The Linguistic Characteristics of Political and Advertising Slogans:
a Contrastive Analysis

Focus on the American Context of the Past Fifteen Years

THE WHITE HOUSE

Work Hard. Have Fun. Make History.

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[1] Compared with the time necessary to deal with signs, titles, legends or mottoes.

Introduction

In modern societies, the term 'slogan' as well as slogans themselves are heard and used regularly, if not on a daily basis. Encountered through traditional media channels, including television or newspapers, but also through pop-up adverts, written on walls or even referred to in conversations (Lacaze-Duthiers 1940), slogans are often associated with manipulative advertising rhetorics (Reboul 1982, Grunig 1998 or Navarro Domínguez 2005), if not quoted as reminders of well-known politicians or commercials.

Several 'classes' of slogans exist: political ("Working People First[130]"[2]), military campaign ("I Want You For U.S. Army[3]"), social movement ("Black Lives Matter[4]"), institutional ("Key to Success[5]"), advertising ("The King Of Beers[165]"), sport team ("HELLO BROOKLYN. WE'RE IN.[6]") or even states ("The Grand Canyon State[7]"). A question could therefore be raised as whether there are different linguistic classes and categories of slogans, or only one discursive form called 'slogan' used in different contexts. However barely two types of slogans are widely known and acknowledged and thus studied, in Western linguistics at least, the ones of advertising slogans and political slogans.

Although distinguishable, both remain often simply mentioned under the generic term "slogan.s" in dictionaries[8] as well as in newspapers. For instance, one article of *The Guardian* was entitled "Search for a *Slogan*[9]" when specifically meaning "Search for an *advertising slogan*", Likewise, only a *political slogan* is dealt with in the article of *The Boston Globe* "Make America Great Again: a *slogan* without a vision[10]". Consequently perhaps, contrastive analyses made between categories of slogans are rare, even between political and advertising slogans, though these have been the two major if not the only categories of slogans used for at least two hundred

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[2] In order to improve readability, slogans will be numbered. The resulting numbering will appear within the dissertation as such: "slogan[88]", in order to avoid any confusion with the numbering of the footnotes: "specific term[88]".

[3] From James Montgomery Flagg recruiting poster used during WWII.

[4] Slogan of the international activist movement Black Lives Matter (BLM) which begun in 2013.

[5] Slogan of the Australian National Institute of Education: https://anie.edu.au, last consulted on 02.20.2020.

[6] Slogan of the Nets of Brooklyn's basketball team: https://www.nba.com/nets/hellobrooklyn-we-are-in, last consulted on 02.20.2020.

[7] Slogan of the state of Arizona: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arizona, last consulted on 02.20.2020.

[8] *Oxford English Dictionary* as well as *Collins*, *Longman*, *Cambridge*, *Macmillan*, *Merriam-Webster Dictionaries*, *Larousse*, *Le Petit Robert*, *Harrap's* or *Hachette* dictionaries.

[9] https://www.theguardian.com/media/2008/sep/29/advertising.marketing.pr, last consulted on 06.11.2019.

[10] https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/letters/2019/10/21/make-america-great-again-slogan-without-vision/ 5QEYdOvC3gDI9eP7WKXDKN/story.html, last consulted on 06.11.2019.

years (Urdang 1984, Garrido-Lora 2011). It would therefore be interesting in this context to investigate thoroughly political as well as advertising slogans' linguistic characteristics, in order to understand better what appears to be a pragmatic lumping of both terms under the common appellation 'slogan', suggesting a potential similarity if not selfsameness of the two.

Previous studies on the subject

However, in spite of more than fifty linguistic studies related to slogans and conducted on all continents during the past century gleaned so far, no thorough linguistic study of slogans is yet to be known to us, which makes difficult any real understanding of potential difference or actual similarity between political and advertising slogans. Some investigations get closer though to such profound analysis, for instance "Le slogan" (Reboul 1982), "Estudio comparativo de los eslóganes electorales y comerciales: el caso de las elecciones generales españolas de 2008[11]" (Garrido-Lora 2011), or "The Persuasive Function Of Rhetoric In Advertising Slogans" (Michalik 2016).

Definitions existing so far

Political and advertising slogans share most of the time the same definition within dictionaries, with occasional minor distinctions:

> "**slogan** [sloga] n.m. — 1930 ; « cri de guerre » 1842 ; mot angl. (v. 1850) ; mot écossais, du gaélique « cri (*gairm*) d'un clan (*sluagh*) » • Formule concise et frappante, utilisée par la publicité, la propagande politique, etc. = devise. *Slogan révolutionnaire, publicitaire. Lancer, répéter, scander un slogan.* « le goût dangereux du slogan, de la phrase à effet » (Maurois).[12]"
>
> (Le Petit Robert 1967)

> "**slo·gan** (slogen) *n.* A phrase that expresses the nature or aims of an entreprise, cause, or group: motto."
>
> (Webster's II 1984)

> "**slo-gan** / ˈsləʊɡən $ ˈsloʊ-/ n [C] a short phrase that is easy to remember and is used in advertisements, or by politicians, organizations etc. → **catchphrase**: an *advertising slogan* | demonstrators shouting *political slogans* | the Democrats' *campaign slogan* (Thesaurus: *Phrase*)."
>
> (Longman Dictionary 2010)

> "**slo|gan** / sloʊɡən/ (**slogans**) N-COUNT A **slogan** is a short phrase that is easy to remember. Slogans are used in advertisements and political parties and other organizations who want people to remember what they are saying or selling. *They could campaign on the slogan 'We'll take less of your money'*."
>
> (Collins Cobuild Advanced Learner's Dictionary 2014)

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[11] "Comparative study of electoral and business slogans: the case of the Spanish general elections of 2008", author's translation.

[12] "**slogan** [sloga] n. — 1930; "war cry" 1842; Engl. term (c. 1850); Scottish term, Gael "cry (*gairm*) of a clan (*sluagh*)" • Concise and striking formula, used in advertisement, politics, etc. = motto. *Revolutionary, advertising slogan. Shout, repeat, chant a slogan.* "the dangerous thirst of slogans, of the exhortative sentence" (Maurois).", author's translation.

The definitions of slogans given by dictionaries, though similar are numerous. However these four definitions provided by renowned dictionaries over more than five decades agree on the idea that slogans are phrases "used" in advertising, in politics, or other. The first two definitions - from the twentieth century - define slogans as expressive mottoes while the two recent definitions define slogans as memorable short phrases, however only the oldest definition mentions the original meaning of the term 'slogan' (war cry). Nevertheless, besides stating that slogans are short phrases, all definitions fail to define slogans' actual linguistic features. Such absence of any clear differentiation in definition of political and advertising slogans seems to be joined by a change in political and advertising discourses. As Redecker puts it: "Cette reprise du slogan [politique] […] par la publicité n'est pas seulement une récupération opportuniste. Elle témoigne d'une porosité, d'une échangeabilité et d'une réversibilité du discours publicitaire et du discours politique. Elle reflète une déspécification de la politique.[13]" (Redecker 2009: 13).

When it comes to scientifically define the term 'slogan', many research papers first underline that it originates back to the Scottish 'sluagh ghairm'[14] (war cry) before providing a summary of some of its linguistic features:

"We shall consider a slogan to be a phrase, a short sentence, a headline, a dictum, which, intentionally or unintentionally, amounts to an appeal to the person who is exposed to it to buy some article, to revive or strengthen an already well-established stereotype, to accept a new idea, or to undertake some action."

(Muzafer 1937: 450)

"Les slogans, — bons ou mauvais —, offrent les mêmes caractères. Ce sont de courtes phrases, faciles à retenir, que l'on emploie couramment dans la conversation. Formules lapidaires, frappées ou non au bon coin, qui s'imposent à l'esprit, le slogan traduit en peu de mots, — quelquefois en un seul —, les aspirations d'un groupe ou d'un individu. C'est un abrégé, un compendium, une synthèse.[15]"

(Lacaze-Duthiers 1940: 13)

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[13] "This taking up of the [political] slogan [...] in advertising is not just an opportunistic takeover. It shows the porosity, exchangeability and reversibility of advertising and political discourse. It reflects a de-specification of politics.", author's translation.

[14] In Western countries, such systematic definition tends to amalgamate a single signifier ('slogan') with metalinguistic signified associated to it today through its usage in so many situations (politics, marketing, institutions, etc.), leading from the start, so it seems, to constrained the cultural frame as well as the linguistic definition of the term. Questions could be raised as whether 'slogans' are present in all languages or not, if their pragmatic usage is always the same or not, and whether slogans emphasize a human natural discursive function or if they were born from specific contexts and needs such as war cries.

[15] "Slogans - good or bad - offer the same features. These are short sentences, easy to remember, that are commonly used in conversation. Lapidary formulas, whether or not incisive, that are impressed upon the mind, the slogan translates in a few words - sometimes in a single word - the aspirations of a group or of an individual. It is an abstract, a compendium, a synthesis.", author's translation.

"Formule concise et frappante, facilement répétable, polémique et le plus souvent anonyme, destinée à faire agir les masses tant par son style que par l'élément d'auto-justification ; passionnelle ou rationnelle, qu'elle comporte.[16]"

<div align="right">(Reboul 1982: 42)</div>

Emphasizing common notions by means of what appears to be in part paraphrases, such 'definitions' suggest that political slogans and advertising slogans could share the same definition if not the same linguistic characteristics. For instance, a slogan is here capable to exhort the addressee to accept a new idea or to buy something, but also to exhort the masses by means of its influence on the addressee's mind. It is worth noticing that slogans' different features are not underlined from a strictly linguistic perspective in these definitions.

However, a glance at a common and contemporary definition - in this instance the one provided by the renowned *Oxford English Dictionary* (Version 2.2.1) - suffices to grasp ongoing confusions if not contradictions regarding the sole definition of the term 'slogan':

"**Slogan**
noun
1 - a short and striking or memorable phrase used in advertising. *a series of arson attacks gave new meaning to the advertising slogan 'come home to a real fire'.*

• a motto associated with a political party or movement or other group. *students were chanting slogans.*

2 - *historical* a Scottish Highland war cry."

On the one hand, despite the fact that the *OED* acknowledges the semantic correlation between the term 'sluagh ghairm[17]' and the one of 'political slogan' as it defines 'war cry' as a use "to gather together participants in a campaign", the *OED*'s definition of 'slogan' nevertheless surprisingly associates 'slogan' to be first of all if not exclusively linked to advertising. Such association is indirectly supported by the *Cambridge Dictionary* or the *Macmillan Dictionary* by respectively phrasing their definitions as "one used to advertise an idea[18]", and "a short phrase […] used to advertise something or to express the beliefs of a political party or other group". Ironically such practice relegates the term 'war cry' as a mere historical anecdote, while uncannily defining political 'slogan' as a "motto" - even though the *OED* actually defines a 'motto' as "encapsulating the beliefs or ideals", therefore more as edging towards asserting a rule of conduct, a philosophy of life rather than towards encompassing a convenient linguistic tool of exhortation used "to gather

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[16] "Concise and striking expression, easily repeatable, polemical and most of the time anonymous, destined to exhort the masses through its stylistic as well as self-justification features whether passionate or rational.", author's translation.

[17] War Cry, *OED*'s definition.

[18] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/product, last consulted on 10.12.2019.

together participants in a campaign"[19]. Not mentioning that the semantically as well as pragmatically different terms 'chants', 'slogan' and 'motto' are used together to define another one: 'political slogan', resulting in greater confusion. On the other hand, 'advertising' slogan is simply defined as "a short and striking or memorable phrase used in advertising", disregarding its main performative characteristic of exhortation, which allows phrases such as "Within the limits of available stocks" to be referred to as a slogan, while "#TeamGov[88]" could be according to the *OED* referred to as a 'motto'.

Consequently, although they share the same denomination, political and advertising slogans are within a world renowned dictionary underlined at best as semantically different, which would thus imply the provision of specifications ("Advertising slogan, *n*, …", as opposed to "Political slogan, *n*, …"), if not the necessity to provide two seperate definitions. Moreover, within this definition political as well as advertising slogans' actual linguistic features and main usage remain to be underlined.

Regarding the present state of research (Muzafer 1937, Lacaze-Duthiers 1940, Denton 1980, Reboul 1982, Grunig 1998, Garrido-Lora 2011, Mathurin 2017 or Keranforn-Liu 2019), and assuming that political and advertising slogans might be the same short discursive form - only used in different contexts and consequently for divergent performative purposes - the term 'slogan' could so far be defined as:

> A concise and strikingly memorable sentence - due to pragmatic usage of linguistics and contextuality - advertising a specific idea regarding a given contextual political, ideological, social, economic or socioeconomic situation through traditional as well as new media channels, with the intent of provoking instant or delayed supportive individual or mass public reaction, whether material, pecuniary, institutional, but also reviving established notions or instilling if not inducing a change regarding a specific ideology or opinion.
>
> (author's suggestion)

However unclear or incomplete institutional or scientific definitions of 'slogan' could be, all of them emphasize slogans as being short discursive forms.

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[19] Mottoes, though semantically and pragmatically different from political slogans, remain associated to the latter in most Western languages. Such practice should be investigated in order to determine whether this is due to contextual misuse as underlined page twelve, or if a motto as a discursive form, evolved at some point into some new short discursive form relying on contextuality and exhortation that we call today a 'political slogan'.

Slogan, a specific short discursive form

It could appear obvious that slogans are concise discursive forms distinct from proverbs, titles, signs, legends, maxims or even sayings. Anyone is supposedly able to distinguish "Yes We Can[4]" as being different, or at least as performing a linguistic pragmatic function essentially distinct from "Wet floor", "Mind the gap" or "SNP backs decriminalisation of drugs[20]". Such differentiation is also acknowledged amongst linguists:

> "Con independencia del enfoque con el que los investigadores han afrontado el estudio del eslogan en la publicidad, sea cuantitativo, cualitativo o simplemente reflexivo, lo cierto es que pocos se han sustraído de aportar una clasificación de las características o cualidades que definen al eslogan frente a otras unidades textuales. Este caso no será una excepción.[21]"
>
> (Garrido-Lora 2011: 177)

Differences regarding linguistic characteristics encompass, amongst others, the fact that slogans emphasize specific topics, contextuality and speech acts[22], which underlines differences between exhortation ("Make It Matter[208]") and instruction ("Make glaze"), or even between emphasis ("Security • Unity • Prosperity[21]") and listing ("Sugar, flour, butter"). At the pragmatic level, a difference with titles and legends, if not with headlines, is also stressed by slogans' inherent exhortative feature. For instance, unlike titles, slogans are by no means mere objective descriptions. Let's compare the political slogan "Make America Great Again[65]" with the title "French Grammar". Already at the enunciative level, the dichotomy is underlined by the slogan being a sentence (… + V + N + Adj + Adv), and the title a nominal phrase (Ø + Adj + N). At the pragmatic level, the slogan's use of a verb implies an action, a movement through space and time as 'Make *something* Again' emphasizes a potential 're-establishment', a change of situation, therefore a movement through time (from a before - through a present - towards a future) and through space (by means of the consequential bustling activity of a nation: 'America'). Though the slogan was

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[20] https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/scotland-drugs-decriminalise-snp-deaths-highest-eu-a9154566.html, last consulted on 05.11.2019.

[21] "Regardless of the perspective adopted by researchers when approaching the study of slogans in advertising, be it quantitative, qualitative or simply reflective, the fact is that the majority have provided a classification of the characteristics or qualities that define the slogan in relation to other textual units. This case will not be an exception.", Ms Carolina Valles' translation (Maynooth University).

[22] Defined by Austin in 1962, a speech act could be defined as "an utterance defined in terms of a speaker's intention and the effect it has on a listener. Essentially, it is the action that the speaker hopes to provoke in his or her audience. Speech acts might be requests, warnings, promises, apologies, greetings, or any number of declarations." Nordquist (2019), https://www.thoughtco.com/speech-act-linguistics-1692119, last consulted on 02.22.2020.

introduced in Trump's presidential campaign announcement speech[23] as "We[24] will make America great again", the use of subject ellipsis before the verb 'Make' in the final slogan, combined with the conjugation of the said verb, could infer several other possibilities not imaginable in the case of "French Grammar". First this slogan could be understood as relying on the infinitive form "*To Make America Great Again*" - introduced by "we will *make* …" - and thus as underlining a notion if not an ideal or a necessity: "there is a need/it is a necessity/there is a possibility *to Make* America Great Again". Secondly it could stand for an implication of the addressee by means of an imperative form ("*… Make* America Great Again(!)"), either "(You) *Make* America Great Again(!)" or "(Let's) *Make* America Great Again(!)". The linguistic context actually allows both implied syntactic patterns to be considered as valid, as Donald Trump rhetorically stressed through his announcement speech[25] the notion that Americans can *make* America great again, as well as the one that Americans need *to make* America great again, with emphasis put on the immediacy of such necessity. This linguistic context supports the use of an imperative mood that encompasses a semantic multilayer.

Through enunciation and pragmatic exhortative incentivity, association is also made between the speaker (Donald Trump) and the said ideal and imperative to "Make America Great Again[65][26]", hence suggesting to the addressee that the possibility to make America great again is conditional on voting for Trump, here presented as 'mak*ing* America great again'. However, the deontic use of modal auxiliaries ("someone *should/has to* Make America Great Again") or even the dynamic use of modality ("I *Can* Make America Great Again") are rather unlikely as they state more than they stress, whereas "*let's*/we *will* Make America Great Again[27]" would be more exhortative. On the other hand, the noun phrase that is the title pragmatically only emphasizes it to be a statement, a mere information or description as "this *is* a French grammar", as supported by contextuality and implicit deictics present in the initial form "French Grammar", stressing the nature of the said French grammar. Moreover, associations related to "French Grammar" would be the denotative ones of a linguistic signifier (the title) with its signified (the grammar book) which underlines its function of French grammar book.

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[23] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=apjNfkysjbM, last consulted on 10.12.2019.

[24] The pragmatic use of the personal pronoun 'we' will be dealt with later on page 26.

[25] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=apjNfkysjbM ; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHJJOALkRhQ, last consulted on 12.15.2019.

[26] Whereas titles are deprived of such association as the reader is also the potential speaker.

[27] Which actually is Ronald Reagan's slogan of the 1980 presidential campaign.

Most slogans rely on exhortation[28] as in the chant "Yes We Will[6]", a pragmatic difference for instance with legends such as "map of Ireland". Legends actually literally help to read properly a given document, etymological feature that comes from the Latin origin of the word 'leg-end', linguistic compound of 'leg-ere' (to read) and 'end', Latin present participle (gerund) "ande/ende", broadly stressing obligation and utility values. Legends are therefore mere information used to specify the nature of what is being watched or read, as here "map of Ireland" is a noun phrase added below a map in order not to mistake it with either a map of France or a map of England. It has to be underlined that as a legend is not exhortative, it is also often not verbal. Could it thus be fair to infer that exhortation is conveyed by means of a verb? This will be investigated later on, as a counter-example could easily be found for instance in interjections such as "Dinner!", "Telephone!", "Mike!", "Man!", or even "Hey!", which underline exhortation without any verb.

Slogans though share linguistic features with other short discursive forms. For instance rhythm, rhyme as well as play on words are qualities emphasized as well by proverbs or maxims. However, shared features don't make slogans and proverbs identical, as the latter actually tend to remain objective, timeless and hence free of specific context, which slogans need in order to be understood in the way the addresser intended. For example on the one hand the slogan "Shave Time, Shave Money[274]" - using again imperative forms ('… + Shave') - uses rhetorical syntactic anaphora ("Shave […], Shave […]") as well as plays with the phonetic similarity between the words 'save' and 'shave' ([seɪv] // [ʃeɪv]), thus denoting a connection between the specific action of shaving[29] and the generic one of saving, with the intent to make the addressee understand or believe that s.he will save money and time by buying Dollar Shave Club's razors. On the other hand the proverb "A Stitch in Time Saves Nine" supposedly mainly plays with phonetic repetition and parallelism ([s] [ʌɪm] // [s] [ʌɪn]) in order to facilitate its memorability. Moreover, proverbs are meta-contextual (Delorme 2016) and can therefore be used in multiple contexts, which slogans can't without altering their meaning (Caples 1997), which leads to a certain linguistic transposability (see subsection 1.3.2.1). Furthermore, generic vocabulary and common collocations avoid any cultural connotation other than the one this proverb was made for, i.e. to teach a specific pragmatic lesson.

The phonostylistic use of rhymes is a similarity existing between slogans and rhyming sentences as well. Consider the slogan "Promises Made, Promises Kept[66]" and the childish teasing

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[28] Which will be dealt with in section 1.3.

[29] As it is in fact an advertising slogan of Dollar Shave Club, company specialized in razor sales.

sentence "Shelly Cooper is a smelly pooper[30]". As in proverbs, parallel phonetic repetitions are here underlined: [ˈprɒmɪz] [ɛ] // [ˈprɒmɪz] [ɛ], and [ɛli] [uːpə] // [ɛli] [uːpə], with added phonetic similarities between the occlusive dental consonants [d] // [t] in the slogan, and the voiceless fricative consonants [ʃ] // [s] and the stresses [ˈk] // [ˈp], in the teasing sentence. However similarities shared at the enunciative level turn out to be irrelevant at the pragmatic level, as contextually realized speech acts are here respectively exhortation of a given addressee (directive speech act) as opposed to an assertion (representative speech act) destined to make fun of a certain Shelly Cooper. It is also interesting to underline the differences regarding their temporality, the slogan underlines a continuity of action through time - from promises [that were] made (past participle) in the past, to promises [that are] kept in the present (present participle) - whereas the rhyming sentence is a timeless assertion that Shelly Cooper is, allegedly, a smelly pooper.

It should be noticed that transgressions of categories could be encountered. For instance a daily interjection used as a political slogan ("Jeb![73]"), or a conventional expression used as an advertising slogan ("Got Milk?[166]"). The short discursive forms that are state mottoes could actually be seen as encapsulating this phenomenon, as besides exceptions, state mottoes are often famous political slogans uttered during the creation of a state and kept as a symbol of a recent union or victory, be it political or military[31]. It is for instance the case of "Liberty and Independence" (Delaware), "State sovereignty, national union" (Illinois) or "Oro y plata[32]" (Montana). Use through time as maxims would have led to the designation of the said slogans as mottoes, and paved the way for future merged definitions of the two. This amalgamation is reinforced by an absence of verbs these slogans/state mottoes often share with (modern) political slogans (such as "Faith • Family • Freedom[19]", "Change[1]" or "From Hope to Higher Ground[79]") as well as a presence of verbs in some state mottoes ("In God We Trust[33]", or "Live Free or Die[34]"). Questions could later be raised regarding potential similarity in origin, semantics and usage between political slogans and mottoes. For the moment, it can be underlined that while slogans, whether political or advertising, are both exhortative and contextual (for instance "*Make America* Great

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[30] From *The Big Bang Theory*, season 4 episode 20: "The Herb Garden Germination": https://vmus.cc/宅男行不行生活大爆炸-第四季-第二十集-s04e20-線上看/, last consulted on 01.03.2020.

[31] Such as the mottoes of the United States ("E pluribus unum"/Out of many, one), France ("Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité."/ Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.), Greece ("Eleftheria i thanatos"/Freedom or death), Belgium ("Eendracht maakt macht"/ Unity gives strength), or Cuba ("Patria o muerte"/Fatherland or death).

[32] Or et Argent, author's translation.

[33] Official motto of the U.S., adopted by the Congress in 1956, supplanting *E pluribus unum* used since the initial 1776.

[34] State motto of the state of New Hampshire since 1945.

Again[65]" and "*Do* It *in Huggies*[276]"), mottoes would broadly emphasize a timeless rule of conduct, or philosophy of life freed from specific context ("Mind and Hand[35]").

However easy it could be to spontaneously distinguish slogans from other short discursive forms, it seems difficult if not impossible to find a thorough linguistic definition of slogan's uniqueness as a short discursive form. Along a proper definition, the successful establishment of a phraseology of slogans - if such accomplishment is possible - could lay the foundations for future thorough linguistic investigations. Notwithstanding, before starting such an investigation, it remains essential to underline the fact that, as there are linguistic distinctions between slogans and other short discursive forms, there are actually divergent features when it comes to the notion of slogan itself. Besides differences of categories underlined earlier, a glance at cultural differences regarding slogan's categorization highlights divergent as well as contextual linguistic usages and perspectives. For instance, whereas Western countries tend so far to classify slogans between advertising and political, Chinese linguistics distinguishes oral and written slogans, divided amongst 口号[36] (oral slogan or catchphrase), 标语[37] (written slogan, poster and placard) and 横幅标语[38] (slogan banner). Likewise, some Russian linguists differentiate several categories within Soviet political slogans, at least as underlined by J. I. Levin: "Ю.И. Левин подразделяет советские политические лозунги на три группы: 1) лозун- ги-призывы, 2) лозунги-здравицы и 3) лозун- ги-постулаты[39] (Vaulina and Kuksa 2018: 67)." Svetlana Vaulina and Irina Kuksa also give the example of:

> "*Слава советскому народу – стро- ителю коммунизма!* и т. п. В подобных кон- струкциях лозунговая побудительная модаль- ность переходит в модальность желательно- сти существования какого-либо субъекта или объекта.Попутно заметим, что особеннос- тью названной разновидности советских ло- зунгов является наличие у них декоративной функции (использование их в качестве обя- зательного элемента организации городско- го ландшафта), а также выполнение ими ре- гулятивной функции (использование их на транспарантах во время праздничных ше- ствий, демонстраций и т. п.)[40]"
>
> (Vaulina and Kuksa 2018: 70)

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[35] Motto of the MIT.

[36] Pinyin writing: kǒu hào, Mrs Shijia Liu's translation and transliteration (Toulouse Jean-Jaurès University).

[37] Pinyin writing: biāo yǔ, Mrs Shijia Liu's translation and transliteration (Toulouse Jean-Jaurès University).

[38] Pinyin writing: héng fú biāo yǔ, Mrs Shijia Liu's translation and transliteration (Toulouse Jean-Jaurès University).

[39] "J.I. Levin divides Soviet political slogans into three groups: 1) slogans-calls/appeals 2) slogans-chants 3) slogans-postulates", Dr. Eglė Kačkutė's translation (Maynooth University).

[40] "*Glory to the Soviet people, the founder of communism!*, etc.. In these linguistic constructions, the motivational modality of the communist slogan is transformed into a modality of approval of the existence of a subject or an object. Moreover, the particularity of the latter type of slogans is characterized by their use as a decorative element in the urban environment (this function serves as an irreplaceable organizing element for the latter), on the one hand its use as a regulatory device (such as its use on banners on the occasion of festive commemorations including marches, demonstrations, etc.)).", Dr. Eglė Kačkutė's translation (Maynooth University).

Whereas these cultural differences in typologies could only be indicators of contextual socio-political peculiarities, they could also be signs of semantic specific features so far undeciphered in Western countries, if not ignored due to Western-centered perspectives. However, this question although worth of attention won't be tackled in the present investigation.

Research question

Despite the interest of such linguistic variations, it remains for the present a necessity as well as a priority to analyze and decipher the specific linguistic characteristics of both political and advertising slogans - two short discursive forms used on a daily basis and influencing if not regulating modern societal lives, either economically or institutionally - to allow the establishment of their respective linguistic definition and perhaps the establishment of a phraseology of slogans.

