Cognitive Inferences in Social Media Advertising a Case Study of Advertisings on Sina Weibo and Facebook

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Abstract—**With the development of the Internet, social media advertising as a special form of language gets linguists' more and more attention. This study aims to focus on analyzing Fast Moving Consuming Goods (FMCG) advertising language on Chinese and American most mainstream social media platforms, Sina Weibo and Facebook. Commercials on social media have great influence on people's consumption behavior. Therefore, it is necessary to study how spontaneous inferential comprehension occurs through advertising language and find out whether there are any inferential differences between Chinese and American people. Advertising is a unique form of communication, and interpretation of the advertisements from the perspective of the cognitive inference is an interesting practice and the findings can help consumers have a positive understanding of various commercials.**

Index Terms—**Facebook, inference, Sina Weibo, social media advertising.**

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Research Background

In modern society, advertising has invaded every aspect of our life and exerted great impact on people's lifestyles. A French advertising reviewer has ever said that the air we breathe every day actually is composed of oxygen, helium and advertisements [1]. Whenever we open a magazine, turn on the TV or look at the billboards in subways or surf in the internet, we are exposed to various advertisements all the time.

Commercial advertisements as a special form of communication are actually a kind of persuasive speech act with an aim to persuade consumers into buying or accepting certain product or service. To achieve this purpose, advertisers frequently employ strategies and skills in advertising language. The statistic by Statista, a statistics portal, shows the number of social media users worldwide is estimated by 2.77 billion social media users around the globe in 2019. Among social media platforms, Facebook is the biggest social network in the world with 2320 million monthly active users as of December 31, 2018. And in China Sina Weibo ranks the most popular social media platform with over 445 million monthly active users.

Commercial advertising varies greatly from industry to industry. Therefore, this study will specifically focus on studying Fast Moving Consumer Goods (FMCG) advertisings on social media platforms, as FMCG Goods is one of the most frequently used commodity variety and

satisfies basic physical human needs. Examples include non-durable goods such as packaged foods, beverages, toiletries, candies, and other consumables. Under the influence and promotion of social media platforms, people's consumption behavior is affected greatly.

B. Reviews of Literature

The process of advertising has attracted scientific attention for a long time. For economists and marketing experts advertising is a very important tool of free-market economy, an element of successful trade. For linguists it is a pragmatically determined type of discourse, which functions in accordance with its main goals: to inform and to persuade. For ordinary people, it is a part of everyday life, which can be annoying or amusing, useful or misleading.

Carroll [2] pointed out that people's inferences tend to make false recognition errors with this weakness; advertisement designers thus skillfully apply this inference process to develop impressive works. Carroll later cited Harris's [3] study which found that people were not very good at distinguishing between the direct assertions and implied assertions. Based on this study, Carroll concluded that these results have implications for the way advertisers do their work. Advertisers are on legal ground prevented from making false statements about their products, but making false implications is less dangerous [2]. Therefore, implication in advertisement is created to avoid illegality and danger. It can even be used to slander other brands agilely without facing prosecution.

C. Defining the Concept of Advertising

The word 'advertising' derives from the Latin word 'advertere' meaning 'a means used to draw attention from the public to something and lead them to some direction'. Arens and Bovee [4] pointed out that advertising is the non-personal communication of information, usually paid for and persuasive in nature, about products, services, or ideas by identified sponsors through various media, such as billboards, flyers, trailers, sky-writings, sandwich boards, brochures, logos, and viral videos.

Philip Kolter, a great master of marketing, has once said: "when we are selling a lipstick, what we are really selling is not the product lipstick, but the 'hope for beauty [5]." So, production nowadays is not only a production of products, but also a production of desires and passions to buy merchandise. In order to motivate consumers with desires and passions, marketers must first create an ideology to transfer people's emotions to the product, and facilitate consumers to bring about an active, positive and favorable emotional response and attitude toward the product. This is to transfer the emotion "hope for beauty" to the product.

