gobierno de una casa.
40. Pan y bellotas tengas, y el arroyo cerca.
41. Pan y mejoría, cualquiera lo querría.
42. Vino y pan, andar te liarán.
43. Pan tostado, nunca harta muchacho.
44. Por mayo frío, bueno bollo trigo,
45. Quien no quiere pan de trigo, cómale de cebada.
46. Cuando la cuchara es de pan, ella remata el manjar,
47. Pan candeal, pan celestial.
48. Pan lleldo, hinche el cesto y da salud al cuerpo.
49. Duelo, pan de moyuelo.
50. El pan, con ojos; el queso, ciego, y el vino, añejo.
51. Pan mucho, y poco conducho.
52. Pan con ojos, queso sin ojos y vino que salte a los ojos.
53. De más mantenimiento es el pan asentado que el tierno,

Unfortunately there is no information regarding the sources from which these proverbs were taken. What is clear is that they are in the main based on lived experience, common sense, or culinary knowledge. Many proverbs are born of the harsh experience of poverty and hunger, such as number 8 The compiler might have included "A buen hambre no hay pan duro", "El que hambre tiene con pan sueña" or "El que con hambre se acuesta, con pan sueña". Number 15 is similar to a proverb registered by Carmen Trigo, "El olor de los olores el del pan, el sabor de los sabores el faisán" (Sevilla Muñoz, 1998: 144). There is some duplication: numbers 17 and 36 are identical, as are 33 and 42, while 12 and 34 convey the same sense. Carmen Trigo lists a similar proverb, "Con pan, queso y vino se anda el camino" (Sevilla Muñoz, 1998: 143). Number 7 sounds like a professional saying, the kind of wisdom passed down from the master baker to his apprentices in the bakery. Some are fairly opaque, referring to a way of life unfamiliar to the modern urban consumer, as in number 40. The juxtaposing of bread with wine (2, 5, 6, 12, 13, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34, 42, 50, 52) comes as no surprise, both because of real dietary habits, and the biblical allusion. Where Portuguese has "Pão, pão, queijo, queijo" (see below), Spanish prefers "Al pan, pan, y al vino, vino" ("I'm not one to mince words", "I believe in calling a spade a spade").

Spain has an abundance of bread proverbs, some of them variants of those listed in the diary, others quite distinct. Instead of "Pan con pan, no pringa", the compiler of the selection might have opted for "Pan con pan, comida de tontos" ("Pan con pan, comida de bobos", according to a Uruguayan informant), which can be — very loosely — translated as 'variety is the spice of life'. Number 49 is open to more than one interpretation. Either it reminds us of the need to eat more cheaply when someone, possibly the breadwinner, has died, or it equates cheap bread with suffering and hardship. It also brings to mind another proverb, "Los duelos con pan son menos".

One other function of proverbs, as seen in numbers 25, 26 and 27 is to encourage a restraint in drinking, or a balanced diet, 13 and 14. Trigo has "El pan con el vino en cada comida y con tino" (Sevilla Muñoz, 1998: 144), while Portuguese offers "Pão de hoje, carne de ontem, vinho de outro Verão fazem o homem são" (Costa Alves, 1996: 99). Or there is advice in the field of child-care: "Al hijo mal, pan y palo" (listed in Sevilla Muñoz 1998: 142).

Acrivarn

Various companies have used nursery rhymes to render their goods and services more appealing. In June 1998, the Yorkshire company Acrivarn used an extract from an English nursery rhyme dating back to the eighteenth century *Sing a Song of Sixpence* to advertise their industrial bakery ovens:

Sing a song of sixpence,
A pocketful of rye.
Four and twenty blackbirds,
Baked in a pie.

When the pie was opened,
The birds began to sing.
Wasn't that a dainty dish
To set before the king?

The advertisement was designed by Somers Advertising, Leeds, and has generated the largest number of responses in fifteen years, according to Acrivarn's Sales Director, Lindsay Owen. Acrivarn's gatefold leaflet, a loose insert in the trade journal *The British Baker*, opens out from the centre. On the outside is a colourful drawing of a raised pie sitting on a plate on a wooden kitchen table. The window is open — the blue gingham curtain is fluttering in the draught. Four blackbirds are emerging from the pie, three more can be seen winging their way to freedom, smiled upon by a cheerful sun. On the right-hand side, "Four and twenty good reasons to consider Acrivarn bakery equipment". Once the leaflet has been opened out in full, the reader discovers the twenty-four reasons why he or she should buy an Acrivarn oven, prover, glazer or cooler. The equipment is not in the least exciting or glamorous, but the nursery rhyme allusion evokes feelings of warmth, nostalgia for childhood, the feel-good factor — even if the reader cannot recall the whole verse without singing it under his or her breath.