Enunciation and pragmatics, definition

A contrastive linguistic analysis of political and advertising slogans will therefore be conducted from the standpoint of enunciation (including syntax, semantics, grammar, phonetics, or prosody) and pragmatics (dealing with contextual use of language including deixis, presupposition, inferences, implicature, or speech acts[41]), in order to highlight their respective linguistic features and pragmatic use of rhetoric in context, and thus to emphasize political and advertising slogans' similarities or differences in usage and nature. The study of both enunciation and pragmatics in this investigation is essential as:

> "The uttering of the words is, indeed, usually a, or even *the*, leading incident in the performance of the act (of betting or what not), the performance of which is also the object of the utterance, but it is far from being usually, even if it is ever, the *sole* thing necessary if the act is to be deemed to have been performed. Speaking generally, it is always necessary that the *circumstances* in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, *appropriate*, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should *also* perform certain *other* actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions or even acts of uttering further words."
>
> (Austin 1962: 8)

Such analysis could on the one hand pave the way for a better understanding of the categorization of both types of slogans under the denomination 'slogan', regardless of some

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[41] Which encompass illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts, whether direct or indirect, as defined by Austin (1962) and classified by Searle (1969) as (*representative* [assertions, statements, claims, hypotheses, descriptions or suggestions], *commissive* [promises, oaths, pledges or threats], *directive* [challenges, requests, dares or commands], *declaration* [blessings, firings, marrying, sentencing, etc.], or *verdictive* acts [ranking, appraising or assessments]), but also the implication of the addressee and the use of contextuality, phonostylistics, inferences or presupposition.

differential features, and on the other hand provide enough linguistic information for a proposition or refutation of a possible phraseology of slogans.

Corpora

In order to undertake such contrastive analysis, contemporary data will be used with the intention of emphasizing the use of slogans as it is at the present time (mostly since the pivotal usage of slogans and chants made by Obama within the presidential election campaigns of 2008 and 2012), and in sufficient amount to allow linguistic patterns and characteristics to be highlighted. Therefore a combined corpus of American presidential election campaigns' slogans (pp. 87-99) and American advertising slogans (pp. 100-109), both used since 2005 will be analyzed. These corpora are composed firstly of notorious political slogans officially and publicly used for the preparation of or the actual presidential election campaigns of 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2020, which represents 155 slogans for 554 words. In order to put more emphasis on contextuality, slogans will be ranked chronologically by year of election, but also by Party and from the longer used slogans to the less used ones. Secondly, famous American advertising slogans used as main advertising campaigns' slogans between 2005 and 2020, which represents 155 slogans for 711 words, ranked by sector, and then in order of importance within alphabetically organized brand categories. In order to improve readability, slogans will be numbered. The resulting numbering will appear within the dissertation as such: "slogan[88]", in order to avoid any confusion with the numbering of the footnotes: "specific term[88]". Regarding their nature and pragmatic usage, these political and advertising slogans could therefore supposedly be accounted as representative of a conventional American usage of slogans during the past fifteen years. Moreover, the English language, as the current global language, is in general also used in return by non-English companies, from Japan (Canon: "You Can"), Switzerland (Schweppes: "What Did You Expect?"), to China (Xiaomi: "Innovation For Everyone"). As Piller puts it:

> "The use of English as a contact language in advertising differs from the use of other languages both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. As pointed out above, English is the most frequently used language in advertising messages in non- English-speaking countries (besides the local language, of course)"
>
> (Piller 2003: 175)

Furthermore, the United States were and remain one of the biggest providers of renowned slogans around the world ("Think[211]", "I'm Lovin' It[243]", "Just Do It[200]", "For the Love of It[172]", "Have a Break, Have a KitKat[239]" or "Always Better With Fire[236]"), amongst other means

through its post Second World War cultural hegemony. This situation supports as well the prior importance of American corpora when it comes to the broad study of slogans.

Outline

Conducted from the standpoint of enunciation and pragmatics, this investigation will first examine the alleged similarity of political and advertising slogans, leading to the study of distinct if not opposed linguistic features, potentially enhancing doubts regarding political and advertising slogans' presumed sameness, which will pave the way for the analysis of the present state of research regarding phraseology, and of the possibility, or not, to propose a phraseology of slogans.

1. Alleged similarity between political and advertising slogans supported by shared linguistic characteristics

1.1 Similarly leading the addressee towards extended time of thinking[42] by means of specific short discursive forms and contexts

1.1.1 Peculiar *minimalist* discursive forms

Political and advertising slogans appear to be inherently concise discursive forms that encompass very often more meaning than what is displayed at the syntagmatic level. At the locutionary level, slogans' essential *minimalism* (Keranforn-Liu 2019) is characterized by present political and advertising slogans being mostly encompassed in a few words by means of emphasizing nominal sentences or "micro nominal enunciations[43]" (Lapaire & Rotgé 1991: 88) including asyndetic coordination as well as the use of the article Ø (Lapaire & Rotgé 1991, Keranforn-Liu 2019), which syntagmatically underlines juxtapositions, correlations, parallelism or causality (Sanders 2005), and results in a highly condensed semantic content such as in "Change[1]" or "Forward[29]". By means of the article Ø (Annex 16), imperative forms, juxtaposition, notional repetition and correlation (Keranforn-Liu 2019) or punctuation marks (such as 'commas', 'bullet points' or 'periods'), but also prosody and phonostylistic use of tone[44] (Léon 1993) or phonetic parallelism and repetition[45], slogans tend to emphasize dense semantic hammering required at the pragmatic level for the achievement of several illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts.

The fact that speech acts are encompassed by such *minimalism* implies recurrent if not systematic use of ellipsis[46] (Nariyama 2004, Merchant 2007, Delorme 2016), be it syntagmatic[47] (Annex 15 & 17) or semantic[48], and therefore reliance on anaphoric references to situational as well as linguistic contexts in order for the addressee to fill in the blanks. Despite syntagmatic ellipsis found in 82% of political slogans and 70% of advertising slogans, the variety of ellipses includes:

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[42] Compared to the time necessary to deal with signs, titles, legends or mottoes.

[43] Translated by the author from the French: "micro-énoncés nominaux".

[44] "On pourrait dire que la voix apporte au discours une « tension performative », qu'elle tend à convertir la parole en acte. […] mais l'important est là que le *dire* s'efface à côté de la voix (« nous proclamons »)." Rivière, *Traverses* (1980), in Léon (1993). Author's translation: "One could say that the voice brings a "performative tension" to speech, that it tends to convert speech into action. […] but the important thing is that the action of saying fades away next to the power of the voice ("we proclaim")."

[45] 48% of political slogans and 17% of advertising slogans' linguistic units.

[46] "The figure of ellipsis occurs when one substitutes a gap or lacuna for an explicit or complete statement, that is, an empty place which the recipient corrects by filling in the blank" (Mc Quarrie & Mick 1996: 432).

[47] Pronouns ellipsis "(You Too) Taste the Feeling[170]", verb ellipsis "Yes We Will[6] (Reverse the Economy Crisis)", or complement ellipsis "We Need Alan Keyes[25] (to Run for Presidency in Order to Improve the Situation.)".

[48] As with Toys 'R' Us' slogan: "(Toys 'R' Us' Products Are Really) AWWWESOME[230]".

- *lexical verb ellipsis*: "Yes We Will[6] ..."

- *verb phrase ellipsis*: "... Forward[29]" or "... For the Love of It[172]"

- *subject ellipsis*[49]: "... Restore America Now[35]" or "... Up For Whatever[164]"

- *answer ellipsis*: "*Which candidate would you want as President? We want* Jeb to be President![73]"

    or "*What kind of beer is Budweiser? Budweiser* is The King Of Beers[165]".

- *null complement anaphora*: "Change[1] ...", "People Fighting Back[28] ...",

    or "Match .... Chat .... Date ....[307]"

Such variety of ellipses makes it difficult to determine a kind of ellipsis specific to slogans as a short discursive form. However, it can be noticed within this combined corpus that subject ellipsis (pol.: 64%, adv.: 67%) and verb ellipsis (pol.: 54%, adv.: 33%) are the most used elliptical forms[50]. As "ellipsis in general plays a major part in the organization of conversation and narrative for reasons of economy, cohesion, and style" (Nariyama 2004), questions could be raised regarding the reasons leading to such heavy use of ellipsis within slogans. Is the use of ellipsis a direct consequence to slogans' *minimalism*? Do the contextual and introductory speeches and commercials imply the usage of ellipsis, or on the contrary does needed rhetorical use of ellipsis imply previous introductory speeches and commercials based on specific situational or linguistic contexts?

> "while full sentences to some degree elicit responses from the addressees and therefore aid the conversation flow, subjectless sentences tend to convey to the addressee implicatures of fulfilling a social obligation, keeping a low conversational profile, and minimising invitation of response to the subjectless utterance.[51]"
>
> (Nariyama 2004: 248)

This statement may provide the beginning of an answer as it implies a pragmatic connection between the use of ellipsis in slogans and their inherent exhortative purpose, a question which will

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[49] "Pronoun/zero alternations are familiar from Chomsky's (1981) 'Avoid Pronoun Principle', which states that whenever the language allows a zero form, one is to prefer it - a minimization principle in effect. Indeed, where alternations between zero anaphora (PRO, pro or zero topic) and overt pronouns occur, linguists have judged that native speakers prefer the empty forms." (Ariel 1994: 5).

[50] It is worth noticing that differences in usage appear between political and advertising slogans. Political slogans are more elliptical (83% vs 70%), encompass more often several ellipses within the same slogan (18% vs 9%), and elide more often verbs (54% vs 33%), which could imply that advertising slogans rely on more complex syntagms and perhaps conventional expressions, while political slogans don't. This hypothesis seems strengthen by advertising slogans using more finite verbs (56 vs 33), and more verbs in general (151 vs 108).

[51] As Reboul (1982) puts it: "le slogan vise à empêcher son destinataire de réfléchir sur son contenu […] bloquer le doute, l'incertitude, le slogan doit être sans réplique […] il entend clore le débat" [a slogan aims to prevent its addressee to think about its content […] prevent any doubt, uncertainty, a slogan should be the last word […] it is meant to end the discussion", author's translation.

be dealt with later on. Elliptical devices inherent to *minimalism* also lead to inferences[52] and presuppositions[53] (Strawson 1950, Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986, Keranforn-Liu 2019), as slogans consequently rely heavily on contextuality, both for understanding and happy[54] achievement of speech acts (Austin 1962, Searle 1969). Effective exhortation and persuasion of the addressee can however sometimes be made more explicit by the additional means of contextual use of personal pronouns. For instance, on the one hand the pronoun 'we' (pol.: 7.8%, adv.: 0.5%) has the capacity to include the addressee, and by means of presupposition, to instill some ideas, as with "*We* Need Alan Keyes[25]". From the standpoint of the addressee, while it increases his attention to the conveyed message and provides a sense of belonging (Håkansson 2012), 'we' here means 'addresser + addressee', and if 'we' need Alan Keyes, presupposition implies that 'I' the addressee am therefore likely to need him 'too'. On the other hand, the pronoun 'you' (pol.: 0.5%, adv.: 13.5%) allows the addresser to singularize the addressee and hence to emphasize topics such as ownership ("Whatever it is *you* can get is on Ebay[299]") or individual desires ("It's Everywhere *You* Want To Be[161]"), as granted personal wishes (Grunig 1998) or at least wishes about to be granted. Otherwise, the pronoun 'it' (pol.: 3.8%, adv.: 18.2%), allows the speaker to make anaphoric references to a wide range of referents, whether by the use of 'it' as a pronoun for products ("Don't Leave Home Without *It*[156]"), or as a vague pronoun with a fluctuant reference ("Just Do *It*[200]"), or to refer to situations ("Jeb Can Fix *It*[74]"). The use of pronouns avoids the mention of actual names or description of situations, which would lead to longer slogans and mostly to a weakened exhortation of the addressee by means of increased emphasis on other aspects than the benefits that a given product could provide to the said addressee. For instance, "Yes We Can[4]" conveys a single exhortative notion whereas "I am convinced that we, the people of the United States of America, are able to bring change into our political system in order to improve our government as well as our lives." doesn't. The necessity to fill in the blanks within elliptical minimalistic slogans leads the

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[52] An inference "denotes the process of decoding the pragmatic meaning of an utterance. In order to do so, the listener uses additional knowledge [such as given linguistic or contextual situation] to make sense of what has not been explicitly said.", (http://www.ello.uos.de/field.php/Pragmatics/PragmaticsReferenceandInference, last consulted on 03.21.2020).

[53] "Presupposition can be defined as an implicit relationship between indications directly posed by the statement and those brought about by it", author's translation of the original French: "Relation implicite entre des indications directement posées par l'énoncé et celles entraînées par cet énoncé" (Media 1971).

[54] The happiness/unhappiness dimension was introduced by Austin in his second lecture of 1962 (p. 14): "Besides the uttering of the words of the so-called performative, a good many other things have as a general rule to be right and to go right if we are to be said to have happily brought off our action". Page 115, he states that "Unless a certain effect is achieved, the illocutionary act will not have happily, successfully performed", adding page 135 that "performatives are happy or unhappy and statements true or false". Therefore, a happily achieved speech act is according to Austin's lectures a speech act both successfully and satisfactorily achieved from the standpoint of the addresser.

addressee to an extended time of thinking regarding the said slogans, which paves the way to more efficient speech acts and implications (Annex 18).

1.1.2 An extended time of thinking

Although assimilation of slogans' information could be relatively quick, their conveyance of affect or of an amount of denotative and connotative information to deal with is most of the time greater than for instance, a short discursive form such as the legend "map" which only states that a given picture is a map. Moreover the period of time that separates the slogan's reception from the re-action of the addressee can be quite important. For instance, the slogans of U.S. presidential election campaigns can be uttered up to four years before the actual presidential election[55], a specificity (linked to slogans' ability to instill information) which draws a pragmatic as well as exhortative line between slogans and other short discursive forms such as "wet floor" or "Mind the gap". These well-known signs actually induce an immediate reaction as the addressee is thus aware of the probably imminent proximity of the said 'wet flour' or 'gap', but also a loss of attention as soon as the said 'wet flour' or 'gap' have been avoided. Furthermore, political as well as advertising slogans induce a potential reflexion, even an unconscious one, until the ultimate action of supporting a presidential candidate, or of purchasing a given product. This phenomenon is reinforced by repeated utterance of slogans through time, which then allows instillation by means of semantic hammering. For instance, political slogans are being repeated by means of iterated speeches then picked up by a series of medias, while advertising slogans are conveyed by means of commercials shown several times a day on a multitude of media channels and social medias. As a result, slogans, as short discursive forms have better chances than signs, legends, or even proverbs, to have a greater and more lasting effect on the addressee's mind, and potentially impact present opinion, ideology or future decisions and thirsts, such as political slogans influence political standpoints (as "For a secure America[23]" implies to the addressee that America is not safe), or advertising slogans influence opinions regarding products or services (as "The King Of Beers[165]" implies to the addressee that this beer is the best, or as "We Try Harder[177]" implies to the addressee that other companies care less about their customers).

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[55] Question could be raised whether it would be possible for slogans to produce delayed speech acts or not.

1.2 Similar pragmatic usage often leading towards an impact: from locutionary to perlocutionary act

1.2.1 From information to influence

Slogans, whether political or advertising, are indeed short discursive forms designed to convey some information destined by an addresser to hopefully exhort (amongst others) a targeted addressee to react, be it psychologically or physically. Such chain reactions, from a locution to a potential reaction, was defined by Austin (1962) in terms of *speech acts*[56], and encompasses three different acts:

> "A speaker utters sentences with a particular meaning (locutionary act), and with a particular force (illocutionary act) in order to achieve a certain effect (perlocutionary act) on the hearer.[57]"

> (Kempson 1977: 51)

These verbal actions include several types of speech acts, classified by Searle (1969) as *representative* (assertions, statements, claims, suggestions or descriptions), *commissive* (promises, threats, oaths or vows), *directive* (commands, requests, summons, dares, invitations or challenges), *declarative* (blessings, arrests, sentencing or marrying), *expressive* (assessments of psychological states or attitudes such as apologies, congratulations, greetings or condolences), and *verdictive* (condoning, rankings, appraising or assessments). As slogans encompass different pragmatic goals, both political and advertising slogans rely on the use of several speech acts, whether direct or indirect[58], to exhort a given addressee. On the one hand political slogans are used with the intention to make the addressee re-act, whether pecuniarily, institutionally, ideologically or electorally, which leads them to convey representative speech acts, including assertions ("A Political Revolution is Coming[56]"), statements ("Obama Isn't Working[32]"), or descriptions ("Tanned, Rested, Ready. [82]"). However, beyond being speech acts, these slogans convey both an *illocutionary point* ("the function or purpose of a speech act.", Holmes 1984) and an *illocutionary force* ("the strength with which the illocutionary point of a speech act is presented", Holmes 1984). For instance, the

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[56] "In linguistics, a speech act is an utterance defined in terms of a speaker's intention and the effect it has on a listener. Essentially, it is the action that the speaker hopes to provoke in his or her audience. Speech acts might be requests, warnings, promises, apologies, greetings, or any number of declarations." Nordquist 2019, https://www.thoughtco.com/speech-act-linguistics-1692119, last consulted on 02.22.2020.

[57] Definition first established by Austin (1962: 101), concisely paraphrased by Davis (Searle et al. ed. 1980: 37): "I have said something [locutionary act], I have told you something [illocutionary act], I have frightened you [perlocutionary act].".

[58] An indirect speech act or illocutionary act conveys an illocutionary force different from the one expressed literally at the locutionary level by means of conventional expressions, linguistic as well as contextual situation inferences, but also shared background knowledge. For instance, in daily life the utterance "Kill me now!" is very likely to convey the representative speech act of stating (in this instance: "I am extremely bored!") rather than the directive speech act of ordering (in this instance, conveyed at the locutionary level: "Kill me now!").

representative speech act that is the assertion "A Political Revolution is Coming[56]" has the function of encompassing and summing up the essence of Sanders' political campaign's message and agenda[59]. Its *illocutionary point* thus reinforces its *illocutionary force* as every time Sanders mentions the potential benefits of his "Green New Deal", or of "Medicare for All", his slogan gets fueled a bit more by notions, which leads to cognitively stronger inferences and connotations, and to instill the idea that Sanders' campaign is full of revolutionary ideas and therefore embodies a coming political revolution. The slogan then acts both as a presupposition and a confirmation that Sanders is leading an incoming political revolution. This illocutionary force is also increased by means of and as a result of public debates, social medias' emphasis on Sanders' agenda, or by Sanders' specific intonation that conveys strength and determination. Also by the use of the present continuous ("is coming"), this process hence influences the addressee, and lets him think that Sanders is already on the way to the presidency to improve the system, and thus implies that to vote for him would only be natural.

On the other hand, advertising slogans aim to persuade the addressee to buy a given product or to subscribe to some service, and lead them to use representative, but also directive speech acts such as direct dares ("Betcha Can't Eat Just One[240]"), invitations ("So Screw It, Let's Ride[296]"), or even orders ("Don't live life without it[157]"). Likewise, these slogans convey both an *illocutionary point* and an *illocutionary force* with the intent to influence the addressee in his decisions. For instance, the directive speech act that is the invitation "So Screw It, Let's Ride.[296]" has the function of encompassing the message of the advertising campaign of Harley Davidson, i.e. that to ride a bike is more than just to use a mode of transportation, but is a means to embrace American beloved symbolic notions such as freedom, the road, and therefore, the ride. Harley Davidson here appeals to such notions to trigger a thirst to ride in the addressee's mind. This slogan's illocutionary force is then increased by the combination of two linguistic means: a combination of the emphatic use of two juxtaposed imperative forms ("... + screw it" and "... + let's ride"), and semantics. By means of semantics, this slogan first appeals to the addressee's potential immediate displeasure and thirst of lust to invite him to stop doing whatever bothers him at the moment: "So" = in these supposedly unpleasant conditions + "screw it" = don't bother. Secondly, the slogan appeals to the addressee's thirst of lust to invite him to embrace a specific pleasant

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[59] "To raise the federal minimum wage to $15 an hour; launch a "Green New Deal"; expand public housing; boost government support for organized labor; offer tuition-free college to students, while canceling their debt, and pay raises for school teachers; take apart "the prison industrial complex"; legalize marijuana across the nation and deliver "Medicare for All." (https://edition.cnn.com/2020/02/23/politics/bernie-sanders-revolution-nevada/index.html, last consulted on 03.20.2020).

activity: "Let's Ride". Reliance on a commercial's depiction of ideal rides makes the slogan's illocutionary force exhorts all the more the addressee to ride and thus purchase one of these legendary bikes, supposedly sources of pleasure, manhood and freedom. Not only it emphasizes and conveys specific information and notions, but the *illocutionary force* also helps slogans to convey affect and to influence the addressee. Such goal, achieved by means of concise *minimalism*, but also often by means of both imperative forms and notional assertions, can as well be facilitated by means of direct pragmatic assertions and use of direct modality.

Modality, "concerned with the 'opinion and attitude' of the speaker" (Lyons 1977, Palmer 2014), allows the addresser to emphasize, whether a capacity by means of the *dynamic* value[60] of modality ("Jeb *Can* Fix It[74]", "Change we *can* believe in[2]", or "Our Models *Can* Beat up Their Models[197]"), a necessity by means of the *deontic* value[61] ("We *Need* Alan Keys[25]"), or a degree of probability if not a certainty by means of the *epistemic* value[62] ("Yes We *Will*[6]"). Besides the reliance on illocutionary force, slogans' message can therefore be reinforced by an array of linguistic means - including ellipsis and modality, but also phonostylistics (phonetic repetitions or intonation), syntax (binary, ternary, or confrontational symmetry), introductory commercials or speeches, or selected information - which as a result increases the chances of happy realization (Austin 1962) of slogans' exhortation of a given addressee.

Ellipsis for instance reinforces *minimalism* by allowing emphasis on the matter at hand, as in "There is Hope for America[17] to become better", which enables this slogan to establish a stronger connection between its addresser, Ron Paul, and the notion of 'hope for America' in the mind of the addressee. However, if s.he uses a full conventional verbal syntax ("There *is* Hope for America *to become* better.") the addresser would convey too much information and thus take the risk to undermine the realization of his slogan's assertion, as the addressee will focus more on action than on notion ("There is what?", "To become what?"). Not to mention that a slogan, no matter how long, is already an elliptical version of an entire commercial or political speech.

Otherwise, phonostylistics, which encompasses phonetic repetitions and intonation (Halliday 2015), is for its part often correlated with syntax. A perfect example of this phenomenon

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[60] Also known as *radical* or *intersubjective* value, the *dynamic* value intrinsincally underlines an inherent quality, a training, an in/ability, a volition but also a desire or an absence of desire, in a synergy S→O as the grammatical Subject and grammatical agent is the source of some sort of pressure.

[61] The *deontic* value intrinsincally emphasizes a source of pressure upon the Subject, often moral, legal, or systemic, and underlies im/possibility, necessity, permission or obligation, in a synergy O→S where a pressure is applied on the grammatical Subject.

[62] The *epistemic* value extrinsincally deals with a judgment about the truth, wishes and hopes, contingency, likeliness or unlikeliness of a predicate to be true, but also with possibility or impossibility.

could be the Democrat Hillary Clinton's political slogan and chant "Yes We Will[6]", which combines phonetic repetition ([**j**es], [w**iː**], [w**ɪl**]), hammered extra stress ([ˈˈjes], [ˈˈwiː], [ˈˈwɪl]), and syntactic as well as emphatic rhythmic ternarity (¹Yes ²We ³Will). These linguistic features can be found more subtly within slogans such as "Heal. Inspire. Revive.[78]" (¹[**hiː**l]. ²[ɪnˈsp**ʌɪə**]. ³[rɪˈv**ʌɪv**].) which shows double phonetic repetition, "Right to Rise[76]" (¹[**rʌɪt**], ²[t**ʊ**], ³[**rʌɪz**]) that stresses a symmetrical syntax, or "More Saving. More Doing.[306]" (¹[**mɔ**ː] ²[ˈseɪ**vɪŋ**] // ³[**mɔ**ː], ⁴[ˈduː**ɪŋ**]), which encompasses a double binarity that emphasizes syntagmatic symmetry of both phonetic repetitions and stresses. All these linguistic means encompassed in such *minimalism* require a strong reliance on very specific contextuality, as syntagmatic ellipsis makes slogans potentially transposable. Without a proper contextual introduction[63], the slogan "Imagination at Work.[304]" for instance would convey a different meaning if uttered while an artist is painting, an engineer is doing some calculations, or while a man is sleeping on a couch. Despite such linguistic features that allow efficient slogans' exhortation of the addressee, the speaker needs to slant his slogans' effects by means of a mastered use of semantics, in order for slogans' perlocutionary effects to benefit the addresser, and no one else.

1.2.2 A Frequent use of selected information with a 'slanted' pragmatic aim

Slogans' pragmatic functions imply some interest at stake on the part of the addresser, which requires the participation of an addressee in order to allow, in the present cases, a politician to be elected, or a company to sell more products or services. However, regarding political as well as advertising fierce competition, political discourse, advertising and their respective slogans have to offer something to the addressee in exchange for their participation to this pragmatic exhortative process, especially in situations where the addresser and his message are yet unknown to the addressee. Selected if not slanted information is therefore at the heart of a psychological bilateral monopoly[64] (Coddington 2003), an exchange of means that could be regarded as a tacit agreement. For instance, the advertising slogan "Have a Break, Have a KitKat[239]", with reliance on its preceding commercial, depicts a situation where the addressee's break becomes conditional on the consumption, and hence on the purchase, of a KitKat bar. First of all, after a commercial that shows different persons having a break while eating chocolate bars enveloped in red wrapping, the addresser avoids any ambiguity by naming his product, as done with "This is *Wells Fargo*[163]", "All in for *Jeb*[75]", or "Hello*Moto*[268]". Naming the product ensures the addresser that the addressee will

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[63] Often provided by the addresser by means of well designed commercials or political speeches.

[64] "In one sense, a situation of bilateral monopoly appeals to the mutual interests of the participants, and would seem to call for harmonious cooperation between them." (Coddington 2003: 4).

not be tempted by a given slogan to purchase anything else than this specific product, which could have been conveyed by "Have a Break, Have a Chocolate Bar", or worse: "Have a Break, Have Something", which would invite the addressee to have anything (a beer, a cake, or even a cigaret).

The second important means of this slogan, is to exude logical causality by means of juxtaposition. From the standpoint of the addressee, asyndetic syntax conveys the notion of succession, of a narrative, a phenomenon known as the *causality-by-default hypothesis*[65] (Sanders 2005). Moreover, from an interpretative point of view, the logical often derives from the chronological. In this instance, KitKat's slogan can be read as "*When* I Have a Break, I *then* Have a KitKat", a means echoed by correlated structures such as "More Saving. More Doing.[306]" (if I save more money, I will therefore be able to do more with it.), or "Tanned, Rested, Ready.[82]" (I am tanned because I was on vacation. I was on vacation so I am well rested. I am well rested hence I am ready.). As Sanders puts it:

> "One line of reasoning is that language users have a preference for connecting information causally (Noordman & Vonk, 1998) because their reading strategy is to construct a highly connected representation. According to the "effort after meaning principle" such highly connected representations are established if readers have been able to relate events to their causes (Graesser et al. 1994; Magliano et al. 1994). And indeed, readers appear to make backward causal inferences immediately during reading (Graesser et al. 2001). There may be parallels with the human preference to see structure, patterns and organization and to avoid accidentalities. This tendency is not limited to language or language processing, it is a general cognitive principle, well-known from areas like visual perception – for instance in Gestalt Psychology: we are better in recognizing configurations we can interpret as patterns, than in accidental configurations (Van Lier, Van der Helm & Leeuwenberg, 1994; Noordman, 2005)."
>
> (Sanders 2005: 8-9)

Such causal relationships underlined by these slogans (and also by proverbs), by means of syntactic parallelism (Delorme 2016), convey to the addressee the feeling of a logical causality: "*If* I Have a Break, I will then Have a KitKat". However, as this slogan is conveyed to the addressee and does not come from them, the message should also be understood as "If *You* Have a Break, Have a KitKat", thus bearing the *deontic* value of modality through the use of an imperative form ("… + Have a KitKat(!)"), almost becoming an injunction. From this point of view, the addresser becomes through selected words the source of a pressure applied on the addressee, making the consumption of a KitKat bar compulsory ("*If* You Have a Break, You *Should* Have a KitKat"), which highlights

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[65] "Because readers aim at building the most informative representation, they start out assuming the relation between two consecutive sentences is a causal relation (given certain characteristics of two discourse segments). Subsequently, causally related information will be processed faster, because the reader will only arrive at an additive relation if no causal relation can be established." (Sanders 2005: 9).

the speech acts this slogan attempts to achieve; the one of representative suggestion, and the one of commissive incitement, if not of a request or order. Furthermore, by means of semantic superimposition due to syntactic parallelism[66], and systematic association between the notion of break and the one of KitKat bars within the commercial, 'KitKat' becomes almost synonym of 'break'. Consequently, information provided by both the commercial and the slogan is used with the intent to lead the addressee to cognitively associate any break with the consumption of KitKat bars, KitKat bars therefore becoming de facto in this scenario an important part of the addressee's life.