Psychologists have been extremely interested in the persuasion techniques used by advertisers. It has exposed how the persuasion techniques used by advertisers are directed to the unconscious region of the human mind. This region contains our hidden wishes, memories, fears, feelings, and images that are prevented from gaining expression by the conscious part of the mind [6]. As McQuarrie puts it, "advertising is the largest organized persuasive endeavor in the world today".

D. *Motivation and Purpose of the Study*

As a special kind of verbal communication activity, advertising has attracted the attention of language researchers and has become one of the objects of the study of linguistics. There are a great number of studies on the advertising language, including print, TV, magazine, etc., but little research is done on the advertising language on social media platforms, and little on the advertising language itself.

Research has shown that people spontaneously infer traits, goals, and values from minimal exposure to information [7]. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to study the application of inference and implication in the discourse of commercials.

At present, China and the United States play important roles on the world economic stage. It is necessary for Chinese enterprises to understand the cognitive differences between Chinese and American better, which can help them promote products in overseas markets and enhance the international competitiveness. And also, with findings in this study, consumers can improve their recognition strategies.

II. INFERENCES

Inference bridges the gap between what is said and what is understood. Inferences are not only made by hearers, then, but are in fact made by all participants in interaction [8].

From the perspective of advertisers, inference is a more useful language strategy, because implicit expression can make some deficient products more persuasive, and induce audience to infer more meanings than the actual expression of the advertising language. If the appeal is too specific, advertisers will bear the risk of verifying its accuracy, so the best way is to use a general non-specific appeal. And advertisers do not have to bear any responsibilities.

From the consumers' point of view, the understanding of advertising discourse depends on inferring. Geis pointed out that human beings are good at inferring. They are trained to interpret the implicit meaning of discourse by unifying the context and the literal meaning of the discourse. Thus, in understanding the meaning of the advertisement, the reader is easily induced to believe that there are some unspecified aspects of the advertising product. Psychological research shows that the deduced information can be remembered and recalled as clearly stated information. Of course, the use of implicit language is also to make advertisings more concise, more attractive and be remembered more durable.

A. *Types of Inferences*

Tanaka [9] invokes the notion of 'covert communication' in her study of Advertising Language (cf. chapter 3, et

passim). She opposes it to ostensive (or overt) communication based on the following definition:

> Covert communication: a case of communication where the intention of the speaker is to alter the cognitive environment of the hearer, i.e. to make a set of assumptions more manifest to her, without making this intention mutually manifest.

Sperber and Wilson have shown that making an audience draw inferences may be accomplished in two different ways. The communicator may undertake an efficient, overt attempt to secure the audience's attention and make it mutually manifest that s/he intends to convey a particular piece of information. This is called ostensive or overt communication (honest inference) which is not strictly open to error. On the other hand, the communicator may choose to put information across in a covert way, in which case he does not make his/her communicative intention manifest and leaves it up to the audience to draw inferences that s/he wants to be drawn. The type of inference is generally characterized as defeasible, and always allows for the possibility of error and can be denied by the speakers easily. This is called covert inference (misleading inference).

Whether the communicative intention made manifest or not relies on the accordance with the concept of the "the cooperative principle", Grice claimed there were several different types:

1. Quantity

(1) Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purpose of the exchange).

(2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

2. Quality

Super maxim: Try to make your contribution true.

(1) Do not say what you believe to be false.

(2) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3. Relation

(1) Be relevant.

4. Manner

Super maxim: Be perspicuous.

(1) Avoid obscurity of expression.

(2) Avoid ambiguity.

(3) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).

(4) Be orderly.

If there is no clear violation of the cooperative principle, or at least there is no violation recognized as such by the audience，in this case this advertising is regarded as overt. Otherwise, it is covert. We take the following advertisings as examples:

1) Toothbrush brand used by dentists worldwide. —Oral-B (Appendix B, Nr. 20)

a. Inference: Oral-B is good enough that dentists worldwide are using it.