Bakery Puns

Other bakery equipment manufacturers try to attract favourable attention by showing an image of the product, and incorporating a pun or play on word. Thus, in an advert that also appeared in *The British Baker Supplement*, June 1998, we find the following example of what might be termed the standard punning technique: "Oven maker gets fired up over Scottish morning rolls". The wordplay derives from the different meanings of "fired up". One fires up or heats up an oven, but a person who gets fired up becomes excited or passionate about a person, idea or object. In fact, puns are the quintessential *British Baker* house-style, whether for articles or adverts.

Thus on August 21 1998, page 5, we find the heading "Italian drizzle wets retailers' appetites", in an article that publicises a new type of bread, Pioggerella (drizzle), which comes complete with its own pot of flavoured olive oil to be drizzled over the bread. The wordplay here is unusual; drizzle usually means light rain, but in cooking discourse it means "to pour over something". Wet is (mis)used here for "whet", "to sharpen".

One month later, in *British Baker Bake-Off News*, September 1998, page 34, we find reported a Southall bakery that specialises in authentic French products, has the biggest stone oven in the world, and goes so far as to select wheat from farms in the Paris basin: "British appetites whetted by the French Revolution". Here the juxtaposing of "whetted" — 'sharpened', and French Revolution, known best for *Madame Guillotine*, gives rise to a more aggressive title than is called for by the subject matter.

The sliced bread topos

As can be seen in the corpus, a number of advertisements use the image — or commonplace — of a sliced loaf in order to get their message across. An advertisement for Hobart Foster (Bakery Systems) shows a loaf in the act of being cut, apparently representing 'a slice of the action'. Each slice has words superimposed on the upper crust: mixers, ovens, refrigeration, utensil washers, beverage machines, food preparation machines. But the real pun comes in the heading, where "proved" had two distinct significations, 'confirmed', and the more technical meaning relating to the baking process: "The New Name in Bakery Has Already Proved Itself" (*British Baker*, September 25, 1998).

3. Advertisements for food products that are spread on bread

This category is, like the preceding two, quite logical in its use of bread.

Queijo Gervais

This advertisement promotes a cheese spread, Danone's Queijo Gervais, through a proverb, tongue-in-cheek humour achieved through a mock-epic tone, and multiple images:

> *"Pão, pão, queijo, queijo* - Relativo ao discurso simples e sem ambiguidades".
> Reduzir a um sinónimo de singeleza dois símbolos fundamentais de toda a Civilização Humana; o Pão e o Queijo. Haverá maior injustiça?
> Urge repor a verdade das coisas. Por isso, a Danone não quis deixar de aproveitar esta oportunidade. Aqui vai ser revelada a legítima historia do encontro entre o Pão e o Queijo. Uma história que começa há muitos e muitos anos...
> Quando o par original se viu expulso — por motivos sobejadamente conhecidos — dos Jardins do Paraíso, viu também que o seu modo de vida se tinha complicado bastante. O Homem foi obrigado a sobreviver apenas com o que a Mãe Natureza lhe oferecia.
> Até que, há mais de 10 000 anos, se cozeu a primeira farinha fermentada. Tinha nascido o primeiro alimento confeccionado. O Pão.
> Depois, acompanhando a crescente complexidade da Civilização do Homo Sapiens, este precioso alimento conheceu novos ingredientes: trigo, centeio, milho, arroz... e até outras coisas menos ao gosto do nosso paladal ocidental. Os romanos, que o difundiram por toda a Europa, recensearam 70 variedades diferentes! Mas os Impérios passaram e o Pão ficou.
> Encontrado o alimento perfeito, a inventiva humana viu-se a braços com un outro desafio: qual seria a melhor companhia para o Pão? Qual a iguaria ideal para enriquecer qualquer género de Pão?

Durante milénios estas questões ficaram sem resposta. Tudo foi tentado: carnes, vegetais, queijos das mais variadas composições. Mas o resultado ficava sempre aquém da perfeição.
Esperámos até ao século XIX. Mas por fim surguiu a solução capaz de satisfazer os mais exigentes. Em França, a família Gervais apurou pacientemente as receitas tradicionais e criou um queijo fresco incrivelmente suave e de um sabor incomparável. Era um momento histórico: o nascimento do queijo fresco Gervais Natural! Depois, acrescenteram a esta maravilha um requinte gastronómico, produzindo o Gervais com Salmão.
Hoje, volvidos mais de cem anos, Gervais já é sinómimo de queijo fresco irresistível em quase todo o mundo. Mantendo sem concessões a pureza integral que lhe trouxe a fama; a única coisa artificial num Gervais continua a ser a sua embalagem.
Portugal não podia ignorar esta evolução por mais tempo. É chegado a nossa vez. Pela mão da Danone, o Queijo Fresco Gervais — Natural e com Salmão — já está entre nos!
A partir de agora é assim: Pão, Pão, Queijo, Queijo... desde que seja Gervais!

