

Dramatic Structure and Auditory Acting in Indonesian Radio Advertisements

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ABSTRACT	KEYWORDS
Radio advertising in Indonesia has grown alongside the steady expansion of broadcast radio itself, yet the dramatic form that underlies the genre has received little sustained analysis. Radio spots, like radio drama, are built from theme, characterisation, plot, setting, and dialogue, and it is from this structure that conflict, suspense, and foreshadowing emerge as the devices that hold a listener's attention within a few seconds of airtime. This article examines how these dramatic elements are constructed in Indonesian national radio advertisements and considers what theatrical knowledge and training contribute to their production. Working from a structuralist framework drawn from dramatic theory, the study analyses a corpus of fifteen national radio advertisements broadcast in Indonesia in the mid-2000s, with two spots for Kartu As (Telkomsel) and Clear Man (Unilever) examined in detail as representative cases of dialogic and monologic construction respectively. The analysis shows that both advertisements follow Gustav Freytag's dramatic plot scheme of exposition, complication, climax, resolution, and conclusion, that characterisation in the genre is necessarily flat and setting is only sketched rather than stated, and that the announcer functions, alongside dialogue and sound effect, as a structural device without an equivalent in conventional stage drama. The study further finds that theatrical competence, particularly playwriting and the vocal and breathing techniques associated with auditory acting, directly improves the craft of radio-advertisement production. The article contributes an explicit structural model for reading Indonesian radio advertising as a form of short radio drama and identifies a concrete point of connection between theatre training and the advertising industry.	auditory acting dramatic structure Indonesia radio advertisement structuralism  This is an open access article under the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

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INTRODUCTION

Theatrical knowledge, in both its theoretical and its practical dimensions, is no longer confined to the performance hall. The basic exercises of theatre training have migrated into fields that require a person to appear before a public, whether that appearance is auditory, visual, or both. Radio and television announcers, dubbing artists, and voice-over performers rely on the vocal and breathing exercises developed for the stage; runway models draw on training in bodily movement; and masters of ceremony require competence in both. Radio, the medium at the centre of this article, is the branch of broadcasting most closely tied to the auditory dimension of theatrical craft.

Despite being a purely auditory medium, radio has persisted and continued to expand amid the rapid development of communication technology. The clearest evidence is the continuing growth in the number of broadcast radio stations, which in most Indonesian cities now outnumbers the combined total of television stations and daily newspapers, media with a considerably longer institutional history. Several factors sustain this growth. First, radio's auditory character allows it to be consumed alongside other activities, most visibly while driving, in a way that television, print, and even internet media cannot easily replicate (Murbando, 2006). Second, since the introduction of FM broadcasting, audio quality has become competitive with dedicated playback devices, and the short transmission range of FM signals allows every city to operate its own stations without frequency conflicts, so that programming can be tailored to local audiences (Prayudha, 2005). Third, radio remains commercially viable: the continued establishment of new stations, notwithstanding the failure of others, indicates that the medium retains a market and a business logic capable of sustaining it.

As with other media, the largest share of a radio station's revenue derives from advertising. Advertising itself is an ancient practice, tracing to word-of-mouth messaging in classical Greece and Rome, and one of the oldest printed advertisements yet found, from Roman Britain, promoted a slave named Chloron together with an unbeatable remedy (Noviani, 2002). In the United States, radio's share of total advertising expenditure reached seven per cent, or more than ten trillion dollars, in 1994, trailing only newspapers and television and still ahead of the yellow pages and magazines (Prayudha, 2005). In Indonesia, advertising expenditure on radio rose steadily from 1992, with a dip during the 1998 monetary crisis followed by a swift recovery from 2000, and by 2003 a single network, Delta FM, reported advertising revenue of Rp759,000,000 (Prayudha, 2005). Radio advertising in Indonesia expanded rapidly after the fall of the New Order, alongside the broader growth of print, radio, and television advertising, and its early emphasis was informative, explaining unfamiliar new products in detail to an audience encountering them for the first time (Noviani, 2002).

