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The student as both customer and product: Multimodal analysis of the University Of Cambridge's 'Dear World... Yours, Cambridge' advertising campaign

Jemma Thompson

Introduction

Advertising is an inextricable part of society, and thus a recurrent subject in scholarly discourse. Increasingly permeating beyond the commercial market into matters of social concern – characterised by the combination of persuasive aesthetic and scientific methods of production (Beasley, et al., 2002, p.2), advertising is of understandable interest to linguists. The increased pressure of neoliberal discourses have made research, and its funding, a major concern for Higher Education institutes (Edgerton, et al., 2004; Morrish & Sauntson, 2019), a matter that can be addressed by seeking crowdfunding for research. This essay seeks to investigate how the University of Cambridge is portrayed in their 2016 'Dear World... Yours, Cambridge' research funding advertising campaign, in order to appeal to investors.

Background

We know advertising is inherently encoded with persuasive techniques (Beasley, et al., 2002, p.20), hence, as Cluley, et al. states, 'it is common [for Linguists] to see advertising as a form of message rather than a form of media.' (2019, p.405). Advertising, when viewed in this light, can be described as fundamentally semiotic - an assertion that has been a dominant thread in the existing Linguistic studies of advertising, popularised by the work of Barthes (Beasley & Danesi, 2002, p.20). A key point of concern for Barthes is what he described as 'Neomania' or the culturally induced, obsessive desire to consume that which is new. (ibid., p.19). In the context of advertising, this is a salient point to consider as we can recognise that advertisements are constructed in a way to exploit this disposition. As noted by Moiseeva, 'the essence of language manipulation in advertising is as follows: advertising information is presented in such a way that the consumer draws certain conclusions based on it' (2020, p.1). These conclusions, taken from the overt surface level interpretation of information, presented both visually and textually, as well as embedded meanings in the underlying level of discourse (Beasley & Danesi., 2002, p.20) allows for advertisers to manufacture particular responses. Appealing not only to neomanic desire, but also to cultural values, to increase favourable responses to the subject marketed (ibid.). Careful composition of features, both textual (like imperatives (Pennock-Speck & Fuster-Márquez, 2014) and narrative (Chang, 2009)) and visual (typography, imagery, colour, etc.), has been demonstrated to have a notable impact on the success of the campaign, as adverts that appeal to aesthetics are more able to subvert viewers' resistance to overt persuasion (Glowka, 2021, p.95). Thus, adverts with aesthetic qualities can stand out and overcome the initial hurdle of being consciously engaged with, thus allowing for the messages encoded within to be received by a greater audience (Burns, et al., 1993). Even small details, like

colour and font choice have a demonstrative effect on the perception of a brand, product, or subject (Bottomley & Doyle, 2006; Kauppinen-Räisänen & Jauffret, 2018; Kim, et al., 2021; Stöckl, 2005).

In the case of Higher Education advertisement, the role of socio-cultural and ideological perceptions of any given institution is integral to success (Edgerton, et al., 2004). Reputability, for universities, is paramount, as Farber and Holm describe; 'from the most general and detached societal perspective, large universities are entrusted with the task of advancing important domains of knowledge, as well as fostering the skills, capabilities, and desirable attitudes of students.' (ibid., p.118). If a university is perceived as ineffectively demonstrating these values, prospective students and potential investors cannot be confident that their commitment and investments will be sufficiently repaid by means of enhancing public good or personal development (ibid, p.121). This sentiment is what characterises many Neoliberal critiques of the Higher Education system; as, quoted by Morrish & Sauntson, 'Brown (2015: 10) writes: [N]eoliberalism transmogrifies every human domain and endeavour, along with humans themselves, according to a specific image of the economic.' (2019, p.24). It is possible that, for this reason alone, studies have shown that Higher Education institutions tend to advertise themselves in a strikingly similar way, on both a national and international scale (Papadimitriou & Ramírez, 2015; Edgerton, et al., 2004; Horta, et al., 2022), as the qualities universities want to demonstrate are those which conform to the demands of the market (Morrish & Sauntson, 2019, p.24). Of course, the primary way in which universities can demonstrate their efficacy as an institution is through research - though this is costly endeavour, especially if the research is high-profile or particularly innovative (Edgerton, et al., 2004, p.118). The more innovative the research, the more is funding required, thus there is a greater incentive for universities to seek funding. One way in which this can be obtained is through civic crowdfunding campaigns (see: Chang, et al., 2019) – whereby the university appeals to the public to donate to fund research. According to Hora (et al., 2022, p.547) 'crowdfunding is used more by universities that have fewer resources [...] are more teaching-oriented, less prestigious, and have a student body largely derived from lower socio-economic sectors of society' - though more prestigious and wealthy institutions also appeal for funding, as is demonstrated in this study's data. Linguistic analysis into civic crowdfunding campaigns specifically is sparse; where attention to Linguistics does exist, it is almost exclusively used as supporting evidence in relation to Business and Management studies (including Chang, et al., 2019; Koh. et al., 2020; De Crescenzo, et al., 2022; etc.). These studies demonstrate what is statistically effective in marketing, but do not seek to look deeper into why the language manufactures the incentive to invest in a business.