In a context of fierce competition, the addresser can also slant his slogan by using superlatives or hyperboles, as in "Our *Best* America Yet[86]", "The *Quicker* Pick*er* Upp*er*[233]", or "America *Runs on* Dunkin'[237]". Such linguistic means conveys to the addressee that the addresser is better than his rivals, if not unique. For instance the slogan "The People's President[44]" uses the epithet 'People', which stresses a quality characteristic of this speaker while adding the determiner 'The', which states that this candidate is the only one to bear such quality. Such means allows the Republican candidate Gary Johnson to achieve the speech act of declaration, and infers that partisans interested in people should vote for him. This linguistic means can also be found in "*The King* Of Beers[165]", or "I *Am* America[47]". Within the latter, the speaker hyperbolically states to be the embodiment of America, and contextually implies to be the best to represent the values of the nation and thus to be the best candidate to the presidency. Exhortation is a specifically complex goal to achieve, especially in these contexts where speakers attempt to convince strangers to act in their favor. This underlines the need to investigate in which contexts and how slogans intervene.

1.3 Anaphoric utterances, conclusions of incremental processes

1.3.1 Slogan as an encapsulating pivotal conclusion of an incremental process

Political and advertising slogans are not uttered regardless of any specific context or period of time, but are actually meticulously introduced within specific circumstances, whether by means of an hour and a half presidential announcement speech, or a minute advertising spot. Even outdoor advertising displays which occur within a broader advertising campaign narrative, convey incremental narratives to the viewer, incremental processes from which slogans are the summary, if

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[66] Segmentation of the slogan leads to this: [1][Have] [2][a] [3][Break], [1][Have] [2][a] [3][KitKat], which underlines that [3][Break]=[3][KitKat]. Therefore, the slogan could be understood as 'Have a KitKat Break'. However, this understanding would lead the addressee to have 'a' break, now and just once, hence supporting the idea that the KitKat company (Nestle) actually wants/needs to exhort the addressee to associate the notion of break and the notion of KitKat bar in order to be tempted to eat a KitKat bar every time any kind of break is taken.

not the essence. It therefore stresses incremental speech acts and *backward causality*[67]. As Hope Rohrbach, marketing manager for The Campaign Workshop puts it[68]: "A campaign slogan is a tool for persuasion and engagement, but it can't be written in a vacuum. Your slogan should be used as a method of displaying and promoting your campaign's message."

Even though political as well as advertising slogans are the chronological conclusions of introductory speeches and commercials, they are not consequences of them, as it is actually the other way around[69]. However, despite being pragmatically essential in the realization of speech acts, slogans cannot be used independently, as their inherent *minimalism* and *elliptical form* require preceding and specifically slanted contextual introductions, otherwise, "Yes We Can[4]" for example would mainly lead to the addressee to wonder: "'we' who, can what?". For instance, Donald Trump's slogan "Keep America Great[139]" has been introduced by an hour and twenty minutes speech[70] that encompasses a specific narrative structure, as Donald Trump's speechwriter opted for an emphatic double three-acts structure[71] ([Setup/Confrontation/Resolution]-[Setup/Confrontation/ Resolution]). As a result, the speech begins by assessing how bad the American situation is, from Donald Trump's political perspective, and thus presents his political agenda and emphasizes traditional topics of presidential campaigns such as immigration ("[Mexico is] sending people that have lots of problems"), terrorism ("Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East"), the military ("Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger […] and we as a country are getting weaker"), health ("We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare."), finances ("$5 billion we spent on a website"), or lobbying ("[lobbying is] destroying our country").

Once the setup (1st Act) dealt with, Trump then stresses political rivalry and with it confrontation (2nd Act): "So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life […] They will never make America great again", a turning point that allowes him to create a connection in the mind of the addressee between 'problems' and 'Trump's political opponents'. For the third Act, which ends the first three-acts structure, the speaker emphasizes resolution by presenting himself as

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[67] "We adopt a broad conception of causality: it involves 'ordinary' Cause-Consequence relations, but also includes the causality involved in explanation, in reasoning and argumentation. Causal relations can be expressed in the order antecedens, consequens – as in X so Y - or in reverse order - Y because X. We refer to these as forward and backward causality." (Sanders 2005: 1).

[68] https://www.thecampaignworkshop.com/blog/political-campaign/campaign-slogans, last consulted on 03.14.2020.

[69] In the same way politicians first need a message, which leads to 'a' synthesizing slogan, which then is used to construct contextual speeches, graphic designers create logos and advertisements based on firmly established slogans previously given to them, given slogans resulting from the establishment of the message of an advertising campaign.

[70] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJHJOALkRhQ&t=176s, last consulted on 04.14.2020.

[71] The three-acts structure is a model used in narrative fiction which respects an organization frequently used in cinema (*Setup/Confrontation/Resolution*) and that thus emphasizes two turning points (also known as plot points).

the best solution America has: "We need a leader that wrote *The Art of the Deal*[72] […] I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created", "I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.". Despite the efficiency of this first classic narrative structure's plot ('there are problems to fix' *but* 'there are bad guys' *but* 'fortunately I'm here to save the day'), Donald Trump's speechwriter chose to repeat it with greater emphasis on his opponents as being the source of the problem, and him being the perfect candidate for presidency. Therefore, Trump first reassesses the situation with ternary[73] emphasis on his opponents ("How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?"), then introduces ongoing obstacles undealt with by the U.S. ("[China is] going militarily […] our country could never do that", or "[China, Japan and Mexico are] going to take away thousands of jobs"), which allows him to present himself again as 'the' solution ("We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country. […] I'm running against [them] now."), before the enunciation of a series of promises to the audience ("I will stop Iran […] Get rid of the fraud […] Renegotiate our foreign trade deals").

Secondly, before the narrative culminates in the utterance of the renowned slogan 'Make America Great Again[65]', this six-acts speech not only emphasizes an incremental narrative structure, but also assures the incremental instillation of the climactically coming slogan, by means of its own conveyed notions and linguistic components. Every word encompassed by the slogan has indeed been pre-emptively used on multiple occasions within the speech[74], which allows Trump to associate the notion of quality or competence with him by means of the term 'great' ("It's *great* to be at *Trump* Tower.", "speaking of *my family*, […] *Evanka* did a *great* job. Did *she* do a *great* job?" or "*A friend of mine* who's a *great* manufacturer"), but also to gradually associate the slogan to him ("You know, *I make great* product.", "There is so much *wealth* out there that can *make* our *country* so rich *again*, and therefore *make it great again*.[75]", or "*I will* bring it back […], and *we will make America great again*."). These words are not only used respecting the slogan's syntax, which thus creates the collocation 'Make *something* Great Again' ("*make it great again*" used 4 times), but they

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[72] Here Trump plays with words as not only America needs a president that is an expert in the art of the deal, but 'the art of the deal', is also the title of one of Donald Trump's books, published in 1987 by Random House.

[73] Trump actually systematically uses ternarity in his speech to hammer every key notion, as he did for instance regarding employment: "[1] I'll bring back our jobs […] [2] I'll bring back our jobs, and [3] I'll bring back our money.".

[74] Including 'Make' (23 times), 'America' (8 times + 'United States' 6 times), 'Great' (41 times), and 'Again' (19 times).

[75] As Trump's wealth has been more than emphasized in the speech ("I have assets […] 9 billion 240 million dollars."), and that this sentence states in substance that 'wealth can make our country [America] great again', the addressee could be tempted to understand 'Trump Can Make America Great Again' when hearing the final slogan by means of activation of the slogan's antecedents (Dell et al. 1983).

also associate the coming slogan with most part of the narrative's plot. For instance, this cataphoric[76] usage of the formula 'Make *something* Great Again' first highlights the inability of the opposition ("how are [they] gonna go back and *make* it *great again*? […] They can't lead us"), then stresses America's need ("We need […] somebody that literally will take this country and *make* it *great again*."), in order to underline Trump's candidacy ("So ladies and gentlemen…I am officially running… for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again."), which then leads to an emphatic summary by means of the contrastive opposition 'problem/ solution' ("Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president I will bring it back […] and we will make America great again."). Consequently, by means of a well-designed incrementation, the addressee will find the culminating slogan all the more 'natural' and meaningful.

Although by means of commercials (that encompass emphatic or thrilling music[77], more speakers, or the depiction of fictional situations and characters[78]) advertising discourses introduce as well their slogans both incrementally and cataphorically. However while political speeches make frequent use of the three-acts narrative structure, advertising rely mostly on incremental narratives based on a series of examples (Annex 1), if not on the explanatory depiction of the assertion that many slogans tend to be. For instance, the brand KitKat® introduced its slogan "Have a break, have a KitKat[239]" in one[79] of its commercials with a specific multi-layered incremental narrative, in order to exhort as many addressees as possible. To begin with, the commercial encompasses nine narratively unrelated[80] scenes and with it narrative incrementation, allowing the depiction of a wide array of situations as well as intertwined notions (associated to the consumption of KitKat bars) that

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[76] In linguistics, a cataphora is a *linguistic co-reference*, which is "the mechanism by which two linguistic forms refer to the same semantic entity. A common form of co-reference is *anaphoric* reference, when an anaphor, such as a pronoun, refers back to a previously mentioned entity. […] Another form of linguistic co-reference, which has received far less attention, is *cataphoric* reference or *backwards anaphora*, in which the pronoun appears before its antecedent" (Filik and Sanford 2008). However, the term cataphora is here used in its broad sense to describe how introductory speeches and commercials establish notions incrementally with anticipation of the future utterance of a *minimalistic* slogan which encompasses these anticipated notions in just a few words.

[77] For instance the emphatic soundtrack used for Pepsi's advert (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_l5koxtzDo, last consulted on 02.20.2020), the one used by Bud (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PwmrX_2DD_0, last consulted on 02.20.2020), or Nina Simone's thrilling song "I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free" used within one of Ford's commercials (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKwt9Dpr8oI, last consulted on 02.20.2020).

[78] By means of voice-overs, as in the advert of McDonald: GWK (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HM9UBHwGmQA, last consulted on 02.20.2020), written text, used by Walk Me (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WvPJTdd-AqM, last consulted on 02.20.2020), fictional character, used by Old Spice (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owGykVbfgUE, last consulted on 02.20.2020), or all at once as did Boeing (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02VX-wmepAA, last consulted on 02.20.2020).

[79] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncNv1RyGgQk, last consulted on 01.17.2020.

[80] Except regarding the fact that all these scenes depict at least one character having a 'break', and that most of them contain the presence of a KitKat bar.

the addressees could possibly relate to. These notions are conveyed by means of distinct settings (outside, inside, or in space), different types of persons (genders, ages, or professions), varied affects (love, sloth, joy, sadness, anger, or selfishness[81]), but also different numbers of protagonists (to be alone, to be together), or even different inactions and actions of the main protagonists (sloth and lust) and emphasize the message of the commercial as well as its slogan itself ("Have a Break, Have a KitKat[239]"). Moreover, incrementation is also encompassed by means of a voice-over's utterance[82], which adds semantic content to every scene, and therefore stresses each time other aspects of the previous notions, such as 'the love to break', 'never' or "always" breaking, to break "together" or "alone", and 'sharing'. Such accumulation of meaning thus covers a wide range of ways to have a break or to break, but also a wide range of potential addressees, which hence increases the probabilities of a successful exhortation of a given addressee as he or she can now relate to these commercial and product for different reasons. This incrementation of linguistic content is also used to convey a gradual implication of the addressee by means of specific pronouns:

"all of you" ⟶ "those who" ⟶ "your" ⟶ "you" ⟶ "... Have *something*"

universalization   *specification*   *this is now officially the concern of the addressee who is considered having breaks already*   *direct implication*   *imperative form of implication leading to this directive speech act: a request*
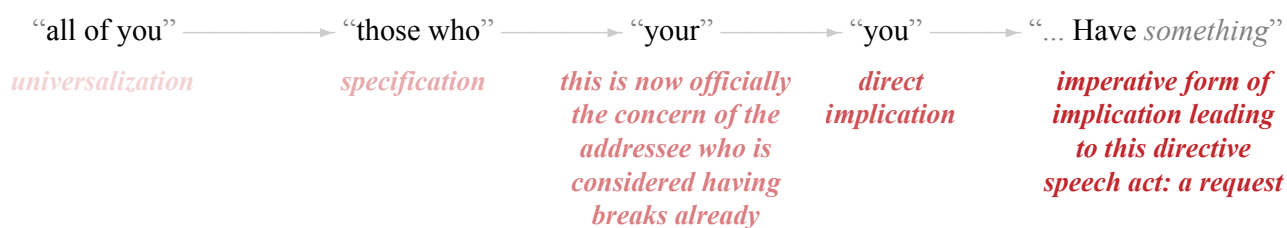
Such gradation is visually echoed by the progressive emphasis put on the product (Annex 2) that culminates in an eighth scene which focuses on the KitKat bar by means of an extreme-close-up lateral tracking shot. As the addressee and the product are increasingly involved by the message of the commercial, the notion of eating some KitKat bars is conveyed, and therefore associates, if it doesn't link, the idea of eating some KitKat bars to the notion of break. First of all, this association is achieved by means of a narrative situational context as all the characters eating KitKat bars are actually having a break and being happy, while on the contrary all the characters not having a break

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[81] It is worth noticing the dichotomy which underlines the fact that all characters eating KitKat bars are happy, while characters not eating them are either angry or crying. Such opposition is reinforced by chromatic choices, as the red KitKat wrapping is only balanced by complementing colours within scenes showing first happiness (S.1, S.3) and then impressive space travelling (S.7, S.9). This interestingly underlines a scenaristic symmetry that emphasizes the introduction and the conclusion, which associates respectively the notion of love and the notion of universality to KitKat bars.

[82] Scene 1: "Here is to all of you who love to break.", S.2: "Those who can't help a break.", S.3: "And those who always find time to break.", S.4: "To those who break together.", S.5: "And those who break alone.", S.6: "Whether you share you break with the world", S.7: "or your break is out of this world.", S.8: "However you break", S.9: "Have a Break, Have a KitKat.[239]".

do not eat anything and are either sad or angry (Annex 3). Secondly, this association is reinforced in every scene by the simultaneous occurrence of the notion of break linked to specific pronouns (see figure above) and underlined by the voice-over, but also the occurrence of a KitKat packaging appearing on screen (Annex 4). The third means of association involves this commercial's hammering of the notion of break (repeated 19 times) as it emphasizes the several meanings of 'having *a break*', '*to break*' as well as the word 'break' itself[83] by means of emphatic repetitions within both the scenes and the voice-over:

S.1 - Here is to all of you who **love to break**. ———————— *to break¹*

S.2 - Those who **can't help a break**. ———————————— *a break¹*
S.3 - And those who **always find time to break**. ———— *to break²*

S.4 - To those who **break together**. ——————— *to break³*
S.5 - And those who **break alone**.——————— *to break⁴*

S.6 - Whether you share your **break with the world**, ————— *a break²*
S.7 - or your **break is out of this world**. ————— *a break³*

S.8 - **However** you **break**, ————— *to break⁵*

S.9 - **Have a Break, Have a Kit Kat**. ————— *a break⁴, a Kit Kat⁵*

While this allows the notion of 'break' to sink in the addressee's mind, the addresser adds to the incremental hammering of the notion a progressive syntagmatic translation of the word 'break' and its consequential substitution by the name of the brand and product 'KitKat'. As they underline a syntactic symmetry, the first three phrases, ending with 'break', are echoed at the end of the commercial by the last three phrases which end respectively with "break", "break", and "KitKat". Syntagmatic repetition, reinforced by previously analyzed means including patterns (Sanders 2005), would lead the addressee to associate even more the notion of break to the one of KitKat bars by means of this syntagmatic translation, leading the addressee to 'hear' "KitKat" when and where cognitively expecting the word "break". This phenomenon is perhaps more self explanatory if the message of the commercial is relieved from its definition of "all of you" ("Those who can't help a break […] or your break is out of this world"): "Here is to all of you who love to *break*. However

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[83] Term and notion dear to KitKat®, as the brand had already associated its product to the action of breaking it when consuming it (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zehth2NxyOw, last consulted on 02.02.2020).

you *break*. Have a *break*, Have a *KitKat*." Furthermore, such process allows the addresser to convey to the addressee the idea that happy breaks are synonymous of the consumption of KitKat bars, and therefore the consumption of KitKat bars becomes reversely synonymous with happy breaks. This notion of happiness is accompanied by the notion of pleasure, stressed by means of characters' facial expression (Annex 3) as well as an increased close-up on the qualities of the product (Annex 2).

Consequently, the slogan encompasses this specific plurally incremental narrative that is this introductory commercial, relying on the use of pronouns, syntax, systemic notional repetitions, visual association and depiction, as well as on intertwined associations[84]:

This is the result of a designed slogan's anticipation which allows the conduct of the then very efficient speech act of exhortation that would be understood by the addressee as "*If* You Have a Break, You *Should* Have a KitKat", due to linguistic usage of parallelism and causality (seen in subsection 1.2.2).

Like these, political and advertising discourses present solutions to 'explained' problematic issues or situations[85]. Doing so, political as well as advertising narratives make sure to establish specific notions, prospectively securing future utterance and pragmatic understanding of slogans.

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[84] To eat a KitKat bar is a break; a break taken by you; you love to eat a KitKat bar when breaking; to break is so you; you love to eat a KitKat bar when breaking a KitKat bar; to break a KitKat bar is a break; a break is to break a KitKat bar; to break a KitKat bar when eating a KitKat bar; you love to eat a KitKat bar; to eat a KitKat bar is so you; to break by breaking a KitKat bar; to break a KitKat bar when breaking; you have a break when eating a KitKat bar; to eat a KitKat bar when breaking; you love to break; you have a break; you love to break by eating a KitKat bar.

[85] A difference however is to be highlighted as a political discourse systematically presents solutions to an explained problematic situation, whereas advertising often depicts the enjoyment of a product if not characters living safely in an already happy world, thanks to the use of a given product that they are enjoying.

The conclusions of such incremental narratives are thus encapsulated by given slogans[86] in a boosting effect (Holmes 1984), which emphasizes linguistic pivotal situations where the speakers leave the suggestive description[87] of products[88]' qualities to actually involve the addressee, be it by means of personal pronouns or imperative mood, therefore officially implementing pragmatic speech acts such as exhortation by means of the said slogans. The correlation between slogans and their introductions underlines slogans as being anaphoric expressions that inherently express *backward causality*[89].

1.3.2 Correlated utterances expressing backward causality

Slogans hence encapsulate pragmatic anaphoric[90] references[91] to antecedents conveyed by means of speeches or commercials[92], antecedents without which any proper reading and thus understanding of the said slogans would be often unlikely. For instance, California Milk Processor Board's slogan "Got Milk?[166]" would be semantically uncanny if encountered on TV or posters without any added information. If encountered on its own, this slogan would thus encompass the same original illocutionary act ("Have you got milk?") but a different perlocutionary effect. Indeed, instead of associating the slogan with its original introductory commercial - which would lead him in a near future to think of the milk of California Milk Processor Board by means of association, if and when looking for milk - the addressee would in this instance be stuck with the slogan's enunciation ("Have you got milk?") and wonder: "What is this advert about?". Therefore, it is based on linguistic and situational contexts that the addressee has to proceed to the reading of the

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[86] However, it is to be noticed that the amount of information to be encapsulated by slogans is not the same in politics, where a whole national system and its ramifications are at stake, whereas in advertising a single daily life situation is underlined.

[87] Of a situation, a social context, an issue, a given product, a politician's decision.s, etc..

[88] Be it a country, a politician, a product or a service.

[89] "We adopt a broad conception of causality: it involves 'ordinary' Cause-Consequence relations, but also includes the causality involved in explanation, in reasoning and argumentation. Causal relations can be expressed in the order antecedens, consequens – as in X so Y - or in reverse order - Y because X. We refer to these as forward and backward causality." (Sanders 2005: 1).

[90] "In contemporary linguistics, [anaphora] is commonly used to refer to a relation between two linguistic elements [or linguistic co-reference], wherein the interpretation of one (called an anaphor) is in some way determined by the interpretation of the other (called the antecedent) (e.g. Lust 1986b, Wasow 1986, see also Huang 1994: 1). Linguistic elements that can be employed as an anaphor include gaps (or empty categories), pronouns, reflexives, names, and descriptions." (Huang 2000).

[91] The term 'reference' is not used here in its strict linguistic sense but instead in its broad sense.

[92] "As we have seen […] the occurrence of different types of non-autonomous, potentially anaphoric expressions in a text is in large part determined by the discourse function of the unit of discourse corresponding to the textual segment in which the expression appears, as well as by its position within that segment." (Cornish 2006).

anaphoric expression that is a slogan, by interpreting its *anaphors* (Huang 2000), in order to retrieve and *activate* (Dell et al. 1983) their antecedents[93] (i.e. to proceed to *anaphorical reading*), which would supposedly lead him to accurate interpretation and understanding of the said slogan as a whole[94] (a semantic compound of 'introductory/anticipative advertisement + slogan'). Such phenomenon stresses *backward causality,* as it is because the slogan "Got Milk?[166]" is semantically incomplete, due to pragmatic necessary *minimalism*, that these introductory scenes are provided first, in order not to miss the originally intended perlocutionary act (exhorting the addressee to purchase some California Milk Processor Board milk). This semantic non-autonomy allows fortunately but also unfortunately slogans to be semantically transposable.

1.3.2.1 Incomplete meaning leading to a degree of transposability

To rely on anaphoric context or information, and underline generic if not abstract notions and assertions due to *minimalism* makes slogans easier for the addressee to remember ("Make It Matter[208]", "World of Care[271]" or "Think[211]"). However, it also makes some slogans pragmatically transposable and all the more likely to be used in a satirical or ironical way.

Slogans' transposability (Annex 19), and therefore propensity to be hijacked, is verifiable by means of simple manipulations[95]. For instance the political slogans "Change, We Can Believe In[2]", "New Possibilities. Real Leadership.[80]", or "One Nation. One Destiny.[123]" can be transposed in literally any political situation, in which different political speeches and contexts would then specify these slogans' respective pragmatic meaning. For instance "One Nation. One Destiny.[123]" uttered and associated to the U.S., China, or Israel would imply different meaning and perlocutionary speech acts while preserving their linguistic integrity[96]. Likewise, the advertising slogan "Betcha can't just eat one.[241]" can be used for any kind of solid food in any country and in any period of time, in the same transposable way as can be "Entertainment for All[229]" regarding entertainments or "Keep Reinventing[209]" regarding any creative profession or activity.

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[93] Also known as *referents*.

[94] Question should be raised whether transposability and great dependence on context are linguistic features shared with other short discursive forms or not.

[95] Such transposability has actually been used in 2011 by the Romanian graphic designer Stefan Asafti, in the creation of a series of logos entitled *Brandversations: We All Have Something In Common*, within which Stefan switched logos and slogans of rival companies (Microsoft/Apple, MacDonald/Burger King or Firefox/Internet Explorer).

[96] Theoretically, such transposability would imply repetition and consequently potential degree of phraseological *fixity*.

This linguistic feature allows slogans to be hijacked for satirical means. For instance, Nike's slogan "Just Do It[200]" has been used in a satirical cartoon[97] to emphasize the precarious conditions of factory employees who work for the brand. Likewise, slogans can be re-used to underline a situational irony, which often results in the creation of memes. For instance, Coca-Cola's slogan "Taste the Feeling[170]" was superimposed on the image of a Pinoy boy having just drunk some Coca-Cola[98]. However, the feeling of great pleasure originally shown to the addressee by the commercial[99] is now ironically an expression of disgust on the boy's face. Consequently, the original interpreted meaning of "Feeling" that could be understood as 'the great pleasure you feel when you drink Coca-Cola beverages' becomes more literal, now meaning 'a reaction', 'a strong emotion', in this instance, a negative one. As a consequence, this humorous meme provided a new and more generic meaning as well as a new pragmatic goal to the same slogan[100], mainly by changing the context of its conveyance. This resulted in declensions of the Coke boy's meme in what appears to be mottoes - or so-called motivational posters as could be the 'Hang in there' cat posters - that emphasize different affects such as determination and strength[101] or delight[102]. Despite the funny dimension of these memes, other memes using famous slogans sometimes underline black humor[103], sexuality[104] or even perversity[105].

As semantic if not pragmatic change can be achieved by changing slogans' context of utterance, hijacking of renowned slogans is not seldom. For instance, the French bank Crédit Agricole took advantage in 2009 of Obama's slogan and chant *Yes We Can*[4]'s fame and genericity[106] regarding semantics, deictics and illocution, in order to hijack it for one of its own

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[97] https://timisstamatiadis.wordpress.com/cpps/pcp-1/, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[98] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJCCT9QQgm8, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[99] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tqXKjbtCtxg, last consulted on 01.24.2020.

[100] In this instance, from exhortation to purchase a bottle of Coca-Cola in order to taste the great feeling it is to drink it, to an invitation to embrace a feeling for the sake of it.

[101] https://meme-generator.com/mememe/24-7-taste-the-feeling/, last consulted on 01.18.2020.

[102] https://makeameme.org/meme/taste-the-feeling-5c763c, last consulted on 01.18.2020.

[103] Slogan of Home Depot "More Saving. More Doing.[306]": https://me.me/i/more-saving-moredoing-thats-the-power-of-the-home-depot-19267763, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[104] Slogan of KFC "It's Finger Licking Good[238]": https://me.me/i/its-finger-lickin-good-22945837, last consulted on 01.19.2020.

[105] Slogan of KFC "It's Finger Licking Good[238]": https://www.deviantart.com/r0tterz/art/Finger-Lickin-Good-767447748, last consulted on 01.19.2020.

[106] Also for its readiness.

campaign posters[107]. Contextuality needed by the slogan for pragmatic realization was provided by the visual presence of the logo of the bank and of a green credit card - green color of the establishment. Consequently, the addressee could interpret from this new context that the addresser was the said bank, asserting that indeed, they can provide a banking service, supposedly a good one. Obama was thus being understood not as the addresser anymore but at best as a mere reference. Consequently, it appears that slogans as well as their motivations and purposes need to be introduced in order to be understood and pragmatically effective in the way their addresser intended. Such introductions are therefore often reinforced by the establishment of encapsulating identities.

