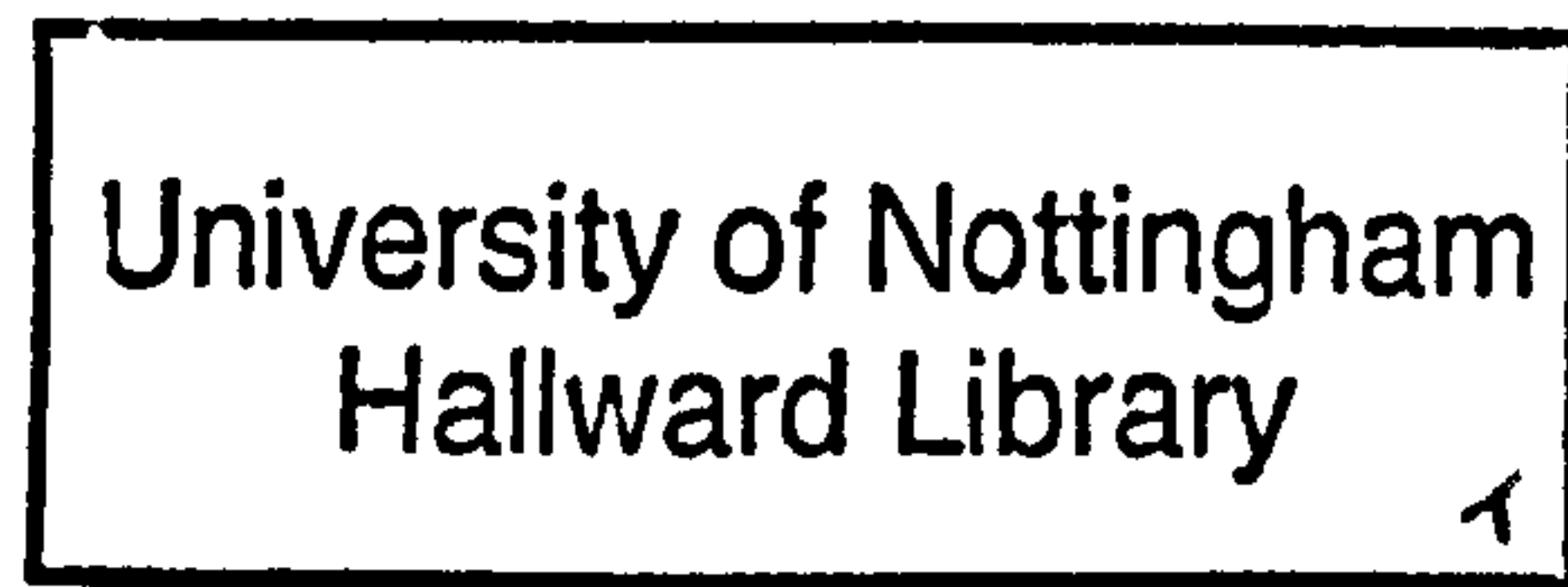


**A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE USE OF RHETORICAL FIGURES AND
COMMUNICATIVE AND STYLISTIC STRATEGIES IN ADVERTISING
SLOGANS**

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to analyse developments in the use of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in advertising slogans selected from the late 1800s till the beginning of the 21st century. Research has discovered that the use of rhetorical figures, specifically schemes and tropes, in advertising headlines and texts has become more complicated and sophisticated over time. Various persuasive strategies have also been found across different periods. Previous studies have only examined rhetorical figures in isolation rather than a combination of a wide range of figures. Besides, there have not been any studies done on the historical trends of the use of a combination of rhetorical figures. The combination of rhetorical figures in slogans has also not been researched. More significantly, the combination of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in advertising slogans has not been examined. A total of 500 advertising slogans were selected from thirteen multinational and established companies and arranged according to the year or decade they were created. The companies selected were ones that existed from the late 1800s or early 1900s and which still exist today. The slogans were then analysed for the presence of schemes and tropes and various persuasive strategies. Two types of analysis were done, that is, a qualitative and a quantitative analysis. The results of the study have revealed changes in the pattern of the rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies employed in advertising slogans through the decades. From the results, a taxonomy has been constructed which can be used to analyse advertising slogans. This taxonomy is a combination of both classical and contemporary approaches, incorporating classical rhetorical figures as well as more contemporary persuasive strategies. The pattern of changes that the results have revealed has also been described.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims of the Study

This study aims to investigate the persuasion techniques that have been used in a selection of advertising slogans that span a little over a hundred years. It will analyse the use of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in these advertising slogans and attempt to construct a framework which includes a taxonomy. The taxonomy can then be utilised as an instrument to analyse advertising slogans. The study also aims to examine the trends of the use of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in the advertising slogans selected from the late 1800s, through the 1900s and into the 21st century. Therefore the study aims to discover the types of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies present in advertising slogans and the trends of their use over the decades.

1.2 A Historical Overview of Rhetoric Through the Centuries

The word 'rhetoric', which means 'to influence people through speech', originated in democratic Athens and in republican Rome (Sproule, 1997: 7). The study of rhetoric, which originates in ancient Greece, has been extant for centuries, specifically from 5 B.C. Being one of the oldest disciplines, it has survived and evolved in accordance with changing ideologies and lifestyles. Rhetoric is 'the classical study of

how oratory works' (Kemp, 1994:1). The spoken word is much older than the formal study of rhetoric in its written form. Eloquence was considered by the ancient Greeks to be one of the greatest assets of humans, an art considered magical and even divine. It was not until the fifth century B.C., among the Greek inhabitants of Sicily that rhetoric as a distinct art was born. The rhetorician acted as an advisor on the effective presentation of legal cases (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 23; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 6; Thompson, 1997: 4).

1.2.1 The Classical Period (500-323 B.C.)

An outstanding philosopher and also a noteworthy poet, dramatist, orator, statesman and general who was said to have brought Athens to its Golden Age in the fifth century B.C. was **Socrates**, who was born in 469 B.C. He, however, did not leave behind any written piece of work. Through the writings of Plato, one can read about 'his life, his philosophy and his dialectical method' (Corbett, 1990: 222). At age seventy, he was taken to court in Athens as he was accused of being anti-establishment. It was in that context of judicial rhetoric when he defends himself that his speech was recorded as **Socrates' *Apology***. For Socrates, a man's knowledge and intellect must lead towards discovering the truth. He felt that the rhetorician was not seriously concerned with the truth but used the art of persuading for deceptive means. Thus the skill of persuading without the elements of truth and morality was undeserving of an 'art'. Socrates also criticized the written documentation of speeches as a barrier to the pursuit of truth and

enlightenment which was more effective in the situation of natural and spontaneous expression.

Rhetoric was soon to be extended beyond legal and political occasions. Gorgias is notable in the history of rhetoric as he was responsible for introducing oratory into Greece when he visited Athens as an ambassador in 427 B.C. Gorgias specialized in writing speeches in praise or reproof of specific subjects or persons. The Athenians were awed by his magnificent speeches. Gorgias can be considered the first eminent Sophist in Athens. *Sophist* was a 'neutral term' for 'professors who lectured on the 'new learning' in literature, science, philosophy, and especially oratory' (Corbett, 1990: 541).

The Sophists organized 'small, private schools', tutoring pupils for a small fee. The schools became highly profitable that they began to entice 'charlatans' into the bandwagon. It was said that this resulted in the Sophists losing their respectability. Gorgias and other teachers of rhetoric asserted that a speaker need not concern himself with the truth of the matter in hand. The orator's verbal deftness in convincing the audience in the conclusion of the speech was much more important than the morality and wisdom of the opinion expressed (Corbett, 1990: 541).

Plato was a notable figure in attacking and depreciating rhetoric, especially in his *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*. He was skeptical of written words as the author's background, reputation and ideological connections are not usually known. The voice of Socrates is heard expressing contempt for the fact that rhetoric was exploited by the Sophists who taught the skill as merely a flair to mask fabrication or unawareness as probable truth. Both the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus* put forward an in-depth review of the theory and practice of rhetoric. The famous treatise on love in the *Phaedrus* also consists of a model

speech and an affirmation that truth and wisdom are superior to verbal talent. One can never be eloquent unless one gives considerable regard to philosophy. Towards the closing in the *Phaedrus*, Plato gives in to the prospect of the existence of a real art of rhetoric. However, it could only materialise if the persuader took pains to study the truth about the issue he was going to talk about. In *Gorgias*, Plato defends Socrates and his doctrines against various challenges. He emphasizes the advantages of virtue and righteousness which are far greater than immorality. It was an irony that in the process of attacking rhetoric, Plato's rhetorical skills proved to be outstanding. Just as he protested against teachers who taught rhetoric, Plato had qualms about poets as well (Vickers, 1998: 83-147; Corbett and Connors, 1999: 492; Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 24). This was especially evident in his masterpiece, *The Republic*:

For one thing, rhetoric could not be considered a true art because it did not rest on universal principles. Moreover, rhetoricians, like poets, were more interested in opinions, in appearances, even in lies, than in the transcendental truth that the philosopher sought. 'They made the worse appear the better reason.' They were mere enchanters of the soul, more interested in dazzling their audience than in instructing it. Rhetoric - to bring it down to its lowest terms - was a form of flattery, like cosmetics (Corbett and Connors 1999: 492).

It was against such moral irresponsibility that **Isocrates** was determined to defend the study of rhetoric as being higher and nobler than that of mere persuasion. Isocrates's concern was the study and teaching of the art of speech rather than of rhetoric. 'He took

the rather artificial style of Gorgias, tempered it, refined it, and made it an elegant vehicle for both written and spoken discourse' (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 491). Isocrates emphasized the 'Greek ideals of freedom and autonomy' and also advocated the Greek virtue of *sophrosyne* or 'self-control' (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 492). Isocrates began his career as a logographer – one who wrote speeches for people who couldn't come up with a persuasive speech. In fact, it is said that his documented speeches are 'highly polished works of art'. Eventually, he set up a prestigious school of rhetoric that became well-known and was patronized by enterprising young men around the city-states of Greece. Isocrates's aim was to mould them into becoming 'capable and cultured citizens'. He felt that rhetors should commit themselves to the well-being of mankind and the benefit of all. He emphasized that three criteria which were crucial in realizing that objective were 'native ability, study and practice' (Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 26). He too advocated that the orator possesses good moral conduct as words would carry greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute. He felt that the would-be orator should not only be well-acquainted with the liberal arts but also have sound moral education. (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 492).

Aristotle, the Greek philosopher and the most notable pupil of Plato was responsible for developing 'a fully theorized account of rhetoric' (Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 24). In writing his book, *Rhetoric*, he aimed to offset Plato's unfavourable judgement of the art of rhetoric. During the fourth century B.C. Aristotle gathered the existing rhetorical handbooks and compiled them into the *Synagoge Techne*. He disagreed with the existing rhetorical theory and tried to devise acceptable rules for rhetoric that could be applied generally. While the Sophists used examples to teach,

Aristotle favoured the use of principles in his lectures; 'rhetoric' and 'dialectic' go hand in hand and the two studies complement each other. Aristotle classified the manner of persuading into three principles: *ethos* (ethical appeal), *pathos* (emotional appeal) and *logos* (the appeal to reason). He devoted considerable space to the ways in which the pleader could prove his case, and to a detailed study of the 'enthymeme', which is to the orator what the syllogism is to the logician. Briefly, an enthymeme is an argument based on generally true or probable, as opposed to certain, premises, and leading to a specific, not a general, conclusion. The upshot was to emphasize that rhetoric was primarily a technique of argument, like logic, rather than of style. Among his other contributions to rhetorical theory were introducing the example in making a logical generalization, emphasising the mastery of the persuasive skill rather than the success of the outcome and analysing typical emotional responses or passions which actually gave rise to the introduction of psychology. Aristotle used subtle ways to defend rhetoric. He put forward a new and redefined approach. The function of rhetoric was not so much to persuade as to discover 'all the available means of persuasion in any given situation' (Aristotle, 1877: 149). As the Greek word for 'persuasion' stems from the Greek verb 'to believe', Aristotle's definition incorporates not only an argumentative but also an expository mode of communication. His text on rhetoric received much more attention from the academics in the twentieth century than it ever did in the past. Hence, the mention of classical rhetoric in contemporary times usually refers to Aristotle's theory of rhetoric (Aristotle, 1877: 149; Corbett, 1990: 1; Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 25).

1.2.2 The Hellenistic Period (323-37 B.C.)

The classical period of ancient Greek rhetoric came to an end with the demise of Aristotle in 322 B.C. During the Hellenistic era, Greek rhetoricians organized the traditions of classical rhetoric into a comprehensible system in order to pass the knowledge on to the younger generation. The 'stasis theory', invented by one of the teachers, Hermagoras, was an extension to the Aristotelian and Sophistic rhetorical traditions adopted from the classical period. It was the only main contribution to the rhetorical theory of this period. The stasis theory was less complicated and less philosophical than Aristotle's and fitted the needs of the courtroom better. During this period, a complete treatise on the theory of Greek rhetoric was composed in Latin. The authorship of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is uncertain although it was thought to have been written by Cicero during the Middle Ages. It gives a comprehensive account of the Hellenistic theory of rhetoric and is also extremely beneficial in its review of the ancient use of memory (Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 8).

1.2.3 The Roman Period (90-450 B.C.)

Roman intellectuals began to get acquainted with and espoused Greek rhetorical theory in its entirety. It was only later that its principles were adjusted to suit the Latin language. Cicero was the most outstanding orator and writer in Roman rhetoric. Cicero, like Isocrates, put oratory high on a pedestal as he was a skilful orator as well as a well-respected teacher in the Roman period. His orations and epistles had a philosophical and moral character to them. They included topics of general concern and questions that were applicable to the daily lives of the community. He contended that the aim of language use

was to instruct, to entertain and ultimately to motivate audiences to act. He also contributed to the development of the stasis theory. The influence of Aristotle and other Greek rhetoricians and philosophers are reflected in his works on literature, philosophy and rhetorical theory. His rhetorical masterpiece is the *De Oratore* or 'On the Art of Oratory' (Kennedy, 1980: 100; Corbett and Connors, 1999: 495; Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 27-28; Borchers, 2002: 32-33). However, 'the real shaping force on Cicero's work was the Roman state – its respect for authority and tradition, its political fluctuations, and its ethical dilemmas' (Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 28). His major contribution was perhaps the expansion of the study of rhetoric to become a liberal-arts course. Cicero felt that to conceive an argument, the skilful orator ought to have thorough knowledge in a broad range of subjects (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 85, 495; Vickers, 1998: 187; Borchers, 2002: 220). Cicero advocated the combination of *res* and *verba*, of thinking and speaking, of ethics and ornamentation. For him, as for Isocrates, the perfect orator is one who is endowed with 'wisdom combined with eloquence' (Cicero, 1942:144).

Quintillian, one of the greatest influential teachers of rhetoric, agreed with this important unifying role which rhetoric must play in education. His *Institutio Oratoria* (Education of the Orator), published near the end of the first century A.D., is a classic, comprehensive treatise on rhetorical education which emphasizes the association of ethics and eloquence. It consists of a thorough discussion of the theory of invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery (Kennedy, 1980: 101; Corbett and Connors, 1999: 496; Vickers, 1998: 38; Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 28). Quintillian defines rhetoric as *bene dicendi scientia*, 'a knowledge of speaking well'. He sees rhetoric as 'the centrepiece in the training of the citizen' or what is known as 'primary rhetoric'. He

considers oration 'only as a means to an end' as he feels that speakers should be trained in the courtroom and for public needs. In one of his works, *De Inventione*, he adapted Greek theory to suit the real conditions of Roman oratory (Kennedy, 1980: 101). Although he had conflicts with his gifted predecessor, Quintillian kept to the tradition which went back through Cicero to Isocrates, and which maintained that rhetoric inculcated virtue and wisdom in the aspiring orator.

My aim, then, is the education of the perfect orator. The first essential for such an one is that he should be a good man, and consequently we demand of him not merely the possession of exceptional gifts of speech, but of all the excellences of character as well..... I shall frequently be compelled to speak of such virtues as courage, justice, self-control (Quintillian, 1920, 1: 11).

This emphasis on the dual role of intellectual and moral education for the orator-to-be elevated Cicero and Quintillian to the status of the most dynamic classical rhetoricians in the study of rhetoric in England and America (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 496). Quintillian's support of 'the oratorical ideal' helped secure primary rhetoric as a major subject in schools 'throughout late antiquity and into the Middle Ages, when practical opportunities for speech were eroding' (Kennedy, 1980: 102). The *progymnasmata*, a series of writing exercises, were introduced to schoolboys once they had mastered the elementary principles of rhetoric. It consisted of a series of assignments of varying complexity which included topics such as proverbs, fables, narratives,

description, comparison and arguments (Corbett, 1999: 484; Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 382).

1.2.4 The Middle Ages (426-1320 A.D.)

During the Middle Ages, there were fewer opportunities for public expression but rhetoric became an academic exercise under medieval rhetoricians such as Cassiodorus, Capella, and Isidore. Grammar, logic and rhetoric comprised of the *trivium*, an undergraduate course for students who pursued the degree of bachelor of arts. Students were trained in two types of 'scholastic declamation', the *suasoriae* and the *controversiae*. The former dealt with orations on factual or mythical topics while the latter exposed them to speeches on legal issues. However, the training they were given focused on flashy brilliance of style and delivery to impress rather than to persuade an audience. As a result, the study of rhetoric did not progress in spite of its importance in the curriculum (Corbett, 1990: 548; Vickers, 1998: 47-48, 220). Rhetoric, however, began to develop in other forms such as in preaching which, in turn, inspired the beginning of literary satire and drama. The theoretical form of rhetoric was reflected in the *ars dictaminis* associated with the writing of letters, in the *artes poetriae* connected with expression in verse form and in the *artes praedicandi* related to giving sermons (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 497-498; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 9). St. Augustine was a notable figure in the evolution of rhetoric in the Middle Ages. His aim was to use rhetoric to persuade Christians to follow the religious path. He laid the foundations for the 'rhetoric of the sermon', a subdivision now called 'homiletics' which became a great influence for many decades to come (Corbett, 1990: 549).

1.2.5 The Renaissance (1444-1623 A.D.)

The Renaissance saw the ‘brief appearance of a true primary rhetoric, with a renewed influence on rhetorical expression in oratory, as well as the development of rhetorical dialogues and historiography and the continuation of rhetorical poetry along the lines known in the Middle Ages’ (Kennedy, 1980: 114). Aristotle’s and Quintillian’s works were unearthed and analysed thoroughly. Cicero’s speeches were used as rhetorical models for practical eloquence. The art of rhetoric began to be pursued in Italy and in European countries such as France and Holland. However, the study of classical oratory was restricted to merely a subject taught at schools and universities – ‘a stage in one’s education rather than an end in itself’ (Vickers, 1998: 287). The development of the art was controlled as political autocracy was prevalent throughout Europe at that time. The expansion of printing, however, boosted the production and availability of rhetorical textbooks resulting in the growth of the art of drama in England. This led dramatists like Marlowe and Shakespeare to very often make use of their rhetorical grounding in a manner that undermined the political, social and religious order during that period. **Peter Ramus**, the French Protestant scholar and logician developed a simple method of allocating the discovery and arrangement of matter or *inventio* to the province of logic. This, in turn, was supported by style or *elocutio* and delivery or *pronuntiatio*. Hence, although rhetoric and dialectic were to be taught separately, in practice, both would work together closely. The system also had a great influence in applying rhetoric to literature (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 20; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 10; Vickers, 1998: 283).

The failure of primary rhetoric in the Renaissance to establish a new theoretical tradition at a high intellectual level resulted in the survival of rhetoric primarily as an elementary, if almost universal, study in the schools, with significant implications for the form of renaissance literature, not only in Latin, but in all European vulgate languages (Kennedy, 1980: 114).

1.3 The Three Types of Rhetoric

Rhetoric is categorized according to three types of persuasive discourse:

1. *Judicial or forensic rhetoric* is the oratory of the law courts, the rhetoric of legal prosecution and defence. The persuader's ultimate concern is with justice, and the audience is required to reach a verdict about certain events in the past. The persuader will try to convince the court through statement of proof and the examination of evidence. Teachers of rhetoric from Aristotle to Quintillian pay most attention to the needs of this branch of oratory.
2. *Deliberative rhetoric* originated in public affairs and political assemblies. The persuader's task is to persuade or dissuade the audience in relation to a course of action or decision of policy, and the audience act as the judge. In the Middle Ages, the field of deliberative oratory was chiefly occupied by preachers and letter-writers.

3. *Demonstrative or epideictic rhetoric* (in Greek), arose out of public ceremonies and rituals, where its principal duty was the praise of gods and men. Soon, it embraced other forms of panegyric, such as congratulatory addresses and eulogies at funerals. Demonstrative oratory or ceremonial discourse focused more on pleasing rather than persuading the audience at which the audience is simply a spectator or critic of the orator's skill.

(Corbett and Connors, 1999: 23)

1.4 The Canons of Rhetoric

The five canons of rhetoric, named by the anonymous writer of the ancient book, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* are integral to an understanding of persuasion. They are *inventio* or invention, *dispositio* or disposition, *elocutio* or elocution, *memoria* or memory and *pronuntiatio* or delivery.

'Invention' or discovery involves creating arguments or ideas for persuading an audience. 'Disposition' or arrangement refers to how the persuader organizes the arguments or ideas in order to have the greatest effect on the audience. 'Elocution' or style deals with how the persuader uses language to impress the audience. 'Memory', the fourth canon has got to do with the act of memorizing speeches and finally, the fifth canon of 'delivery' is the use of voice and non-verbal communication to persuade an audience. This canon is said to be extremely important as many well-prepared orations had fallen flat due to poor delivery. This puts the writer at a greater disadvantage than a speaker as the latter has the benefit of face-to-face contact with an audience. Therefore

the one and only crucial way to counter this drawback is for the writer to display an impressive style (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 17-23; Lucas, 2009: 244-263; Borchers, 2002: 33-34) which is why 'style received the most detailed attention' in ancient rhetoric (Fahnestock, 2005: 216).

1.5 Recent Definitions of Rhetoric

More recent definitions describe rhetoric as 'persuasive dialogue' which is influenced by a 'controlled interaction' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 4-5), 'the practical art by which we learn how to manipulate all the available means of persuading a large, heterogeneous, perhaps uneducated audience' (Corbett, 1990: 38), 'speech, writing, or generally any form of communication directed toward others' (Thompson: 1997: 4), and 'the systemization of natural eloquence' (Vickers, 1998: 1). Rhetoric today is used habitually to refer to:

...speech or writing that is pretentious, over-ornate, insincere, ostentatious. I take rhetoric to be the use of language to create atmosphere, and to persuade people, move them to action, seek to change them. My own diffident redefinition is one that shakes free from the formal, rigid, historical legacy. It is all the ways in which a speaker or writer seeks to persuade listeners or readers, by appealing to their reason, their emotions, their imagination and their confidence in the speaker or writer (Gibson in Andrews, 1992:170).

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In America, the word ‘rhetoric’ has negative connotations associated with ‘empty words, or as fancy language used to distort the truth or to tell lies’, especially relating to politics (Crowley and Hawhee, 1999: 1).

McGuire (2000: 111) prefers to use the word ‘persuasion’ (instead of ‘rhetoric’) and defines it as ‘a ubiquitous art, one that has been practiced effectively by intuitive geniuses since prehistory’.

Borchers (2002:15), who mentions that the word *rhetoric* is frequently used interchangeably with *persuasion*, gives his definition:

Persuasion is the coproduction of meaning that results when an individual or a group of individuals uses language strategies and/or visual images to make audiences identify with that individual or group.

1.6 An Overview of the Chapters in the Thesis

The first chapter introduces the topic and outlines the aims of the study. A historical overview of rhetoric over the centuries is given. The three types of rhetoric and the canons of rhetoric are described. Recent definitions of rhetoric are also outlined. Lastly, an outline of the chapters is given.

Chapter 2 will consist of a detailed review of literature related to the topic. It will be divided into six major sections which will be further sub-divided into subsections. The six major sections are:

2.1 The Principles of Rhetoric

2.2 Style and Figures of Speech in Rhetoric

2.3 Rhetorical Figures and Strategies in Advertising

2.4 Persuasion in the Contemporary and Modern Eras

2.5 The Evolution of Rhetoric to Poetics

2.6 Studies on Rhetorical Figures and Persuasive Strategies in Advertising

Chapter 3 will consist of four main sections, that is, the research design and selection, the pilot study, the main study and the research questions. The chapter will begin with a discussion of the research design and selection of the data. It will be followed by how the pilot study and its analysis were carried out. The description of the main study and its analysis will then come in the next section. The research questions will then be outlined with an elaboration of how these questions grow organically from the readings done in the previous chapter.

Chapter 4 will deal with the qualitative analysis of the study which is actually the pilot study. The data will be analysed for rhetorical figures and strategies. The analysis will also encompass basic grammatical components. The background of the companies involved would also be investigated to support the findings.

Chapter 5 will focus on the analysis of the data gathered using quantitative procedures. The data will be analysed using the framework drawn out of the pilot study. The data will be analysed for the presence of both rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies. The layering of rhetorical figures will also be analysed. The results will then be tabulated and graphed to illustrate statistical trends.

Chapter 6 will deal with a discussion of the results of the analysis. The results of both the qualitative and quantitative analysis will be collated and examined with a focus on the trends found from the beginning till the end of the period studied. This chapter will also answer the research questions that were formulated in chapter three. A new taxonomy will then be drawn up for analysing advertising slogans and discussed.

Chapter 7 will conclude the study. General conclusions will be outlined before the limitations of the study are discussed. The implications of the study will also be elaborated upon. The chapter will also highlight the areas for future research which would stem from this study before a closing statement is made.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 The Principles of Rhetoric

Aristotle classified the manner of persuading into three principles: *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*.

Ethos or ‘ethical appeal’ considers the speaker’s character as being of great significance in rhetorical discourse which deals with issues of uncertainty and divided viewpoints. Speakers or writers would have to establish or maintain their credibility in their speech or writing in order to win the confidence of the audience. Those who already have a good reputation but display a lack of ethical appeal in their discourse could find their credibility tumbling in the eyes of the audience. Hence the importance of ethical appeal in a particular discourse. (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 19; Lucas, 2009: 353).

Cockcroft & Cockcroft (2005: 16) mention ‘personality’ and ‘stance’ as the main components of *ethos*. The audience is said to be an important part of the persuasive process. The persuader’s personality, and subsequently, his/her stance are said to influence the audience. Stance, in Hunter’s (1984: 44) opinion, has to do with the way a persuader believes in something and it would be expressed in relation to topic and audience. Corbett (1990: 81) put forward five ‘positive precepts’ with regard to ethical appeal which he considers the ‘hidden persuader’. Persuaders will exert a strong ethical appeal if their discourse ‘exhibits their good sense, reflects their moral character,

manifests their goodwill, displays their sound knowledge of human psychology and an appropriate style, and adapt their tone and sentiments to fit the audience' who may be of diverse ages and backgrounds.

The ethical appeal is reflected in the moral character of the speaker who has to gain the audience's trust and confidence. Although the ethical appeal must be reflected throughout the discourse, persuaders normally make an extra attempt to emphasise it in their introduction and conclusion in order to establish their credibility and goodwill with the audience. This is because the audience's first impression of the persuader is important in portraying a favourable image of the latter. Similarly, the closing is the final opportunity for the persuader to uphold his positive image (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 19, 72-73; Lucas, 2009: 193-194, 197-198).

The second principle of *logos* deals with reasoning and argument. The rhetoricians considered rhetoric as 'an offshoot of logic, the science of human reasoning' (Corbett, 1990: 38). 'Induction' and 'deduction' are two types of argument by logic. Inductive reasoning uses the 'example' in an argument. This type of reasoning goes from the specific to the general. Deductive reasoning involves reasoning from the general to the specific (Aristotle, 1877: 45). Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005: 81) discuss *logos* based on the two conventional divisions of 'invention' and 'judgement'. 'Invention' is based on creating an argument on a particular topic while 'judgement' is the appraisal of the same arguments by the audience followed by a filtration of arguments that are useful from those that are not.

Aristotle (1877: 45) linked *pathos* to the appeal of emotion. The topic, the occasion and the audience are three factors that determine the use of emotional appeal. If

we wish to sway our audience's emotions, we must first feel those emotions ourselves and be aware of the nature of the emotions, our audience and the occasion. Corbett (1990: 82) further adds that one can feel an emotion without projecting it excessively. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005: 56) distinguish two types of emotions i.e. universal emotions and contingent emotions. Universal emotions are generally experienced by one and all. Contingent emotions are specific to a certain community or culture. The movement of emotions between the persuader and the audience is compared to a laser where electrical energy builds up intensely into light energy. Corbett and Connors (1999: 18, 77) add that there is a link between our will and our emotions in that the emotions have a strong effect on the will. This means that we act out of our emotions much of the time. A blend of reason and emotion can also influence our will. The persuader should not announce to the audience the intention of using emotion on them as this can reduce the force of the emotional appeal.

Bias is a prominent feature of persuasive communication as without it, there is no case for the act of persuading. A persuader has to be wary of extreme bias in his or her arguments as this could result in a negative emotional interaction between persuader and audience. Emotions had been in the past, and still are until today, used for unethical intentions. Therefore, the use of emotional appeal, although essential in persuasion, has to be treated with caution (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 84; Lucas, 2009: 372-373; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 57).

2.2 Style and Figures of Speech in Rhetoric

The study of rhetoric would not be complete without the inclusion of style and figures of speech.

2.2.1 *Style in Classical Rhetoric*

Style is important in persuasive communication as it is the way we put forward our ideas. Aristotle and Cicero both influenced our way of thinking about style. Aristotle associated style with clarity saying that if a speech lacks clarity, it has not served its purpose. Cicero identified three types of style used in the act of persuading: plain, middle and grand. The plain style is devoid of ornamentation, consists of common words and is clear. The middle style has ornamentation and makes use of imagery and humour. The grand style is majestic and moving. The plain style is now commonly used to foster close relationships with audiences (Borchers, 2002: 33).

Style is considered as ornament according to classical rhetoric where it is included into an organized system of five parts: *Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory and Delivery*. Style, according to this division of rhetoric, is largely associated with figures of speech that ‘draw a contrast between words and actuality’ (Thompson, 1997: 539).

Since classical antiquity, hundreds of figures have been indexed ranging from the common to the ambiguous. However, during the Renaissance, the figures were sub-classified into about sixty-five general types (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 378). They were also given English terms by the Renaissance rhetorician, George Puttenham (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 379).

2.2.2 *Figures of Speech in Classical Rhetoric*

A *figura* or rhetorical figure is ‘any deviation, either in thought or expression, from the ordinary and simple method of speaking, a change analogous to the different positions our bodies assume when we sit down, lie down or look back...*Ergo figura sit arte aliqua novata forma dicendi*’ (Quintillian, 1920: 11).

Rhetorical figures are not merely ornaments used to decorate a language. They are meant to have emotive power in evoking an audience’s response. Although these figures have been a conspicuous feature of rhetoric, ironically, their excessive development and use led to a decline in respect for the art of rhetoric. This affected the notion of figurative rhetoric from being meaningful to becoming something of a ‘showy deceiver, an enemy of plain truth’ (Corbett, 1990: 412) in accordance with the Platonic view. Besides, it made the style and expression of rhetoricians ‘artificial and ornate’ (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969: 167). Even in modern colloquial English, the term ‘figure of speech’ is associated with something flawed, delusive and dishonest. On the other hand, an absence or lack of figurative language ‘can have a deadening effect on style’ (Nash, 1989: 13; Corbett, 1990: 412).

Persuaders can use rhetorical figures in different ways to express a message while their central message remains unaltered. This does not mean that rhetorical figures cannot strengthen or emphasize the proposed meaning. It simply means that the meaning need not be changed due to modifications in rhetorical style. In other words:

Rhetorical figures create artful deviation or incongruity in various ways (Mothersbaugh, Huhmann & Franke, 2002: 589).

2.2.2.1 *Schemes and Tropes*

Therefore, a rhetorical figure has been traditionally referred to as an artful deviation from the usual or ordinary mode of expression, whether in speech or writing. It occurs when an expression departs from the norm, is not discarded as being unintelligible or defective, it deviates in form rather than content, and the deviation complies to a fixed pattern according to specific contents and contexts. A figure in the schematic mode or *scheme* (Greek *schema*, form, shape) has the feature of excessive order or regularity while a figure in the tropic mode or *trope* (Greek *tropein*, to turn) is associated with a lack of order or irregularity. The latter term is used to represent the domain of figurative language. Used skillfully, tropes give language greater force and accuracy which is vital in persuasion. Thus schemes and tropes cover two well-defined modes of formal deviation. Both schemes and tropes entail a shift of some kind: a trope involves a shift of meaning i.e. it operates at the conceptual or semantic level, a scheme involves a shift of order i.e. it operates at the physical or sensory level of the language structure. A trope alters the meanings of words whereas a scheme only affects their positioning or repetition. Common examples of schemes include parallelism and alliteration, and metaphors and puns are examples of tropes (Vickers, 1970: 36; Corbett and Connors, 1999: 379; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 165-178; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 425; Mothersbaugh et. al., 2002: 2). To further elaborate:

Schemes are created by repeating or reversing sounds or words in statements, as in epiphora, which repeats the last word in successive clauses, or transposition, which repeats words in a phrase in reverse order. Tropes are created by the

substitution of one meaning for the other or by implying more than is said, as in hyperbole, which uses extreme exaggeration, or metaphor, which compares two dissimilar objects to imply similarities that may not literally exist (Mothersbaugh et.al, 2002: 2).

According to historians, even Jesus often used the schemes of rhythm and rhyme in his teachings. Presently, one of the most popular translations of the Bible is the King James Version of 1611, a version that is considered ‘a great literary achievement’ (MacLachlan, 1984: 57). It was translated using ‘distinctive meter and rhythm’ which lends it ‘a flowing and memorable quality’ (MacLachlan, 1984: 57).

Another difference between schemes and tropes that is more qualitative is whether the deviation ‘involves excessive regularity and meaning certainty or a deficiency of regularity and meaning uncertainty’ (MacLachlan, 1984: 57). Thus ‘Bounty is the quicker, picker, upper’ contains excessive regularity in the form of sound repetition and adequately conveys the idea that Bounty cleans up messes quickly. Alternatively, tropes involve a deficiency of regularity such that existing cues do not fully communicate intended meaning or, by contrast, communicate multiple possible meanings that must be scrutinized and resolved (referred to as undercoding). Thus, ‘Reddiwip’s 50 glamorous ways to dessert your family’ contains a deficiency of regularity and creates initial meaning uncertainty, in that ‘dessert’ has multiple possible meanings (MacLachlan, 1984: 57).

A wide range of schemes and tropes in various formats are also employed in politics and journalism as illustrated in the following sub-section:

2.2.2.1.1 *Using Contrast*

In political debate, assertions and counter-assertions play a significant role. As such, *contrast* is a commonly used verbal format in delivering messages effectively. In fact, Greek and Roman orators classified as rhetorical figures various types of *antithesis* (Atkinson, 1984: 73).

Martin Luther King used ‘contrast’ in his *I Have a Dream* speech. Former U.S. president, J.F. Kennedy in his inaugural address used the antithesis, ‘Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country’ (Atkinson, 1984: 126). Winston Churchill concluded his war-time speech at the House of Commons in 1940 with a ‘three–part list’ where the third item contrasted with the preceding two:

Never in the field of human conflict has

1. so much been owed by
2. so many to
3. so few

(Atkinson, 1984: 127)

Contrasts and three-part lists were also used in literature such as in George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, demonstrating two contrasting slogans:

- a All animals are equal,
- b but some animals are more equal than others.
- a Four legs good,
- b two legs bad.

(Atkinson, 1984: 128-129)

They also featured in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in the following party slogan where three contrasts can be seen:

1. War is peace
2. Freedom is slavery
3. Ignorance is strength

(Atkinson, 1984: 129)

Newspapers usually highlight contrastive statements used by politicians in either headlines or the opening paragraphs. Former Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's punch line in the second part of her antithesis, 'You turn if you want to; the lady's not for turning', became the headlines in all the British newspapers. It had brought an overwhelming response from the audience when it was delivered (Atkinson, 1984: 133). Contrasts and three-part lists are not merely present in political speech and writing but are also often found in other types of persuasive discourse such as in the persuasive sections of newspaper editorials (Atkinson, 1984: 151) and in advertising slogans (Atkinson, 1984: 151; Moeran, 1985: 29).

These lists are similar to a pair of lines that rhyme called *distichs* found in poems and sonnets. *Distichs* 'articulate a connection between two otherwise unconnected strands of meaning' (Nash, 1989: 36). Advertising slogans often use *distichs* either horizontally, vertically or in blocks as in:

(Horizontal) *Less smoke* *More heat*

(Vertical) *Remember last winter?*
Don't forget this

(Block) *Born in* *Raised in*
Denmark *Britain*

(Moeran, 1985: 29)

The above distichs have a 'quadripartite balance' based on syntactic and semantic parallelism which give the slogans their desired effect (Moeran, 1985: 30). Writers of persuasive discourse often employ rhetorical devices 'that most regularly elicit applause' by audiences or silent applause by readers (Atkinson, 1984: 154). Radio and television news broadcasters tend to select messages which have an impact on the audience. Applause from the audience helps them identify the specific points which gained the attention of the audience in order to facilitate their selection process (Atkinson, 1984: 137).

Although classical rhetoricians heaped criticisms on rhetorical figures, they, together with Renaissance writers, realized the value of these figures as being 'the last and crucial link in the whole process of persuasion' (Vickers, 1998: 295). There is a link between advertising and traditional forms of discourse (D'Angelo, 1978: 356) and although rhetorical figures supplement strong, persuasive messages and are not

substitutes, research needs to focus on this subject of rhetorical figures as recent content analyses have confirmed the prevalence of figuration in advertising language (Leigh, 1994: 32).

Similarly, the effective rhetorical strategies and formats of persuasive discourse such as advertising slogans has to be evaluated and examined, particularly those which have attracted much attention and received approval from a large proportion of consumers (Atkinson, 1984: 151).

2.3 Rhetorical Figures and Strategies in Advertising

Looking through the perspectives of critical discourse analysis, which pays significant attention to language and power (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 12), and economics, Fairclough (1995a: 19) explains:

...marketisation is to a significant degree a discoursal process – it is partly constituted through colonization by the discursive practices of market domains, such as advertising.

Today belongs to the media age as we are bombarded with persuasive messages from all corners, in particular, advertisements. From radio and television commercials to advertisements on public transport to billboards, someone is constantly trying to persuade us to believe in something or behave in a certain way (Jamieson, 1988: 14, Thompson, 1997: 231; Goddard, 1998: 5; Borchers, 2002: 21; Cook, 2001: 13). The messages of

advertisements are said to be 'complex' in terms of their creation (Gardner and Luchtenberg, 2000: 1809). The word 'advertisement' has its roots in the Latin verb *advertere* meaning 'to turn towards' (Goddard, 1998: 6). Although advertisements are transient, they have a far-reaching impact on our moves and decisions as described:

We define who we are by the clothes we wear, the food we eat, and the car we drive. Each of these attributes has certain values assigned to them by advertising (Borchers, 2002: 6).

Advertising has become part and parcel of the discourse of a wide range of institutions such as education, medicine and the arts (Fairclough, 1995b: 63). The advertising text is 'the most pervasive, influential and inescapable discourse of the twentieth century' (Birch. In Goddard, 1998: 1). More specifically:

Advertisements are forms of discourse which make a powerful contribution to how we construct our identities (Goddard, 1998: 4).

For an advertisement to be effective it must, at least, attract enough of the audience's attention to take notice of the information presented by using the resources of language they have in common. In other words, it must be memorable and meaningful. Another more essential requisite for effectiveness is that advertisements must also be persuasive (Leech, 1966: 27; Goddard, 1998: 4; Tom and Eves, 1999: 41). Persuasiveness in advertising can be achieved in several ways:

...ads have to ring true and avoid clichés...Good advertising is relevant, human, engaging and memorable. The successful campaigns are ones that build the brand and create momentum and positive feeling for the brand by being more engaging through humour, or something emotional that gets people in the heart. One of the best ways to get people to like you is to make them laugh, but it's not enough to just make them laugh. You've got to connect with something in people's lives, or their mindset, and the ads that do that are the ones that are successful. (Nelson. In Wilcha and Wallenstein, 1998: 6)

Rhetorical figures are widely used in advertising today, especially in print advertising (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 435; Toncar and Munch, 2001: 55).

An advertisement was classified as using rhetorical figures if either the verbal and/or pictorial elements used rhetorical devices (Tom and Eves, 1999: 42).

Why are rhetorical figures used in advertising?

A key contribution of rhetoric is to explain how certain kinds of text structure (i.e., rhetorical figures) can produce incongruity in advertising texts. Because consumers are under no compulsion to start reading a headline, finish reading it, or continue on to read the rest of the advertisement, an important function of rhetorical figures is to persuade the potential reader (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 426-427).

Compared to advertisements that are devoid of rhetorical figures, advertisements containing rhetorical figures may more likely lead to consumer liking and memorability (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 427). Understanding these advertisements begins with ‘comprehension processes’ and then moves on to ‘recognition, interpretation, and appreciation’ by the consumer (Gibbs, 1994: 118).

Rhetorical figures in advertisements can be self-explanatory and effectively convey a message that is otherwise problematic or difficult to explain. A number of advertisements lend weight to the idea that rhetorical figures can be used to enhance the effect of the advertisement’s literal message (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 7). It also tends to suggest more than what literal words express in an advertisement (Stern, 1992. In Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 6).

In the media age, direct contact with our persuaders is becoming less and less. Hence, the style used by persuaders today is different from that of the past. The prime goal of persuasive speaking today is to give value to information. As the amount of persuasion to which we are exposed today is considerable, persuaders tend to use repetition to make us identify with them (Borchers, 2002: 22).

2.3.1 The Slogan as a Persuasive Tool

Persuaders often capture arguments in single words or short phrases as they are allocated only a limited amount of time and space to communicate their ideas. Advertisements were much more complicated before but today the trend is ‘back to simpler advertising’ in order to ‘cut through the clutter’ (Borchers, 2002: 180; Wilcha

and Wallenstein, 1998: 1; Rosenweig, 2000: 13). One such technique for compressing information is synecdoche:

Synecdoche is the representation of large amounts of information in a short, memorable part of that body of information (Borchers, 2002: 180).

Synecdochic phrases are likened to ‘capsules’ in which ‘audiences store persuasive events’ (Jamieson, 1988: 91; Borchers, 2002: 181). The phrase is remembered for a long time after the event. Synecdoche is best illustrated by slogans. The word slogan originated from the ‘bloodcurdling Scots battle cry’ or *slogorne* (Marshall, 1997. In Borchers, 2002: 181; Kohli, Leuthesser and Suri, 2007: 415). It is ‘a unique phrase identified with a company or brand’ (Rein, 1982: 48). The principal aim of a slogan is for the audience to remember the message with very minimal effort. Whether they are used in politics or in advertising, slogans are designed to persuade as briefly described:

Slogans are linguistic statements designed to produce an emotional connection between an audience member and a persuader (Borchers, 2002: 181).

They are powerful as a rhetorical device. Simple messages such as the successful concept slogan, ‘intel inside’ make the greatest impression on an audience (Rosenweig, 2000: 13). The reason is:

It's by keeping things simple to say, simple to read, simple to understand and especially simple to recall, we multiply our chances to sell (Rosenweig, 2000: 14).

Another viewpoint about the slogan, however, is that it should be left somewhat incomplete for the audience to puzzle over (MacLachlan, 1984: 55-56) as aptly described below:

Advertisements are clever puzzles (Greatrex. In Goddard, 1998: 1).

The audience would remember a slogan better when it is presented in an unfinished form as it would make the audience attempt to complete the slogan thus increasing the chances of recall (Heller, 1956. In MacLachlan, 1984: 56).

2.3.2 The Slogan and Brand Name

The slogan, tagline or signature line still maintains its position as an important advertising tool. Slogans are chiefly used to outline a brand's message and to provide a linkage in the implementation of an advertising campaign (Reece, Vanden Bergh and Li, 1994: 41). They are also 'designed to increase the popularity and stimulate the sales of any product...' (Bernstein, 1928: 353). Quotable slogans are also on the list of high-tech companies as one of their marketing techniques to attract customers (Bronstad, 1999: 5).

This point is echoed:

I think the slogan is really important because it ties together an idea or a theme with a business (Whitman, 1998: 19).

An observed trend in the creation of slogans is the deliberate effort to sustain a close link between the slogan and brand name (Lipman, 1989. In Reece et. al., 1994: 41). The brand name portrays images and carries meanings of the product or service which, in turn, reflects the company (Goddard, 1998: 60; Myers, 1999: 7-8; Borchers, 2002: 369). Including the brand name in the slogan or headline also facilitates more effective recall and identification of the product or service (Alsop, 1988. In Rossiter and Percy, 1987: 228. In Reece et. al., 1994: 44).

There are many companies which do not include the brand name in their advertising but there are also companies which spend a fortune on it. So is the brand name important?

The fact that producers are willing to pay significant amounts of money to brand name consultants is an indication of the extent to which success or failure is thought to rest with this aspect of advertising language: for example, a shortlist of three names to cover just the UK market typically costs £15,000; a corporate name for use world wide is likely to cost more in the region of £90,000 (Goddard, 1998: 61).

In spite of a recent decrease in advertising spending, the slogan is still significant as a major advertising technique. Apart from television commercials, an estimated four out of five magazine advertisements employ a slogan to emphasize the brand name or build an image. In fact, there has been a recent surge of interest in advertising slogans, especially in the arena of business and commerce. Consumers have been questioning the

disappearance of past advertising campaigns which were noted for their memorable slogans such as Wendy's 'Where's the beef?' (Reece et. al., 1994: 41).

2.3.3 *Intertextuality in Slogans*

Intertextuality is another strategy used in advertising. Cook (2001: 190-191) discusses the concept of intertextuality in terms of the role of inter-discoursal and intra-discoursal voices in advertisements as a whole. Goddard, however, ventures specifically into the concept of 'intertextuality' in advertising slogans. The term refers to how 'one text can point to or base itself on another' (Goddard, 1998: 51). For instance, the slogan *nautical but nice* was invented in 1995 for a car advertisement which showed the car perched on the top of a cliff, pointing in the direction of the sea. This slogan was based on an earlier one (1980s), *naughty but nice* for the National Dairy Council (Knowles, 1997) which suggested the tempting delight of eating cream cakes. Hence, the audience which remembers the original advertisement would be expected to associate cars with 'forbidden pleasure' (Goddard, 1998: 51). Such a technique is meant to appeal and persuade consumers to buy the car.

Another form of intertextuality is the connection between moving advertisements and written ones. It means that when the audience sees a slogan in written form, they are usually able to come up with the soundtrack. Also, one cannot draw a line with intertextuality. It doesn't have to be restricted to a specific slogan for a specific product. It is dynamic and can revolve around advertising as well as various other types of discourse. Intertextuality is also present within texts from the same period where a particular product or service utilizes 'another's established name or slogan to enhance its

own publicity' (Goddard, 1998: 118). On the other hand, intertextuality can also indicate contrasts. One such example is the NSPCA slogan that appears below the advertisement with the picture of a puppy and the seasonal body text, 'A dog is for life, not just for Christmas'. The slogan is *Toys Aren't Us* (Goddard, 1998: 118) which would immediately remind the consumer of the giant toy retailer, *Toys 'R' Us*.

2.3.4 Nostalgia in Slogans

Advertisers can also manipulate slogans from different eras to their advantage, for instance, by creating feelings of nostalgia in the consumer. Nostalgia is not only found in advertising but also in other discourses, as echoed:

Interpretation through nostalgia is not unusual in any kind of discourse today (Welch, 1987: 83).

In advertising slogans, nostalgic feelings bring a positive effect when the consumer recognizes the 'code' used which would make them feel that the slogan relates to them (Goddard, 1998: 117). One such example is the slogan, *Pepperidge Farm Remembers*, created in the 1970s after it was acquired by the Campbell Soup Company (Anon: 2004b). The slogan would remind the consumer of the premium quality food products created by the original Pepperidge Farm Company hence creating feelings of nostalgia. The 'code' here would be the premium quality food products.

2.3.5 *Slogans Over the Years*

The use of slogans over the years has not been documented in detail. Scholars have made impressionistic observations on the historical development of slogans in advertising but this area has not been tested.

Although there was linguistic diversity in advertisements that existed 100 years ago, they did not include the whole range of figures such as puns that were found in later advertisements (Myers 1994: 22). Advertisements towards the end of the 19th century employed 'rhymes, repetition, parallelism, scientific and literary language' with the aim of establishing brands. From the 1920s, advertisements linked brands with social meanings. This was achieved through the use of 'narrative formats, associative language, and metaphorical substitution of one thing for another' (Myers, 1994: 27). In the later period, specifically from the 1960s, advertisements were targeted at the disenchanted consumer saturated with the barrage of advertisements surrounding them. The advertisers used all sorts of strategies to attract and maintain the consumers' attention towards their products and services (Myers, 1994: 28).

As we are now well into the twenty-first century, with more exposure to the media creating greater competition among advertisers, impressionistic observations alone are insufficient. More research needs to be carried out in this area of advertising. The section and sub-sections that follow will gradually lead towards this goal.

2.4 Persuasion in the Contemporary and Modern Eras

Rhetoric is now more ‘widely and favourably used’ (Fleming, 1998: 169) and contemporary rhetoric is taking on a certain shape:

...contemporary “rhetoric” typically denotes a type or dimension of human activity, that is, a *first-order* phenomenon present in the cultural environment and roughly coextensive with such words as “language”, “communication”, and “persuasion” (Fleming, 1998: 169).

Fleming (1998: 169) associates this contemporary style of persuasion with the work of Kenneth Burke whose work will now be discussed.

2.4.1 Burke’s Theory of Dramatism

Kenneth Burke has been renowned for his communication theories of the 20th century. He describes the influence of symbols in communication. Persuasion is ‘the use of symbols, by one symbol-using entity to induce action in another’ (1969b: 46). His comprehensive theory of *dramatism* focuses on the use of symbols in communication. Burke defines the term, *Dramatism*, as:

A technique of analysis of language and thought as basically modes of action rather than as a means of conveying information (Burke, 1966: 54).

The term originates from the stage as human behaviour is likened to stage plays which showcase ‘an orderly understanding of events’ (Gusfield, 1989:16-17). The key term of this *dramatistic* approach is *act* which is ‘the centre from which many related considerations’ are seen to emanate from (Gusfield, 1989: 135). However, at the heart of this *dramatistic* concept is *motive*. For Burke, *motive* and action go hand-in-hand as *motive* is used to help us and others understand an action better. He relates motives with statements when he says:

...all statements that assign motives can be shown to arise out of them and to terminate in them (Burke, 1969a: xvi).