1a) can be regarded as overt inference because it can be said to be made mutually manifest. The advertiser holds the responsibility for claiming (1a), and can probably provide evidence to support it if necessary. There is also no clear violation of the cooperative principle.

2) 舒肤佳，我是你的超级守护。(Appendix A, Nr. 1) (Safeguard, I'm your super guardian.)

a. Inference: Safeguard is effective against bacteria.

It is very unlikely that the advertiser would accept the responsibility to claim that Safeguard as a toiletries brand can prevent bacteria like guardians. It violated the maxims of quality. Therefore, 2a) can be regarded as a covert.

III. PRACTICAL PARTS

A. Data Sources and Process of Research

As the objectives of this research focus on FMCG industry advertisings on the popular social median, the data will be collected from homepages in Sina Weibo and Facebook and covers Top 10 FMCG Companies separately which was ranked by consumer base in 2017. In order to ensure the richness of the data, advertisings of other famous FMCG brands and products are randomly chosen and added to this data base. Once completed the list of advertisings, we made a linguistic analysis of them and determined the inferential types (p. 5-6).

The data is analyzed according to the typology presented above, namely covert and overt inferences.

B. Case Study

1) Overt inference examples

3)立白,给你绿色健康的家。(Appendix A, Nr. 10) (Liby, give you a green and healthy family)

Inference: Liby's domestic cleaning products can help keep home clean.

Through the overt inference advertisers intend to be recognized as intended and rely on consumers' spontaneous inferences to deliver the healthy and green concept that modern people are pursuing in their daily life. This slogan has set up a good brand image and then has been promoting sales volume indirectly.

4) "When they say you're not ready, that you'll never make it on your own, that's the time to really shine. Everyone loves a comeback." Dry hair can have one too. (Appendix B, Nr.10)

——L'Oréal Paris Elvive 2018

This video commercial protagonist is the singer-songwriter Camila Cabello who left girl group Fifth Harmony to pursue a highly-successful solo career in 2016. The comeback of the shining singer-songwriter is just like the comeback of shining hair, therefore, this is an overt inference.

5) Unstoppable in our fight for cleaner, safer toilets for all.—Domestos (Appendix B, Nr. 5). 永不停歇地为全球人争取干净安全的马桶—家净。

Through contributions to public welfare activities in areas with poor sanitation, Domestos built a good brand and corporate image and improved the enterprise visibility and reputation in the public.

2) Covert inference examples

6) Men have skin, too.—Old Spice (Appendix B, Nr. 4)

Inference: men also desire a nice, clean, moisturized skin like women's.

This venerable grooming brand Old Spice especially for men announced men's voice of desiring a nice, clean, moisturized skin like most women. Men want the kind of selection that women have—aisles and aisles of products, not just a few small shelves. Everyone wants to own nice skins, including men. This commercial violated the maxims of quantity and relation, therefore, it is regarded as covert.

7) The advertising of Yunnan Baiyao toothpaste:

牙龈出血、口腔溃疡、牙龈肿痛…牙膏就找云南白药牙膏 (Appendix A, Nr. 11). (Gingival bleeding, dental ulcers, gum swelling and pain... toothpaste is looking for Yunnan Baiyao toothpaste.)

Inference: Yunnan Baiyao toothpaste can relieve or cure those dental problems.

In this ad, the relationship between those dental health problems and Yunnan Baiyao toothpaste is not declared directly, while, when consumers see this ad, they will infer automatically that this toothpaste can cure their dental health problems. If there are words mentioned of 'cure' in the ads, it can be easily fined by the government. They apply the process of inference to lead the audiences to believe that the components of their products are effective in cure.

8) Probably the Best Beer in the World——Carlsberg (Appendix B, Nr. 13)

Inference: Carlsberg is the best beer in the world.