Methodology

The data selected for this analysis is taken from an advertising campaign, commissioned by the University of Cambridge, created by Johnson Banks Design Ltd. (2015), seeking investors to fund new research at the university. Thus, unlike the research by Papadimitriou & Ramírez, 2015; Edgerton, et al., 2004; Horta, et al., 2022 and so on, this marketing is not specifically targeted at students, but the students and staff are the product, which is being commodified. Unlike the conventional understanding of advertising, which markets a complete product, the research is yet to be undertaken, thus investors must be sufficiently convinced to support an institution by virtue of their prior accomplishments, success, and reputation (Edgerton, et al., 2004). For this reason, Barthes' concept of Neomania (Barthes,

1957; in Beasley & Danesi, 2002) is a relevant concept to consider in relation to the way in which discourse is structured, as the primary goal of the campaign is to demonstrate the potential of new research.

The particular examples included within this data are all advertising research within arts and humanities, specifically Sociolinguistics, Theatre studies, Philosophy and Literature. This decision to focus on humanities is in response to 'Browne Review['s] (2010) [...] recommendations [to end] public funding for the humanities' (Morrish & Sauntson, 2019, p.48). As a result of this, institutions conducting this kind of research must rely on private or crowd-sourced funding. Interestingly, as noted, Horta (et al., 2022, p.547) established a correlation between the prestige of and resources accessible to an institution and the amount of funding advertising released. Cambridge is an extremely prestigious and longstanding institution, according to its ranking in the University league tables (The Guardian (2020); The Complete University Guide (n.d.)), a positioning which is valued highly amongst institutions (Morrish & Sauntson, 2019, p.32). As Kwiek asserts: 'Prestige can be accumulated and is associated with university research rather than teaching or service missions.' (Kwiek, 2021, p.494). Universities that have been established for an extended period of time and have thusly produced more research tend to be attributed a level of nobility based on this fact alone. An institution widely being considered 'prestigious', even by those outside of academia, reflects pre-existing social understandings of both individual universities and academia more collectively. The adverts for these institutions must not only fall within the existing history, but also connote those same values, expanding upon them in order to appeal to culturally salient discourses, with the prospect of pursuing new academic inquiry. In addition, there is an observable correlation between higher income and universities (and the cities in which they reside) having a more prestigious reputation (Crew, 2020). This is to say that Cambridge does not fall under the dominant category who need to seek crowdfunding, suggested by Horta (et al., 2022). For this reason, I have chosen to investigate how the University of Cambridge specifically advertise themselves as an institution and characterise the research they produce.

In order to explore how the adverts construct the impression of the University of Cambridge as an institution, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an appropriate method to reveal underlying messages in the discourse. As Bloor and Bloor (2007) explain: 'when we look at the highly structured organizations that hold most power and that control the way we live and influence the way we think, we can see that language is an integral part of that control.' (p.5) (see also: Moiseeva, 2020). In addition, as discussed previously, the visual presentation of the adverts has an impact on the way in which they are interpreted thus it is also important to consider semiotic multimodality and aesthetic features (Beasley, et al., 2002; Glowka, 2021; Burns, et al., 1993). Research has indicated that the visual appearance of words can alter the way in which meaning is interpreted, thus this is an important facet to consider in the analysis of advertisements (Childers & Jass, 2002, p.94). This includes the impact of colour (Kauppinen-Räisänen & Jauffret, 2018; Bottomley & Doyle, 2006; Jacobs et al., 1991) and typeface (Kim, et al., 2021). Specifically, when looking at the appearance of text I will be applying the framework proposed by Stöckl (2005) and the 'toolkit' system within it – which encompasses analysis of typography on four varying levels of specificity (see Appendix 2). Breaking down the typography in this way, while also considering the nontextual, visual elements in the advertisement allows us to establish how the overall impact of the advert is constructed in order to appeal to both Neomania and neoliberalism and present an impression of the university.