PÃO, PÃO...

Queijo para barrar GERVAIS	Queijo para barra GERVAIS com salmão

The advertisement begins with a dictionary definition of a *frase feita* or proverbial saying. This translates into English as 'clearly', 'frankly', 'forthrightly'; in colloquial terms, 'calling a spade a spade'. From which we should expect that the following text will tell us the unadulterated truth. Then, in true, postmodern fashion, self-consciously, the narratorial voice ironically proceeds to deconstruct its own discourse. Bread may be described as a "símbolo fundamental de toda a Civilização", and fish (the salmon of the advert) might also come into this category, but cheese spread is another matter.

This advertisement is interesting because it combines two techniques — references to religious history (the expulsion from Eden) and to the distinguished ancestry of bread, attributing to it gravitas and status. Here the advertisement shows a marked similarity to the November-December Mercopan Calendar entry, and also to EPAC's brochure *História do Pão* (discussed below).

This is not an advertisement for bread. Nevertheless, the first half deals with bread before it 'meets' the cheese. The encounter between Bread and Cheese is given a pseudo-epic treatment, as if it were some kind of great love story, or they are somehow comparable to 'o par original', Adam and Eve. Then a fairly lengthy section establishing that bread has existed since time immemorial, is a crucial part of our history, culture, civilisation.

We should pay careful attention to the pictures, which show different kinds of traditional Portuguese loaf and their names, to catch and hold the reader's attention. This might almost constitute a trip down memory lane for those people who now purchase their bread in supermarkets rather than old-fashioned bakeries. The advertiser is using the security induced by familiar, everyday items, making a concession to current health awareness with wholemeal bread, and appealing to those people who will look for the produce of their own region. City dwellers may even turn their reading into a kind of game, seeing how many varieties they actually know, recognise and have eaten: "Carcaça, Pão de Mafra, Canholas, Pão de Aveia, Pão Integral, Pão do Coração, Pão Malmequer, Gémeos, Regueifa, Vianinha, Pão Alentejano, Pão de Leite, Pão Misto de 3 Cereais, Cacete".

Finally there is the visual/verbal joke, where pictures of the two kinds of cheese spread in containers replace the words QUEIJO, QUEIJO, to complete the popular saying. We could describe the photograph as a pictorial realisation of Matching Relations, in this case, simultaneously relations of compatibility and contrast (Hoey, 1983). The visual message is taken up and reinforced in the verbal text, where the Matching relations are signalled by grammatical and lexical parallelism, lexical repetition and a rather sophisticated kind of antonymy.

Ana Cristina M. Lopes points out how this proverb is used in a newspaper article published in the *Diário de Coimbra* on 11 April 1989, in a piece about football. First Dr Lopes establishes the

context in which the proverb is used: "Luís estava em representação do Conselho Nacional de Arbitragem. Usando da palavra, apresentou-se tal qual é 'pão, pão, queijo, queijo', then she proceeds to explain: "A citação de provérbio funciona pragmaticamente como uma explicitação da asserção anterior: por especificação contextual, deduzimos que o referido indivíduo falou frontalmente, sem iludir questões" (1998, 123).

Cracker Barrel spreadable

ANYTHING TASTES GOOD WITH
(picture of slice of brown bread)

(brown doormat with the word WELCOME)

(picture of product)

NEW SPREADABLE CRACKER BARREL

This advertisement uses the sequence of images to reinforce the message divided between the top and bottom of the page. Thus brown bread tastes delicious with Cracker Barrel cheese spread, and so would a coconut fibre floor mat. The manufacturers of brown loaves might not be too happy at their product being put alongside a doormat, no matter how similar in shape and colour. But there is another possible message to be decoded from the images: "Doorstep / Doormat / Home". This reading works if we recall that a thickly cut slice of bread is, in colloquial English, known as a 'doorstep". In which case we can make a natural progression from the doorstep (outside), on to the doormat (inside), then we are inside the home — where the Cracker Barrel is.

Becel margarine

In November 1998, Becel ran a campaign for their Extra Magra margarine, showing photographs of half a loaf/croissant/stick with the other half being made up of text.

Round loaf

> Metade das gorduras que teria de eliminar, Becel Extra Magra já eliminou. Metade do prazer do pequeno-almoço acaba de voltar à sua mesa. Metade das pessoas que você conhece não sabem como pode ser bom levar uma vida saudável. Metade das mulheres do mundo devem estar a pensar em começar uma dieta na próxima segunda-feira. Metade dos sacrifícios que elas estão a planear já não fazem sentido. Metade das pessoas por esta altura já se convenceram de que Becel Extra Magra é a escolha certa, mesmo antes de dizermos que ela tem alto teor de polinsaturados, não tem sal nem colesterol e tem vitamina E. Mais da metade das doenças do coração devem-se à má alimentação. Se quer ter uma vida saudável por inteiro, comece por usar Becel Extra Magra.
>
> Becel Extra Magra com metade das gorduras.
> Meio caminho andado para uma vida saudável.