Benoit adds another interpretation of Burke’s *motive*:

...motives...are accounts, linguistic devices that function to explain, justify, interpret, or rationalise actions. The actions accounted for by motives include, but are not necessarily limited to, other symbolic acts (Benoit, 1996: 70).

Therefore the *dramatistic* concept helps us explain and rationalize situations. The situations depend a great deal ‘on the symbols used by people in any particular social group’ (Gusfield, 1989: 11). This is further explained:

When we talk, write, wear clothes, make love, make war, perform the many daily acts of our lives we are acting in a symbolic world. It is a world created in

significant part by the language we use to portray it to ourselves and to others (Gusfield, 1989: 11).

Burke describes this 'symbolic action' in *Dramatism*:

...when I speak these sentences to you, and you are acting symbolically insofar as you 'follow' them, and thus size up their 'drift' or 'meaning' (Burke, 1966: 63).

Hence, we can say words influence both persuader and audience to identify with each other. Three ways in which this identification is accomplished are through *symbol use*, *naming* and *framing*.

2.4.1.1 *The Use of Symbols*

Symbols are used to name objects or concepts and these names hold an attitude.

Language is the dancing of an attitude (Burke, 1973: 9).

These names influence our relationships with people as Burke suggests:

They prepare us for some functions and against others, for or against the persons representing these functions. The names go further, they suggest how you shall be for or against (Burke, 1984: 4).

The symbols used by persuaders and the ways these symbols are used will govern their success at persuading an audience. In other words:

Language is a species of action, symbolic action – and its nature is such that it can be used as a tool (Burke, 1966: 15).

There are three main symbols that persuaders use to add forcefulness to their message. One of these symbols is the *negative* which linguistically means saying that an object or concept/ idea is not something else, e.g., a table is not a chair. The negative is thus intrinsic in our use of symbols (Borchers, 2002: 171). The concept of negativity is prevalent in figures of speech such as the antithesis, metaphor and irony. However, in many cases, the negative may not be expressed literally but is implied, for instance:

If one says, *What a beautiful day!* when the day is obviously wretched, the remark makes sense because we know it to be ironic, in flatly negating the real state of affairs (Burke, 1966: 461).

The negative is also a strategy used in advertising as in the Federal Express (Fed Ex) slogan, *When there's no tomorrow* (Richards, 1997) and the Listerine mouthwash slogan, *The taste you hate twice a day* (Munsey, 2007: 59). Burke fully supports the use of the negative 'in an advertising world that is so strong on the glorification of the positive' (Burke, 1966: 12).

The second feature of language connected to symbols is *hierarchy* or social structure. Man is spurred on by the force of hierarchy which ‘sets up the characteristic social elements’ that humans deal with. In other words, we are ‘moved by a sense of order’ (Burke, 1966: 15). Putting it in one sentence:

There are *higher and lower, right and wrong, better and worse, upper and lower* (Gusfield, 1989: 38).

Just as society is hierarchical, so is language. When we use language to distinguish between people, objects or places, we unconsciously form structures in which one word occupies a higher position than another. Symbol use makes us strive to go up the ladder in order to achieve our goals and ambitions in life. This hierarchical aspect of language use leads to competition and persuaders exploiting our desire for success by advertising their products or services (Borchers, 2002: 171). This is evident in slogans such as, *Better than anything* (Haagan-Daz) and Avis Rental Car’s *We’re number two. We try harder* (Richards, 1997).

Burke says that we are ‘rotten with perfection’ (Burke, 1966: 16). *Perfection*, the third characteristic of our symbol use, is fundamental to the identity of language as motive. The urge to use the correct name to refer to something or to speak a language in its characteristic ways is essentially being a perfectionist (Burke, 1966: 16).

Symbol use results in us constantly being in pursuit of the best. In other words:

We are not content with being mediocre. We want to take things to the end of the line (Borchers, 1989: 171).

Even in poetry, the principle of perfection is prevalent as Gusfield elaborates:

And even a poet who works out cunning ways of distorting language does so with perfectionist principles in mind, though his ideas of improvement involve recondite stylistic twists that may not disclose their true nature as judged by less perverse tests (Gusfield, 1989: 70-71).

Advertising makes use of appeals in the superlative such as ‘best’, ‘quickest’ and ‘tastiest’ (Borchers, 2002: 171-172). Examples are Gillette’s slogan, *The best a man can get* and Honda’s *You meet the nicest people on a Honda* (Richards, 1997).

The *negative*, *hierarchy* and *perfection* are three sources of guilt which result from our language use. We experience guilt when we do something negative that our language says is wrong. We also experience guilt if we do not attain the expectations of our place in the hierarchy. We may also experience guilt when we do not reach perfection and, in some cases, when we do. Borchers gives a one-statement summary:

Through the negative, symbols create hierarchy and a quest for perfection, which results in guilt (Borchers, 2002: 172).

Burke adds this ‘final codicil’:

Man is

the symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing) animal

inventor of the negative (or moralized by the negative)

separated from his natural condition by instruments of his own making

goaded by the spirit of hierarchy (or moved by the sense of order)

and rotten with perfection

(Burke, 1966: 16)

2.4.1.2 Naming

As mentioned earlier, the language we use incorporates attitudes toward the people, ideas, or objects we refer to. Where audience members are concerned, these attitudes are their responses. Where persuaders are concerned, these attitudes are reflected in their use of language to name these people, objects or ideas.

This is the power of *naming*. Burke analysed the language strategies used by the German leader, Adolf Hitler in the latter's book, *Mein Kampf*. He found that Hitler converted the word *Jew* into 'a negative label' to enable him to rally the Germans against the Jews. On the other hand, he exalted the word *Aryan* to name those people as being superior over the Jews (Borchers, 2002: 173). This is an example of how *naming* was used by a persuader (Hitler) to achieve his goals.

Schwartz explains how Burke views this naming strategy:

For Burke, the persuader, operating dialectically, finds the proper “name” and tries rhetorically to persuade others that this is the proper “name.” This procedure of naming and advocating seems to go on and on until through the inter-related rhetorical and dialectical processes we reach an ultimate classifying principle which becomes a guiding unitary principle (Schwartz, 1966: 213).

Borchers (2002: 173) also refers to contemporary politics to explain the power of *naming*. The name *frontrunner* was used by the American media to influence the audience’s attitudes toward Texas Governor, George W. Bush in the election campaign of 2000. It put Bush at the forefront resulting in many other Republican candidates withdrawing from the race.

2.4.1.3 Framing

Our use of language indicates our motives. Burke refers to the word ‘motive’ as another word for situation (Burke 1969a. In Borchers, 2002: 173). How we consider a particular situation, i.e. our way of *framing* it will affect the way we view people and the world in general. He constructed a pentad to reveal the motives that influence us to view our world in a specific way. The five-part pentad consists of *act*, *agent*, *agency*, *scene*, and *purpose*. Each of these parts answers the following questions:

1. Act: What took place?
2. Scene: What is the context in which it occurred?
3. Agent: Who performed the act?

4. Agency: How was it done?
5. Purpose: Why was it done?

(Gusfield, 1989: 15)

Some parts of the pentad are emphasized and others are deemphasized. In other words, the ratio between the parts of the pentad is also the relationship between these parts. According to Burke, what is important is the imbalance between these parts. He elaborates:

In a scene-agent ratio, the scene may be portrayed as explainable through the agent or vice-versa. Different meanings are conveyed. In my research on auto deaths, I have pointed out that to describe the problem of *drinking-drivers* creates a different problem than to describe it as a problem of *drinking-driving* (Gusfield, 1981. In Gusfield, 1989: 15). The first directs attention to the agent as the source of the act. The second frames the experience as an event, with the act as paramount. The first, *drinking-driver*, is a call to transform the motorist. The second, *drinking-driving*, directs attention to the auto, the road, the event (Gusfield, 1989: 15).

Burke suggests that a rhetorican can use the pentad 'to influence how others interpret a (past) action' (Benoit, 1996: 74). Benoit adds to this:

...ratios can be used as motives, after the act, to justify or explain that behaviour (ratios may also be used to help persuade an audience that a policy ought to be adopted before action is taken) (Benoit, 1996: 74).

Burke mentions that the ratios may often be understood as 'principles of selectivity' more than 'as thoroughly causal relationships' (Burke, 1969a: 18). He explains:

That is, in any given historical situation, there are persons of many sorts, with a corresponding variety in the kinds of acts that would be most representative of them. Thus, a given political situation may be said not to change people in their essential character, but rather to favor, or bring to the fore (to *vote for*), certain kinds of agents (with their appropriate actions) rather than others (Burke, 1969a: 18-19).

It is also possible for the terms of the ratios to take on a circular movement as illustrated:

If an agent acts in keeping with his nature as an agent (act-agent ratio), he may change the nature of the scene accordingly (scene-act ratio), and thereby establish a state of unity between himself and his world (scene-agent ratio). Or the scene may call for a certain kind of act, which makes for a corresponding kind of agent,

thereby likening agent to scene. Or our act may change us and our scene, producing a mutual conformity (Burke, 1969a: 19).

In a nutshell, persuaders can use language to shape the way the audience views the world. They can make use of any of the terms of the pentad to achieve their persuasive goals. This concept of *framing* is also prevalent in advertising slogans (Borchers, 2002: 182).

For instance, the slogan, *Expanding possibilities* places the company, Hewlett-Packard, as the agency 'for an individual's or an organisation's computing success'. Similarly, *Where do you want to go today?*, Microsoft's slogan, also suggests 'that it's products can help individuals or organizations achieve their goals (Borchers, 2002: 182).

2.4.2 Identifying with an Audience

Persuaders today reach their audience in diverse ways. The audience must be aware of how persuaders adjust their messages to meet the challenges of persuasion today. In summarizing the strategies used by effective persuaders today, it can be said that:

Effective persuaders create an intimate, ongoing relationship with their audience in order to communicate the value of their product, service or idea. Persuaders in the media age have four objectives: forming relationships, repetition, electronic eloquence, and commoditization. Each may be thought of as a way in which persuaders identify with us (Borchers, 2002: 21-22).

2.4.2.1 *Forming relationships*

How do persuaders use these four ways to get across their message to their audience? An important aim of persuaders today is to develop relationships with the audience by identifying with them. Persuaders try to show the audience that they share their interests and convictions and hence the audience should connect with them and their message. Persuaders build relationships through their use of language and images. As persuasion permeates today's world, the more frequently the audience comes across the persuader's message, the more the audience is expected to identify with them (Borchers, 2002: 22).

In the media age of today, persuasion uses the medium to foster relationships with an audience. An intimate style of communicating is established through the choice of words used by persuaders. It possesses five attributes in that it is *personified, self-disclosive, conversational, synoptic* and *visually dramatic* (Jamieson, 1988: 66, 91). Although these five attributes refer mainly to political speeches, they can also apply to other forms of persuasion such as advertising.

Self-disclosure is the only exception as it deals with 'autobiographical, self-disclosive discourse' (Jamieson, 1988: 63). This is when public speakers talk to their audience in a conversational and intimate tone, revealing their personal life and experiences through stories or anecdotes. Hence it is more applicable to political speeches.

Synoptic phrases, such as advertising slogans, are clear and concise and function as 'synecdoche' as 'they are a part that stands for the whole from which they were drawn'

(Jamieson, 1988: 91). They have been discussed in section 2.3. Let us then examine how *personification*, *conversationalisation* and *visual dramatization* function in persuasion.

2.4.2.1.1 Personification

Personification, a figure of speech, means ‘investing abstractions or inanimate objects with human qualities or abilities’ (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 402). In political speech, former U.S. president, Ronald Reagan used personification extensively to convince and persuade his audience. How did he go about it?

In his State of the Union messages, Reagan repeatedly created a support cast that included the members of the Court and of Congress as well as *heroes* of his own choosing. By eulogising flesh and blood heroes, Reagan personifies his inaugural’s claim that our nation is teeming with heroism (Jamieson, 1988: 121).

This persuasive device is also used as ‘an exercise’ to give a company animate qualities. Consumers are told to visualise what a company would ‘look like if it walked into the room’ (Heath, 1996: 42. In Borchers, 2002: 129). The exercise revealed that consumers associated companies with animals such as the lion, the snake and the puma. Consumers felt that companies they associated with the lion ‘were dangerous animals interested in profit’ while those associated with the puma were ‘sleek’ and ‘fast’ and were ‘running ahead of the pack’ (Heath, 1996: 42. In Borchers, 2002: 129). The results of this exercise is then used by the companies involved to create new images of themselves or to adjust their existing images. Thus, Sprint Business Services, a marketing company which was pictured as a puma, uses the slogan which contains the phrase, ‘help you do more business’ (Heath, 1996: 42. In Borchers, 2002: 129).

Persuaders can also foster a relationship with an audience ‘by using an individual to embody, or represent, the ideas of the persuader’s message (Borchers, 2002: 178). This can also be related to advertising, for instance, a medical insurance company can use the plight of a couple who had discovered that their child was suffering from leukemia. In advertising the benefits of investing in a medical insurance policy for children, the company can persuade the audience by confirming that its insurance policy was able to see through the child’s long and painful treatment. The audience may feel empathy for the couple’s plight and shift their feelings to the persuader, in this case, the insurance company which was helping the couple financially.

2.4.2.1.2 *The Conversational Style*

Public discourse today is more conversational compared with that of the past. What does the conversational style involve?

Conversationalisation entails greater informality, and interactions which have a person-to-person quality in contrast with the interaction between roles or statuses which characterises more traditional institutional discourse (Fairclough, 1995a: 101).

Former U.S. president, Ronald Reagan, was an able and effective communicator although he was not considered eloquent (Jamieson, 1988: 243; Lucas, 2009: 372). He used a conversational, intimate style to capture his audience’s attention. As Jamieson states:

Reagan's style was to conversational, intimate, electronic communication what the speeches of Cicero were to fiery oratory idealized in his time: each defined the state of the art (Jamieson, 1988: 243).

His speech consisted of 'contractions, informal transitions, and incomplete sentences'. His vocabulary was also 'casual' and 'colloquial' when compared to that of his predecessors. He also used proverbs and truisms with ease and his sentence structures were simple (Jamieson, 1988: 166, 169). All these features show the trademarks of a conversational persuader.

Language in the newspapers such as The Sun, also employ a colloquial style. Consider this example:

Wot, no Bob on the list?

Who of all possible contenders, most deserved an award for his achievements in 1985? Just about every person in the land would put forward one name.

Pop star Bob Geldof aroused the conscience of the world over the heartbreaking plight of the starving peoples of Ethiopia and the Sudan (Fowler, 1991: 38).

The voice of this piece of news is said to be 'institutional rather than personal' as its functions in reporting this are 'economic and political' (Fowler, 1991: 39). However, the style is personal:

...through the use of colloquialisms, incomplete sentences, questions and a varied typography suggesting variations of emphasis, the written text mimics a speaking voice, as of a person talking informally but with passionate indignation (Fowler, 1991: 39).

Although the style can be clearly identified as that of a newspaper report, it is both 'dialogic' and 'colloquial' as the rhetorical question creates 'a space for the reader to occupy'. The voice (writer) expects the reader to agree with a positive response 'and in similar style – informal but empathic' (Fowler, 1991: 40).

Similarly, in advertising, there seems to be a current tendency of the advertising slogan to assume a more informal and pragmatic tone such as the Diet Pepsi slogan, *You got the right one baby, uh-huh!* and that of Burger King, *What d'ya say? What d'ya say?* (Elliot, 1992. In Reece et. al., 1994: 41).

However, Myers stresses that even since the start of the copywriting profession, copywriters had always been trained to ensure that advertising sounded like conversation and not like a sales pitch or a political speech although a bit of sales pitch was essential (Myers, 1994: 105-106, 108). Advertisements rely heavily on the use of everyday talk especially when the product tends to be associated with taboos or when the audience has established suspicions of the product such as the Clear Blue pregnancy test (Myers, 1994: 108).

Advertising slogans such as Clairol's, *Does she or doesn't she?* and Wendy's, *Where's the beef?* also became colloquial when they were used in cliff-hanging plots of audio-visual advertisements (Myers, 1994: 117).

Even with a host of new media around us today, advertisements seem to employ features of spoken communication. For instance, advertisements via the electronic mail (e-mail) and mobile phone text messages are written but they consist of many features of oral conversation (Cook, 2001: 28). Advertising discourse, therefore, communicates to us through the use of real world or everyday life situations (Williamson, 1978: 23; Myers, 1994: 118).

Conversationalisation, to an extent, can be attributed to the spread of consumerism. As a result, both public and private sectors are changing their practices and cultural orientation towards this direction. Fairclough elaborates:

Technologization of discourse is a part of this process, and in many cases a central objective of technologization of discourse is the achievement of a shift towards more conversationalised discursive practices as a part of these broader organizational and cultural changes (Fairclough, 1995a: 101).

2.4.2.1.3 *Using Visual Images*

Not only was verbal language an important tool for persuaders, but the visual image was also another component in persuasion. In the late sixties, a group of Belgian scholars, Groupe Mu, invented a 'new rhetoric'. The model, constructed in 1992, was specially framed to include both verbal and visual rhetoric. It consists of 'a fairly simple grid which presupposes a categorization of rhetorical devices according to the increasing amount of cognitive effort' (Van Mulken, 2003: 118).

Groupe Mu describes rhetoric as:

A transformation of elements in a message so that at the level of perception, readers/viewers have to superpose their own levels of conception. In other words, the observed level must be replaced by a construed level in order to interpret the message. Rhetoric creates a gap that readers/viewers have to fill in on their own (Van Mulken, 2003: 118).

Advertisers use visual images 'to induce us to identify with their message' (Borchers, 2002: 358). However, images would only move an audience if the theme is of 'empathetic concern' to them (Nash, 1989: 31). These seem to fall in the category of *abstract nouns* such as birth, death, love and patriotism rather than themes dealing with *concrete nouns* such as winter, snow and Christmas puddings.

2.4.2.2. Repetition

The second objective that persuaders have in the media age is repetition which is a method they use to identify with us. Persuaders feel that the more frequently we are exposed to the various kinds of persuasion that exist today, the more we would identify with these persuaders. Repetition is also achieved 'through such strategies as using brand names and advertising' (Borchers, 2002: 22). In advertising, for instance, slogans are repeated frequently enough 'that knowledge of their meaning comes naturally to us' (Borchers, 2002: 167).

Rhetorical figures are a frequently occurring characteristic of advertising headlines and slogans (Toncar and Munch, 2001: 55; McQuarrie and Mick, 1992: 34). It

is amazing how advertising slogans exhibit the schematic feature of rhythmic regularity as described:

It is probably oversimplifying matters to say that phonological schemes help to make striking and memorable pieces of language. There is an undefined ‘ritualistic’ quality about them which makes people want to repeat them, and this seems to be at least partially what is involved when a slogan ‘catches on’ with the general public. Of course, this is not just a property of advertising slogans; such schemes are also common in political slogans, and catch phrases of all types. It may be an indication of the fundamental nature of their appeal that they can be perceived even by people who are not familiar with the language in which the message is composed (Leech, 1966: 189).

2.4.2.3 *Electronic Eloquence*

Electronic eloquence is the third objective of persuaders in the media age. It is ‘a style of using symbols’ by persuaders (Borchers, 2002: 22). Persuasive discourse in the past was more fiery and confrontational but now the discourse is more intimate. ‘In early Western uses’ the ‘fire metaphor’ prevailed where ‘eloquence inflamed the mind’ (Jamieson, 1988: 46). Now we are exposed to more information about the persuader (Borchers, 2002: 23) as persuasion is brought right to the ‘intimate environment’ of our living rooms through the medium of radio, and particularly, television (Jamieson, 1988: 55-56). Thus, *electronic eloquence* came about with the introduction of television which

changed the once ‘impassioned appeals’ to ‘a cooler, more conversational art’ (Jamieson, 1988: 44). ‘Fiery oratory now gave way to the fireside chat’ (Jamieson, 1988: 56).

This *electronic eloquence* is judged on the ability to present an issue clearly, concisely and dramatically. We gauge persuaders based on their competency in generating synoptic phrases (Jamieson, 1988: 91-92). McGee (1990) (in Borchers, 2002: 180) adds that the audience receives ‘fragments from persuaders that they fashion into meaningful texts’.

2.4.2.4 Commoditization

The fourth important goal of the persuader today is to ‘give value to communicated information’ rather than merely producing information. The aim is to assign value to products, services and ideas, transforming them into ‘commodities that can be sold to audiences’ (Borchers, 2002: 23). This process called *commoditization* is especially applicable to advertising where consumers today are said to buy a product or service for its brand name which is an important element in their purchasing decisions (Borchers, 2002: 23). However, it is also important to note that consumers ‘learn advertising’s trustworthiness through their consumption experience’ (Mizuno and Odagiri, 1990: 545).

Finally, the computer also plays a role in helping the persuader identify with an audience. Today, computer technology effortlessly facilitates the use of symbols to satisfy the demands of the advertiser. Borchers (2002: 167) observes a link between the use of verbal symbols such as slogans and the media age. Persuaders in the media age seem to capitalise on the ambiguities present in language to identify with the audience. At

the same time, persuaders aim to generate social reality for the audience through language.

2.4.3 Being Creative with Language

A clever and creative persuader would be able to create the same effect as that of visual images through the use of vivid language. In describing the ‘actualization of functional persuasion’, Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992: 47) demonstrate the use of persuasive devices such as vivid imagery and lexis in order to arouse emotion. They illustrate the lexis used to arouse the ‘contingent emotion’ of pleasure in food, such as the use of ‘familiar and exotic words’, for example, *baingan bhartha* and ‘crushed aubergines mixed with yoghurt....’. Another example is using a word such as ‘blessedly’ to create an association with eating at that restaurant and a positive or divine experience (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992: 47).

Carter (2004: 115, 117) also examines creativeness in the use of language with regard to lexis and figures of speech in terms of ‘clines and continua of meaning and function’. It is not only the linguistic aspect that is given prominence but the speakers and listeners who utilise creative language are also focused on. In interacting, speakers often aim to evoke some kind of emotional response towards the issue at hand. Three basic types of expression available to them have been hypothesized: the *expression of intimacy*, the *expression of intensity* and the *expression of evaluation* whereby the expressions are ‘clinal and involve continua from one pole to another: intimacy cline, intensity cline and evaluation cline’ (Carter, 2004: 117). The intimacy cline shows ‘the degree of social

distance between interlocutors'. The intensity cline indicates 'the strength or weakness of feeling and attitude' in an interaction, especially when certain *non-core words*, that is, words that are expressive or connotative are used. The evaluation cline entails 'a positive or negative stance' taken in an interaction (Carter, 2004: 117).

Figures of speech are also said to be potential devices that generate creative effects. In examining these effects in a range of various functions, the concept of coreness in vocabulary can be applied. Figures of speech are utilised by speakers as 'communicative resources to negotiate and to position ideas, feelings and attitudes' (Carter, 2004: 140). Here, as in the concept of *cognitive poetics*, context plays an important role in helping identify and observe the use of these figures of speech in various situations.

The bottom line is that non-core vocabulary has more expressive power than core vocabulary as it is 'a source for creativity' but this should not be generalised as such (Carter, 2004: 131).

2.5 The Evolution of Rhetoric to Poetics

The study of rhetoric has not been undertaken to a great extent in linguistics as echoed by this statement:

...it appears that despite the efforts of numerous literary figures, the study of rhetoric continues to be largely ignored by the English profession (Scharbach, 1972: 185).

During the time that statement was made, rhetoric was already shifting to poetics as a discipline of study. This has been the case in American universities for the past 100 years. However, there are indications of a new wave of respect for rhetoric. New methods of teaching and critical applications have been supported by 'deconstructions of the rhetoric/ poetic dichotomy' which have led to a number of course designs recommended for English studies in American colleges and universities to supplement aspects of the two 'theoretical traditions' (Hesse. In Andrews, 1992: 24).

Cunningham criticizes rhetoric as having 'suffered a great calumny in the modern age' (Cunningham, 1991: 17). According to him, it is more often than not described as being language that is ornate or purposefully deceptive. It is also defined as being 'stylistics and delivery, primarily of the spoken word' and more broadly, as 'anything related to any type of communication'. He feels that all the above descriptions of rhetoric, with the exception of the last one which is much too broad, limit the sphere of rhetoric to a much narrower domain than that proposed by the classical rhetoric tradition (Cunningham, 1991: 17).

On the other hand, Jakobson talks about the poetic function of language. His principle is based on the 'binary opposition' between 'two poles' of language. (Pomorska, Chodakowska, McLean and Vine, 1987: 242). In other words:

The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination (Pomorska et.al. 1987: 243)

His concept of poetics involves metaphor and metonymy and the tension between them which gives a novel or poem its aesthetic effect. Metonymy is said to be 'the dominant trope' and that the poetic function 'projects the axis of similarity into the axis of combination' (Pomorska et.al., 1987: 250-251). Lodge adds that we interpret a novel in terms of 'a total metaphor' where the text acts as the 'vehicle' while the world is the 'tenor' (Lodge, 1977: 75-76).

In cognitive poetics, the meaning of a particular text depends partly on its context and partly on 'the assumptions related to the issue at hand' (Stockwell, 2002: 6). Therefore context is an important part of cognitive poetics just as it is important in conversational analysis (Mey, 2001: 614). It is vital to associate the various readings of literary texts to both academic and everyday contexts. The linguistic element in cognitive poetics entails an elaborate and accurate textual analysis of style and literary techniques. The aim of cognitive poetic analysis is to reason out and clarify how a reader interprets and understands a text. It is 'essentially a way of thinking about literature' (Stockwell, 2002: 6). It also aims to analyse 'what the reader does to the text, in order to render it aesthetically significant' (Reuven, 1998: 356). The field of cognitive poetics goes back to the style of analysis of classical rhetoric. Not long ago, the phrase *cognitive rhetoric* was used temporarily as the field of cognitive poetics integrates the classical liberal arts of rhetoric, grammar and logic of medieval university study. Due to the various techniques in the field, the focus has been placed on stylistics and rhetoric and also on grammar and logic (Stockwell, 2002: 6).

2.5.1 *Foregrounding and Deviation*

The origins of foregrounding can be traced back to Greek antiquity. However, foregrounding as a theory came into force in early 20th century with the Russian Formalists and is specifically associated with Viktor Sklovskij. According to him the function of art 'is to make people aware of the world in a fresh way' and this is achieved through *defamiliarization* or 'making strange' (van Peer, 1986: 1, Cook, 1992: 136; van Peer, 2007: 99). Foregrounding refers to the use of language in unusual ways from ordinary language (Martindale, 2007: 141; van Peer, Hakemulder and Zyngier, 2007: 197). As such it is closely linked with novelty and would thus have a bearing on the audience's aesthetic appreciation (van Peer et. al., 2007: 197).

Defamiliarization can have two meanings. One is that it is a literary device which may be found in the text itself. Its other meaning refers to the effects of these literary devices on the reader. Both these meanings intermingled in the Formalists' aim to develop a functional theory of literature, where equal importance is placed on both text and reader (van Peer, 1986: 3).

However, it was Prague scholar Jan Mukarovsky who was most well-known for developing the concept of foregrounding with his novel ideas which then spread to the West with the help of other notable Czechs in the 1960s and 1970s (van Peer, 1986: 6, van Peer, 2007: 99). A current theory of foregrounding is outlined as follows:

It is a theory about the form of literature, about language, the raw material out of which literature is made...Second, the more innovative aspect, it also refers to readers' reactions to such form, linking it to the functions of literary texts more

generally. As far as the first aspect is concerned, we are well informed through the lists of poetic and rhetorical figures and tropes that have been composed since Antiquity. Concerning the second aspect there was mainly speculation until the 1980s (van Peer, 2007: 99).

Looking at poetic/rhetorical figures and tropes, foregrounding is categorised into two types, i.e., repetition and deviation. The former relates to devices of repetition such as alliteration, rhyme and assonance. The latter has the feature of diverging from the norm and involves devices such as using words in uncommon ways (Leech, 1969: 62; van Peer and Hakemulder, 2006. In Martindale, 2007: 141; Leech and Short, 1981: 78-79; Shen, 2007: 169).

Poetic language utilizes foregrounding to a maximum, that is, ‘the aesthetically intentional distortion of linguistic components’ (Mukarovsky, 1932. In Carter and Nash, 1990: 5). Mukarovsky argues that the major function of poetic language is ‘self-referring’, that is, it focuses on the expression itself rather than on the act of communication.

In poetic language foregrounding achieves maximum intensity to the extent of pushing communication into the background as the objective of expression, and of being used for its own sake; it is not used in the services of communication, but in order to place in the foreground the act of expression, the act of speech itself (Mukarovsky, 1932. In Carter and Nash, 1990: 4-5).

Investigating style involves studying deviation and its ‘potential effects’ (van Peer et. al., 2007: 197). Deviation or ‘perceived incongruity’ allows the audience to interpret

the meaning of a particular device, crossing the boundaries of the literal meaning. This ‘perceived incongruity’ would adequately attract the audience’s attention only if there is an equilibrium between what is conspicuous and what is obscure (Leech, 1969: 61; Leech and Short, 1981: 78-79; van Peer et. al., 2007: 198). The audience may then be inclined to interpret these incongruities as follows:

The meaning of...a paradox, or an unusual metaphor, or an ungrammatical sentence, or irony, may not be clear at first. Such devices will only reveal intention after closer reflection, at least for some readers. Having spotted such deviant aspects, readers may curiously ponder the choice of formulation. In doing so, they will usually go beyond the literal meaning of the text (van Peer et. al., 2007: 198).

Deviation is thus linked to novelty unlike parallelism which has to do with repetition. On the other hand, violation of the rules of parallelism can be said to be a more subtle type of deviation. For instance, English poetry mostly occurs in the format of ‘iambic pentameter’. However, ‘if read correctly’, these rules are not adhered to closely (Martindale, 2007: 141-142).

This notion of violation of rules is also associated with creativity, not only of the writer but also that of the reader (Leech and Short, 1981: 29; Carter, 2004: 59). This association is further elaborated upon:

It is a justifiable paradox in language, as well as in other spheres, that to be truly creative, an artist must be destructive: destructive of rules, conventions, and expectations. But in this sense, creativity of the writer also requires creativity from the reader, who must fill in the gaps of sense with an associative logic of his own (Leech and Short, 1981: 29).

Foregrounding also assumes a background such that in order for readers or the audience to be conscious of the presence of deviation, they may need to be prompted of what they recognize as the norm or the expected. However, there are no clear cut rules as to what in actual fact are the norms or the expected (Cook, 2005: 142; Van Peer et.al. 2007: 206). Leech and Short (1981: 138) discuss this in terms of the 'repertoire of code or possibilities' where writers exercise their style within the boundaries of this code. Writers, however, tend to creatively overstep these boundaries to come up with 'original meanings and effects'. The boundaries of the code are in themselves unclear, even in grammar with all its rules.

A good example is the memorable advertising slogan for the National Fluid Milk Processor Promotion Board, 'Got milk?', which is grammatically incorrect. It is based on the complete sentence, 'You got milk?' which is not a proper way of enquiring if someone has milk (Borchers, 2002: 182). The phrase, however, has the quality of being more memorable than the grammatically correct phrases, 'Do you have milk?' or 'Is there (any) milk?'.

Leech and Short (1981: 48) categorise foregrounding in terms of qualitative and quantitative aspects. A divergence from the language code or 'a breach of some rule or

convention of English' is said to be *qualitative* and a deviation 'from some expected frequency' is *quantitative*.

The degree of expectation plays a vital role in identifying a specific effect of foregrounding. The problem lies, however, in being able to measure the degree of foregrounding that occurs relative to what is expected or normal. As statistical analysis is not possible in every instance of deviation one comes across, one's notion of the 'norm' will more often than not be impressionistic (Carter and Nash, 1990: 5; Cook, 2005: 142-143). It is also not always practical to measure 'relative frequencies of occurrence' of grammatical norms. In grammar, despite being governed by its own rules, the problem arises in deciding on the course of action if a sentence is grammatically perfect but is lexically deviant and semantically irregular, for example, 'The oat was merry in the wind' (Carter and Nash, 1990: 5, 8-9). These anomalies may be explained if the sentence above occurs in a specific context, for instance, when referring to the ripeness of farming produce such as corn. In other words, 'recognition of the interpenetration of lexis and context is necessary' (Carter and Nash, 1990: 9). Similarly, in advertising, if consumers come across the slogan for Red Bull, 'It gives you wings', they should know that it is an energy drink with stimulant properties (Anon: 2008b) in order for them to grasp the message conveyed.

2.5.2 The Significance of Phonaesthetic Patterning

In linguistic theory, language is said to be made up of 'symbolic, conventional or arbitrary signs' (Landsberg, 1980: 93). However, a growing amount of research shows

that many of the rudiments of language are iconic in nature. They are 'imitative, in one way or another, of non-linguistic reality' (Landsberg, 1980: 93).

Peirce categorised signs into *signals* and *indices*. Signals are intentionally produced by animate forces while indices are signs which are involuntarily produced by inanimate forces (Peirce, 1931. In Landsberg, 1980: 93). Signals are further classed into two types, namely, *symbols* and *icons*. Parallel to Kenneth Burke's symbolic concept, symbols here are said to be 'signs that have a purely conventional or arbitrary connexion with their referent'. Icons, in turn, are considered to be essential signs with which to communicate, hence conveying universal meaning (Peirce, 1931. In Landsberg, 1980: 93).

Iconism in the area of phonology is significant and the association between sound and meaning has been widely researched in phonetics, semantics, psycholinguistics and stylistics. In my study, *phonaesthetics*, that is, 'the study of the expressive properties of sound' (Crystal, 1995: 8), also known as *sound-symbolism* or *phonetic imagery* (Carter and Nash, 1990: 120) is of significant interest, particularly in the application of *schemes*. *Onomatopoeia* is a branch of phonaesthesia which deals with 'the decorative or figurative use of speech-sounds' (Carter and Nash, 1990: 256) which is why it is classified as a rhetorical figure.

Landsberg (1980: 93) refers to *phonaesthesia* as the phenomenon of 'sound symbolism in words relating to proximity and distance (physical, temporal, personal)', The concept of distance and proximity is evident in English irregular verbs where the sound symbols /i/ - /a/, representing 'near-far (time)' is found in verbs such as 'sing-sang', 'begin-began', 'drink-drank' etc. (Landsberg, 1980: 93f).

Both vowels and consonants can demonstrate significant iconic functions. For instance, the low or back vowels in the adjectives ‘vast’ and ‘huge’ provide the amplifying effect of the meanings of these words (Landsberg, 1980: 94). Consonants too play a role in relaying iconic messages. For instance, in the adjective ‘big’, the labial /b/ and the velar /g/ suggest ‘bigness’ while in the adjective ‘small’, the lateral and apical (in this case, the initial sibilant (/s/) and nasal (/m/) combined) connote ‘smallness’ (Wescott, 1971: 421. In Landsberg, 1980: 94).

Sound symbolism deals with both the origin of the sound and also its interpretation. The sounds on their own do not carry any meaning but are given meaning by the words they are present in (Coleman, 1997: 4). Looking at this relationship:

Words...are like coins, with meaning and word class on the one side and sounds on the other (Aitchison, 2003: 240).

It is impossible to completely disassociate sound and meaning from each other. Lexicographers and poets have been noted to have selected pleasant-sounding words with favourable meanings such as *velvet*, *tranquil*, *melody*, *lullaby*, *rosemary* and *butterfly* among others as their preferred choices. However, a newspaper report in 1980 states that an anonymous novelist is said to have selected the word *peril* among words such as *moon*, *shadow*, *heart*, *silence* and *apricot* as being phonaesthetically pleasing. In this case the writer is able to totally detach sound and meaning as the noun, *peril* (meaning *danger*), has an undesirable meaning (Crystal 1995: 8).

Crystal's analysis of the distribution of sounds in lists of pleasant-sounding words reveals that the consonants most frequently used (in descending order) are /l/, /m/, /s/, /n/, /r/, /k/, /t/ and /d/. Among the low-frequency consonants used are /j/, /h/, /z/, /g/, /w/ and /v/ and /p/. Front or labial consonants such as /l/ and /m/ occur more frequently in phonaesthetically pleasing words than back or velar/glottal consonants such as /j/ and /g/. In addition, it was also found that a word sounds 'prettier' if the manner of articulation of consonants changes across its syllables. For instance, in the word, *marigold*, which contains an /m/, the consonant following it, (/r/), is not another *nasal*. This, however, is not always the case but is a major preference (Crystal, 1995: 9).

Shifts between voiced and voiceless consonants play on acoustic effects in poetic texts by inducing sound and silence, loudness and softness (Carter and Nash, 1990: 121). Consonant clusters form 'phonaesthetic networks' which convey meaning connected with 'sound or movement', for example, /fl/ in the verbs *flick* and *flounce* which indicate 'sudden movement' (Wales, 1990b: 339).

As for vowels, short vowels signify fast movement while long vowels are connected to slow movement (Marchand, 1969: 400. In Coleman, 1997: 8). A general observation is that:

...the sensory analogy of the short vowel is with phenomena characterized by sudden onset, rapidity, brief duration, sometimes frequent repetition (Carter and Nash, 1990: 122).

The unstressed vowel, /ə/, as found in the noun, *silver* /silvər/, was found to be the commonest which demonstrates that words which have more than one syllable are the popular choice for phonaesthetically pleasing words (Crystal 1995: 11). The second most common vowel was /i/ as in the noun, *mist*, while /ʊ/ as in the verb, *put*, was the only vowel which did not occur at all. In addition, short vowels such as /i/, as present in the phonaesthetically pleasing nouns *silver* and *mist*, occur more frequently than long vowels (Crystal 1995: 11). The short vowels (particularly /i/) are generally more frequently occurring than the long vowels which are, in turn, more common than the diphthongs (Wales, 1990b: 347).

Vowels in pleasant-sounding words are also found to be articulated from the front of the mouth towards the back. In terms of vowel articulation in such words, a vowel in a polysyllabic word moves from a low or middle position in the mouth to a higher position (Crystal 1995: 11). Front-vowels are categorised as ‘*bright, thin, light, and cool*’ while back vowels are ‘*dark, full, heavy, and warm*’ (Carter and Nash, 1990: 121).

A phonaesthetic matrix was then constructed with ten criteria found in ‘beautiful’ sounding words across the top and contending words running down the side. The results show that the unappealing adjectives, *flatulent* and *phlegmatic* were among the top-scoring words even though they were listed as two of the ‘ugliest-sounding words’ by a group of elocutionists (Crystal, 1995: 12). Therefore, both the adjectives are categorised as phonaesthetically pleasing words. Meanwhile, *gripe* and *jazz* ended up on the other extreme in being categorised as two of the most unpleasant-sounding words.

We have observed a commingling of vowels and consonants. In other words:

Vowels and consonants enter into complex combinatory patterns suggesting a complex perception of whatever external event stimulates the onomatopoeia (Carter and Nash, 1990: 122).

In poetic discourse, the two kinds of onomatopoeia are the frequently occurring words such as *howl*, *crunch*, *roar* and *thud* where the sound imitates the action it is describing (Carter and Nash, 1990: 123). There are words that are phonaesthetic in nature such as *stumbling*, *clutch* and *claw* but in a 'less direct sense' where 'the similarities of sound connote similarities of meaning' (Leech and Short, 1981: 95). The second more significant kind of onomatopoeia:

... consists of a patterning, or texture, or combinative design of sounds presented to the reader in conjunction with a theme or image. The conjunction is an arbitrary one, but if the poet is successful, if his *onomatopoetic argument* is well designed, it is compelling (Carter and Nash, 1990: 123).

Sounds are, therefore, not just decorative but have 'stylistic importance'. They are intrinsic 'to the poem's aesthetic and affective structure, and to the meanings working through that structure' (Carter and Nash, 1990: 128).

Apart from being a feature of poetic language, sound symbolism, which is limited to specific registers, occurs commonly in 'informal, nonstandard and ephemeral English along with many other forms of word play' (Coleman, 1997: 12). It also plays a role in the marketing industry. Food manufacturers and advertisers invest a considerable amount

in research expenditure to analyse phonetic associations in different languages generated by brand names as this has an effect on sales. A phonetic sequence with neutral or positive connotations in one language may have potentially sales denting associations in another (Coleman, 1997: 4).

Sound symbolism acts both semantically and phonetically. However, where onomatopoeia only communicates ‘sound and physical movement’, phonaesthesia also works in expressing ‘attitude and emotion’ (Coleman, 1997: 12). The use of sound symbolic forms may not be a major influence and consist of a rather small percentage of the lexis (Coleman, 1997: 12; Wales, 1990b: 339). However, their use:

... appears to be rising as phonaesthesia becomes an increasingly important tool in the interpretation of previously unknown forms (Coleman, 1997: 12).

2.5.3 Deixis and Personalisation in Advertising

Deixis in discourse possesses the feature of ‘pointing’ or ‘showing’, directing a particular speech towards the notion of time and space. Deictic words, however, rely on the ‘situation’ or ‘context of utterance’ (Goddard, 1998: 106, 125; Leech, 1966: 156; Wales, 1990a: 99). Used widely in drama, poetry and literature, the reader has some prior knowledge of what the deictic words refer to (Goddard, 1998: 106, 125; Wales, 1990a: 99). In other words:

...human beings are cognitively primed to relate the space, time, persons, and objects in the world around them to their own subjective position, that is, to view them from their own point of view (Verdonk, 2002: 35).

In advertising, visual materials, whenever present, play the role of providing 'continuity in the text' when these materials provide 'a focus for reference' (Leech, 1966: 145). For instance, in the advertisement below, the 'that's why' is omitted as it contains visual materials which would provide the context of reference:

Hennessy brandy is distilled in Cognac, blended in Cognac and bottled in Cognac.
No brandy could be more French (Leech, 1966: 145).

Deictic words such as *this*, *those*, *it* and *there* can be used as 'cross-reference' in referring to the linguistic context in advertisements. They can also be used to refer to the non-linguistic context in advertisements which are accompanied by visuals. The latter use is predominant in television advertisements (Leech, 1966: 145).

Particularity of reference is a feature of *proper names* and *grammatical items*. In advertising, the brand name is considered a proper name and this is used to refer to a product or service. The grammatical items mentioned refer to personal pronouns, articles, demonstratives and adverbs of place and time, all of which 'point to, some entity, entities, place, time etc., given or understood from their context' (Leech, 1966: 156).

Wales (1990a: 99), however, also mentions the present versus past tense as included in this category. This can be applied to the converting of direct speech into indirect speech where *here* and *now* become *there* and *then*.

2.5.3.1 *Personal address*

These deictic words or *indicative elements* also include the first and second person pronouns, I, we and you (Wales, 1990a: 99). In advertising, the second person pronoun, *you*, refers to the consumer. Therefore both the brand name and the second person pronoun are used hand in hand to make advertising copy distinct from other types of discourse (Leech, 1966: 156).

Advertising does make use of the fact that in Standard English, the singular and plural are not formally distinguished. It employs the second person pronoun, *you* in a 'direct if simulated personal address' where the reader is considered both as an individual and as a group, lending empathy to the message (Wales, 1996: 74). This can be seen in the *Premium Bonds* advertisement shown:

It's September and Christmas is coming. But are *you* feeling the pinch? (Wales, 1996: 74)

However, many advertisements do refer to a single reader as can be seen in this *Friends of the Earth* advertisement:

You may feel that, as an *individual*, there is not much *you* can do to help (Wales, 1996: 74).

A third instance is combining both these ways of representing the reader:

Save just £10 a month and watch *your child's* security grow with *them* (Wales, 1996: 131).

The use of personification in the media has seen an increase, especially in film and advertising. Personification is present when the following devices are used:

- a. potentiality for the referent to be addressed by *you* (or *thou*);
- b. the assignment of the faculty of speech (and hence the potential occurrence of *I*);
- c. the assignment of a personal name;
- d. co-occurrence of personified NP with *he/she*;
- e. reference to human/animal attributes: what TG (transformational grammar) would thus term the violation of 'selection restrictions' (e.g. 'the sun slept').

(Wales, 1996: 146)

Personification and parody have also been used hand in hand. For instance, in the conventional signs on ice-cream vans, 'Stop *me* and buy one', personification and

metonymy are present with the use of the first person pronoun, *me*. However, this has been parodied in other advertisements, for instance, 'Buy *me* and stop one' for anti-car theft devices, advertised on the back of a bus (where a vehicle is used as the medium) (Wales, 1996: 147). This is also a case of intertextuality in advertising.

Products advertised are also personified by labelling them with personal names or brand names, for example, *Mr. Muscle* for a bottle of oven-cleaner and *Mister Print* for a print and design company respectively (Wales, 1996: 147).

Consumer-friendly corporate bodies use personal pronouns such as *we* in their advertising to lend a friendly and personal image of themselves to the consumer (Wales, 1996: 164). In the slogan of *The Cooperative Bank* which appeared on the London Underground Train as shown below, the 'implied subject' is '*We the Bank*' who are posing this question:

What's the difference between *ourselves* and other major banks?

The 'emphatic pronoun', *ourselves*, has to be stressed when read, and only a stressed *us* can substitute it (Wales, 1996: 193).

The third-person pronoun, *it*, on the other hand, has an impersonal effect and is used by very large corporate organizations (Wales, 1996: 164). However, the pronoun *it* also appears in small press or circular advertising such as in the advertisement found in a Covent Garden restaurant voucher:

Sample the delights of Cajun and creole cooking at *its* best! (Wales, 1996: 177-178)

In fact, the *it* is found to be used widely in major newspapers such as *The Guardian*. Strip cartoons, and film/ play advertisements also use this impersonal pronoun (Wales, 1996: 178). Therefore, although personalising seems to be a popular strategy used in advertising, the impersonal *it* cannot be totally dispensed with.

One construction used widely in advertising slogans involves using the personal pronoun and an adjective to indicate ‘upgrading’ and ‘downgrading’. This is where positive and negative attributes are employed in the same slogan as shown by these advertising slogans that appeared in *The Guardian*:

The Volkswagen Boulevard. More stylish than *your* old cul-de-sac (Wales, 1996: 181).

New Cushioncare from the makers of Elastoplast. For *your larger than average* wound (Wales, 1996: 181).

This use of this type of personal address goes a long way back as described:

...this generalizing–deictic use of *your* appears to have originated in the colloquial non-standard speech of the working classes, appearing in the prose

dialogue of many Elizabethan plays composed in London in the aphoristic speeches or stereotypical jokes of ‘clowns’ or rustics etc. Because of its ‘second person-hood’, and its focussing effect arising from its deicticness, it occurs in the kind of late-sixteenth-century educational prose-work that is reader- or audience friendly, rhetorically giving ‘point’ to generalizing propositions (Wales, 1996: 181).

Over the years, personalisation has grown not only in advertising but also in science:

...even the positivists...are beginning to abandon their insistence on total impersonality, allowing, for example, the use of the first person pronoun – which used to be called the *intrusive ‘I’* ...This is to me an acknowledgement of human intervention in the scientific process. By being more open, perhaps science becomes more credible (Flowerdew, 1999: 1097).

Looking at the functions of the various pronouns, the *I* and *we* are ‘metadiscourse elements’ used to link a product or service with a company. The *you* is used to express a ‘one-to-one relationship’ and the *he/she, it/they* indicate ‘shared knowledge’ between the persuader and audience or consumer (Fuertes-Olivera, Velasco-Sacristan, Arribas-Bano and Samaniego-Fernandez, 2001: 1298). Although advertisements reach a huge number of people at any one time, these pronouns or ‘person markers’ lend a personal touch to the consumer (Fuertes-Olivera et. al., 2001: 1298).

2.5.3.2 *Expressing Uniqueness*

The definite article is used to demonstrate uniqueness of a referent. Appositional constructions in advertising most often employ the definite article together with the brand name as the first element. Therefore, in *Wisdom. The 'correct-shaped' toothbrush*, the brand name, *Wisdom*, is followed by the definite article, *the*. The effect of this is explained:

These constructions have the character of particular definitions; they equate one kind of name, a brand-name, with another – an expression describing some unique entity (Leech, 1966: 157).

However, the construction, *Wisdom. The 'correct-shaped' toothbrush* although not overtly stated, 'in effect conceals a supposition that all other toothbrushes are wrongly shaped' (Leech, 1966: 157).

The definite article is also used in the generic sense in reference to the consumer, for example, *Be the girl with the Bush transistor portable*. The generic *the* in this case 'attributes uniqueness to a whole class of entities, not to any particular member of it' Secondly, *the* can be interpreted as providing 'subjectively assumed uniqueness' to the particular 'girl with the Bush' who is assumed to possess the qualities of attractiveness and prestige (Leech, 1966: 157-158).

The demonstrative, *that*, is also sometimes used to convey the function of *absolute uniqueness* as shown:

A Green Shield Worthington gives every man *that* great feeling (Leech, 1966: 158).

As we can see, *that* modifies ‘an abstract noun of sensation’, *that great feeling*, in conveying the message, ‘the X which cannot fail to strike every user of the product as different from other Xs’ (Leech, 1966: 158).

The sub-modifiers *such* and *so* play a similar role in, ‘*Such* a good natural cheddar’ and ‘Fresh dairy cream tastes *so* good’ The deictic force of *so* is also present in clauses showing extent, ‘so good that...’ (Leech, 1966: 158). However, it is not always the case that *so* and the *that* clause appear together.

When *so* is not followed by the *that* clause, it might be claimed that the deictic function is still present in an absolute sense, and that the full denotative value of ‘so good’ could be expressed as ‘good to a unique extent’. However, in ordinary conversation, as in advertising, this force of *so* is somewhat weakened by its hyperbolic use to express an emotional attitude (Leech, 1966: 158).

In advertising, there are also words that express uniqueness more explicitly such as the adjective, *unique* itself and *only*, in for instance, ‘the unique prescription for colds and flu’ and ‘the only chocolate flavoured cereal’ respectively. Superlative adjectives also belong in this category. These words that express uniqueness directly are deictic in nature as they always follow the definite article *the* in the noun group although there are exceptions like, ‘a best man’ or ‘an only child’. There are also phrases that use the negative such as ‘no other’ and ‘nothing else’ that demonstrate absolute uniqueness of a

product or service. Although they are in the negative, their 'value in expressing exclusiveness outweighs their disadvantage in being negative' (Leech, 1966: 158).

In summing up this section, we have seen the application of *deixis and personalisation* as a stylistic strategy in advertising. Deixis also plays a principal part in the 'embodiment of perception' and 'a cognitive approach' will shed some light in this area (Stockwell, 2002: 41).