Analysis

1.1 - Critical Discourse Analysis

In relation to Cluley and Nixons previously mentioned assertion that advertising is a form of messaging (2019, p.405), it is striking that these adverts are intentionally structured to resemble three different forms of communication: letters, emails, and verbal utterances. According to their strategy and narrative Johnson Banks Ltd. 'realised that [the letter form] could have huge potential as an idea, both in written and spoken word, by talking about 'Cambridge's letter to the world', and visually demonstrating what it has, and will, achieve. It also helps to position Cambridge as an asset belonging to, and in service of, the world – outward-facing, not inward – setting up a unique 'conversation' with the world by inviting in new thoughts and ideas.' (Johnson Banks Ltd., 2015). This effectively demonstrates why this approach was taken, though, it is evident that the intentions described by the company are to appeal to Neomania and neoliberalism - displaying and impression of integrity within the institution by suggesting an open discourse and highlighting the potential of new research. This is supported by the way in which the letter form, which employs a more conversational lexis (despite typical letters and emails being associated with a particular structure, employed frequently in professional environments, and thus having more formal lexis), appeals to the audience by way of humanising the people belonging to the institution. Examples of this casual lexis include the shortening "Ello" in Example 5, and the ellipting of the initial pronoun in Example 3 (see Appendix 1) Dimofte's (et. al. 2015) research into the role of social identity in advertising demonstrated 'that comparison with a product-related social identity (i.e., a mental image of the typical user associated with a product category being promoted) influences attitude toward an advertised product' (p.427) and that adverts that depict an identity that is incongruent with the viewer can have an impact on viewer selfesteem (ibid.). By utilising a format and lexis that is familiar to the audience, while also giving them access to what is constructed to appear like a conversation - either between specific individuals (such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Coleridge (Appendix 1.3)) or a more public or general address from an individual (like the ambiguous 'Sir/Madam' addressed by Laura Bates (Appendix 1.2) – the audience are positioned within the 'in-group' by being privy to the discourses supposedly occurring within the institution. In addition, the use of first names in example 1, 2 and 3, also supports this constructed personalisation as this creates an impression of familiarity, even if the subject is unknown to the viewer. The secondary effect of the more casual lexis is the simplification of content, in a manner that is vague enough to be thought provoking. This simplification of research in the larger text in the adverts, which is based mostly in allusion, has an element of humour, that colloquialises the perspective of researchers to make the complexity of their work more accessible to those outside of the field represented, creating a sense of solidarity between institution and audience (Brugnoli, et al., 2015). This is further solidified by the small-print citations at the bottom of each poster, which provides more specific detail on the topic described to further diminish perceived psychological distance.

1.2 - Semiotic Multimodal Analysis

In a similar manner to the written discourse, the images selected for the adverts are simple and iconographic. In example 5 (Appendix 1) we also see an element of visual humour, depicting a dead parrot in a cage, alongside the text, that references a *Monty Python* scene, written by Cambridge alumni (Chapman, *et al.* 1989). Similarly, the simplicity of the icons of a man and woman in example 2 of the cloud in Example 3 and the paper clip in Example 1

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(intended to represent an email attachment with the peculiar title 'hippopotamus') (Appendix 1), all serve to create the impression that becoming a part of the research is a simple endeavour. Due to the fact that the research can be presented in a novel way, that juxtaposes the preconception of the University of Cambridge's elite reputation, and presents the institution as fun and exciting in order to appeal to Neomania. Furthermore, the posters are framed by a rectangular line, that is curved in one corner, which appears to be reminiscent of a sheet of paper, supporting the overall intention for these posters to appear like letters.