1.4 Key parts in the construction of encapsulating identities

1.4.1 Memorability

1.4.1.1 Emphatic micro/macro repetition patterns

Although less emphasized by advertising slogans (12%) than in political ones (35%), micro phonetic repetitions are known features of slogans (Reboul 1982, Grunig 1998, or Keranforn-Liu 2019). Such prosodic repetitions, as in "Win With Warren[99]" ([wɪ], [wɪ], [w]), or "Match. Chat. Date.[307]" ([atʃ], [tʃat], [eɪt]), reduce the number of phonemes to remember and actually facilitate memorization by means of rhythmic parallel or symmetric syntax (Delorme 2016) as in "Have a Break, Have a KitKat[239]", and thus makes a slogan "pleasantly repeatable[108]" (Reboul 1982). If slogans' phonetic repetition is efficient enough, and encompassed within three words ("Lead with Love![98]", or "Drill, Baby, Drill![16]"), slogans could actually become powerful chants able to stress a different exhortative and emphatic function, if not a cathartic function, as ternarity echoes pragmatic paralanguage of, for instance, pounding on a table ("No! Means! No!"). However, it is worthy of note that chants only occur in politics, not in advertising.

Phonetic repetitions at the micro level are echoed by semantic repetitions at the macro level during slogans' incremental process, by means of cataphoric anticipation. In the same way that anticipation is in music characterized by "the introduction in a composition of part of a chord which is about to follow in full" (*OED*), political as well as advertising discourses make use of what could be called a semantic 'slogan anticipation', by introducing in the message semantic parts of the

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[107] https://www.imperatif-francais.org/articles-imperatif-francais/articles-2009/qyes-we-canq/, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[108] Translated by the author from the original French: "plaisamment répétable" (Reboul 1982: 42).

slogan which is about to 'follow in full'. As a result, Slogans 'reflexively' make anaphoric references to the "Chains of semantic representations[109]" (Charolles 1978: 14) thus leading towards memorable coherence.

1.4.1.2 Contextual denotative or connotative associations
1.4.1.2.2 Presuppositions

Political, advertising discourses and slogans often encompass several notions and situational contexts and thus underly denotative or connotative[110] associations. From the standpoint of enunciation and pragmatics, such associations emphasize presuppositions as well as inferences. Beaver (1996) pointed out that "there is no single technical definition of *presupposition* which will satisfy all theorists." as, amongst others, "A particular point of dispute has been whether presupposition is best thought of as a semantic[111] or a pragmatic[112] notion, or whether indeed such notions must coexist." (Beaver 1996). The present investigation will support the understanding that presuppositions encompass the notions of semantics and pragmatics by embracing the definition of presupposition provided by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1986). In *L'Implicite*, she defines three main characteristics of presupposition which echoes both notions of semantics and pragmatics as defined by Beaver. First she shows that a presupposition is "A unit of content that must necessarily be true in order for the statement that contains it to be assigned a truth value[113]". Secondly that presuppositions "include all the 'implications' of a statement to the extent at least that they are

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[109] Translated by the author from the original French: "chaîne de représentations sémantiques" (Charolles 1978: 14).

[110] "*Dénotation* renvoie à ce qui, dans le sens, est commun à tous les sujets parlant une même langue, et qu'on peut symboliser très grossièrement par la définition du dictionnaire. Les *connotations* sont toutes les nuances subjectives qui s'ajoutent, dans chaque communication, à cette signification de base." (Gary-Prieur 1971) / "*Denotation* refers to what, in the sense, is common to all subjects speaking the same language, and which can be symbolized very roughly by the dictionary definition. *Connotations* are all the subjective nuances that are added, in each communication, to this basic meaning.", author's translation.

[111] "In a semantic theory presupposition is usually defined as a binary relation between pairs of sentences of a language. What makes this relation semantical is that it is defined or explicated in terms of the semantic valuation of the sentences, or in terms of a semantic notion of entailment. Thus a definition in terms of semantic valuation might, following Strawson, say that one sentence (semantically) pre-supposes another if the truth of the second is a condition for the semantic value of the first to be true or false." (Beaver 1996: 941).

[112] In pragmatic theories the analysis of presupposition involves the attitudes and knowledge of language users. In extreme cases such as Stalnaker's [St74] account, presupposition is defined without any reference to linguistic form: Stalnaker talks not of the presuppositions of a sentence, but of the speaker's presuppositions, these being just those propositions which are taken for granted by a speaker on a given occasion. Other pragmatic theories are less radical, in that linguistic form still plays an essential role in the theory. The majority of well-developed pragmatic theories concern the presuppositions not of a sentence (as in semantic theories) or of a speaker (as in Stalnaker's theory) but of an utterance." (Beaver 1996: 941).

[113] Translated by the author from the original French: "une unité de contenu qui doit nécessairement être vraie pour que l'énoncé qui la contient puisse se voir attribuer une valeur de vérité" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 27).

expressed in it in a stable and consistent manner.[114]". And Finally that "the contents formulated in presuppositions are supposed to correspond to facts already known and accepted by the addressee" and consequently "come under encyclopedic knowledge, or correspond to evidence supposedly shared by the whole speaking community[115]", which consequently defines presuppositions as taken for granted, and therefore no matter of debate.

Presuppositions, linked to specific markers or constructions, are close to inferences with the difference - except when it comes to clarify potential polysemy - that the latter are theoretically context-free (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 25). For instance when dealing with the political slogan "Solutions for America[5]" (Clinton 2008), no matter in which context it is encountered[116], the presupposition is that solutions are needed in America. Conversely, the inference was in the context of Hillary Clinton's presidential election campaign that Hillary Clinton is able to bring, or bringing efficient solutions to America's numerous issues, whereas a different speaker would already imply a different grammatical agent.

As a result, presuppositions being taken for granted and context-free provide cognitively effort-free information to the addressee, which allows the information to sink in quickly as well as to increase the slogan's memorability. Consequently, presuppositions are involved in the realization and achievement of slogans' speech acts by means of associating given presuppositions' quality of being no matter of dispute to the slogan itself. For instance the political slogan "The People's President[44]" bears the presuppositional distinction that, as this speaker and candidate implies being 'the people's president[117]', other candidates are therefore understood as different and in no way worthy of the title of 'people's president' as could be the present speaker. Hence, the presupposition itself conveys most of this slogan's representative speech act of claiming such quality to the addressee. Likewise the slogan of Microsoft "Empowering Us All[215]" presupposes first of all that as Microsoft is already empowering all of us, other companies aren't 'the' one doing it, and as a result infers that there is no need to look for an other company regarding empowerment. Such presupposition allows inferences to contextually and efficiently convey the once more

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[114] Translated by the author from the original French: "englobent toutes les "implications" d'un énoncé dans la mesure du moins où elles s'y trouvent inscrites de façon stable et constante." (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 29).

[115] Translated by the author from the original French: "les contenus formulés en présupposés sont censés correspondre à des réalités déjà connues et admises par le destinataire", and thus "relèvent d'un savoir encyclopédique, ou correspondent à des évidences supposées partagées par l'ensemble de la communauté parlante" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 30).

[116] For instance if the slogan is uttered by a politician, a child, or even written on a T-shirt or a wall.

[117] Quality emphasized by the use of the TH- determiner 'the' which stresses the uniqueness of such president, but also by an epithet adjective which underlines an inherent quality.

representative speech act of claiming and asserting that Microsoft is the one empowering "us" all, and that it is hence useless for the addressee to seek 'power' from other companies.

Consequently, presuppositions are useful means for slogans to help achieve speech acts and to lead the addressee to associate presupposedly inherent notions to their speakers and their identities, but also to facilitate the memorization of the said slogans and associations, which thus increases both notional associations and speech acts' happy achievement. Furthermore, slogans' ellipticity (Annex 15 & 17) makes their full understanding conditional, in part at least, on the intervention of both presuppositions and inferences.

1.4.1.2.1 Inferences

Essential to the understanding of *minimalistic* slogans, contextual inferences are also essential for slogans' illocutionary as well as perlocutionary acts to be happily achieved (Austin 1962). Without them, slogans' understanding couldn't go further than their immediate locutionary meaning, which would restrict for instance McCain's 2008 slogan "Country First[13]" to its locutionary meaning: "Country first". Slogans' syntactic elliptical nature[118] (Nariyama 2004, Merchant 2007, Delorme 2016, Keranforn-Liu 2019) forces their addressees to rely on environmental context (Lapaire & Rotgé 1991, or Keranforn-Liu 2019) to decipher what is left unsaid regarding its illocutionary meaning, point and force. For instance, by itself the political slogan "Actions Speak Louder Than Words[113]" only is a proverb stating that people's actions show their real attitudes, whereas what they say doesn't. However, by means of specific contextuality: amongst others, this slogan being conveyed by a Democrat candidate (Tom Steyer) during the presidential election campaign of 2020, following four years of Trump administration, the addressee becomes able to perceive the illocutionary point and force (Holmes 1984) of the representative speech act of assertion that is this slogan. First, the function of this speech act is to stress the importance and value of people's actions in the addressee's mind with the intent - by reliance on Steyer's introductory speech as well as on previous and contextual data (lawsuits, debates, or Trump's impeachment) - to make the addressee embrace specific notions. On the one hand, the notion that president Trump's committed crimes (bribery, collusion, or obstruction of congress[119]) are more telling about his competence as president of the United States than his

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[118] Emphasized by their *minimalism* (Keranforn-Liu 2019) that encompasses the use of the article Ø, syntagmatic or semantic ellipticity (which can include verb phrase ellipsis, subject ellipsis, pronoun ellipsis, answer ellipsis, noun ellipsis, or null complement anaphora).

[119] https://www.citizensforethics.org/criminal-abuse-of-power-trumps-crimes-ukraine/, last consulted on 04.25.2020.

constant promises of greatness and justice, proving most of the time to be lies[120]. On the other hand, the notion that Steyer is an actual successful hedge fund rewarded for his efforts to protect the environment[121], which contrasts greatly with his main Republican opponent and outgoing president. The multitude as well as the enormity of Trump's crimes, as well as Steyer's intonation, or the message of the speech and campaign constitute as many elements and then inferences that leads the addressee to the conclusion that the dogmatic proverb that is this slogan highlights Trump's irrelevant candidacy while it stresses Steyer's quality as potential future president. Though actually being a generic proverb, this slogan thus, by means of contextuality and the addresser's emphatic intonation, conveys specific notions exhorting the addressee to support the addresser, which could result in a probable perlocutionary act, i.e. that the addressee actually votes for or supports Steyer as candidate to the presidency.

Inferences[122] but also metaphors[123] are means for political as well as advertising slogans to mention issues, products or services indirectly though efficiently. But before beginning any interpretation of them, it remains crucial to take several facts into account, such as temporality, current social and environmental issues, History, the political context or religious and personal history of the speaker (such as political inclination or personal agenda). As Kerbrat-Orecchioni puts it, inferences are context-sensitive and therefore bent on fickleness: "unstable, fluctuating, generalizing values, an interpretative calculation, which does not really update itself in determined circumstances.[124]". Nevertheless, external factors (extra-linguistic facts, immediate context or associations with the speaker) as well as internal ones (supportive linguistic characteristics as stressed by Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986) specific to U.S. presidential election and advertising campaigns, but also the mastery of the addresser regarding the contextual design of his slogans, attribute to slogans some degree of semantic obviousness, making up in the end for the fact that inferences "correspond to new, and hence highly debatable information[125]", (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 30).

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[120] https://edition.cnn.com/2019/12/31/politics/fact-check-donald-trump-top-lies-of-2019-daniel-dale/index.html, or https://www.cbs.com/shows/the-late-show-with-stephen-colbert/, both last consulted on 04.25.2020.

[121] https://www.openspaceinstitute.org/news/tom-steyer-receives-osis-2015-land-conservation-award-at-annual-luncheon, last consulted on 04.24.2020.

[122] "Where the Magic Lives[222]", metonymically meaning 'Disney World'.

[123] "It's in our hands[93]", meaning that the addressees, by means of the addresser's abilities, have the choice and capacity to affect the course of their destiny and consequently to improve the future of the American society.

[124] Translated by the author from the original French: "valeurs instables, fluctuantes, neutralisantes, un calcul interprétatif, qui ne s'actualisent vraiment que dans des circonstances déterminées." (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 39).

[125] Translated by the author from the original French: "correspondent à des informations nouvelles, donc éminemment disputables" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986: 30).

As a result, the specific circumstances within which political and advertising slogans are conveyed, if not uttered, allow them to be understood without significant ambiguity, and thus allow them to achieve specific speech acts more efficiently. As a matter of fact, inferences' inherent unstable and fluctuating values actually ironically bring more durability and coherence to the addresser's message, and therefore to the conveyance of his slogan's speech act.s. For instance, Barack Obama's 2008 slogan "Change[1]" contextually implies several helpful inferences, such as "Obama is changing the situation for the better", "this African-American candidate is the embodiment of change, and thus of hope for the whole African-American community", or even the imperative form "Change!", requesting the addressee to change his habits, supposedly by voting for a black president and consequently for the addresser. The supposed instability of consequential inferences actually centripetally empowers Obama's message. Likewise the design of Starbucks' slogan, "Fuel Your Craving[176]", avoids counter-productive inferences (from the standpoint of the addresser) by means of contextual specificity of its conveyance as well as careful choice of words. To begin with, the subject and pronoun ellipses allow the addresser to convey two useful inferences to the addressee, respectively "Starbucks will fuel your craving" as well as the inviting imperative form "Fuel your craving at Starbucks", if not the inference that "you should fuel you craving by going at Starbucks". Moreover, "craving" is here singular, and therefore contextually only relatable to the consumption of food or drinks, if not to gluttony, at Starbucks. Furthermore, semantic anticipation in the design of the said slogan reinforces this inference by means of presupposition and of the complementing meanings of the noun "craving" and the verb "fuel" (food, drink, or drugs as a source of energy), consequently cognitively lure the addressee in semantic as well as syntagmatic loops:

"if I have a craving, I need to fuel it" *"you should go fuel your craving at Starbucks"*

Fuel your craving

"Starbucks is able to fuel your craving" *"if I have some fuel, I can consume it"*
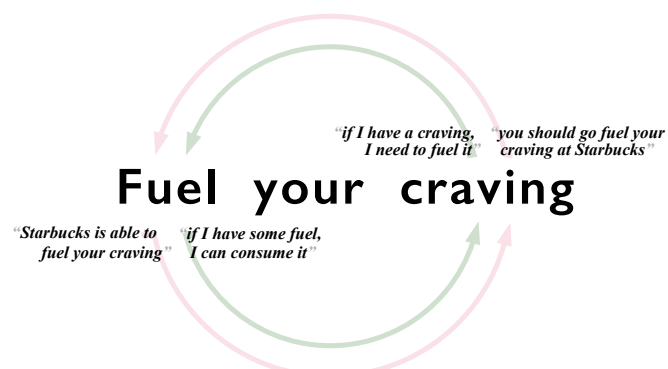
As a result, inferences' values are actualized (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986) and interconnected in the sole purpose of emphasizing the slogan's pragmatic utterance, by means of specific contextuality established through incremental introductions. Consequently, along with specific

graphic identities, political as well as advertising slogans cognitively help in the construction of encapsulating identities in the mind of the addressee, while increasing their own memorization.

1.4.2 A resulting degree of effortlessness

Minimalism, reliance on context, phonetic repetition (reduction of different syllables) as well as *semantic anticipation*, repetition and coherence of common and culturally well-established topics and notions, are as many linguistic means used in political and advertising slogans that allow their message to sink as effortlessly as possible in the addressee's mind. Such effortlessness in the understanding of a given message is reassuring as it emphasizes a sense of familiarity and therefore of trustability - a phenomenon reinforced in the case of political slogans by the use of the inclusive 'we', and in advertising slogans by them using heavily polydeictic second personal singular and plural pronoun 'you' - only increasing the exhortative power and function of the said slogans.

Due - amongst others - to greater elliptical dimension, political slogans require more effort than advertising slogans to be fully understood and therefore to be fully efficient. Not only political slogans are more minimalistic than advertising ones (Annex 5), but they also are semantically richer and notionally deal with meta-societal-problems. In addition, their understanding is correlated to an hour long speeches and partisan pamphlets, comprising mostly words, whereas advertising slogans use conventional expressions and syntax to deal with minor daily life issues in less than a minute by means of a short explanatory video accompanied by music as well as pleasant characters and voice-over commentaries. Notwithstanding, effortlessness is only one feature amongst others of a good slogan and so not systemic, which results in various degrees of effortlessness. Moreover, however effortless the conveying of a message could be, messages and identities of the addressers must be presented and transmitted to the addressee, which emphasizes the importance of the study of political and advertising means of communication.

1.5 Conveyed by means of traditional as well as new media channels

Though both political and advertising communication rely on campaigns, they are actually public communication campaigns and advertising campaigns respectively. Moreover, although political or advertising messages are conveyed by traditional media channels (newspapers, magazines, radio, television, billboards, telephone, post and door-to-door sales) as well as new media channels (e-mails, Twitter, Instagram, pop-up adverts, texting, video-sharing platforms such as YouTube or facebook, therefore through computers, smartphones and smartwatches), political and advertising slogans are actually mostly conveyed by means different both in nature and aim. On

the one hand political slogans are traditionally encountered on flyers, signs, on the news (by means of election speeches broadcasts), or otherwise on merchandise (T-shirts, caps, bags, flags, signs and various objects) sold during conventions and meetings or on the Internet. On the other hand advertising slogans are more often encountered at the end of TV commercials or on posters. Furthermore, election campaigns' slogans are uttered live by known persons whereas advertising slogans, if uttered, are pre-recorded by unknown actors. Different contextual utterances destined to different targeted audiences with divergent cultural and educational backgrounds would lead to different nature and content of communication.

Obviously, different audiences are targeted depending on specific contexts and needs on the part of the addresser. For instance politicians will convey their message by means of the news media, supposed to inform the addressee regarding current important events. These messages would thus appear less intrusive and target a wide range of audiences. Otherwise, companies will target specific time frames and locations. For example, advertisements targeting housewives or retired people will be shown on TV during business days, while toys commercials will be shown on TV when children are supposedly watching it, such as during the holidays or during the week-ends. However, consequences due to different choices of mediums are not insignificant as the different forms of emphasis put on slogans also have to be put in relation with the correlated attention span and background of the addressee. On the one hand less visual emphasis is put on political slogans, however they are part of speeches during often almost an hour within which pragmatic speech acts such as assertion, accusation, self-congratulations and exhortation are regularly stressed. On the other hand, if not strongly anticipated at the enunciative level, advertising slogans are heavily emphasized at the end of advertisements as they are then the only information conveyed both visually and orally, while the average duration of an advert is up to forty seconds. Therefore, difference in usage of means of communication is counterbalanced by similarity in their emphasis on slogans being inversely proportional to the duration of the entire presentation.

When it comes to the use of media channels, it could be interesting to reflect upon Reboul's assertion that a slogan is "destined to exhort the masses[126]" (supposedly by means of such media channels) but also to study more thoroughly the role of context in slogans' pragmatic exhortation. Hence, would a slogan be a specific linguistic short discursive form inherently destined to exhort the masses (supposedly at once) or would it be a linguistic short discursive form commonly chosen to exhort as many individuals as possible (one addressee at a time, but all targeted for coming from

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[126] Translated by the author from the original French: "destiné[e] à faire agir les masses" (Reboul 1982: 42).

a similar cultural background and therefore similarly convincible)? Doubts actually arise as distinct short discursive forms have been used as slogans within the present corpus:

- *mottoes*: "Live Free[45]", "Fly Your Own Flag[199]"

- *conventional expressions*: "Let's Get Real[46]", "Up for Whatever[164]"

- *puns*: "Feel The Bern[55]", "Shave Time, Shave Money[274]"

- *legends*: "The People's President", "The Official Uniform of New York[186]"

- *proverbs*: "Slow And Steady Wins The Race[77]"

- *signs*: "Obama Isn't Working[32]", "Imagination At Work[304]"

- *interjections*: "Jeb![73]", "Got Milk?[166]"

This stresses again that slogans' recognizability is in good part allowed by the context within which they are conveyed. The understanding of slogans as unique and linguistically fixed short discursive forms destined to exhort the masses becomes in these circumstances less convincing. The range of different short discursive forms used in this corpora tends to support the hypothesis that a slogan is perhaps not a specific linguistic form encompassing peculiar linguistic features, but a misleading cultural construct, a notion, if not a Western noun describing a contextual linguistic process and function.

Consequently, in default of linguistic constancy within this corpus regarding slogans, supposedly being a unique short discursive form only used in different circumstances, it should be useful to investigate the differences, if there are some, between political and advertising slogans. Perhaps divergences between the two could provide a better understanding of such a phenomenon.

2. Doubts enhanced by linguistics regarding a presumed sameness[127]

2.1 Different nature and usage of deictics

2.1.1 Different use of pronouns

2.1.1.1 'we' vs 'you': inclusion as opposed to differentiation

To begin with, when considering the usage of personal pronouns within slogans, a difference quickly appears: political slogans display the use of the collective personal pronoun 'we[128]' (7.8% vs 0.5% in adv.) while advertising slogans are committed to 'you' (13.5% vs 0.5% in pol.), which underlines political slogans edging towards the inclusion by the addresser of the addressee, and therefore stresses a deictic proximity, while advertising slogans' addressers tend to establish a distance by differentiating themselves from the addressee. Even though 'you' could be either the second person singular or plural pronoun, leading to pragmatic advantages and greater possibilities as it can refer to groups or individuals, advertising could be understood as addressing to individuals ("Smell Like A Man, Man[285]", "I'm Lovin' It[243]", or "Broadcast Yourself[231]"). This assumption could first be supported by the fact that unlike political slogans' addressees, feeling included in a group and reacting knowing to be referred to as a member of a nation, of a party, as a supporter of a specific and shared ideology (emphasized by political meetings acknowledging the presence of mass audiences), advertising slogans' addressees act as individuals, feeling from their standpoint talked to directly and not as a member of a group, especially regarding the chosen media channels, leading the addressee to encounter slogans alone: on a phone, on a computer, or on television[129]. Likewise, adverts' scenarios' protagonists are mostly individuals or couples (man/woman, such binarity thus stressing the opposition of two different individuals) potentially interacting with more individuals *after* having personally embraced a given product or service[130]. Only afterwards the said addressee, 'could have', a sense of belonging to a community of happy customers. Moreover, the fact that companies have no interest in bulk buying but only in retail purchase, also stresses a need to persuade customers individually. Furthermore, an addressee pays more attention to an addresser's message and is consequently more responsive and feels more concerned by the said message when

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[127] Of political and advertising slogans.

[128] As underlined by Håkansson (2012).

[129] Even if watching TV surrounded by family members, an addressee would actually be with different targeted audiences, whether due to differences in age, gender, profession, personal interests, or all at once. For instance, a grandfather won't feel concerned by Toys 'R' Us' slogan, likewise a boy won't feel concerned by an advert for sanitary pads. Moreover, commercials are not subjects of collective attention as could be a movie in a theater.

[130] Coca-Cola: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-ahnFYzMp8, last consulted on 04.21.2020, Pepsi: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2gSWPLqNH8, last consulted on 04.21.2020, or Ford: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yUxciROK00M, last consulted on 04.21.2020.

talked to directly ("You In?[90]", "Live Your Life[179]", or "Wish You Were Here[203]"). But the linguistic ambiguity remains, mostly due to slogans' pronoun and subject ellipses as in "… Make It Happen[283]", "… Let's find your ideal car[178]" or "… Your Way[235]", which allows companies to rhetorically convey their message to mass audiences and individuals at the same time while keeping a respectful distance with the addressee[131]. However, when looking at translations of advertising slogans into languages having specific pronouns respectfully[132] differentiating one individual ('you') from several or all ('you'), companies' rhetoric gets clearer if not obvious. For instance in Chinese, the slogan of Burger King "Have It Your Way[234]" was translated "我选我味[133]" (pinyin: wǒ xuǎn wǒ wèi), meaning "*I* choose *my* taste". Likewise, Nike's famous slogan "Just do it.[200]" was translated "不管你怎么做, just do it.[134] (pinyin: bù guǎn nǐ zěnme zuò)", meaning "No matter how *you* [one individual] do it, just do it.". Although translations should be investigated more thoroughly and with a corpus that encompasses lots of different languages and taking cultural aspects into account, the Chinese case that encompasses almost a billion and a half potential customers, supports strongly the hypothesis that advertising slogans tend to communicate to individuals instead of groups. English advertising slogans thus probably stress the singular second-person pronoun's side of the pronoun 'you'. As John Caples[135] stated while inviting people to use the "You and Me 'Copy'" when it comes to advertising: "the manufacturer speaks directly to the customer, usually in a chatty, friendly way, just as a good salesperson talks to a potential customer" (Caples 1997: 116).

Consequently, the political slogans' micro narrative is understood as emphasizing centrifugal pragmatic enunciations, broadening itself to include the whole nation whereas the advertising slogans' micro narrative is understood as emphasizing centripetal pragmatic enunciations, focusing on the addressee's individual self-concern. Such linguistic divergence between inclusion and

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[131] For instance, American advertising slogans translated in French - which also uses the same personal pronoun "vous" ("you") to both communicate to a group, but also politely and respectfully to a stranger, an older or an important addressee - are as well taking advantage of such ambiguity, as for instance MacDonalds' slogan "Come As *You* Are[244]" is translated by "ven*ez* comme *vous* êtes". Again, while such slogan could either communicate to a group of persons, a community ("you all"), or to individuals ("you sitting alone in front of your TV"), it remains important to take into account the standpoint of the addressee, hearing this slogan alone, and thus having potentially the sensation of being talk to personally.

[132] For instance, the French 'tu' ('you') which refers to one individual is actually informal and could be interpreted by some addressees as a lack of respect, phenomenon explaining perhaps in part why 'you' is most often if not always translated by 'vous' and not by 'tu'.

[133] https://www.whatsonweibo.com/chineseadslogans/, last consulted on 02.02.2020.

[134] https://making-pictures.com/news/nike-china-just-do-it/, last consulted on 02.02.2020.

[135] Pioneer advertising executive, and inspiration for the international advertising and marketing communications awards show "John Caples Awards": https://caples.org, last consulted on 03.20.2020.

differentiation is supported as well by the use of the pronoun 'us' (Annex 10). On the one hand more than 3% of political slogans use the inclusive pronoun 'us' ('we', the speaker and the addressees), whereas on the other hand 2% of advertising slogans use the differentiating 'us' ('we', the addresser as opposed to 'you', the addressee), stressing the volition to establish a sense of unity and dichotomy respectively.

2.1.1.2 'our' vs 'your': sharing or owning

Relations to possessions underline a divergence as well when it comes to political and advertising slogans. For instance, political slogans only use the possessive pronoun 'our' (Annex 9), which semantically encompasses both the addresser and the addressees as the owners of objects designated by the said pronoun, while advertising slogans - except in one instance where 'our' is used to underlined the possessions of the addresser's company - stress the possessions (to be) of the addressee, by using the possessive pronouns 'your' (8%), and 'my' (2%) when speaking from his point of view. As Grunig (1998) puts it, by means of this personal pronoun slogans seem "not to promise but instead to put the addressee in a position of "being already owner of the given product"[136]". Such linguistic divergence supports the previous observations, as these usages of possessive pronouns emphasize a political communication based on collectivity and sharing, as opposed to an advertising message based on the notion of individuality and private ownership, therefore underlining the dichotomous notions of community and individuality. Question could be raised whether political and advertising slogans emphasize or not altruism and selfishness respectively.