Radio advertisements in Indonesia are broadly of two kinds: the spot, sold in standard durations of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or sixty seconds, and the sponsorship, which attaches to a programme for a period ranging from weeks to years (Prayudha, 2005). This study concerns the spot. Because the spot shares the purely auditory character of the medium that carries it, it also shares the structural resemblance to radio drama that scholars of the form have identified: like conventional stage drama, radio drama is built from character, dialogue, plot, and setting (Purwanto, 2006). The working assumption of this study, then, is that the national radio advertisement — an advertisement marketing a product nationally, typically produced for a multinational manufacturer — is designed according to dramatic principles analogous to those of radio drama, even though the constraints of a short duration frequently compress or obscure that structure.

Scholarship on Indonesian advertising has examined its economic function (Noviani, 2002) and its technical and institutional history within the broadcasting industry (Prayudha, 2005; Murbando, 2006), and scholarship on radio and stage drama has established the structural elements — theme, dialogue, event, setting, characterisation, plot, and style — that organise a

dramatic text (Kutha Ratna, 2004; Kernodle, 1967; Purwanto, 2006). What has not been examined is how these two bodies of knowledge meet: how the structural apparatus developed for reading drama can be applied to the radio advertisement as a distinct short dramatic form, and what, in consequence, theatrical training specifically contributes to the practice of producing radio advertisements. This article is the first to apply a structuralist model of dramatic composition systematically to Indonesian national radio advertisements and to draw out, on that basis, the practical connection between theatre training and radio-advertisement production.

The article therefore examines the dramatic structure of Indonesian national radio advertisements — their characterisation, plot, setting, dialogue, and theme — and the dramatic devices of conflict, suspense, and foreshadowing that these structures generate, using a corpus of national radio spots analysed through the lens of dramatic structuralism; it further considers what theoretical and practical knowledge of theatre contributes to the craft of producing such advertisements.

METHOD

This study is a qualitative, text-based analysis of the dramatic structure of Indonesian national radio advertisements. It is designed to allow a reader to judge how the structural categories identified below were derived from the advertisements' scripts and to permit a comparable analysis of other national radio spots.

Research Design and Approach

The study adopts a structuralist textual-analytical design. Structuralism reads a literary or dramatic work in its own autonomy, independent of its social, historical, or biographical background, attending to the arrangement of its constituent elements (Teeuw, 1984; Kutha Ratna, 2004). The theoretical framework combines the dramatic structure proposed for drama texts generally — theme, dialogue, event, setting, characterisation, plot, and style (Kutha Ratna, 2004) — with the specific structural account of the radio-drama text offered by Purwanto (2006), consisting of character, dialogue, plot, and setting, and with Kernodle's (1967) six-element model of plot, characterisation, theme, dialogue, mood, and spectacle, in which the first three constitute structure proper and the remaining three constitute texture. Gustav Freytag's dramatic plot scheme (exposition, complication, climax, resolution, conclusion), as adapted for Indonesian dramaturgy by Harymawan (1993), is applied to identify the sequencing of each advertisement's plot. This framework is brought to bear in two stages: first in establishing the structural elements present in each advertisement's script, and second, once that structure is established, in identifying the dramatic devices — conflict, suspense, and foreshadowing — that the structure produces. The same structuralist premise — that a short commercial text yields a stable, describable pattern of verbal and non-verbal elements rather than an unstructured burst of persuasive language — underlies structural studies of advertising text in other national settings, including print-media commercial advertisement in Egyptian Arabic (Masrukhi et al., 2017), which supports treating structural analysis as a method transferable across language and medium rather than one built to fit the Indonesian material alone.

Corpus and Selection

The corpus for this study consists of the fifteen Indonesian national radio advertisements listed in Table 1, broadcast between January 2005 and December 2006 and drawn from spots for nationally marketed products in the telecommunications, food and beverage, pharmaceutical, and personal-care categories, produced by multinational and national manufacturers. The corpus was assembled from the broadcast-monitoring recordings held by the author in the course of documentation work on locally aired media, and advertisements were included

where the full spot could be transcribed from a clean recording and excluded where audio quality or an incomplete recording prevented accurate transcription. Corpus membership was not restricted by product category or by dialogic versus monologic form, so that the structural model could be tested across the range of construction the genre actually uses.

From this corpus, two advertisements are presented in this article as detailed cases selected for their contrasting dramatic form: a dialogic spot for the prepaid SIM card Kartu As (Telkomsel), in the version built around a neighbourhood association (*rukun tetangga*, RT) meeting, broadcast as part of a promotional period running from September to December 2006; and a monologic spot for the men's anti-dandruff shampoo Clear Man (Unilever), in the version built around a dispute over identical clothing. The two were selected because, of the fifteen, they mark the two poles of construction the corpus displays — multi-character dialogue at one end and single-voice monologue at the other — while sharing the announcer-delivered close common to all fifteen; a case at each pole demonstrates that the structural model holds across the range rather than being an artefact of one construction type.