Stick

> Metade das gorduras que teria de eliminar, Becel Extra Magra já eliminou. Metade do que dizem sobre a alimentação saudável ser um sacrifício é mentira. Metade desta sandes é minha! Metade do prazer do pequeno-almoço e dos lanches acaba de voltar à sua mesa. Metade das pessoas por esta altura já se convenceram de que Becel Extra Magra é a escolha certa, mesmo antes de dizermos que ela tem alto teor de polinsaturados, não, tem sal nem colesterole tem vitamina E. Mais da metade das doenças do coração devem-se à má alimentacão. Se quer ter uma vida saudável por inteiro, comece por usar Becel Extra Magra.
>
> Becel Extra Magra com metade das gorduras.
> Meio caminho andado para uma vida saudável.

Croissant

> Metade das gorduras que você teria de eliminar, Becel Extra Magra já eliminou. Metade dos sacrifícios que você fazia já não são precisos. Metade das suas preocupações com a alimentação já não têm razão de ser. Metade de si já não aguenta mais dietas e a outra metade já desistiu. Metade das pessoas por esta altura já se convenceram de que Becel Extra Magra é a escolha certa, mesmo antes de dizermos que ela tem alto teor de polinsaturados, não tem sal nem colesterol e tem vitamina E. Mais da metade das doenças do coração devem-se à má alimentação. Se quer ter uma vida saudável por inteiro, comece por usar Becel Extra Magra.
>
> Becel Extra Magra com metade das gorduras.
> Meio caminho andado para uma vida saudável.

The three texts are variants on a theme, and rely for their effectiveness on the anaphoric repetition of "Metade de" and "já não", and the visual trick of the half loaf. If this advertisement had run in English, the first response might have been to recall the popular saying "Half a loaf is better than none", distracting the reader from the association of Becel and healthy eating.

Flora

In June 1999, Flora advertised its margarine with a beautifully lit photograph of freshly baked bread, designed to attract the eye and give pleasure in the same way as Dalí's baskets of bread of 1926 or 1945. Thus we find an appetising assortment of loaves and rolls, with the ambiguous heading: "A dúvida está no pão", followed by the following text:

> Quem não gosta de pão acabadinho de fazer em forno de lenha?... Em carcaça ou às fatias, de farinha de trigo, mistura, especial, centeio ou de milho... mas sempore com Flora! Flora é fácil de barrar e tem um sabor único... inconfundível.
> Um sabor de sonho.

The only doubt concerns which type of bread should be eaten, not what should accompany the bread. There is no uncertainty concerning the type of product, or the brand.

Nutella

This Italian advertisement is short but effective, relying principally on the visual impact of the image, a contemporary still-life, in which the artist/photographer has set out various elements, all of which fit neatly within a round wooden bread board: at the back a loaf from which a slice has already been cut, at the front on the left hand side, an open jar of the toffee spread, to the right there is the slice of bread complete with a generous layer of Nutella, and the one item that goes outside the circle, a knife with an curved, wooden handle. In between the jar and the slice, some ears of wheat and three daisies, perhaps to emphasise the naturalness of all these objects. The advert achieves its warmth through the curved shapes and autumnal colours, as well as the recognition factor induced by the words from a popular Italian song:

> **NUTELLA**
> Che mondo sarebbe,
> senza Nutella.

4. Advertisements for healthy eating; educational materials

Bread is used in advertisements to promote healthier eating, or in educational materials for primary school teachers. Thus we have a wall chart with different kinds of bread, purporting a balanced diet as well as the Flour Authority. Most interesting is the selection of 7 different kinds of loaf on sale to the British public, along with details of how they are baked:

> Vienna loaf
> light with a very crisp crust.

Wheatgerm Tin
Wheatgerm bread baked in a rectangular open tin.

Coburg
White loaf. The cross on the top dates back to Mediaeval times.

Farmhouse
White loaf, baked in a special tin.

Sliced
Many different varieties and thicknesses.

Danish
White, crisp crust, sprinkled with flour before baking.

Wholemeal Cob
Loaf often topped with cracked wheat. Also can be brown, white or malted wheatgrain.

Bloomer
White, excellent crust. Bread 'blooms' out of the cuts.

Brown Sandwich
Can also be white or malted wheatgrain, baked in a lidded, square tin.

It is more than likely that the average person shopping for bread will be unable to name or identify all of these varieties; they are even less likely to know how the bread is actually produced. Therefore this kind of educational material does serve a valuable purpose.

Project book

The second item to be mentioned in this category is a teacher's project book, *Infant Projects (Scholastic*, n°108, 1996), on sale in any high street newsagent's, that uses an attractive photograph to underline the importance of bread in our diet.