When people see this slogan, "Carlsberg is the best beer in the world" will be inferred automatically. Actually, this inference can be denied by the advertisers easily, because this slogan is more or less deceptive. A verbal hedge "probably" makes the statement less forceful and assertive. Hedges are used in advertisings widely.

C. Results

The following Table I shows the propositions of commercials containing inferences of different types found in the FMCG industries on Sina Weibo and Facebook.

TABLE I: PROPORTION OF COMMERCIALS CONTAINING INFERENCES OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES

	Overt	Covert
Sina Weibo	11 (31%)	24 (69%)
Facebook	15 (43%)	20 (57%)

As we see covert inferential strategy is more frequently applied than overt inferential strategy both in Chinese and American social media advertisings. It is important to distinguish between covert and overt inferences, since it is often assumed that all advertising inferences are misleading, and the only way to "protect" the audience from them is by instructing them to "stick to what it said [10]".

Compared to Facebook, Sina Weibo applies more covert inference with 69% than Facebook with 57%. This study shows that overt inferences are at least as common, as covert inferences in advertisings. With the trend of globalization and economic integration, the increasingly interconnected world narrows the advertising strategic and cognitive differences between two countries. While there are still cultural differences we can find in advertisings. Chinese people are more implicit and restraint than Americans and they are unlikely to declare their thought directly. Kweichow Moutai, a traditional Chinese liquor and honored as "national liquor", advertises its products with a covert way:

"贵州茅台酒，见证人生重要时刻，2019一起 up" (Kweichow moutai liquor will witness the important moment of life. Keep going up in 2019.) Americans can express their thought in the public directly, such as Maybelline's advertising: Best of the makeup like this.

D. Analysis

Therefore, the question why advertisers engage in covert communication deserves discussion. The main strategies used to realize inferences is investigated.

According to psychological experimentation, readers draw elaborative inferences to predict upcoming consequences or information [11]. Elaboration is a way to realize the addition of more detail concerning what has already been said. Many cognitive psychologists have proved that people add contents to new propositions automatically when they learn new knowledge. It has been a consensus in cognitive psychology circles that elaboration can enhance people's memory of new knowledge. Fuzziness, ellipsis and pun can be regarded as dominating strategies to achieve elaborative inferences.

1) Fuzziness

Fuzziness is extensively employed in advertisings as an important persuading strategy. Usually, consumers will infer more information than the advertisings have present. It is mainly realized by the usage of hedges, descriptive adjectives, non-numerical fuzzy quantifiers, comparatives and superlatives, frequency words, coinages, etc., among which hedges and descriptive adjectives are more commonly used.

Linguist Lakoff proposes the definition of "hedges", words or expressions that make the meaning appropriately imprecise. *Maybe, probably* and *possibly* are examples of pointing to something less than complete commitment to it. Sometimes hedges are used to mislead consumers. Such hedges as *may, could, help, fight, I think, I suppose*, etc. imply a false claim without asserting it directly. For example:

9) Probably the Best Beer in the World——Carlsberg (Appendix B, Nr. 13)

The assertion of "the best beer in the world" maybe an exaggeration and lack evidence, while the hedge "probably" here can achieve the same meaning and avoid unnecessary legal problems.

Descriptive adjectives are frequently employed to make exaggerated compliments on their products. From the viewpoint of copywriters, they are the subjective judgments, thus devoid of a standard. We can take the following advertising as an example:

10) A force of nature bred to inspire its own world, Tom Ford Black Orchid is a rich blend of spice and darkness, both rare and extraordinary——Tom Ford Beauty (Appendix B, Nr. 26)

For consumers, it is very difficult to figure out how "rare" and "extraordinary" exactly is. But they can draw an unclear but seemingly beautiful picture in their mind. From the psychological point of view, it meets consumers' desire for beauty consuming and arouses their imagination.