Table 1. Corpus of national radio advertisements consulted in this study

No.	Brand / Product	Advertiser	Category	Form	Broadcast period
1	Kartu As ^a	Telkomsel	Telecommunications	Dialogic (ensemble)	Sep–Dec 2006
2	Clear Man ^a	Unilever	Personal care	Monologic	2006
3	Bodrex	Tempo Group	Pharmaceutical (analgesic)	Dialogic	2005
4	Aqua	Danone	Bottled water	Sponsorship-style spot	2005–2006
5	Pepsodent	Unilever	Personal care (oral hygiene)	Dialogic	2005
6	Kratingdaeng	Kratingdaeng (Indonesia)	Energy drink	Monologic	2006
7	Indomie	Indofood	Instant food	Dialogic (ensemble)	2005
8	Rinso	Unilever	Household (detergent)	Dialogic	2005–2006
9	Sunsilk	Unilever	Personal care	Monologic	2006
10	Kispray	Sara Lee / Sayap Mas	Household	Dialogic	2005
11	ABC Battery	PT ABC Presisi	Household electronics	Dialogic	2005
12	Kapal Api	PT Santos Jaya Abadi	Coffee	Monologic	2006
13	Extra Joss	Bintang Toedjoe	Energy supplement	Dialogic (ensemble)	2005–2006
14	Molto	Unilever	Household (fabric softener)	Dialogic	2006
15	Promag	Kalbe Farma	Pharmaceutical (antacid)	Dialogic	2005

^a Analysed in detail in this article. All fifteen spots close on an announcer-delivered statement of the product theme, the pattern discussed further below.

Data Collection

Data collection consisted of the transcription of the audio content of each advertisement from the author's broadcast-monitoring recordings into a written script, preserving dialogue, monologue, and announcer text verbatim and noting non-verbal elements such as music, jingle, and sound effect at the point in the script where they occur. The two advertisements discussed in detail are analysed line by line in the Result and Discussion section below, where the lines that carry each structural element are quoted in the original Indonesian with an English translation; the transcripts of the remaining thirteen advertisements in the corpus were prepared to the same standard and are summarised in Table 1.

Data Validation and Analysis

Each transcript was checked against repeated listening to the original broadcast recording to confirm the accuracy of the wording before analysis began. Analysis proceeded in three steps. First, each transcript was segmented into its constituent dialogue or monologue units and each unit was coded for the structural element it realised — theme, characterisation, setting, or a stage in the plot. Second, the coded units were mapped onto Freytag's plot scheme to establish the sequence of exposition, complication, climax, resolution, and conclusion. Third, the resulting structural map was read against the three dramatic devices of conflict, suspense, and foreshadowing to identify where each device was constructed and by which structural element it was carried. The same three-step procedure was applied across the wider corpus of fifteen advertisements to confirm that the plot pattern identified in the two detailed cases recurred generally.

Research Ethics and Positionality

The material analysed in this study consists exclusively of commercially produced advertisements broadcast to the general public on national radio networks; no human participants were interviewed or observed, and no personally identifying information is reported. The author undertook this analysis in the course of professional work at the Yogyakarta City Cultural Office (Dinas Kebudayaan Kota Yogyakarta), where documenting and assessing locally broadcast media forms part of the office's brief on the audibility and standing of performance-derived genres in everyday public life; the dramaturgical framework applied here draws on the author's background in theatre studies rather than on any regulatory function of the office, and the analysis and its conclusions are the author's own. The author has no commercial relationship with the advertisers, agencies, or broadcasters whose material is discussed.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Structural Composition of the Two Advertisements

The Kartu As advertisement displays the full structure of a conventional drama. Its theme — the affordability of the Kartu As tariff — is stated directly by the announcer at the close of the spot, in the line "*Kartu As, nomor cuma-cuma, pakenya suka-suka*" ("Kartu As, the number is free, use it as you like"). Characterisation is established through the naming of figures by other figures within the dialogue: the character of Pak RT (the head of the neighbourhood association) is addressed in the opening line and again in the seventh line of dialogue, and the character of Bu RT (his wife) is introduced in the same seventh line. The setting is a neighbourhood association meeting, established entirely through dialogue rather than through explicit description, and the plot follows a forward-moving (linear) sequence that maps directly onto Freytag's dramatic scheme: lines one and two constitute the exposition, lines three to five the complication, line six the climax, and the remaining lines the resolution and conclusion. The presence of several distinct characters gives the thirty-second spot the shape of a miniature radio drama.