There is a progression in advertising history which accumulates the appeals used by advertisers with the earlier periods still retained (Myers, 1994: 27). Corbett and Connors (1999: 538) who strongly feel that rhetoric is still alive take on a more positive view in talking of a 'new rhetoric', an offshoot of 'modern refinements in psychology, semantics, motivational research, and other behavioural sciences'. This positive view is elaborated:

Undoubtedly, there will be a 'new rhetoric' for the twenty-first century, a rhetoric of cyberspace that will be more comprehensive than any that has been devised so far, an international rhetoric that will be congenial for people of many nations and cultures. But in that new rhetoric there will be noticeable residues of classical rhetoric (Corbett and Connors, 1999: xi).

2.6 Studies on Rhetorical Figures and Persuasive Strategies in Advertising

Research done on advertising shows that there are several studies which focused on rhetorical figures. According to Phillips (2000: 3), various types of complex rhetorical

figures have been diagnosed in advertising. McQuarrie and Mick (1992, 1993, 1996: 424) conducted three studies directly related to issues dealing with rhetorical figures. In their 1992 study, they carried out a content analysis of 1286 full-page advertisements from one issue of each of twenty magazines. They found that 15.2% of the advertisements were resonant. [Resonance is defined as *the interplay between the advertisement's headline and its image* (Phillips, 2000: 16)]. They, however, did not investigate the types of rhetorical figures used in these advertisements.

Their 1993 study was a content analysis of 154 full-page advertisements taken from three issues of the People magazine. The headlines and sub-headlines of advertisements were analysed for both the number and types of rhetorical figures used. The study revealed that 86% of the advertisements utilized one or more rhetorical figures and each of these advertisements used 1.5 figures on average. Over 60% of the advertisements contained only tropes, nearly 20% comprised of only grammatical schemes, and just over 20% included both types of figures.

McQuarrie and Mick's most widely referred to paper published in 1996 outlines a taxonomy of rhetorical figures in advertising language. The taxonomy makes a distinction between schemes and tropes as two main divisions of figure. They enumerate and tabulate rhetorical figures which are prevalent in advertisements in magazines from 1990-1991. From the perspective of the consumer, they found that consumers' enthusiasm in trying to figure out a rhetorical figure can lead to increased attention. It is hoped that their proposed framework will act as a model for subsequent research in the comparison and differentiation of the effects of various figures rather than on individual figures in isolation.

Leigh (1994: 8) found that almost 75% of 2468 print advertisements used rhetorical figures in their headlines:

Figure of speech usage was found to vary by magazine, headline-picture linkage and headline length, but not across product category, ad size, and location. The number of figures used varied by linkage and headline length, but not the other factors. In addition, some types of figures are heavily used, whereas others are not. Usage of particular categories varied by magazine, product category, headline-picture linkage, headline length, and ad size, but not among locations within a magazine. When multiple figures are used in a headline, the most common usage is a combination of a trope and a grammar figure, but multiple grammar figures are also fairly common. It is clear that message form factors represent a ripe area for further study.

The findings of a study conducted by Tom and Eves (1999: 39) indicate that advertisements that contain rhetorical figures showed an extremely high level of effectiveness for measurements of recall and persuasion. What do they mean by advertisements using rhetorical figures?

An advertisement was classified as using rhetorical figures if either the verbal and/or pictorial elements used rhetorical devices (Tom and Eves, 1999: 42). The results showed that 45% of 120 advertisements used rhetorical figures. The results of this study revealed that in some cases advertisements using literal language were more effective than those with rhetorical figures. The study also revealed the superiority of some

rhetorical figures over others in those instances where rhetorical figures were used in both advertisements.

Previous research shows that rhetorical figures distinctly affect the degree of advertisement processing. Specifically, tropes diverge more from expected language use than schemes, and this greater divergence results in more effective processing of an advertisement (Mothersbaugh et. al., 2002: 590-591).

In replicating previous research, it was found that figurative language generated more extensive processing than non-figurative language, and tropes generated a higher level of processing than schemes. Previous research also expanded further in demonstrating how rhetorical figures combined. When a combination of schemes and tropes were used, there was greater advertisement processing than when either type of figure was used separately. Alternatively, when multiple schemes were used, their combination did not result in any increase in advertisement processing. This research provides empirical validation of the value of figurative language in the process of persuasion (Mothersbaugh et.al., 2002: 591, 593).

Complex advertising images used as rhetorical figures were researched by Phillips (2000: 15) based on two schools of thought, i.e. information processing and rhetoric. The study also empirically investigated the impact of including verbal text to complex images using conventional measures of consumer response. The findings showed that adding a headline that briefly explained the image's meaning helped consumers to better understand and have a liking for the advertisements. However, including a headline that fully explained the image was not in favour of the advertisements in terms of consumer

liking as it disclosed the message of the advertisement and hence reduced consumers' pleasure in deciphering the advertisements on their own.

Phillips and McQuarrie (2002: 3) claim that the use of rhetorical figures in advertisements over a period of time had not been examined. Although rhetorical figures had been used in magazine ads for a long time, it was not known whether the use of rhetorical figures had been consistent or changed over time. In a study they conducted on the use of rhetorical figures in magazine advertisements from 1954 to 1999 in the U.S., it was discovered that the use of rhetorical style in magazine advertisements had become progressively more complicated and sophisticated over time. The results of the content analysis showed a rise in the occurrence of tropes over time but the occurrence of schemes indicated no consistent trend. A more detailed inspection revealed that the increase in occurrence of the tropes over time was due to the 'increased usage of more complex destabilization tropes (e.g., metaphor, pun, irony) rather than simpler substitution tropes (e.g. metonymy, rhetorical question, hyperbole)' (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 9).

Advertisements from the initial part of the study's period seemed to use and describe only one rhetorical figure but the later ones of the period were found to use 'unanchored rhetorical figures and layered them more thickly' (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 7). Advertisers seemed to be counting more on consumers to come up with the appropriate interpretation of advertisements (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 7). Specific advertising techniques such as using rhetorical figures and visual images are thought to influence consumers to derive conclusions about the product/ service and the advertising message that surpass what is stated in the advertisement (Messaris, 1997: 225. In Phillips

and McQuarrie, 2002: 7). A number of advertisements from Phillips and McQuarrie's study were found to support this idea (2002: 7). These unanchored figures as they are called, may be a benefit to the advertiser as consumers are encouraged to make their own inferences that would not be appropriate if stated explicitly or that might be unduly subject to disputes if so stated.

The results suggested that there was a noticeable increase in the use of more elaborate rhetorical strategies, fuelled by the arrival of new technologies. The study also revealed that advertisements that depended on consumers' contextual knowledge began emerging in the 1970s. It was with the aim of transmitting cultural values to the product or service that advertisers began to depend more and more on consumers' knowledge of context to layer a rhetorical figure.

Not many studies have investigated the use of more than a single rhetorical figure at one time. Hence, there is a lack of general inference as to rhetorical figures as a whole. Besides, the ways rhetorical figures combine have also not been explored (Mothersbaugh et.al., 2002: 12-13). Future research should be done on the layering of rhetorical figures as '...fanciful or imagery-laden headlines increase the amount of rhetoric in an advertisement and may increase consumer pleasure...' (Phillips, 2000: 6).

Despite the fact that slogans are extensively and creatively used in the field of advertising, there has been no published academic research in the study of the effectiveness of rhetorical figures in advertising slogans. Research such as that concerning slogans and time-lag should be ventured upon as it is usually the slogan that is remembered long after the advertising campaign is over. An important objective of embarking into research on advertising slogans ought to be to deal with the argument on

whether they are actually worthwhile in advertising or whether they merely serve as ornaments (Reece et. al., 1994: 53).

Up until the 1980s, there had not been much research done on advertising (Belk and Pollay, 1985: 889). However, nearly two decades later, Corbett & Connors still point out:

...not enough attention has been paid yet to the rhetoric of advertising, that pervasive influence on all our lives (Corbett and Connors, 1999: 540).

This is in spite of the fact that persuasion has been researched to a great extent for decades (Friestad and Wright, 1995: 62). The advertisements of the 1990s are 'radically different from those of the 1950s and 1960s.... There is no clear point of change, but the recognition that there have been changes is essential. Current ads reflect radical changes in our technologies and media... for the way they prepare us for further changes to come, they are a particularly valuable field of study' (Cook, 2001: xiv-xv).

In general, rhetorical structure seems to have great potential as a principal idea for establishing a wide scope of text phenomena in the realm of advertising although there have been differences of opinion with regard to the value of rhetorical figures among advertisers and researchers (McQuarrie and Mick, 1992: 180; 1996: 436).

Consumer researchers might consider following the same path of the classical rhetoricians by doing research on figures of rhetoric. This topic has been ignored in persuasion literature, whether in consumer research or in other areas. The role of figurative language in persuasion was important in three previous persuasion centuries,

namely, the Hellenic century, the Roman Republic century and the Renaissance rhetorical century. Current research on persuasion, however, has very much neglected these rhetorical figures. McGuire (2000: 110) speculates that we still have 25 years to make up for this disregard. The current consumer advertising century began in 1925 from the advent of the electronic media, namely, radio and television and will end in 2025. In the current persuasion century there have been few publications of experimental studies on rhetorical figures. Among these few, the studies were mainly restricted to metaphors (Kirby, 1997: 518) thus ignoring a multitude of other tropes.

McQuarrie and Mick (1996: 435) also express concern at the dearth of research in this area considering the seemingly broad use of these persuasive figures. Students of persuasion are advised to pay more attention to the neglected issue of how the message style variable of figurative language affects the persuasiveness of an interaction. McGuire (2000: 113) adds that although the subject of figurative language is stimulating, is accessible for research purposes and is relevant in both theoretical and practical aspects, it now receives only reasonable research attention. In the communication/ persuasion network, figurative language as a variable constitutes only a narrow percentage under the message style category. Rhetorical figures are more worthy of research attention than numerous other topics which are more heavily explored.

Researchers can contribute to the field of persuasion by utilizing the insights of the classical rhetoricians, although these insights were lacking in the classical era with regards to theoretical foundations and empirical testing which are sought-after in the field of social sciences today. McGuire aptly sums up:

Exploit the wisdom of the ancients, even if this wisdom has been left in the form of untested hypotheses, many probably wrong. Standing on the shoulders of ancients, be they giants or pygmies, can generate new hypotheses, open up new questions, and suggest new answers whose testing will enrich an area of inquiry such as understanding persuasion processes in consumer behaviour and other disciplines (McGuire, 2000: 13).

This is precisely what this study aims to do.

In closing, this chapter has discussed the persuasive techniques used from the classical era to the present time. The focus has been on advertising but other disciplines and genres such as politics and journalism were also looked at. In particular, rhetorical figures and other persuasive devices such as the communicative and stylistic/poetic strategies used by advertisers were also discussed. The advertising slogan was the main component of this discussion. Various aspects of the slogan such as the use of schemes and tropes, the use of the brand name and other elements were looked at. Contemporary and modern theories of persuasion and communication were discussed with opinions from linguists and other experts in these fields. The chapter also studied the various techniques of how persuaders identify with an audience. From rhetoric and communication, the discussion moved on to the more current strategies of stylistics and poetics. The chapter also examined the studies done on rhetorical figures and strategies and identified the lack and need for research in this area. From the literature gathered in

this chapter, a gap has been identified that needs to be filled. This study seeks to bridge this gap.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design and Selection

This is a longitudinal study which encompasses both qualitative and quantitative assessment. This study seeks to analyse advertising slogans from at least 100 years ago. The study covers slogans which were created in the late nineteenth century, those which were created in all decades of the twentieth century to slogans which were created from the year 2000. A total of 500 slogans were selected from both product and service sectors. An attempt was made to strike a balance in selecting slogans from both these sectors. However, in the service sector, slogans with the year or decade they were created in could only be obtained from the *airlines* category. Overall, there are eight categories the slogans fall into. They are *food and drink, tobacco, automobile, airline, photography, electronics, computing and fashion*. Various categories were selected to ensure that the rhetorical patterns, if any, that emerged from the study would be consistent. The varied selection would also eliminate the possibility of some product or service categories using more rhetorical figures in their advertising than others 'because of some intrinsic characteristic of the product' or service (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 10).

Another important criterion for the selection of these slogans was that the products/ services concerned or the companies involved were internationally popular or well known. This was determined from the profiles of the particular companies found in

business/ advertising encyclopedias as well as from the company websites. The products/ services were also considered if the researcher, being from Asia where these products/ services did not originate, was familiar with them in her own country or had, at the very least, heard of the brand name or company. It is important that ‘...a rhetorical figure draws on a specific body of preexisting sociocultural knowledge’ (McQuarrie and Mick 1996: 433). What is meant here can be illustrated by the Cadbury slogan, *Nobody knows Easter better than Cadbury’s* (Foster, 2001: 17). A person who reads or hears this slogan will only understand the message if, firstly, the person is aware of what Easter is or is at least aware of the Easter season. Secondly, he or she should know that Easter is associated with the *Easter egg* which is customarily made out of chocolate. Finally, and most importantly, the person should be aware that Cadbury’s is a chocolate manufacturer in order to grasp the intended message.

A good time interval was chosen as the possibility of finding a change over time would be great if researchers chose an interval of time that was adequately long (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 4). Besides, the database of advertising slogans is relatively small compared with that of advertising headlines which can be seen or heard everyday in advertisements. Therefore, a long time interval would ensure the inclusion of as many slogans as possible ‘to allow variation to surface if present’ (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2002: 4). It would also ensure the sufficient coverage of slogans of well known products/ services or companies from the comparatively small database of advertising slogans.

3.1.1 Selection of Advertising Slogans as Object of Study

Slogans are termed differently in different parts of the world. In the U.K., they are also called *endlines* or *straplines* while in the U.S., they are *tags*, *taglines* or *theme lines*. In Germany, they are referred to as *claims*, in Belgium, they are known as *baselines* and in France they are *signatures*. The Dutch and the Italians call them *pay-offs* or *payoffs* (Foster, 2001: 2). Slogans are not to be confused with *headlines* in advertising which appear as the catch-phrases in advertisements. In my opinion, a *headline* is similar to a 'hook' which is 'the initial line of an advertisement' (Goddard, 1998: 106). Slogans as used in this study refer to the phrases that are identified with a company or brand such as Nike's, *Just do it* and KFC's *Finger lickin' good*. They also refer to phrases that are tied to different products and campaigns, such as the Heinz slogan, *Any food tastes supreme with Heinz salad cream* (1998). In other words:

slogans can serve as "hooks" or "handles" in capturing the meaning of a brand and in relaying what makes the brand special (Dahlen and Rosengren, 2005; Keller, 1998. In Kohli et. al., 2007: 416).

People in Britain may have heard of the *British Airways* slogan, *The world's favourite airline*. The slogan does not need an advertisement for people to remember it. What is sufficient is the mention of the airline, *British Airways*, and its slogan. The slogan complements 'the brand name and logo', giving the airline company 'brand identity' (Kohli et. al., 2007: 421). The same applies to *BMW* and its slogan, *The ultimate driving machine*, a 'high link' slogan, that is, one which has not been changed over a long

period or 'has stood the test of time' (Kohli et. al., 2007: 419-420). They further elaborate:

The slogan is focused, and emphasizes that BMW produces the best driving devices available, a description that easily encompasses any automotive product, including cars and motorcycles (Kohli et. al., 2007: 420).

As mentioned in the literature review in chapter 2, through repetition, the audience would remember the brand and its slogan. Hence my justification for deciding to analyse advertising slogans independently of advertisements.

The selection of slogans for this study is based on the fact that slogans are becoming increasingly popular in advertisements because advertisers have become obsessed with slogans. Almost every advertisement these days comes with a slogan, 'and the effect is mind-numbing' (Lamons, 1997: 4). However, the scholarly research on advertising slogans is 'relatively sparse' (Kohli et. al., 2007: 417) and there is a lack of academic research done on the language of advertising slogans. Chapter two described the studies done on rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in advertising. In this chapter, I will outline studies that have been done specifically on advertising slogans. There are several studies that have been done on the language of advertising slogans:

Moeran (1984: 147-158) researched the regeneration of advertising slogans to 'form a language of their own'. He found that advertisers always end up directing the path along which they would like the advertising discourse to follow. He found that the discourse between the advertiser and the consumer is far from being a cultural exchange

as there is no opportunity for ‘turn-taking’ of any sort (Moeran, 1984: 157). This means that advertising agencies do not take the consumer into consideration when designing their slogans. Therefore the consumer only ends up assuming the role of ‘a cultural heckler’ (Moeran, 1984: 157).

(Moeran, 1985: 29-44) also examined the syntactical and semantic parallelism in English and Japanese advertising slogans. He found that the linguistic structure of advertising slogans in English and Japanese is different. English advertising slogans take on the structure of poetics based on Jakobson’s (1960) ‘poetic function of language’ (Moeran, 1985: 29). They make use of the *quadripartite* structure to reinforce their messages. For example:

In Denmark it reigns

In Britain it pours.

(Moeran, 1985: 32)

He found that although these quadripartite structures are present in Japanese advertising slogans, they are not common. If this pattern is present, it usually uses a simpler syntactical form such as:

A fresh fragrance

Cool in the throat

(Moeran, 1985: 33)

He, however, predicts that due to the assimilation of the Western culture by the Japanese, they will depart from their own traditional poetic structures and take on features of the English poetic structure.

The use of metadiscourse strategies in advertising slogans and headlines was studied by Fuertes-Olivera et. al., (2001: 1291-1307). Metadiscourse is considered to be an important 'pragmatic feature' that copywriters use to 'organize the discourse, engage the audience, and signal their attitude' (Fuertes-Olivera et. al., 2001:1305). Examples of metadiscourse in advertising headlines and slogans are *endophoric markers*, *evidentials*, *person markers*, *hedges* and *emphatics*. Their findings reveal that not all the features were present in advertising English which suggests that the use of rhetorical choices is restricted by genre and the existing values and customs of a community.

Reece et. al., (1994: 41-55) investigated the effects of rhetorical figures in a slogan on brand name and product category recall. The results indicate that the usage of figures is positively correlated to brand recall but is not significantly correlated to category recall. The study also revealed that the inclusion of rhetorical figures in a slogan increases its memorability but complex figures may not have the same effect. Repetition is also necessary to make certain that the audience grasps the message content, and advertisers would have to do this through media frequency. It was also found that the slogan with the 'highest correct brand identification' used rhyme which was said to reinforce learning (Reece et. al., 1994: 51). This study paves the way for future research into factors that make the slogan memorable.

Lagerwerf (2002: 244-262) examined the use of the pun as a rhetorical device in enhancing the effectiveness of advertising slogans. In advertising slogans, ambiguity is

frequently used to gain the attention of the reader towards the intended message. In this study, slogans that may be taken literally were studied as a specific form of deliberate ambiguity. Puns create ambiguity in slogans and this allows for both a less salient interpretation and a more salient one (Lagerwerf, 2002: 248). This understanding of salient meaning explains what takes place when idiomatic meaning is simplified into literal meaning to suit the context. The experiment done illustrates that this deliberate ambiguity elicits humour, thereby having a positive effect on appreciation. The results also show that slogans that are recognised as ambiguous (even if they're not in fact ambiguous) are appreciated more than those that are not perceived to be ambiguous.

Kohli et.al., (2007: 415-422) proposed guidelines for creating effective slogans. The guidelines were formulated after a survey of academic articles on slogans and from examining case studies of industry publications. They are aimed at providing 'structure to the creative process of developing effective slogans' (Kohli et al. 2007: 421). Firstly, the slogan must be closely linked to the brand as the slogan will be able to point to the direction in which the brand is heading. The slogan must also be memorable. Jingles and repetition are not the only solutions as memorability can also be achieved through the 'use of meaning, abstraction and consistency' as in Nike's slogan, *Just do it* (Kohli et al. 2007: 420). Another guideline is that slogans that are simple do not often work. What is recommended is some sort of creativity 'with a moderate level of syntactic or semantic complexity' that would 'trigger deeper processing' and be remembered better than simpler slogans. An example is the Vicks NyQuil slogan, *The nighttime, sniffing, sneezing, coughing, aching, stuffy head, fever, so you can rest medicine* (Kohli et al. 2007: 421). Finally, a slogan should play a role in enhancing the image of the brand and

its position in the market. Hence the slogan should meaningfully highlight differences in the product. It has also been observed that:

The advertising academic literature has generally focused on advertising recall, but without specific focus on advertising slogans. The practitioner literature primarily has an anecdotal focus on advertising slogans (Mathur and Mathur, 1995: 60).

Mathur and Mathur have overlooked the fact that there are a number of articles on the recall of advertising slogans such as those by Reece et. al., (1994: 41-55) as outlined earlier and Katz and Rose (1969: 21-26). Other studies that used advertising slogans deal with priming and evaluations of brand extensions (Boush, 1993: 67-78; Pryor and Brodie, 1998: 497-508), brand preference and advertising recall (Chapman and Fitzgerald, 1982: 491-494), brand image and positioning (Supphellen and Nygaardsvik, 2002: 385-395) and the effects of using music to communicate advertising slogans (Yalch, 1991: 268-275).

There has not been any research done on the combination of various rhetorical figures or persuasive strategies other than McQuarrie and Mick's 1996 study on rhetorical figures in print advertising headlines as described in chapter two. Rhetorical figures such as the *metaphor* and *pun* had only been studied in isolation up until McQuarrie and Mick's 1996 study when rhetorical figures were combined. However, their research involved print advertising headlines and not on advertising slogans. In light of this, it was decided that this study would deal with the combination of rhetorical

figures and strategies in advertising slogans in order to enrich the literature on the use of persuasive language in advertising slogans. Apart from rhetorical figures, I had decided to study the persuasive strategies used by advertisers in order to widen the scope of the study. Due to the dynamic nature of advertising, advertisers resort to more than just using rhetorical figures to persuade the consumer. These are my justifications for including both rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in this study.

3.1.2 Selection of Companies/ Organisations

The companies were selected based mainly on the availability of the advertising slogans and the corresponding years in which they were created. Most of the data were obtained from two encyclopedias, namely, *The Encyclopedia of Advertising* by J. McDonough, Volumes 1, 2 & 3 and *Encyclopedia of Major Marketing Campaigns* by T. Riggs. The encyclopedias, for instance, describe various companies in alphabetical order. These companies, if they were multinational or were familiar to the researcher, were scrutinised for slogans. The slogans were noted down only if the years or decades in which these slogans were created were mentioned. The slogans for each company were then compiled to see if they appeared in more or less each decade. If there were only a few gaps across the decades, the company was still considered. In some cases, there appeared to be more than one slogan for each decade and these were also taken into account.

Company websites such as *www.all-ford-auto.com* which belongs to *Ford Motor Company* were also accessed online to see if they included advertising slogans. The

websites were selected at random to cover various product and service categories. International news websites such as *bbc.co.uk* were also researched for articles on advertising slogans. These news websites provided more current slogans that were not available in the encyclopedias. In addition, registered online databases such as ADSlogans Unlimited (www.adslogans.co.uk) were also sourced. This online resource is reliable as:

AdSlogans is a unique global resource for advertisers and ad agencies, comprising many thousands of English-language commercial advertising slogans, business, company, product or brand marketing slogans, taglines, claims, straplines, theme lines, endlines, payoffs, signatures, base lines, slogans (the slogan by the logo) and catchphrases. These are often unregistered, and hard to find in standard trademark registers or directories.

Top advertising agencies and marketing companies in the UK and around the world use our services to answer questions like these:

- Has my new line, or similar been used before?
- Who used it, where and when?
- What are the other brands in my category saying?

Our services are particularly useful in new business pitches, brand reviews and the creation of new campaigns.

(Anon: 2006-2007)

The AdSlogans database also contains the most current advertising slogans. Several slogans were also obtained from university websites such as that of the Department of Advertising at the University of Texas at Austin (see Richards, 1997). A few were also located in a section on advertising slogans in the online Oxford Dictionary of Modern Quotations (Knowles, 1997).

3.1.3 List of Companies / Organisations

A total of 13 companies were finally selected with their respective number of slogans which total 500. Refer to Table 1.

The Companies and Their Slogans

Company		No. of Slogans
1	British American Tobacco Plc.	15
2	The Coca-Cola Company	163
3	Continental Airlines	8
4	Daimler Chrysler	15
5	Dr Pepper Snapple Group	14
6	Eastman Kodak Company	7

7	Ford Motor Company	26
8	The General Electric Company	7
9	Guinness & Co.	178
10	H.J. Heinz Company	10
11	IBM Corporation	7
12	Maidenform Inc.	6
13	PepsiCo, Inc.	44
	Total	500

Table 1

Please refer to Appendix A for the breakdown of the respective companies and their slogans for each decade. From Table 1, it is evident that two companies, The Coca-Cola Company and Guinness & Co. have more slogans than the others, that is, 163 and 178 respectively. Although they both come under the *food and drink* categories, their products are different in constitution. Coca-Cola is a beverage that is especially popular among youngsters, both male and female. On the other hand, Guinness is an alcoholic beverage or dark beer/ stout, known as ‘a working class man’s drink’ (Anon., 2008d) showing that it is more popular among men than women. In addition, both companies originate from different countries. The Coca-Cola Company is American-based and Guinness & Co. originates from Ireland. Being from two different countries and

continents, the companies have different historical backgrounds and aspirations. Considering the differences between the two companies and their products, and the fact that the qualitative analysis did not include the two companies, it can be safely said that the overall findings of this study are not skewed. Besides, as mentioned in section 3.1, the long time interval with the inclusion of as many slogans as possible, as is the case with these two companies, is beneficial for this longitudinal study.

3.2 The Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to determine the presence of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in advertising slogans. A pilot study was deemed necessary for this research due to several reasons. Firstly, the kinds of rhetorical figures used in advertising slogans as opposed to advertising headlines or the body text needed to be identified. The combination of these figures in advertising slogans also needed to be investigated, particularly for the purpose of analysing the *layering* of schemes and tropes. Apart from rhetorical figures, investigation of the persuasive strategies related to stylistics/ linguistics and communication used in advertising slogans was another aspect that required attention.

The companies that were used for the pilot study were *Eastman Kodak Company*, *H.J. Heinz Company*, *Ford Motor Company* and *General Electric Company (GE)*. The slogans of each company and the respective years in which they were created are shown in Table 2. These companies were selected to ensure the analysis included various categories. In this case, the categories are *photography*, *food and drink*, *automobile* and *electronics*. As the data gathering for the main study was still ongoing at the time the

pilot study was conducted, the service sector was not included for this analysis as the data for this sector could not be obtained at that point.

For the purpose of gathering data for the pilot study, a small sample of 24 advertising slogans was selected. A total of 24 slogans were selected as this was the initial stage of data gathering and a small number was deemed sufficient for a qualitative analysis to be carried out.

Data for the Pilot Study

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY

Year/ Decade	Slogans
1888	You press the button, we do the rest
1902	If it isn't an Eastman, it isn't a Kodak
1930s	Snapshots you'll want tomorrow, you must make today
Late 1950s	Open me first
1970s	Kodak film. For the times of your life
1995	Take pictures. Further

H.J. HEINZ COMPANY

Year/ Decade	Slogans
1896	57 varieties
1940s	Pickles to pursuit planes
1957	Our best to you in ‘57
1967	Beanz meanz Heinz
1970s	Heinz is what ketchup tastes like
1998	Any food tastes supreme with Heinz salad cream

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

Year/ Decade	Slogans
1903	Boss of the road
1940s	There’s a Ford in your future
1950s	Speak first with Ford
1960s	Built Ford tough
1981	Quality is Job One
1998	Better ideas. Driven by you

GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY (GE)

Year/ Decade	Slogans
1920s	A symbol of service, The initials of a friend
1930s	More goods for more people at less cost
1940s	You can put your confidence in General Electric
1950s	Progress is our most important product
1979	We bring good things to life
2003	Imagination at work

Table 2

3.2.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

. The data for the pilot study was first grouped chronologically into decades and analysed qualitatively for the presence of rhetorical figures, communicative and stylistic strategies and grammar. A qualitative analysis was decided upon for this pilot study as a quantitative study would require a large amount of data in order for the results to be valid.

The slogans gathered for the pilot study were first analysed for the presence of schemes and tropes based on McQuarrie and Mick’s (1996: 426) taxonomy. However, other schemes and tropes which were found to be present in the slogans were also

included in the analysis. Up until now, this had been the only existing taxonomy for analysing rhetorical figures in advertising. Refer to Fig. 1 for the taxonomy.

A Taxonomy of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising

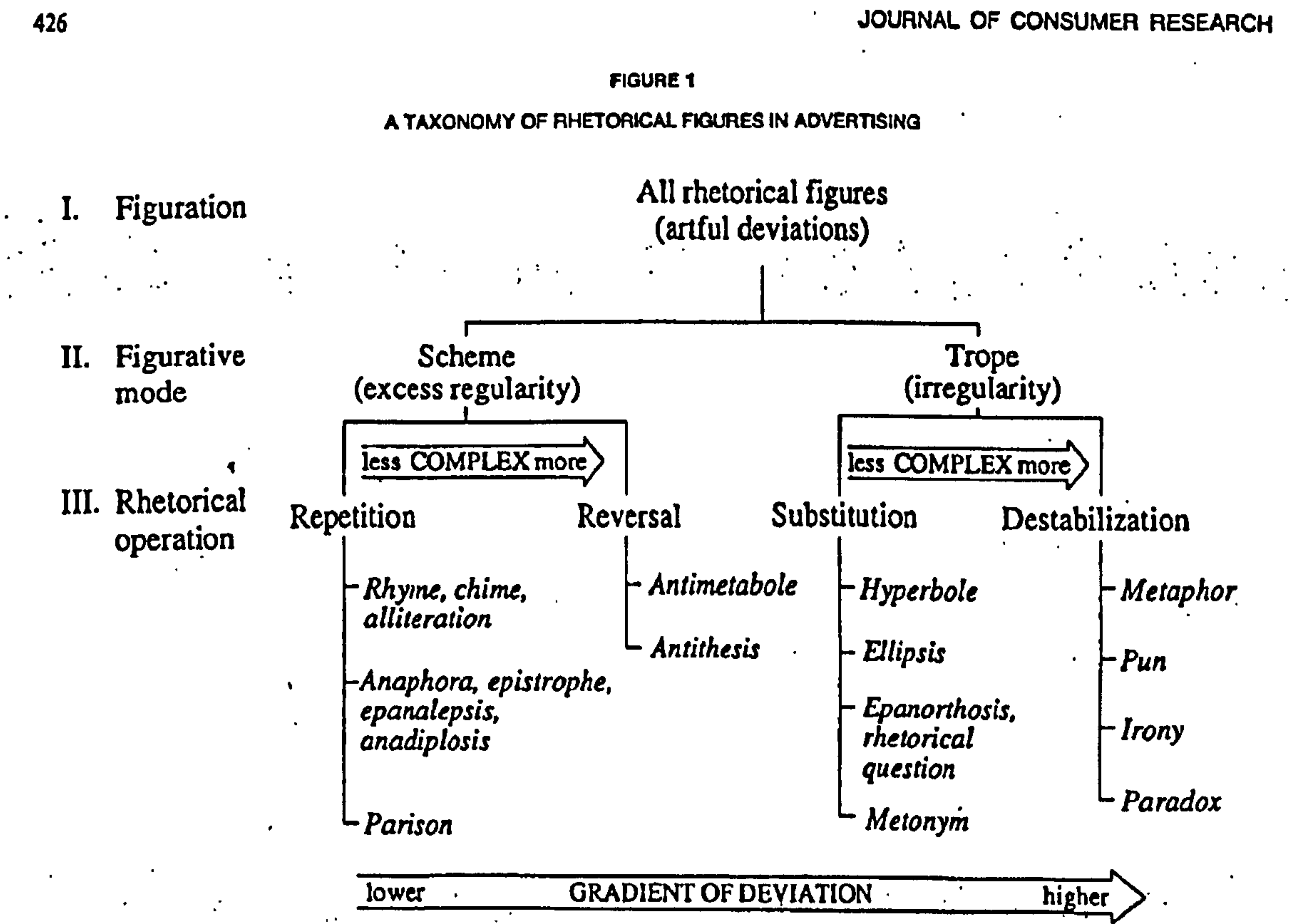


Fig. 1

McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 426

The data was also analysed for the presence of communicative strategies based on Kenneth Burke's theory of *Dramatism* mentioned earlier. An analysis of the use of

symbols, naming and *framing* was done on the slogans. The symbols consisted of three parts, i.e. *negative, hierarchy* and *perfection*. This theory of Dramatism was used as it was found to be a suitable communication theory for analysing persuasive messages in advertising as was discussed in chapter two.

Analysis was also done to determine the presence of stylistic strategies. Two out of five attributes of Jamieson's (1988: 108) concept of 'electronic eloquence' were used for the analysis. The two attributes were *personification* and *conversationalisation*. *Personification* also happens to be a figure of speech or trope in classical rhetoric. The data also shows the existence of slogans that are of a conversational nature which was the reason for my decision to include this attribute. Although Jamieson's concept was applied to political speeches, part of the concept can also be employed in advertising as is the case with the two attributes just mentioned.

Another two attributes of the concept of *electronic eloquence*, namely, *self-disclosive* and *synoptic* were not considered. *Self-disclosive* deals with building relationships with an audience through relating personal experiences and is thus more applicable to speeches. It, however, can be applied to the body text of an advertisement but not to a slogan which is more concise. *Synoptic* need not be considered as slogans are in themselves synoptic phrases as was mentioned in chapter two. The fifth attribute, that is, *visually dramatic* was excluded from this study as advertising slogans, unlike advertising headlines or the body text, often appear independently of visuals. When we interpret meaning 'we construct elaborate mental simulations that guide and influence thought and action in the world' (Oakley, 2005: 309). This happens both in the presence

and absence of visuals. Hence, it was decided that this study focused only on the verbal and written aspects of slogans without any visuals.

Other marked persuasive strategies of a stylistic nature that characterised both the earlier and later slogans were also singled out, for instance, the *masculine*, clipped style and the *feminine* style, both of which are categorised as deviant styles. *Deixis and personalisation* was the other stylistic strategy found to be present in advertising slogans. Therefore it was decided that this was also to be included in the analysis.

Linguistic violations of a semantic, grammatical, lexical and orthographic nature were examined in the slogans. Besides, *grammatical components* such as imperatives, modal verbs and conditionals were identified and analysed if they were found to be present. Slogans that alluded to *idioms* were also noted down. In addition, the basic *phonaesthetic patterning* of words or phrases used in the slogans was analysed.

Apart from these, the words used in each slogan were also analysed as to whether they were core words or non-core words. The purpose of this was to ascertain if the words carried any connotations as explained:

Vocabulary is carefully chosen to promote positive associations in the minds of the target audience. Since audiences clearly differ in what profile they might want to have for themselves, the words chosen to describe the supposedly desired object or service will also vary (Goddard, 1998: 106).

The pilot study not only revealed the type of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies used in advertising slogans but also shed some light on how these figures and

strategies were employed. Being of a qualitative nature, the analysis was able to illustrate the use and combination of words, sounds and structures in relation to the background and goals of a company and its advertising campaign. The findings of the pilot study were subsequently used for analysing the slogans of the main study.

3.3 The Main Study

A total of 500 advertising slogans were eventually gathered for the main study. This number included the slogans used for the pilot study. The selection of slogans used for both the pilot study and the main study were based on the same categories and criteria mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Just as for the pilot study, advertising slogans for the main study were obtained from various sources such as encyclopedias, company websites, news websites and registered online advertising sources.

3.3.1 *Quantitative Data Analysis*

The data for the main study was analysed quantitatively. A quantitative analysis was decided upon for this main study to determine the mean and/or percentages of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies present in the advertising slogans studied. It was also used in order to analyse any trends or patterns that emerged. The slogans of each company were first arranged in chronological order. They were then grouped into decades which began from the late 1800s depending on the individual companies. Then the findings of the pilot study in combination with McQuarrie and Mick's taxonomy (1996) were used to identify rhetorical figures found in each of the slogans. The findings

were also used to identify communicative and stylistic strategies found in each of the slogans. If a figure was identified, it was categorised and coded as a scheme or trope accordingly. The data was also scrutinised for the presence of Burke's communicative strategies and the stylistic strategies obtained from the results of the pilot study. These communicative and stylistic strategies were also coded. Each slogan was also examined to see if there was a layering of figures and this was noted down.

The mean and/or percentages were used to determine the trends found in the use of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in the advertising slogans studied over time, specifically, by decades. The trends according to the various categories and incidences are portrayed graphically.

In further analyzing the communicative and stylistic strategies, the background or general situation of the company or organisation concerned was examined, particularly around the time the slogan was created. This further supports the analysis in explaining why certain persuasive strategies were used as explained:

...analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discoursal practices within which texts are embedded (Fairclough, 1995a: 9).

The background or general information was obtained from advertising/ marketing encyclopedias and also from company websites. Basic grammatical components were also analysed as grammar was both studied and taught by classical rhetoricians as was mentioned in chapter one.

The next section will outline the research questions and also discuss how the research questions were developed from the readings in the previous chapter.

3.4 Research Questions

The review of related literature mentions that the advertisements of the 1990s reveal significantly different characteristics from those that appeared 40 years before. What about those advertisements that appeared 50, 70 or even 90 years before? Classical rhetoricians were found to have carried out research on figures of rhetoric but currently there has been very little research done on the combination of these figures.

Based on studies done in the area of rhetorical figures in persuasion, it was discovered that the use of rhetorical figures in advertisements became more complicated and sophisticated over time. The occurrence of tropes seemed to have risen over time but the occurrence of schemes did not reveal any particular trend. Both ‘layering’ (a combination of multiple figures) and ‘unanchoring’ (providing minimal or no explanation) were found to be prevalent in later advertisements. More elaborate persuasive strategies were also found due to the emergence of new technologies and media. Have advertising slogans also changed over time? Have advertising slogans also been influenced by these new technologies and media?

The use of more than a single rhetorical figure has not been investigated much. More importantly, there has been no scholarly research done on the combination of rhetorical figures in advertising slogans. Rhetorical figures have only been studied in isolation or at the most, in pairs. The use of persuasive strategies, particularly of a

communicative and stylistic nature, in advertising slogans over time also needs to be examined to determine if there are changes.

In the light of the above issues, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What rhetorical figures are present in advertising slogans?
 - a. How are schemes used in advertising slogans?
 - b. How are tropes used in advertising slogans?
 - c. Is there a layering of rhetorical figures in advertising slogans?
2. What persuasive strategies are present in advertising slogans?
 - a. How are communicative strategies used in advertising slogans?
 - b. How are stylistic/linguistic strategies used in advertising slogans?
3. What are the trends, if any, that emerge from the study?

The first research question is aimed at determining whether both schemes and tropes are used in advertising slogans. Leech (1966: 187-189) talks about the widespread use of schemes in advertising slogans as well as in other kinds of slogans. Are tropes also commonly found in slogans? McQuarrie and Mick's 1993 study on advertising headlines and subheadlines revealed that the percentage of tropes was triple the percentage of schemes. Besides, only a small percentage included a combination of both types of

figures. Research has also shown that both these types of figures are prevalent in headlines and texts of advertisements.

The two sub-questions 1a. and 1b. came about after reading McQuarrie and Mick's (1996: 424-438) article on their analysis of schemes and tropes in advertising headlines of print advertisements in magazines over a period of time. They managed to divide the schemes and tropes used for their analysis into four categories: *repetition*, *reversal*, *substitution* and *destabilisation* and gave a brief description for every single scheme and trope. This made it easier to read and understand the various schemes and tropes and it spurred me on to see if these same rhetorical figures were present in advertising slogans. However, instead of dividing the rhetorical figures into the four categories, I had decided to maintain the division into just schemes and tropes. Within this division, I would analyse the slogans for a range of schemes and tropes which would also include the ones in their framework. The various ways in which the schemes and tropes are used in advertising slogans would be examined.

The third sub-question, 1c. was considered after results from Phillips and McQuarrie's (2002: 1-13) study revealed that advertisements from the initial part of the study's period used only one rhetorical figure but the later ones were 'layered', i.e. two or more rhetorical figures were used. They imply that the layering of rhetorical figures in an advertisement enriches the amount of rhetoric and this may increase consumer pleasure. Hence the layering of rhetorical figures is an area to be examined. Mothersbaugh et.al., (2002: 589-590) also mention that there is a lack of general inference as to rhetorical figures as a whole as very few studies have investigated the use of more than a single rhetorical figure at one time.

The second research question seeks to examine the kinds of persuasive strategies used in advertising slogans so as 'to appreciate effective rhetorical strategies' (Kehl, 1975: 135). Philip and McQuarrie's (2002: 6-11) study on magazine advertisements focused on how the persuasive strategies used developed over the later half of the 20th century. It showed an increase in the use of more elaborate persuasive strategies with the arrival of new technologies. It also showed that from the 1970s, advertisers and copywriters began to rely more on the contextual knowledge of consumers in coming up with advertisements with the intention of transmitting cultural values to the product or service. Cook (2001: 218, 230) also recognizes the fact that there are radical changes in the advertisements of the 1990s from those of 30 or 40 years before due to profound developments in our technologies and media. This has contributed to 'new developments in linguistics' and, as a result, 'rhetoric and stylistics have started to evolve' (Hamilton, 2005: 212). As stylistics is a legitimate offshoot of ancient rhetoric, it has developed its own tools for the analysis of literary effects achieved through the use of language. The tools that rhetoric provides might not be enough in my attempt to gauge the effects of slogans and therefore I need the knowledge from stylistics to analyse the different linguistic levels systematically. Stylistics is 'the part of rhetoric that is farthest advanced at the moment' (Corbett, 1967: 171). Apart from stylistics strategies, it was decided that communicative strategies would also be examined as communication and persuasion are linked. This is how questions 2a. and 2b. came about. The questions were devised with the aim of studying new persuasive strategies, particularly, communicative and stylistic/linguistic strategies, in advertising slogans.

The third research question came about after discovering that differences were found in advertisements that existed a hundred years ago (Myers, 1994: 17). The advertisements then did not incorporate as wide a range of figures as the later advertisements. Myers cited the trope *pun* as an example. Previous studies by Phillips and McQuarrie (2002: 1-13) also indicate that rhetorical figures had been used in magazine advertisements for a long time but whether their use had been consistent or changed over time was not ascertained. Their study on magazine advertisements over a period of 45 years in the second half of the 20th century showed a progressively more complicated and sophisticated rhetorical style over time. Their content analysis showed an increased usage of tropes over time. However, the occurrence of schemes did not show any consistent trend. In addition, the later advertisements were found to contain more complex tropes instead of simpler ones. Their study, however, was based on the whole advertisement and not on slogans. Question 3 aims to probe the changes, if any, of the use of schemes and tropes respectively, in advertising slogans, over a period of at least 100 years. Following this, the trends that emerge from the analysis of this study would be observed and recorded. Consequently, a new taxonomy would be constructed for analysing advertising slogans which would include not only rhetorical figures but also communicative and stylistic strategies.

In closing, the visual aspect will not be examined in this study as advertising slogans do appear without visuals such as over the radio.

CHAPTER 4

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

This study attempts to analyse the historical development of rhetorical figures and strategies in advertising slogans selected from slightly over a hundred years ago till today.

4.1 Selection Criteria

A total of 24 slogans are selected from companies that come from different domains, for example, *food and drink*, *automobiles* and *airlines*. Various domains are selected to ensure consistency in the rhetorical patterns that emerge. The varied selection also eliminates the possibility of some domains using more rhetorical figures in their advertising than others. Another important criterion for the selection of these slogans is that the associated products/ services or companies are known internationally.

The slogans are selected from companies that existed in the late 19th century or early 20th century and which still exist today. A substantial period of time is chosen to ensure a greater chance of obtaining findings of change. One product, service or company slogan is selected from each decade if present. The rationale is choosing a continuous string of slogans from different decades to ensure continuity through time. The slogans are then analysed for the presence of schemes and tropes and rhetorical strategies. The analysis includes grammar as it was studied by the classical rhetoricians as part of the “trivium”, an undergraduate course for the bachelor of arts degree.

The results of this pilot study will reveal changes in the pattern of the rhetorical figures used in these advertising slogans through the decades. They will also show if there are changes in the rhetorical strategies employed in these slogans. The results will be used to construct a taxonomy that can be used to analyse slogans.

The rhetorical strategies used for analyses in the pilot study are Jamieson's (1988) concept of 'electronic eloquence' and Burke's (1969) theory of 'Dramatism'. The data are analysed for the presence of two out of five attributes of Jamieson's concept of electronic eloquence which states that persuaders today make use of an intimate style of communication to form relationships with audience members through their word choice. The two attributes included in my analysis are *personification* and *conversationalisation* (*Personification* also happens to be a figure of speech in classical rhetoric but which does not appear in McQuarrie and Mick's taxonomy of 1996). The data are also analysed for the presence of the use of *symbols* and *framing* based on Burke's theory of Dramatism. The symbols consist of three parts, i.e. *negative*, *hierarchy* and *perfection*. His concept of framing deals with how we view a particular situation. For this purpose, Burke developed a pentad consisting of five parts: *act*, *agent*, *agency*, *scene*, and *purpose*. He theorizes that through language, the persuader can use the terms of the pentad to structure the world view of audience members in achieving the persuader's goals.

Other marked rhetorical figures or strategies that characterise both the early and later slogans are also singled out. The trends of the occurrence of the figures and strategies across the decades are shown through various charts. In order to support the analyses, the background or general situation of the company involved is also examined, particularly around the time the slogan was created. This gives a clearer picture as to why

a particular rhetorical strategy is used. The data and company background are obtained from advertising/ marketing encyclopedias and also from company websites.

4.2 Analysis of Advertising Slogans

4.2.1 Eastman Kodak Company

1. *You press the button, we do the rest* (1888)

George Eastman, founder of the Eastman Kodak Company coined the slogan above with the aim of introducing photography to amateurs. During that period, photography was limited to only those who could take pictures and process them as well. The processing, in turn, was a tedious task. Eastman, thus, “revolutionized the industry” by separating the functions of picture taking and processing by introducing the Kodak camera. People with a camera were then able to take pictures and send them to Eastman’s factory for processing (Riggs, 2000: 527) hence the imperative slogan, ‘You press the button, we do the rest’. The ‘you’ are the users of the camera while the ‘we’ are the workers at the factory.

The slogan uses the scheme, *parison* which is a kind of parallelism. ‘Parison is marked parallelism between successive phrases; often involves the use of one or more embedded repeated words’ (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 430). This is characterized by the parallel clauses ‘You press the button’ and ‘we do the rest’, with a repetition of the definite article ‘the’. The use of this parallel structure on the two short clauses lends appeal to the slogan.

The trope *metonymy* is also present in this slogan as the specific action of ‘pressing the button’ and the more general ‘doing the rest’ are used as a collective

reference to the Kodak camera hence coming under the classification of the *container/content metonymy* (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992: 170). Mentioning the specific actions of taking and processing a photograph rather than the product or brand name, I suppose, was important at that time. It is because photography was just being introduced to amateurs and therefore they needed some reassurance from the persuader.

The second person pronoun, 'you' is used here as a *deictic name* in referring to the consumer (Leech, 1966: 156), specifically the photographer or would-be photographer. An exophoric reference (Wales, 1990: 140) is made here as the slogan singles out both the type of consumer and the provider of the service in this particular situational context. The 'you' is used in combination with the first person pronoun, 'we' which refers to the company or provider. Myers (1994: 82) pointed out that one of the uses of the pronoun 'we' is to create a sense of solidarity with the consumer. In this slogan, however, I think it is the combination of both the personal pronouns that evokes a sense of solidarity with consumers in the process of identifying with them. It implies that the action of taking photographs is a shared effort which will then lead to the achievement of the consumer's goal. As Wales (1990: 322) stated, both the addresser and the addressee are identified in this situational context by both these first and second person pronouns.

In analyzing the use of the individual words in this slogan, all seem to be 'core words' as they are straightforward and do not bear any connotations. Hence, they can be considered 'unmarked' (Carter, 2004: 116).

The slogan also employs Burke's concept of *framing* as the clause 'we do the rest' positions the Eastman Kodak company as the *agency* for the photographer's success in

photography with literally just a press of a button. The first clause 'You press the button' is more specific compared with the second, 'we do the rest' which is more general in nature. In my opinion, it implies that the company (the agency) has to do a lot more as the processing is a more complex task than taking pictures. Before the Kodak camera was invented, the photographer had the arduous task of doing both the photography and the processing (Riggs, 2000: 527). However, the photographer now does not have to know or partake of the complex processing task of developing photographs which the factory now handles, hence the general phrase 'we do the rest'. Therefore, all it needs is a click of a button and the camera user or potential photographer can achieve his or her goals with the help of the Eastman Kodak company.

2. *If it isn't an Eastman, it isn't a Kodak* (1902)

The slogan above also employs the rhetorical figure of *parison* where the two clauses, 'If it isn't an Eastman' and 'it isn't a Kodak' are parallel, with the embedded repetition of the phrase, 'it isn't', in both clauses. The repetition gives rhythm to the slogan which would attract the attention of the reader or listener.

The third person pronoun, 'it' is used cohesively to relate the two clauses in referring to the Kodak camera. The pronoun is used with an anaphoric or 'backward-looking' reference to the first 'it' in the second clause (Wales, 1990: 19) which relates the Kodak camera to its founder, Eastman. Leech's 'implication of context' can be applied here as the pronoun 'it' as used here has no 'contextually determined referents' (1966: 180). The advertiser assumes that the consumer had already been introduced to the product (which was created in the late 19th century). The aim here seems to be to

establish the product and strengthen the brand-name by associating it with its founder, Eastman. The consumer would now become more familiar with the Eastman Kodak company and its camera.

All the words used in this slogan appear to be core words that do not carry any connotations or associations. It is a conditional sentence (type 1) which falls under the category of what is 'probable' (Thomson and Martinet, 1960: 197-198). The 'if' clause is used with the present tense followed by another present tense in the second clause. The present tenses, however, are used in the negative form. The sentence, thus, implies that if the camera is not a product of Eastman's, it is not a Kodak camera.

The structure used ties in with the *negative* symbol in Burke's theory of Dramatism. By using the negative in both its clauses, 'If it isn't an Eastman' and 'it isn't a Kodak', it urges the user to distinguish between the Kodak camera and other cameras that may have been developed by other companies during that period. In addition, I feel that the negative is a welcome deviant structure used in advertising which relies heavily on the use of the positive.

In an advertising world that is so strong on the glorification of the positive (as a way of selling either goods or bads), how make the negative enticing? At times, the job has been done negatively, yet effectively, by the threat of hell.

(Gusfield, 1989: 66)

3. *Snapshots you'll want tomorrow, you must make today* (1930s)

Once again, the scheme, *parison*, is present as the phrases 'you'll want tomorrow' and 'you must make today' are parallel with an embedded repetition of the pronoun 'you' in both phrases. There is a slight variation, though, as the first phrase uses the contraction 'you'll' but the second phrase doesn't. Although it is clear that there is no contraction for the words 'you must', the creator of this slogan decided to contract the first phrase anyway. Perhaps it is done so that the second phrase would stand out more as it is the crux of the message that would move the consumer into taking action.