2) Ellipsis

Ellipsis entails the omission or deletion of some items of the surface text, which are recoverable in terms of relation with the text itself. It is a major cohesive device, contributing to the device efficiency and compactness of a text [12].

11) Lights, camera, CHEERS! ——Heineken (Appendix B, Nr. 28)

This is a successful commercial. The ellipsis of cohesive markers makes the language more concise and easier to remember, which give the audience a chance to draw their mental pictures according to their own understanding and inference: Heineken, the beer, will be the best match for a gathering. In the advertising language, ellipsis

3) Pun

The Oxford English Dictionary (1933), defines the pun as:
> The use of a word in such a way as to suggest two or more meanings or different associations, or the use of two or more words of the same or nearly the same sound with different meanings, so as to produce a humorous effect; a play on words.

The use of puns in advertising is especially important in achieving the advertiser's goal in certain social situations. By using a pun, the advertiser is able to make an ad stand out and this has the potential to accomplish certain communicative goals better than if the message was expressed literally. This show of familiarity with the language allows the advertiser to create a relationship of sorts with the consumer.

12) 回复状态，随时脉动回来。——脉动 （Appendix A, Nr. 33)

"脉动" is a pun here with two different meanings: the beverage brand "脉动" and "keep the body energetic which is easily remembered and accepted by consumers. Pun is an attention-attracting strategy that make the consumers accept the information that the advertisers want to convey.

Cognitive consistency is a key factor in a successful communication. To achieve cognitive consistency, a claim should not be in direct opposition to other, stronger beliefs likely to be already held by an individual. Thus, the claim that there are flamingos on the Moon would be unlikely to survive in a cognitive belief system which incorporates beliefs regarding, say, the lifelessness of our ancient satellite and the likely colonization habits of the Earth's indigenous fauna [13]. As long as the advertising language can achieve the cognitive consistency, the demands on language accuracy can be lowered. According to Tanaka, the second reason for employing covert communication in advertising is to avoid taking responsibility for the social consequences of certain implications arising from advertisements.

IV. CONCLUSION

This research presented a study of advertising discourse, focusing on inferences, and in particular on the distinction between overt and covert forms of advertising inferences. The theoretical basis was derived from the work of Grice [14], as further developed above all by Sperber and Wilson [15].

The purpose of this research was to work out a typology of the inferences employed in advertising. It was proposed that there are overt vs. covert inferences in advertising.

The typology of inferences is applied to the empirical data of 35 Chinese and 35 American social media FMCG commercials. The major result was that, in general, there were differences between Chinese and American commercials in respect to inferences. More specifically, it was found that both Chinese advertisers employ a heavy use of covert inferences than Americans.

The findings of this study indicate that understanding

human's cognitive inferences is essential in producing successful advertisements. They also determine what strategy the advertisers with different cultural background should use.