2.1.1.3 The use of the referential 'it'

An other distinct choice and usage of pronouns between political and advertising slogans is underlined by the latter encompassing the pronoun 'it' in 18.2% of them, against 3.8% for political slogans, perhaps due to the fact that political slogans emphasize pseudo-abstract notions (as in "Peace through Strength[22]", "Live Free[45]" or "Advance Liberty[150]") more than they make references to shown objects or situations as advertising slogans could do (Mathurin 2017). Within political slogans, the pronoun 'it' is indeed mostly used for notions as in "*It*'s in our hands[93]" or "*It*'s never too late to do the right thing[94]", and never to refer to objects or actions. Conversely, the pronoun 'it' is used 80% of the time within advertising slogans to refer to specific objects the

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[136] Translated by the author from the original French: "ne pas promettre mais placer l'audience dans une position de « déjà possesseur »" (Grunig 1998: 209).

addresser wants to sell ("Don't Leave Home Without *It*[156]", "We Make *It* All Better[232]", or "Whatever Floats Your Boat. Get *It* On Ebay.[301]"), and only once relatively notionally ("Make *It* Matter[208]") as 'it' involves the purchase of a product. Such divergence is increased by the difference regarding the popularity of this usage. While renowned advertising slogans made use of 'it' sometimes since decades ("I'm Lovin' It[243]" (2003), "Just Do It[200]" (1988), or "It's Everywhere You Want to Be[161]" (1985)), when it comes to political slogans, the pronoun 'it' was actually only used in the 2016 presidential election campaign and within it, only by underdog parties or candidates. For instance 'it' was used by the Green party, the Independent party, or the underdog candidate Chris Christie. Such distinct usages could be as many first indicators of differences between political and advertising slogans as short discursive forms.

2.1.2 Opposition of macro and micro levels

From the perspective of enunciation, other than the 'addresser-addressee' dimension, political and advertising slogans show a difference as well regarding the 'generic-specific' dimension underlined by semantics. As seen previously, political slogans emphasize societal needs[137] while advertising slogans emphasize the ones of the addressee, which stresses a dichotomy 'national-personal'. Such dichotomy could stress an other locutionary difference, the one of a political message conveyed to a large audience, even though targeted, ("Courageous Conservatives[68]", or "We Will Rebuild The Middle Class[101]") if not to a whole nation ("People Fighting Back[28]", or "We're All In This Together[128]") as opposed to an advertising message conveyed to one individual at a time ("The Man Your Man Should Smell Like[287]") even though within specific categories of the population. This dichotomous 'national-personal' dimension accompanies political and advertising slogans' locutionary 'broader-narrower' dimension, as well underlined, first by means of specific topic choices and depicted situations opposing polticians' speeches and slogans dealing with a wide range of societal issues, while advertising slogans focus on addressees purchasing and enjoying specific products or services. Secondly, on the one hand, political rhetoric stresses a known speaker being a member and potential president of a predominant vast institution (the U.S. and its government), while on the other hand, advertising stresses one or several anonymous speaker.s speaking for a company (embodied by a brand name and a product) and singled-out from any national organization or meta-problem. Likewise, the question of the 'broader-narrower' dimension is also inversely stressed at the spatial level, as political slogans are physically

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[137] However, at the pragmatic level, societal needs actually appear to be as in advertising, a bargain between the addresser and the addressee's needs. Supposedly no philanthropy there.

uttered within the U.S., while advertising slogans have the ability and the aim to spread out as far as possible around the world, and beyond. An ambiguous 'abstract-concrete' dimension is also encompassed by this 'general-specific' dimension. While on the one hand presidential candidates are unable if not unwilling to address in detail every single issue that has to be dealt with by a future president, which results in a certain abstractness in the depiction of the situation[138], companies on the other hand only have one product or service at a time to promote, which allows them to put more emphasis on their depiction. Moreover, advertising reliance on descriptions of products' qualities is greater in comparison with political speeches and slogans' emphasis of politicians qualities and abilities, as the latter also spend a lot of time to undermine opponents or to stress a variety of contextual issues, often notionally, as did McCain in his 2008 presidential campaign announcement speech: "Our challenges are an opportunity to write another chapter of American greatness.".

2.2 Divergent pragmatic aims, divergent locutionary and perlocutionary acts
2.2.1 Different pragmatic aims for the addresser

To begin with, political slogans' addressers aim to win the presidency ("Perry President[40]", "The People's President", or "Free to Lead[38]") and with it, the assurance of power and position at the risk of public failure and infamy. While advertising companies behind slogans' addressers aim at huge sales and financial success, at the risk of bankruptcy and infamy, which thus highlights antithetical movements of money: paying for success vs success to get payed. Such thirsts are stressed by political slogans by emphasizing the need to agree and to stick together with the speaker ("All in for Jeb![75]"), while advertising slogans emphasize qualities of a given product or service, and how essential it is to obtain it or to have access to it ("Once You pop, You Can't Stop[249]", or "Love At First Touch[288]"). Therefore, political slogans are means for politicians to obtain the firm majority of national support within a four years time frame through partisan uniting by means of illocutionary acts[139] ("Make America Great Again[65]") and potential perlocutionary acts[140] which involve indirect convincer ("A Fair Shot for Everyone[125]"). Conversely, advertising slogans, central in marketing and communication (Caples 1997), are means for companies to indefinitely

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[138] For instance, in her 2016 announcement speech, Hillary Clinton sums up her plan to help veterans by saying: "I'm running to make our economy work for you and […] For the veterans who served our country.".

[139] A minority in political slogans as they tend more to convince or persuade addressees to vote than to ask them to.

[140] "Correlated with the notion of illocutionary acts is the notion of the consequences or *effects* such acts have on the actions, thoughts, or beliefs, etc. of hearers. For example, by arguing I may *persuade* or *convince* someone, by warning him I may scare or *alarm* him, by making a request I may *get him to do something*, by informing him I may *convince him* (*enlighten, edify, inspire him, get him to realize*). The italicized expressions above denote perlocutionary acts." (Searle 1969: 25).

attempt to persuade people to purchase their products instead of others' by means of potential indirect convincer ("Wish You Were Here[203]", "GO WITH THE FLAW[185]", or "Start Something Priceless[159]") but also in some instances to push them to purchase or subscribe by means of imperative illocutionary acts ("Have a Break, Have a KitKat[239]"), without any limit of time or ultimate goal ("Life Takes Visa[162]" or "Once You Pop, The Fun Don't Stop[250]").

Whereas political slogans emphasize the present time as being a pivotal situation of change, a period of decisions to make, and thus a timeline that encompasses a past (what was) and a future (goals to achieve) through a present situation, which stresses a need or a possibility to change ("Restore Our Future[33]"), advertising slogans are entrenched in a timeless present (dogmatic timeless truth) within which products' or services' qualities are presented as intemporal ("Open Happiness[168]"). For instance, the slogan "Life Takes Visa[162]" that paraphrases the idiom 'life takes guts', can be understood as 'life requires visa', and therefore as a representative speech act of claiming to the addressee that having a Visa is compulsory due to its usefulness, almost making life itself conditional on the possession and use of a Visa card. As a result, as long as someone lives, s.he should have (and thus have subscribed to) a Visa. Likewise, the slogan "Once You Pop, You Can't Stop[249]", although requiring a first consumption to initiate its claimed addictive process (which literally echoes the consumption of hard drugs), stresses the consequential endlessness of the implied perpetual craving for more that the addressee would have after the opening of a Pringles tube. Such consequentiality is linguistically reinforced by means of syntagmatic juxtaposition and parallelism underlying causality as proverbs do[141] (Sanders 2005, Delorme 2016). On the one hand, these linguistic differences allow politicians to be associated with change and therefore to support their promise of changing the situation for the better relatively quickly. On the other hand, timeless advertising slogans help to associate the addresser's product to perennial qualities, which stresses antithetical relations regarding time, and duration.

2.2.2 Different contextually interpretative temptations for the addressee

Because of presuppositions but also syntagmatic and thus semantic ellipses (through the use of the article Ø, imperative forms, as well as pronouns or nouns omissions) which lead the addressee to rely on the context if not on inferences to recover information, the temptation that could be conveyed by a slogan to its addressee is as a result often - if not always - conditional on the addressee's proper interpretation of the enunciation's message. However, the investigation of

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[141] Such as "First come, first served.", "If it ain't broke, don't fix it.", or "Out of sight, out of mind.".

slogans' use or conveyance of temptation underlines a divergence between political and advertising slogans. First of all, political slogans stress possibilities for positive change ("Rebuilding the American Dream[37]", "Make America Sane Again[91]", or "A Future To Believe In[54]") and sometimes protests ("A Time for Truth[71]"), while advertising slogans offer to satisfy personal desires ("Have It Your Way[234]", "Live Your Life[179]", or "Broadcast Yourself[231]"). At the pragmatic level, such temptations are as many guides for the addressee's interpretation as they become hopes for a perfected nation ("For an America That Works[49]") with political slogans, and thirsts to buy or experience the desired object or service, if not a feeling, with advertising slogans ("For the love of TV[225]", or "Start Something Epic[308]"), as underlined by the theory of *suggestive advertising*[142]. Consequently, although addressers' and addressees' aims complete each other by means of well-designed messages, these aims remain different in politics and marketing.

2.3 Dichotomous narrativity

2.3.1 Climactic or anticlimactic

As seen earlier in section 1.3, slogans often are the results of semantic incremental processes, and therefore rely on a previous *anticipative* macro-narrative. When studied closely, these incremental narratives highlight differences. Firstly, political slogans are often solutions provided after climactic narratives, while advertising slogans, and often commercials' scenarios themselves, happen after anticlimactic resolutions, except when a company puts its product within a meta-context (Science, History, Life, and so on) as it was the case for one[143] advert of Microsoft, telling the whole history of the company in order to emphasize decades of achievements. Consequently, political slogans often emphasize change, an evolution facing obstacles if not a work in progress ("Building Opportunity Together[118]", or "Build the Wall and Crime Will Fall[142]"), while advertising slogans generally show an abrupt presentation of an incredibly efficient product or service[144] if not an aggressive imperative and direct speech act (such as the directive speech act of request that is "Come tv With Us[226]").

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[142] *Suggestive advertising* theory suggests that with the help of an advert, slogans may provide the unconscious feeling to a given addressee that by purchasing a product which is possessed, or associated to showed characters, this addressee could have access to these characters' happiness, life style, or even social status or abilities. As Bryan Kramer puts it: "People Buy Emotions Not Things" (https://www.brandquarterly.com/people-buy-emotions-not-things, last consulted on 04.01.2020).

[143] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hSfM1RFU9j4, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[144] As in the commercials of Old Spice "https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owGykVbfgUE", Pampers "https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1HTrvRFdg6k", or Energizer "https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIOHa0DdAro".

There is perhaps a more important dichotomy than the one of climactic-anticlimactic narratives (previously seen p. 30). On the one hand political discourse respects classic constructions of literary narratives, and relies on peripeteia in order to trigger the addressee's concern, compassion or interest, with emphasis on problems to resolve or obstacles to overcome and of solutions, leading to speech acts encompassed by a slogan. On the other hand advertising narrative takes place mostly even after any anticlimactic resolution. Such dichotomy underlines a distinction between politicians anxiously stressing a need to change a present situation for the better (sometimes accusing another Party to be responsible in the first place, in order to stress the necessity not to vote for them[145]), whereas advertising companies only happily emphasize hyperbolic qualities of a given product presented in an often fictional situation. As a result, while political slogans tend to sum up a complex message of a given campaign, advertising slogans consequently merely repeat the narrative of the commercial, as for instance, "The King Of Beers[165]" follows an advert[146] that shows as well as states that Budweiser is the king of beers. Likewise, "I'm Lovin' It[243]" follows a presentation of customers enjoying their food[147].

2.3.2 Different topics

Plenty of means are admissible in politics and advertising to help convey information[148], and besides having a message supported by a celebrity[149], symbolic locations[150], decoration or music[151] to establish a specific atmosphere with consequential denotations and connotations[152], political as well as advertising slogans help constructing encompassing identities by emphasizing specific topics and notions. However, although American political and advertising slogans share some topics, such as family, power and Americanism, some of them are specific to each area. For instance political slogans deal broadly with politics while relying on topics including the military ("Peace

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[145] "They don't know what they're doing. We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.", from Republican candidate Donald Trump's presidential announcement speech of 2015.

[146] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YufoJSSo4vk, last consulted on 03.25.2020.

[147] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MWWMeHHV3u8, last consulted on 03.25.2020.

[148] Such as, hyperbole, comparison, metonymy, or inferences.

[149] For instance, the use of Terry Crews for his fame, well-known strength and energy by the brand Old Spice.

[150] Such as Trump's choice to deliver his announcement speech of 2016 at Trump tower in New York City, or Biden's choice to deliver his announcement speech of 2020 in Philadelphia, place of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

[151] Such as the use of the American flag and its colors, or of specific music (https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/19/us/politics/presidential-campaign-songs-playlists.html, last consulted on 04.25.2020).

[152] Whether by use of specific genres or tonalities, such as country music in U.S. speeches or joyful major chords and lively pop music in general.

Through Strengh[22]"), immigration ("Build the wall, save us all[143]"), foreign affairs ("No More Wars[135]"), unemployment ("Buy American, Hire American[140]"), social class ("Working People First[130]"), segregation ("A Fair Shot for Everyone[125]"), hope ("Change, We Can Believe In[2]"), change ("A New American Century[67]") or political feuds ("Defeat the Washington Cartel[72]"). Conversely, advertising slogans deal mostly with trivial individual daily life issues, underlined by topics such as food ("Stack flavors, make new ones[251]"), clothes ("Classic, American, Cool[205]"), minor health problems ("For unbelievably strong teeth[272]"), or entertainment ("I Want My MTV[227]").

2.4 Dissimilar rhetoric
2.4.1 Divergent tones of discourse resulting in slogans' different lengths

Although both political and advertising slogans make use of imperative mood, differences in rhetorical use of tone if not of register are underlined, emphasizing semantic as well as phonostylistic distinctions between political discourse and advertising "discourse". On the one hand political slogans use a distant institutional tone as well as an enunciation of notions ("Reform • Prosperity • Peace[14]", "Forward[29]", or "Love Trumps Hate[63]"), which echoes linguistic similarities with proverbs and mottoes, edging into use of unusual expressions ("Reboot America 20[153]") and often into a more neutral if not formal register ("Advance Liberty[150]"). On the other hand advertising slogans are characterized by a choice of a more familiar tone or register ("Betcha Can't Eat Just One.[240]"), if not the rejection of any institutional tone[153] (Caples 1997). This therefore leads them to comprise more conventional expressions (76%) and idiomatic expressions (Annex 14). Imperative forms could as well induce a feeling of proximity, being interpreted as conveying information in confidence, 'only' to the addressee, as for instance with the slogan of Old Spice "Smell Like a Man, Man[285]". The use of the imperative mood for the present tense verb 'smell' emphasizes this slogan conveying a directive speech act (as classified by Searle 1969), moreover, the modal use of the exclamation "Man" suggests that this speech act is either an invitation or a request conveyed to a single addressee and probably to a man as the addressee is encouraged to smell 'like a man'. The fact that the request deals with a male addressee's personal hygiene ('smell') and potential lack or absence of virility (suggested by the invitation to smell 'like a man' instead of otherwise), ironically implies a request that should conventionally be made

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[153] "Avoid the "dead" headline - the type of headline that sounds as if it were written to be carved on a bronze tablet or uttered in a solemn conclave by the chairman of the board of directors […] [such as] "Unusual times", "True optimism", "The value in quality"" (Caples 1997: 33).

privately and therefore by a speaker close to the addressee and thus potentially trustworthy (which hence increases the slogan's probability of successful pragmatic realization). Old Spice applied a similar rhetoric by using the deontic modal 'should' instead of the imperative mood, to target this time the wives of potential customers: "The Man Your Man *Should* Smell Like[287]" - a slogan carrying a message usually conveyed by the woman's closest friend.s or family members.

Moreover, when correlated with differences regarding 'macro-micro' dimensions underlined earlier (p. 50), political slogans seem to stress more elliptic as well as notional semantics, contrasting with advertising slogans encompassing conventional expressions[154] and down-to-earth topics. Such characteristic highlights a potential non-interchangeability of political and advertising slogans as the former seem unlikely to be encountered in daily conversations whereas the latter could. A simple manipulation of reversing political slogans' rhetoric with the one of advertising slogans and vice versa, tends to support such hypothesis. For instance, consider moving from "Make America Great Again[65]" to "Make TV Great Again". This new slogan encompasses no grammatical irregularities and respects the contextual relation the object has with the addressers' and addressees' concerns; a politician offers to improve the addressee's beloved country in the original slogan in the same way that a technology company offers to improve the addressee's beloved TV in the latter. However, differences regarding time and contexts between political and advertising slogans reveal to be problematic. On the one hand the first slogan is coherent as one often complains about given presidents or situations having undermined the previous qualities of society, and leading to a thirst for readjustments, and nostalgia of 'the good old days', here offered by the addresser by means of the adverb "Again". On the other hand, such rhetoric doesn't apply in advertising as there isn't a single manufacturer in charge of the entire TV industry and replaced every four years but plenty of them. Therefore, mistakes don't really affect the addressee as s.he can buy a new TV anytime. This slogan is thus incoherent as it is more the communiqué of a manufacturer wishing to reassure its investors than a slogan promoting the qualities of a 'new' and 'improved' product the addressee expects. The democratic aspect of political slogans which calls for the addressee's involvement also becomes odd when transposed into advertising slogans (from "Brownback For President[24]" to "Amazon For Retailer"), in the same way that advertising recreational aspect can become peculiar if not satirical (from Disneyland "The Happiest Place on Earth[223]" to The White House "The Happiest Place on Earth"). Likewise, considering a company to use the chant "Yes We Will[6]" or a presidential candidate to use "Have It Your Way[234]" raises a

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[154] Re-used phrases and sentences could raise the notions of palimpsest and intertextuality.

number of questions and needed extended linguistic investigations. Furthermore, the use of political rhetoric in advertising seems unlikely, however, political slogans such as "Jeb![73]" or "Yes We Can[4]" suggest that advertising rhetoric could and actually is used in Politics[155].

Although political and advertising slogans are both short discursive forms, statistics regarding the present corpus emphasize political slogans being clearly as well as systematically shorter than advertising slogans (Annex 5), due syntagmatically and amongst others, to numerous omissions in political slogans and syntactically pseudo-full sentences on the part of advertising slogans such as in "Whatever Floats Your Boat. Get It On Ebay.[301]", or "Quality Never Goes Out Of Style[193]"). For instance, 73% of political slogans comprise only two to four words for an overall average of 3.6 words per slogan, whereas 70% of advertising slogans comprise between three and seven words for an overall average of 4.6 words per slogan within this corpus (Annex 5). This could have to do with political slogans' enunciative proximity with mottoes (seen p. 14), and advertising slogans possibly originating from daily expressions and speech acts ("Just do it![200]", "Come as you are[244]", or "Can you hear me now?[270]").

2.4.2 Need of exhortation satisfied through different convincers and temptations, enhanced by means of different affect

2.4.2.1 Political slogans' use of anxiety and hope

With inferences and presuppositions, denotations and connotations[156], modality or thetic and qualification phases[157], comes the notion of affect, defined by Silvan Tomkins in the 1960ˢ as encompassing nine biologically based affects[158], cognitively useful if not required in the conduct of

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[155] Should it be put in perspective with Robert Redecker (2009: 13): "This taking up of the [political] slogan [...] in advertising is not just an opportunistic takeover. It shows the porosity, exchangeability and reversibility of advertising and political discourse. It reflects a de-specification of politics." (author's translation)?

[156] "*Dénotation* renvoie à ce qui, dans le sens, est commun à tous les sujets parlant une même langue, et qu'on peut symboliser très grossièrement par la définition du dictionnaire. Les *connotations* sont toutes les nuances subjectives qui s'ajoutent, dans chaque communication, à cette signification de base." (Gary-Prieur 1971: 98), ["*Denotation* refers to what, in the sense, is common to all subjects speaking the same language, and which can be symbolized very roughly by the dictionary definition. *Connotations* are all the subjective nuances that are added, in each communication, to this basic meaning."], author's translation.

[157] "the thetic phase, i.e. identification of the object and its differentiation from other objects, and the qualification phase, producing evaluations of the object from the viewpoint of the subject. These two phases have been related to the semantic dichotomy of denotation and connotation or the objective and subjective components of language. The relation between cognition and emotion figures not only in the entangled complex of problems of denotation and connotation of a language sign but also in the dichotomies of neutrality and markedness, explicitness and implicitness, said and unsaid, text and subtext, language and paralanguage, words and gestures and other dichotomies formulated in theoretical reflections on language." (Čmejrková 2004: 33).

[158] Interest-excitement, enjoyment-joy, surprise-startle, distress-anguish, anger-rage, and fear-terror, then shame-humiliation, dissmell and disgust.

speech acts whether direct or indirect, illocutionary or perlocutionary. Affect can be found in political slogans' reliance on hope, which contrasts with a speech's use of a combination of:

- *fear*: "They're building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.[159]" or "It's no secret that we're going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America.[160]"

- *nationalist pride*: "We came together to reclaim the basic bargain that built the largest middle class and the most prosperous nation on Earth.[161]" or "We are the wealthiest nation in the history of the world.[162]"

- *anger*: "They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.[163]" or "They suck up twenty billion dollars and you get zero.[164]"

- *hyperbolic qualities of the speaker*[165]: "I am a problem solver and I am running for president to solve the biggest problem of our time[166]"

- *hyperbolic qualities of the audience*: "I love each and every one of you, you're the best, you're beautiful human beings[167]"

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[159] From Donald Trump's 2016 presidential announcement speech.

[160] From Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential announcement speech.

[161] From Barack Obama's 2012 presidential announcement speech.

[162] From Elizabeth Warren's 2020 presidential announcement speech.

[163] From Donald Trump's 2016 presidential announcement speech.

[164] Andrew Yang's 2020 presidential announcement speech.

[165] Including his team or the political Party s.he represents, as for instance within Donal Trump's 2020 presidential announcement speech: "We are joined tonight by many great patriots who fight right by our sides, Florida's terrific governor. Thank you Ron. Our first Lady, Casey DeSantis, what a job you're doing, thank you. […] your great lieutenant governor who I hear is fantastic Jeanette Nuñez […] Your Florida CFO Jimmy Patronis".

[166] From Andrew Yang's 09.13.2019 presidential campaign speech, https://www.facebook.com/andrewyang2020/videos/the-sytem-is-broken-lets-fix-it/862333124167928/, last consulted on 08.05.2020.

[167] From Andrew Yang's 03.02.2020 presidential campaign speech.

Such counterbalanced narrative, jumping from fear to hope, encompassed in a pivotal slogan as in "Solutions for America[5]", "People Fighting Back[28]" or "Security • Unity • Prosperity[21]", creates the determination as well as the confidence necessary for a partisan to vote for a given candidate. Besides some pseudo-neutral political slogans such as "President'08[11]", the only accusative slogan "Obama Isn't Working[32]", and John McAfee's use of reverse psychology ("Don't Vote McAfee[149]"), most political slogans rely entirely on the conveyance of hope ("A Green New Deal for America[52]", "A New Way Forward[117]", or "Make Our Farmers Great Again[141]"). Moreover, following climactic introductory speeches stressing many claimed obstacles to the happiness of the country ("It's no secret that we're going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America.[168]"), including the speaker's own opponents ("How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen?[169]"), political slogans mainly emphasize hope which makes them symbols of hope by contrast with the anxiety[170] conveyed by previous narratives' depiction of issues to tackle. As political slogans encompass the addresser's promised provision of happy solutions ("Tomorrow Begins Today[8]", "True Strength for America's Future[18]", or "Leadership America Deserves[145]") to meta-problems (such as unemployment, foreign affairs, or economy), they consequently become associated to them. It is this association to the addresser that stresses the main medium of exchange with the addressee (a medium often based on rhetoric more than facts and logic as in "Peace Through Strength[22]"). With the promise of an easily resolved issue, a happy resolution at hand, or at least the end of unhappy situations, the addressee will be contextually (Parducci 1995) more inclined to accept the slogan's speech act.s, including directive requests "Let the People Decide[7]", or representative assertions "Tested • Ready • Now[20]" (Annex 20).

Consequently, affect is an important means used by the speakers of U.S. presidential election campaign to convince and tempt the addressee to vote for a given candidate. Although affect is also a means of advertising slogans to exhort an addressee, the nature and range of the said affect, as well as the specific nature of advertising slogans' introductory narrative stress significant differences between the political and advertising slogans' use of affects.

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[168] From Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential announcement speech.

[169] From Donald Trump's 2016 presidential announcement speech.

[170] Although to which they actually make indirect reference by means of anaphorical references to the said speeches.

2.4.2.2 Advertising slogans' use of basic needs and desires

As underlined by the Freudian *suggestive advertising theory* (Gerin 1927), visual advertising helps advertising slogans to use or trigger basic needs if not primal "sins[171]", such as vanity[172], lust[173], cupidity[174] and so on by appealing unconsciously to senses, to more easily trigger the addressee's temptation. Objects of basic needs and desires are therefore ideally re-presented, using contextual, visual as well as linguistic deceit to trigger affect such as interest, excitement and enjoyment. For instance, many commercials' slogans rely on the conveyance of vanity ("The Most Magical Place On Earth[224]", "The Most Trusted Name In News[257]", or "All The News That's Fit To Print[258]"), while making anaphoric references to previous introductory advertisements, as did Microsoft for its campaign and slogan "Empowering Us All[215][175]". Despite referring to technology in its broad sense, the addressee is then actually shown the products and achievements of Microsoft only, with emphasis put - by means of cheerful videos as well as a voice-over monologue - on technologies used to efficiently overcome incredible obstacles such as the inability to walk, to see, to hear, to talk or to go into space, while stressing key topics including health, the military, family and education (Annex 21). The slogan then follows this apparently disinterested and notional message as it contextually infers "technology" as grammatical subject for "Empowering Us All[215]". However, the appearance of the logo of Microsoft presented as a signature in the very last seconds, provides to the already accepted slogan a new meaning by means of visual association (Annex 22). Microsoft now becomes semantically nothing less than the provider of the depicted technology, which stresses a certain vanity that the addressee could share by becoming the proud owner of one of Microsoft's products, thus fulfilling a potential need and desire of recognition.

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[171] Primal sins interpreted from Christian teachings include amongst others *pride* ("https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8ysN7AKAnE"), *greed* ("https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zq02a0az21M"), *lust* ("https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw"), *envy* ("https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuhLS1l-CJ8"), *gluttony* ("https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kyayJPDWBRY"), *wrath*, although not induced, wrath is sometimes used to create constrast "https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WvPJTdd-AqM", and *sloth* ("https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw"), last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[172] Vanity within commercials: Diesel / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw ; Microsoft / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=surlvCY6bpI, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hSfM1RFU9j4 ; Ford / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKwt9Dpr8oI ; Maybelline / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8ysN7AKAnE, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[173] Lust within commercials: Diesel / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw ; Pepsi / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_l5koxtzDo ; Coca-Cola / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5k8mGU54V2U ; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tqXKjbtCtxg ; Budweiser / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pp5yinIDmVA, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[174] Cupidity within commercials: MacDonald / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zq02a0az21M ; StateFarm / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQUfsq-0z-s ; Ebay / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgNbV2YZjtI ; Diesel / https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[175] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=surlvCY6bpI, last consulted on 04.15.2020.