The slogan also uses the scheme of *chime* in the initial letters and sounds of the consonant 't' in the words, 'tomorrow' and 'today' and the consonant 'm' in the words, 'must' and 'make' thus enhancing a subtle rhythm when read or heard.

The scheme *antithesis* which is a juxtaposition of contrasting words or ideas, is also employed in this slogan. The contrasting words used are 'tomorrow' and 'today'. This juxtaposition of the two adverbs would attract the attention of the reader or listener as it lends some catchiness to the slogan.

Another trope, *metonymy*, is used in this slogan. Metonymy is when a part or an attribute of something is used to represent the whole. As the noun 'snapshots' is an attribute of the camera, it is used to represent the whole product, the Kodak camera. It can therefore be classified as a *container/ content metonymy* (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 170). A 'snapshot', according to The Encarta Concise Dictionary, refers to 'a photograph, especially one taken by an amateur with simple equipment (Anon., 2001a: 1371). The word is not only appropriate for the simple camera of those early years, but

the use of the noun 'snapshots' instead of the general noun 'camera' makes the message more specific creating a more personalised effect on the reader or hearer.

The use of the second person pronoun 'you' in both clauses contributes further to personalising the message (Myers, 1994: 78) as it focuses on what the consumer may want and what he or she would have to do in order to meet those needs. The presence of *deixis* occurs in the use of the words 'tomorrow' and 'today' which point to the future and the present respectively. The use of both these *deictic adverbs* evokes a sense of urgency in the consumer that they must act now in order to achieve their goal.

In examining the coreness of the words used in this slogan, I would consider all the words to be core words except for the verb 'make' which can convey several different meanings in this context. Apart from referring to the action of taking snapshots, this non-core verb could refer to the action of purchasing a camera, specifically a Kodak camera instead of any other brand. It could also refer to the process of learning how to take snapshots, especially with the Kodak camera. Whatever the meaning, they all urge the consumer to take specific action.

The modal verb 'must' is used here to indicate modality. As mentioned by Wales (1990: 256), the modal meaning expressed here includes also 'volition and prediction' by the verb 'will'('you'll') used in the slogan. Consumers are therefore given the choice of taking a particular course of action (related to the Kodak camera) as the implication is that it is very likely they would need these snapshots in the future.

Burke's concept of *framing* is also present here. This time, however, the first part of the pentad, *act*, is focused on. *Act* refers to what is done or an action that takes place. The persuader thus uses the above slogan to encourage or persuade people to act quickly

in taking photographs by buying or using the Kodak camera if they wish to cherish their special moments in the future.

4. *Open me first* (late 1950s)

This slogan was created as part of the company's holiday advertising for its 1950 Christmas campaign (McDonough, 2002: 510). The only rhetorical figure present here, which is also one of the five attributes of Jamieson's concept of 'electronic eloquence' is *personification*. The personal pronoun 'me' is used to personify the Kodak camera into becoming animate and human. This trope brings out the vividness of the slogan thus attracting the consumer.

This imperative sentence consists of individual core words making them unmarked and hence straightforward. The sentence uses the objective form, that is, 'me' of the first person pronoun (Wales, 1990: 322; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 102). The word 'first' which acts as an adverb in this sentence can also come under the category of *textual* or *secondary deixis* (Wales, 1990: 99) as it denotes a sense of order.

This ties in with Burke's use of the symbol of *hierarchy*. The persuader takes advantage of the fact that Christmas is a season for giving and opening presents. The slogan attempts to persuade Christmas shoppers to include the Kodak camera as one of their gifts. By saying that the particular gift should be the first to be opened, the persuader implies that only if the Kodak camera is included as one of the Christmas gifts and is opened first will the recipient be able to capture the special moments of the Christmas celebrations. Therefore the adverb, 'first', used in this slogan illustrates a hierarchy i.e. the Kodak camera is the most indispensable of all the gifts. As Burke suggests, this

symbol of *hierarchy* would create a feeling of guilt in Christmas shoppers who do not include the Kodak camera in their list of Christmas gifts. This feeling of guilt would consequently tempt them to buy the product.

5. Kodak film. For the times of your life (1970s)

This slogan uses the scheme of *chime* in both the initial letters and sounds of the consonants ‘f’ and ‘t’ in the words ‘film’ and ‘For’ and in the words ‘the’ and ‘times’ respectively. Advertising in the 1970s was geared mainly towards ‘the Instamatic and to film with TV ads carrying this tagline’ (McDonough, 2002: 510). Hence the positioning of the noun, ‘Kodak film’ which, in my opinion, is placed separately from the second clause for emphasis. It belongs to the third type of coordination of groups i.e. *apposition* (Leech, 1966: 147) where the first noun group names the product – Kodak film. This associates the brand-name with the slogan, giving the product an appealing and distinguishing image in the eyes of the consumer.

The second person possessive pronoun, ‘your’ is used here with a determiner function (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 102). The use of this pronoun lends a personal touch to the message of the slogan as it refers directly to the consumer’s life.

The phrase ‘For the times of your life’, is an *idiom* or ‘multi-word unit’ (Grant and Bauer, 2004: 38). In my opinion, the phrase alludes to the informal idiom, ‘have the time of your life’ (Anon., 2001b: 407). As the idiom means to enjoy oneself or to have a great time, the phrase in the above slogan similarly refers to happy or memorable times. This phrase, therefore, associates the Kodak film with happy moments thus making it inviting to the consumer.

The words used in this slogan appear to be all core words except for the noun, 'times'. This core word becomes unmarked in this context carrying with it positive connotations such as happiness, touching moments or memorable experiences.

The concept of *framing* is used here with an emphasis on the fifth part of Burke's pentad, i.e. *purpose*, which focuses on the reason or rationale for a particular action. Therefore, the persuader advocates the product, Kodak film, for the purpose of taking instant shots or simply for capturing effectively life's significant and unforgettable moments.

6. *Take pictures. Further* (1995)

This slogan was created with the launch of the Advanced Photo System (APS) a new format in photography introduced in conjunction with other camera manufacturers such as Canon Inc., Minolta Corp., and Nikon Inc. (McDonough, 2002: 510).

Although the slogan is brief and simple, there is a grammatical violation where the fragment, 'Further' is used on its own rather than it being in a complete sentence which would be, 'Take pictures further'. This structure can also be considered as the 'clipped' style which is actually part of the masculine style that is characterized by a lack of extravagant and emotional language (Leech, 1966: 197).

There seems to be only one non-core word in this slogan, i.e. 'further'. This marked, *deictic adverb* points to a step beyond the present time. It can also refer to the advancement in photography with the introduction of the new format. In addition, it can associate the action of taking pictures as being 'beyond the imagination'. All three

meanings carry positive connotations which, in turn will have a positive impact on the consumer who hears or reads the slogan.

The imperative verb phrase, 'Take pictures', and the adverb, 'Further', use Burke's concept of *framing* where the action of taking pictures 'further' positions the company as the *agency* in helping the consumer take pictures using the new advanced system mentioned above.

4.2.2 H.J. Heinz Company

1. 57 Varieties (1896)

The slogan *57 Varieties* was created by the company's founder, H.J. Heinz in 1896. It seems that until today, no one knows what exactly made him come up with this slogan. At the time of creation, the company was already said to have over 60 varieties of products. It was said that he just fancied the number 57 which was said to have 'resonance' (Anon., 2005). Sure enough, there was no turning back for Heinz as the slogan became a household phrase and still continues to be used till today.

The slogan consists of only two words, an adjective and a noun, where the adjective takes the form of a numeral. In my opinion, the numeral 57 conveys the implicit meaning 'many' or 'great in number'. The word 'varieties' is a core word and is therefore unmarked. 'Variety' refers to different types or kinds. Hence the slogan '57 Varieties' as a whole carries the meaning 'many different types or kinds'. Therefore the Heinz company would have impressed consumers in those early years with the above slogan as a company that was able to provide various kinds of food products.

There is an absence of schemes in this slogan as there is no sound patterning or rhythm. Instead, the slogan uses the trope, *metonymy*, specifically the *Container/Content metonymy* (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 170), as the figure 57 is used to represent all the varieties of Heinz's products. In doing so, it mentions an important feature of the Heinz brand i.e. its wide range of products, thus persuading the consumer into trying them out.

2. *Pickles to pursuit planes* (1940s)

There is alliteration of the consonant 'p' in this slogan in the nouns 'pickles' and 'pursuit planes'. According to the Encarta Concise Dictionary, 'pursuit planes' are fighter planes which existed before the second world war (Anon., 2001a: 1178). In 1941, Heinz's factory in the U.K. was bombed twice. The slogan was created when the company then became involved in the war effort (McDonough, 2002: 729). Hence the slogan mirrors the war situation during that period. Similar to another Heinz slogan created around that time, 'Beans to bombers' (McDonough, 2002: 729), I believe the slogan above was also used to attract consumers' attention toward Heinz with the message that even fighter planes could do with Heinz's products.

Both the nouns, 'pickles' and 'pursuit planes' are core words as they do not carry any marked connotations. I believe that since the company became involved in the war effort, it indirectly urged consumers to support its war efforts through this slogan.

3. *Our best to you in '57* (1957)

This slogan uses the trope *pun*, specifically the *homonym* where ‘one word can be taken in two senses’ (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 431). Hence the adjective ‘best’ can refer to both wishes and products. The company was said to have taken advantage of serendipity by proclaiming 1957 as ‘the Year of Heinz’. It featured in 86 major television advertisements on New Years’ Eve of 1956 conveying its best wishes to viewers in 1957 ‘from the 57 Varieties’ (McDonough, 2002: 729). On the other hand, it can also mean the company would supply consumers with its best products in the coming new year, hence the pun. The association of both *pun* and serendipity here I feel is very effective in attracting the attention of consumers towards the slogan and the brandname.

In addition, there is intertextuality here with Heinz’s very first slogan, *57 Varieties* as the numeral ‘57’ occurs in both these slogans as a trademark of the Heinz brand. Heinz was said to have maintained the above slogan throughout the whole year. Since the original ‘57 Varieties’ is still in use today, consumers would be able to link the two advertisements easily. ‘For intertextuality to work completely, readers have to be able to remember the original advert and place the reference being established’ (Goddard, 1998: 69).

By using the first and second person pronouns, the persuader tries to establish a bond with the consumer in ‘the Year of Heinz’. The first person possessive pronoun, ‘our’, with its determiner function, (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 102) is used alongside the second person personal pronoun, ‘you’ with its exophoric reference (Wales, 1990: 141). The use of both these pronouns is an attempt to foster a link between the persuader

(‘our’) and the consumer (‘you’) in order to make the consumer identify with the company and its products.

Burke’s concept of *framing* is present here. I observe two applications of his concept in this slogan. The second part of his pentad, *scene* and the fifth part, *purpose* are interrelated here. The ‘scene’ would be the context in which the persuasive act occurred. The ‘purpose’ posed the question, ‘Why was the action done?’ (Gusfield, 1989: 15). Thus in the scene-purpose ratio of Burke’s concept, the scene is the year 1957 and the purpose is the reason why the year should be devoted to the Heinz company and its products by the consumers. The concept can also be applied with reference to the third part of Burke’s pentad in that the company acts as the *agent* in delivering the best products to the consumer in the year 1957.

With regard to core and non-core vocabulary, the only word which seems to carry a marked association, in my opinion, is the adjective ‘best’. This happens when the word takes on the superlative of its basic form ‘good’. The adjective in this case carries positive connotations of Heinz’s products that will be marketed in 1957 as being of the highest quality. When the word ‘best’ is taken as the noun form to mean ‘wishes’ or ‘greetings’, it is also a non-core word but to a lesser degree. This is because of the nature of the greetings which are made publicly to all consumers in general.

Respective degrees of coreness vary according to the particular socio-cultural contexts and registers, according to individual speakers’ preferences and according to the uses to which the vocabulary is put.

Carter (2004: 17)

Burke's use of the *symbol of perfection* is also reflected here in the superlative adjective 'best' when taken to refer to Heinz's products. The company's promise of the best for the coming year would appeal to consumers. This would persuade the consumers to go for nothing less than the best as if they don't, it would produce guilt resulting from the 'rotten with perfection' attitude (1966: 16).

4. *Beanz Meanz Heinz* (1967)

The deputy creative director of Young & Rubicam created this slogan in a pub in 1967. The line became popular, especially in Britain, as the British are said to be simply crazy over baked beans – 1.5 million cans are consumed everyday! They are said to prefer Heinz Baked Beans to any other brand. However, after 30 years, the slogan was dropped as Heinz felt the slogan merely associated the company with baked beans rather than with any other product (Anon., 2005).

Looking at the slogan, *Beanz Meanz Heinz*, from the rhetorical perspective, firstly, the words 'Beanz' and 'Meanz' are deliberately misspelt to synchronise with the spelling of the brand name Heinz. This is in fact a linguistic violation as it breaks an orthographic rule (Leech, 1966: 177). The end of each word uses the phonetic letter /z/ to rhyme with the pronunciation of the brand name, 'Heinz'. In other words, the slogan uses the scheme, *rhyme*, as its syllables are repeated at the end of the three words. Repetition is an obvious feature of this slogan. The repetition of the medial vowel /i:/ is *assonance*. Sound patterning is thus used to create a desired response in the consumer.

It appears at first that there may be a semantic violation as the slogan categorises all beans as being of the Heinz brand. However, according to the Encarta Concise

Dictionary, one of the meanings of the adjective 'mean' is 'go with' which means 'to accompany or be associated with something' (Anon., 2001a: 894). This would be, for instance, if we say that in England, daffodils mean spring, the same principle would apply when beans are said to mean Heinz. Hence, there is no semantic violation in this slogan but merely an association as Heinz was the most popular (if not the only) brand for beans in Britain at that time.

In other words, this Heinz slogan uses the trope, *metonymy*, which 'employs a principle of structural association' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 169) as beans are associated with Heinz. They are meant to be synonymous with each other. The category of metonymy the slogan falls into is rather difficult to define but I would say that it is closest to the *Inventor/Invention Metonymy* (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 171) as the slogan attempts to attribute the invention of 'baked beans' to Heinz. This would make the consumer associate baked beans with Heinz, thus making them instinctively look for the Heinz brand when purchasing baked beans.

The words in this slogan are all core words as they refer to the product and the brand name and as such do not carry any connotations. I feel the advertiser's main goal is to link the product with the brand name through this catchy slogan.

5. *Heinz is what ketchup tastes like* (1970s)

Similar to the previous slogan mentioned above, the trope of *metonymy* is used here in terms of structural association. Thus Heinz and the taste of ketchup are said to be synonymous with each other. This association, in my opinion, classifies the slogan under the *Subject/Adjunct Metonymy* (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 170) as the taste of

ketchup is linked to the brand name, Heinz. Therefore the consumer would get the message that only Heinz produces the authentic taste of ketchup.

Incidentally the slogan uses the trope, *simile* to convey the message that Heinz equals ketchup or the taste of Heinz is the taste of ketchup. As in the previous slogan, the main aim here would be to link the product with the brand name. In this slogan, however, the brand name appears as the first word. This, I believe, is to provide emphasis to the brand name as unlike the previous slogan, it does not employ schemes like rhyme that would increase memorability.

There is a nominal relative pronoun and determiner in 'what'. In this slogan 'what' is a non-core word that is supposed to carry positive connotations. It implies that Heinz 'is' the taste of ketchup i.e. the authentic taste of ketchup. I feel that it is a key word in this slogan apart from the brand name as the message of the slogan relies heavily on this determiner. The phrase 'tastes like' although neutral when taken out of context also becomes marked in this particular context. Here the phrase carries positive associations of pleasantness of taste.

6. *Any Food Tastes Supreme with Heinz Salad Cream* (1998)

Although the Heinz Salad Cream has been in existence since 1925, the company did not create any campaign for its promotion. The product was then relaunched with a multi-media campaign in 1998 (Anon., 2005).

The schemes, *chime* and *rhyme* are present in this slogan. The consonant 's' in the words 'supreme' and 'salad' are alliterated. The second syllable in the adjective 'supreme' also rhymes with the noun 'cream'. I believe the complete name of the product

is mentioned so as to create this rhyming effect with 'supreme'. The use of both the schemes mentioned above lends rhythm to the slogan that would be appealing to consumers.

The slogan begins with the determiner 'Any' which modifies the non-count noun, 'food' with the message that practically every food will taste great with Heinz salad cream. The combination of both the determiner 'any' and the adjective 'supreme', in my opinion, create a hyperbolic effect in this context as it implies that the taste of just any food will be of the highest degree with Heinz Salad Cream. The *hyperbole*, however, will attract the consumer into giving the product a try.

Therefore the non-core word in this slogan would be 'supreme' as it carries marked connotations. Burke's use of the *symbol* of *perfection* is also present here with the use of the adjective, 'supreme' as referring to the highest degree of taste. Consumers will be persuaded that the product is certainly worth a try. This would persuade them to go for it as, if they don't, it would produce in them the feeling of guilt.

4.2.3 Ford Motor Company

1. Boss of the Road (1903)

This slogan uses one of the symbols of Burke's theory of Dramatism. The noun 'boss' differentiated between the Ford automobile and others on the road during that period. Therefore the Ford brand name was supposed to have a higher standing than other automobile brand names of that era as 'boss' means 'somebody in charge' or 'a dominant member of a group' (Anon., 2001a: 161). Hence, the phrase, 'Boss of the road' creates a *hierarchy* or social structure as the owner of a Ford automobile becomes the head of

other vehicles on the road. Therefore, I feel that this strategy will attract upmarket consumers who are more discriminating and who place importance on status.

The slogan also employs the trope of *metonymy* with the noun 'road' used to represent the various components of a road such as vehicles, pedestrians, slopes and roundabouts. Hence, it comes under the *Container/ Content metonymy* (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 170).

The trope *personification* can be observed as the Ford automobile is given a human quality i.e. of a person-in-charge. This, in turn, can be seen as a kind of *metaphor* (Wales, 1990: 20) that illustrates the underlying resemblance between the Ford automobile and a boss, both of which are superior and take charge of the rest. The trope, *personification*, will make the consumer identify with the Ford automobile and its 'human qualities'. The *metaphor* will make the consumer hold the Ford brand and its automobiles in high esteem as a brand that is superior and reliable.

The only non-core word in this slogan appears to be the noun, 'boss'. On its own, this noun can carry both positive and negative connotations. However, in this context, it carries positive associations of dominance and supremacy which would attract consumers who value these features of an automobile.

2. *There's a Ford in your future* (1940s)

There is *chime* of the 'f' consonant in the nouns 'Ford' and 'future' which not only enhances rhythm thus making it appeal to consumers but also highlights the two keywords of the slogan, *Ford* and *future*.

In relation to this, Burke's concept of *framing* can be applied here where the Ford Motor Company acts as the 'agent', playing a role in the future of the consumer (the 'scene'). The *agent* is the person or party which performs the act (Gusfield, 1989: 15). Therefore the *agent-scene* ratio of Burke's concept is present in this slogan where the *agent* plays the more significant part in persuading the consumer to take action in purchasing a vehicle or other related product from Ford. I feel that when consumers come across this slogan, they would stop to think of how Ford would play a part in their future. This would prompt them to make inquiries about what Ford has to offer them.

The strategy above is further reinforced by the second person possessive pronoun, 'your' used here with a determiner function. The pronoun as used in this slogan seems to create a bond between the Ford company and the consumer because of the personal touch it lends to the slogan.

The noun, 'future', seems to have implied positive connotations of bright and hopeful expectations that in this case can be achieved with the help of Ford. As the connotations are implied, it is difficult to categorise it as either a core word or non-core word. However, being the two key words in this slogan, the noun 'future' and the brand name *Ford*, are supposed to work in tandem in attracting car buyers.

3. *Speak first with Ford* (1950s)

The scheme of *chime* is present in this slogan where the initial letter and sound of the consonant 'f' is present in the adverb 'first' and in the noun 'Ford'.

This slogan shouts out the use of Burke's symbol of *hierarchy* with the adverb, 'first' as used here. The implication of this is that speaking with a Ford automobile

employee is the first step the consumer should take before embarking on any other course of action. Therefore the persuader attempts to evoke a feeling of guilt on the part of the consumer if he or she does not heed this message which comes in the form of an imperative statement.

The adverb 'first' can also be categorised as a *deictic adverb* as it directs the message of this slogan towards a notion of time, that is, 'first' and not second, third or fourth.

Burke's concept of framing is also evident here. Referring to Burke's pentad, the action of communicating with Ford ties in with the first part of Burke's pentad, that is, *act*. The persuader uses this imperative statement to not only persuade but also to reassure the prospective customer that speaking with Ford is the right act to pursue. Although the slogan uses the imperative, it does not sound imposing. Instead, the adverb 'first' has given it a tone of gentle reassurance. The second part of Burke's pentad, *agency*, refers to how a particular action is or was done (Gusfield, 1989: 15). Therefore, applying it to this slogan, *agency* refers to the act of speaking 'first' with Ford rather than to any other automobile manufacturer, hence the *act-agency* ratio.

The only non-core word as present here is the adverb 'first'. This adverb carries several implications. One is connected to Burke's symbol of hierarchy mentioned earlier that Ford is the number one automobile manufacturer. It can also imply that the prospective customer would be wise to consult Ford first before making any decision. In addition, it can imply that Ford would assist the prospective customer in whatever way possible if it is consulted first. All the other words in the slogan are straightforward and do not have any connotations.

4. *Built Ford tough (1960s)*

Ford is said to tinker with its advertising slogans every 1½ years but the above slogan was retained for almost 30 years as it had successfully maintained Ford's truck business (Anon., 2006a). Below is part of the transcript of a 'Built Ford Tough' commercial.

We have always felt that our trucks were tougher than anybody else's trucks. I've had people say to me, 'I own a Ford Truck, and I have 120,000 miles on it and it's still as good as the day I bought it.'... You see so many Ford trucks on the work site because these trucks can take what you can dish out, year after year, generation after generation, and that's what they're built for...Built Ford Tough isn't just a slogan, it's what we deliver (Anon., 2002).

There is an *ellipsis* of the subject in this slogan. Although the phrase is in the active voice, it does not disclose who built Ford tough. This reminds me of *prosiopesis*, a feature of spoken advertising language which stimulates friendly, personal communication (Leech, 1966: 78-79). It is when a person 'begins to articulate, ...but produces no audible sound...till one or two syllables after the beginning of what he intended to say' (Jespersen, 1924. In Leech, 1966: 78).

Hence the above slogan becomes 'Built Ford Tough' instead of, for instance, 'We built Ford tough'. This short phrase appears to lean towards the 'clipped', masculine style devoid of extravagant and emotional language (Leech, 1966: 196). The adjective 'tough' being a masculine trait, further reinforces the masculine style of this slogan. This style

coupled with the brand name which comes just before the adjective 'tough' creates an image and associates the Ford trucks with being sturdy and durable.

Approximately four out of five magazine ads use a slogan to reinforce the brand name or create an image (Forbes, 1989. In Reece et. al, 1994:41)

In my opinion, the adjective 'tough' is the only non-core word in this slogan as it carries positive connotations of quality and dependability of Ford's vehicles.

5. Quality is Job One (1981)

This corporate slogan was coined by the advertising agency, *Well Rich Green*. The slogan places emphasis on the abstract noun, 'quality', in line with the company's aim to revive its declining sales and reestablish the bruised Ford image. The campaign, 'Quality is Job One' endeavoured to strengthen the belief that Ford produced superior cars and trucks (Riggs, 2000: 577). The slogan was significant to Ford's employees as well. The term, 'Job One' was used by the company to refer to the date of production of a new product. Since the employees understood the term and its importance, they wholeheartedly supported the above campaign (Riggs, 2000: 578).

There appears to be a *pun* on the phrase, 'Job One' as it conveys two different meanings in this context. One is the meaning used by the company as mentioned above. The other, in my opinion, carries the meaning, 'first priority'. The first meaning would only be significant to Ford employees as it refers to the date of production of a new product. The positive attribute of the noun, 'quality' is therefore equated with the date of

production of a new product. As 'Job One' is very important to Ford employees, likewise quality is also supposed to be equally important. So Ford employees would equate 'quality' with the manufacture of a new product.

The other meaning of the phrase, 'Job One', in this slogan seems to be clearly targeted at both Ford employees and consumers. It ties in with one of the goals of the campaign, that is, that Ford places quality above everything else in producing superior vehicles, specifically cars and trucks. This would encourage the Ford employee to strive hard in order to help the company produce high quality vehicles. In turn, the discerning consumer would be persuaded to look towards Ford's vehicles as superior and reliable.

Burke's concept of *framing* can also be applied to this slogan. I perceive two applications of his concept here. The first is related to the employees of the Ford company. 'Agency' here is the way the manufacturing is done, that is, 'quality' is to be present in all aspects of its production from the start. 'Scene' is the day a new product begins to be manufactured, that is, 'Job One'. Hence, the *agency-scene* ratio is present in this slogan in relation to Ford's employees who, I feel, will be motivated by the slogan to achieve the aims of the company in general and the campaign in particular.

The second application of his concept is related to consumers. 'Quality' is the way in which Ford produces its vehicles (agency). The reason why the company produces superior cars and trucks is that quality is given top priority, 'Job One', by the company (purpose). Hence, the *agency-purpose* ratio of Burke's pentad is present here. The message here would help reassure consumers that they would be making the right choice in purchasing a Ford vehicle.

As far as coreness is concerned, I feel that only the phrase, 'Job One' is *marked* in the context of the slogan in relation to the employees of Ford. This is because they were familiar with the phrase, 'Job One' which was significant to their work. Sandra Nichols, executive of Ford Motor Company said:

This corporate campaign's slogan became a rallying point for employees as well. Morale improved as workers began to take pride in the quality of their work (Riggs, 2000: 580).

6. *Better Ideas. Driven by You. (1998)*

Despite the success of the 'Quality is Job One' campaign, Ford chose to end it in 1998. As the company became more international, it aspired to come up with a slogan that would be recognized worldwide. Hence it decided on 'Better Ideas. Driven by You' (Riggs, 2000: 578-580).

The slogan consists of two short clauses which are *fragments*. The first clause consists of a comparative adjective, 'better' followed by the noun 'ideas'. The second clause uses the passive voice in a past simple structure with the agent 'you'. The second person pronoun, 'you', is an exophoric reference which is emphasized upon in the second clause. I believe that in line with its globalising mission, Ford is looking to reach out to consumers far and wide in an effective way. In reaching out to diverse nations and cultures, Ford has to lend a personal touch and the pronoun 'you' helps them achieve this. The consumer, on the other hand, will feel a sense of importance with this emphasis on the pronoun 'you', especially in this commercialised era. The second person pronoun,

‘you’, in referring to the consumer, is also a type of *deictic* name (Leech, 1966: 156; Wales, 1990: 99).

Although there is *chime* of the *b* consonant in ‘better’ and ‘by’, I feel that this is merely coincidental. It does not really enhance the rhythm of the slogan. The comparative adjective, ‘better’ is stressed while the preposition ‘by’ is unstressed. As a result, there is no full *chime* of the consonant sounds here.

There is a *pun* on the passive verb ‘driven’ which is the past participle of ‘drive’. The denotative meaning is ‘controlled the movement of a vehicle’ while the connotative meaning is ‘striving to achieve because of a strong need or inner compulsion’ (Anon., 2001a: 438). Based on the first meaning, the slogan conveys the message that Ford has come up with improved ideas for their vehicles which are (physically) driven by consumers. The second message based on the connotative meaning of the verb, ‘driven’, is that Ford has come up with superior or innovative ideas and this was made possible by consumers who spurred them on. Both the messages highlight the consumer as being in the forefront of the company’s achievements.

The trope, *personification*, is present as the passive verb ‘driven’, taken denotatively, modifies the noun, ‘ideas’ so it appears as if the ideas are physically driven by consumers. This seems apt for the slogan of an automobile company as it creates the image of mobility.

The comparative adjective, ‘better’, in my opinion, appears to have the underlying element of modesty. This is unlike the conventional advertising hyperbole used in making appeals with superlative adjectives such as ‘best’, ‘freshest’ and ‘toughest’ (Borchers, 2002: 172; Leech, 1966: 195). Using the comparative adjective, I feel, is more

likely to convince the consumer into thinking that the persuader (Ford) is genuine in conveying the message contained in the slogan.

Related to coreness, I feel that the only non-core word in this slogan is the passive verb 'driven' taken with its connotative meaning as mentioned above.

Burke's concept of framing is present with 'better ideas' referring to the *act* that took place. 'Driven by you' refers to either the person responsible for this act or the person who benefits from this act depending on the interpretations of 'driven' as mentioned earlier. The person referred to is the consumer who is the *agent*. In my opinion, this *act-agent* ratio of Burke's pentad is balanced in this slogan as both *act* and *agent* play an equal part. I believe that in hearing or reading this slogan, the consumer, particularly car buyers or car enthusiasts, would want to probe more into these 'better ideas' Ford has come up with which are 'driven' by the consumer.

4.2.4 General Electric Company (GE)

1. *A Symbol of Service, The Initials of a Friend. (1920s)*

The General Electric Company (GE), an early innovator in electric lighting and power, dominated the highly profitable American electric lamp market for many decades. The slogan above was created by Barton, Durstine & Osborn (BDO) for GE's first image campaign. The aim of the image-inspired campaign and its slogan was '...to build awareness and goodwill for the company and its logo' (McDonough, 2002: 638-639).

The slogan consists of two separate phrases, separated by a comma. There is *chime* of the 's' consonant in the nouns, 'symbol' and 'service' in the first phrase. The

rhythm created would attract the consumer to the message contained in the first phrase, that is, that GE is an emblem of service.

Parison is present as the phrase 'A symbol of service' is parallel to the phrase, 'The initials of a friend', with an embedded repetition of the preposition 'of' in both phrases. Therefore, although there is an absence of *chime* in the second phrase, the presence of the scheme, *parison*, makes up for it, lending rhythm to the slogan.

Burke's concept of *framing* is present in this slogan. The logo that is supposed to be a mark (symbol) of service represents the action or *act* of the pentad. In addition, the initials, 'GE', of the logo are equated with the initials of a friend who provides this service. This 'friend' is the *agent* who performs the action of providing service. Therefore, I feel that a balanced *act-agent* ratio of Burke's pentad is applied here. The consumer who comes across this slogan will be reassured that this company provides friendly service and would therefore feel at ease in dealing with them.

The core words here, in my opinion, are the nouns 'service' and 'friend'. Good service is implicated if the company's services are engaged. Secondly, the company considers its relationship with the consumer as that of a friend who will be available whenever needed.

The definite article, 'the', in this slogan is used as *absolute deixis*, without referring to the context. 'Most appositional constructions which have the brand name as their first element contain this kind of 'the' in the other element... These constructions have the character of particular definitions; they equate one kind of name, a brand name, with another – an expression describing some unique entity' (Leech, 1966: 157).

This construction belongs to the minority as it does not contain the brand name. However, it does fulfill its role in describing the noun, 'initials', as being unique because they are the initials of a 'friend'. I believe the reason why the first letter of this definite article is capitalized after a comma is to help reinforce the uniqueness of the noun, 'initials' in order to convince the consumer.

2. More Goods for More People at Less Cost (1930s)

This slogan was created during the Depression when GE's advertising focused on generating creative and appropriate plans of action.

By the 1930s GE had a product line that included electric mixers, clothes washers, dishwashers, air conditioners, and food disposers – products that a family with an unemployed breadwinner could not justify adding to its budget...GE's advertising slogan...captured both the poverty of the times as well as hopes for future prosperity (McDonough, 2002: 639).

There is *parison* in this slogan as the clauses, 'more goods', 'more people' and 'less cost' are parallel with an embedded repetition of 'more'. This not only enhances rhythm but the repetition of the comparative adjective also seems to give a favourable impression of quantity in announcing to consumers the increasing range of goods made available to them at that time. 'Comparatives and superlatives are often used to compare things at different times...' (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 771). The comparative adjectives in this slogan, therefore, played their role in both informing and reassuring

consumers that a range of electrical products were readily available for them at an affordable price.

The slogan also employs the scheme of *antithesis* which is the juxtaposition of contrasting words or phrases, usually in parallel structure (McQuarrie & Mick, 1996: 430). The clauses, 'more goods' and 'more people' are contrasted with the clause, 'less cost'. This seems to build the message to a climax with the clever positioning of the comparative adjectives, 'more' and 'less'. I believe the clause, 'less cost', is placed at the end of the whole phrase as the highlight of the message, as cost would certainly have been an important factor during that period.

Burke's concept of framing is also present as the slogan describes the availability of the products. Therefore *agency* is the part of Burke's pentad that can be applied here as the slogan answers the question, 'How was it done?' Gusfield (1989: 15). It was done with the availability of more goods for more people at less cost.

In my opinion, there are no non-core words in this slogan as the message is straightforward and clear. All in all, I feel that the slogan, although simple and direct, is striking to the consumer as it conveys its message clearly and effectively. The downside of this slogan, I feel, is that there is no personal touch here. The advertiser should have used either the first or second person pronoun to create a more personalised effect.

3. *You Can Put Your Confidence in General Electric (1940s)*

During World War II, GE played its role by providing a large proportion of the technology needed to power the war effort. Patriotism rather than sales was its priority at that time. However, after the war, suppressed consumer demand for electrical products

paved the way for GE to capture a large section of the market. GE was ready to meet the demand of consumers. This was when the company came up with the slogan, 'You can put your confidence in General Electric' which helped persuade consumers to buy its new automatic clothes washers and combination refrigerator/freezers (McDonough, 2002: 639).

Chime is present in the sounds of the *y* consonant in the pronouns 'you' and 'your' and in the *c* consonant of the modal verb, 'can' and the noun, 'confidence'. The scheme lends rhythmic flow to this slogan which otherwise may sound monotonous as it is a complete sentence rather than a synoptic phrase.

The concept of *framing* can also be applied here. In applying Burke's pentad, *act* is persuading consumers to place their confidence or trust in the company, while *agent* here represents GE who will fulfill the consumers' needs and expectations. Hence the *act-agent* ratio of Burke's pentad is evident. I feel the ratio is balanced as both the components, *act* and *agent* play an equal part. Although the slogan doesn't reveal GE's role, what GE can do is implied and consumers would be tempted to find out what GE has to offer when they come across this slogan.

In advertising language, the second person pronoun, 'you', as it does here, usually addresses the consumer (Leech, 1966: 156; Wales, 1990: 322). It falls under the category of *exophoric* reference as it refers to consumers in this situational context i.e. consumers in America who directly or indirectly suffered the effects of the Second World War. Hence, the pronoun can also be classed as a *deictic* name (Leech, 1966: 156; Wales, 1990: 99). The genitive form of this pronoun, 'your', complements the functions of the subjective form, 'you'. Therefore the presence of both the subjective and genitive forms

of this second person pronoun would have a personalised effect on the consumer as the company seems to be reaching out to them.

The use of the modal verb, 'can', further imparts a feeling of reassurance and faith in the company and its products as the verb expresses 'ability and potentiality' (Wales, 1990: 256).

When the *brand name* is included in advertising, it usually makes reference to a product (Leech, 1966: 156). In this case, the brand name, 'General Electric', referred to the electrical products manufactured by the company which included its new products such as the automatic clothes washers and combination refrigerator/freezers. It also referred to the products which were in demand by the consumers after the war. Therefore the idea is that when consumers think of electrical products, their minds would immediately focus on General Electric.

In my opinion, there are no non-core or marked words in this slogan as they are all straightforward words which deliver the message to the consumer in a straightforward manner.

4. Progress is Our Most Important Product (1950s)

The slogan above was used by GE through the postwar boom.

In engineering, in research, in manufacturing skill, in the values that bring a better, more satisfying life, at General Electric, progress is our most important product (McDonough, 2002: 641).

The slogan, 'Progress is our most important product', comes from the above punchline taken from the introduction of the television programme, *General Electric Theater* hosted by actor Ronald Reagan in 1953. GE realised the potential of using television to advertise all their electrical gadgets and appliances.

There is *chime* of the consonant *p* in the nouns, 'progress' and 'product', which are, in my opinion, the key words in this slogan. Another scheme, *consonance*, is also present. It is defined as:

The repetition of consonants in words stressed in the same place (but whose vowels differ). Also, a kind of inverted alliteration, in which final consonants, rather than initial or medial ones, repeat in nearby words. Consonance is more properly a term associated with modern poetics than with historical rhetorical terminology (Burton, 1996).

Inverted alliteration is evident in the last three words of the slogan, most, 'important' and 'product' where the final consonant *t* is repeated. Both the *schemes*, in my opinion, liven up the slogan with their rhythmic sounds. Without these two schematic figures, I feel the slogan may look or sound dull and unappealing, especially as the abstract noun, 'progress' is intangible.

The trope of *metaphor* also helps enhance the imagery of the slogan. The abstract noun, 'progress', is likened to one of the products of GE. As a matter of fact, it is said to be GE's 'most important product'.

Here the slogan uses the uninflected superlative adjective, ‘most important’, to point out that the abstract noun, ‘progress’, possesses a special attribute and to compare it with a specific category, that is, of a product. Therefore superlative adjectives serve an important function as described below:

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Superlative adjectives are used to compare an entity with a whole group of which they are assumed to be a part...Superlative forms involve comparison by singling out one thing as having a unique quality (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: 758-759).

Therefore I would say that the only non-core word in this slogan is the concrete noun, ‘product’. It carries positive connotations such as *trademark* or *key to success*. Overall, I feel that the words used in this slogan would be effective in convincing the consumer that GE had made great progress from before the war.

The plural genitive of the first person pronoun, ‘our’, is used as a *deictic* element in this slogan. In my opinion, the use of this pronoun demonstrates the importance placed by GE on progress. The pronoun also appears to create a sense of belonging and pride of the company’s achievements.

Burke’s theory of Dramatism is also evident in this slogan. His symbol use describes that we are:

...rotten with perfection (Burke, 1966: 16).

In other words, we are not content with mediocrity but want to be the best. If we don't achieve this, it would cause a feeling of guilt in us. Therefore, we are constantly striving to seek perfection (Burke, 1966: 16). Hence the appeal used in this slogan, 'most important', would lure the consumer into seeking out GE's products as a result of progress, in order to satisfy the consumer's desire for perfection.

5. *We bring good things to life* (1979)

This slogan was used from 1979 to 2001. It was developed at a time when GE's appliance division was said to be undergoing a decline in sales (McDonough, 2002: 641).

There is a *pun* on the last word of the slogan, 'life', as it can be taken in two different senses. One is, as the noun 'life' referring to our existence. The other is *idiomatic* as in 'bring something to life' meaning:

make somebody/ something more lively, interesting or attractive (Anon., 2001b: 211).

The word 'life' as a noun conveys the message that GE manufactures products that are of benefit to our lives. Interpreting it in the idiomatic sense, 'We bring good things to life' means that GE's useful products liven up our houses, offices or the environment. I feel that the slogan is effective either way and that the word, 'life' plays a very important part here. It gives the notion of the company indirectly relating to the consumers and touching their lives with its products. As such I feel it is a non-core word as it carries positive connotations.

The products are also described as ‘good things’. The adjective, ‘good’, in my opinion, is the right choice as it lends simplicity to the message which also helps in relating to the consumer. I feel the effect would have been different if the comparative or superlative were used instead of the basic adjective. The adjective, ‘good’ therefore is also a non-core word as it signifies a favourable situation.

The noun, ‘things’, in my opinion, is also a non-core word. Although its literal meaning would be the products of the company, its implied meaning would extend beyond just products. Its contextualised meaning could refer to events or experiences.

Burke’s concept of *framing* can also be applied to this slogan. The pronoun, ‘we’, refers to GE which ‘brings good things to life’. Hence, GE is the *agent* which performs the *act* of bringing good things to life. So it is the *agent-act* ratio that is present here. As for the balance of ratio, I feel that *act* carries more weight than *agent* in this case as the emphasis is more on the usefulness and influence of GE’s products to the consumer.

The plural form of the first person pronoun, ‘we’, is used in this slogan to refer to and represent the company, GE. As such it functions as *exophoric* in this contextual reference. The pronoun ‘we’ can either include or exclude the addressee (Myers, 1994: 81). In this case, I feel that it includes the addressee. If we take the literal meaning of ‘We bring good things to life’ with ‘life’ as a noun, it will include the addressee’s life (the consumer’s life). This conveys the message that GE is not just a faceless company but one that looks into the welfare of the consumer. ‘Advertisers seek this sort of solidarity when they talk about the environment, or identify with the nation’ (Myers, 1994: 82).

If we consider the idiomatic meaning of the slogan as mentioned above, the pronoun 'we' will include the addressee indirectly. In this case, it will refer to the act of livening up the consumer's home or environment.

6. *Imagination at Work (2003)*

In the 21st century, BBDO (Batten Barton Durstine and Osborn) Worldwide developed this slogan. It was meant to acclaim GE's innovations in its range of products (Elliot, 2003: 1).

The trope, *personification*, is evident where the noun 'imagination' is assumed to have the human ability to work. This gives the impression that GE is a dynamic company whose products are constantly revolving around new ideas.

The *act* of Burke's pentad supports his concept of *framing* here where the action that takes place is the effort of inventing new ideas or products. Hence, the notion one who comes across this slogan would get is that the company strives to deliver the best for the consumer through innovation.

The trope, *metonymy*, is also present in this slogan. 'Imagination' can be considered as one of the attributes of the company. Therefore the slogan uses this attribute to represent GE as a whole. The attribute of imagination is linked to innovation which, I feel, is fitting for a slogan in this era of technological advancement. In applying Cockcroft and Cockcroft's (1992: 170) categories to this slogan, I would say that it comes closest to their *Container/Content Metonymy* where there is an association between the attribute of imagination and the company, GE. Therefore it appears as if 'imagination' is a hallmark of GE.

There is an *ellipsis* of the auxiliary verb, 'is' before the preposition, 'at' in this slogan. I feel this makes it all the more effective as the slogan becomes clear and concise, that is, it becomes a *synoptic phrase*. '...synoptic phrases reinforce the communal bond between audience members and the persuader' (Borchers, 2002: 181). Therefore a synoptic phrase such as this will have more impact on the consumer who will also be able to remember the slogan better.

Finally, the noun 'imagination' appears to be a non-core word as it bears positive connotations of creativity and resourcefulness. I feel this is an ingenious slogan which captures the essence of the 21st century.

4.3 Brief Summary of Qualitative Analyses

The qualitative analysis has revealed that both schemes and tropes are present in advertising slogans. However, there appears to be more schemes in slogans of the earlier decades (up to the 1950s) than in the later ones (after the 1950s). In slogans of the later decades, more tropes than schemes are used. The schemes that are used the most in the slogans analysed are *parison*, *assonance* and *chime*. The tropes that occur the most are *metonymy*, *ellipsis*, *pun* and *metaphor*.

Communicative strategies were found to be used in the slogans analysed. Burke's Theory of Dramatism is extensively applied in the slogans. Either the use of Burke's symbols or his concept of framing or a combination of both can be found in nearly every slogan analysed. Only the attribute of *naming* was not found in any of the slogans. The use of *naming* is more applicable to political persuasion. The five parts of Burke's pentad

and the ratios between these parts were clearly demonstrated in the analysis of the slogans.

The analysis also reveals the use of several stylistic strategies. Personal pronouns, particularly the second person pronoun, *you* was used in a number of the slogans. It was used to refer to the consumer and there were instances when the *you* was used in conjunction with the first person pronoun, *I* or *we*, to foster a link between the persuader and the consumer. Apart from this, *deictic words* were also found to serve the function of pointing to a particular context. *Absolute uniqueness* was also reflected in various ways in the slogans apart from the use of the definite article. Slogans in the late 1990s and in the 21st century took on a more imaginative approach. Fragments and other linguistic violations of a grammatical and orthographic nature were found to occur in these slogans.

The analysis also revealed the use of *idioms* as the base of a few of the slogans. Several of the slogans also included the brand name but many did not. There were also no out right cases of slogans being conversational although a few had slight hints of a conversational tone. Intertextuality was clear in one of the Heinz slogans but it was difficult to identify in any of the other slogans. This is due to the difficulty in sourcing a complete list of all the slogans that belong to a particular company as well as obtaining extensive background information of the company concerned in order to examine intertextuality. As for nostalgia, no instances were found in the slogans analysed. Finally, for layering, a clear pattern could not be observed at this stage as the amount of data is too small and not all the decades have slogans present.

The results of this pilot study are used for the analysis of the main study in the next chapter, Chapter 5. The analysis of the main study will be quantitative in nature and will include all the slogans analysed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

This chapter describes the findings of the quantitative analysis done on 500 slogans created from 1886 till 2008. The findings are divided into three main sections: schemes and tropes, communication and stylistic strategies and layering of rhetorical figures. These main sections, except for the last one, are further divided into sub-sections. Microsoft Excel was the statistical tool used to analyse the data quantitatively for this study. Tables display the mean and/or percentages of the use of rhetorical figures and communication and stylistic strategies. Charts are used to illustrate trends of the use of the figures and strategies in advertising slogans through the decades. The type of charts used to demonstrate the findings are the column chart, cylinder chart, line chart and line-column on 2 axes chart.

5.1 Schemes and Tropes

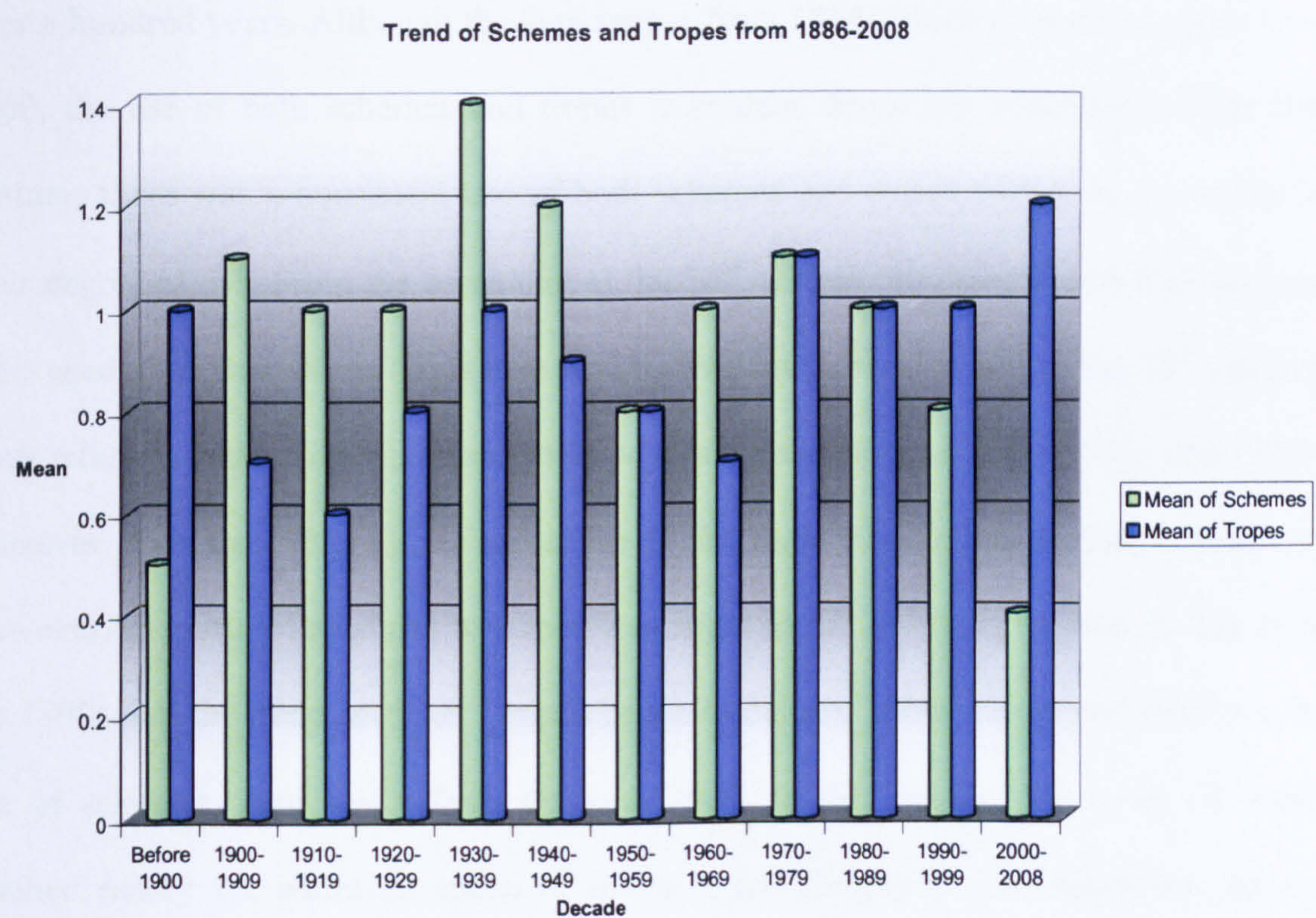


Fig.2

Out of the 500 slogans analysed, it was found that about 95% of the slogans analysed used at least one scheme or trope with a mean of approximately 1.8 per slogan. This means that most of the advertising slogans analysed contained one or more rhetorical figures. A total of 95 slogans or 29.5% contained only one rhetorical figure. This means that 227 slogans or 70.5% were found to have two or more rhetorical figures in them.

The column chart in Fig. 2 shows the trend of the use of *schemes* and *tropes* in advertising slogans from the late 19th century till the 21st century. It spans a period of just over a hundred years. Although the data ranges from 1886, which is fourteen years from 1900, the use of both schemes and tropes is evident. From the beginning of the 20th century, there was a consistent use of both schemes and tropes with only variations in their degree of use. From the beginning of the 20th century, the chart shows that schemes were used more than tropes. This is especially evident in the first half of the 20th century. Both schemes and tropes were especially popular in the slogans of the 1930s and 1940s. However, from the 1950s till the end of the 1970s, there was a slight decline in their use. However, the ratio of schemes to tropes was equal in the 1970s and 1980s. It was from the 1990s that the trend reversed. Tropes began to be used more widely and overtook the use of schemes, particularly from the year 2000. In this decade, the mean of tropes reached nearly 1.2 while the mean of schemes fell sharply to just under 0.4. As the decade is still ongoing, obviously, the other two years cannot be taken into account. This has not, however, changed the trend of tropes becoming more dominant than schemes in the last 2 decades.

The following subsections will describe the analysis of schemes and tropes present in the 500 advertising slogans analysed. The presence of schemes will be described first.