The typography of the adverts further develops this impression, since research has demonstrated that typeface and spacing have an impact on not only the speed at which information can be consumed (Moriarty & Scheiner, 1984), which is important for advertising, but also the way in which brands are evaluated – by using typography as peripheral ques to support the construction of meaning (Childers & Jass, 2002). This can be demonstrated via the application of Stöckl's (2005) Model of Typographic 'Grammar'. On the micro-level, each of the adverts use a Sans-serif font, a kind of font which Kim (et al., 2021) where able to show that individuals perceive as indicating a greater level of competence and concreteness (p.730). Also, the varying type sizes are such that the larger text is more indicative of the humorous and humanised discourse, while the smaller font contains more factual information. This has the effect of drawing the viewer in by making the larger text, which contains allusive language that may not be immediately understood by all individuals, the easiest to read; subsequently encouraging the smaller text, which provides context to be read after, hence its positioning at the bottom of the posters. This is further supported by the use of a limited colour palette, consisting of varying combinations of black, white and blue, including the colour manipulation of photographs in order to create a uniform colour scheme. In advertising research, the colour blue has been demonstrated to encourage customers to recognise qualities such as calmness, sincerity, dependability, heightened quality and ability to fulfil functional needs (Kauppinen-Räisänen & Jauffret, 2018, p.111; Bottomley & Doyle, 2006, p.67) which is in line with the manner in which the other features of the adverts function to encourage a sense of understanding between audience and institution. The differences in font size, colloquial tone and iconographic imagery allows for a greater number of individuals to understand the references made. Interestingly, within examples 1 and 3, we can see that there are different font colours, which creates a distinction in the instances where two notable alumni are references in the same advert – helping to maintain the impression of each alumni mentioned as unique individuals associated with the university, as opposed to being presented as one unit. On the Meso-level, we can see that the letters are close together, a feature that allows for information to be read more quickly (Moriarty & Scheiner, 1984), making the consumption of information more efficient. The additional features on this level, such as line spacing, amount of print, alignment and uniform font all support the construction of these adverts as letters/emails, replicating the appearance one may expect to see in these forms; the same is true on the Macro-level, where the paragraphing and case have the same effect. The overall simplistic nature of the textual and visual features allow for the format of the posters to be extremely versatile on the para-level, which allowed for the adverts to be replicated in a number of different formats, such as on merchandise, posters and pamphlets (see Johnson Banks Ltd., 2015) in order to be seen by a broader audience.

Discussion

In essence, these adverts broadly present information and historical allusions in a way that can be understood by both an academic and non-academic audience. Regarding the fact that they are constructed to encourage people to invest in the institution, the primary function of both the textual and visual information is to humanise the researchers and simplify the research, in order to reduce the perceived psychological distance between institution and audience. In the context of Neoliberalism, these adverts use this humanised perspective in order to appeal to as many potential investors as possible, providing an impression of an institution that is both trustworthy and exciting; a sentiment which also closely appeals to Neomania. For these reasons, it should not be surprising that the university reported that they closed the campaign after surpassing their £2 Billion target (University of Cambridge, 2022).

The manner in which Higher Education institutions advertise themselves, particularly in regard to research funding, should not be dismissed by scholars, as advertising's influence on cultural perceptions of institutions means that those who control what we see on a daily basis, thus altering what is valued within society (Beasley, & Danesi, 2002). Advertising for research is not inherently problematic in its own right, as individuals have the right and agency to support who they please – but what should be of concern is the impact that the commodification of research can have on staff and students within the institution. 'High profile research— and researchers— is a costly priority, especially when set against the demands for high quality, student-centered undergraduate teaching.' (Edgerton, et al., 2004, p.118) – thus the fact that these adverts ellipt the exact way in which the investments will be applied means that we cannot know for sure if the money will be spent in a way that benefits the institution or those whom it supports, despite the fact that this particular campaign highlights the individuals who helped construct Cambridge's reputation in the first place. This campaign humanises alumni in order to make the potential for new research appear more exciting and accessible; essentially, the researchers and students are the product advertised, and it is their accomplishments that the campaign uses to seek future investments.