5. Advertisements for products or services related to bread

Among the most notable examples of this kind of advertisement are those published for EPAC (Odber de Baubeta, 1995a). Using bread to advertise the company is not in the least incongruous, given that EPAC researches, develops and markets seeds, cereals, animal feed, fertilisers, and supplies the milling industry. The EPAC ads are unusual in that some of them have been published in English, reversing the more common international(ising) trend whereby English-language ads are translated for foreign markets. Thus *Terra Mãe, Terra Nossa*, and *Da semente ao pão* have their English versions as well:

> Mother Earth, Our Earth
> For generations we have existed on Portugal's soil. From this soil, we have made the bricks with which we build progress, in days of joy, of sorrow, of perseverence and patience. From the bricks with which we have built progress comes the seed, the plant and the fruit. From them comes bread. A bread with the sweet taste of mother earth, always sown, so often fertile and rich.
>
> From a seed to a loaf Is our bread and butter.
> Our philosophy is based on a relationship between man and earth. Man sweats, sows and reaps. Earth breathes and gives us bread. That is our heritage. Our capacity to anticipate and understand needs, is rewarded by the earth we work. We are concerned with natural resources, the quality of the fruits the earth gives us and for the future of our children. At EPAC our daily toil is above all a relationship of respect between man and earth, seed and bread, that unites us.

The television advertisement that ran at the same time as the press advertisements showed traditional Portuguese landscapes and the latest in harvesting machinery, high-tech research and

development in laboratories (modernity as selling point), country people, skilled artisans practising their arts and crafts, including a baker busily hand-moulding bread.

EPAC have also used the gift calendar as a promotional mechanism. In 1992, their calendar had a proverb for each month of the year. According to the advertisers, these are authentic proverbs, collected from people living in the country who actually buy EPAC products. Most of them are, in fact, listed by Manuel A. Costa Alves in his 1996 study, *Mudam os ventos, mudam os tempos. O adagiário popular meteorológico* (kindly supplied by Jacinta Matos).

> *January:* Janeiro greleiro não enche o celeiro (Costa Alves, 1996: 90). Costa Alves also lists a variant that refers to bread: "Janeiro molhado, se não cria pão, cria o gado".
> *February*: "Quando não chove em Fevereiro, não há bom prado nem bom centeio" (Costa Alves, 1996).
> *March*: "Grão em Março nem na terra nem no saco" (Costa Alves, 1996: 89).
> *April*: "Abril frio e molhado, enche o celeiro e farta o gado" (Costa Alves, 1996: 79).
> *May*: "Maio pardo, faz o grão". Costa Alves (p. 92) offers several versions of this: "Maio chocoso e pardo faz o pão vistoso e grado". "Maio faz o pão e Agosto bebe o vinho". "Mio faz o pão e Agosto o milhão". "Maio frio, Junho quente, bom pão, vinho valente". "Maio hortelão, muita palha [parra] e pouco pão". "Maio pardo, faz o pão grado". Compare the Spanish: "Agua por mayo pan para todo el año (Sevilla Muñoz, 1998: 151).
> *June*: "Feno alto ou baixo, em Junho é sagrado" (Costa Alves, 1996: 87).
> *July*: "Em Julho ceifo o trigo e o debulho, e em o vento soprando o vou limpando". Costa Alves, using popular sources in Vila Real, Trás-os-Montes, has: "Em Junho ceifo-o e debulho-o e", quando o vento vier soprando, vai limpando-o (Costa Alves, 1996: 85).
> *August*: "Quem em Agosto ara, riquezas prepara" (Costa Alves, 1996: 104).
> *September*: "Setembro ou seca os montes ou leva as fontes". Costa Alves (1996: 109) offers the following alternatives: "Setembro, ou seca as fontes ou leva açudes e pontes". "Setembro, ou secda as fontes ou leva as pontes".
> *October*: "Por S. Francisco semeia teu trigo". Costa Alves (1996: 101) offers a more complete version: "Por S. Francisco semeia o teu trigo e a velha que o dizia semeado o tinha".
> *November*: "Por S. Clemente alça a mão da semente" (Costa Alves, 1996: 101).
> *December*: "Pelo Natal se houver luar / Senta-te ao lar; / Se houver escuro / Semeia outeiros e tudo" (Costa Alves, 1996: 100).

The meaning of some of these is not always immediately obvious to the non-specialist, and we tend to assume farmers will understand what is meant. However, it should be noted that Germán Conde Tarrío (1998) has called into question the accuracy of certain Galician weather proverbs. Some are simply not true, others refer to other regions of the Peninsula and should not be applied to Galicia, and this may hold equally true for the Portuguese *adagiário*. What is interesting is how weather proverbs frequently refer not only to cereals but directly to bread.