APPENDIX

TABLE A: TRANSCRIPTION OF ADVERTISINGS ON CHINESE SOCIAL MEDIA SINA WEIBO

Brand	Nr	Advertisings	Inference type	Violation of CP
P&G (宝洁)	1	舒肤佳，我是你的超级守护。	Covert	Quality
Yili（伊利）	2	成为全球最值得信赖的健康食品提供者。	Overt	
Mengniu (蒙牛)	3	我不是天生强大，我只是天生要强。	Covert	Relation
Master Kong（康师傅）	4	康师傅冰红茶，冰力十足，燃痛快。	Covert	Quantity
Nestle（雀巢）	5	雀巢咖啡，此刻匠心，因你纯粹。	Covert	Quantity
Unilever（联合利华）	6	有奥妙，没污渍。	Overt	
Anrtre (安儿乐)	7	扭是自在，是无拘无束的成长，是轻薄和柔软，是PP才知道的舒服。扭扭弹力裤，轻松每一步。	Overt	
Coca Cola（可口可乐）	8	十年前畅爽开怀；十年后畅爽加倍。越分享越畅爽，精彩，才刚刚开始。	Covert	Manner
Chaoneng（超能）	9	国家专利配方，含APG植物洁净成分，天然椰子油生产，无刺激更柔软。	Overt	
Liby(立白)	10	立白，给你绿色健康的家。	Overt	
YunNan BaiYao (云南白药)	11	牙龈出血、口腔溃疡、牙龈肿痛…牙膏就找云南白药牙膏。	Covert	Quality
Comfort (金纺)	12	点滴精致，源自你身。	Covert	Quantity
Chando (自然堂)	13	刷掉屏幕纹，重现少女肌。	Overt	
Pechoin (百雀羚)	14	天然不刺激，百雀羚草本。	Overt	
Enfamil (美赞臣)	15	给宝宝一生最好的开始。	Covert	Quantity & Manner
Wong Lo Kat (王老吉)	16	20年前，怕上火喝王老吉，20年后，怕上火还是喝王老吉。	Covert	Quality
Qiao Le Zi (巧乐兹)	17	解锁一天新"乐"运，从巧乐兹开始。	Covert	Relation
Extra (益达)	18	笑出强大。	Covert	Quantity & Relation
Kweichow Moutai (贵州茅台)	19	贵州茅台酒，见证人生重要时刻，2019一起up。	Covert	Relation
Chun Zhen (纯甄)	20	一口纯甄，回归纯与真。	Covert	Quantity & Relation
好时巧克力 (Kisses)	21	今后的每一刻浓醇，都想与你分享。	Covert	Relation & Manner
旺仔 (Wangzai)	22	喝了这瓶奶，忘掉那个仔。	Covert	Relation
金龙鱼 (Jinlong Yu)	23	眼中的妈妈，每天家务不累、晚睡早起，仿佛加了 buff！用金龙鱼米面油玩转美食，让妈妈更出彩。	Covert	Manner
海天酱油 (Haitian Sauce)	24	一场晒制结束，正是色香味的恰到好处。把世上独一无二的阳光作为原料，并最终细致地转化到食物上，化作我们平凡的一日三餐。海天，用心晒足每一瓶酱油！	Overt	
兰蔻 (Lancome)	25	超持久，妆容整日不脱：超自然，拒绝厚重假面！秀智同款持妆粉底，持妆不假面，即使场合瞬息万变，底妆也要时刻在线。Be Unstoppable！	Overt	
玉兰油 (Olay)	26	超越保湿，更有效对抗7大肌肤问题。	Covert	Quality & Manner
欧诗漫	27	珍珠白"小白灯"，藏不住的透	Covert	Quantity
(OSM)		光白。		
自然堂 (CHANDO)	28	源自喜马拉雅5128米，让肌肤喝好水。	Covert	Quantity & Manner
999感冒灵 (999 Ganmaoling)	29	999感冒灵，暖暖的，很贴心。	Covert	Quantity
苏菲卫生巾 (Sofy)	30	1/2超细腻丝感表层，贵族般触感。	Covert	Manner
娃哈哈晶钻水 (Wahaha)	31	水比钻石珍贵。	Covert	Quantity
脉动 (Mizone)	32	回复状态，随时脉动回来。	Covert	Quantity
统一绿茶 (Uni-President)	33	亲近自然，统一绿茶。	Covert	Manner
统一老坛 (Uni-President)	34	夷陵老祖修非常道，行正义事，道之所存，虽千万人吾往矣；统一老坛坚守正宗酸爽，是方便面酸菜品类的开创者。	Overt	
六神花露水 (Six God)	35	从妈妈放在床头的那瓶花露水开始，你与六神君就结下了不解之缘，多少年华，你有我陪伴，今后我也继续用真心呵护你，走过美妙的仲夏之夜！感谢你的信任！	Overt	