5.1.1 Analysis of Schemes

Mean of Schemes in Advertising Slogans

Schemes	Mean
Assonance	0.22
Chime	0.21
Consonance	0.17
Parison	0.1
Rhyme	0.07
Alliteration	0.05
Anaphora	0.03
Antithesis	0.02
Epistrophe	0.02
Anadiplosis	0.01
Antimetabole	0.01
Onomatopoeia	0.01

Table 3

Table 3 shows the mean of schemes present in the 500 advertising slogans analysed in every decade from 1886 to 2008. The scheme with the highest mean was *assonance* at 0.22. This was closely followed by *chime* with a mean of 0.21. *Consonance* was the third most popular scheme with a mean of 0.17, followed by *parison* at 0.1. These are the four most popular schemes with a mean of 0.1 and above. The other schemes present were *rhyme* with a mean of 0.07 followed by *alliteration* at 0.05, *anaphora* at 0.03, *antithesis* and *epistrophe* at 0.02 and lastly, *antimetabole* and *onomatopoeia* at 0.01.

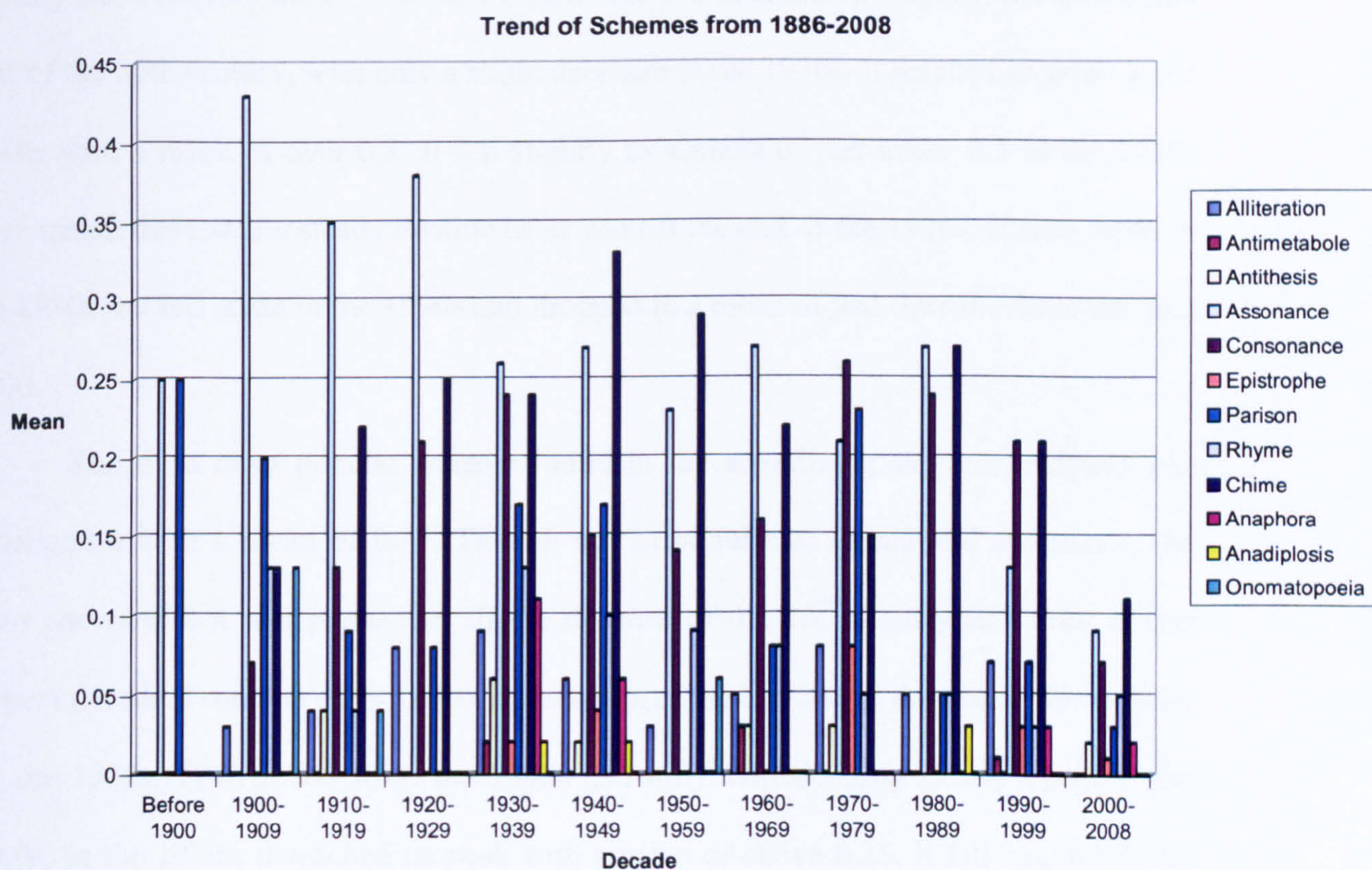


Fig. 3

The column chart in Fig. 3 shows the trend of individual schemes present in the slogans analysed from 1886 to 2008. The scheme with the highest mean, that is, *assonance*, was present even in the late 1800s and was popularly used in the early 1900s with a mean of above 0.4. There was a slight decline in its use in the following decade but it rose again in the 1920s. The use of this scheme fell in the 1930s and it maintained a gradual rise and fall right up to the end of the 1980s. In the 1990s the mean fell to just over 0.1 and decreased further to under 0.1 from the year 2000.

The scheme with the second highest percentage of use was *chime*. From Figure 3, we can see that it was used from the early 1900s, being present in every decade of the last century and even into the 21st century. Overall the use of chime in slogans rose in the first half of the 20th century, with only a slight decrease in the 1930s. It reached its peak in the 1940s with a mean of over 0.3. It fell slightly to a mean of just under 0.3 in the 1950s after which there was a steady decline in its use till the end of the 1970s. It rose again in the 1980s but fell again in the 1990s and dropped to a mean of just over 0.1 from the year 2000.

The third most popular scheme found in the advertising slogans analysed was *consonance* with a mean of 0.17. Though not as popular as chime and assonance, the chart shows that it was present in all the decades of the 20th century and even in this present decade. From the early 1900s, there was a consistent rise in the use of this scheme till the 1930s. Then it fell from the 1940s and only started rising slowly again in the 1960s. In the 1970s, it reached its peak with a mean of above 0.25. It fell slightly in the 1980s and 1990s. Then from 2000, its use declined sharply to a mean of just above 0.05.

The next most popular scheme was *parison* with a mean of 0.1. Just like assonance, the chart shows that this scheme was used from the late 1800s with a mean of 0.25 which was its highest. It continued to be used in every decade throughout the last century except in the 1950s. The first half of the 20th century saw an unsteady use of *parison* in advertising slogans. The chart shows both a rise and fall from 1900 until the 1940s. It had a more or less consistent low mean of under 0.1 in the second and third decades of the 20th century but rose to above 0.15 in the 1930s and 1940s. It was not used in the 1950s and had a mean of just under 0.1 in the 1960s. It rose sharply in the 1970s with a mean of above 0.2. However, it fell nearly just as sharply to a mean of 0.05 in the 1980s and only increased slightly in the 1990s. The decade of 2000 to 2008 shows a low mean of under 0.05 for this scheme.

The fifth most popular scheme employed was *rhyme* with a mean of 0.07. The chart shows its use from 1900 and it was present in every decade except for the 1920s. The chart shows both rises and falls in its mean. From a mean of above 0.1 in the first decade of the 1900s, it fell to just under 0.05 in the following decade. After an absence in the 1920s, it was used again in the 1930s with a mean of above 0.1 but fell back to 0.1 in the 1940s. From then it decreased gradually in the 1950s and 1960s and remained at a constant mean of 0.05 in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s, it dropped to a mean of below 0.05 and only rose slightly from the year 2000.

Another scheme that appeared in most of the decades on the chart was *alliteration* with a mean of 0.05. Although it was present in ten out of the twelve decades, it had a relatively low mean throughout. Its lowest mean was under 0.05 and its highest was just under 0.1. The chart shows that the scheme was first present in advertising slogans in the

early 1900s. It was used in every decade of the 20th century. The chart also shows that the scheme was not used from the year 2000.

The schemes *anaphora*, *antithesis*, *epistrophe*, *anadiplosis*, *antimetabole* and *onomatopoeia* were also present in the slogans analysed. However, the chart clearly shows that their use was limited as they did not appear consistently in most of the decades. Nevertheless, they were present even if their mean was low. Only *onomatopoeia* and *anaphora* had a mean of above 0.1 in the early 1900s and 1930s respectively. The rest of the schemes mentioned had a mean of below 0.1.

The following subsection will describe the use of tropes in the 500 advertising slogans analysed.

5.1.2 Analysis of Tropes

Mean of Tropes in Advertising Slogans

Tropes	Mean
Ellipsis	0.38
Metonymy	0.19
Pun	0.12
Metaphor	0.09

Personification	0.04
Rhetorical Question	0.02
Simile	0.02
Hyperbole	0.01
Syllepsis	0.01
Anthimeria	0.01
Litotes	0.01
Oxymoron	0.01
Synecdoche	0.01
Irony	0.01

Table 4

Table 4 above shows the mean of tropes found in the 500 advertising slogans analysed from the year 1886 till 2008. The trope with the highest mean was *ellipsis* at 0.38. This was followed by *metonymy* with a relatively distant 0.19 which was the second highest mean. *Pun* was the third highest trope used with a mean of 0.12. With a mean of just under 0.1 was *metaphor*. Then it was *personification* with a mean of 0.04. Two tropes had a mean of 0.02 each. They were the *rhetorical question* and the *simile*. Lastly,

a total of 7 tropes had a low mean of 0.01 each. They were the *hyperbole*, *syllipsis*, *anthimeria*, *litotes*, *oxymoron*, *synecdoche* and *irony*.

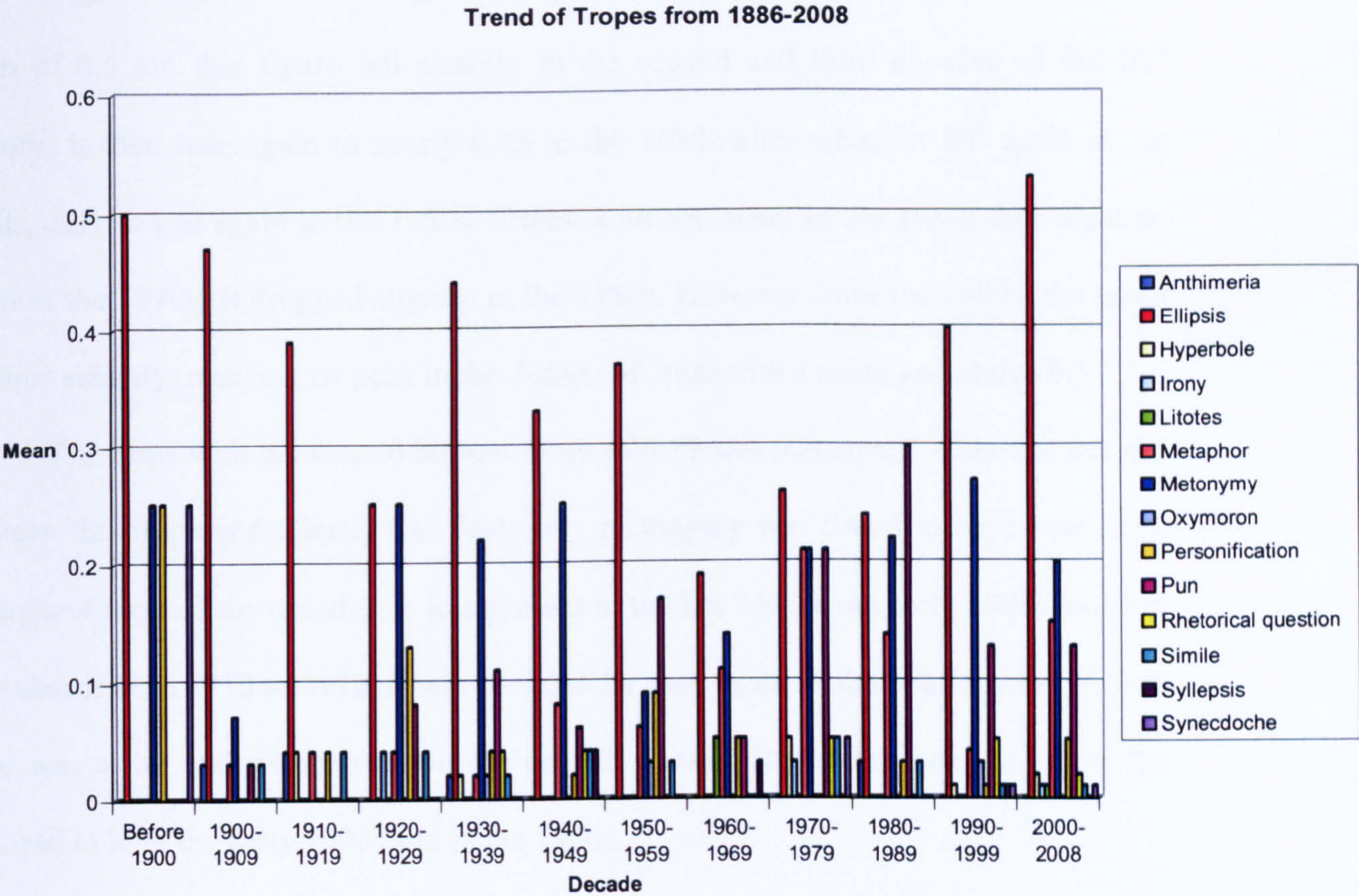


Fig.4

In Figure 4, we can see the trend of individual tropes present in the slogans analysed. The trope that was used most was *ellipsis* with a mean of 0.38. Looking at the trend of its usage, it seems to have been utilized in advertising slogans in every decade even though it rose and fell throughout the period analysed. In the early 1900s, it had a mean of 0.5 but this figure fell steadily in the second and third decades of the 20th century. It then rose again to nearly 0.45 in the 1930s after which it fell again in the 1940s, only to rise again in the 1950s. It took a plunge again in the 1960s then went up again in the 1970s. It dropped slightly in the 1980s. However from the 1990s, the mean climbed steadily, reaching its peak in the decade of 2000 with a mean just above 0.5.

The trope with the second highest mean of 0.19 was *metonymy*. Although the gap between this trope and *ellipsis* was fairly big, *metonymy* was found to have been used throughout most of the decades. It was present in the late 1880s and early 1900s and was only absent from 1910 to 1919. It was found to be used again in the 1920s and from then there was a fall and rise pattern till the present decade. Its lowest mean at below 0.1 occurred in both the early 1900s and in the 1950s.

The *pun* was the third most used trope with a mean of 0.12. It was found to be used in all but two decades, which were, before 1900 and from 1910-1919. This trope also showed a rise and fall pattern, reaching its peak in the 1980s with a mean of 0.3. However, it dived to a mean of just over 0.1 in the 1990s and the 21st century. Overall, there was a higher occurrence of the *pun* in the second half of the period analysed with a steady rise from the 1950s till the 1980s.

The *metaphor* was the fourth most popular trope with a mean of 0.09. It was found to have been used in all the decades except for the first decade of the analysis

period. It maintained a low mean of below 0.1 throughout the first half of the period analysed. Its use only began to increase significantly in the 1960s and reached its peak in the 1970s with a mean of just above 0.2. It fell a notch in the 1980s and plunged further in the 1990s to below 0.1. However, it rose again from the year 2000 to a mean of above 0.1.

Another trope that was found present in advertising slogans was *personification* with a mean of 0.04. It was found to have been used in 10 out of the 12 decades analysed. The trope was not present in the slogans analysed in the early 1900s and in the 1970s. Its highest mean was approximately 0.25 in the late 1880s. From then it was a rise and fall trend throughout the decades the personification figure was present in. More significantly, it never went above the mean of 0.1 after the 1920s.

The *rhetorical question* and *simile* were also two other tropes used, each with a mean of 0.02. However, the mean for both tropes stayed below 0.1 throughout the decades. The simile was used in all the decades except in the early 1900s and the 1960s while the use of the rhetorical question was spread through only 5 decades, beginning in the 1930s. Lastly, seven tropes were found to have a limited use with a mean of 0.01 each. They were the *hyperbole*, *syllepsis*, *anthimeria*, *litotes*, *oxymoron*, *synecdoche*, and *irony*. Throughout the decades, their use was rather insignificant as they stayed below the mean of 0.1.

The next section describes the findings of the analysis of communication and stylistic strategies used in the 500 advertising slogans analysed.

5.2 Analysis of Communicative and Stylistic/Linguistic Strategies

Apart from rhetorical figures, a number of communication and stylistic strategies were found to have been used in the advertising slogans analysed in this study.

Percentage and Mean of Communicative and Stylistic/ Linguistic Strategies in Advertising Slogans

	Percentage (%)	Mean
Deixis & Personalisation	48.6	0.9
Brand name	20.9	0.4
Burke’s symbols	16.4	0.3
Linguistic violations	4.6	0.1
Idioms	4.5	0.1
Deviant styles	4.2	0.1
Sexual Innuendos	0.8	0

Table 5

Table 5 shows the percentage and mean of the use of communication and stylistic strategies used in the advertising slogans analysed from the year 1886 to 2008. *Deixis* and *personalisation* had the highest occurrence with a mean of 0.9 and it constituted just over 48% of all the strategies used in the slogans. This means that nearly half of all the strategies used in the advertising slogans comprised of this stylistic strategy.

Use of the *brand name* came in a distant second with a mean of 0.4 and this communication strategy comprised of almost 21% of all the strategies used. Another communication strategy is the use of *Burke's symbols* which had a mean of 0.3 and a percentage of about 16. Another three strategies with a mean of 0.1 each were also used. They were two stylistic strategies namely, *linguistic violations* and *deviant styles* and the use of *idioms* which is more of a communication strategy. Lastly, 0.8% of the strategies used comprised of *sexual innuendoes*. However, with a mean of 0, its use was too small to be of much significance to this study. The use of these strategies can be seen clearly in Fig. 5.

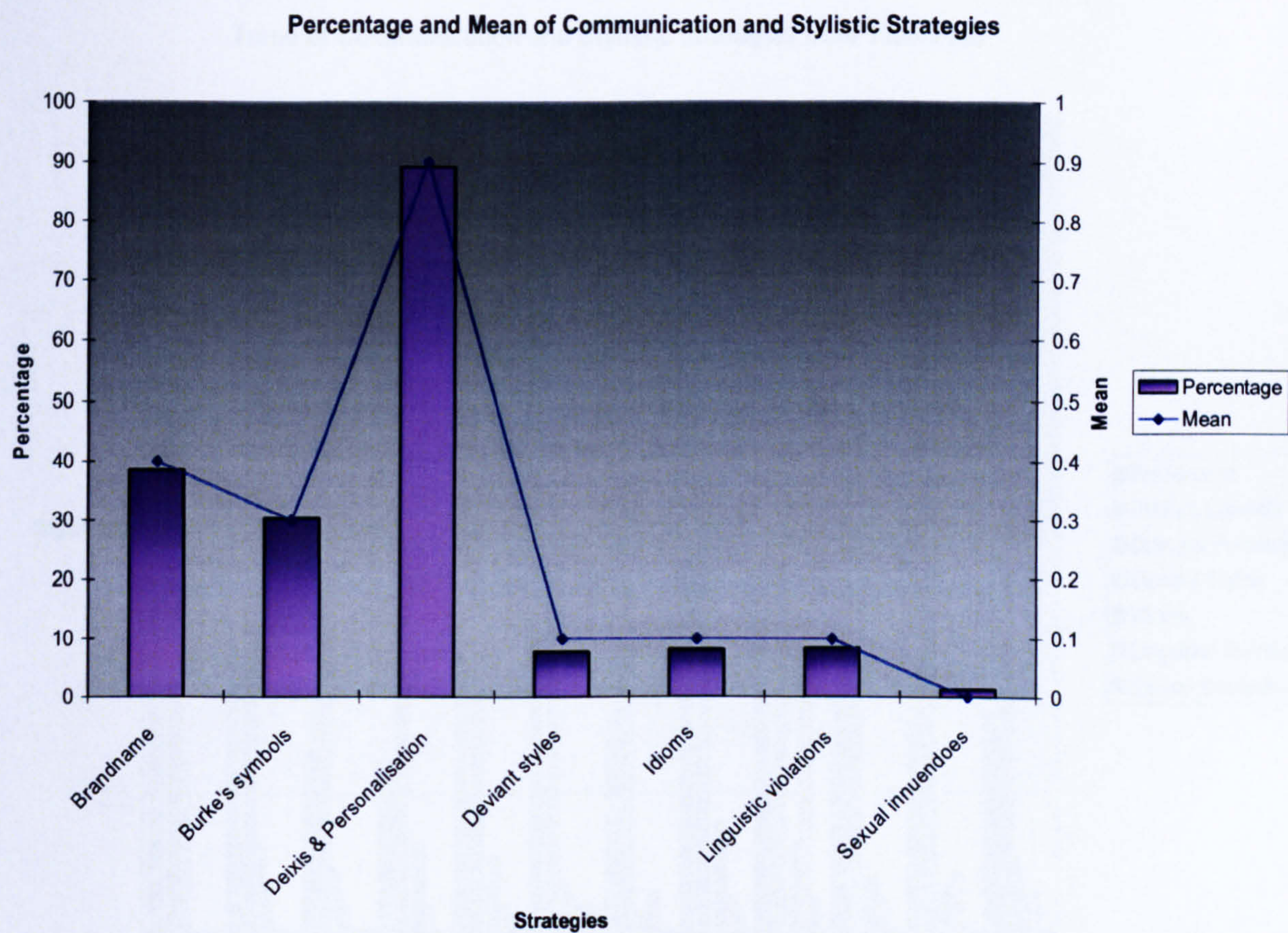


Fig.5

Figure 5 is a line-column on two axes chart which illustrates the percentage and mean of the communication and stylistic strategies used in the slogans analysed.

Trend of Communication and Stylistic Strategies from 1886-2008

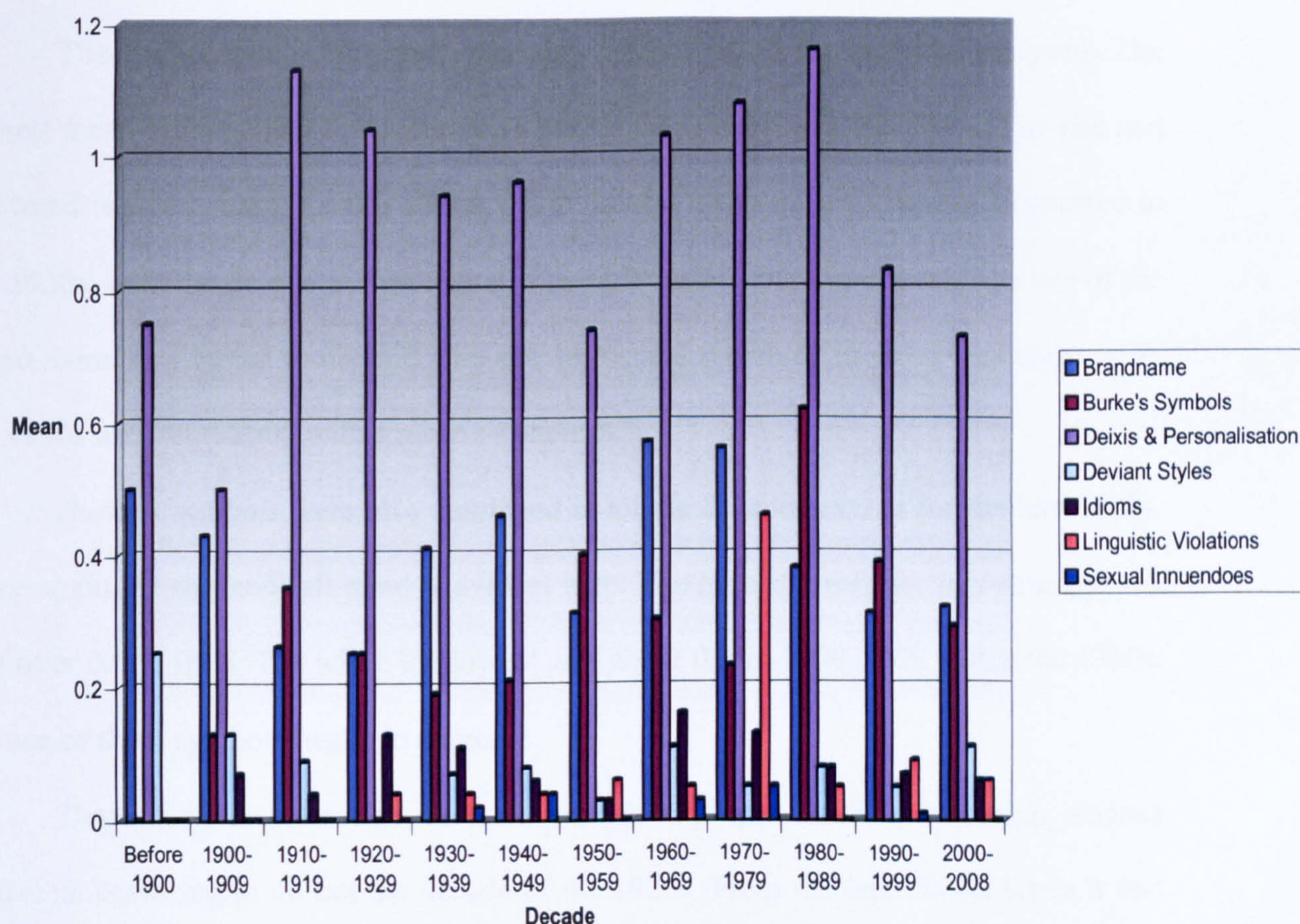


Fig. 6

Figure 6 demonstrates the trend of the use of communication and stylistic strategies in the advertising slogans analysed between 1886 and 2008. As can be seen, *deixis and personalisation* occurs in all the decades analysed. It had a high occurrence in the decade of 1910 but started to gradually decline until the 1950s. However, it began rising again in the 1960s right up till the 1980s when it reached its highest mean of just under 1.2. Its use then dropped in the 1990s and in the decade of 2000. Overall, the

pattern is that of rises and falls throughout the decades with its lowest mean of about 0.5 in 1900-1909.

The use of the *brand name* was also present in all the decades analysed. The highest mean of just under 0.6 occurred in the 1960s as well as in the 1970s. The rise and fall trend is also evident for this strategy. The lowest mean of just above 0.2 occurred in the 1920s, with the decade before that also being at nearly the same level. The use of the brand name also began to decline after the 1970s and remained more or less constant in the 1990s and 2000-2008 with a mean of about 0.3.

Burke's symbols were also employed in all the decades except for the late 1800s. Once again the rise and fall trend is evident here. The highest mean for this strategy was just over 0.6 in the 1980s while the lowest was about 0.1 in 1900-1909. After the 1980s, the use of these symbols began to decrease.

Deviant styles have also been a strategy employed in the advertising slogans analysed, occurring in all but the decade of the 1920s. From the late 1800s, when it had the highest mean of slightly above 0.2, there seemed to be a gradual decline in its use. However, it remained constant in the 1930s and 1940s. Then it reached its lowest mean of just over 0 in the 1950s but the level increased in the 1960s. After that, there was only a marginal rise and fall till the decade of 2000-2008 when it rose to a mean of about 0.1.

Advertising slogans alluding to *idioms* was also another strategy employed in all the decades except before 1900. Once again there was a rise and fall pattern with the lowest mean at just over 0 occurring in the 1950s. The 1910-1919 decade also showed a low mean. This strategy was most used in the 1960s with a mean of between 0.1 and 0.2.

Advertisers also used *linguistic violations* as a strategy although they were not present in all the decades analysed. This strategy was absent in the first three decades of the period analysed. Generally, the strategy had a more or less constant low mean of between 0 and 0.1 up until the 1970s when it suddenly shot up to a mean of above 0.4. It then dived just as sharply in the following decade and remained hovering with a mean of between 0 and 0.1 until the last decade.

Lastly, the use of *sexual innuendos* as a strategy occurred in several of the slogans analysed. It was only present in the 1930s, 1940s, 1960s, 1970s and 1990s with a low mean of under 0.1.

5.2.1 Analysis of Burke's Symbols

These symbols have been one of the communication strategies used in the advertising slogans analysed. They comprise of the *negative*, *hierarchy* and *perfection*.

Percentage and Mean of Burke’s Symbols

	Percentage (%)	Mean
Hierarchy	52.3	0.52
Negative	29.8	0.30
Perfection	17.9	0.18

Table 6

Table 6 outlines the percentage and mean of the use of *Burke’s symbols*. As can be seen, the symbol of *hierarchy* showed the highest percentage at about 52 and a mean of 0.52. This was followed by the *negative* symbol with a percentage of nearly 30 and a mean of 0.30. The symbol of *perfection* consisted of nearly 18% of the overall percentage of symbols used. This finding is also demonstrated by the chart in Figure 7.

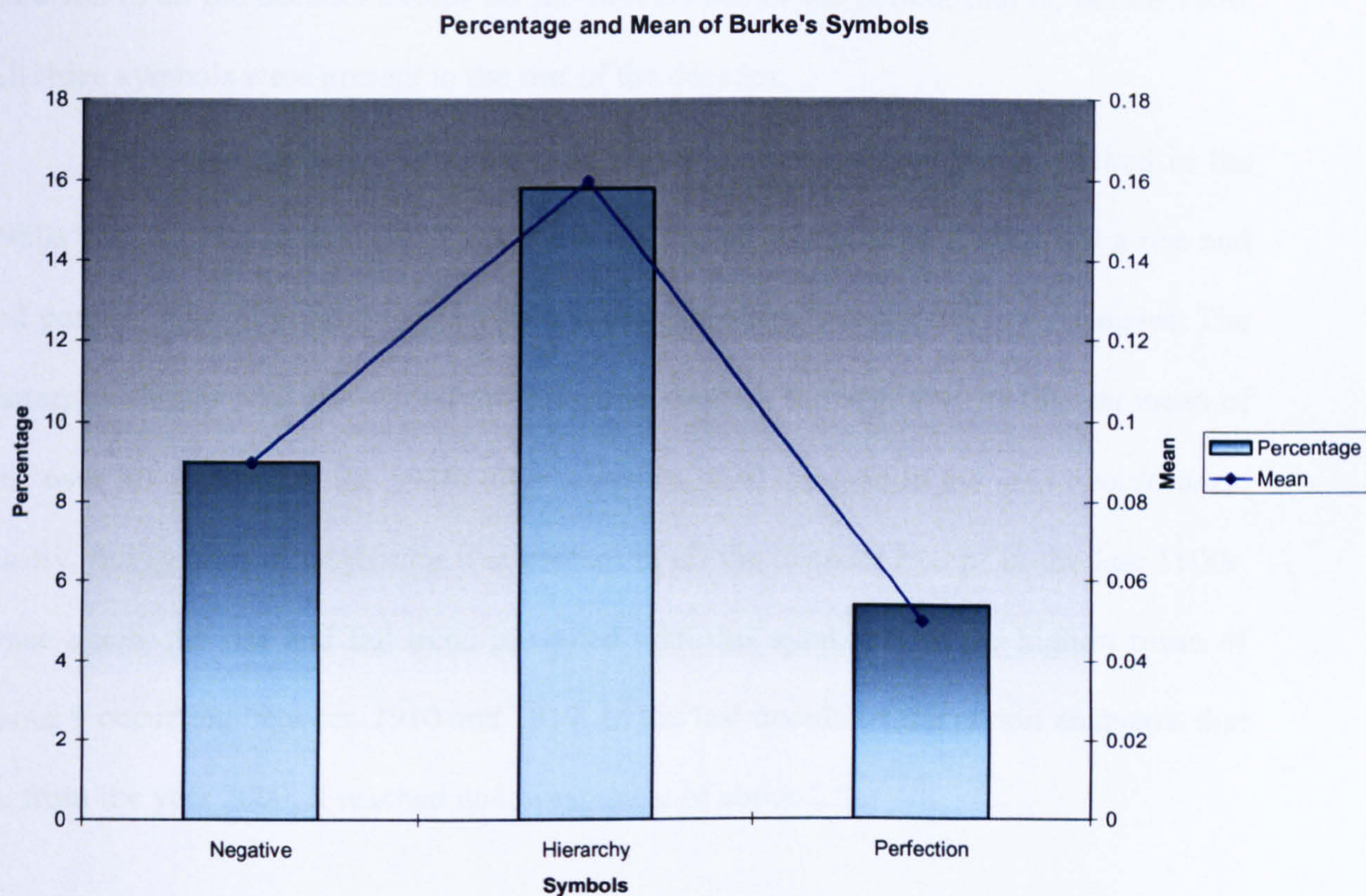


Fig.7

Fig. 7 shows that Burke's symbol of hierarchy dominates over the other two symbols with the highest percentage and mean. It is followed by the negative which is the second most popular of Burke's symbols to be used in the slogans. Thirdly, the symbol of perfection is used to a lesser extent although the ratio of the symbol of perfection to the negative is not as great as compared with the ratios of the two symbols to the symbol of hierarchy.

The column chart, Figure 8, demonstrates the trend of the use of *Burke's symbols* in the slogans analysed from 1886 to 2008. As can be seen from the chart, the symbols

occurred in all the decades except for the first decade of the period, that is, before 1900. All three symbols were present in the rest of the decades.

The symbol of *hierarchy*, with the highest percentage and mean, peaked in the 1980s with a mean of over 30. Throughout the rest of the decades, it observed a rise and fall pattern. After it peaked in the 1980s, it plunged sharply in the next two decades. The pattern is similar with the second most popular symbol, the *negative*. Its highest mean of just over 20 occurred in the 1980s after which its level dropped in the next two decades. Lastly, the symbol of *perfection* was present in all the decades except in the late 1800s. Once again, the rise and fall trend prevailed with this symbol with the highest mean of about 9 occurring between 1910 and 1919. In the last decade of the period analysed, that is, from the year 2000, it reached its lowest mean of about 2.5.

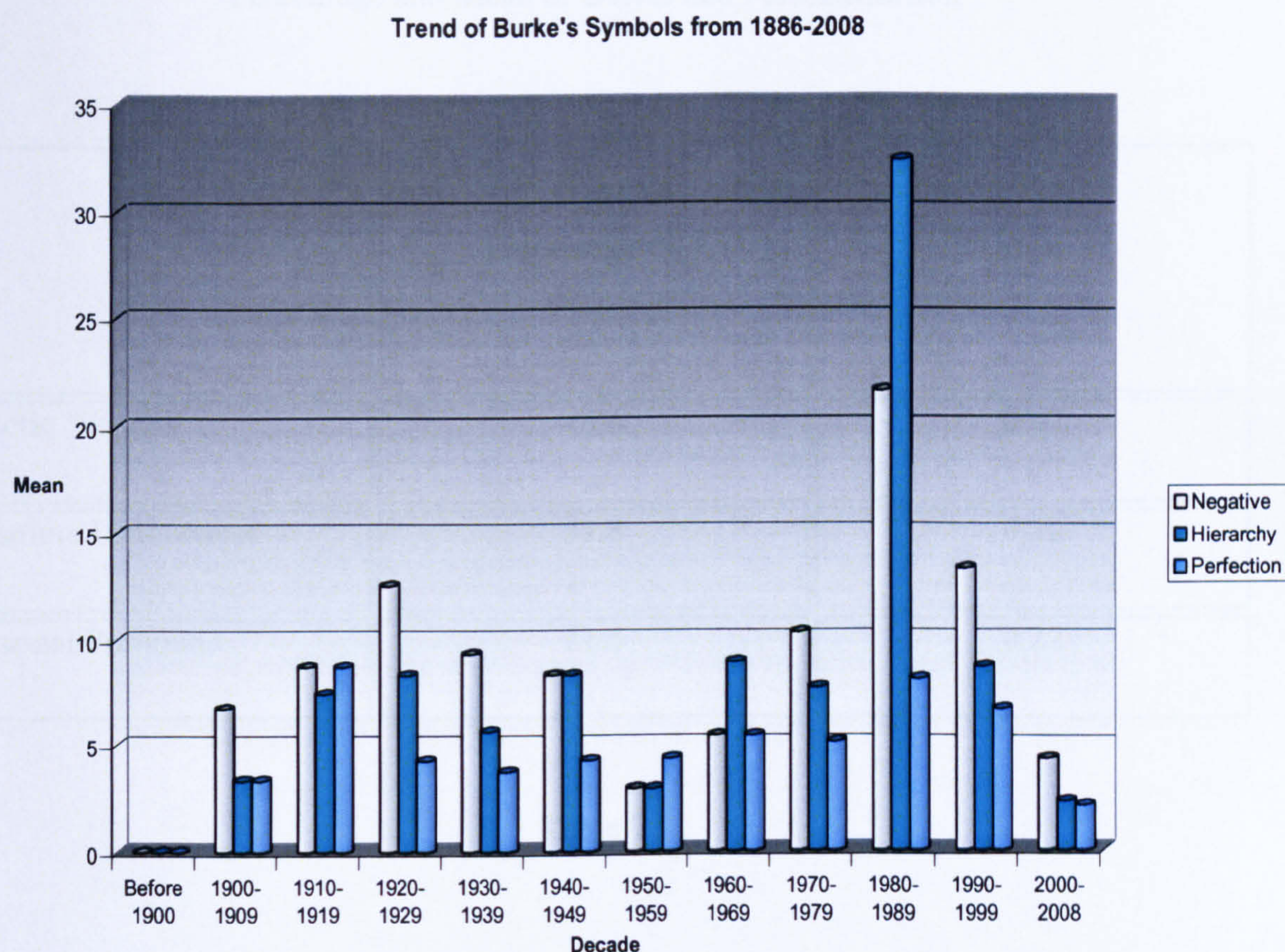


Fig.8

5.2.2 Analysis of Deixis and Personalisation

This is a stylistic strategy found to be employed in the advertising slogans analysed. For the purpose of this study, three components of this strategy were examined. They are *deictic words*, *absolute uniqueness* and *personal pronouns*.

Percentage and Mean of Deixis and Personalisation

	Percentage (%)	Mean
Deictic Words	46.6	0.47
Absolute Uniqueness	31.8	0.32
Personal Pronouns	21.5	0.22

Table 7

Table 7 shows the percentage and mean of the use of *deixis and personalisation* in the advertising slogans analysed. The use of *deictic words* was most popular with the highest percentage of about 46 and a mean of nearly 0.5. This was followed by *absolute uniqueness* at nearly 32% and a mean of about 0.3. The use of *personal pronouns* had a percentage of about 21 and a mean of about 0.2. The findings are clearly depicted in the chart in Fig. 9.

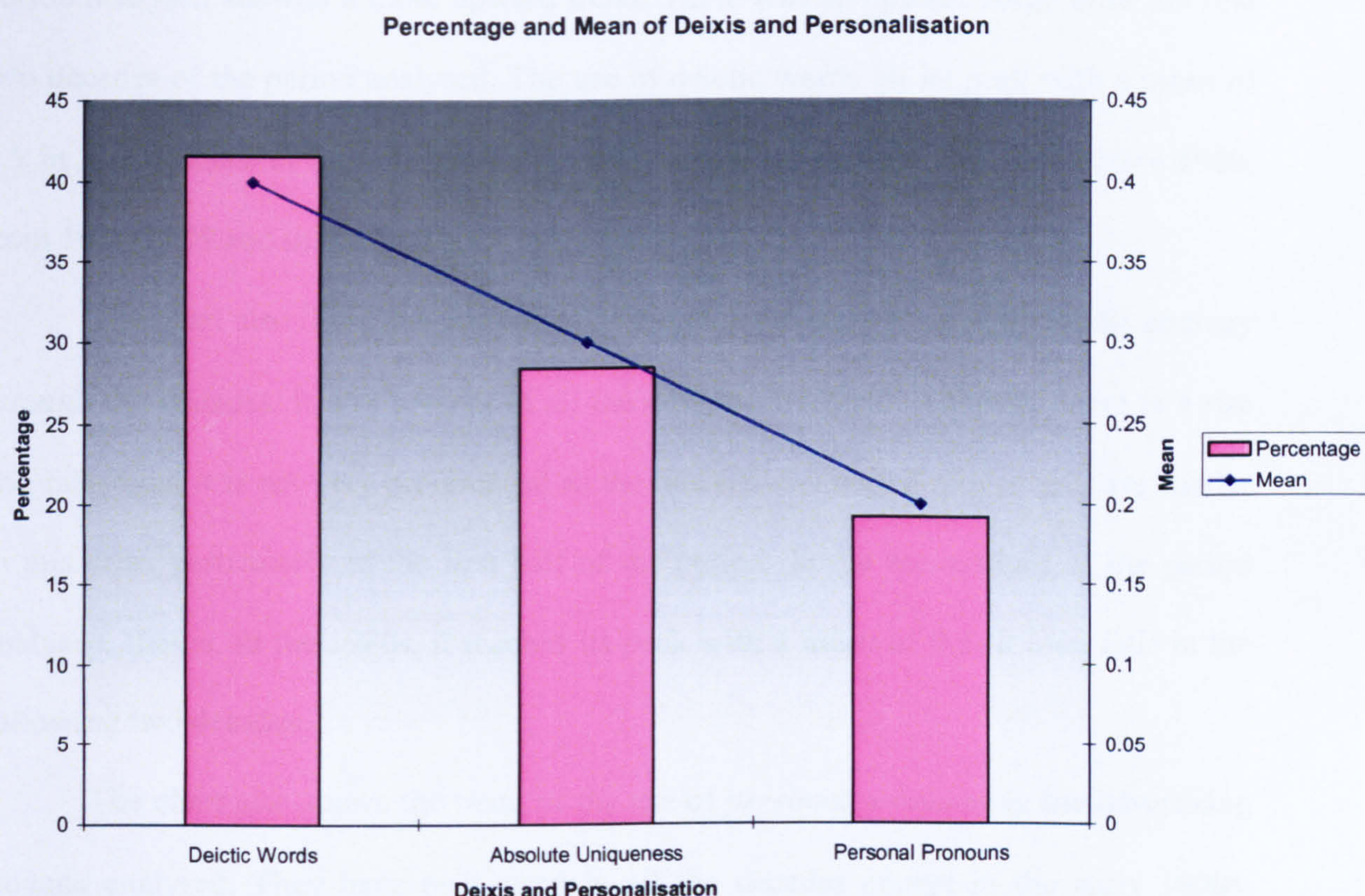


Fig. 9

Fig. 9 illustrates graphically the percentages and mean of the use of *deixis and personalisation* in the slogans analysed. The use of *deictic words* was a prominent strategy used in the slogans. This was followed by *absolute uniqueness* which was the second most popular strategy under this category. Thirdly, *personal pronouns* were also used in the slogans analysed.

The column chart, Figure 10, outlines the trend of the use of *deixis and personalisation* over the period of time analysed.

Looking at the chart, we can see that *deictic words* had been used in all the decades examined. The rise and fall pattern was evident although the first half of the

period analysed showed a more upward trend. There was an upward surge after the first two decades of the period analysed. The use of deictic words hit its peak with a mean of 0.5 in five decades in total. It had its lowest mean of 0.3 in three decades: before 1900, from 1900-1909 and in the 1950s.

The chart also illustrates the use of *absolute uniqueness* as another deictic strategy through the decades. It was present in all the decades analysed. Although there is a rise and fall trend, it is not very pronounced as the upward-downward movements are subtler in this case, particularly in the first half of the period. In the second half of the period analysed, that is, in the 1980s, it reaches its peak with a mean of 0.5. It then falls in the following two decades.

The chart also shows the trend of the use of *personal pronouns* in the advertising slogans analysed. They have been used in all the decades except in the early 1900s. Overall, there seems to be a gentle upward and downward trend in the use of these pronouns. It reaches its peak with a mean of 0.3 in 4 decades, that is, before 1900, the 1920s, the 1960s and the 1970s. Its lowest mean of 0.1 is in the 2000-2008 decade.

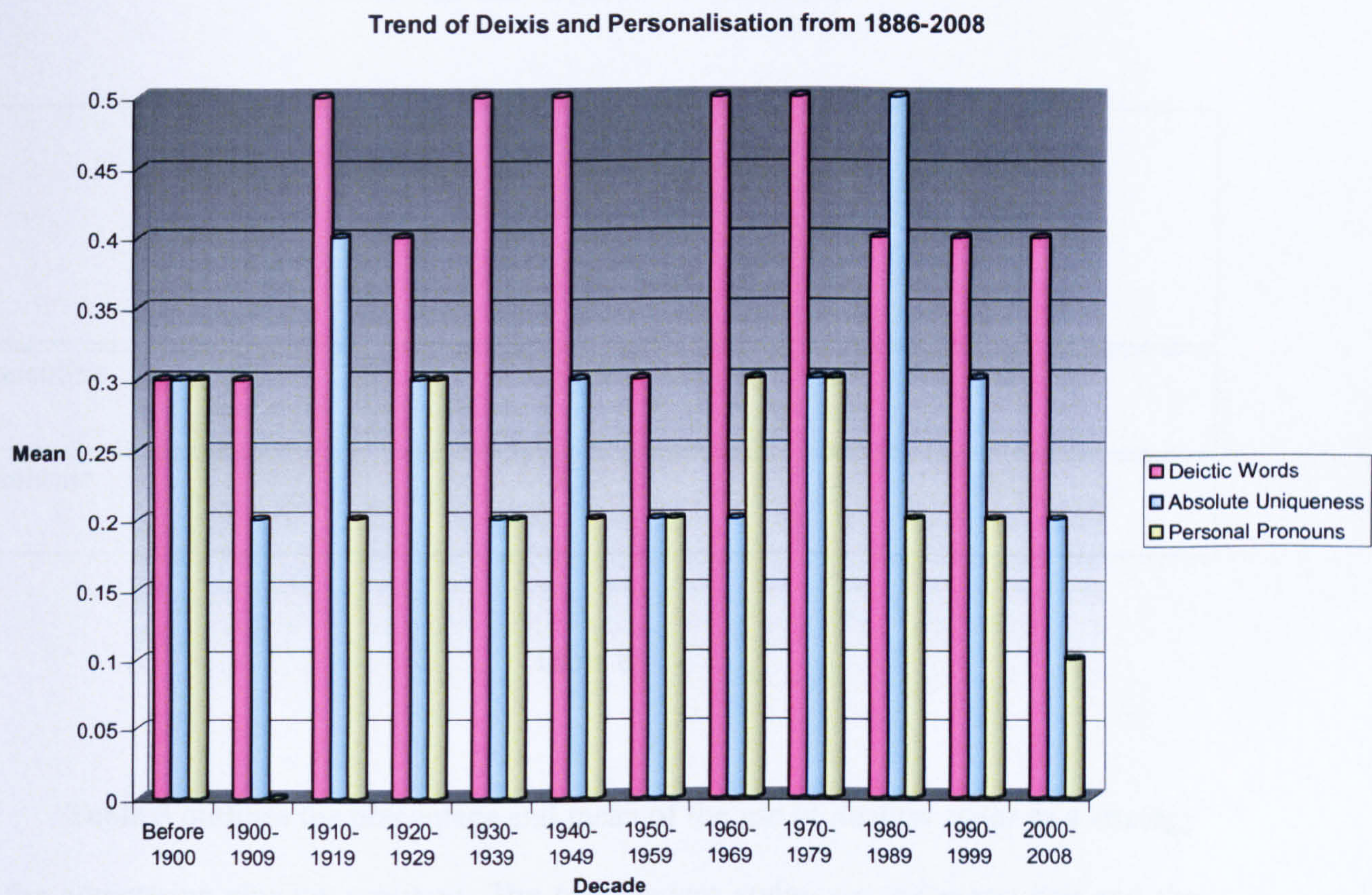


Fig. 10

5.2.3 Analysis of Deviant Styles

Various *deviant styles* are used as stylistic strategies in advertising. However, for the purpose of this study, two deviant styles have been examined. They are the masculine and feminine styles.

period analysed showed a more upward trend. There was an upward surge after the first two decades of the period analysed. The use of deictic words hit its peak with a mean of 0.5 in five decades in total. It had its lowest mean of 0.3 in three decades: before 1900, from 1900-1909 and in the 1950s.

The chart also illustrates the use of *absolute uniqueness* as another deictic strategy through the decades. It was present in all the decades analysed. Although there is a rise and fall trend, it is not very pronounced as the upward-downward movements are subtler in this case, particularly in the first half of the period. In the second half of the period analysed, that is, in the 1980s, it reaches its peak with a mean of 0.5. It then falls in the following two decades.

The chart also shows the trend of the use of *personal pronouns* in the advertising slogans analysed. They have been used in all the decades except in the early 1900s. Overall, there seems to be a gentle upward and downward trend in the use of these pronouns. It reaches its peak with a mean of 0.3 in 4 decades, that is, before 1900, the 1920s, the 1960s and the 1970s. Its lowest mean of 0.1 is in the 2000-2008 decade.

Percentage and Mean of Deviant Styles

	Percentage (%)	Mean
Masculine	76.9	0.77
Feminine	23.1	0.23

Table 8

Table 8 outlines the percentage and mean of the use of *deviant styles* as a strategy in the advertising slogans analysed. The two deviant styles are the *masculine* and the *feminine* styles. As can be clearly seen, the masculine style had the higher percentage at nearly 77% and a mean of about almost 0.8 while the feminine style consisted of about 23% of the deviant styles with a mean of about 0.2. These findings are also depicted in the chart in Figure 11.