6. Advertisements for products or services unrelated to bread

The most interesting category, perhaps, this takes in advertisements for products apparently unrelated to bread but which use bread as symbol or signifier.

R & V Versicherung

In a German television advertisement for private pensions, the viewer sees a series of plain loaves moving along a factory conveyer belt. In the middle comes a very highly decorated birthday cake, which represents the private pension sold by this particular company. This is one of the few advertisements in the corpus where bread is not the protagonist or key player; rather it is used to make the cake stand out, both in terms of shape and significance. The loaves are brown and oblonng, whereas the cake is blue, round and highly decorated. The loaves are plain and pedestrian, for everyday consumption, where the cake is rich and luxurious, for a special day in the year, a birthday, perhaps, marking one's arrival at retirement age. Yet again, the advertisers have used pictorial metaphor. An English-speaking audience will remember the expression "the icing on the

cake". In any case, the message is clear, with this insurance company, there is no need to look forward to poverty in old age. If anything, perspectives improve — the company's slogan is "We open horizons".

Noticie quotidiane

> Su Televideo di / Italia 7, a pagina 200 / RTV38/0deon, a pagina 240 / Teleregione, a pagina 250 / In ogni momento / la Coop in diretta / sul televisore di casa tua.

This advertisement for the television guide shows a loaf of bread being cut with a bread knife — the recurring sliced bread topos. On the inside of the slices which have already been cut are pages covered in newsprint. As a comic detail, instead of crumbs, scattered beside the loaf are the letters of the alphabet. Already there is no verbal allusion to daily bread, the combination of image and the heading 'Notizie quotidiane' make the point quite emphatically.

Franciscan Order, Charity Appeal

This is a particularly striking example of how image and text can work together, the latter explaining the former:

> Con il vostro aiuto possiamo dare pane agli affamati.
> Ma anche bistecche, verdura e frutta.
> Tutti i santi giorni, 1500 pasti caldi per chi, nella moderna città di Milano, soffre ancora per la fame. Ogni mese, 600 docce e cambi completi di biancheria e di abiti. E poi, solo nel'96, 3200 visite mediche e 1800 visite dentistiche, più una continua assistenza sociale. Questo è quello che riusciamo a fare noi dell'Opera San Francesco per i Poveri. E lo facciamo senza mai guardare alle differenze di nazionalità o di religione. Un vostro contributo, anche piccolo, può aiutarci a ridurre i morsi della fame.
>
> OSF
> Opera San Francesco per i poveri
> Frati cappuccini

The photograph shows a brownish loaf of bread girded by a tight belt. For the target Italian readership, this recalls the phrase 'stringere la cintura', with its strong suggestion of having to make a sacrifice. For English readers the disconcerting image will suggest the expression "to tighten one's belt", meaning "to do without". The image carries one further suggestion, since the loaf bears more than a passing resemblance to a body in a Franciscan habit with a cord around the waist.

Malta National Tourist Board & Air Malta

This ad is typical of the technique whereby organisations share the costs, prestige and economic benefits of a joint advertisement. The photographic image shows three people in a traditional bakery — there is a lighted oven, presumably wood fired, in the background. All of them are looking directly at the camera: a woman on the right, arranging loaves, with a pensive expression; a woman in the middle, holding out a freshly baked loaf, and a man standing behind her, slightly to the right, an unlit pipe in his mouth, and holding a long baker's shovel in the air. The gloom is relieved by an open window at the back, the light falls squarely on the golden-brown loaves arranged on a wooden tray to the very front of the picture. Without the logos of the Maltese Tourist Office and Air Malta, readers might well imagine this to be an advertisement for traditionally baked bread. However, the advertisers are not selling bread here, and probably not a society. This is designed to encourage British tourist to spend their holiday money in Malta, encouraged by that country's reputation for (human) warmth and hospitality.

It has been suggested by one French academic, Gérard Dahan (personal communication), that this image offers a subconscious or subliminal contrast with Grant Wood's famous American oil on beaver wood, *American Gothic*, 1930. Like the ad, the American painting shows a man and a woman. She is looking out to her left (over the painter's right shoulder), while the man gazes directly at the viewer. In the background is the modest wooden frame house that inspired the artist

because of its incongruous Gothic-style windows. But Wood's man and woman are anything but welcoming. Evans' painting shows two astonishingly dour individuals. The man, wearing dungarees with a collarless shirt, holds his pitchfork planted before him like a Roman soldier with his spear ready to repel all invaders.

P & 0 European Ferries & Air France

Here bread is used to 'sell a country or region. In addition to the heading, "Heavenly bread, divine wines", we find in the text, "Blessed are the bakers, with their fresh baked melt-in-the-mouth bread", adapted from the Beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:1-12) as well as, "And yet man cannot live by lunch alone", playing on the phrase "Man cannot live by bread alone" (Deuteronomy 8:3 and Matthew 4:4).