TABLE B: TRANSCRIPTION OF ADVERTISINGS ON AMERICAN SOCIAL MEDIA FACEBOOK

Brand	Nr.	Advertisings	Inference Types	Violation of CP
Nestle	1	Turn healthy, habits into wins.	Covert	Relation
NESCAFÉ	2	No matter where this week will take you, start your Monday with a coffee crafted by one of our coffee experts NESCAFÉ.	Overt	
PepsiCo	3	Sun, rest and an ice cold Pepsi.	Covert	Quantity & Relation
Old Spice	4	Men have skin, too.	Covert	Quantity & Relation
Domestos	5	Unstoppable in our fight for cleaner, safer toilets for all.	Overt	
Coca-Cola	6	Taste the feeling.	Overt	
Neutrogena	7	See what's possible.	Covert	Quantity
Tyson Food Co.	8	Keep it real. Keep it Tyson.	Covert	Relation & Manner
L'oreal	9	"Beauty-For-All is transforming into Beauty-For-You, where everyone has a personalized experience."	Overt	
L'oreal Elvive	10	"When they say you're not ready, that you'll never make it on your own, that's the time to really shine. Everyone loves a comeback." Dry hair can have one too.	Overt	
Maybelline	11	Best of the makeup like this.	Overt	
Enfamil	12	Help your baby master the world fast.	Covert	Quantity
Carlsberg	13	Probably the Best Beer in the World.	Covert	Quality
Vaseline	14	The healing power of Vaseline.	Covert	Quantity
Oscar Mayer	15	It's bacon. It's natural. It's Oscar Mayer. Any doubt it's amazing?	Covert	Manner
Lay's	16	This sparks lots of joy.	Covert	Quantity
Burger King	17	Its flame grilled good.	Overt	
Little Debbie	18	From the moment her granddad, put her face on the package, Little Debbie's been the sweetheart of American snackage.	Overt	
Sara Lee Bread	19	Sara Lee Artesano Bakery Rolls are the perfect way to serve up your favorite sliders.	Overt	
Oral-B	20	Toothbrush brand used by dentists worldwide.	Covert	Quality
McDonald's	21	Meet ShakeSauce- a sweet way to dip.	Overt	
ABInBev	22	Don't let your New Year's resolutions stop you from trying the latest delicious, seasonal beers! You can now try flavors from cake to donuts to gingerbread.	Overt	
Kraft	23	We know feeding a family can be stressful. And while we can't do anything about the whole paycheck thing, we'll do what we can to see that family dinners remain business as usual.	Overt	
Light & Fit	24	We already know you're amazing, but why not let the rest of the world know too?	Covert	Relation

Marc Jobs Beauty	25	Good skin comes to those who (won't) wait. Get Youthquake Gel Crème Moisturizer now with 3-day early access before the official launch later this month.	Overt	
TOMFORD BEAUTY	26	A force of nature bred to inspire its own world, Tom Ford Black Orchid is a rich blend of spice and darkness, both rare and extraordinary.	Covert	Manner
Hägen-Dazs	27	What's inside matters.	Covert	Quantity
Heineken	28	Lights, camera, CHEERS!	Covert	Quantity & Relation
Mondelez	29	Snacking made right.	Covert	Quantity & Manner
PANTENE	30	PLAY. RESCUE. RESET. -new Pantene Rescue Shots.	Covert	Quantity
Bobbi Brown	31	We believe in CONFIDENT BEAUTY.	Covert	Quantity & Manner
M.A.C	32	Boost your lashes. - M.A.C Lash Day.	Overt	
Kleenex	33	A box full of comfort & softness for the win! Show us how your pets unwind after a long day!	Covert	Manner
Tampax	34	Discover what's in your Tampax tampon. Ingredient at your fingertips.	Overt	
Tylenol	35	Show a caregiver you care. Give a care card. Tylenol, for what matters most.	Covert	Relation & Manner

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Prof. Junhong Dong and Xiaohong Zhang conducted the research and analyzed the data together; Xiaohong Zhang wrote the paper; all authors had approved the final version.

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