The Clear Man advertisement is constructed instead as a monologue, and the same plot scheme can be mapped onto it with the same specificity as the Kartu As case, once the monologue is segmented at its internal turns. Its single speaker identifies himself, in the course of a telephone call, as Nahar, and names two other figures — Bimo, the listener on the other end of the call, and Radit, the antagonist of the narrated event — without either of them speaking directly. The opening lines, in which Nahar dials and greets Bimo before venting his irritation without yet naming its cause, constitute the exposition: the listener learns that something has provoked Nahar but not what. The central run of the monologue, in which Nahar recounts his rising anger at Radit's behaviour in general terms ("*Selama ini gua bisa sabar... tapi itu kan ada batasnya*"; "I have been patient all this while... but there is a limit to it"), constitutes the complication, building tension without yet resolving it. The climax falls at the specific line in which Nahar names the grievance directly — that Radit has worn identical clothing to his own for the third time — the single point at which the vague irritation of the complication becomes a concrete, statable conflict. The lines immediately following, in which Nahar appeals to Bimo's judgement ("*Pantes nggak sih laki-laki kaya gini?*"; "Is it right for a man to behave like this?"), constitute the resolution, and the announcer's closing statement, reframing Nahar's attachment to a women's shampoo as the deeper cause of his effeminate behaviour, supplies the conclusion. This mapping is looser at the boundary between exposition and complication than in the Kartu As case, since a monologue addressed to an unheard interlocutor withholds information more gradually than a multi-character exchange can; the difference is a property of the monologic form itself rather than a failure of the structure to apply, since the same five stages remain identifiable in the same order in all fifteen advertisements in the corpus, dialogic and monologic alike. Nahar's evident irritation at an event that has already occurred establishes a flashback structure within this scheme, and unlike the Kartu As spot, the Clear Man advertisement gives no clear indication of physical setting; place is entirely subordinated to the emotional situation the monologue constructs.

Read together with the wider corpus of fifteen advertisements, three structural regularities recur. Characterisation in the genre is necessarily flat in Forster's (1927) original sense of a character built around a single trait or function rather than capable of surprising the listener: the short duration of a spot rarely permits more than a physiological identification of a character as male or female, child, adolescent, or adult, occasionally supplemented by a regional speech marker or an honorific term of address (*mas*, *mbak*, *bang*, *non*), while sociological and psychological depth is essentially absent. Plot is overwhelmingly forward-moving rather than achronological, a choice consistent with a medium in which one advertisement is typically followed immediately by another and a listener has no opportunity to process a complex temporal structure. Setting, correspondingly, is rarely named outright; what advertisement makers construct instead is an auditory atmosphere built from dialogue, music, and sound effect. Dialogue itself is markedly informal, approximating everyday speech as closely as possible, frequently drawing on regional inflection and non-standard vocabulary suited to the social stratum the advertisement targets, and frequently incorporating humour to aid recall of the advertisement and the product it promotes.

Conflict, Suspense, and Foreshadowing as Dramatic Devices

Conflict, suspense, and foreshadowing are the elements that build the dramatic character of a drama text, and because the radio advertisement is treated here as a short radio drama, the same three elements are taken to operate within it. Conflict is the essence of drama: without it, no story exists. In the Kartu As advertisement, conflict is generated by the residents' wish to conduct the neighbourhood meeting by mobile phone against Pak RT's resistance on grounds of cost — a premise that need not be realistic to be dramatically effective. Suspense is created at the moment Pak RT refuses the residents' proposal, and foreshadowing is carried by the

residents' initial invitation to Pak RT to hold the meeting by phone, which primes the listener for the announcer's mid-spot statement that calls made on Kartu As are very inexpensive.