When it comes to desire, it is worth noticing that although commercials that trigger lust are not seldom, few if not none of advertising slogans convey lust by themselves, as even the ones of companies living on selling desire are mere added statements: PlayBoy's "Entertainment for Men[228]", or Victoria's Secret's "A Body For Every Body[206]". As desire is attributed to rewarding stimuli, some advertising slogans rely on commercials conveying lust whether by stressing inherent rewarding stimulus of a product or by associating a product to a contextual rewarding stimulus. For instance, on the one hand the commercial of Budweiser which introduces the slogan "'The' King Of Beers" encompasses low-angle-POV-close-up shots[176] followed by increasingly more extreme close-up shots of a Budweiser beer, all destined to give the addressee the impression of serving himself a great beer before drinking it. This visual rewarding stimulus is reinforced by hyperbolic depiction of what a 'good cold beer' could be, including tremendous condensation on the bottle, bubbly beer twirling as a storm in the glass or a thick white head of foam behaving like a heavy storm cloud. As a result, the slogan, actually naming a beer according to its depiction, becomes itself a rewarding stimulus and therefore a conveyor of lust to the addressee by means of contextual anaphoric reference to the previous commercial. In a semantic complementing and mirroring effect[177], the slogan becomes as well a conveyor of the notion that Budweiser is righteously called the "King Of Beers" because of its rewarding features.

Otherwise, the commercial of Diesel which introduces "Go With The Flaw[185]" opted for a different approach. Instead of triggering lust by means of emphasis put on the qualities of some products, the commercial stressed rewarding stimuli provided by situations and grungy characters within them. First of all, in a scenario showing the daily life of several couples, emphasis is put on strong sexual innuendoes encompassing for instance the predatory and voyeuristic high angle POV shot of a half-naked woman lying on a bed in a red light and seen through a transparent curtain. Likewise, the addressee is shown a close-up shot of what appears to be the naked buttock of a woman literally turning up the heat, or a woman suggestively licking the tip of a pool cue before bending over in a tracking in shot of her buttock enveloped in leather pants. Consequently, while the

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[176] The low-angle shots stress powerful features of this king of beers, while the POV shots include the viewer.

[177] The slogan "The King Of Beers[165]" makes anaphoric references to the commercial which justifies such naming, which in return encompasses the features depicted by the commercial and thus empowers the slogan, power then reinforced by anaphoric references to previously established qualities, etc..

slogan and the commercial officially encourage the addressee to "Go With The Flaw[185][178]", such erotic dimension associated to the brand Diesel and its products could lead to the addressees' temptation to satisfy their consequential attraction for Diesel as a whole by the only option at hand, i.e. to purchase some Diesel products. Moreover, the scenario of Diesel's commercial which suggests that people can have happy sexual relationships despite whatever flaw they may have (which thus positions Diesel as a tolerant and friendly brand), is as a result encompassed by means of anaphoric reference by the slogan. However, all characters of the commercial wearing Diesel's clothes makes the realization of such happy relationships conditional on the addressee to wear and hence purchase Diesel's clothes, cognitively providing a second reason to purchase their products.

As one ultimate goal of an advertisement is to exhort its addressee to purchase a given product, to trigger cupidity also becomes a valuable asset. Cupidity was chosen by Ebay to prompt desire in its commercial and slogan "When You're Over Overpaying[300][179]". Compared to the previous examples, the slogan here already conveys desire (to save money) by itself[180], by suggesting the possibility of an option if not a solution "When You're Over Overpaying[300]". By means of the relative adverb 'when' introducing its clause that only emphasizes an unpleasant situation of overpayment, the slogan stresses the semantic need to complete its meaning, and in this case, to provide a potential solution, which triggers desire to know the solution in the addressee's mind. This solution is actually provided by the introductory commercial that illustrates the slogan: a couple having chosen their desired couch in a store, discover that this couch costs less than half the price on Ebay, making them laugh of ecstasy. A semantically more complete version of the slogan, summing the situation up ("When You're Over Overpaying, Get It On Ebay[300]") then stresses the conveyance of cupidity to the addressee, who now has a solution to satisfy his thirst to pay less for his beloved possessions to be. The stress syntagmatically put by the slogan on the solution increases the addressee's cognitive focus on and memorization of Ebay's actual message: "… Get it on Ebay(!)", thus making the condition of overpayment seem optional. It is interesting to notice that while Ebay by means of this slogan conveys greed for money, it also conveys greed for possessions

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[178] And to embrace all its semantic aspects, from physical imperfections (the commercial showing strabismus, hirsutism, crooked teeth, protruding ears, visual impairment, damaged skin, and flat breasts) to behavioral flaws (the commercial conveying as seen lust, voyeurism and predatorism, but also wrath through the woman reaction at the airport or the imprisonment scene) and sloth, as besides the commercial showing laziness, the slogan associated to it encourages the audience not to make any efforts to moderate or improve anything but just to do as they please with pride, adding in the process vanity to the list.

[179] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgNbV2YZjtI, last consulted on 01.22.2020.

[180] Perhaps due to the tangibility of money and possessions ("Save Money. Live Better[264]", "More Saving. More Doing.[306]", or "Shave Time. Shave Money.[274]").

by means of another slogan "Whatever it is you can get is on Ebay[299]", both slogans cover both meanings of cupidity and therefore increase the chances of the brand to happily exhort the addressee (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) to buy something on Ebay.

A difference appears between political discourses presenting happy solutions to explained problematic situations that actual citizens are living, whereas advertising often depicts fictional characters living safely in an already happy world, thanks to the use of a given product which offers happy means to fuel a given craving, be it lust, vanity, cupidity or even gluttony ("Always Better With Fire[236]"). Moreover advertising messages and slogans tend to present daily situations or trivial issues[181] stressed as being the source of the addressee's implied unhappiness, to which a surprisingly unique, easy, ideal and simple solution with immediate effect is offered ("When You're Over Overpaying, Get It On Ebay[300]", "Melts in Your Mouth, Not in Your Hands[245]", or "Quality is Our Recipe[266]"). Such means often based on actual specific qualities or services[182] (although superlatively depicted[183] due to fierce competition[184]) becomes the addresser's main medium of exchange with the addressee. With the promise of a fueled craving, if not of satisfied basic needs, with the one of happiness, the addressee will be contextually (Parducci 1995) more inclined to accept the slogan's speech act.s, such as the directive dares ("Betcha can't just eat one[241]"), or requests ("Have a Break, Have a KitKat[239]"). Not only political and advertising slogans broadly convey different kinds of affect, underlying improvement or possibilities as opposed to firm assertions of uniqueness and requests, but they also manifest a different relation regarding the sense of belonging.

2.4.3 Opposed manifestations of a sense of belonging

The theory of the need to belong can be defined as the "experience of a personal involvement in a system or environment, which makes people feel that they are an integral part of this system or environment" (Hagerty et al. 1992: 172), making the study of the sense of belonging in the present investigation relevant as "The need to belong is a strong interpersonal motive

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[181] To find a couch at a lower price ("When You're Over Overpaying[300]", Ebay), to be able to go to a restaurant even if being socially different, as if it was not already possible ("Your Way[235]", Burger King), to be able to broadcast on oneself ("Broadcast Yourself[231]", Youtube), or to be able to deal with a runny nose ("Thank Goodness For Kleenex Tissue[278]", Kleenex), to be allowed to live one's own life ("Live Your Life[179]", American Eagle Outfitters), and so on.

[182] Therefore contrasting with political slogans reliance on rhetoric and notionality ("I Want My MTV[227]", "Do it in Huggies[276]", or "It's Finger Lickin' Good[238]" as opposed to "Hope for America[17]" or "Forward[29]").

[183] "The Happiest Place On Earth[223]", "The King Of Beers[165]", or "Your Best Profile[191]".

[184] It is interesting in a context of such fierce competition to highlight that although strong emphasis is made by political discourses on an opposition 'we' vs 'them', present political slogans only comprise the personal pronoun 'they' in less than 1% of them, echoing the 1% of advertising slogans using the pronoun 'their'.

influencing human behaviour, emotions, and thoughts." (Maslow 1954, Baumeister & Leary 1995), echoing the theory of *projective and interactive advertising*[185]. As essential part in the realization of speech acts, especially regarding commissive ones (requests, challenges, invitations, orders, or commands), slogans' appeal to the addressee's need to belong can be seen in the use of pronouns ('we', 'us' and 'all') as well as the adverb 'together'. What is stressed by means of linguistics by political slogans is mostly conveyed by advertising scenarios preceding their slogans, showing people being included in a social group or accepted by other individuals by means of purchasing the showed product[186]. When it comes to politics, the addressee supposedly already has a sense of belonging before encountering a slogan, be it by asserting being Conservative, Democrat, ecologist, libertarian, socialist, independent or even reformist. If not answering a need to belong, political slogans create a social sense of belonging by appealing on pronominal usage as well as on contextuality[187] as politicians' speech acts emphasize a need to change a societal problematic situation for the better by means of united citizens' support. Consequential interpreted sense of belonging on the part of the addressee could thus trigger volition to support.

However, advertising slogans present a reverse situation. While political slogans make the addressee feel included before supporting a candidate, advertising slogans present the sense of belonging, of inclusion, as a consequential effect, a benefit from the purchase and use of a given product. *Suggestive advertising* theory suggests that with help of the advert, slogans may provide the unconscious feeling that by purchasing a product which is possessed, used by or associated to showed characters, the addressee could have access to these characters' happiness, life style or even social status or abilities (a phenomenon that can be associated with envy, also observed through movies or novels merchandising and collectibles), or as Bryan Kramer puts it: "People Buy Emotions Not Things[188]". Furthermore, regarding an alleged common thirst to rally conveyed by

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[185] The *projective and interactive advertising theory* relies on the association and complementarity of the *projection theory* and the *interaction theory*. First, the *projection theory* (Boddy 2005), here associated to advertising, suggests that a given addressee exposed to various and subtle stimuli of a commercial would presumably release unconscious emotions and internal conflicts as if exposed to a given projective test such as the Rorscharch test. Then, according to the *interaction theory* (Howard 1963), "advertsising operates by associating, in the consumer's mind, his various needs with the advertiser's brand name" (Howard 1973). The *projective and interactive advertising theory* thus suggests that, though unconsciously, the addressee is likely to accept the addresser's message as a response to hidden emotional desires, conflicts or issues.

[186] Example with an advert for Google Translate: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXfJc8up6cM, last consulted on 01.20.2020.

[187] As "effectiveness of coping is connected with the sense of belonging" (Wilczyńska 2015).

[188] https://www.brandquarterly.com/people-buy-emotions-not-things, last consulted on 04.01.2020.

the original term *sluagh-ghairm* as well as some previous definitions of slogans[189], political slogans do tend to rally[190] ('we', 'together', or 'one nation') and to secure the loyalty of voters, whereas advertising slogans do not rally but rather convince one addressee at a time, if not securing as well the loyalty of actual and potential customers, due to monopoles being a necessity for politicians, a bonus for companies.

2.4.4 Different means of emphasis
2.4.4.1 Repetitions

As seen previously, political slogans actually rely more inherently on phonetic if not on semantic repetitions than advertising slogans. Moreover, political slogans are contextually repeated by the audience, and sometimes become chants if not already designed with this intent. This audience's political involvement and support regarding a politician's campaign, contrasts with advertising slogans being only heard by the addressee[191]. Political slogans also tend to be more rhythmical than advertising ones. Sometimes underlined by means of punctuation and asyndeton ("Drill, Baby, Drill![16]", "Security • Unity • Prosperity[21]", or "Heal. Inspire. Revive.[78]"), binarity and ternarity are all the more emphasized within political slogans as 72.5% of them only use 2, 3, or 4 words. This inherent syntagmatic rhythmicality is intensified by political slogans being as well phonostylistically rhythmical as in "Tanned, Rested, Ready.[82]" ([æ],[ɛ],[ɛ].), "Yes We Will[6]" ([jes], [wiː], [wɪl]), or "No More Wars[135]" ([noʊ], [mɔː], [wɔːz]). On the contrary, although sometimes using punctuation as well, advertising slogans remain longer (merely 37% of them use 3 or 4 words) and more arrhythmical whether syntagmatically or phonostylistically. For example, the slogans "It's Not the Destination, It's the Journey.[295]", "Like a Good Neighbor, State Farm is There.[160]", or "Real Taste. Uplifting Refreshment[169]" emphasize syllabic asymmetry (7/4, 5/4, 2/6) and thus arrhythmia, underlined by punctuation. Moreover, despite the first slogan's repetition of 'It's + the', no phonetic repetition is to be mentioned, which stresses advertising slogans' inherent absence of intended systemic rhythmicality. Consequently, political slogans' rhythmicality connotes all the more rigor and strength while advertising slogans' asymmetry

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[189] "The war-cry or gathering-word of a clan. Our slogan is their lyke-wake dirge. W. Scott." (Worcester's Dictionary 1859), "The war cry, or gathering word, of a Highland clan in Scotland; hence, any rallying cry" (Webster's International Dictionary 1894), "A war-cry or battle-cry; *spec*. one of those formerly employed by Scottish Highlanders or Borderers, or by the native Irish, usually consisting of a personal surname or the name of a gathering-place." (OED 1972) "a war- or rallying-cry, *usu* the name of a CLAN chief or clan rendezvous, used by *Highlanders* (Hieland) and *Borderers* (border), *orig* as a signal to arms or as a password." (The Concise Scots Dictionary 1985).

[190] As previously seen, it is a need for politicians to rally the majority of voters in a short amount of time.

[191] Whereas politicians benefit from field feedbacks, companies can only assess the efficiency of their slogans by monitoring audience measurement and consequential sales.

connotes easy going familiarity and relaxed linguistic situation, reinforced by different tonal combinations of imperative mood (violence) and friendly proximity (informality). As a result, political slogans' reliance on prosody appears, within the present combined corpus, stronger than the one of advertising slogans.

2.4.4.2 Syntax

Syntagmatic differences regarding political and advertising slogans can be observed as well within the present corpus. First of all, political slogans display a more *minimalistic* syntax than advertising slogans. For instance political slogans rely on short syntaxes such as "Live Free[45]" (V + Adv), or "Working People First[130]" (Adv + N + Ord. Numb.), leading to 73% of them to use only two to four words (Annex 5). Conversely, advertising slogans' syntax is more complex as it uses more determiners, prepositions, modal auxiliaries or pronouns (Annex 11), as underlined by slogans like "There are *some* things money *can't* buy. *For everything* else, there's MasterCard.[158][192]", or "*Nothing* comes between *me* and *my* Calvins[182][193]". Consequently, 70% of them use three to seven words, and 11% of them encompass eight to nine words (Annex 5). These linguistic characteristics reveal political slogans' emphasis on ellipticity ("…"), if not on notionality (Keranforn-Liu 2019), such as "… Change[1] …", "… Forward[29]", or "… Peace Through Strength[22]" (Annex 18). Conversely, advertising slogans emphasize fixed expressions and conventional expressions and syntaxes such as "*Can You Hear Me Now?* … Good.[270]", "*For every generation there's a* Gap[189]", or "*When There Is No Tomorrow*[219]…". Though ellipsis[194] as well as imperative forms[195] ("… + Keep America Great[139]", or "… + GO WITH THE FLAW[185]") are common linguistic means to both political and advertising slogans, repeated ellipsis within the same utterance supports such dichotomy as 18% of political slogans make use of repeated ellipsis ("… Not me … . … Us … . [97]", "… Not …Left, … Not … Right, … Forward[116]", or "… Heal. … Inspire. … Revive.[78]"). However, less than 9% of advertising slogans (two times less than political slogans) underline it ("… No Lines. … No Checkout[261]". "… Save Money. … Live Better.", or "… Tour World. … Delivered.[217]"). Furthermore, political slogans' reliance on the article Ø[196] (Annex 16) as well as

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[192] "Adv + V + det + N + N + mod. Aux. + neg + V + punct. + prep + pr. + Adv + Adv + V + N".

[193] "pr + V + prep + pr + conj + poss/pr + N".

[194] Mainly pronoun ellipses ("Go Big. Be Bold. Do Good.[136]", or "Become one of the freshest smelling places on earth[284]") and verb phrase ellipses ("Amy for America[109]", or "The Man Your Man Should Smell Like[287]").

[195] Ellipsis (…) is actually mainly used at the beginning of slogans for imperative mood, in order to convey dynamism and allow more interpretations on the part of the addressee (as seen page 26 and 27 with the use of pronouns.).

[196] Such as "Ø + Big, Structural, Change[103]", "Ø + New Possibilities. Real Leadership.[80]", or "Ø + Change[1]".

asyndetic syntax[197] are also more systematic than advertising slogans': respectively 24% and 19% for political slogans against 16% and 14% for advertising slogans.

It is worthy of note that, when a closer look is taken at political and advertising slogans' syntax from the standpoint of *fixity* (Steyer 2015) and phraseology, it first appears that many political slogans share the same syntagmatic structure (Annex 6), with only 91 different syntactic structures for 155 slogans, leading to 33% of political slogans' syntaxes to be identical to at least one other slogan's syntax. For instance, the syntax 'N + prep + N' is shared by 15 political slogans, including "Hope for America[17]", "Wayne for America[127]", or "Democrat for President[112]". Likewise, the syntaxes 'V + N' and 'N' (such as "Seize Freedom![48]", and "Change[1]",) are respectfully used 8 and 5 times. Conversely, advertising slogans display within this corpus 126 different syntactic structures for 155 slogans, thus leading to merely 12% of advertising slogans' syntaxes to be identical to other advertising slogans' structure. Such phenomenon highlights that political slogans' syntax relies significantly on repetition and therefore on some degree of syntactic *fixity*, whereas it seems that advertising slogans' only mere constant regarding syntax, is change itself. As a result, political and advertising slogans provide distinct amounts of information to their addressees due to different amounts of linguistic units[198] as well as ellipses.

2.5 Consequential differences regarding inferences and presuppositions

As seen in the first chapter, slogans' *minimalism* requires contextuality and more specifically inferences and presupposition to efficiently achieve any speech act. However, political slogans rely more on such means as they cover a larger scale of topics with fewer words than advertising slogans, whereas advertising slogans deal with more words with only one common topic. Ellipticity and blanks give place to the addressee's interpretation, imagination, projection of expectations and wishes, allegedly to the benefit of the addresser according to some projective and interactive advertising studies (Howard 1963, Howard 1973, or Boddy 2005). However, it could be interesting to investigate what semantic and syntagmatic content could possibly be implied if not hidden by such ellipses, at the enunciative and pragmatic levels. Would they make slogans answers to the addressee's anxiety and wishes ("Yes We Can[4]", "Fighting for us[59]", or "Like a Good Neighbor, State Farm is There[160]"), as reassuring assertions of positive changes to come (Reboul 1982, Keranforn-Liu 2019), or answers to questions? Let's consider:

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[197] As in "Tanned**,** Rested**,** Ready.[82]", "One Nation**.** One Destiny.[123]", or "Defeat the Washington Machine**.** Unleash the American Dream.[81]".

[198] Such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, auxiliaries, interjections, pronouns, or in a word: words.

- ***What will this candidate do?***: "… Make America Great Again[65]", "… Reboot America 2020[154]"

- ***What is this?***: "… The King Of Beers[165]", "… Diesel. For Successful Living[184]"

- ***What do I need?***: "Finally Free America[151]", "Libertarian For President[152]"

- ***What should I do?***: "Live For Now[171]", "Let us treat you[173]", "Fuel Your Craving[176]", "Change[1]", "Come tv with Us[226]", "Just Do It[200]"

- ***Is there a solution?***: "Change[1]", "Rebuilding the American Dream[37]", "Solutions for America[5]"

- ***How could I trust them?***: "This is The People's President[44]", "We Make It All Better[232]", "This is The Most Magical Place On Earth[224]", "I Am America[47]"

Such manipulations could highlight divergent pragmatic usages of ellipticity and blanks by political and advertising slogans, and could perhaps underline different degrees of exophoric references[199] (Goodwin 1981). In order to better understand the linguistic power of exhortation, it could also be useful by means of syntagmatic as well as paradigmatic manipulations to highlight different semantic and pragmatic effects, such as the ones of verbs, article Ø, adjectives, contextuality, inferences, etc..

This succinct analysis, which encompasses all these peculiarities and linguistic distinctions between slogans and other short discursive forms but also between political and advertising slogans, raises the following questions: could it be possible to establish a phraseology of slogans? And if so, could slogans be recognized as an independent noble short discursive form as could be proverbs, rhymes or mottoes or would they be demonized due to their specific exhortative usage?

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[199] "Certain items of talk, for example demonstratives such as 'this' and 'that', have the propriety that "instead of being interpreted semantically in their own right, they make reference to something else for their interpretation" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 30). Halliday and Hasan (1976: 31) note that such items "are directives indicating that information is to be retrieved from elsewhere" and use the term exophoric reference to designate cases where the information to be retrieved is not in the talk being produced but rather in the situation within which that talk occurs. […] Exophoric reference provides a structure organizing the actions of both speaker and recipient within the turn at talk. By using it the speaker sets the recipient the task of finding the object being pointed to with the demonstrative and the recipient's performance of this task constitutes the second move in a two move sequence." (Goodwin 1983: 119-128).

3. Regarding a phraseology of slogans

3.1 State of research

As slogans are renowned short discursive forms repeatedly used on a daily basis in many countries, it seems important to understand if they are actually conventional expressions used in specific contexts to exhort a series of addressees, or instead specific conversational formulae underlying some sort of slogan's phraseology. In order to conduct such investigation, it remains vital to first define the notion of phraseology. According to Macann (2001):

"Phraseology is the study of the nature (and distribution) of words that are not completely free in combination, and there is increasingly strong evidence that phrasal items of various sorts account for the larger proportion of words in much of language production, and therefore constitute a significant proportion of a speaker's vocabulary. […] Altenberg suggests that these sequences provide speakers with a choice of preconstructed units for rapid production in discourse at a minimum of processing cost (cf Pawley and Syder, 1983) Phraseological phenomena in spoken language are related to pragmatic pressure to clearly indicate discourse intent and attitude."

(Macann 2001: 157)

However, the terminology regarding both these "phrasal items" and their typology is controversial, as many linguists come with their own terminologies and typologies. For instance Dobrovol'skij (2011) points out that:

"phraseology deals with fixed word combinations of many types: idioms, for example *ins Gras beißen* (i.e. kick the bucket); collocations that consist of a base and collocator, for example *eingefleischter Junggeselle* (i.e. confirmed bachelor); function verb constructions, for example *eine Entscheidung treffen* (i.e. to make a decision); situational clichés and set phrases, for example *Guten Tag!* (i.e. Good morning or Good afternoon!); proverbs, for example *Morgenstund hat Gold im Mund* (lit. 'Early morning has gold in its mouth'); grammatical phrasemes, for example *geschweige denn* (i.e. let alone); phraseme constructions or templates, for example *eine Seele von Mensch* (lit. 'a soul of a human', i.e. a very good person) with the underlying template [DET N1 von (DET_dative) N2]), and so on."

(Steyer 2015: 281)

Otherwise Moon (1998) talks about "fixed expressions", of "several kinds of phrasal lexeme, phraseological unit, or multiword lexical item" including 'frozen collocations', 'grammatically ill-formed collocations', proverbs, 'routine formulae', sayings or similes. Differently, Steyer prefers to the terms "fixed word combinations" and "fixed expressions" the term

"multi-word expression[200]" (MWE). Moreover, an attempt to establish a phraseology of slogans, whether political, advertising or both, meets an absence of linguistic consensus regarding the definition of the sole notion of phraseology. Although phraseology could be simply defined as "the set of complex units of the lexicon which exhibit varying degrees of figuration, which are constructed in specific contexts, and which are held in this respect to be characteristic of a type of discourse[201]" (Neveu 2004) or even "the domain that deals with lexical sequences perceived as pre-constructed[202]" (Legallois and Tutin 2013), divergent definitions remain numerous. According to Legallois and Tutin (2013), the definition of phraseology has been divided between: the Russian phraseology, emphasizing Bally's distinction between *locutions phraséologiques*[203] and *séries phraséologiques*[204] (cf. Dobrovol'skij & Filipenko 2007, Burger et al. 2007), the French tradition, "influenced by structuralism and generativism [...] [which] defines mostly the phraseological phenomena in their relation to figuration, even if the modern notion of phraseological series under the name of collocations has again become a central notion of phraseology in recent years[205]", and the English contextualists, such as Hoey (2005) and his *lexical priming,* or Hunston & Francis (2000) and their *pattern grammars*. Such divergence is actually made worse by individual theorizations, having amongst others brought the notions of *pattern grammars* (Hunston and Francis 2000), *langage formulaire*[206] (Wray 2002), *extented lexical unit* (Sinclair 2004), *lexical priming* (Hoey 2005), *greffe syntaxique*[207] (Legallois 2012), *compositionnalité*[208] (Legallois and

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[200] "Fixed Expressions refer to specific combinations of two or more words that are typically used to express a specific concept. Typical examples of FEs that are referred to in the literature often have an opaque meaning or a deficient syntactic structure, for example, by and large or kick the bucket. However, these properties are not essential. The defining feature of a FE is that it is a word combination, stored in the Mental Lexicon of native speakers, that as a whole refers to a (linguistic) concept. This makes FEs "non-compositional" in the sense that the combination and structure of their elements need not be computed afresh, but can be retrieved from the Mental Lexicon. However, the degree of lexical and syntactic fixedness can vary." (Sprenger 2003: 4).

[201] Translated by the author from the original French: "l'ensemble des unités complexes du lexique qui présentent des degrés variables de figement, qui sont construites dans des contextes spécifiques, et qui sont tenues à cet égard pour caractéristiques d'un type de discours" (Neveu 2004: 6).

[202] Translated by the author from the original French: "le domaine qui traite les séquences lexicales perçues comme préconstruites" (Legallois and Tutin 2013: 3).

[203] "Phraseological locutions", author's translation.

[204] "Phraseological series", author's translation.

[205] Translated by the author from the original French: "influencée par le structuralisme et le générativisme […] défini[e] surtout les phénomènes phraséologiques dans leur rapport au figement, même si la notion moderne de *série phraséologique* sous l'appellation de *collocations* redevient depuis quelques années une notion centrale de la phraséologie" (Legallois and Tutin 2013: 5).

[206] "language based on set phrases", author's translation.

[207] "syntactic graft", author's translation.

[208] "compositionality", author's translation.

Tutin 2013), *motif* (Longrée and Mellet 2013), or of *preformed building units*[209] (UCP) (Schmale 2013), which lead Legallois and Tutin to state that:

> "Les objets de la phraséologie, s'émancipant de la lexicologie, prennent donc maintenant des dimensions plus larges […] Le danger est évidemment une dilution du phénomène, une imprécision dans sa définition – ou plutôt de multiples définitions relatives à une diversité de points de vue.[210]"
>
> (Legallois and Tutin 2013: 9/19)

Furthermore, according to Steyer (2015), plurality of phraseology theories and consequential multiple definitions and terminologies appear to be accompanied by what could be inaccurate understanding of how fixed this "fundamental principle of language, namely, linguistic frozenness and fixedness" actually is:

> "Even more than other linguistic disciplines, phraseology and phraseography have to face a paradigm shift. The traditional focus on strongly lexicalized, often idiomatic multi-word expressions has led to an overestimation of their unique status in the mental lexicon. Only few MWE, however, fulfil those strict criteria. Only few are truly fixed. Instead, they are usually entities with fuzzy borders, used as overlapping fragments."
>
> (Steyer 2015: 297)

In addition, in a 2001 book review of Cowie (1998) by Macann is highlighted that:

> "[Moon 1998] analyses the frequency and distribution of these items[211] in the eighteen million-word Hector Corpus and her chief finding repeats the point already made of the low level of occurrence for any given item, despite the overall prevalence of the phrasal class. This is highlighted by the zero frequency of well-instantiated items such as *kick the bucket* and *out of practice.* Indeed, 65% of all items investigated occurred with a frequency of less than one per million corpus words, and occurrence of proverbs, similes or sayings was 'almost entirely a matter of chance' (p. 87)."
>
> (Macann 2001: 159)

Perhaps Steyer and Moon deepen here the controversy by extending it to the very definition of phraseological fixity and redundancy*,* and maybe to the definition of phraseology itself.