SeaFrance

This travel company is also aware of the magical powers of French bread, at least for selling a country, or rather, a holiday package. Thus in a striking pictorial metaphor, a crusty French loaf is shown bridging the English Channel between Dover and Calais.

Travelling in the other direction, from the Continent to the British Isles, Iberia Airlines advertise their flights to the United Kingdom by showing a cup of tea with the steam still rising, and the heading: "Probablemente, esto sea lo que más conoce de Inglaterra". They then point out "Pero hay mucho más", but instead of food, they offer a list of places of interest. Here is a real example of cultural difference: France is famed for its bread and *haute cuisine*, while England is represented by cups of tea and such icons as Shakespeare (Stratford upon Avon), Robin Hood (Nottingham), the Beatles (Liverpool), and the old and the new in architectural design, namely the Gateshead Shopping Centre and Gothic Cathedrals (cited the Introduction).

Brittany Ferries Holidays (The Sunday Review, *The Independent on Sunday*, January 1999) Here a stout woman in an apron and wearing a headscarf stands in front of shelfs of freshly baked bread. The caption above the photograph reads: "A few words about your crusty locals". This advertisement for self-catering holidays in France plays on the different meanings of the adjective "crusty", which refers to the bread, but can also denote a surly or bad-tempered individual. "Locals" are local residents. Thus there is certain degree of ambiguity in the ad, which seems to suggest that the French are not instantly friendly or welcoming.

UTA (Groupe Air France)

This advertisement was published in *Hotads International*, issue 13, in the travel section. Again, a striking image catches the attention of the reader, who is then impelled to read the text for an explanation. The photograph shows a French loaf, lying vertically on a white surface. It has been cut into five slices, so that space shows between each piece of bread but they are positioned in a straight line. On the right hand side of the page, at the point of each cut: "A typical / flight to Paris / with other / airlines". At the bottom of the page: "UTA has more non-stop flights to Paris than anyone else. Every Monday, Friday and Saturday. So why spend all that time in transit, when you spend it in Paris?". This advert for long-haul flights is undoubtedly very clever, but because the loaf has been chopped into segments it may have implications of mutilation or amputation rather than nurturing or customer care. Furthermore, by photographing the loaf against a completely white background, it suggests the sterility of an operating theatre or the coldness of a mortuary. This is one instance where showing the product's competition is likely to negate perceptions of the advertised product itself.

Citroën 2CV

> Use your loaf. Buy it by the slice.
> How's this for a blatent attempt to butter you up?

Buy a Citroën 2CV before the end of February and you can take advantage of a special 0% finance deal. And save dough on your Deux Chevaux.
This act of generosity applies across the entire 2CV range. Be that a Special, a Charleston or a red and white Dolly.
(And to keep the paintwork nice and fresh, by the way, we bake it on by hand in special ovens.)
For the name of your nearest dealer dial 100 and ask for Freephone Citroën U.K. Limited.
He will tell you about this, and other low-finance deals currently available on 2CVs. And one thing of which you can be sure.
There is nothing half-baked about our deals.

There is a certain logic in this very chatty advert, given that the 2CV is the quintessentially French car. The advert combines visual humour, which is achieved through the picture of an appealingly chubby car sitting on a breadboard, partially cut into slices, with all the bread-related puns that the copywriters could cram in: "Use your loaf" as in "use your head", "think" ("despabílate"); "by the slice" for "buy in instalments"; "to butter up" corresponds to "dar graixa" in Portuguese; "dough" has a direct equivalent in "massa"; and "half-baked" means "silly" or "foolish", "not thought through" (Spanish, "mal concebido").

Avon's Women of Earth perfume

In an advertisement for Avon's Women of Earth perfume (*Telegraph Magazine*, 19 September 1998), the advertiser has opted to show three very different women, suggesting that the product transcends national and cultural frontiers. On the left hand side of the page, in descending order, we see three photographs with 'representative' women. At the top, a black woman wearing African jewellry and costume, with the legend "I am a woman of Kenya". In the middle; an auburn-haired woman in a Laura Ashley type sun-dress proclaims "I am a woman of the UK". At the bottom of the page, the woman chosen is an elegant blonde wearing a black jacket and white t-shirt or camisole top, riding a bicycle. We know that she is French because the round wicker basket at the front of her cycle contains three French loaves and a newspaper which on closer inspection turns out to be *Le Monde*. The bread in the foreground is the clue to her national identity, with the newspaper for confirmation and reinforcement. Thus bread is used simultaneously to denote a country and to advertise a perfume.