In the Clear Man advertisement, conflict arises from Nahar's dislike of Radit for wearing identical clothing to his own. Suspense is built from the opening line of Nahar's monologue, which leaves the listener uncertain what has actually happened between the two men; the resolution, delivered near the end of the monologue, reveals that Nahar's irritation stems specifically from Radit copying his clothing. The monologue as a whole functions as an extended foreshadowing device, resolved only by the announcer's closing line, which reinterprets Nahar's behaviour as effeminate because of his continued use of a women's shampoo — the statement that motivates the product's positioning as the first anti-dandruff shampoo made specifically for men.

These findings are consistent with the general claim in dramatic theory that conflict, suspense, and foreshadowing are inseparable from narrative structure (Kernodle, 1967; Harymawan, 1993): what the two cases add is evidence that a thirty- to sixty-second commercial text can carry the same three devices in compressed form, typically by folding suspense and foreshadowing into a single line of dialogue or monologue rather than distributing them across separate scenes, as a stage or radio drama of conventional length would. This compression is not unique to the Indonesian corpus: a shot-level analysis of a nationally broadcast Indonesian shampoo television advertisement has similarly found a complete three-act dramatic structure compressed into a thirty-second format (Kabelen, 2022), and outside Indonesia a controlled field study of narrative advertising has found that the persuasive advantage of a dramatised structure over a merely informative one persists even under the severe time constraints of short-form media (Yıldız & Sever, 2022), which corroborates the assumption on which this article proceeds — that dramatic structure is not diluted by brevity so much as concentrated by it. A parallel structural compression has also been identified in a Roland Barthes-style semiotic reading of an Indonesian bottled-water advertisement, where the connotative and mythic layers of a thirty-second spot were shown to rest on the same small set of narrative choices found here (Marsheilo & Tamburian, 2022), and a discourse-analytic study of an Indonesian retail advertisement has likewise found macro-, super-, and micro-structural levels operating within a single short commercial text (Risa & Anwar, 2021).

The Announcer as a Structural Element without Equivalent in Conventional Drama

Radio drama, while structurally similar to stage drama, has its own distinguishing features, having developed within the particular conditions and relationship to its audience that the medium affords (Kernodle, 1967). Chief among these is the announcer, who in radio drama carries an importance equal to dialogue, music, and sound effect in establishing the desired atmosphere for the listener (Kernodle, 1967). Both advertisements analysed here confirm this function directly: in each case, the announcer is placed at the point of greatest dramatic weight, delivering the climactic statement of the product's theme and bringing the narrative to its conclusion. This is not a property of the two detailed cases alone: as Table 1 records, all fifteen advertisements in the corpus close on an announcer-delivered statement of the product theme, regardless of whether the body of the spot is dialogic or monologic, which indicates that the announcer's placement at the conclusion is a stable convention of the genre rather than an incidental feature of Kartu As and Clear Man. The application of these technical and artistic considerations to a radio advertisement is significant precisely because an advertisement, like drama more broadly, is fundamentally an attempt to prompt a particular social attitude or a particular social act — here, the imitation of a model of behaviour and the selection of a product — through information conveyed in a highly structured form that draws on both verbal and non-verbal elements (Noviani, 2002). A comparable dependence on a controlling, non-participant voice has been identified in recent audionarratological work on radio drama

more broadly, where the narrator or announcer figure is shown to compensate for the absence of the visual cues available to stage and screen drama (Geybels, 2024), and in the wider literature on narrative advertising the analogous device is the host- or announcer-read close found to anchor listener trust in audio formats far removed from Indonesian radio, including the contemporary podcast advertisement (Brinson & Lemon, 2023; Moe, 2023; Piacentine, 2023).

Implications for Theatrical Practice: Auditory Acting in Radio-Advertisement Production

The application of theatrical knowledge in its auditory dimension is pervasive in radio broadcasting. For a radio announcer, voice is the sole channel of connection with the listener, so every register of expression — joy or sorrow — must be represented through sound alone; the emotional register a radio announcer brings to reading the name of a competition winner necessarily differs from that used to read an obituary, and the listener must be able to recognise the difference. The same demand applies to radio drama, which must be able to carry a listener into a particular emotional atmosphere. The expression a performer achieves through vocal production and delivery in this context is known as auditory acting (*akting auditif*) (Purwanto, 2006), and the radio advertisement, no less than radio drama proper, is constructed to persuade its listener into becoming a consumer of the product it promotes.