Conclusion

This analysis has demonstrated how the 'Dear World... Yours, Cambridge' campaign uses textual and visual methods in their advertising to highlight the individuals who were instrumental in prior research, and thus the reputation of the University of Cambridge as a Higher Education institution. This has implications for the way in which society perceives the work of universities by attributing the accomplishments of those associated with them to the institution itself, thus justifying the desire to seek additional finding, in order to continue to compete within the demands set by Neoliberal ideologies. It also reflects the way in which Higher Education funding campaigns must appeal to Neomanic desires that seek that which is new and revolutionary, by presenting an intangible product in a more concrete light. This has implications for the understanding of how social perceptions of institutions are both constructed and perpetuated through advertising, and, as such, should not be dismissed by scholars.

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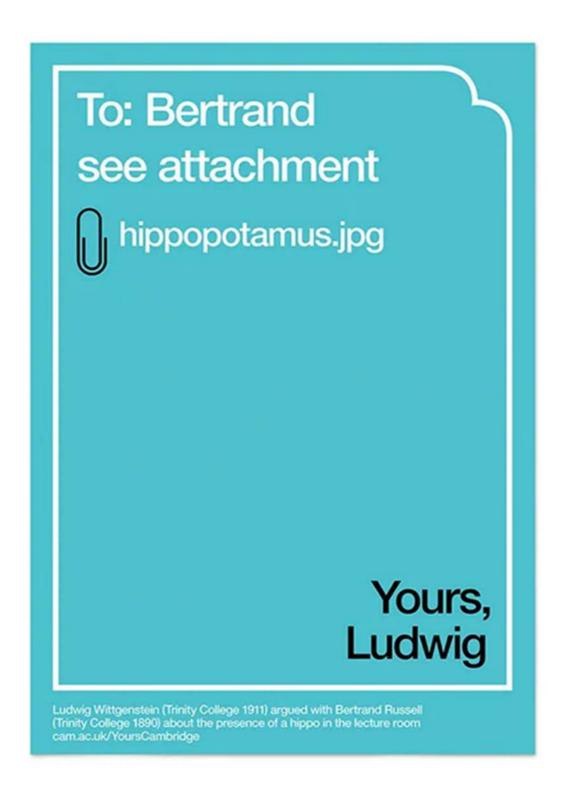
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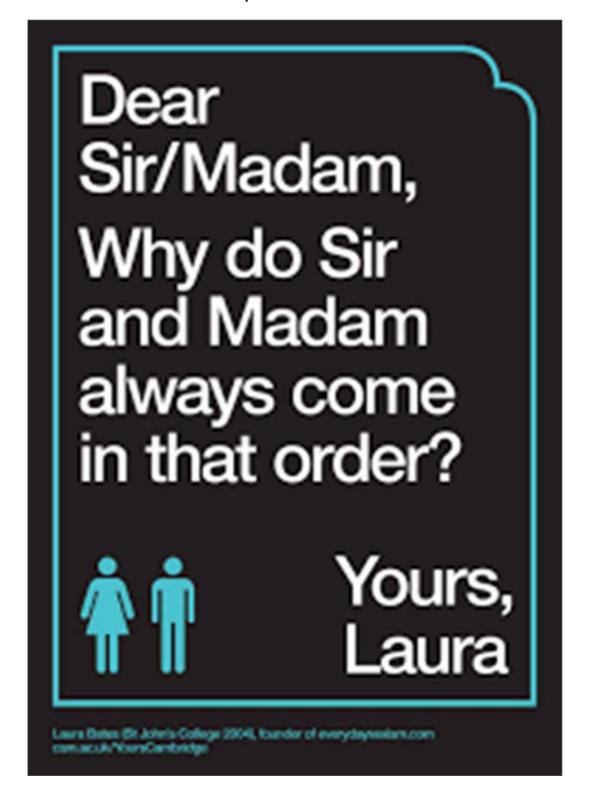
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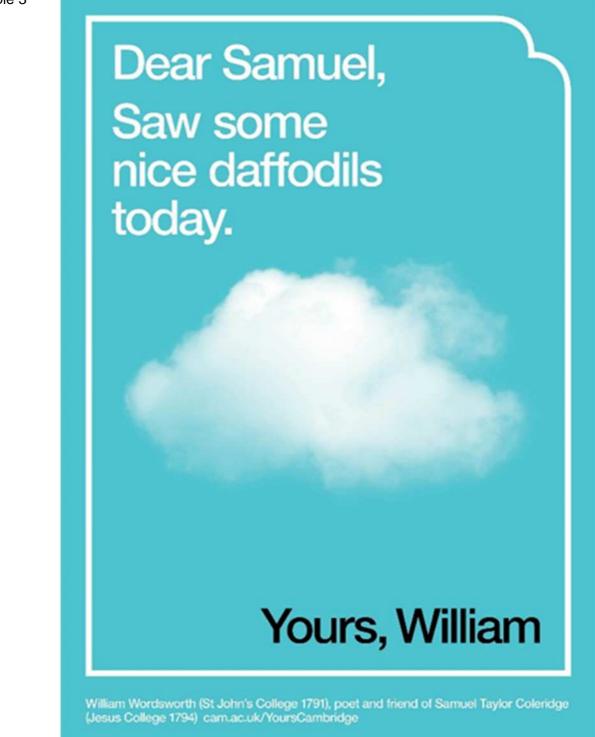
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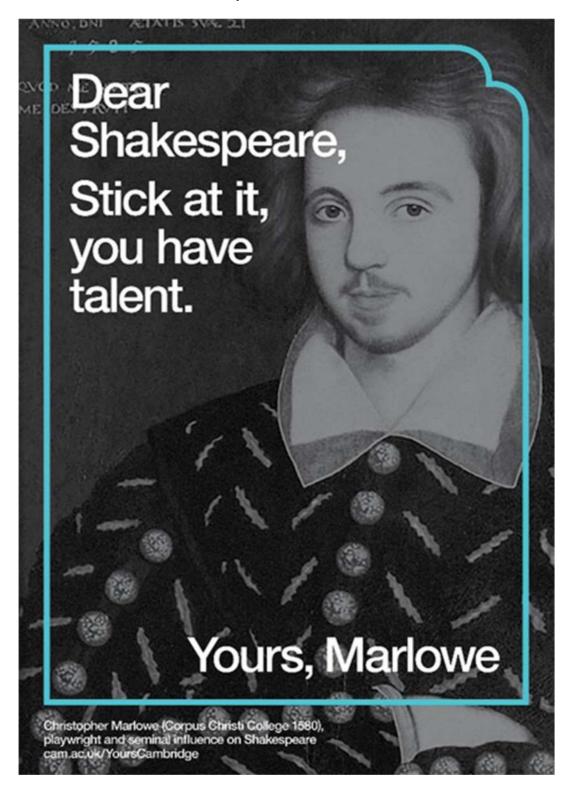
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Appendix 1 – data