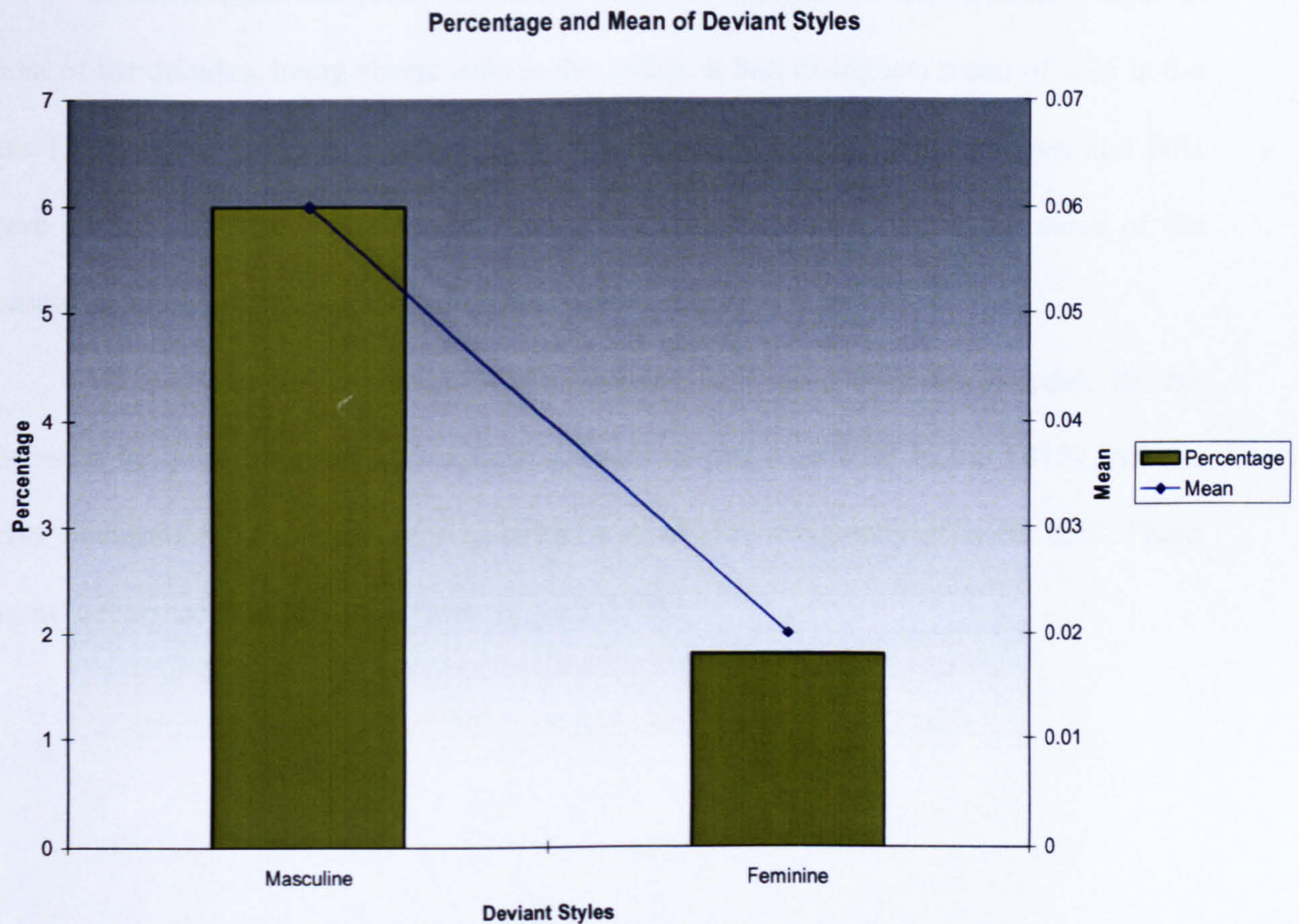


Fig. 11

From Fig. 11, we can see the proportion of the masculine to the feminine styles used in the slogans analysed. The masculine style is far more popularly used than the feminine style. The ratio can be said to be nearly three times in favour of the masculine style when compared with the feminine style.

The trend of the use of these *deviant styles* in advertising slogans for over a hundred years is demonstrated in Figure 12.

In the slogans analysed, the chart shows the presence of the *masculine* style in most of the decades, being absent only in the 1920s. It had its highest mean of 0.25 in the late 1800s but it dropped significantly in the following decade. Gradual rises and falls were spread throughout the decades. The 21st century shows a rise in the mean of the masculine style to a mean of just over 0.1.

We can also see the trend of the *feminine* style used over the decades. Its use seems to be quite irregular with a highest mean of just over 0.05 in the 1930s. All the other occurrences of this feminine style had a steady low frequency of under 0.05. There are no occurrences of this style from the year 2000.

Trend of Deviant Styles from 1886-2008

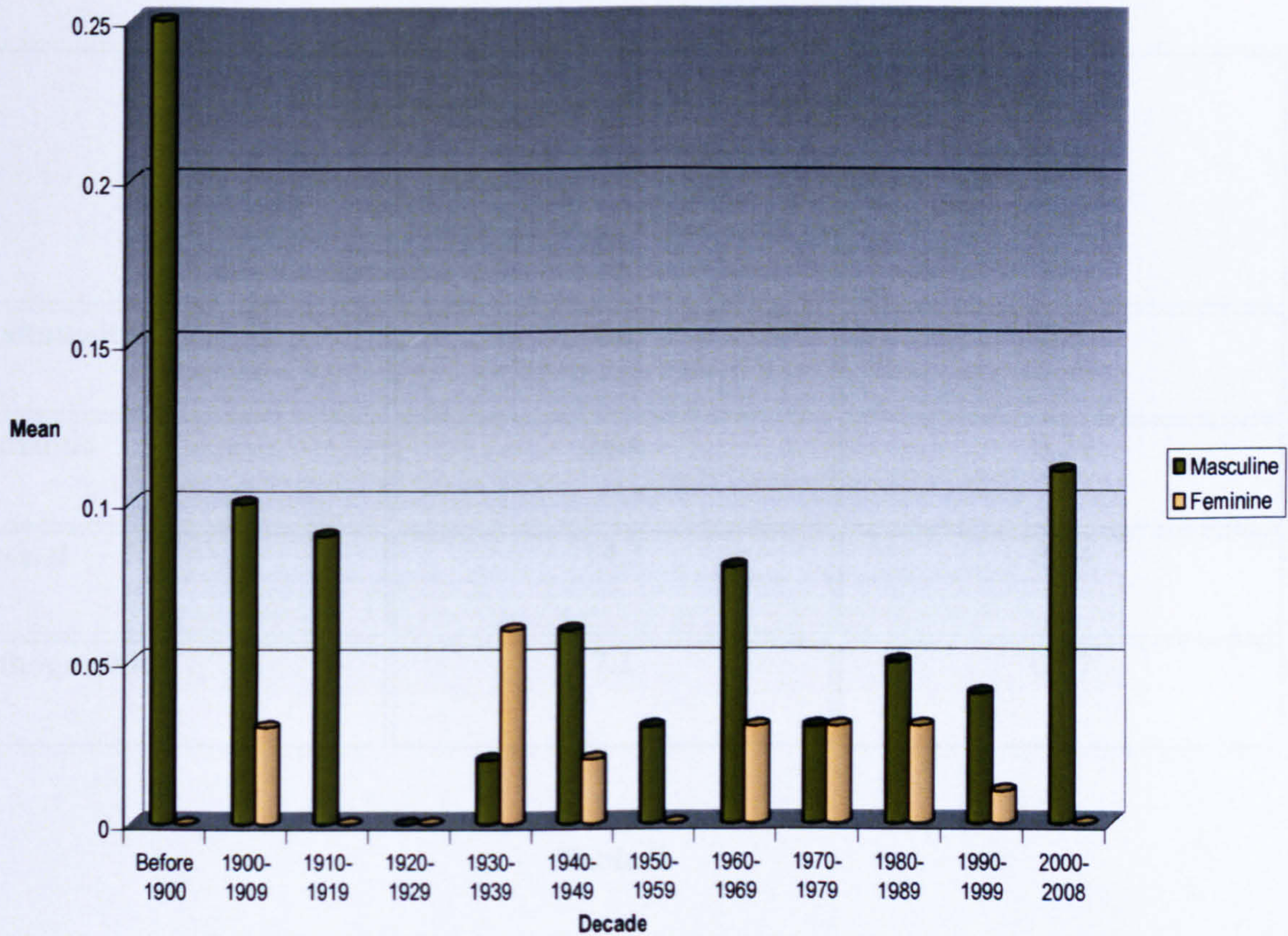


Fig.12

5.2.4 Analysis of Linguistic Violations

These are violations of a linguistic nature used with the intention to persuade through unconventional ways. Although these violations are meant to be unconventional, they are expected to convey the message and subsequently persuade the target audience.

Percentage and Mean of Linguistic Violations

	Percentage (%)	Mean
Grammatical	50	0.5
Semantic	28.6	0.29
Lexical	14.3	0.14
Orthographic	7.1	0.07

Table 9

Table 9 lists the *linguistic violations* that appeared in the advertising slogans analysed.

We can see that violations of the *grammatical* kind far exceed the other categories of violations at 50% and a mean of 0.5. Second on the list were *semantic* violations with a much lower 28.6% and a mean of nearly 0.3. Also present were a limited percentage of *lexical* violations at about 14% and a mean of about 0.1. Last were violations of an *orthographic* nature at just about 7% and a mean of 0.07. The chart in Figure 13 clearly depicts this finding.

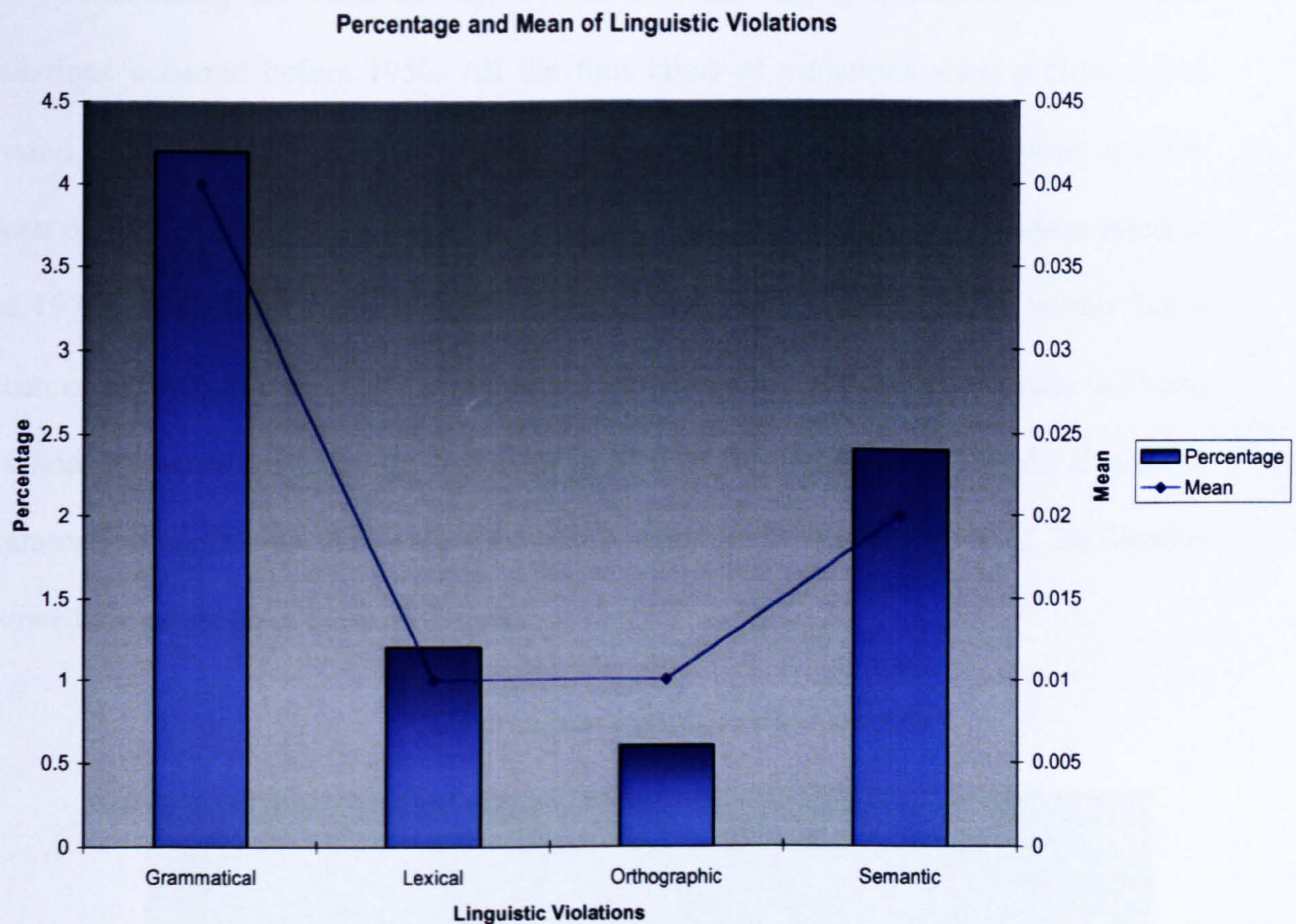


Fig. 13

Fig. 13 clearly illustrates the proportion of the linguistic violations present in the advertising slogans analysed. Grammatical violations far exceed the other violations used in these slogans. This is followed by semantic violations although the proportion is significantly lower. Lexical violations are used to an even lower extent and lastly, orthographic violations are rather limited in use.

The column chart in Figure 14 shows the trend of *linguistic violations* in the advertising slogans analysed from 1886 to 2008. The findings show these linguistic violations as being more prevalent in the second half of the period analysed.

Examining the trend closely, we can see that only grammatical and semantic violations occurred before 1950. All the four kinds of violations were present in the second half of the 20th century. In most of the decades, the violations remained at a low mean of 0.05 and below. However, all the four violations reached their highest mean in the 1970s. Semantic violations had a mean of just above 0.2, lexical violations had a mean of between 0.1 and 0.15, grammatical violations had a mean of between 0.05 and 0.1 and orthographic violations had a mean of 0.05 in that decade. Overall, it was the grammatical violations that were used more than the others as 7 out of 12 decades showed the presence of these violations.

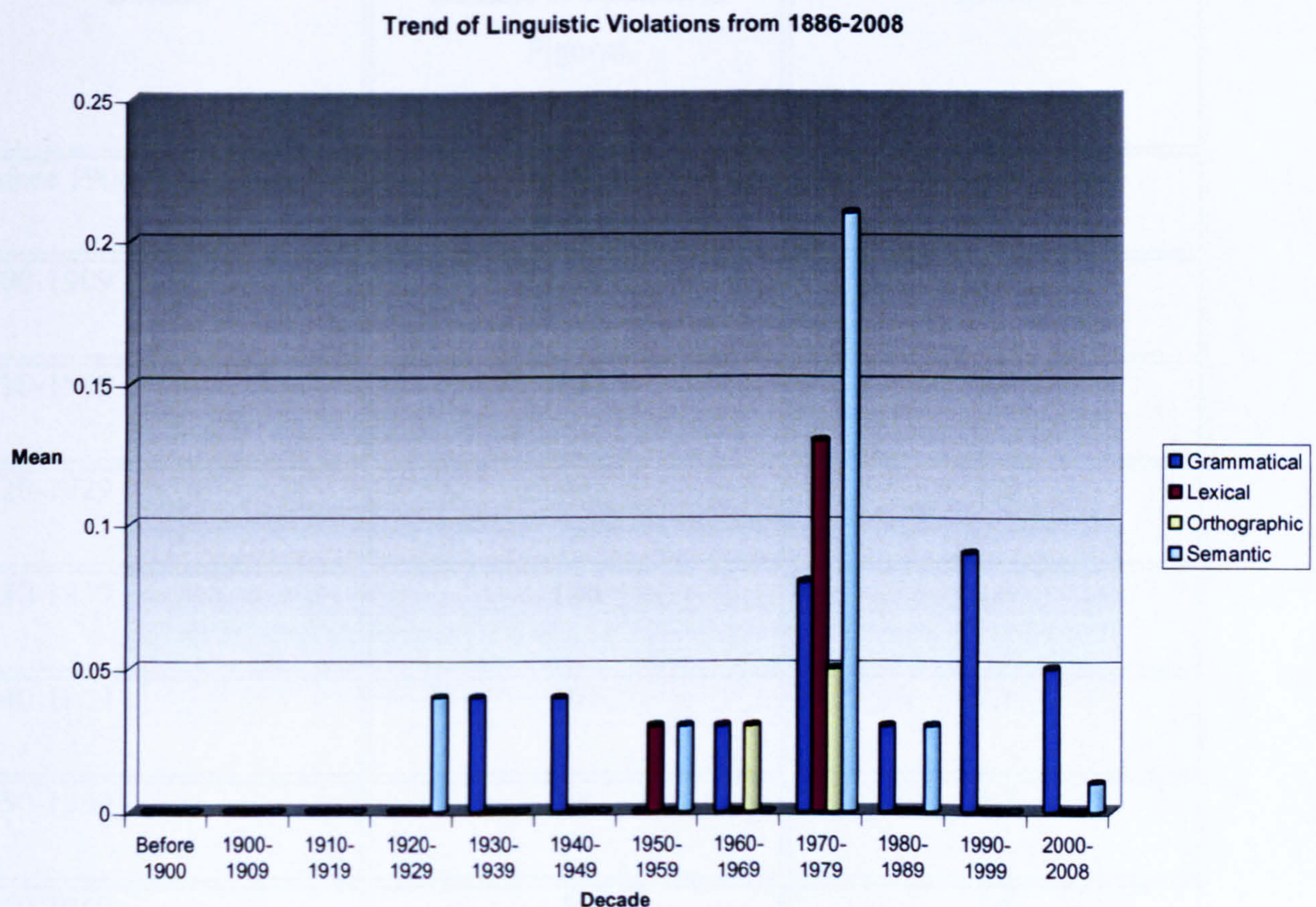


Fig. 14

5.3 Layering of Rhetorical Figures

The layering of rhetorical figures in advertising slogans is determined by calculating the total number of rhetorical figures per decade and dividing this by the total number of slogans per decade to get the mean per decade. This is shown in Table 10.

Layering of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Slogans

Decade	Number of Rhetorical Figures	Mean
Before 1900	6	1.5
1900-1909	55	1.8
1910-1919	36	1.6
1920-1929	44	1.8
1930-1939	126	2.3
1940-1949	101	2.1
1950-1959	58	1.7
1960-1969	59	1.6
1970-1979	85	2.2

1980-1989	72	2.0
1990-1999	134	1.8
2000-2008	147	1.6

Table 10

The trend of the layering of the rhetorical figures used in advertising slogans from 1886-2008 is illustrated by the line chart in Fig. 15.

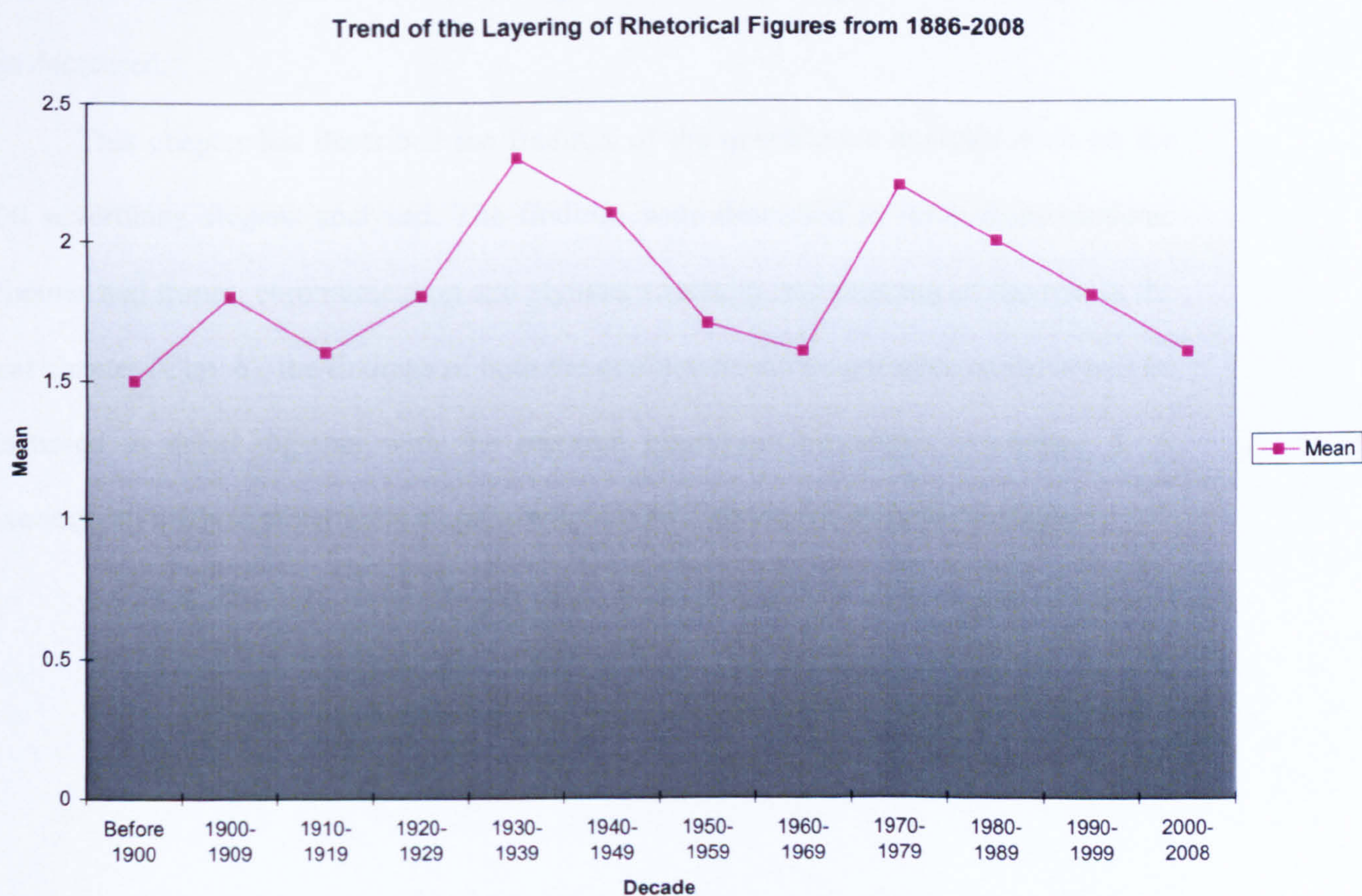


Fig. 15

In Fig. 15, we can see an upward and downward pattern of the pink line with its peaks highlighted. When there is an upward movement of the line, the incidence of layering increases and when the line falls, the layering decreases. From the chart, we can see that the highest incidence of layering occurred in the 1930s where the mean was between 2 and 2.5. The lowest incidence of layering was in the late 1800s where the mean was 1.5. Comparing the first half of the period analysed with the second half, the chart shows a more upward trend or movement of the line in the first half. The second half shows a more downward trend with only one upward movement from the 1960s to the middle of the 1970s. From then there was a steady fall right to the present decade. This shows that in the last 40 years, layering of schemes and tropes in advertising slogans has decreased.

This chapter has described the findings of the quantitative analysis done on the 500 advertising slogans analysed. The findings were described in three main sections: schemes and tropes, communication and stylistic strategies and layering of figures. In the next chapter (Chp. 6), the findings of both the qualitative and quantitative analysis will be discussed in detail together with the research questions formulated in chapter 3. A taxonomy to analyse advertising slogans will also be constructed from the findings.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The results of both the qualitative and quantitative analysis have revealed that advertisers use a wide range of rhetorical, linguistic and communicative devices as well as marketing strategies to persuade consumers. In this chapter, I will firstly discuss each of the research questions that were formulated in Chapter 3. I will then integrate these devices and strategies to draw up a new framework for analyzing advertising slogans.

6.1 Research Question 1

6.1.1 *What Rhetorical Figures are Used in Advertising Slogans?*

The results of the both the qualitative and quantitative analysis have clearly demonstrated the presence of schemes and tropes in the advertising slogans analysed over the decades for over a hundred years. Both schemes and tropes have been present in all the decades analysed. Schemes, with their striking feature of regularity and repetition have succeeded in attracting consumers. Tropes, with deviation as their hallmark, have also played their part in persuading consumers. These figures have been an important tool used by advertisers in persuading the consumer.

6.1.1.1 *How are Schemes Used in Advertising Slogans?*

The schemes that have been the most frequently used (in descending order) are *assonance*, *chime*, *consonance* and *parison*. There have also been a limited use of *rhyme*, *alliteration*, *antithesis*, *onomatopoeia* and *anaphora*. A scattering of *anadiplosis*, *antimetabole*, *epistrophe*, *epizeuxis* and *mesodiplosis* renders them insignificant as not much use was made of them.

The scheme which was found to be most popularly used was *assonance* which is the repetition of similar vowel sounds in the stressed syllables of adjacent words where these vowels are preceded and followed by different consonants (See Appendix B for examples). *Assonance* is also found in product names such as *Coca-Cola* (Myers, 1994: 34) where the /o/ sound is repeated but followed by different consonants. The Coca-Cola Company is one of the thirteen companies used for the quantitative analysis in this study. The study used 163 of its slogans across the decades, the second highest after Guinness & Co. with 178 slogans. No other rhetorical figures are present in the product name *Coca-Cola* apart from *assonance*. More than half of the use of *assonance* comes from the Coca-Cola slogans because its brand name is used in these slogans. Hence, is the result considered biased? With the inclusion of the Coca-Cola slogans, the mean shows that *assonance* would be the top scheme used. If the Coca-Cola slogans are excluded from the analysis, *assonance* would be fourth from the top. Therefore *assonance* would still be among the top four schemes used in advertising slogans over the decades based on this study.

The brand name, Coca-Cola, in my opinion, has an imposing effect on its slogans as in the 1945 slogan, *Coke means Coca-Cola* or the 1962 slogan, *Coca-Cola refreshes you best*. In addition, in both parts of the name *Coca-Cola*, the first syllables, /ko/, are repeated and stressed giving it the dominant effect. This is elaborated upon:

...when writers want to draw attention to sounds, they are more likely to use certain sounds, and place them in certain prominent positions. Some sounds stand out more than others – for instance those that are made by stopping the air-stream completely with your tongue or lips and then releasing the air. The sounds in this class are those made for the letters *p, b, m, n, t, d, k*, and *g*. ...they tend to be repeated where the parallelism is supposed to be noticed. Also, repeated sounds are more likely to stand out at the beginnings of stressed syllables than at the end (Myers, 1994: 32-33).

Assonance is present with the repetition of the /o/ sound followed by different consonants in these stressed syllables of *Coca-Cola*. It is a scheme whose effect is usually more subtle as compared with *alliteration* (Myers, 1994: 33-34). However, in my opinion, the inclusion of the brand name, *Coca-Cola*, in the slogan such as *Coca-Cola refreshes you best*, overcomes the subtlety of the assonance present in the /e/ sound in *refreshes* and *best*. The effect of the slogan is therefore heightened by the inclusion of this *Coca-Cola* brand name.

There are also slogans with repetitions that are deliberately made to sound subtle rather than strong such as *Good food costs less at Sainsbury's* (Myers, 1994: 33). In that example, Myers refers to *consonance*, that is, repetition of the /s/ sound in *costs* and *less*.

However, I would also apply it to *assonance*. An example is Daimler Chrysler's 1940s slogan, *Plymouth builds great cars*. *Assonance* is present as the /i/ sound is repeated but followed by different consonants in the first two words of the slogan. However, *assonance* here does not stand out as the consumer may not notice the repetition although the message of the slogan is clear. On the other hand, consider Eastman Kodak Company's 1970s slogan, *Kodak film. For the times of your life*. There is *assonance* in the repetition of the vowel sound followed by different consonants in *times* and *life*. The repetition is strong enough for the consumer to catch. These are variations in the use of *assonance*.

Chime is the second most popular scheme found to be used in advertising slogans across the decades. *Chime* is the repetition of initial sounds or consonants of key words such as in the 1945 Ford slogan, *There's a Ford in your future* where the /f/ sound of the consonant *f* is repeated in the main nouns, *Ford* and *future*. *Chime* is differentiated from *alliteration* in which there are three or more repetitions of an initial consonant (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 430) although in many instances, chime is taken to be alliteration.

In *chime*, the repetition appears to stand out strongly. This is probably because the consonant is only repeated twice. For instance, in General Electric's 1950s slogan, *Progress is our most important product*, the *p* consonant is repeated

in the nouns, *progress* and *product*. The message is clear, straightforward and easy to remember. This is also the case with the 1948 Ford slogan, *Bonus built* which relies on the *b* consonant to give effect to the message.

In other instances, there is a repetition of different consonants as in the British American Tobacco slogan created in 2003, *Smoother, slower burning Pall Mall, last longer*. Here, there is a repetition of both the *s* and the *l* consonants. There is also *assonance* in the brand name, *Pall Mall*. In addition, *rhyme* is also created by the use of the comparative adjectives, *smoother*, *slower* and *longer*. Therefore, with a layering of schemes, this is not as straightforward as the slogans which have only one repetition.

Consonance was found to be the third most popular scheme used in the advertising slogans analysed. It is the repetition of final consonants in nearby words which are stressed in the same place but whose vowels differ. The 1999 Guinness slogan, *The perfect pint*, is an example where the consonant *t* is repeated but the vowels differ in the key words *perfect* and *pint*. The repetition here stands out strongly unlike in the Sainsbury's slogan, *Good food costs less at Sainsbury's*, where the repetition of the /s/ sound is more subtle in the words, *costs* and *less*. This repetition may not even be noticed because the /s/ sound 'is very common in English' (Myers, 1994: 32). This is parallel to Myers' (1994: 32-33) point mentioned earlier about writers preferring to repeat sounds such as plosives and nasals to bring out the maximum effect.

Consonance, as is the case with alliteration, 'can work with similar, as well as identical sounds' (Myers, 1994: 33). Consider the 1998 Guinness slogan,

Guinness. Raise the pulse. At first glance, it appears as if *consonance* is present with the ending of the /s/ sounds in *Guinness* and *pulse*. However, as the words are not near each other, *consonance* is considered absent in this slogan. Instead, the verb 'raise' which ends with a /z/ sound is sandwiched in between. Hence, the combination of /s/ sounds and the /z/ sound in this slogan are not identical but similar as they are closely related. This is another clever way of bringing out the effect of repetition in advertising slogans, that is, by using both similar and identical sounds in combination.

Another scheme that is popularly used in the advertising slogans analysed is *parison* which is marked parallelism between successive phrases, often containing embedded repeated words. In the 1930s slogan by IBM Corporation, *World peace through world trade*, there is parallelism in the phrases *world peace* and *world trade* with a repetition of the noun, *world* which acts as an adjective in this slogan. Another instance of *parison* is in the 1970s British American Tobacco slogan, *Come for the filter, you'll stay for the taste*. Again there is parallelism in both the phrases with repetition of the preposition and definite article, *for the*. The combination of the parallelism and the repetition in *parison* seems to make this a popular scheme with advertisers. Although parallelism is associated with 'emotive quality' and 'powerful rhythm', there is no 'heavy parallelism' used in these advertising slogans as is used in political rhetoric where a phrase can even be repeated seven times (Flowerdew, 1997: 332). *Parison* is also frequently combined with other schemes creating a 'sequence and comparison' effect (Nash, 1989: 113). This can be seen in the 1977 Dr Pepper slogan, *Be a pepper. Drink Dr Pepper*

where *parison* is used together with *epistrophe* (see Appendix B) to create the effect mentioned.

Rhyme and *alliteration* are used to a certain extent to make the slogans catchy. *Anaphora*, *antithesis*, *epistrophe*, *anadiplosis*, *antimetabole* and *onomatopoeia* are used to a lesser extent but are still present in the slogans analysed.

As we have seen, there is no hard and fast rule of using schemes to enhance repetition. Copywriters seem to play around with various schemes to bring out the effects of repetition. Various structures are used in various ways and this is summed up nicely:

In real speech, we tolerate repetition, or perhaps even expect and need it, as a support to our memories. In writing, we expect variation of structures, which we see as a part of stylistic elegance (Goddard, 1998: 108).

As shown by the quantitative analysis, the use of schemes gradually decreased over the years. It reached its peak in the 1930s and 1940s after which there was a downward trend in their use, particularly in the present 21st century. This finding differs from that of Phillips and McQuarrie's (2002: 1-13) study which found that the occurrence of schemes did not show any consistent trend over the years.

The structural variation in the use of schemes or 'verse features' (Pilkington, 2000: 131) play a role in enhancing memorability with the ultimate aim of

persuading an audience. Although these schematic features have been seen as having a greater effect on ‘the affective rather than the cognitive dimension of what is communicated’, critics who have analysed the effects of these structural variation of schemes emphasise that they contribute ‘to both the cognitive and affective dimensions’ of a persuasive message (Pilkington, 2000: 131). On the other hand, the findings of this study show that schemes are becoming outdated as repetition and regularity as rhetorical devices in advertising are becoming ineffective and clichéd. Schemes are slowly giving way to tropes.

We shall investigate how tropes have been used in advertising slogans in the following section.

6.1.1.2 How are Tropes Used in Advertising Slogans?

The tropes that have been most frequently used (in descending order) are *ellipsis*, *metonymy* and *pun*. Also present to a limited extent have been *metaphor*, *personification*, *rhetorical question*, *simile*, *hyperbole*, *syllipsis*, *anthimeria* and *litotes*. The tropes which have been least used are *oxymoron*, *synecdoche* and *antiphrasis*.

The most popular trope used in the advertising slogans over the decades is *ellipsis* which is the omission of a word or short phrase easily understood in context. It has also been described as ‘another form of shorthand’ (Goddard, 1998: 107). As the slogan is a synoptic phrase, it is not a surprising result for *ellipsis* to be the main trope used.

In advertising, *ellipsis* is associated with the ‘brevity principle’ which helps the advertiser to be economical with words and to focus on features of the message which the advertiser targets (Cook, 2001: 171-172). So the 1932 Guinness slogan, *A Guinness a day* is sufficient to convey the advertiser’s target message to the audience without mentioning what exactly the advertiser means to say.

The use of *ellipsis* in advertisements has a ‘discourse function’, creating ‘an atmosphere of proximity and intimacy’ (Cook 1989: 51). He further elaborates:

It enables ads to draw parasitically on the genre of ‘conversation’: the prototype of interactive reciprocal communication in which formalities and differences of rank are often diminished or partially suspended (Cook 1989: 51).

With regard to advertising slogans in particular, the point that *ellipsis* helps create a proximate and intimate environment, in my opinion, does not fully apply. The advertising slogan is brief and concise in itself. With *ellipsis*, the capacity of the slogan to create such an environment would be even further restricted.

There is also a difference between being conversational and being informal. An advertising slogan can be conversational such as the 1991 Pepsi slogan, *You got the right one baby, Uh-Huh!* Here, there is an *ellipsis* of the present perfect auxiliary verb, *have*. On the other hand, the 1990 Coca-Cola slogan, *You can’t beat the real thing* was created around the informal idiom, *the real thing* (Anon. 2001b). It is not conversational but merely informal. There is no *ellipsis* present in this

slogan. Therefore, it appears that the presence or absence of *ellipsis* is not directly related to whether a slogan is formal, informal or conversational. However, the tendency is that an advertising slogan that is formal would not employ the trope of *ellipsis*. An example is the Continental Airlines slogan of the 1960s, *See the difference that pride makes* which has no *ellipsis*.

Metonymy which is using the name of one thing to stand for another which is associated with it is the second most popular trope found in the slogans analysed. It can actually be considered a kind of *ellipsis*; it lends conciseness to poetry (Leech, 1969: 152). Through a common frame of reference between the minds of the persuader and the audience, 'an idea put into words metonymically represents unexpressed or implicit ideas and associations' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005: 170).

From the analysis, the 1970s slogan, *Come for the filter, you'll stay for the taste* employs metonymy. The noun, *filter*, represents the (Kent) cigarette. As the filter is part of the cigarette, the part represents the whole and there is no need for the noun *cigarette* to be mentioned at all in the slogan. This is a straightforward use of metonymy.

However, there are also instances when *metonymy* is used alongside *metaphor* which is the fourth most popular trope according to the analysis. Although the metaphor only comes fourth, its significance in advertising cannot be denied (Velasco-Sacristan and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006: 1984). When both these tropes are used concurrently, it may sometimes become difficult to separate them. A Ford vehicle was said to be *Boss of the road* in 1903. The persuader, associates

Ford with the qualities of a boss who has authority and leadership while at the same time, the persuader brings out the similarities between a boss of an organization and a Ford vehicle on the road. Therefore both *metonymy* and *metaphor* are present in this slogan. *Metonymy* shows the association between the Ford vehicle and a boss while *metaphor* shows the similarities between the qualities possessed by both Ford and the boss. This explains the point that similarity is a form of association (Leech, 1969: 152).

The analysis shows that Guinness & Co. have popularly used *metonymy* in their slogans. The slogans contain adjectives and nouns such as *strength/ strong head, dark/ darkness, big, genius, wisdom, respect, good/ goodness*, and *brilliant* to create an association with this Irish stout. The company has even used St. Patrick's Day to create an association with Guinness such as in the 2004 slogan, *Treat St. Patrick's Day like a real holiday*. In addition, the exotic and colourful toucan (a pelican) became the animal advertising icon for Guinness, for example, *See what Big Chief Toucan can do* (1960) where the trope *metonymy* is employed.

Other examples of *metonymy* used in the slogans analysed are Heinz's 1990s slogan, *The best things in life never change* and Continental Airlines' 1970s slogan, *The proud bird with the golden tail*. It is also interesting to note that two different categories of slogans, that is, an alcoholic beverage (Guinness) and an airline (Continental Airlines) have used animals to create an association (*metonymy*) and/or similarity (*metaphor*). If a metaphor is used, one that is based on a concrete experience would be more meaningful and better understood by an audience than one based on an abstract experience (Morgan and Reichert, 1999: 3).

The *pun* is the third most popular trope used in the advertising slogans analysed. It has been called ‘a humorous device’, ‘a riddle’ (van Mulken, van Enschoot-Van Dijk and Hoeken, 2005: 708), ‘a short lived layer of the language’ (Hickey and Puppel, 1997: 10) and a very common form of ‘speech play’ (Tanaka, 1992: 91). Examples of *puns* are present in Ford’s 1994 slogan, *Everything we do is driven by you* and in Guinness & Co.’s 1932 slogan, *It strikes one it’s Guinness time*. The *pun* in the former lies in the verb, *driven*, and in the latter, the noun *one* can refer both to *oneself* and also to the time, *one o’clock* as being lunch time. In the *pun*, the message carries at least two different meanings or interpretations. Both meanings may be relevant to an audience or only one may be relevant (Van Mulken et. al., 2005: 715-716). Both the Ford and General Electric slogans mentioned carry two different interpretations which are relevant to the advertiser’s message. These two slogans seem more intent in getting the message across than in amusing or puzzling the audience. Both these advertisers may be using a sensible approach to ensure the longevity of these slogans, the reason being:

Puns, like slang, represent a short lived layer of the language: while they are new they may entertain, but once familiar they can only irritate (Hickey and Puppel, 1997: 10).

This could be the reason for the two slogans not containing much humour or puzzle. No matter what, the *pun* has the ability to create the ‘surprised joy that comes in seeing the familiar from a new and unexpected point of view’ (Sheldon,

1956: 20). In fact, the *pun* plays a significant role in the audience's appreciation of slogans. A *pun* which has two or more relevant meanings or 'homophonic *puns*' (Kolin, 1977: 29) goes down better with an audience rather than if it just contained one meaning (van Mulken et. al., 2005: 707). Being able to convey two or more meanings 'for the price of one word or phrase' also makes it a very economical persuasive device as advertising space is expensive (Redfern, 1982: 269). The *pun* as a form of humour tickles the audience while, as a riddle, it gives 'a pleasant experience, because it flatters the audience's intellectual capabilities by showing them that they have the relevant knowledge to solve the problem' (van Mulken et.al., 2005: 708). In addition, when audiences come across a seemingly complex message, they actually experience pleasure in processing it and hoping to be entertained by more humour, they are 'willing to devote some extra cognitive resources' (van Mulken et. al., 2005: 710). *Puns* are 'controversial' in that they arouse 'pleasure and a sense of profundity on the one hand, of contempt and derision on the other' (Cook, 2000: 82). An experiment conducted reveals that the presence of a *pun* contributes significantly to variations in the ratings of slogans and that the type of *pun* has a considerable impact on the audience's appreciation of slogans (van Mulken et. al., 2005: 716).

From the quantitative analysis, we can clearly see a rising trend in the use of tropes, particularly from the 1980s. The 1990s saw a surge in tropes, even more than in this current decade. The findings are consistent with Phillips and McQuarrie's (2002: 1-13) study that tropes were more prevalent in advertising

headlines in the later years. In ordinary language as is in poetry, tropes are not just used as an embellishment but do much more, as described:

Ordinary language is full of such tropes: indeed, they seem to be necessary for the use of language in all its functions. What is important in terms of lexical figures is their overall relation to the equivalences, parallelisms, etc. of the poem as well as their contribution to the overall meaning of the poem (Pomorska and Rudy, 1985:164).

Therefore, just as in poetry, they give meaning to a slogan by highlighting the message of the advertiser. Tropes also give consumers 'the interest of discovery' when we partake in the process of deciphering a slogan (Thompson, 1997: 226).

6.1.2 Is There a Layering of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Slogans?

A general observation of both the qualitative and quantitative analysis shows a layering of both schemes and tropes in advertising slogans. There are slogans that use only schemes and there are slogans that use only tropes. An example that uses only schemes is PepsiCo Incorporated's 1969 slogan, *You've got a lot to live. Pepsi's got a lot to give* which contains five schemes, namely, *assonance, parison, rhyme, chime* and *mesodiplosis*. An example of a slogan that

uses only tropes is the 2005 Guinness slogan, *Brilliant!* which contains three tropes, namely, *ellipsis*, *metonymy* and *pun*.

Only a small percentage of slogans do not use any rhetorical figure at all. Many slogans use just one rhetorical figure but these are outnumbered by a larger proportion of slogans that use a layer of figures. Therefore, layering of figures is a common feature that is present in advertising slogans.

Is the layering of figures consistent over the years? A general observation shows that many of the slogans in the 1990s and those after 2000 contained fewer rhetorical figures. Examples are Daimler Chrysler's *The new Dodge* (1994) and The Coca-Cola Company's *Life tastes good* (2001) which both contain only one rhetorical figure each. This seems to be the pattern as slogans in these decades are, in general, shorter than those in the other decades. It therefore looks as if in this media age, advertisers are trying to keep them short and simple. However, this goes against the guidelines for creating effective slogans according to Kohli et al. (2007: 421) who state that simplicity 'isn't a golden rule when it comes to slogans'. In view of this contradiction, therefore, further observation and research needs to be done on the slogans of the 1990s and of this current decade to determine opinions and preferences of advertisers as well as consumers on this issue of the simplicity of slogans. However, the findings of this study show that the layering of figures has decreased in the last thirty years.

Together with various other strategies, both schemes and tropes have been seen to have contributed in some way to the effective delivery of the message

intended for the consumer through advertising slogans. This is reflected by successful advertising campaigns of companies included in my study:

The hallmark of Ford's strategy with *Quality is Job One* was its consistency.....Ford considered the campaign to be an unequivocal success (Riggs, 2000: 580).

We Bring Good Things to Life was extremely successful and became the longest-running corporate advertising campaign (Riggs, 2000: 610).

Watson wanted to promote a strong national image of IBM performing its industrial duty to the United States and the world. He adopted the ambitious and internationally known slogan for the company, *World peace through world trade* (McDonough, 2002: 831).

The qualitative analysis shows that rhetorical figures have also played a part in enhancing the memorability of the messages intended. However, we do not know to what extent these schemes and tropes have enhanced the memorability of the advertising slogans analysed. Besides, the overall use of these schemes and tropes in helping maintain the consumers' confidence and loyalty towards the company's products or services is also unknown.

What this study has revealed is that the use of these rhetorical figures *does* have an impact in persuading the consumer or they would not be present in the majority of the slogans analysed in all the 100 years and more.

6.2 Research Question 2

6.2.1 *What Persuasive Strategies are Used in Advertising Slogans?*

The analysis shows the presence of persuasive strategies used in advertising slogans over time. For my study, I examined two categories of persuasive strategies. The categories are *communicative* and *stylistic/ linguistic*. There are slogans that use only *communicative strategies* and there are others that have been found to use only *stylistic/linguistic strategies*. There are also slogans that use a combination of both types of strategies.

6.2.1.1 *How are Communicative Strategies Used in Advertising Slogans?*

The communicative strategies used are based on Kenneth Burke's Theory of Dramatism (1966: 54). I analysed the slogans qualitatively for Burke's concept of *framing*. Firstly, I found that this concept was present in more than half of the slogans analysed. Burke's use of symbols was analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively and found to be the third most popular strategy used in my analysis of communicative and stylistic strategies.

The *framing* concept was used in more than one way in advertising slogans. For instance, in the Kodak slogan, *You press the button, we do the rest*, it was a simple act versus a complex expert work. The consumer performed the act while the company provided the support of the agent. Hence, it was an *act-agent* ratio which was imbalanced towards the side of the agent because ‘do the rest’ here was much more than the simple pressing of a button. This helps achieve the aim of the concept as ‘what is significant is the lack of balance between the parts’ (Gusfield, 1989: 15). Therefore in the second part of the slogan, the company (agent) frames the act to be performed by the consumer. This is a persuasive strategy where the implication is the company would do the harder part of the job for the benefit of the consumer who carries out a simple act.

This is how Burke’s concept of framing (Gusfield, 1989: 15) has been used in the advertising slogans. There is more than one way to frame the situation as stated:

There is much more than one meaning, one possible interpretation, one possible “structure”...(Gusfield, 1989: 17).

Hence this can depend on the way the slogan is phrased, the aim of the advertiser or the perception of the consumer.

The framing concept may appear obvious in slogans such as in IBM Corporation’s *Are you ready for e-business?* (1998) and in Ford Motor Company’s *There’s a Ford in your future* (1945). However it is also used implicitly in others

such as in the Guinness slogan, *Lunch time is Guinness time* created in 1949 where the *scene-act* ratio is present. Although the concept is very much present in this slogan, one main reason why it is less obvious here is the absence of any personal pronoun.

Burke's symbols (1966: 15) play an important part in advertising slogans. The three symbols, *negative*, *hierarchy* and *perfection* were used either individually or in combination in the slogans analysed. The most popular symbol was *hierarchy* and this was followed by the *negative* and finally *perfection*. Burke's theory proposes that the audience would feel guilty when they come across an advertisement that advocates the importance of doing exercise, for instance. The advertisement may use the *negative* and the 'appeal to *perfection*' to argue that if consumers do not exercise, they 'are not living up to their potential', they 'may develop health problems' and that they 'are not enjoying life' as they should (Borchers, 2002: 172). How would the audience react then? The audience would 'identify with the club and its way of seeing the world'. The audience would 'share motives with the fitness club' and would sign up as members to get rid of the guilt caused by not joining the club (Borchers, 2002: 172).

An important feature of the symbol of *hierarchy* is the comparative adjective. The findings show that many advertising slogans still use the comparative adjective to persuade the consumer, for example, in the 1998 Ford slogan, *Better ideas. Driven by you*. The comparative adjective *better* as used in this slogan is one of the most commonly used in advertising (Dyer, 1982: 149). The findings of this study, however, do not prove this to be the case. Perhaps it is used more in

advertising headlines or the body text which, therefore, is an avenue for further research. The data of this study shows other comparative adjectives such as *further*, *longer* and *stronger* being used as symbols to illustrate the hierarchy or social structure of the product or service.

There are other ways this symbol of *hierarchy* is employed in advertising slogans. The findings show that adjectives such as *one* and *ahead* are used in slogans such as in Ford Motor Company's, *Quality is Job One* (1981) and in PepsiCo Inc.'s, *A generation ahead* (1989) respectively to illustrate a higher rank or standing within a *hierarchy*. In the 1912 Coca-Cola slogan, *Demand the genuine – refuse substitutes*, the adjective *genuine*, which acts as a noun here, demonstrates a higher standing in relation to the noun *substitutes*. We have, therefore, seen the various ways how this symbol of *hierarchy* is used in advertising slogans.

The second most popular of Burke's (1966: 15) symbols used in advertising slogans is the *negative*. As mentioned in chapter two, Burke fully supports the use of the *negative* in advertising as the industry seems to thrive on the 'glorification of the positive' (Burke, 1966: 12). However, there are other opposing views such as that of Foster's (2001: 20) who feels that slogans like *Steak sauce only a cow could hate* (Lea and Perrins) should not be used as it doesn't 'profess good tidings'. In my opinion, the advertiser should resort to a creative but safe approach in using *negatives* so that the consumer would not turn away from the product or service. An example from the findings is the 1969 Maidenform slogan, *The Maidenform woman, you never know where she'll turn up*. The *negative* effect in this case is not exemplified to the full. Instead, there is an air of both uncertainty and hope that this

lingerie icon would appear. This technique, I feel, is a clever use of the *negative* in attracting the target consumer.

Another approach in using the *negative* is that of the 2008 Dr Pepper slogan, *What's the worst that can happen?* It comes in the *negative* form of a rhetorical question. However, since it is a question, once again there is a sense of uncertainty which camouflages the *negative* effect of the message. These are several ways how the *negative* is used in advertising slogans. Overall, there is scope for creativity in the use of the *negative* in advertising slogans as it is the least conventional of the three symbols.

The third and final of Burke's (1966: 15) symbols employed in advertising slogans is *perfection*. This symbol stems from our desire to constantly strive for the best in whatever we set out to achieve (Borchers, 2002: 171). The findings reveal that the most popular adjective that demonstrates this symbol is *best*. This is followed by *most* such as in the 1950s General Electric slogan, *Progress is our most important product*. The data does not show much variety of the use of this symbol. The adjective *perfect* itself was found to be used in a 1919 Coca-Cola slogan, *Coca-Cola is a perfect answer to thirst that no imitation can satisfy*. The adjective appeared again in one of its 1923 slogans, *A perfect blend of pure products from nature*. This symbol of *perfection* is also implicitly present in one of its 1954 slogans, *Matchless flavour*, which is one of the more uncommon ways that this symbol is used.

The data and findings of the use of this symbol of *perfection* suggest that superlatives will become outdated in advertising slogans. Advertisers would resort

to more creative ways of imparting their message that their products or services are superior to others. The symbol of *perfection* would still be employed but in different guises and this is my prediction. From my observation, one trend that seems to be catching on is the use of the modal *probably* before the superlative to hedge the message as in the famous Carlsberg slogan, *Probably the best beer in the world*. This would tone down the message to make it more acceptable as it imparts an element of modesty to the slogan.

Hedges have two functions. One is to ‘tone down’ a message to make it ‘socially acceptable’ and the other is to negotiate the meaning of an interaction or conversation (Fuertas-Olivera et. al., 2001, 1299). However, I have my reservations on the following:

Hedging, then, is the product of a mental attitude which is indirectly manifested in the discourse of advertisement and which shows the degree of tentativeness, possibility and/or politeness copywriters use in their messages. Our social conventions deny copywriters the possibility, of being frank and straightforward (i.e. their messages cannot be worded in plain English); instead they must resort to pieces of discourse which seem to be saying something different from what addressers have in mind... hedges adapt to the context of situation to help copywriters compose slogans and headlines with both appropriate caution and deference (Fuertas-Olivera, et. al.: 2001, 1299-1300).

While I agree that hedging shows a degree of tentativeness, possibility or even politeness, I am very doubtful that copywriters are not given the leeway to use language as they deem creative and effective. This is discussed further in the next section, 6.2.2. If a copywriter feels that using hedges would make a particular slogan more effective, as in the Carlsberg slogan, then it should be so and I believe this is how it works. It has certainly worked for the Carlsberg company. However, we have seen from this study that there are also many slogans that do not use hedges. We will have to wait and see what forms slogans take on in the future.