Command of auditory acting requires a performer to master vocal technique in its component parts — breathing, articulation, intonation, and expressive interpretation (*penghayatan*) — and, beyond that, to command a range of human voices differentiated by sex, age, occupation, and character, ideally supplemented by the ability to imitate animal and object sounds and regional or national accents (Purwanto, 2006). The stakes of getting this right are not merely aesthetic: research on sonic branding has found that the acoustic qualities of a brand's auditory assets measurably shape listener emotion, trust, and brand personality (Mas et al., 2021; Spence & Keller, 2024), and a recent call to research in this area has identified the trained delivery of a brand's audio identity, including the announcer's voice, as a commercial asset in its own right rather than an incidental feature of a broadcast advertisement (Taylor, 2023) — a claim this study's structural findings support from the opposite direction, by showing that the announcer's placement is fixed by the dramatic structure of the advertisement and not left to chance. This range of competence allows a single performer to voice multiple characters, enabling double or multiple casting; from a production standpoint, this in turn reduces production cost and simplifies direction, since directing fewer performers is administratively simpler than directing many. The two advertisements analysed above illustrate this economy directly: the Kartu As spot required several distinct voices to be cast and directed within a thirty-second format, while the Clear Man spot achieved a comparably full dramatic arc with a single trained voice. Command of playwriting and dramatic-text analysis, the theoretical side of theatrical training, is similarly transferable to the writing of a radio-advertisement script, since both tasks require compressing theme, characterisation, plot, and setting into a coherent structure. Taken together, the two findings indicate that theatrical training — both its theoretical component in playwriting and text analysis and its practical component in breathing, vocal, and auditory-acting exercises — offers direct and demonstrable value to the practice of radio-advertisement production, a connection that has not previously been made explicit in the literature on either theatre pedagogy or the advertising industry.

CONCLUSION

Radio advertising remains a promising field precisely because it continues to expand alongside the continuing growth of radio broadcasting itself, and the expenditure that manufacturers direct toward it tracks that growth closely. This article has shown that the Indonesian national radio advertisement is best understood as a form of short radio drama,

sharing with conventional stage drama the structural elements of characterisation, dialogue, plot, and setting, while diverging from it in one important respect: the presence of the announcer, who, like music and sound effect, functions to carry the listener into a particular atmosphere. Knowledge developed for the analysis of conventional drama can accordingly be applied, with appropriate adjustment, to the understanding and design of radio advertisements.

Within this structure, characterisation in the radio advertisement is rarely fully named and is necessarily flat, given the genre's short duration; setting is rarely stated outright and is instead built through dialogue and atmosphere; plot is overwhelmingly forward-moving, a choice suited to a medium in which advertisements follow one another in rapid succession and demand that a listener process the narrative quickly and linearly; and dialogue is markedly informal, drawing on regional speech and colloquial register, often for comic effect, to aid a listener's recall of the product. Theme, meanwhile, is not tied to a single treatment of a given product category, since a single product may be marketed through several distinct advertisements with different settings and narrative premises, however exaggerated or unrealistic, precisely in order to provoke a listener's curiosity.

The study's principal contribution is to make explicit, and to demonstrate through the detailed analysis of two contrasting spots, the practical value of theatrical competence — particularly playwriting, dramatic-text analysis, and the vocal and breathing techniques that constitute auditory acting — to the craft of radio-advertisement production. As the number of broadcast radio stations in Indonesia continues to grow, this connection points to a substantial field of employment for theatre practitioners equipped with the skills of advertisement writing and auditory acting.

This study is limited by its focus on national radio advertisements in the Indonesian-language broadcast market of the mid-2000s and by its concentration on two representative cases drawn from a corpus of fifteen; it does not extend to regional-language variants of national campaigns, to sponsorship-format advertising, or to the advertiser's or producer's own account of the creative process behind a given spot. Future research might extend the structural model developed here to a larger and more contemporary corpus, to advertisements produced in regional languages, or to interviews with radio-advertisement writers and directors regarding the place of theatrical training in their own professional formation.

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Ethical approval and informed consent. Not applicable. The study analyses commercially broadcast advertising material available to the general public and did not involve human participants, interviews, or the collection of personal data.

Data availability. The broadcast-monitoring recordings and the working transcripts of the fifteen advertisements analysed are held by the author and may be consulted on reasonable request; the recordings are commercially broadcast material and are not deposited as a public archival collection.

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