John Cleese (Downing 1960), Graham Chapman (Emmanuel 1959), Eric Idle (Pembroke 1962), Norwegian Blue (Deceased) cam.ac.uk/YoursCambridge

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Appendix 2

Domains of typographic work	Typographic building blocks	Typographic properties
MICROTYPOGRAPHY relates to the design of fonts and individual graphic signs	 type face type size type style colour of type 	■ Garamond, Verdana etc. ■ point size ■ 'graph', 'style', 'mode' (Stötzner, 2003: 290ff.) ■ black vs inverted or coloured, etc.
MESOTYPOGRAPHY relates to the configuration of graphic signs in lines and text blocks	 letter fit word spacing line spacing (leading) amount of print on page alignment of type (type composition) position /direction of lines mixing of fonts 	 standard, spaced, reduced, etc. narrow, wide, etc. double spacing, single spacing signs/print per page left-/right-aligned/centred horizontal, vertical, diagonal, circular, etc. hand lettering plus type
MACROTYPOGRAPHY relates to the graphic structure of the overall document	 indentations and paragraphing caps and initials typographic emphasis ornamentation devices assembling text and graphics (image) 	 size of text blocks, distance between blocks ornamented/coloured underlined, italics etc. headline hierarchies, enumerations, tables, charts, indices, footnotes, marginalia, etc. image-caption-relations, figurative letters. 'typopictoriality'
PARATYPOGRAPHY relates to materials, instruments and techniques of graphic sign-making	 material quality of medium (paper quality) practices of signing (Stötzner, 2003; 298ff.) 	 thickness, format, surface, etc. graphing, characting, composing, moulding (Stötzner, 2003: 299)

Table 1: Typographic 'grammar' - a toolkit for analysis (exemplary section)

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Stöckl, H. (2005) p.210.