6.2.1.2 *How are Stylistic /Linguistic Strategies Used in Advertising Slogans?*

The second category of persuasive strategies is of a stylistic and linguistic nature. The use of *deixis and personalisation* was, in fact, the main strategy found in advertising slogans. *Deictic words, absolute uniqueness and personal pronouns* as stylistic and linguistic strategies were employed in a wide range of slogans. *Personal pronouns* were used to lend a personal touch to the message conveyed in the slogans.

Deictic words were popularly used in the slogans to point the consumer in the direction intended by the advertiser. *Deictic words* such as *this, that, there, today, tomorrow* and *now* play an important part in persuading the consumer as they help the consumer focus on aspects of the intended message of the slogan. Vestergaard and Schroder (1985: 34) state that *deictic words* related to time are always present 'as tense is an obligatory category' whereas those related to places and people are not. This is further elaborated:

....tense is a deictic category since tense is one of the means by which we indicate whether the event or state referred to in an utterance is regarded as simultaneous with or prior to the time at which the utterance is made (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 34) .

If tense is taken into account as such, then I would have to agree with their point as from the data of my study, there are more *deictic words* of time than those of places and things. Examples are the Coca-Cola slogans, *The pause that refreshes* (1929) and *Always Coca-Cola* (1993) and the Dr Pepper slogan, *The most original soft drink ever* (1970s) where the *deictic words* are *that*, *always* and *ever* respectively. There are, however, slogans which contain both *deictic words* of time and place, for instance, the Dr Pepper slogan, *Now is the time. This is the place. Dr Pepper, this is the taste* (1998) where *now* points to time and *this* points to place.

In visual images, *deictic words* are always absent unlike in verbal messages. This explains why a visual image is almost always accompanied by a verbal message in an advertisement, that is, to provide a '*deictic anchorage*' for the correct interpretation of the message (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 34).

Furthermore the decoding process is less straightforward than in personal communication, since the receiver is part of a consumer public, which is distant, both in space and time, and as such unable to provide (direct) feedback (Van Gijssel, Speelman and Geeraerts, 2008: 207).

In the 1905 Coca-Cola slogan, *Good all the way down*, the preposition *down* acts as a *deictic word* of place in this slogan as it points to the drink going down the drinker's throat. Carter (2004: 131) discusses the use of the preposition *down* as being connected with 'disadvantage and depression'. However, as a *deictic word* in this slogan, *down* is given positive connotations that serve to emphasise the good qualities of the drink.

The data shows that among the popular *deictic words* used are *now*, *that*, *so*, the third person pronoun, *it* and the indefinite article, *a*. In the 1940s British American Tobacco slogan, *So round, so firm, so fully packed*, the sub-modifier, *so*, is used as a *deictic word* with the scheme *anaphora*. The combination of this *deictic word* and the repetition makes this a persuasive slogan, in my opinion.

In the 1926 Coca-Cola slogan, *It had to be good to get where it is*, the third person pronoun, *it*, is used at the beginning and towards the end. The effect of the *deictic* use of this pronoun seems to be greater towards the end as it points to the position of Coca-Cola being somewhere at the top. However, imagine the slogan being rephrased without this *deictic word* used at the end: *It had to be good to get to the top*. Somehow the persuasive impact is not the same as the original slogan with the *deictic word* towards the end. To say directly that it is one of the top drinks, reduces the persuasive effect of the slogan. This is where the *deictic word* plays its role.

Absolute uniqueness is another component of *deixis* where, in advertising, the *uniqueness* of a product or service is brought out by such words as the definite article, *the*, such as in the 1955 Coca-Cola slogan, *Almost everyone appreciates the*

best. Here, it is used with the superlative, *best*, but this is not always the case. Copywriters do show their creativity in coming up with other ways of expressing *uniqueness*. Even the indefinite article, *a*, can be used for this purpose if used cleverly. An example is the 1943 Coca-Cola slogan, *A taste all its own*. In this case, the indefinite article works together with the phrase, *all its own* to emphasise the *uniqueness* of the drink. The demonstrative, *that*, is also used to show *uniqueness* such as in the 1943 Coca-Cola slogan, *That extra something*.

As mentioned in chapter two, the *negative* is also utilised in demonstrating *uniqueness* such as in the 1985 Guinness slogan, *No beer comes near*. Another variation is as used in the 1995 Pepsi slogan, *Nothing else is a Pepsi*. In a more current Coca-Cola slogan, *One and only* (2003), the show of *uniqueness* is more explicit. Another instance of the word *only* expressing *uniqueness* is in the 2004 Guinness slogan, *A taste that can only be Guinness*.

Consider this Guinness slogan, *Absolutely is Guinness* (2000). Although it expresses *uniqueness* in an indirect way, it totally violates the rules of grammar. It would be interesting to wait and see if copywriters come up with other interesting and novel ways of expressing *uniqueness*.

Personalisation goes hand-in-hand with *deixis*. The second-person pronoun, *you*, plays a prominent role in this strategy with the aim of establishing a bond between the persuader and the consumer where the *you* is the consumer. There are variations in the use of this pronoun. For instance, in the British American Tobacco slogan, *Do you inhale? Of course you do!* (1932), the persuader uses a leading rhetorical question to create rapport with the consumer. The *personalisation* here is

further enhanced by the conversational nature of this slogan. The reflexive form of the pronoun is also present in slogans such as in the 1923 Coca-Cola slogan, *Refresh yourself*. Companies such as IBM which are very consumer-focussed use the second person pronouns *you* and *your* to go a step further to help consumers achieve their goals. Examples are the slogans, *Are you ready for e-business?* (1998) and *Your business on demand* (2004). The first-person pronouns, *I*, *we* and *me* also help in the act of *personalising* although they represent the persuader or advertiser. Companies like Ford Motor Company and The General Electric Company show no particular preference for the types of personal pronouns they use.

The British American Tobacco slogan created in the 1960s used the first-person pronoun in their slogan, *Show me a filter cigarette that delivers the taste, and I'll eat my hat!* In my opinion, this slogan smacks of pride and snobbery and therefore, I do not think that such a slogan will be successful today. McNeal (1979: 37) shares my sentiment in that a message using the first-person pronoun is viewed as 'insulting or offensive' and consumers may decide to 'tune it out'. Most of the slogans in this study, however, have used the second person pronoun, *you*, to create *personalisation*. This does not mean that first-person pronouns are not effective. On the contrary:

...these person markers produce a sense of solidarity with the potential customer, since the advertisers themselves are also portrayed as members of the target group ((Fuertes-Olivera et. al., 2001: 1298).

The person markers mentioned above are pronouns which, in this case, refer to first-person pronouns. According to Fuertas-Olivera et al. (2001: 1298), even third-person pronouns such as *she*, *he*, *they* and *it* ‘imply shared knowledge between the addresser and the addressee’ and that they are now used ‘for suggesting a personal bond between the two or the presence of a referent which is not mentioned’.

A rather popular linguistic strategy found present in the slogans is the use of the *idiom*. There are advertisers who use the *idiom* as a base for their messages such as in the 1913 Coca-Cola slogan, *The best beverage under the sun* where the *idiom* is *under the sun*. There are also other slogans where the *idiom* is a separate part of these slogans. An example is the upbeat 1963 Pepsi slogan, *Come alive! You’re in the Pepsi generation* where *Come alive!* is the *idiom*. There are also whole slogans which consist of *idioms* such as the 1966 Daimler-Chrysler slogan, *Let yourself go*.

Copywriters also use their creativity to come up with slogans that combine the use of *idioms* and schemes such as *rhyme*. An example is the 1949 Ford slogan, *Take the wheel – try the feel of the Ford* where the *idiom* is *Take the wheel*. There are also *idioms* in slogans that help fulfill the function of expressing *uniqueness* such as the 1923 Coca-Cola slogan, *There’s nothing like it when you’re thirsty* where the *idiom* is *nothing like it*. I believe even the copywriters sometimes do not realise they’re using an *idiom* in a slogan as they just aim to get their message across. Besides, we unknowingly use these *idioms* in our conversations and as such, may not recognise them as *idioms* when they appear in slogans. In other words, *idioms* can take on many different forms as described:

The category of idiom is a mixed bag. It involves metaphors..., metonymies..., pairs of words..., similes..., sayings..., phrasal verbs... and others (Carter, 2004: 128).

Whatever the form, the *idiom* does add a bit of colour to the slogan, in my opinion. An interesting finding is that people process *idioms* faster than they do literal phrases. However, this could be explained by ‘people’s familiarity with *idioms*’ as an influencing factor in ‘their immediate recognition’ of these *idioms* (Gibbs, 1994: 96). The findings of an experimental research done on the comprehension of *idioms* suggest that ‘*idioms* do not require special processes to be understood and that ‘understanding *idioms* does not appear to require an analysis of these phrases’ literal meanings’ (Gibbs, 1994: 97). *Idioms* seem to have been used in the advertising slogans of my study with much enthusiasm.

Another stylistic/ linguistic strategy used in these advertising slogans is *deviant styles*. The slogans were analysed for the presence of *masculine* and *feminine* styles and it was found that there were more *masculine* than *feminine* features of language. The *feminine* features were confined mainly to women’s products like those of Maidenform Inc. Examples of Maidenform slogans that use the *feminine* style are: *I dreamt I went shopping in my Maidenform bra* (1949) and *No matter what kind of woman you are, we’ll support you* (1987). Other slogans in the data which employ this style are the following Coca-Cola slogans: *The favourite drink for ladies when thirsty, weary and despondent* (1905), *Ice-cold Coca-Cola is everywhere else – it ought to be in your family refrigerator* (1934) and *So easy to*

serve and so inexpensive (1937). As we can see, the *feminine* style slogans are relatively long, use extravagant language and play on emotions. Other features of this style are the use of gushing hyperbole, word play and neologisms.

In contrast, the clipped, jazz *masculine* style has been found in more slogans in this study than the *feminine* style. The automobile companies have used this style in several of their slogans. Examples are Daimler Chrysler's 2000 slogan, *Dodge. Different.*, and Ford's 1948 slogan, *Bonus built*. Both the slogans are short and clipped. Looking at the type of vocabulary used, there are a few *masculine* style slogans such as Daimler Chrysler's 1980 slogan, *Dodge trucks are ram tough* and Ford's 1960s slogan, *Built Ford tough*. As Guinness is a man's drink, quite a few of their slogans have also employed this style. Examples are, *Him strong* (1960), *Guinness. Got it.* (1997) and *Go for one big Guinness* (1985). Sports has also been an important factor that has influenced the style of the slogans, for example, the masculine-sounding, *Guinness & (and rugby).The perfect match.* (2003).

In contrast, the other drink companies such as The Coca-Cola Company hardly used the *masculine* style in their slogans as its drinks were targeted more towards the younger generation. Besides, their drinks were suitable for both males and females as explained:

What Coca-Cola does – with remarkable success – is to identify the commonalities of human experience Consequently, Coca-Cola is able to make its pattern advertising appeal to virtually all human beings. In America, this process has been unbelievably thorough, so that when a junior

high boy bought a Coke for a girl – whether in 1920 or 1990 – it conjured romance (Pendergrast, 1993: 407).

Mills (1995:53) puts forward her view of the *masculine* and *feminine* styles with an illustration of opposing pairs:

1. I came I saw I conquered. *Male*
 2. Sheila felt as if her whole being was conquered by this man whom she hardly knew. *Female*
-
1. I'm hungry and I want something to eat. *Male*
 2. I wonder if there's something to eat. *Female*

These sentences can be categorised as male and female according to their stereotypical subject-matter, but also interestingly in terms of some of their linguistic features. Both the *masculine* and *feminine* styles have been found to use subordinate clauses and co-ordination, particularly, *and*. However, for the *masculine* sentence, 'the explanation given for the effect of these clauses is one of hierarchizing and ordering' (Mills, 1995: 52). For the *feminine* sentence, the use of subordination can be seen as 'refusing closure, endlessly deferring an authoritative statement' (Mills, 1995: 52), hence the longer sentence in the second example. Likewise, the *feminine* style slogans are also usually longer than the *masculine* style ones. While the *feminine* style demonstrates the outpouring of feelings, the *masculine* style is brief, 'clear and rational', 'assertive' and shows control (Mills,

1995: 53). It appeals to authority unlike the *feminine* style. The *feminine* expression is also more indirect compared with the male expression which the opposing pairs illustrate. The use of modals such as ‘could’ and ‘well’ to hedge the force of a statement or utterance is also more prominent in *feminine* style sentences (Coates, 1986: 110; Mills, 1995: 59; Coates, 1996: 156-157). Some of these features and characteristics are also evident in the *feminine* style slogan, *Ice-cold Coca-Cola is everywhere else – it ought to be in your family refrigerator* (1934) compared with the more *masculine* Guinness slogan, *The big pint. Don’t ponder it, drink it.* (1996).

Advertisements for cars strongly depict gender stereotyping, for instance, larger cars targeted towards male consumers are equated with the *masculine* qualities of power/ speed, control and ‘experience of the drive’. ‘Metaphoric devices’ are also used to ‘represent the driving experience as a powerful physical experience’. Hence, these advertisements associate men ‘with the large, the conceptual and the abstract’ (Thornborrow, 1998: 266, 270-271). The *masculine* quality of ‘control’ is also illustrated by the 1998 Guinness slogan, *Kaliber by Guinness. Take control.*

On the other hand, car advertisements that target women employ linguistic devices that denote ‘smallness’. These advertisements represent ‘the car as the body of the woman’ (Thornborrow, 1998: 266, 271). Examples of the *masculine* style slogans of Daimler Chrysler and Ford Motor Company used in my study have been mentioned earlier in this section. Unfortunately, these two automobile companies as listed in my study do not contain any *feminine* style slogans. This could be due to the limited number of slogans of these companies in the data of my study. It could

also be due to many of these slogans being created for advertising large cars or trucks.

The overall findings show a decrease in the *feminine* style towards the last two decades of the period of study and an increase in the *masculine* style during the same period.

It is obvious that stereotyping is used as a strategy to characterise gender in terms of established values and attitudes which are frequently determined by social conventions (McLuhan, 1964: 248; Thwaites, Davis and Mules, 2002: 153). Advertisements construct 'ideological representations' of gender which we are exposed to when we come across these advertisements (Winship, 1980: 218). To further elaborate:

By the sheer weight of repetition, media texts endorse certain sets of social values as inevitable and natural, and certain beliefs and myths about social identities and cultural norms as universally applicable. These may become entrenched in society and take on an authority which eludes the pressure of change...The familiarity of this repetition is an important feature of media discourse in general, with powerful socialising effects (Thwaites et. al., 2002: 153-154).

The interpretation of advertisements is thus contextually framed by 'cultural values and institutional structures' and the audience or consumer becomes 'an active participant' who adapts 'media discourse for socially defined purposes'

(Thwaites et. al., 2002: 215). As participants, the audience may ‘simultaneously appreciate and ridicule’ forms of advertising but it is done ‘in a peculiarly non-serious playful manner’ (Schroder 2000: 248).

Lastly, *linguistic violations* were present in the slogans analysed. Four different kinds of violations were present. They were *grammatical*, *lexical*, *orthographic* and *semantic*. Overall, there were more *grammatical* violations present than the other types, especially as fragments began to be used in slogans of the 1990s and from 2000. Examples of *grammatical* violations are *Coca-Cola...real* (2003), *Pepsi now!* (1983) and *More happy* (2007) which is also a Pepsi slogan. Examples of *semantic* violations are Coca-Cola’s *Life tastes good* (2001), Dr Pepper’s, *Drink a bite to eat at 10, 2 and 4* (1920s) and Ford’s *A lot of car for not much money* (1970s). As for *lexical* violations, Dr Pepper’s 1955 slogan, *The friendly pepper-upper* and Guinness’s *Pint sighs* (1975) are two examples. Pepsi’s 1973 slogan, *Lipsmackin’ thirstquenchin’ acetastin’ motivatin’ goodbuzzin’ cooltalkin’ highwalkin’ fastlivin’ evergivin’ coolfizzin’ Pepsi* also falls in this category. Finally, violations of an *orthographic* nature which were few and far between were found in *Beanz Meanz Heinz* (1967) and in Guinness’s slogans, *Brewed by experts. Enjoyed by XXXperts* (1979) and *XXX. For XXXperts (experts) only* (1978). This last Guinness slogan also shows a *semantic* violation with the three X symbols at the beginning.

Most of the strategies mentioned above showed a rise and fall trend without any significant changes over time. Only two strategies demonstrated a marked increase in their use in the later years, particularly from the year 2000. These fall

under the linguistic/ stylistic categories and are *deviant styles* and *linguistic violations*. I believe the reason for this is that in this competitive media age advertisers are trying to outdo and outwit each other using more innovative styles and techniques. In Cook's words, it is a "principle of reversal" when "ads mock advertising conventions" (2001: 229).

It is not surprising then that with modernisation and the increasing use of electronic media comes impersonalisation. This is reflected in the decline of the use of personal pronouns in the slogans analysed after the 1960s and an even further decline in the present 21st century. Nevertheless:

In a time of increasing impersonalisation, the brief and human phrase is still able to creep into the mind and stay (Noble 1970:7).

6.3 Research Question 3

6.3.1 *What are the Trends that Emerge from the Study?*

Through the analysis of advertising slogans carried out over more than ten decades, this study has unveiled significant trends that will be discussed in the sections that follow.

6.3.1.1 *The Different Periods of Advertising*

The introduction chapter outlined Myers' (1994: 17) division of advertising into three periods which are:

- a. the 1890s till before World War I
- b. the 1920s till the 1950s
- c. the 1960s to the present

For this discussion, however, I will make slight adjustments to the periods mentioned. Myers's division leaves a gap between 1914 and 1920 as World War I began in 1914 (Anon., 2004a). So in order to bridge the gap, I will consider the first period as being from the 1890s to 1919 which includes World War I. The second period will remain as it is while the third period will be from the 1960s till the 1980s. A fourth period from the 1990s till the present will also be included. The purpose of the fourth period is not only to accommodate the present 21st century but also to take into account changes in language patterns observed during this period. Therefore the four periods will be:

- a. the 1890s till 1919
- b. the 1920s till the 1950s
- c. the 1960s till the 1980s
- d. the 1990s till the present

a. The late 19th century was the beginning of the advertising era as commodities and markets began to develop. It was also the period 'when many current brand names began' (Myers, 1994: 20-21). An examination of the few slogans gathered from this period shows that they did not contain the brand name as

such. Examples are Eastman Kodak Company's, *You press the button, we do the rest* (1888) and H.J. Heinz Company's, *57 varieties* (1896). It is probably because the advertisements of that period focused on getting the attention of the consumer towards the product and its benefits rather than on the brand (Myers, 1994: 21). However, the data of this study also shows that organisations like The Coca-Cola Company did use the brand name and state the product benefits at the same time. Examples are the slogans, *For headache and exhaustion, drink Coca-Cola* (1900), *Coca-Cola is a delightful, palatable, healthful beverage* (1904) and *Delicious Coca-Cola sustains, refreshes, invigorates* (1907).

Persuasive devices and strategies were used to make the slogans catchy as shown by the Kodak and Heinz slogans. This tallies with Myers's (1994: 22) observation that the 'linguistic strategies' used during the late 1890s and early 1900s, included 'having a catchy rhyme or slogan'. My study proves that catchiness was achieved through the use of schemes. Only linguistic violations were totally absent in slogans of the 1890s till 1919. Instead the message was delivered in a direct fashion without the use of complicated structures such as the slogan for the Lucky Strike cigarette, *It's toasted* (1916). In other words, although the advertising slogans of this period showed linguistic diversity, they lacked the rhetorical and stylistic sophistication found in the later slogans. This is further elaborated:

...we won't find the full range of play with language that we would find in later ads; for instance, puns are rare. There had to be further economic

transformations to push the experimentation in new directions (Myers, 1994: 22)

According to my study, out of fifty-seven slogans of this period, there was only one instance of a *pun*.

The First World War which began in 1914 did not considerably slacken advertising whether it was in the U.S, England or Canada (Pope, 1980: 7-9). Here is a brief description of advertising at that time:

...copywriters could tie sales appeals to the war without resorting to verbal gymnastics. Conservation themes abounded, especially in food advertisements. Substituting products in abundant supply for goods needed for the war was often recommended (Pope, 1980: 11).

During World War I, business organisations gave their products ‘a patriotic glow’ (McDonough, 2002: 764). Advertising campaigns were tailored towards conveying patriotic messages as not only products but also ideas were sold. This is reflected by the following statement:

By the end of World War I, advertising had proved a force for selling ideas as well as soap (McDonough, 2002: 764).

There are no examples of such slogans in my data for that period. This is probably due to the type of products and services I've been working with. From McDonough's (2002: 764) statement and also from examples in my data of World War II slogans, I gather that essential items such as household, personal care and food products may have had patriotic overtones in their slogans.

b. The second period, the 1920s till the 1950s, sought to develop an image for the consumption of goods and services. The advertising industry was 'just approaching maturity' and therefore 'stood ready with fresh patterns' (Fox, 1984: 78). There was a major shift 'from emphasising production and use of the commodity to emphasising meanings associated with consumption' (Myers, 1994: 22). Advertisements depicted the lifestyle associated with using or not using the product. Examples of advertising slogans during this period are Daimler Chrysler's *Your next car* (1950s) and British American Tobacco's *Modern design makes the difference* (1939). There was a surge in persuasive devices and strategies such as the *pun*, *metonymy* and *idioms* which were used considerably in the advertising slogans of this period.

In other words, advertisements of this period were 'selling a better life' as illustrated:

The appeal was not BUY OUR SOAP but rather BUY a better life by buying OUR SOAP (Myers, 1994: 24).

British American Tobacco, for instance, persuades consumers that by smoking Lucky Strike cigarettes, they would lead a happy-go-lucky life. Hence, they used the slogan, *Be happy-go-Lucky!* (1950).

On the other hand, it was not only the 'pleasures of leisure time' that the advertisements focused on but also the 'fear of social comparisons', 'creating a new problem', 'broadening the range of choices' and 'associating different meanings with different styles' all with the aim of boosting consumption (Myers, 1994: 23-24).

Fear of social comparisons was carried out 'by substituting a sign of something feared' if they did not use a branded product (Myers, 1994: 23). For instance, General Electric came up with its slogan, *Better light for better sight* in the 1930s with the aim of increasing the consumption of electric power (McDonough, 2002: 764). The slogan, however, appears to have an implicit meaning that if consumers do not use enough light, their eyesight would be affected. This, in turn, would instill fear in consumers and persuade them to use more electric power from General Electric.

Another method used to increase consumption was 'to create a new problem' such as 'halitosis' or 'night starvation'. This method was especially effective in advertising 'dull products' such as *Listerine* (for 'halitosis') or *Horlicks* (for 'night starvation') (Myers, 1994: 24). In my opinion, this method can also be used to advertise products that would have a specific target audience such as the alcoholic beverage, *Guinness*. The slogans, *Guinness for strength* (1934) and *Have a Guinness when you're tired* (1936) imply that the drink can give strength and help

overcome tiredness respectively. Lack of strength and tiredness may not be new problems but the same principle as for *halitosis* or *night starvation* applies. This Irish stout is not everyone's cup of tea so the claim may well attract new consumers while at the same time encourage existing consumers to consume even more of the drink due to its energy-giving properties.

Expanding the range of choices of a product was another way to increase consumption as 'consumer desire for new varieties drives firms to cater to their demands' (Telser, 1966: 464). The 1950s slogan, *The IBM Electric: its beauty is just a bonus* was an example used in promoting IBM's new electric typewriter model.

Finally, associating a particular meaning with a particular style was also used as a way of increasing consumption. The Coca-Cola Company is especially fond of using this method. They used slogans such as *The sociable drink* (1925) and *Meet me at the soda fountain* (1930) to associate the drink with social life and friendship in order to attract young consumers.

Myers (1994) did not take into account the fact that this period covered the Great Depression and World War II. The Great Depression lasted from 1929-1933 and the Second World War took place from 1939-1945 (McElvaine, R. and Chisholm, E., 2008; McDonough, 2002: 281; Robinson, 2005). During World War II in 1941, advertising took on war-related themes. Hence, the H.J. Heinz Company, for instance, played its part in the war effort with the slogans, *Pickles to pursuit planes* and *Beans to bombers* (McDonough, 2002: 729). Advertising appeals were also made to suit the situation where supplies were dwindling as goods went off the

market. Some of the appeals, however, were used in unworthy ways to persuade the public to hoard even though most stores still had ample stocks to last several months (Powel, 1942: 201).

The growth of the new medium of television in the 1950s had a great influence on advertising. Jamieson's (1988: 91-92) *electronic eloquence* can be applied here as persuasive messages are brought to the intimate environment of our living rooms in a more conversational way. The slogans of the 1950s such as Dr Pepper's *The friendly pepper-upper* and Eastman Kodak's *Open me first* illustrate a conversational style which would engage the audience with the advertisements and their respective messages. In Dr Pepper's *The friendly pepper-upper*, the neologism, *pepper-upper*, gives the slogan an informal touch and this is reinforced by the adjective *friendly*. In Eastman Kodak's *Open me first*, the imperative, *open*, used with a personal pronoun, *me*, in the context of opening Christmas presents (as mentioned in the qualitative analysis of Chapter 4), gives this slogan not only a personal but also a conversational ring to it. As explained by Leech, (1966: 80-81):

A personal style is marked by free use of first person and second person reference, and sometimes also of forms of language (eg. imperatives...) which involve the first and second persons without direct reference.

Television reinforced the message of slogans through repetition which became very effective (McDonough, 2002: 785). On the other hand:

Critics claim that 1950s advertisements were not only bland and unimaginative but also reflected the conformity of the decade. Soon the compulsively obedient *organization man* of William Whyte's 1956 study by the same name would give way to the creative revolutionary of the 1960s (McDonough, 2002: 786).

What this means is that advertising began to reach saturation point during this period. Consumers were bombarded with messages from all corners, especially with the advent of television. Did this have a negative effect on the consumer? The effects of repetition are directly related to the exposure of the consumer to an advertisement as explained:

There is some evidence that a sequence of exposures has more impact than the sum of the single exposures. The impact is cumulative due to the process of reinforcement. A one-time exposure may simply be forgotten and have little effect while a continuous sequence of advertisements keeps the consumer aware of the product (Shaffer, 1964: 396).

Therefore, consumers may have been familiar with the numerous slogans that came their way at that time but according to critics, what they needed was something different, something more creative. Here are a few examples of slogans of the 1950s from my data: Coca-Cola's *Help yourself to refreshment* (1950), Ford Motor Company's *Speak first with Ford* (1950s), The General Electric Company's

Progress is our most important product (1950s), Guinness & Co.'s *Christmas time is Guinness time*, IBM Corporation's *A tool for modern times* and PepsiCo Inc.'s *Refreshing without filling* (1954). I agree that there was not much creativity shown in advertising slogans at that time even if they managed to attract consumers through repetition.

Therefore, with conflicting views, the advertisements of the 1950s paved the way towards a new period.

c. The period beginning from the 1960s addressed the 'jaded consumer saturated with ads' (Myers, 1994: 28). A lot of famous advertisements of this period were 'ads about ads' such as the Avis slogan, *We're only number 2. We try harder.* (Myers, 1994: 25). The advertiser assumed that we were aware that organisations had a preference for advertising that they were the biggest of something hence 'the massive weight of persuasive advertising' which the consumer was exposed to during this period (Thompson, 1964: 38).

Advertisers of this period addressed the jaded consumer 'with ironies, parodies, ads on ads, puns, and juxtaposition of competing discourses, in the text and the images' (Myers, 1994: 28). Advertisements during this period startled people with unconventional slogans and headlines such as *Lemon* for the Volkswagen car where the noun was 'colloquially used for defective cars' (Myers, 1994: 25). Although irony is rarely used in advertising as it is 'potentially destructive of the whole shared enterprise', it was used in this *Lemon* campaign and in many other advertisements during the 1970s (Deighton, 1985: 434). 'Ironic

advertising' worked here as it fitted in with 'the excesses of other advertisers' of this period. The bottom line is that it is not very good practice to 'foster a cynical interpretation of consumption experiences' (Deighton, 1985: 434).

The analysis of my study does not reveal any unconventional slogans in the 1960s. This is probably because those advertisements 'emerged from new, smaller, creative firms in the 1960s' (Myers, 1994: 26) whereas my study used mainly large or multinational companies. Nevertheless, the analysis shows the use of *puns*, *idioms* and humour in the advertising slogans of the 1960s. Examples are *It's opening time for canned Guinness* (1960), Daimler Chrysler's *Let yourself go* (1966) and *Lucky Strike separates the men from the boys...but not from the girls* (early 1960s) respectively.

Due to 'the changing nature of commodities' and the different personalities of advertising agents, copywriters in the 1970s somewhat ridiculed the humour and language play that was used in the 1960s (Myers, 1994: 26). The analysis of my study, however, illustrates that the slogans of the 1970s also used *puns* such as the Guinness slogan, *An Arthur Guinness production* (1979). These slogans also show creativity and humour such as Ford's *The score for '76: Mustang 11. Boredom 0*. Another creative and rather unconventional one is Pepsi's 1973 slogan: *Lipsmackin' thirstquenchin' acetastin' motivatin' goodbuzzin' cooltalkin' highwalkin' fastlivin' ever givin' coolfizzin' Pepsi*, targeted towards young people. This slogan is unconventional as we do not usually come across a combination of nine adjectival compounds and an adjective meant to form a long, single adjective with apostrophes denoting contractions to replace commas. In addition, a few adjectival

compounds like *lipsmackin'* are common but others like *goodbuzzin'* are not. Leech (1966: 140) explains:

Be this as it may, advertising compounds in general represent a departure from commonplace linguistic expression, and seem to add vigour and impact to the advertising message.

Yet another unconventional one is Guinness's *I've never tried it because I don't like it* (1973) which goes against the advertising norm of highlighting the positive attributes of a product or service. According to Foster (2001: 20), *negative* slogans should not be used. I agree that slogans that convey *negative* messages may not make consumers rush out to buy the products concerned but these slogans can be memorable to the consumer because of their uniqueness. In any case, this Guinness slogan, though unconventional, is not totally *negative* as the reason for disliking the drink is not having tried it. So this may just arouse the curiosity of consumers to give the drink a try.

The slogans of the 1980s also show the use of *idioms* and humour such as in Dr Pepper's *Just what the Dr ordered* (1987). Therefore, in general, the data and analysis do illustrate the use of a few unconventional slogans during the period of the 1960s-1980s. What types of slogans abound in the 1990s and in the beginning of the new century?

d. The 1990s till the present falls in the period of the media age. We live in a 'mediated, technological environment of contemporary society' as we are constantly interacting with the media (Borchers, 2002: 6). Is it surprising then that 'In today's world of mediated persuasion, much is left unsaid'? (Borchers, 2002: 20). Slayden (1999. In Borchers, 2002: 20) argues that we are currently experiencing 'the end of persuasion and the rise of information'. They often achieve this by just telling the consumer about their product or idea. He adds:

Advertising today does not state claims about the product or service being advertised. The audience already knows the proposition the advertiser will advance (Slayden, 1999. In Borchers, 2002: 20).

It is taken for granted that advertisers today are not genuine in their act of persuading and to solve this problem, the advertiser should 'treat the consumer as an active and disenchanted interpreter' (Myers, 1994: 26). Consumers, in turn, tend to follow the crowd in that we feel a lot safer knowing that other people are doing the same thing; a natural inclination. Another tendency of consumers may be to 'impress the Joneses next door' so that what others think of us becomes more important than what we really are (Thompson, 1964: 28). Hence, 'the multiplicity of small pressures work together to effect significant shifts in the total pattern of socially-accepted values' (Thompson, 1964: 31).

Advertising today is competitive as advertisers have to 'compete for attention in a world where they are ubiquitous' (Myers, 1994: 26). Advertisers may

not seem a trustworthy lot but we still fall for their rhetorical strategies which includes 'stereotyped lifestyles' depicted in advertisements (Wilmshurst, 1985: 11). On the other hand, after experiencing decades of advertising, the consumer has become more skilful in decoding advertisements. Consumers use their emotions to make decisions when faced with a persuasive message. Their emotions or feelings enable them to make sense of the language strategies present in a message such as an advertisement (Borchers, 2002: 275; Jones, 2007: 75). It can be said that 'emotional responses precede rational analysis' in consumers' purchasing decisions (Du Plessis, 2000: 384). However, consumers also need motivation in order to positively respond to a persuader's message and this 'includes both cognitive and affective processes through which people establish...whether a given media message is worth their while' (Schroder, 2000: 244). Hence advertisers become more daring as they are faced with the challenge of coming up with novel ways to attract and persuade the consumer as there are many products that make similar claims.

The analysis of this study shows that advertising slogans of this period have the tendency to be a lot shorter than their predecessors. One or two-word slogans and fragments are being used more and more in today's slogans. This conforms to the short, clipped *masculine* style discussed earlier in this chapter. The shorter the slogans, the more the *tropes* and the fewer the *schemes* would become. This corresponds to the results of the quantitative analysis that slogans from the 1990s to the present contain more *tropes* than *schemes*. Apart from fragments, advertisers are also resorting to other linguistic violations to set their slogans apart from the others.

Advertisers are also acting as agents in helping shape the consumer's future (framing).

Examples of slogans having these features are Pepsi's *More happy* (2007), Maidenform's *They crave passion* (1990s), IBM's *Are you ready for e-business?* (1998), Guinness's *Brilliant!* (2005), Daimler Chrysler's *Hi* (1994) and *Dodge. Different.* (2000), Dr Pepper's *Be you* (after 2001) and Coca-Cola's *One and only* (2003).

To put it in a nutshell, let's go back to Myer's appeal pattern.

If ads of the 1890s said BUY OUR SOAP

and those of the 1920s said BUY a better life when you buy OUR SOAP

the ads of the 1960s said something like:

There are so many ads telling you to BUY OUR SOAP, and we know you are too smart to fall for ads, so we won't tell you to BUY OUR SOAP, but will let you consider for yourself, and anyway we will assume you have already BOUGHT OUR SOAP.

(Myers, 1994: 26)

I would like to add to the appeal pattern that the ads from the 1990s till the present would say SO.AP...

Just as there have been changes in persuasive strategies by advertisers, there has also been an expansion of advertising to include newer commodities. These are services such as university courses, hospitals, medical charities etc. There has also been an expansion of new media and sponsorship of sports events and the arts. There is now only a thin line dividing advertising and pop culture as feature films like Jurassic Park are promoting products and Benetton are running advertisements that do not relate to their clothing retail business (Myers, 1994: 26).

6.3.1.2 Relating the Findings to Myer's Periods

In relating the quantitative findings of this study to Myers' periodisation, the trend of *schemes* showed a significant rise during the early 1900s (refer to Fig.1). This is parallel to Myers' statement that linguistic strategies were used to lend catchiness to the advertisements of that period as this is the main function of *schemes*.

During the 1920s till the end of the 1930s, the quantitative findings show a gradual rise in the use of *tropes* with a slight fall in the following two decades. Therefore the first part of the period tallies with Myers' explanation that there was 'metaphorical substitution of one thing for another' as *tropes* fall into this category (Myers, 1994: 27). Although the findings show a very gradual fall of *tropes* during the second half of Myers' 1920-1950 period, in general, the use of *tropes* during this period was higher than in the early decades of the 20th century. This period, however, also showed the highest use of *schemes* but Myers did not mention

schemes during this period other than to just give one example of repetition in a Persil slogan (Myers, 1994: 23).

For the third period, that is, from the 1960s, the findings show a slight fall in *tropes* during the sixties but a significant rise from the 1970s. This coincides with Myers' observation that advertisers during this period used *ironies*, *puns* and the like to revive the interest of the jaded consumer.

In relating Myers' periods to the trend of the communicative and stylistic strategies in this study, there was a gradual fall in the use of *deixis* and *personalisation* from the 1990s (refer to Fig. 5). The use of this strategy showed a decline as advertising slogans became shorter and more concise and they also did not conform to linguistic conventions. However, Myers does not differentiate the advertisements from the 1990s and beyond but groups all the advertisements from the 1960s together into one period, in this case till 1994 when his book was published. Therefore this part of his periodisation is incomplete as the advertisements from the 1990s show a decreased use of personal pronouns.

The findings of this study also show a rise and fall trend in the use of the brand name in advertising slogans. In examining the use of the brand name, a decline is evident in Myers' first period beginning from the late 1800s. The data shows that it was used only by large corporations such as The Coca-Cola Company and Ford Motor Company during that period. The use of the brand name fell during the First World War. This can be explained by the focus of advertising messages of this period towards war appeals more than on establishing brands. Myers' second period showed both a rise and fall in the use of the brand name as was the case with

his third period beginning from the 1960s as advertisers tried to win back the confidence of the consumers.

Linguistic violations were found to be very prominent in Myers' third period, specifically in the 1970s (see Fig. 5). This correlates with his statement that advertisers of this period startled people with their unconventional slogans and the use of *puns*, creativity and humour.

In summary, Myers (1994: 27) gives a general explanation of this division of periods:

I have been treating these periods as discontinuous stages, separated by sharp economic changes. But we should also remember that there is a great deal of continuity in advertising history. Instead of moving on along a road to some goal, as in the popular idea of progress, advertising history piles layer on layer, with the earlier periods still there. Many of the most common appeals of advertisers persist through all the stages I have discussed.

This section has discussed the findings of my study in relation to four different periods based on Myers' (1994: 17) division. Myer's division of periods is useful as it takes into account socio-economic factors, relating them to the language used in advertising during the different periods. Although he does not discuss the language of advertising slogans of the different periods in detail, this is exemplified by the data of my study.

Therefore, in general, the quantitative findings of this study show that Myers' (1994: 17) division of periods is partly correct although incomplete. As it is

not detailed, I have put forward my divisions at the beginning of this section (6.3.1) in order to fill the gaps and provide an updated division of the periods. Myers defines decisive breaks within the different periods. Although his division is viable on a quantitative basis, a major trend, the rise and fall pattern, is unexplained by him. So there is a need for further explanation of my findings. Therefore, what do the changes in all these decades reflect?

6.3.1.3 *The Rise and Fall Pattern*

The quantitative analysis shows a clear rise and fall pattern throughout the decades of both rhetorical figures and communicative and stylistic strategies used in advertising slogans. The pattern was also present in the layering of the rhetorical figures throughout the decades. Section 6.3.1 discussed the changes in these figures and strategies within each period. It is now appropriate to study another theoretical explanation which applies to modern literature, that of Lodge (1977) and Carter (2004).

Modern English literature has a history that is perceived to be an oscillation between two poles of writing. Lodge divides this oscillation pattern into periods:

...an oscillation in the practice of writing between polarised clusters of attitudes and techniques: modernist, symbolist or mythopoeic, writerly and metaphoric on the one hand; antimodernist, realistic, readerly and metonymic on the other (Lodge, 1977: 220).

Hence, for instance, any innovation such as 'a new mode of writing foregrounding itself against the background of the received mode when the latter becomes stale and exhausted' is a pattern that is repeated in the course of the history of English literature (Lodge, 1977: 220). However, the creative work itself that is produced in literature does not follow a specific pattern - it is left to the imagination of those who come up with rich and fertile ideas.

Lodge (1977: 76-77) uses the ideas related to Jakobson's metaphor-metonymic mode of discourse, applying them to English literature. The distinction between metaphor and metonymy 'explains why at the deepest level there is a cyclical rhythm to literary history' as discourse can only move back and forth between these two poles (Lodge, 1977: 220). He further adds:

Both metaphoric and metonymic modes of writing involve selection, and selection involves leaving something out (Lodge, 1977: 230).

Roman Jakobson put forward his theory where 'metaphor and metonymy are polar opposites corresponding to the selection and combination axes of language...' (Lodge, 1977: 77). He begins by outlining a basic principle of structural linguistics originating from Saussure. The principle states that language has a dual character and that it consists of the functions of *selection* and *combination* when used. In Jakobson's theory, metaphor corresponds to the selection axis and metonymy corresponds to the combination axis (Lodge, 1977: 74, 76-77). In a normal verbal exchange, both the selection and combination processes

work hand-in-hand but 'under the influence of a cultural pattern, personality, and verbal style, preference is given to one of the two processes over the other' (Jakobson, 2002: 63).

In Jakobson's theory, metaphor is identified with Romanticism and metonymy with 'a segment of 19th century realism' (Pomorska, Chodakowska, McLean and Vine, 1987: 241). In a continuum, therefore, he places poetry as being closer to metaphor and prose to metonymy (Pomorska et al., 1987: 242). In applying the distinction between metaphor and metonymy, the literary text is metaphoric in nature and the non-literary text is metonymic. The literary text is metaphoric as when it is interpreted, it becomes 'a total metaphor: the text is the vehicle, the world is the tenor' (Lodge, 1977: 109). Jakobson's theory is not only used in literature but it can also be applied to non-literary discourse such as spoken discourse and advertising.

In relation to advertising, the findings of my study clearly show the presence of the cyclical pattern that involves the selection of certain rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in a particular period but not in others as discussed in Section 6.3.1.1. In the 1920s, for instance, radio transmissions began in most industrialised countries which included the U.S. and the U.K. (McDonough, 2002: 765; Anon., 2001c). The findings reveal that the use of schemes was at its peak in the 1920s and 1930s. This is not surprising as advertisers would have had to make use of repetition in their slogans or jingles to make them catchy enough to attract the audience through the medium of radio. Therefore, schemes were selected in favour of tropes as they are more effective than tropes on radio.

Interestingly, this cyclical pattern is not only innovative in poetry and prose but it is also built into our everyday discourse. Carter (2004: 101) has discovered the oscillation pattern in spoken discourse. Speakers make use of *pattern forming* and *pattern reforming* patterns in their interactions. In spoken interaction, speakers are free to use words of their own choice whether it is a conversation between two people or within a group. They can retract their words if they wish, interrupt the speaker, repeat words, phrases or sentences, and they can even change the subject totally. Speakers are not aware that they are actually forming patterns when they speak. These patterns are only clear when their speeches are analysed as further explained:

Patterns are always potentially present in language, and language users always have options whether or not to establish patterns and, if so, what kind of patterns to create...There are patterns which are based on repetition. Such patterns are not always noticed by speakers when they are speaking although they are easily identified when a transcript is analysed (Carter, 2004: 101).

Speakers have 'two main motivating choices' with regard to words and their patterns: *pattern forming* choices and *pattern re-forming* choices. Patterns are formed and they may be broken and re-formed and re-shaped. Repetition is the most conspicuous *pattern forming* choice and speakers use this in order to form a

common ground and foster mutuality within the group. This interaction then enhances creativity (Carter, 2004: 102).

Pattern re-forming can be more radical as explained:

Co-conversationalists are prompted to pleasure and laughter, to more evaluative and affective viewpoints and to a more innovative reshaping of our ways of seeing. They involve new words and novel expressions, implying change and normally involving a single producer who brings about *novel* changes to the language in ways which are innovative, schema-refreshing and in keeping with the post-Romantic views of creativity...(Carter, 2004: 102).

Therefore, *pattern forming* choices are more conforming as linguistic rules will be complied with unlike *pattern reforming* choices and the former is associated with creativity in the pre-Romantic period. Although the patterns operate separately, they are also often combined (Carter, 2004: 102). *Pattern forming* and *pattern reforming* can also be applied to advertising. For instance, in the 1950s, television became an important medium of advertising (McDonough, 2002: 784). In order to persuade television audiences, advertisers needed to use more conversational features of language to establish rapport with them in order to bring the messages to the intimate environment of the living room. This was discussed under Jamieson's (1988: 91-92) concept of *electronic eloquence* in chapter two and again touched on in section 6.3.1 of this chapter. Therefore informal language and a

conversational tone were used in slogans of that decade. In addition, as it was an audio-visual medium, a lot of repetition and mnemonics were also used. This can be paralleled to *pattern forming* choices as it involves repetition. Besides, the conversational elements of language would create a rapport between the advertiser and the audience/ consumer which is also a feature of *pattern forming* choices.

In the 1960s and 1970s when consumers became sated with the glut of advertisements surrounding them, advertisers decided to take on a more radical approach. Copywriters resorted to more creative ways of dealing with the saturated consumer. Hence more idioms, linguistic violations and unconventional styles were employed in the slogans of these decades as depicted by the findings of my study. This conforms to *pattern reforming* choices which brought novelty and innovation to the nature of the slogans of those decades.

Therefore, it was clear from the above examples that *pattern forming* paved the way for *pattern reforming* thus creating ‘peaks and troughs’ of creativity (Carter, 2004: 108). It is important to add that just as in spoken discourse, *pattern forming* and *pattern reforming* do not merely function as ornaments but fulfil ‘fundamental communicative purposes’ (Carter, 2004: 109). In this case, the purpose is to persuade the consumer to purchase a product or service advertised by the company or to establish a sense of trust in the company and its products or services.

Both Carter’s and Lodge’s ideas are parallel in that they are not merely linguistic or rhetorical devices but instead they become whole discourse strategies and form an oscillating pattern. In other words, this pattern can be likened to the

effect of a pendulum which swings back and forth without stopping as language is dynamic and moves all the time. This pattern in advertising is as described:

Conventional histories of advertising, especially if they are written by advertising people, usually stress the constant improvement of the marketing strategies and copywriting. Each new decade becomes a new age that sees discovery of new and improved methods. We may tend to treat earlier ads as just quaint because of their superficial differences, failing to see the basic ways they are like current ads. In this limited view, if ads are seen as having a relation to a changing society, it is because of their content – the way these ads refer to listening to the afternoon concert, or to hand washing, or to whites rather than colours, and others may refer to unemployment in the 1930s, rationing in the 1940s, ... (Myers, 1994: 17).

As we have seen, this oscillating pattern in advertising occurs where one generation of advertisers employ a set of figures and strategies and the next generation would discard them and reinvent the wheel. Copywriters do it in the course of creating an advertising slogan, for instance. The results of the analysis of this study are testimony to this. For instance, schemes were used abundantly in the 1930s but their use fell in the 1940s and 1950s. The brand name was popularly used in slogans in the 1960s and 1970s but it began to decline in the 1980s and 1990s. Hence, the rise and fall pattern of the use of rhetorical figures and the communicative and linguistic strategies is clearly evident throughout the decades.

This trend does not only occur with a change of generation but also with the introduction of new media and the expectations of consumers as was pointed out in section 6.3.1. Advertising also has to embrace ‘currents of social discontent’ which may have an adverse effect on the ‘industry’s freedom of action’ and eventually on the basic economic principles (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985: 121). In fact, advertising is constantly striving to ‘control the future’ to ensure production and sales run smoothly (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985: 122). The rise and fall pattern is reflected here as described:

...advertising is constantly trying to preserve time-honoured, stabilising formulas and values and the current status quo against new practices and attitudes. When new sentiments achieve a breakthrough, in spite of advertising and other conservative factors, the industry is quick to adjust; for instance there has been a demonstrable change towards greater equality which the advertising industry certainly didn’t initiate and which it is doing its best to deflect and arrest (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985: 122).

Therefore, we have seen the presence of the oscillating pattern in advertising based on my study. Can the metaphoric-metonymic mode of discourse also be applied to these findings? For the first to the last decade of the analysis, I have devised a cyclical continuum that begins from the late nineteenth century till the beginning of the twenty-first century. On the one extreme are the characteristics of

the slogans of the earliest period and on the other extreme are those of the last period as shown in Figure 16.

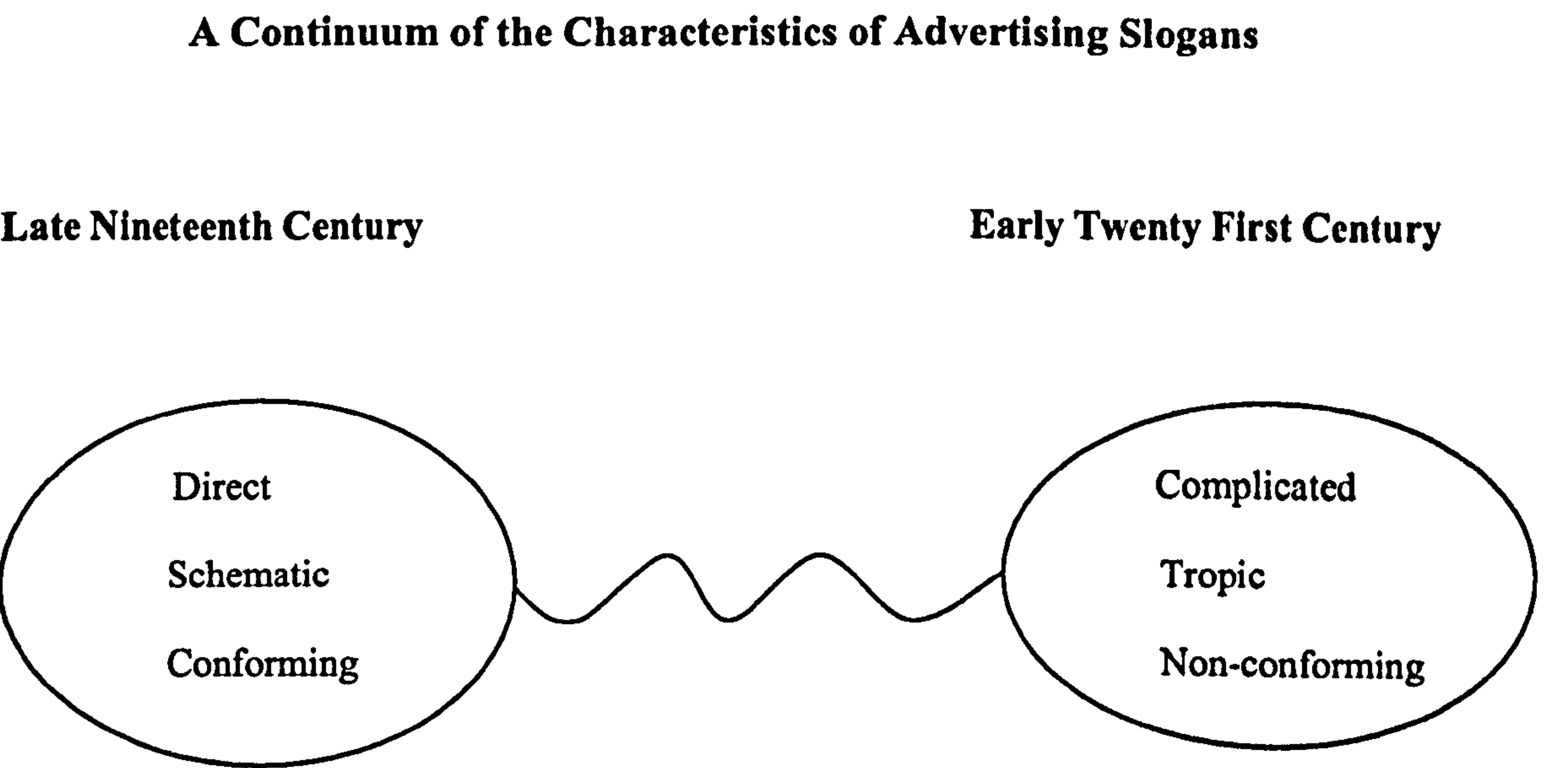


Fig. 16

Figure 16 incorporates the features of Jakobson’s metaphor-metonymic poles and the oscillation pattern of Lodge (1977) and Carter (2004) to illustrate the characteristics of advertising slogans from one end of a spectrum to another. On the one extreme are the characteristics of the early slogans and on the other are the characteristics of the current slogans. The early slogans are categorised as straightforward and did not mislead the consumer as they aimed to provide information about product benefits as was discussed in section 6.3.1. They also consisted of more schemes than tropes. The slogans also conformed to linguistic

conventions. On the other extreme, the slogans puzzled the consumer, used more tropes than schemes and did not conform to linguistic rules.