In fact, these photographs — there are nine in all, shown in different combinations, like photographic strips, are still-shots from a video advertisement that is part of a massive global campaign — six continents, 135 countries, millions of possible customers. *The Mail on Sunday* (27 September 1998) showed a slightly different trio, with a woman of Hongkong, the same woman of the UK, and a woman of South Africa. In the video clip, which can be downloaded from the Internet, we can even hear the different woman speak for themselves, and here they specify which capital city they belong to ("I am a woman of Paris").

CONCLUSIONS

Bread serves advertisers' purposes because, along with water, it must be the most commonly consumed item known to man, unsurpassable as a symbol of what is essential for our survival. It is embedded in a universal referent system, as can be seen from the number of words, set phrases, proverbial sayings and images in which bread is an important element. Many of these derive from the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the advertisements we have considered offer abundant examples of the verbal and visual puns that can be made using the religious associations of bread, many of which have extended into everyday life.

For instance, in the English-speaking context, people's bread and butter is the professional activity from which they earn a living, in other words their livelihood. In the English translation of the Portuguese EPAC advertisement, the phrase "bread and butter" was actually used to render "o nosso dia-a-dia". Although strictly speaking, the translation is not accurate, it is certainly effective,

since the English heading charts the logical progression from seed (agriculture) to loaf (industrial process) to bread and butter (end product for human consumption). Bread and butter in the professional sense would back-translate into Portuguese as "ganha-pão". English also has a compound adjective "bread and butter", meaning "essential"; "plain". A "bread and butter letter" is the short, polite note that one pens to one's hostess to say thank you for hospitality received. The breadwinner of a household used to be the man of the house, though nowadays with shifting gender roles, it could as easily be the woman. The metaphorical expression "on the breadline", derives from the harsh social reality of North America during the Depression years, and there is the common-sense saying, "Half a loaf is better than none" ("Algo es algo, peor es nada"). Catalan has the simile "És més llarg que un dia sense pa".

As we have seen above, a significant number of weather proverbs in various languages refer to bread, for instance: "ano de muita neve, ano de pouco pão", "Pão tremês, nem o gabes nem o dês, mas guard-o para Maio" (Costa Alves, 1996: 99), or "Por mucho pan nunca mal año" (Sevilla Muñoz, 1998: 152).

The English playground rhyme, "finders keepers, losers weepers" finds its Portuguese equivalent in "pão achado não tem dono". As we have seen above, "pão pão, queijo queijo" has a direct equivalent in Spanish, and where English states that "forbidden fruits taste sweetest", Portuguese has "Pão proibido abre o apetite".

Portuguese has several versions of "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush", all of which open with the time-honoured "Mais vale" formula. The first of these is closest to the English, the other two involve bread: "Mais vale um pássaro na mão que dois a voar". "Mais vale pão hoje que galinha amanhã". "Mais vale um pão com Deus que dois com o diabo".

Although bread is usually a positive value, it may, depending on the qualifying adjective, prepositional phrase or general context, carry a negative charge. Thus a "pãozinho sem sal" (or the Spanisb, "pan sin sal"), with its hint of the Lear motif, denotes someone weak or dull. To call someone a "pão duro" is to suggest they are miserly, and this metaphor has in turn produced a compound noun, "o pão-durismo". Portuguese proverbial lore suggests that an absence of bread can only lead to conflict: "Casa onde não há pão, todos ralham e ninguém tem razão".

As for as the frequency with which English copywriters refer to French bread, only a study in Corpus Linguistics would demonstrate how frequently these two words collocate together, while psycholinguists might in turn be able to account for the way that a particular kind of bread or loaf has come to represent the essence of a country.

We should also note how advertising capitalises on recent trends in socio-cultural history. Thus the UNESCO article reproduced in the Mercopan calendar gives a brief history of bread, Danone refer to the history of bread in their advert for Queijo Gervais. EPAC, too, have published an information booklet, *O Pão. Um pouco sobre a história da sua origem*, complete with drawings of ancient tools, photographs of modern bakeries, and bibliographical references. In addition, a number of Museums of Bread have been created in different countries around the world, including the Deutches Brotmuseum in Ulm, Germany (founded 1955), the American Museum of Baking (founded 1982), which also holds some of the rarest books on baking; the Musée du Pain, Paris; the Swiss Bread and Pastry Museum in Lucerne, the Moscow Museum of Bread and the Museo del Pan in Atlántida, Uruguay, to name but a few. All of these institutions maintain their own Internet sites or are referred to in others. Bread museums in general advertise their willingness to collaborate in educational projects, but they also function as tourist attractions, again demonstrating how bread is used to sell a country.

Copywriters capitalise on the associations and connotations of bread because it is universal, totally inoffensive and profoundly rooted in the human consciousness. These qualities alone guarantee advertisers some measure of success. For if bread is defined in one Portuguese dictionary as "produto da terra para sustento e beneficio do homem", it might equally be defined as "produto dos criativos para sustento e beneficio dos fabricantes e vendedores".