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[209] Translated by the author from the original French: "unités de construction préformées" (Schmale 2013).

[210] "The objects of phraseology, emancipating themselves from lexicology, now take on broader dimensions [...] The danger is obviously a dilution of the phenomenon, an imprecision in its definition - or rather multiple definitions relating to a diversity of points of view.", author's translation.

[211] "metaphorical expressions (such as *bite the bullet*, *rock the boat*), formulae (*you know*, *as white as a sheet*), and 'anomalous collocations' (including grammatically ill-formed items such as *by and large*, as well as 'defective collocations' where the meaning of an item is unique to the collocation, as for *beg* in *beg the question*)." (Steyer 2015: 159).

However, Steyer could also be pointing at a potential source of the original controversy, i.e. are these linguistic redundancies that redundant? Wouldn't it be possible that one main issue of phraseology could be its attempt to define non-redundancy as redundancy? Perhaps by intertwining 'known expression' with 'fixed expression'?

3.2 Contextualized position regarding slogans' phraseology

Despite such controversy as well as the plurality of definitions and interpretations of phraseology, the notions of *fixity*, *patterns*, *collocations* or *greffe*[212]*,* all define so far phraseologicality as being the quality of a given discursive form to depend on redundancy (whether linguistic or pragmatic) and linguistic atypicality of phrasing, as proverbs and idioms could do for instance. In other words, there is no *fixity* without sameness, and no sameness without repetition. Although no phraseology of slogans seems to have been defined, Gläser (2001) yet classifies slogans as propositions within the periphery class[213] of phraseological units, along with proverbs, quotations and winged words, commonplaces, routine formulae, commandments and maxims (Szerszunowicz 2017). This classification, requires a certain degree of fixity commonly emphasized by short discursive forms such as proverbs ("Ignorance is bliss.", "Two wrongs don't make a right.", or "You can't judge a book by its cover.") and routine formulae ("don't mention it", "my pleasure", or "how do you do?"). It will be used as broad reference to determine if the political and advertising slogans of the present corpora could be potential candidates to phraseologicality.

3.2.1 Different patterns and degrees of redundancy

From the standpoint of phraseology, political and advertising slogans display significant differences including linguistic characteristics, patterns as well as pragmatic redundancy. To begin with, on the one hand, 80% of the present political slogans are made of unconventional expressions underlined by high degree of syntagmatic ellipticity ("Forward[29]", "Live Free[45]", or "Perry President[40]"), on the other hand, the present advertising slogans are based 60% of the time on conventional expressions using imperative mood ("Make Google do it.[305]", "Fuel Your Craving[176]", or "Print The Holidays[210]"). With these differences comes a major linguistic and

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[212] "graft", author's translation.

[213] Gläser (2001) defines three classes of units: **centre**/*nominations* (partly covering terminology), **transition area**/*reductions of propositions* (stereotyped comparisons, irreversible binominals, proverbial sayings, fragments of proverbs), and **periphery**/*propositions* (proverbs, quotations and winged words, commonplaces, routines formulae, slogans, commandments, maxims).

phraseological divergence (Annex 7), while political slogans rely on syntactic repetition[214], linguistic unit repetition[215], phonetic repetition[216] but also in some instances on slogans' repetition[217], advertising slogans encompass eclectic syntaxes, linguistic unit variety, no specific phonetic repetition, arrythmia, and syntagmatically changing if not unstable slogans[218]. It is worth pointing out regarding phraseology that political slogans can underline some 'formulae repetitions' such as "*something/someone* for America" here used eleven times, or "*something/someone* first" used five times. Likewise, repetitions of usage can be found in pronouns such as 'we', repeated ten times, or 'America', repeated forty-one times since 2008. Consequently, although these characteristics aren't significant enough to establish a firm phraseology of political slogans, political slogans yet encompass some degree of phraseological fixity, patterns and redundancy, whereas the linguistic ordinarity of advertising slogans makes any attempt at establishing a phraseology of them rather unlikely to succeed (as seen in 2.4.4). Furthermore, along with political and advertising slogans emphasizing different contexts, topics, tenses, frequency of utterance, inclusion of the addressee, or purpose (Annex 7), such findings support the hypothesis that political and advertising slogans could be two different short discursive forms, despite them being both referred to as 'slogans'.

3.2.2 Common redundancy as *anticipated speech acts*

Although political and advertising slogans appear to share more differences than similarities, they actually share the following feature: political slogans and advertising slogans are both speech acts relying on specific anticipative introductions. Indeed, as seen in section 1.3.1, slogans, whether political or advertising, rely inherently on ideal introductions. On the one hand, slogans, whether political or advertising couldn't be as exhortative as they are without proper contextual introduction, even if conveyed by means of the same media channels. For instance, without introduction, the enunciation of the advertising slogan "This is Wells Fargo[163]" would merely convey to the

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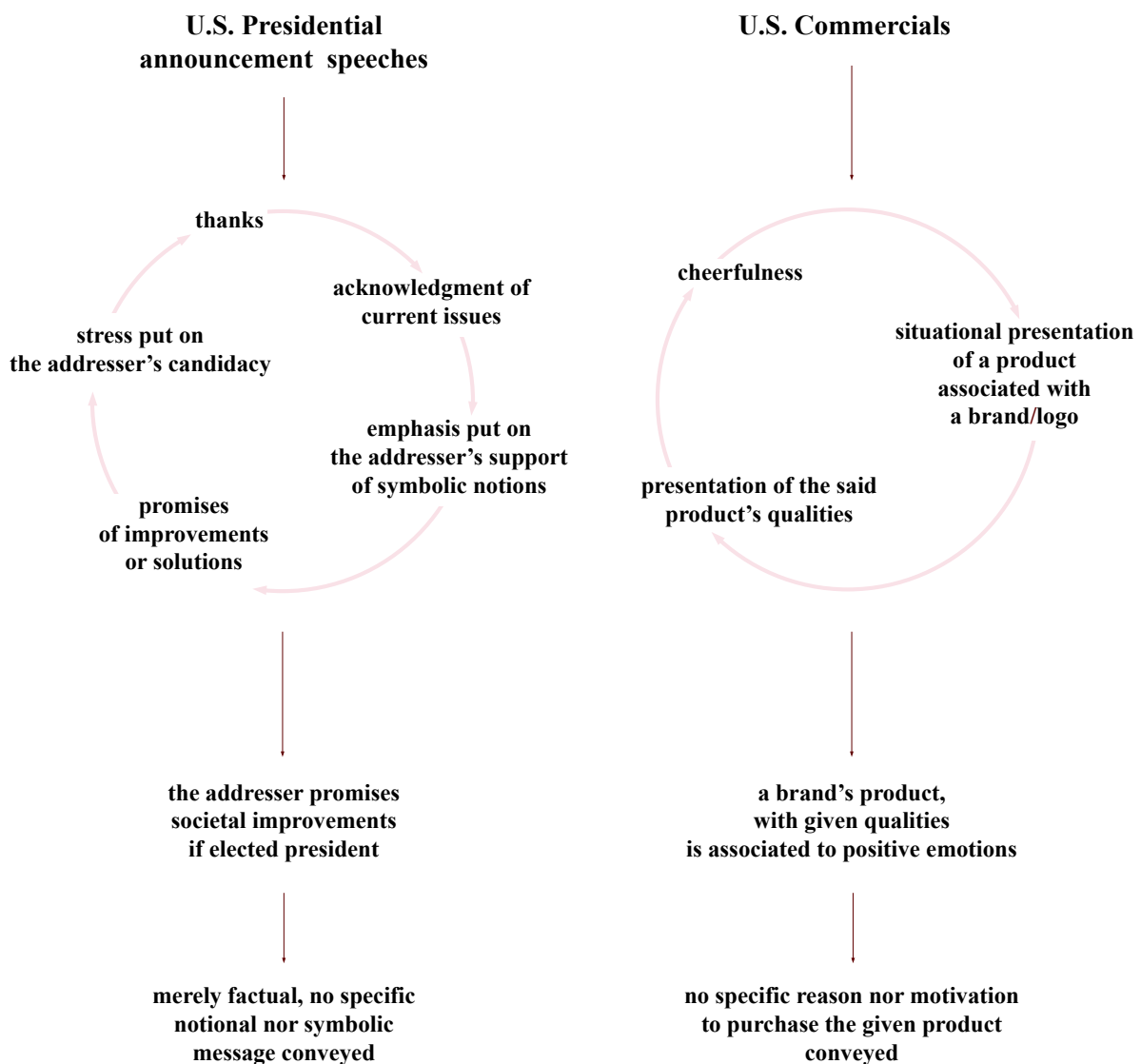[214] As emphasized by the Annex 7, and in the subsection 2.4.4.

[215] As emphasized in subsection 2.4.4 but also by the Annex 8 to 12.

[216] As emphasized by the Annex 13, and in subsection 2.4.4.

[217] Such as the slogans "Live Free[51]" (repeated thrice), "Reboot America 20[153-4]" (repeated twice), or likewise, Donald Trump's 2016 slogan "Make America Great Again[137]" echoing Ronald Reagan's 1980 slogan "Let's Make America Great Again", or the traditional Republican motto/slogan "Peace Through Strength[22]" re-used by Duncan Hunter in 2008.

[218] From Burger King's "Feel Your Way[235]" to "Your Way[235]", from Budweiser's "The King Of Beers[165]" to "King of Beers", or from Ebay's "Whatever it is you can get is on Ebay[299]", to "When You're Over Overpaying, get it on Ebay[300]" and to "Whatever Floats Your Boat. Get It On Ebay.[301]".

addressee that 'something/someone, which/who remains unknown to him, is named Wells Fargo' or perhaps "This is Wells Fargo speaking", leading at best the addressee to wonder "what/who is Wells Fargo?". Likewise, Bobby Jindal's slogan of his 2016 president election campaign "Tanned, Rested, Ready.[82]" would seem uncanny if encountered alone. Its addressee could either understand that "this unknown person is telling me that s.he is tanned, rested, and ready… but ready for what?", or even that it invites its addressee to become tanned, rested and ready, but again… for which purpose? Moreover, the more elliptical the slogan, the more mysterious the message, as with Toys 'R' Us' slogan "AWWWESOME[230]", possibly leading its addressee to wonder "What's awesome? Is it a teaser campaign? Is it me? Are there cameras somewhere?". In the same way, Barack Obama's renowned 2008 slogan "Change[1]" could make its addressee wonder to many things such as "Why does this man say 'change'?", "What is 'change'? Change what?", "Do I have to change? If yes, in which way, and why?", or even "Is he talking to me?". The list goes on. On the other hand, introductions without slogans wouldn't be as efficient as they are either:

U.S. Presidential
announcement speeches

U.S. Commercials

thanks

acknowledgment of
current issues

stress put on
the addresser's candidacy

emphasis put on
the addresser's support
of symbolic notions

promises
of improvements
or solutions

cheerfulness

situational presentation
of a product
associated with
a brand/logo

presentation of the said
product's qualities

the addresser promises
societal improvements
if elected president

a brand's product,
with given qualities
is associated to positive emotions

merely factual, no specific
notional nor symbolic
message conveyed

no specific reason nor motivation
to purchase the given product
conveyed

74

Indeed, without slogans, presidential elections speeches as well as commercials would be deprived of crucial exhortative speech acts, reducing them to mere information. For instance, without the notion of "change[1]" brought for the slogan of his campaign, Barack Obama's 2008 announcement speech would have mostly conveyed that the American situation is unsatisfactory, and therefore would have only stated the obvious without exhorting the addressee to vote specifically for Obama. Likewise, without the exhortative slogan "Just Do It[200]", relying on an imperative form, the commercials of Nike would be, from the addressee's standpoint, reduced to mere videos of people running. In a sense, slogans may here be seen as means to encompass and keep addressers' message meaningful and fresh in the addressee's mind, in the same way a logo triggers the name of a brand as well as products in the addressee's mind.

Consequently, according to the present findings of this investigation, including slogans' reliance on specific contextual introductions[219] (as seen in section 1.3), along with them actually being often different discursive forms[220], could lead to different linguistic deductions. First of all, that slogans aren't specifically exhortative speech acts by themselves, either for being dependent on ideal introduction, or because some of them are in fact regular speech acts[221]. For instance "Yes We Can[4]" is by itself a representative speech act of assertion, if not an answer. Likewise, the slogan of Ralph Lauren "Wish You Were Here[203]" is by itself an expressive speech act that would have been at odds with the only intention of Ralph Lauren to exhort the addressee to purchase his products, if it wasn't relying on specific introductions. Secondly, that slogans' exhortative feature, traditionally attributed to their own linguistic characteristics, although unspecified (Reboul 1982), is, at least in the present corpus, actually allowed by means of the synergy of both specific and contextually anticipative introductions and their following slogans. Moreover, political and advertising slogans

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[219] "The uttering of the words is, indeed, usually a, or even *the*, leading incident in the performance of the act (of betting or what not), the performance of which is also the object of the utterance, but it is far from being usually, even if it is ever, the *sole* thing necessary if the act is to be deemed to have been performed. Speaking generally, it is always necessary that the *circumstances* in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, *appropriate*, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should *also* perform certain *other* actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions or even acts of uttering further words." (Austin 1962: 8).

[220] "as mottoes ("Live Free[45]", "Fly Your Own Flag[199]"), conventional expressions ("Let's Get Real[46]", "Up for Whatever[164]"), puns ("Feel The Bern[55]", "Shave Time, Shave Money[274]"), legends ("The People's President", "The Official Uniform of New York[186]"), proverbs ("Slow And Steady Wins The Race[77]"), or even signs ("Obama Isn't Working[32]", "Imagination At Work[304]") and interjections ("Jeb![73]", "Got Milk?[166]"), have been used as slogans within the present corpora", present investigation, p. 45.

[221] The slogans of the present combined corpus encompass representative speech acts (assertions, statements, claims, or descriptions), commissive speech acts (promises or pledges), directives speech acts (requests, challenges, invitations, or dares), verdictive speech acts (rankings, assessments, appraising, or condoning) or combinations of several speech acts. For instance the slogan "Betcha Can't Eat Just One.[240]" is at the same time a claim, a challenge, a dare, and a bit of a promise.

are strategically prepared speech acts, not occurring naturally within daily contexts, but instead within intentionally conveyed situational contexts thus requiring the provision of an appropriate introductions[222]. Though such practice became 'natural' a long time ago, these slogans do tend to be unrelated to the current situation experienced by its addressee. For instance a given addressee will encounter advertising slogans - exhorting them to purchase a given product or service - while looking for recreations on their phone or TV. Likewise, political slogans - which exhort the audience to support the addresser - would be encountered within speeches only suppose to present presidential candidates' agendas. Furthermore, political and advertising slogans are regularly changing and conveyed without meaningful interaction to a series of addressees unknown to the addresser, hence making them unpredictable from the standpoint of the addressee. Conversely, daily speech acts are at the heart of social interactions and often unchanging[223] and are therefore predictable if not expected by the addressee.

Political and advertising slogans are consequently key speech acts concluding cognitive processes (encompassing an anticipative introduction culminating in the use of a given speech act/ slogan) destined to convince and exhort a series of unknown addressees to satisfy the addresser, without real interaction and in a short amount of time, by means of a single presentation often unrelated to the current situation experienced by the addressee. Besides requiring anticipating introductions, these political and advertising speech acts are also peculiar for being unexpected by their addressees and exclusively designed by the addresser, to benefit the addresser, by anticipating the addressee's cognitive propensity to accept a given message and thus, to increase the chances of the addresser's exhortative speech act to be happily achieved. It is therefore as inherently "*anticipated speech acts*[224]", and perhaps as specific functions of language, that political and advertising slogans and their respective introductions may display strict systemic phraseological redundancy of a fixed linguistic pattern (anticipative introduction + speech act).

Although this macro-approach of phraseological units differs from the traditional interest of phraseology in singled out short discursive forms, sentences or sequences (Pawley and Syder 1983, Moon 1998, Macann 2001, Wray 2002, Hoey 2005, Legallois and Tutin 2013, or Steyer 2015), this

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[222] As Austin puts it: "The particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked" (Austin 1962: 34).

[223] Such as the declarative speech act of marrying ("I pronounce you husband and wife."), the directive speech act of command ("Do your homework!"), the commissive speech act of promise ("I promise I won't tell."), or the expressive speech act of greeting ("Come on in!").

[224] This term is just an attempt to concisely as well as efficiently mention this phenomenon, which encompasses the systemic presence of an introductory anticipative incremental narrative that allows a given speaker to convey and realize a speech act in a situation originally unfavorable to its mention and happy realization.

phenomenon is nevertheless a genuine linguistic function of language inherently linked to redundancy, *fixity*, *patterns*, and in the case of advertising *anticipated speech acts*, to semantic *greffe* by means of added logos and brand names.

Conclusion

To conclude, political and advertising slogans of the present corpora do share similar linguistic characteristics as they are both elliptical and minimalistic discursive forms, and both encompass speech acts used officially at the heart of bilateral monopoly[225] situations. However, except for them potentially being *anticipated speech acts*, political and advertising slogans actually underline mostly just some degree of similarity regarding prosody[226], specific syntagmatic features[227], or characteristic use of pronouns[228], but yet in ways divergent, if not distinct. As a result, political and advertising slogans stress more differences than similarities, including for instance distinctions regarding length, phonetic repetitions, rhythm, tense, topics, inclusion of the addressee, narrativity, syntax, purpose, sense of belonging, use of affect, occurrence in time, syntagmatic patterns, or even regarding their speaker's identity.

Consequently, the first hypothesis of this investigation would be that political and advertising slogans by themselves present too many differences to be considered as the same short discursive form. It is however worthy of note that due to the variety of slogans in our societies, to their evolution and instability[229], but also to the narrowness of the present corpus' investigation, it could only be here possible to highlight potential tendencies and in no way any assertion or fixed rule. Within the present corpus, political slogans appear to be very short discursive forms relying on notional and unconventional expressions inherently encompassing phonetic as well as syntactic repetitions, in order to exhort their addressee to support a given candidate to the presidency with the hope of changing a societal situation for the 'better'. Conversely, advertising slogans appear to be relatively short discursive forms relying on conventional expressions and imperative forms in order to exhort their addressee to purchase a given product with the intent to satisfy their own desire.s.

The possibility of political and advertising slogans being different short discursive forms is also supported by the differences highlighted between them by this investigation stressing a pragmatic dichotomy between societal needs and primary needs, which implies a second hypothesis; that political and advertising slogans may have different origins. On the one hand, it

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[225] "In one sense, a situation of bilateral monopoly appeals to the mutual interests of the participants, and would seem to call for harmonious cooperation between them." (Coddington 2003: 4). Hence, these situations are the ones of politicians and companies attempting to exchange hopes and products against support and money.

[226] Phonetic repetitions, rhymes, or rhythm.

[227] Syntactic juxtaposition, asyndeton, imperative mood, the article Ø, or patterns.

[228] Including personal, possessive, or relative pronouns.

[229] Slogans regularly modified if not entirely replaced, from facebook's "Let's find *more* that brings us *together*.[302]" to "*More together*[303]", from American Express' "Don't Leave Home Without It[156]" to "Don't Live Life Without It[157]", or from Coca-Cola's "Share a Coke[167]", to "Open Happiness[168]", and to "Taste the Feeling[170]".

would be tempting to imagine advertising slogans as originating from pragmatic shoutings of hawkers, costermongers or street vendors attempting to exhort the passers-by to take interest in their merchandise by means of specifically provided context (which was and still is their stall, or window display) underlying specific speech act.s. Hundreds of years ago, such utterances were already relying on imperative forms, as with "Buy Great Smelts!" or "Come Buy to Make Clean All Your Rooms!", but also on occasional syntactic juxtaposition "Spice, Pepper, and Saffron!", parallelism "Cherry Ripe, Cherry Ripe!", or noun phrases such as "Bread and Meat!" or "New Wall-Fleet Oysters!" (Hindley 1885). Moreover, the descriptive nature of advertising slogans' introductions (commercials) isn't new. Besides merchants living on the depiction of given products' or services' qualities, commercials seem to have since the beginning been relying on a specific description of products' qualities followed by speech acts[230]. On the other hand, political slogans' origins seem to be more delicate to determine. Political speeches could be better understood by means of the study of town criers' reading, and political slogans, said to date back to ancient times (Raj 2007, Badel and Inglebert 2014, or Wang 2018) must be studied. In other words, political *anticipated speech acts* deserve more historical research to be conducted. In the meantime, the hypothesis would be that political *anticipated speech acts* come from institutional ways of communication, democratic or not, as could be treaties, public announcements and mottoes, an inference supported by the institutional and notional tone emphasized by the present American political speeches and slogans.

Although more linguistic investigations should be conducted on political and advertising slogans, if not on slogans in general, the present study already calls for a redefinition of the term 'slogan', starting with Reboul's definition of it:

> "Formule concise et frappante, facilement répétable, polémique et le plus souvent anonyme, destinée à faire agir les masses tant par son style que par l'élément d'auto-justification ; passionnelle ou rationnelle, qu'elle comporte[231]."

> (Reboul 1982: 42)

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[230] As in the *Plymouth*'s 1937 commercial which encompasses ten minutes of thoroughly detailed descriptions and ends by what would be a dozen long advertising slogans: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_LPmYkKOBQ, last consulted on 02.23.2020.

[231] "Concise and striking expression, easily repeatable, polemical and most of the time anonymous, destined to exhort the masses through its stylistic as well as self-justification features whether passionate or rational.", author's translation.

Reboul's definition of the term 'slogan' remains to this day a solid scientific reference for many studies involving slogans[232] (Van Dijk 1998, Garrido-Lora 2011, Micheli and Pahud 2012, Mathurin 2017, or Keranforn-Liu 2019)[233]. However, Reboul attributed to slogans four main linguistic features[234], reassessed, in part at least, by the present corpus. First of all, Reboul asserts that a slogan is a concise and striking formula[235]. However, slogans such as "Restoring America's Standing in the World[12]", "There are some things money can't buy. For everything else, there's MasterCard[158]", "Taking over the government to leave everyone alone[92]", or "The Most Trusted Name In Surgical Dressings[259]" highlight that slogans can actually be as concise as conventional sayings or daily utterances[236] and that their striking feature, without the specific contexts in which they take place, could thus in some circumstances be reduced to them just providing some incomplete information only leading the addressee to pause in perplexity. For instance:

- ***"Consistent. Conservative.**[27]**"***: without context this slogan informs the addressee that an unknown entity is consistent and conservative
- ***"Citizenship Matters**[53]**"***: without context, this slogan seems to state the obvious
- ***"Mike Will Get It Done**[107]**"***: absence of context would here lead the addressee to wonder who could be Mike and what will he get done
- ***"There is No Finish Line**[201]**"***: without more information or context, this slogan ends up mysterious
- ***"We Power Transactions That Drive Commerce**[220]**"***: absence of context makes impossible for the addressee to decipher to whom could refer the personal pronoun 'we'
- ***"one taste and you're in love**[242]**"***: lack of information or context make the addressee unable to understand of what this unknown addresser is talking about

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[232] "Le slogan est un objet d'étude qui présente des caractéristiques particulières pour le linguiste. Bien qu'il soit peu aisé d'en donner une définition précise, la proposition faite par le philosophe Reboul en 1975 reste la plus fréquemment citée, notamment par Charaudeau et Maingueneau (2002), Navarro Domínguez (2005) et Lee (2014)." (Mathurin 2017).

[233] It is worthy of note that despite the fact that Reboul actually defined all slogans by only studying French advertising slogans, this definition is presented as universal by scientific papers and was therefore used to describe English slogans and even political slogans, which could be considered peculiar from a scientific standpoint. It is well aware of this irony, to say the least, that this definition will be discussed as if it were indeed a worthy definition of slogans as a whole, which seems to be the case as it appears to be used as such.

[234] That a slogan is "a concise and striking formulae", "easily repeatable", "exhortative due to its own features", and "destined to exhort the masses" (Reboul 1982: 42).

[235] "Formule concise et frappante" (Reboul 1982: 42).

[236] Such as "cleaning the dog's blanket in the house", or "picking up the kids at school to go eat together".

Furthermore, slogans' pretended striking quality seems highly undermined by modern societies' constant use of them, which has led companies and institutions to increasingly communicate by means of series of slogans. For instance Ford's 2019 advert for electric cars[237] conveys a series of imperative slogans ("Don't talk about it", "Make it happen[283]", "Make it different", "Make it big", and finally "Bring on tomorrow[294]"), as did Diesel[238] with eighteen slogans ("Go with no plan", "Go with not sure", "Grab the front seat", and so on). Likewise, Starbucks' website[239]'s main page only uses slogans for its:

- **headline**: "Let us treat you[173]"
- **tag line**: "Drink coffee, earn Stars, get Rewards."
- **hyperlinks**: "Join Starbucks • Rewards today", or "Learn more", if not "Sign in", or "Join now"
- **titles**: "Oh hello again[176]", "Say yes to you[174]", "Enjoy more Rewards", "Celebrating Black History Month", or "All you, all right"

Consequently slogans could tend to become perceived as conventional expressions. Secondly, Reboul states that slogans are easily repeatable[240]. Nevertheless, the present corpora suggest that only political slogans could be defined as "easily repeatable" due in part to their syntactic or phonetic repetitions emphasized by short syntagms of two to four words, leading to rhythmic rhymes or emphases ("Faith • Family • Freedom[19]", "Yes We Will[6]", or "Not me. Us. [97]"). Conversely, advertising slogans tend to be mostly conventional expressions without rhymes nor phonetic repetitions, having only the advantage of not being tongue twisters. Moreover, Reboul asserts that slogans are "destined to exhort the masses"[241]. As this investigation underlined (p. 45), political like advertising slogans can be:

- **mottoes**: "Live Free[45]", "Fly Your Own Flag[199]"
- **conventional expressions**: "Let's Get Real[46]", "Up for Whatever[164]"
- **puns**: "Feel The Bern[55]", "Shave Time, Shave Money[274]"
- **legends**: "The People's President[50]", "The Official Uniform of New York[186]"

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[237] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yUxciROK00M, last consulted on 02.20.2020.

[238] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw, last consulted on 02.19.2020.

[239] https://www.starbucks.com, last consulted on 02.20.2020.

[240] "facilement répétable" (Reboul 1982: 42).

[241] "destinée à faire agir les masses" (Reboul 1982: 42).

- *proverbs*: "Slow And Steady Wins The Race[77]"
- *signs*: "Obama Isn't Working[32]", "Imagination At Work[304]"
- *interjections*: "Jeb![73]", "Got Milk?[166]"

Such usage stresses two linguistic issues regarding Reboul's definition. Firstly, though politicians as well as companies put a lot of thoughts into slogans as rhetorical means, the eclectic nature of the present corpora implies the usage of various already existing linguistic short discursive forms to fulfill a similar purpose, rather than the usage or even the existence of short discursive forms specifically "destined" to exhort a given addressee to support a politician or to purchase a product. In addition, this investigation highlights that slogans are by themselves rather inefficient regarding exhortation as the latter is actually achieved by means of *anticipated speech acts*, which invalidates as well Reboul's assertion that the slogan's exhortative ability is due to "its stylistic as well as self-justification features, whether passionate or rational[242]". Furthermore, the idea of a single short discursive form being able to exhort "the masses", supposedly at once, has to be qualified, as while a message could be 'conveyed to the masses' by means of a specific medium (mass media channels such as television or social networks such as facebook, Instagram, or Twitter), the said message would be cognitively processed individually every single time, even if using imperative forms. The exhortation of the message is thus conditional on each different individual's situations and therefore impossible to be systematically and successfully achieved on a massive scale. As a result, it appears that a redefinition, although contextual, of the term 'slogan' should be provided.