In between these two extremes, the characteristics could move back and forth. They could be found in one decade but not in another following the cyclical pattern suggested by Lodge. The main difference between this pattern and Jakobson's is that it does not fit into the metaphor-metonymic mode of discourse. This is because both schemes and tropes are poetic devices and are therefore metaphoric. As metaphor is a trope and not a scheme, I cannot apply the metaphor-metonymic division in this case. However, the movement is in effect similar to that of Jakobson's and to Carter's and Lodge's.

In closing, '... poetics may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics' (Jakobson, 1960: 350). Hence, the study of poetry is an important component in the study of any kind of language. The literary and the linguistic must come together as Jakobson puts it:

If there are some critics who still doubt the competence of linguistics to embrace the field of poetics, I privately believe that the poetic incompetence of some bigoted linguists has been mistaken for an inadequacy of the linguistic science itself...a linguist deaf to the poetic function of language and a literary scholar indifferent to linguistic problems and unversant with linguistic methods are equally flagrant anachronisms (Jakobson, 1960: 377).

In Jakobson's paper, 'Linguistics and Poetics', he speaks of the poetic function of language as projecting 'the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination' (Jakobson, 1960: 358). The poetic function does not only appear in poetry but, as we have seen, is also present in spoken discourse and advertising. Copywriters demonstrate an innate ability and innate sensitivity in forming a pattern and then reforming it, that is, they are spontaneously creating and recreating. It is a tendency that is justifiable on poetic grounds. Just as Carter (2004: 101) stated that we do not usually notice specific patterns in the course of a conversation but only identify them once they are formally analysed, the same applies to this study which has now identified patterns inherent in advertising slogans.

6.4 A Taxonomy for Analysing Advertising Slogans

In this study, I have researched and analysed, both qualitatively and quantitatively, advertising slogans under three different categories. I now combine the different frameworks to develop a new theoretical framework which includes a new taxonomy. I have decided to create a taxonomy for analysing advertising slogans as currently one does not exist. The closest is that of McQuarrie's and Mick's (1996: 426) taxonomy which consists of only rhetorical figures. Their taxonomy was created from the analysis of advertising headlines in print advertisements.

In this age of the media, rhetorical figures alone are inadequate in persuading the audience or the consumer as this study has proven. Rhetorical

figures on their own would not explain the reasons as to why and how a particular slogan appears the way it is. The discipline of rhetoric itself encompasses more than rhetorical figures as echoed:

...there is much more to the rhetorical tradition than a discussion of figures...(McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 435).

However, in order to move a step further, stylistics was taken into account in order to analyse and bring out the effects of the slogans. Stylistics is not new to the ancient rhetoricians as they had been studying language and grammar during the classical era. Therefore, to include stylistics in this taxonomy is not considered a linguistic revolution. It is merely to enrich McQuarrie and Mick's 1996 taxonomy in order to provide a more comprehensive method of analysing advertising slogans. To enrich it even further, communicative theories such as Burke's Theory of Dramatism was also included.

Therefore, in combining McQuarrie & Mick's (1996) framework for rhetorical figures, Burke's Theory of Dramatism (1966) for the communicative strategies, Leech's (1966) and Wales's (1996, 2002) for the stylistic and linguistic strategies, I have drawn up a new taxonomy for analyzing advertising slogans (refer to Figure 17).

In this taxonomy, I have named the two persuasive devices, which are rhetorical figures and communicative and stylistic/ linguistic strategies as the two

main headings. This is followed by the various sub-headings for both the figures and the strategies.

The sub-headings for the rhetorical figures are *schemes* and *tropes*. The schemes and tropes I have listed are the ones I obtained from the results of my analysis. I have included twelve schemes and twelve tropes, omitting those with very low percentage of occurrences. However, for the tropes, I have decided to omit *litotes* and replace it with *irony* which had an extremely low occurrence. The reason for my decision is that I feel that irony has been found in slogans of products that I did not analyse and that it will continue to be found in tropes in the future. The use of irony such as in the Qantas airline slogan, *I hate Qantas!* (McDonough, 2002: 433) is unconventional. Taking into account both Myers' (1994:28) periodisation and the rise and fall pattern, irony may become trendy again within the next few decades, just as it was from the 1960s to the 1980s.

The second sub-heading is *communicative and stylistic/ linguistic* strategies and under this sub-heading, there are two components: *communicative* and *stylistic/linguistic*. Under the communicative component, I have included Burke's concept of framing and his symbols which consist of *negative*, *hierarchy* and *perfection*. Under the stylistic/linguistic component are the four sub-components: *deixis and personalisation*, *idioms*, *violations* and *deviant styles*. These four sub-components, in turn, branch out into their respective types.

Under *deixis and personalisation* are *deictic words*, *absolute uniqueness* and *personal pronouns*. *Idioms* stand on their own. *Violations* branch out into the four

types: *grammatical, lexical, orthographic* and *semantic*. The last sub-component is *deviant styles* which branch out into the *masculine* and *feminine* components.

The use of the *brand name* was the second most popular strategy used in the slogans analysed. However, many successful slogans such as IBM Corporation's *Think* did not use the *brand name*. For this reason, I have decided not to include *brand name* in the taxonomy.

Lastly, *sexual innuendos* are used to a limited extent, especially in slogans related to women's products such as the Maidenform lingerie. However, they have also been found in the Continental Airlines slogan, *We really move our tail for you*. Whether or not the strategy was deliberately intended in this case needs to be researched. Since sexual innuendoes are not widely employed in advertising, I have decided to exclude it from the taxonomy.

A TAXONOMY OF RHETORICAL, COMMUNICATIVE AND STYLISTIC/ LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES FOR ANALYSING ADVERTISING SLOGANS

Rhetorical Figures & Communicative and Stylistic Strategies

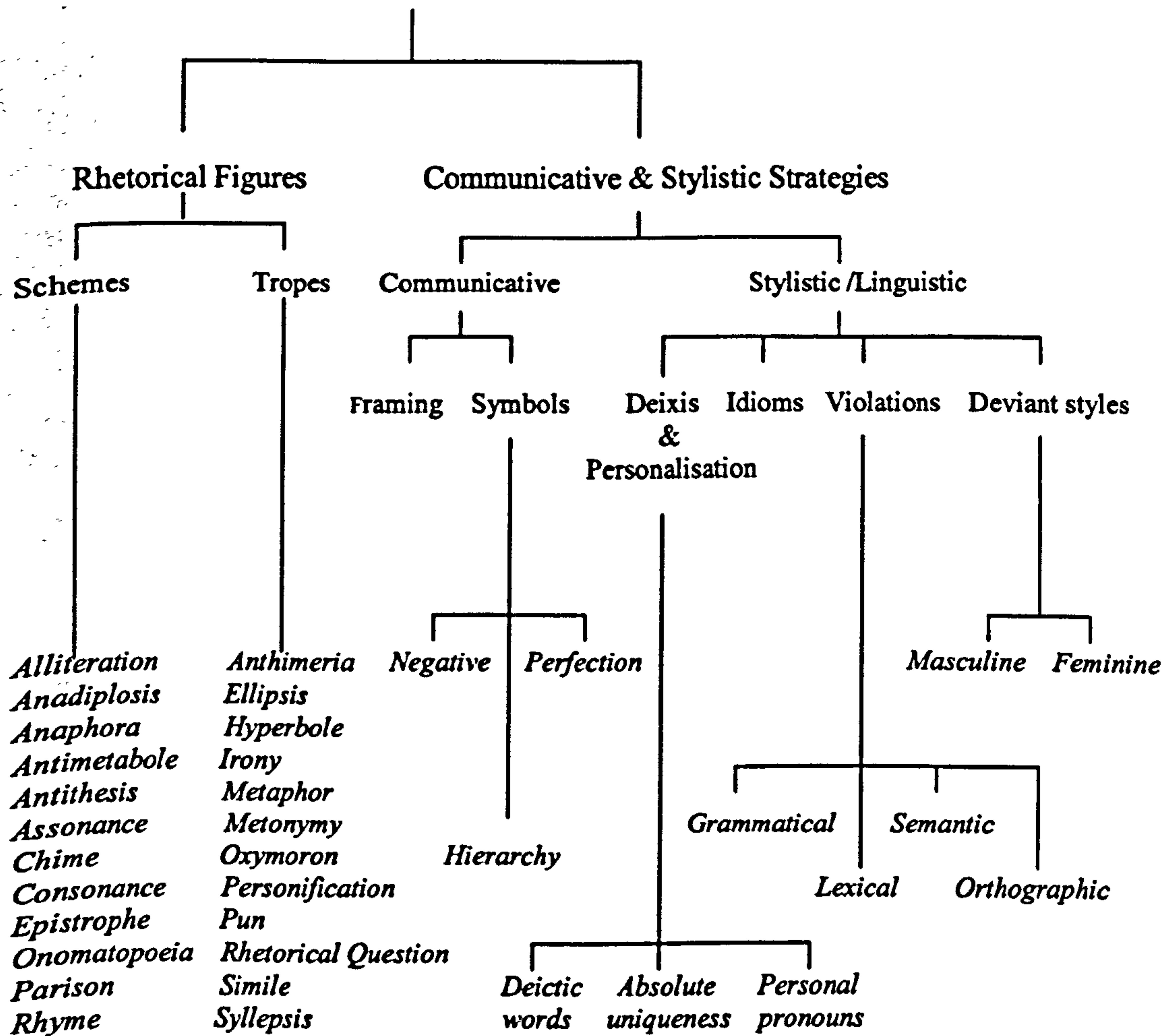


Fig. 17

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION OF STUDY

7.1 General Conclusions

To sum up this thesis, I make the following conclusions:

- a. Both schemes and tropes are used widely in advertising slogans and have been used for over a hundred years.
- b. The trend is that schemes were used more in the late 1800s and in the first half of the 20th century while tropes were used less during that period. However, the use of tropes began to gradually increase in the second half of the 20th century while the use of schemes started to decrease during the same period.
- c. There is a layering of rhetorical figures throughout the decades but the layering started to decrease towards the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century as advertising slogans were becoming shorter.
- d. Various persuasive strategies that fall into different categories have been found present in advertising slogans. These are communicative and stylistic/ linguistic strategies. Under these are the use of Burke's concept of framing and his use of symbols, deictic elements and personalisation, idioms, deviant styles and linguistic violations.

- e. The two kinds of persuasive strategies that show a marked increase in the late 20th century and early 21st century are deviant styles and linguistic violations. On the other hand, personalisation has shown a decrease during the same period.
- f. The use of the brand name and sexual innuendos are also strategies that are used. The use of the brand name is a relatively popular strategy. The use of sexual innuendos is mainly confined to women's products.

In summary, this study was aimed at providing a framework for analysing advertising slogans as up to now, one did not exist. It has also achieved its aim of constructing a taxonomy to analyse advertising slogans. I have applied McQuarrie and Mick's (1996) framework and taxonomy used for analysing advertising headlines as a guide. However, they have only included rhetorical figures which I feel is inadequate for a comprehensive analysis of advertisements to be carried out. Therefore, I have combined the three distinct but related disciplines of rhetoric, communication and stylistics/ linguistics to come up with a new, comprehensive framework for analyzing advertising slogans which, I hope, will be adequate for analysis in advertising. In addition, the rise and fall pattern of the use of rhetorical figures and communicative and stylistic/ linguistic strategies throughout the decades was identified and discussed. This was also related to the metaphoric-metonymic mode of discourse. The result was a cyclical continuum that stretched from the late nineteenth century till the beginning of the twenty-first century.

7.2 Limitations of the Study

- a. The data for this study covered all the decades but the exact number of slogans could not be obtained for every decade. Calculating the mean helped resolve any discrepancies caused by this imbalance.
- b. There were more slogans of products than services used in this study. In general, it was difficult to obtain the year or decade of creation of the slogans of the products and services as they have not been catalogued in that way. Only multinational organisations like The Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo. Inc have such compiled lists of their slogans.
- c. This study did not include the visual aspect as it was felt that slogans do not always appear with visuals such as when they are heard on the radio. This is unlike the case of advertising headlines and body text which are accompanied by visuals.
- d. The schemes and tropes that were found in the slogans were my interpretation as the researcher but may not have been the intention of the persuader. For the qualitative analysis, the slogans were examined from the perspective of both the persuader and the consumer. For the quantitative analysis, identification was based on the figures and strategies that were present in the slogans.
- e. Not being a native speaker of English may have created a slight margin of error in recognising certain stressed syllables for analysing schemes such as *assonance*. This can be compared to the difference between the accents of British English and American

English where the different pronunciations can cause variations in *assonance* and *rhyme*. This uncertainty was minimised with the help of the dictionary which gives phonetic transcription of words.

f. Not all the companies had slogans that began in the late 1800s. The slogans of Continental Airlines Inc., and Daimler Chrysler, for instance, began in the 1930s.

7.3 Implications of the Study

It is hoped that this study will pave the way for future research on rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies in advertising. A lot of research has been done on figures in isolation but not much has been done on the combination of these figures in advertising. Therefore, it is hoped that this study will help provide continuity to the research done by McQuarrie and Mick (1996: 424-438) on the combination of rhetorical figures and the trend of the layering of these figures.

Besides, it is hoped that this study will be of use to media researchers and advertisers who wish to study the extent to which rhetorical figures and communicative and stylistic/ linguistic strategies contribute to the general effectiveness of advertising slogans. Hopefully, the study will also shed some light on how rhetorical figures and communicative and stylistic/ linguistic strategies work together in combination which will be useful to researchers in the field.

Communication scholars could also get some insight into the workings of the communication theories used in this study. An important contribution of this study, which was first undertaken by Leech (1966), is the further application of stylistics and

linguistics into the realm of advertising and not merely in the study of literature. It is also hoped that this study would contribute towards further enhancing the creativity of copywriters in devising effective advertising slogans.

7.4 Further Research

McQuarrie and Mick's (1996) framework dealt with advertising headlines in print advertisements. This research involved advertising slogans which can appear in any medium such as audio, audio-visual and electronic. However, as the visual aspect was not examined in this research, future research can utilise the framework of this study to analyse advertising slogans with visuals.

The study can also be extended by using this framework and taxonomy to analyse other components of advertising such as headlines and body text. Following this, the framework and taxonomy can also be used to examine the trend of advertising headlines and body text to determine if there are similar patterns as those found in this study on slogans.

Further research can be done to ascertain if there are differences in the use of rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies between advertising slogans of products and those of services.

As linguistic violations and deviant styles are being increasingly employed in advertising slogans, more research can be done on these two strategies with regard to advertising headlines and body text. Further research may bring about new discoveries related to the use of these two strategies.

The extent to which rhetorical figures and persuasive strategies are used to enhance memorability in advertising slogans should also be researched. Following this, it would also be interesting to carry out more research on unconventional slogans to study the effects they have on memorability and to what extent they actually work in persuading the consumer.

Finally, the layering of rhetorical figures not only in slogans but also in headlines and body text of advertisements can be further studied. Parallel to this, the layering of communication and stylistic/ linguistic strategies in advertising headlines and body text can also be analysed.

7.5 Closing Statement

In closing, rhetorical figures that have been described and enumerated since antiquity are still found to be the staple techniques that advertisers use today. In spite of the technological progress of our era, we still find the same rhetorical strategies that shaped the speeches of Socrates, Gorgias and Cicero. What this means is not that the contemporary advertisers are all gifted with such talent but they have actually learnt to make good use of what ancient rhetoricians have uncovered in language. It means that language is still the more powerful weapon in persuading people, just as it was hundreds of years ago. In addition, the pattern of changes parallels a similar pattern in literature and also patterns in spoken discourse and this is a worthwhile finding of this study.

Appendices

Appendix A

LIST OF ADVERTISING SLOGANS

COMPANY	YEAR
British American Tobacco Plc.	
It's toasted	1916
Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet	1925
Reach for a Lucky when tempted to indulge	1931
Do you inhale? Of course you do!	1932
Lucky Strike has dared to raise this vital question <i>because</i> certain impurities concealed in even the finest, mildest tobacco leaves are removed by Luckies' famous purifying process	
Modern design makes the difference	1939
How Lucky Strike Green has gone to war	1940s
Lucky Strike means fine tobacco	1940s
So round, so firm, so fully packed	1940s
The cigarette which travels the smoke further	1940s
Be happy-go Lucky!	1950
Lucky Strike separates the men from the boys...but not from the girls	Early 1960s
Show me a filter cigarette that delivers the taste, and I'll eat my hat!	Mid-1960s
Come for the filter, you'll stay for the taste	1970s
The experience you seek. Kent.	1986
Smoother, slower burning Pall Mall, last longer	2003
The Coca-Cola Company	
Drink Coca-Cola	1886
Deliciously refreshing	1900

For headache and exhaustion, drink Coca-Cola	
Coca-Cola is a delightful, palatable, healthful beverage	1900
Drink Coca-Cola in bottles - 5¢	1904
Drink a bottle of carbonated Coca-Cola	1904
Coca-Cola revives and sustains	1905
Drink Coca-Cola at soda fountains	1905
The favorite drink for ladies when thirsty, weary and despondent	1905
Good all the way down	1905
Flows from every fountain	1905
Sold in bottles	1905
The drink of quality	1905
The Great National Temperance Beverage	1906
Thirst quenching – delicious and refreshing	1906
Delicious Coca-Cola, sustains, refreshes, invigorates	1906
Good to the last drop	1907
Cooling...refreshing...delicious	1907
Coca-Cola is full of vim, vigor and go – is a snappy drink	1907
Sparkling – harmless as water, and crisp as frost	1907
The satisfactory beverage	1908
Delicious, wholesome, refreshing	1908
Drink delicious Coca-Cola	1909
Drink bottled Coca-Cola – so easily served	1909
Quenches the thirst as nothing else can	1910
It's time to drink Coca-Cola	1910
Real satisfaction in every glass	1911
Demand the genuine – refuse substitutes	1911
Ask for it by its full name – then you will get the genuine	1912
The best beverage under the sun	1913
It will satisfy you	1913
	1913

A welcome addition to any party – anytime – anywhere	
Demand the genuine by full name	1913
Exhilarating, refreshing	1914
Pure and wholesome	1914
The standard beverage	1914
It's fun to be thirsty when you can get a Coca-Cola	1915
Just one glass will tell you	1916
The taste is the test of the Coca-Cola quality	1916
There's a delicious freshness to the flavor of Coca-Cola	1917
Coca-Cola is a perfect answer to thirst that no imitation can satisfy	1917
It satisfies thirst	1919
Quality tells the difference	1919
Drink Coca-Cola with soda	1919
The hit that saves the day	1920
Quenching thirst everywhere	1920
Thirst knows no season	1922
Thirst can't be denied	1922
Thirst reminds you – drink Coca-Cola	1922
Refresh yourself	1922
A perfect blend of pure products from nature	1923
There's nothing like it when you're thirsty	1923
Enjoy thirst	1923
Pause and refresh yourself	1923
Six million a day	1924
The sociable drink	1925
Stop at the red sign and refresh yourself	1925
Thirst and taste for Coca-Cola are the same thing	1925
It had to be good to get where it is	1926
Around the corner from everywhere	1926
	1927

Pure as sunlight	
The pause that refreshes	1927
Meet me at the soda fountain	1929
Ice-cold sunshine	1930
The drink that makes the pause refreshing	1932
Don't wear a tired, thirsty face	1932
Carry a smile back to work	1933
Ice-cold Coca-Cola is everywhere else – it ought to be in your family refrigerator	1934
When it's hard to get started, start with a Coca-Cola	1934
The drink that keeps you feeling right	1934
All trails lead to ice-cold Coca-Cola	1935
The pause that brings friends together	1935
Friends for life	1935
What refreshment ought to be	1935
Get the feel of wholesome refreshment	1936
America's favorite moment	1936
Cold refreshment	1937
So easy to serve and so inexpensive	1937
Stop for a pause...go refreshed	1937
Anytime is the right time to pause and refresh	1937
The best friend thirst ever had	1938
Pure sunlight	1938
Coca-Cola goes along	1938
Make lunch time refreshment time	1939
Makes travel more pleasant	1939
The drink everybody knows	1939
Thirst stops here	1939
Thirst asks nothing more	1939
	1939

Whoever you are, whatever you do, wherever you may be, when you think of refreshment think of ice-cold Coca-Cola	1939
Bring in your thirst and go away without it	
The package that gets a welcome at home	1940
Try it just once and you will know why	1940
A stop that belongs on your daily timetable	1940
The only thing like Coca-Cola is Coca-Cola itself	1941
Refreshment that can't be duplicated	1942
That extra something	1942
A taste all its own	1943
How about a Coke	1943
High sign of friendship	1944
A moment on the sunnyside	1944
Whenever you hear "Have a Coke," you hear the voice of America	1944
Passport to refreshment	1945
Happy moment of hospitality	1945
Coke means Coca-Cola	1945
Coke knows no season	1945
Serving Coca-Cola serves hospitality	1947
Relax with the pause that refreshes	1947
Where there's Coke there's hospitality	1947
Think of lunchtime as refreshment time	1948
Along the highway to anywhere	1948
Help yourself to refreshment	1949
Good food and Coca-Cola just naturally go together	1950
Coke follows thirst everywhere	1951
What you want is a Coke	1952
The gift of thirst	1952
Dependable as sunrise	1952
	1953

For people on the go	
Matchless flavor	1954
Almost everyone appreciates the best	1954
America's preferred taste	1955
Feel the difference	1955
Friendliest drink on earth	1956
Coca-Cola...makes good things taste better	1956
Sign of good taste	1956
Refreshment the whole world prefers	1957
The cold, crisp taste of Coke	1958
Cold, crisp taste that deeply satisfies	1958
Make it a real meal	1959
Be really refreshed	1959
Coke and food – refreshing new feeling	1959
Coca-Cola refreshes you best	1961
A chore's best friend	1962
Things go better with Coke	1963
You'll go better refreshed	1963
Something more than a soft drink	1964
Coke...after Coke...after Coke	1965
That is the right thing!	1966
It's the real thing	1968
I'd like to buy the world a Coke	1969
Look up America	1971
Coke adds life	1975
Coca-Cola gives more life to it	1976
Have a Coke and a smile	1976
Coke is it!	1979
That is Coca-Cola!	1982
	1982

We've got a taste for you	
America's real choice	1985
Catch the wave	1985
Red, white & you	1986
When Coca-Cola is a part of your life, you can't beat the feeling	1986
You can't beat the feeling	1987
Official soft drink of summer	1988
You can't beat the real thing	1989
Always Coca-Cola	1990
Taste it all	1993
Enjoy	1993
Coca-Cola. Enjoy	1996
Life tastes good	2000
Life is beautiful	2001
Coca-Cola...real	2001
One and only	2003
Make it real	2003
The Coke side of life	2005
	2006
Continental Airlines, Inc.	
Fly the old Santa Fe trail	
The blue skyway	1938
First in the west with jet power flights	1940s
The airline that pride built	1958
See the difference that pride makes	mid 1960s
The proud bird with the golden tail	mid 1960s
We really move our tail for you	early 1970s
	1974
Work hard. Fly right.	1998

Daimler Chrysler	
Smoothness of an eight, economy of a four	
Plymouth builds great cars	1932
The car designed with you in mind	From 1947
Your next car	From 1947
Let yourself go	1950s
Plymouth is out to win you over	1966
The beat goes on	1967
Relax. Horizon can handle it.	1968
Dodge trucks are ram tough	1978
The new spirit of Dodge	1980
Driving to be the best	1989
The new Dodge	1989
Hi	1994
Great cars from Chrysler Corporation	1994
Dodge. Different.	1996
	2000
Dr Pepper Snapple Group	
King of beverages	
Drink a bite to eat at 10, 2 and 4	1910-1914
The friendly pepper-upper	1920s
America's most misunderstood soft drink	1955
The most original soft drink ever	Late 1960s
Be a pepper. Drink Dr Pepper.	1970s
Hold out for the out of the ordinary	1977
Just what the Dr ordered	1984
Now is the time. This is the place. Dr pepper, this is the taste	1987
Dr Pepper makes the world taste better	1998
	2000

Be you	
One taste & you get it	After 2001
There's just more to it	2005
What's the worst that can happen?	2007
	2008
Eastman Kodak Company	
You press the button, we do the rest	
If it isn't an Eastman, it isn't a Kodak	1888
Snapshots you'll want tomorrow, you must make today	1902
Open me first	1930s
Kodak film. For the times of your life	Late 1950s
Take pictures. Further.	1970s
Share moments, share life	1995
	2001
Ford Motor Company	
Boss of the road	
Don't experiment: just buy a Ford	1903
1906 will be a Ford year	1905
Watch the Fords go by	1906
There's a Ford in your future	1907
Bonus built	1945
Built stronger to last longer	1948
A car that enjoys	1948
Take the wheel – try the feel of the Ford	1948
Speak first with Ford	1949
Ford shows the way	1950s
Built Ford tough	1960s
	1960s

Fine car styling at a compact car price	
We listen better	1961
Control, balance, style	1969
A lot of car for not much money	Early 70s
1975 Mustang II. V-8 optional. Excitement standard.	1970s
The score for '76: Mustang II. Boredom 0.	1975
Quality is job one	1976
They do something	1981
Everything we do is driven by you	1990s
Better ideas. Driven by you	1994
Live life in your own lane	1998
Arrive in a better way	1999
Feel the difference	After 2000
Ford. Drive one.	2006
	2008
The General Electric Company	
A symbol of service. The initials of a friend	
More goods for more people at less cost	1920s
Better light for better sight	1930s
You can put your confidence in General Electric	End of 1930s
Progress is our most important product	1940s
We bring good things to life	1950s
Imagination at work	1979
	2003
Guinness & Co.	
Guinness is good for you	
It strikes one it's Guinness time	1929
	1932

A Guinness a day	
Guinness at one is good for one	1932
Ten to one it's Guinness time	1933
It's good to get home to a Guinness	1934
Guinness is good for your golf	1934
Guinness for strength	1934
Guinness at two is good for you	1934
Who can resist a Guinness?	1934
My goodness, my Guinness!	1934
If he can say as you can	1935
'Guinness is good for you'	
How grand to be a Toucan!	1935
Just think what Toucan do.	
Have a Guinness when you're tired	
My goodness, my Christmas Guinness	1936
A glass of Guinness is a cheerful sight	1937
There's nothing like a Guinness	1937
You feel you've had something worth drinking when you've had a Guinness	1938
	1949
Strength in a glass by itself	
Nothing takes the place of Guinness	1949
Lunch time is Guinness time	1949
Have a glass of Guinness when you're tired	1949
Guinness for appetite	1949
Guinness and oysters are good for you	1949
Famous for its perfect head	1949
Christmas time is Guinness time	1949
My Guinness	1949
Anatomy of goodness	1955
200 years of Guinness. What a lovely long drink	1958
	1959

See what Big Chief Toucan can do	
It's opening time for canned Guinness	1960
Him strong	1960
Five million Guinness are enjoyed every day	1960
Guinness gives you strength	1960
After work you need a Guinness	1961
Guinness.	1961
Draught Guinness for you	1966
Give him a Guinness	1967
7 million a day and still going down	1969
I've never tried it because I don't like it	1971
Tall dark and have some	1973
Pint sighs	1975
Hop squash	1975
Cool, calm and collect it	1975
With a big match there's nothing like a Guinness. Take home Guinness.	1975
	1976
Thank goodness for Guinness	
XXX. For XXXperts (experts) only.	1977
Why not join us for a Guinness?	1978
What wouldn't you give for a good dark bottle of Guinness?	1978
We've poured through the reign	1978
The most satisfying move you can make is to Draught Guinness	1978
Guinness. The natural choice.	1978
Brewed by experts. Enjoyed by XXXperts.	1978
An Arthur Guinness production	1979
Just between friends	1979
There's nothing as good as Guinness	1980
Friends of the Guinness	1982
	1983

But the greatest reason of all is that Guinness is good for you	
Top breeders recommend it	1984
If you don't believe it try it yourself	1985
Go for one big Guinness	1985
Fit for a queen	1985
No beer comes near	1985
The most distinctive beer in the world found at the very best places in over 140 countries	1985
	1986
The mark of a champion	
Imported never tasted better	1986
Switch over to cool Guinness	1986
No alcohol takes know how	1988
Pure genius	1988
The business	1990
No alcohol. No limits.	1991
Cold Guinness. Pure genius	1991
For nights you'll remember	1991
Live it	1994
It's not beer. It's stout.	1995
A word of wisdom	1995
There's no time like Guinness time	1995
Why man was given five senses	1995
The drink that demands respect	1996
The big pint. Don't ponder it, drink it.	1996
Served chilled	1996
Not everything in black and white makes sense. Start celebrating.	1997
Is your home ready for it?	1997
Guinness. The power.	1997
Guinness. Got it.	1997
	1997

Draught Guinness in cans. Serve chilled.	
Discover the Guinness screensaver. www.guinness.ie	1997
Whoever he was. Celebrate. St. Patrick's Day 17 th March. Guinness.	1997
What sounds do you hear in the dark? The perfect pint.	1998
The ultimate get together	1998
The perfect head from a can	1998
The big pint	1998
Surely Guinness	1998
Stimulate the left side of your brain – with Extra Cold Guinness.	1998
No agenda, just celebration. St. Patrick's Day 17 th March.	1998
Kaliber by Guinness. Take control.	1998
Guinness. Raise the pulse.	1998
For extra refreshment	1998
Extra cold Guinness	1998
Chill in tonight with draught Guinness in cans	1998
Wonderful stuff	1998
Truly Guinness	1999
The perfect pint	1999
Sponsored by Guinness	1999
Psyche up	1999
Official sponsor of the Rugby World Cup 1999	1999
New Guinness Extra Cold. Just that little bit cooler.	1999
Kaliber alcohol free lager. It's drunk, you're not.	1999
It's time to practice for St. Patrick's	1999
Guinness Draught in cans, good things come to those who wait	1999
Enjoy one at home	1999
Some things you can't leave behind	1999
Refreshes your spirit	2000
Raise a Guinness for St. Terry's Day	2000
	2000

One for all	
It gets in you	2000
Guinness. Pure intensity.	2000
Guinness. Pure genius.	2000
Dance with it	2000
Absolutely is Guinness	2000
Then dub it	2000
Live life to the power of Guinness	2001
It's a few degrees out	2001
Got to be Guinness	2001
Good brain	2001
Believe	2001
Well, isn't it obvious?	2002
The most natural thing in the world	2002
Pace yourself	2002
Only the beer gets drunk	2002
Now immortalized in every glass	2002
No atmosphere	2002
Guinness extra cold	2002
Enjoyed responsibly the world over	2002
Come out to play	2002
Authentic Guinness Draught in a bottle	2002
You can when you believe	2002
With trust, everything is easy. Believe.	2003
The tingle of anticipation	2003
The home of Guinness	2003
Pure magic. At home.	2003
Now enjoy Guinness anywhere	2003
It's alive	2003
	2003

Guinness & (and) rugby. The perfect match.	
Amen.	2003
Treat St. Patrick's Day like a real holiday	2003
The things that matter	2004
Quality time at home	2004
Out of darkness comes light	2004
It's what's inside that counts	2004
It's the colour in your summer	2004
It's part of what we are	2004
Happy Christmas	2004
Guinness from a can. Now smoother & (and) creamier.	2004
Enjoy it everywhere	2004
Enjoy Guinness sensibly	2004
Deep taste and creamy foam	2004
Consumed with passion	2004
A taste that can only be Guinness	2004
There's a time and a place	2004
The taste that can only be given by Guinness	2005
The Guinness is great	2005
The Championship, always worth the wait	2005
St. Patrick's Day, March 17 th	2005
Share classic taste	2005
Open 'em up	2005
Official beer of the Lions 2005	2005
Now shipped in from Dublin	2005
It's nature reveals itself	2005
Herbs taste	2005
Guinness now coming over from Dublin	2005
Guinness but extra cold	2005
	2005

Bringing you closer to rugby	
Brilliant!	2005
A story of darkness and light	2005
A little taste of heaven	2005
Pure anticipation	2005
No wonder the Guinness is great	2006
Knowing what matters	2006
	2006
H.J. Heinz Company	
57 varieties	
Pickles to pursuit planes	1896
Beans to bombers	1940s
Our best to you in '57	1940s
It's Red Magic time	1957
Beanz meanz Heinz	1960
Heinz is what ketchup tastes like	1967
The best things in life never change	1970s
Any food tastes supreme with Heinz Salad Cream	1990s
Ketchup goes global	1998
	1999
IBM Corporation	
Think	
World peace through world trade	1914
Electric: its beauty is just a bonus	Late 1930s
A tool for modern times	1950s
Solutions for a small planet	1981
Are you ready for e-business?	1995
Your business on demand	1998

	2004
Maidenform, Inc.	
There's a Maiden Form for every type of figure	
I dreamed I went shopping in my Maidenform bra	1934
The Maidenform woman, you never know where she'll turn up	1949
No matter what kind of woman you are, we'll support you	1969
A helpful guide for those who still confuse women with various unrelated objects.	1987
	1990s
They crave passion	
	1990s
PepsiCo, Inc.	
Brad's drink	
Exhilarating, invigorating, aids digestion	1898
The original pure food drink	1903
Delicious and healthful	1906
Drink Pepsi-Cola. It will satisfy you	1909
Refreshing and healthful	1920
Twice as much for a nickel	1933
Bigger drink, better taste	1939
Why take less when Pepsi's best?	1943
More bounce to the ounce	1949
The light refreshment	1950
Refreshing without filling	1953
Be sociable, have a Pepsi	1954
Now it's Pepsi, for those who think young	1958
Come alive! You're in the Pepsi generation	1961
Taste that beats the others cold. Pepsi pours it on.	1963
You've got a lot to live. Pepsi's got a lot to give.	1967
	1969

Join the Pepsi people, feelin' free	
Lipsmackin' thirstquenchin' acetastin' motivatin' goodbuzzin'	1973
cooltalkin' highwalkin' fastlivin' evergivin' coolfizzin' Pepsi	1973
Have a Pepsi day	
Pepsi challenge	1976
Catch that Pepsi spirit!	1977
Pepsi's got your taste for life!	1979
Pepsi now!	1982
Pepsi. The choice of a new generation.	1983
America's choice	1984
A generation ahead	1987
You got the right one baby	1989
Same time tomorrow?	1990
You got the right one baby, Uh-Huh!	1990s
Just one look	1991
Gotta have it	1991
Be young, have fun, drink Pepsi	1992
All the taste, 1/3 of the calories	1993
That's life	1993
Summer of love	1994
Nothing else is a Pepsi	1994
Generation next	1995
The joy of cola	1997
The joy of Pepsi	1999
Pepsi. It's the Cola	2000
Diet Pepsi. It's the Diet Cola.	2003
This moment deserves a Pepsi EDGE	2004
More happy	2004
	2007

Appendix B

LIST OF SCHEMES AND TROPES USED TO ANALYSE SLOGANS

SCHEMES

1. **Alliteration** – repetition of the same letter or sound within nearby words. Most often, repeated initial consonants/ Three or more repetitions of a consonant.

Note: The term "alliteratio" was coined by Giovanni Pontano in 1519 as a further specification of the term *annominatio*. Current usage of this term is in its most restricted sense (repeated initial consonants), aligning it with the vice known as homoeoprophoron or paroemion.

Eg. No one knows the land like a Navajo [Mazda four-wheel drive]

Why not waste a wild weekend at Westmore Water Park?

2. **Antimetabole/ chiasmus** - repetition of a pair of words in a phrase in reverse order/ Repetition of words, in successive clauses, in reverse grammatical order.

Eg. Stops static before static stops you. [Bounce fabric softener]

It says what it does. It does what it says. [Listerine mouthwash]

When the going gets tough, the tough get going.

Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.
—John F. Kennedy

3. **Antithesis** – incorporation of binary opposites in a phrase/ Juxtaposition of contrasting words or ideas (often, although not always, in parallel structure).

Eg. We got hot prices on cool stuff. [Musicland stores]

Easy on eyes. Tough on tangles. [Pert Plus shampoo]

"It has been my experience that folks who have no vices have very few virtues." — Abraham Lincoln

"It can't be wrong if it feels so right" —Debbie Boone

4. **Assonance** - repetition of similar vowel sounds, preceded and followed by different consonants, in the stressed syllables of adjacent words.

Eg. Now Stouffer's makes a real fast mean Lean Cuisine. [Stouffer's frozen dinners]

The sergeant asked him to bomb the lawn with hotpots.

5. **Consonance** - the repetition of consonants in words stressed in the same place (but whose vowels differ). Also, a kind of inverted alliteration, in which final consonants, rather than initial or medial ones, repeat in nearby words. Consonance is more properly a term associated with modern poetics than with historical rhetorical terminology.

Eg. First in the West with jet power flights. [Continental Airlines]

6. **Epistrophe** – repetition of words at the end of phrases/ Ending a series of lines, phrases, clauses, or sentences with the same word or words.

Eg. Choose to be your most beautiful. Salon beautiful. [Salon Selectives hair products]

Look sharp, feel sharp, be sharp! [Gillette]

What lies behind us and what lies before us are tiny compared to what lies within us." —Emerson

*Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you. [. . .]
Scarcity and want shall shun you,
Ceres' blessing so is on you.
— Shakespeare, The Tempest*

7. **Parison /isocolon** – marked parallelism bet. successive phrases; often involves the use of one or more embedded repeated words/ A series of similarly structured elements having the same length. A kind of parallelism.

Eg. You never had it so easy. Your tires never had it so good. [Notouch tire cleaner]

The quality you need. The price you want. [Kmart stores]

Veni, vidi, vici (I came, I saw, I conquered)

8. Rhyme – repetition of syllables at the end of words

Eg. KitchenAid. For the way it's made. [KitchenAid refrigerator]

Performax protects to the max. [Pennzoil motor oil]

9. Chime – key words in a phrase begin with identical sounds or letters

Eg. A tradition of trust. [Merrill Lynch brokerage]

The best in the business. [AT & T telecommunication]

10. Anaphora – repetition of words at the beginning of phrases/ Repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses, sentences, or lines.

Eg. Early treatment. Early cure. [Gyne Lotrimin medicine]

*This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself...
- - Shakespeare's Richard 11*

11. Epanalepsis – repetition of a word toward the beginning and end of a phrase/ Repetition of the same word or clause after intervening matter. More strictly, repetition at the end of a line, phrase, or clause of the word or words that occurred at the beginning of the same line, phrase, or clause.

Eg. Smart phone smarts. [AT & T telecommunications]

In times like these, it is helpful to remember that there have always been times like these. —Paul Harvey

Believe not all you can hear, tell not all you believe." —Native American proverb

A lie begets a lie. —English proverb

12. **Anadiplosis** – repetition of a word toward the end of one phrase and the beginning of the next/ The repetition of the last word (or phrase) from the previous line, clause, or sentence at the beginning of the next. Often combined with climax.

Eg. Kleenex Ultra. Ultra softness is all you feel. [Kleenex facial tissue]

*The love of wicked men converts to fear,
That fear to hate, and hate turns one or both
To worthy danger and deserved death.
—Shakespeare, Richard II 5.1.66-68*

*The following shows anadiplosis of a phrase:
...a man could stand and see the whole wide reach
Of blue Atlantic. But he stayed ashore.*

*He stayed ashore and plowed, and drilled his rows...
— Charles Bruce, "Biography"*

13. **Onomatopoeia** - using or inventing a word whose sound imitates that which it names (the union of phonetics and semantics).

*Eg. The buzzing of innumerable bees
The "zz" and "mm" sounds in these words imitate the actual sounds of bees.*

14. **Paromoiosis** - parallelism of sound between the words of adjacent clauses whose lengths are equal or approximate to one another. The combination of isocolon and assonance.

*Eg. In the following couplet, each line is of equal length (iambic pentameter), and the parallel assonance has been highlighted:
In **granite** tombs, on walls of silent stone,
With **frantic** runes, where falls the sharpened bone...*

15. **Diaphora** - repetition of a common name so as to perform two logical functions: to designate an individual and to signify the qualities connoted by that individual's name or title.

*Eg. The **president** is not the **president** when he compromises his morals and our trust so basely.*

Boys will be boys.

16. Epizeuxis - repetition of words with no others between, for vehemence or emphasis.

Eg. Hamlet: Words, words, words...

He, he it was who spelled my doom.

17. Mesodiplosis - repetition of the same word or words in the middle of successive sentences.

*Eg. We are troubled on every side, yet **not** distressed;*

*We are perplexed, **but not** in despair;*

*Persecuted, **but not** forsaken;*

*Cast down, **but not** destroyed. – 2 Corinthians 4:8-9*

TROPES

1. Ellipsis – a gap or omission that has to be completed/ omission of a word or short phrase easily understood in context.

Eg. A lot of tires cost less than Michelin. That's because they should. [Michelin tires]

Everyday vehicles that aren't. [Suzuki four-wheel drive]

"The average person thinks he isn't." –Father Larry Lorenzoni

The term "average" is omitted but understood after "isn't."

John forgives Mary and Mary, John.

Note that the comma signals what has been elided, "forgives"

2. Hyperbole – exaggerated or extreme claim/ Rhetorical exaggeration. Hyperbole is often accomplished via comparisons, similes, and metaphors.

Eg. Experience color so rich you can feel it. [Cover Girl lipstick]

Laser beams move at the speed of light. Fortunately, our engineers move somewhat faster. [Uniden laser and radar detector]

I've told you a million times not to exaggerate.

3. **Metaphor** – substitution based on underlying resemblance/ A comparison made by referring to one thing as another.

Eg. Say hello to your child's new bodyguards. [Johnson & Johnson Band-Aids]

Science you can touch. [Jergens skin care]

No man is an island —John Donne

*For ever since that time you went away
I've been a rabbit burrowed in the wood —Maurice Sceve*

Life is a beach.

Who captains the ship of state?

4. **Metonymy** – use of a portion, or any associated element, to represent the whole/ Reference to something or someone by naming one of its attributes.

Eg. You're looking at 2 slumber parties, 3 midnight raids, 5 unexpected guests, 1 late snooze and 1 Super Bowl. [Hormel frozen foods]

The imports are getting nervous. [Buick automobile]

*The pen is mightier than the sword
The pen is an attribute of thoughts that are written with a pen; the sword is an attribute of military action.*

We await word from the crown.

I'm told he's gone so far as to give her a diamond ring

The IRS is auditing me? Great. All I need is a couple of suits arriving at my door.

5. **Personification/ prosopopoeia** - reference to abstractions or inanimate objects as though they had human qualities or abilities. The English term for prosopopeia or ethopoeia.

*Eg. O beware, my lord, of jealousy!
It is the green-ey'd monster which doth mock
The meat it feeds on.
—Iago in Shakespeare's Othello 3.3.165-67*

The insatiable hunger for imagination preys upon human life
—Samuel Johnson

6. Pun (general) – substitution based on accidental similarity

Homonym – One word can be taken in two senses.

Eg. Make fun of the road. [Ford automobile]

How to make a home run. [Whirlpool appliances]

7. Rhetorical Question/ erotema – asking a question so as to make an assertion/ The rhetorical question. To affirm or deny a point strongly by asking it as a question.

Generally, as Melanchthon has noted, the rhetorical question includes an emotional dimension, expressing wonder, indignation, sarcasm, etc.

The rhetorical question is usually defined as any question asked for a purpose other than to obtain the information the question asks. For example, "Why are you so stupid?" is likely to be a statement regarding one's opinion of the person addressed rather than a genuine request to know. Similarly, when someone responds to a tragic event by saying, "Why me, God?!" it is more likely to be an accusation or an expression of feeling than a realistic request for information.

Apart from these more obviously rhetorical uses, the question as a grammatical form has important rhetorical dimensions. For example, the rhetorical critic may assess the effect of asking a question as a method of beginning discourse: "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?" says the persona of Shakespeare's 18th sonnet. This kind of rhetorical question, in which one asks the opinion of those listening, is called *anacoenosis*. This rhetorical question has a definite ethical dimension, since to ask in this way generally endears the speaker to the audience and so improves his or her credibility or *ethos*. The technical term for rhetorical questions in general is *erotema*.

Eg. Are you protecting only half your dog from worms? [Interceptor pet medicine]

Don't you have something better to do? [Hewlett-Packard plain paper fax]

Just why are you so stupid?

8. Simile - an explicit comparison, often (but not necessarily) employing "like" or "as."

Eg. My love is like a red, red rose —Robert Burns

Her hair was like gravy, running brown off her head and clumping up on her shoulders.

*The day we passed together for a while
Seemed a bright fire on a winter's night —Maurice Sceve*

*You are like a hurricane: there's calm in your eye, but I'm getting blown away —
Neil Young*

The air-lifted rhinoceros hit the ground like a garbage bag filled with split pea soup.

9. **Syllepsis** – a verb takes on a different sense as clauses it modifies unfold/ When a single word that governs or modifies two or more others must be understood differently with respect to each of those words. A combination of grammatical parallelism and semantic incongruity, often with a witty or comical effect. Not to be confused with zeugma.

Note: Originally, syllepsis named that grammatical incongruity resulting when a word governing two or more others could not agree with both or all of them; for example, when a singular verb serves as the predicate to two subjects, singular and plural ("His boat and his riches is sinking"). In the rhetorical sense, syllepsis has more to do with applying the same single word to the others it governs in distinct senses (e.g., literal and metaphorical); thus, "His boat and his dreams sank."

Eg. It's too bad other brands don't pad their shoes as much as their prices. [Keds shoes]

Built to handle the years as well as the groceries. [Frigidaire refrigerator]

In the following example, "rend" governs both objects, but the first rending is figurative; the second, literal:

Rend your heart, and not your garments. Joel 2:13

*You held your breath and the door for me
—Alanis Morissette*

"Fix the problem, not the blame." —Dave Weinbaum

The verb "fix" governs both "problem" and "blame." In its first instance, "fix" means "solve," but this verb shifts its meaning when applied to its second object, where the understood "fix" = "assign."

10. **Epanorthosis** – making an assertion so as to call it into question/ Amending a first thought by altering it to make it stronger or more vehement (=metanoëia).

Eg. Take away his writing, his philosophy and his music, and he was nothing but a country doctor. In his case, a whole country. [BellSouth telecommunications]

Chances are, you'll buy a Ranger for its value, economy and quality. Yeah, right. [Ford pickup truck]

I am angry—no, I am furious about the delay.

11. **Synecdoche** - a whole is represented by naming one of its parts (genus named for species), or vice versa (species named for genus).

Eg. The rustler bragged he'd absconded with five hundred head of longhorns. Both "head" and "longhorns" are parts of cattle that represent them as wholes.

Listen, you've got to come take a look at my new set of wheels. One refers to a vehicle in terms of some of its parts, "wheels"

*"He shall think differently," the musketeer threatened, "when he feels the point of my steel."
A sword, the species, is represented by referring to its genus, "steel"*

12. **Paradox** – a self-contradictory, false, or impossible statement/ A statement that is self-contradictory on the surface, yet seems to evoke a truth nonetheless.

Eg. This picture was taken by someone who didn't bring a camera. [Kodak film]

Mark McGwire hit 42 home runs last year. But we held the bat. [Franklin batting glove]

Whosoever loses his life, shall find it.

13. **Oxymoron** - placing two ordinarily opposing terms adjacent to one another. A compressed paradox.

*Eg. ...Yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe.
—Milton, Paradise Lost*

The Sounds of Silence

Festina lente (make haste slowly).

14. **Irony** – a statement that means the opposite of what is said/ Speaking in such a way as to imply the contrary of what one says, often for the purpose of derision, mockery, or jest.

Eg. Just another wholesome family sitcom (with a picture of the male lead licking cream off thighs). [HBO cable TV]

We spent years developing this incredibly comfortable contact lens, and this is how you treat it (with a picture of a finger flicking a lens away). [Accuvue disposable contacts]

When in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing the constable Dogberry says "redemption" instead of "damnation" (itself a malapropism), the fact that he means precisely the opposite of what he so passionately exclaims makes this a comical use of irony:

O villain! thou wilt be condemned into everlasting redemption for this.

15. **Antiptosis** - a type of enallage in which one grammatical case is substituted for another.

Note: In English, this is apparent only with pronouns, unlike in inflected languages (Greek, Latin, German, etc.)

Eg. Me Jane, Tarzan.

"Me" is used (the objective case pronoun) instead of the proper subjective case pronoun, "I". This example also includes ellipsis of the verb "am".

16. **Anthimeria** - substitution of one part of speech for another (such as a noun used as a verb).

Eg. I've been Republicaned all I care to be this election year.

Noun used as verb.

Did you see the way those blockers defenced on that last play?

Noun used as verb.

Feel bad? Strike up some music and have a good sing.
Verb used as noun.

17. **Antonomasia** - substituting a descriptive phrase for a proper name, or substituting a proper name for a quality associated with it. (=periphrasis)

Eg. You must pray to heaven's guardian for relief.

He proved a Judas to the cause.

Multum Ciceronis est in hac epistola. There is much of Cicero in this letter
[Here, what is meant is that there is much eloquence in the letter]

18. **Litotes** - deliberate understatement, especially when expressing a thought by denying its opposite.

The *Ad Herennium* author suggests litotes as a means of expressing modesty (downplaying one's accomplishments) in order to gain the audience's favor (establishing ethos).

Eg. It isn't very serious. I have this tiny little tumor on the brain. —J.D. Salinger, The Catcher in the Rye

Running a marathon in under two hours is no small accomplishment.

McQuarrie and Mick (1996: 430-431)
Burton (1996)

APPENDIX C

NUMBER OF SLOGANS PER DECADE

Decade	Number of Slogans
Before 1900	4
1900-1909	30
1910-1919	23
1920-1929	24
1930-1939	54
1940-1949	48
1950-1959	35
1960-1969	37
1970-1979	39
1980-1989	37
1990-1999	75
2000-2008	94
TOTAL	500

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