Redefinition of the term 'slogan'

According to the present investigation, the term 'slogan', if understood as a short discursive form encountered at the end of political speeches or commercials, would require two separate definitions, one for political slogans, and one for advertising slogans[243]. However, if understood as an exhortative discursive pattern, if not as a specific rhetorical function of language, a 'slogan'

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[242] "destinée à faire agir les masses tant par son style que par l'élément d'auto-justification ; passionnelle ou rationnelle, qu'elle comporte", [destined to exhort the masses through its stylistic as well as self-justification features whether passionate or rational." author's translation.] (Reboul 1982: 42).

[243] It is to be noted that the worthiness of the term 'slogan' to define such short discursive forms could be questioned. First of all, political and advertising slogans underline different linguistic characteristics and would deserve a different terminology or at least differentiating epithets as it was done within the present investigation. Moreover, slogans are originally warcries and therefore speech acts comparable to the ones of "Attack!", "Retreat!", "Protect the chief!", or "To the village!", hence not needing an introduction as the situational context was by itself enough.

should be termed and defined as an *anticipated speech act*. The findings of the present investigation would allow us to provide the following definitions:

Political slogan, *n*.
A concise and strikingly memorable sentence due to pragmatic usage of linguistics - including *minimalism* (syntagmatic juxtaposition, ellipses, the article Ø, or the imperative mood, leading to slogans of two to four words), prosody (syntactic and phonetic repetitions, rhythm, rhymes, or intonation), rhetoric (specific notionality, inferences, and presuppositions), contextual associations and a specific introduction (by means of an introductory incremental political speech anticipating its climactically coming conveyance) - appealing on its addressee's cultural knowledge to advertise a specific idea regarding given contextual political, ideological, social, economic or socioeconomic situations and issues, through traditional as well as new media channels, with the intent of provoking a wave of supportive individual reactions, whether material, pecuniary or institutional, but also reviving established notions or instilling if not inducing a change regarding a specific ideology or opinion.
   e.g. "Joe Biden's political slogan 'United' was well introduced by his speech."

Advertising slogan, *n*.
A relatively concise and strikingly memorable sentence due to pragmatic usage of linguistics - including assertions, juxtaposition, the imperative mood, the article Ø, rhetoric (specific notionality, inferences, and presupposition), contextual associations and a specific introduction (by means of an introductory and incremental poster or commercial anticipating its ultimate conveyance) - based on conventional expressions to appeal on its addressee's cultural knowledge and revive established notions in order to advertise a specific idea regarding a given brand's product or service through traditional as well as new media channels, with the intent of provoking a wave of supportive individual reactions hopefully leading to a series of purchases.
   e.g. "Personally I found the advertising slogan of Motorola 'Hellomoto' a bit lacking."

Anticipated speech act, *n*.
A speech act, customarily referred to as "a slogan", relying on a required anticipatory introduction due to it being elliptical as well as unexpected by its addressee, and destined by means of pragmatic usage of linguistics, rhetoric and contextual associations, to help the addresser satisfy his desire in a situation of fierce competition, by provoking a wave of supportive individual reactions (whether material, pecuniary or institutional), reviving established notions in order to instill if not to induce a change regarding a specific ideology or opinion.
   e.g. "Regardless of the proven efficiency of anticipated speech acts, some candidates to the presidency chose not to use them."

The existence of *anticipated speech acts,* deduced from the analysis of these political and advertising slogans, seems rather unlikely to be coincidental. The third hypothesis would therefore be that *anticipated speech acts* could be rhetorical functions used as well outside of the realms of politics, sales and marketing. In other words, slogans could be just one aspect of a broader function of language. In this instance, politicians use an introductory speech to introduce a given speech act

(s.a.) embodied by a political slogan (thus: speech + s.a.), likewise, companies use commercials or posters to introduce a given speech act embodied by an advertising slogan (commercial + s.a.). Otherwise, example could be found in movie trailers that occurred up to 2010ˢ, such as the ones of *Men in Black 2*[244] ("They're back in *black*"), *Jurassic Park*[245] ("The most phenomenal *discovery* of our time, becomes the greatest *adventure* of all time"), *Jurassic World*[246] ("The *park* is open"), *Mega Mind*[247] ("The battle between good and evil, will blow your *mind*"), or *The Hunger Games*[248] ("The *games*, will change, everyone, may the odds be ever in your favour"). In the same manner than politicians and companies convey *anticipated speech acts* by different means, movie trailers have the peculiarity to first begin the introduction of the situation and product by means of the said trailer, but then convey a given speech act by means of a voice-over or by words appearing on screen[249] while the introduction of the movie still continues. The speech acts are also longer than both political and advertising slogans and are enunciated with emphatic pauses, along secondary representative speech acts of supplying information and directive speech acts of indirect invitations, including "coming soon", "coming to cinemas", "this summer", or "to be continued".

These *anticipated speech acts* have a feature in common, they are the result of an addresser's own intention, purpose, and decision, and are therefore often unexpected by the addressee. This could provide a better understanding of the exo-contextuality[250] (provided by the addresser by means of an introduction) in which they happen, disrupting a given situation by means of some degree of discrepancy. For instance one is walking towards a theater and at a corner, a politician in front of a mall is doing a speech for coming elections. A look at one's cellphone and there it is, a commercial just popped-up. Seated in the theater, about to watch a film and there is a movie trailer! These pseudo-imposed bilateral monopolies, prepared in advance by an addresser, could provide an idea of where to look for other *anticipated speech acts*. Though analyses should be conducted before any assertion, disrupting *anticipated speech acts* could be encountered in

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[244] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p4NJHqoojOU, last consulted on 02.25.2020.

[245] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWBKEmWWL38, last consulted on 02.25.2020.

[246] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFinNxS5KN4, last consulted on 02.25.2020.

[247] https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=mega+mind+trailer, last consulted on 02.25.2020.

[248] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfmrPu43DF8, last consulted on 02.25.2020.

[249] However, it is worthy of note that recent movie trailers tend to omit the traditional speech act to instead either end with an exhortative situation which encompasses emotion, music or linguistics, or with a punchline conveyed by means of a character's line and that exhortes the viewer to laugh, to be scare, amazed or thrilled, thus leading to a potential thirst to see the given film.

[250] The term *exo*-contextuality is here suggested to explain how the context in which *anticipated speech acts* happen are actually unrelated to the current context, due to references to different topics, persons, locations, periods of time, etc..

presidential election speeches[251], commercials[252], movie trailers[253], and could perhaps be encountered as well in some pep talks[254], jokes[255], pranks[256], gossip[257], or anecdotes[258]. It could be interesting to reflect upon the similar binary behavior of rhetorical questions[259], within which the intonation (represented as an interrogation mark in written productions) plays the role of a speech act, relying on the introductory part that is the actual rhetorical question, thus exhorting the addressee to react, answer, accept a given proposition, fear, be excited and so on. It could also be interesting to examine potential similarities, either linguistic or cognitive, between slogans' imperative forms' implication of the addressee, and the implication of the interrogative intonation itself ("?", "!?", "!!?" or "???"), or even exclamatory intonations.

Even if these hypotheses appear to be plausible, they have to be investigated, proved if provable, and their respective linguistic phenomenon would have to be defined; the scope of it, what does it encompass, its peculiarities, exceptions, or rules, and then its terminology. Then the following parameters have to be determined: does this phenomenon say more about Human Language? Is this phenomenon intercultural? Is it the result of a communicational need (a tool, a solution)? Is it cognitively needed for understanding? But also, was it conventionally or societally created?

The pragmatic abilities of such means highlight a possibility of different pragmatic usages. For instance, could slogans or *anticipated speech acts*' rhetoric be needed or used in teaching, where an introduced topic could end with speech acts destined to exhort given students to better memorize or understand a given lesson, course, formula or theory by means of effortless concision and rhyming

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[251] Encompass incremental speeches followed by speech acts exhorting addressees to support or vote for candidates.

[252] Encompass incremental narratives followed by speech acts exhorting addressees to purchase or subscribe.

[253] Encompass incremental short narrative films followed by speech acts exhorting addressees to be interested in films.

[254] Encompass prepared incremental speeches followed by speech acts exhorting a given group of addressees if not a single addressee to be confident regarding their capacities or the expected outcome of a given task.

[255] Encompass incremental and climactic introductions followed by speech acts embodied in punchlines destined to exhort addressees to laugh.

[256] Encompass prepared introductory conversation or situation followed by speech acts destined to exhort the audience as well as the addresser to laugh by means of reflexive speech acts implication, such as "there is a spider on your lap" (Searle 1969).

[257] Encompasses narrative introductions followed by speech acts (such as "Unbelievable!", "The nerve of some people!", or "Just Great!") which exhort addressee.s to approve or condemn by agreeing with the speaker.

[258] Encompass incremental narratives followed by speech acts (such as "And that's why I don't eat in public.", "This is how I got elected.", or "Only a few people know that.") which exhort addressee.s to support, praise, judge or to be convinced of something regarding a past or a future event.

[259] Encompass introductory statements or assertions followed by prosody acts if not speech acts that exhort addressees to answer, react, fear, be excited, and so on, as in '"You are married." + interrogative intonation'.

prosody, or to cheer them up as the speech acts of a pep talk could do? Could such findings help to improve politics' and marketing's rhetoric efficiency and exhortation of their addressees?

Moreover, as highlighted previously (pp. 15-16) most if not all European definitions of the term and notion of slogan may be culturally as well as linguistically Western-centered. Consequently, a contrastive analysis of the understandings and definitions of the notion of 'slogan' between Western cultures and foreign cultures, historically detached from Western cultures and linguistics (such as Chinese, Korean, or Japanese), could provide a better grasp of the meta-understanding of the said notion if not providing complemental perspectives, whether from the standpoint of enunciation or pragmatics.

Furthermore, mottoes, though semantically and pragmatically different from political slogans seem to remain in some way associated to the latter, at least in the present corpora, due to common shortness, notionality and usage within national institutions. Such practice should be investigated in order to determine whether this is due to contextual misuse of political slogans and mottoes, as underlined page fourteen, or if mottoes and political slogans are historically connected from the perspective of enunciation or pragmatics.

Regarding the present investigation, however interesting its findings could be, they are yet nothing but extremely contextual. Similar investigations should still be conducted, ideally encompassing as many languages as possible, covering a period of time of at least a hundred years, and of course, be conducted with the largest possible corpora, before even beginning to understand the meta-linguistics at hand regarding what Western cultures call 'slogans', and what could be *anticipated speech acts*.

Corpora
Corpus 1 / American political slogans used from 2008 to 2020

2008

Slogans of the Democratic party

Barack Obama / Elected President (11.04.08)

[1] - Change

[2] - Change We Can Believe In

[3] - Change We Need

[4] - Yes We Can (!)

> *www.barackobama.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/president-obama-a-man-of-many-slogans/2012/07/10/gJQAf8UlaW_blog.html?utm_term=.34c186a60ee3, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.15.2019.*

Hillary Clinton / Suspended candidacy for indorsement (06.07.2008)

[5] - Solutions for America

[6] - Yes We Will (!)

> *www.HilaryClinton.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://www.politico.com/story/2008/01/undecided-hillary-keeps-shifting-slogans-007685, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hillary_Clinton_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 11.10.2019.*

Mike Gravel / Withdrawn candidate (03.26.08)

[7] - Let the People Decide

> *www.gravel2008.us, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://mikegravel.com, last consulted on 10.11.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mike_Gravel_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.11.2019.*

John Edwards / Withdrawn candidate (01.30.08)

[8] - Tomorrow Begins Today

> *www.johnedwards.com, last consulted on 10.11.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Edwards_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.11.2019.*

Dennis Kucinich / Withdrawn candidate (01.24.08)

[9] - Strength through Peace

> *https://kucinich.com, last consulted on 10.18.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dennis_Kucinich_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.11.2019.*

Bill Richardson / Withdrawn candidate (01.10.08)

[10] - Real Experience, Real Accomplishments

www.billrichardson.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Bill_Richardson_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Joe Biden / Withdrawn candidate (01.03.08) / Elected Vice-President

[11] - President '08

www.joebiden.com, last consulted on 10.11.2019; https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/ 2018/10/did-biden-go-iowa-start-presidential-campaign/574486/, last consulted on 10.11.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joe_Biden_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.12.2019.

Christopher Dodd / Withdrawn candidate (01.03.08)

[12] - Restoring America's Standing in the World

www.chrisdodd.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Chris_Dodd_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.11.2019.

Slogans of the Republican Party

John McCain / Lost election (11.04.08)

[13] - Country first

[14] - Reform • Prosperity • Peace

https://www.cbsnews.com/news/mccains-slogan-reform-prosperity-and-peace/, last consulted on 10.12.2019; https://web.archive.org/web/20081104045848/http://www.johnmccain.com/, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_McCain_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.11.2019.

Sarah Palin / Lost election (11.04.08)

[15] - Country first (echo to America First [Lend lease 1941])

[16] - Drill, Baby, Drill (!)

https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sarah_Palin#Campagne, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Ron Paul / Withdrawn candidate (06.12.2008)

[17] - Hope for America

www.RonPaulExplore.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Ron_Paul_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Mitt Romney / Withdrawn candidate (05.07.08)

[18] - True Strength for America's Future

www.mittromney.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Mitt_Romney_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Mike Huckabee / Withdrawn candidate (03.04.08)

[19] - Faith • Family • Freedom

mikehuckabee.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/
Mike_Huckabee_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Rudy Giuliani / Withdrawn candidate (01.29.2008)

[20] - Tested • Ready • Now

https://web.archive.org/web/20080126135529/http://www.joinrudy2008.com/, last consulted on
10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudy_Giuliani_2008_presidential_campaign, last
consulted on 10.10.2019.

Fred Thompson / Withdrawn candidate (01.22.08)

[21] - Security • Unity • Prosperity

https://www.fred08.com/, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/
Fred_Thompson_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Duncan Hunter / Withdrawn candidate (01.19.08)

[22] - Peace Through Strength

www.gohunter08.com, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://blog.4president.org/2008/2007/01/
new_duncan_hunt.html, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/
Duncan_Hunter_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Tom Tancredo / Withdrawn candidate (12.20.07)

[23] - For a secure America

http://www.teamtancredo.org/ , last consulted on 10.10.2019 (closed); http://www.4president.us/
websites/2008/tomtancredo2008website.htm#prettyPhoto, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://
en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tom_Tancredo_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Sam Brownback / Withdrawn candidate (10.19.2007)

[24] - Brownback For President

http://www.brownback.com/ , last consulted on 10.10.2019 (modified); http://www.4president.us/
websites/2008/sambrownback2008website.htm, last consulted on 10.11.2019; https://
fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sam_Brownback, last consulted on 10.11.2019.

Alan Keyes / Withdrawn candidate (09.15.07)

[25] - We Need Alan Keyes

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alan_Keyes_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on
10.10.2019.

Tommy Thompson / Withdrawn candidate (08.12.07)

[26] - The "Common Sense Solutions Tour"

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tommy_Thompson_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on
10.10.2019.

Jim Gilmore / Withdrawn candidate (07.14.07)

[27] - Consistent. Conservative.

http://www.4president.us/websites/2008/gilmore042607website.htm, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jim_Gilmore_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.10.2019.

Slogans of the Independent Party

Ralph Nader (and Gonzales) / Lost election (11.04.08)

[28] - People Fighting Back

http://www.votenader.org, last consulted on 10.10.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ralph_Nader_2008_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.11.2019.

2012

Slogans of the Democratic party

Barack Obama / Re-elected President (11.06.2012)

[29] - Forward

Slogans of the Republican party

Mitt Romney / Lost election (11.06.2012)

[30] - Believe in America

[31] - America's Comeback Team (after picking Paul Ryan as running mate)

[32] - Obama Isn't Working (takeoff of 'Labour Isn't Working')

[33] - Restore Our Future

Rick Santorum / Withdrawn candidate (04.10.2012)

[34] - The Courage to Fight for America

Ron Paul / Withdrawn candidate (05.14.2012)

[35] - Restore America Now

https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-campaign-obama-slogan/obamas-slogan-looking-to-replace-hope-and-change-idUSTRE81H06320120218, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Fred Karger / Withdrawn candidate (06.29.2012)

[36] - Fred Who?

http://www.fredkarger.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://www.theguardian.com/world/ shortcuts/2012/jan/08/republican-candidates-gay-rights-karger, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Newt Gingrich / Withdrawn candidate (05.02.2012)

[37] - Rebuilding the American Dream

https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-campaign-obama-slogan/obamas-slogan-looking-to-replace-hope-and-change-idUSTRE81H06320120218, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Buddy Roemer / Withdrawn candidate (02.22.2012)

[38] - Free to Lead

[39] - America Needs Buddy for President 2012

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddy_Roemer_2012_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Rick Perry / Withdrawn candidate (01.19.2012)

[40] - Perry President

https://web.archive.org/web/20120117182729/http://www.rickperry.org/, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Jon Huntsman / Withdrawn candidate (01.16.2012)

[41] - Country First

[42] - Restoring America's Trust

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jon_Huntsman_2012_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019; http://www.jon2012.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Michele Bachmann / Withdrawn candidate (01.04.2012)

[43] - For President

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michele_Bachmann_2012_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Gary Johnson / Withdrawn candidate (12.28.2011)

[44] - The People's President

[45] - Live Free

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gary_Johnson_2012_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://web.archive.org/web/20081208091450/http://garyjohnson2012.com/, last consulted on 10.20.2019.

Herman Cain / Withdrawn candidate (12.03.2011)

[46] - Let's Get Real

[47] - I Am America

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herman_Cain_2012_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://www.westernjournal.com/hermancain/, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Thaddeus McCotter / Withdrawn candidate (09.22.2011)

[48] - Seize Freedom!

[49] - For an America That Works

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thaddeus_McCotter_2012_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://web.archive.org/web/20111005202530/http://www.mccotter2012.com/, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Slogans of the Libertarian party

Gary Johnson

[50] - The People's President

[51] - Live Free

Slogans of the Green party

Jill Stein

[52] - A Green New Deal for America

Slogans of the Constitution party

Virgil Goode

[53] - Citizenship Matters

2016

Slogans of the Democratic party

Bernie Sanders

[54] - A Future To Believe In

[55] - Feel The Bern

[56] - A Political Revolution is Coming

Hillary Clinton

[57] - Hillary For America

[58] - Forward Together

[59] - Fighting for us

[60] - I'm With Her

[61] - Stronger Together

[62] - When they go low, we go high

[63] - Love Trumps Hate

[64] - Everyday Americans need a champion. I want to be that champion.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/05/08/the-2016-candidates-slogans-ranked/?utm_term=.6c888a984f81, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Slogans of the Republican party

Donald Trump

[65] - Make America Great Again / used by Ronal Reagan in the 1980 campaign

[66] - Promises Made, Promises Kept

Marco Rubio

[67] - A New American Century

Ted Cruz

[68] - Courageous Conservatives

[69] - Reigniting the Promise of America

[70] - Trusted

[71] - A Time for Truth

[72] - Defeat the Washington Cartel

Jeb Bush

[73] - Jeb!

[74] - Jeb can fix it

[75] - All in for Jeb

[76] - Right to Rise

[77] - Slow and Steady Wins the Race

Ben Carson

[78] - Heal. Inspire. Revive.

Mike Huckabee

[79] - From Hope to Higher Ground

Carly Fiorina

[80] - New Possibilities. Real Leadership.

Rand Paul

[81] - Defeat the Washington Machine. Unleash the American Dream.

Bobby Jindal

[82] - Tanned, Rested, Ready.

Chris Christie

[83] - Telling it like it is.

John Kasich

[84] - Kasich For America

[85] - Kasich For US

Slogans of the Libertarian party

Gary Johnson

[86] - Our Best America Yet!

[87] - Live Free

[88] - #TeamGov

[89] - Be Libertarian with me

[90] - You In?

[91] - Make America Sane Again

Austin Petersen

[92] - Taking over the government to leave everyone alone

Slogans of the Green party

Jill Stein

[93] - It's in our hands

Slogans of the Independent party

Evan McMullin

[94] - It's never too late to do the right thing

2020

Slogans of the Democratic party

Joe Biden / Candidate since (04.25.2019)

[95] - For Everyone

[96] - Our Best Days Still Lie Ahead

Bernie Sanders / Withdrawn candidate (04.08.2020)

[97] - Not me. Us.

Tulsi Gabbard / Withdrawn candidate (03.19.2020)

[98] - Lead with Love

Elizabeth Warren / Withdrawn candidate (03.05.2020)

[99] - Win With Warren

[100] - We Persist

[101] - We Will Rebuild the Middle Class

[102] - Dream Big, Fight Hard

[103] - Big, Structural, Change

Michael Bloomberg / Withdrawn candidate (03.04.2020)

[104] - Rebuild America

[105] - Fighting for our future

[106] - A new choice for Democrats

[107] - Mike Will Get It Done

[108] - I Like Mike

www.mikebloomberg.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Amy Klobuchar / Withdrawn candidate (03.02.2020)

[109] - Amy for America

Pete Buttigieg / Withdrawn candidate (03.01.2020)

[110] - A Fresh Start for America

[111] - Win The Era

https://peteforamerica.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Tom Steyer / Withdrawn candidate (02.29.2020)

[112] - Democrat for President

[113] - Actions Speak Louder Than Words

https://www.tomsteyer.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Andrew Yang / Withdrawn candidate (02.11.2020)

[114] - Make America Think Harder (MATH)

[115] - Humanity First

[116] - Not Left, Not Right, Forward

[117] - A New Way Forward

    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RyzGg7Sd_08, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Michael Bennet / Withdrawn candidate (02.11.2020)

[118] - Building Opportunity Together

John Delaney / Withdrawn candidate (01.31.2020)

[119] - Focus on the Future

Cory Booker / Withdrawn candidate (01.13.2020)

[120] - We Rise

[121] - Together, America, We Will Rise.

Marianne Williamson / Withdrawn candidate (01.10.2020)

[122] - Join the Evolution!

Julian Castro / Withdrawn candidate (01.02.2020)

[123] - One Nation. One Destiny.

    https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julian_Castro_2020_presidential_campaign, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Kamala Harris / Withdrawn candidate (12.03.2019)

[124] - For The People

Steve Bullock / Withdrawn candidate (12.02.2019)

[125] - A Fair Shot for Everyone

Joe Sestak / Withdrawn candidate (12.01.2019)

[126] - Accountability to America

    https://www.joesestak.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Wayne Messam / Withdrawn candidate (11.19.2019)

[127] - Wayne for America

Beto O'Rourke / Withdrawn candidate (11.01.2019)

[128] - We're All In This Together

Tim Ryan / Withdrawn candidate (10.24.2019)

[129] - Our Future is Now

Bill de Blasio / Withdrawn candidate (09.20.2019)

[130] - Working People First

Kristen Gillibrand / Withdrawn candidate (08.28.2019)

[131] - Brave Wins

Seth Moulton / Withdrawn candidate (08.23.2019)

[132] - Seth Moulton for America

Jay Inslee / Withdrawn candidate (08.21.2019)

[133] - Our Moment

John Hickenlooper / Withdrawn candidate (08.15.2019)

[134] - Come Together

Mike Gravel? / Withdrawn candidate (08.06.2019)

[135] - No More Wars

Eric Swalwell / Withdrawn candidate (07.08.2019)

[136] - Go Big. Be Bold. Do Good.

> *https://ballotpedia.org/Presidential_campaign_logos_and_slogans,_2020, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_United_States_presidential_election, last consulted on 10.19.2019.*

Slogans of the Republican party

Donald Trump / Candidate since (06.18.2019)

[137] - Make America Great Again

[138] - Promises Made, Promises Kept

[139] - Keep America Great

[140] - Buy American, Hire American

[141] - Make Our Farmers Great Again

[142] - Build the Wall and Crime Will Fall

[143] - Build the wall, save us all

> *https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/us/politics/2020-presidential-candidates.html, last consulted on 10.19.2019.*

William (Bill) F. Weld / Withdrawn candidate (03.18.2020)

[144] - America Has A Choice

[145] - Leadership America Deserves

https://ballotpedia.org/File:2020_Yang_Logo.jpg, last consulted on 10.19.2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_United_States_presidential_election, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Joe Wash / Withdrawn candidate (02.07.2020)

[146] - Make Trump Debate again

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joe_Walsh_(American_politician)#2010, last consulted on 10.19.2019 https://www.joewalsh.org, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Roque De La Fuente / Withdrawn candidate (01.14.2020)

[147] - Together, We Are Stronger

https://rocky101.com/en_us/en/, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Mark Sanford / Withdrawn candidate (11.12.2019)

[148] - Fiscal Conservative

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mark_Sanford, last consulted on 10.19.2019 https://www.marksanford.com, last consulted on 10.19.2019.

Slogans of the Libertarian party

John McAfee / Withdrawn candidate (03.04.2020)

[149] - Don't Vote McAfee

Arvin Vohra / (07.03.2018)

[150] - Advance Liberty

Adam Kokesh / (07.18.2013)

[151] - Finally Free America

Jacob Hornberger / Withdrawn candidate (08.08.2019)

[152] - Libertarian For President

Slogans of the Green party

Alan Augustson / Withdrawn candidate (06.10.2019)

[153] - Reboot America 20

Sedinam Kinamo Christin Moyowasifza-Curry / (07.29.2015)

[154] - Reboot America 20

Howie Hawkins / (05.28.2019)

[155] - Green For President

Corpus 2 / American advertising slogans used from 2008 to 2020

Bank

American Express
[156] - Don't Leave Home Without It
[157] - Don't live life without it
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=822sXrYTegU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

MasterCard
[158] - There are some things money can't buy. For everything else, there's MasterCard.
[159] - Start Something Priceless
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0v7D_SirqTc, last consulted on 10.25.2019
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wWm0pgQTcJc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

State Farm
[160] - Like a Good Neighbor, State Farm is There
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b6Ijyg42ssg, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Visa
[161] - It's Everywhere You Want To Be
[162] - Life Takes Visa
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ptg-hdqoKU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Wells Fargo
[163] - This is Wells Fargo
    https://www.youtube.com/user/wellsfargo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Beverages

Bud Light
[164] - Up For Whatever
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7D3lBaGuZAU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Budweiser
[165] - The King Of Beers
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WJR8ZC48khc, last consulted on 10.25.2019
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pp5yinIDmVA, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

California Milk Processor Board
[166] - Got Milk?
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ngRuqEhCE0k, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Coca-Cola

[167] - Share A Coke (with)

[168] - Open Happiness

[169] - Real Taste. Uplifting Refreshment

[170] - Taste the Feeling

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5k8mGU54V2U, last consulted on 10.25.2019
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l8-Mr1Vf2iw, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Pepsi

[171] - Live For Now

[172] - For the Love of It

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OxTxoz0_rmM, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_l5koxtzDo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hPcQ5lCTe2U, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ACwID8Nq08k, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Starbucks

[173] - Let us treat you

[174] - Say Yes To You

[175] - Oh Hello Again

[176] - Fuel Your Craving

https://www.starbucks.com, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Car Rental

Avis Car Rental

[177] - We Try Harder

[178] - Let's find your ideal car

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rZPDqAj6iV0, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.rentalcars.com/en/, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Clothes

American Eagle Outfitters

[179] - Live Your Life

[180] - Real People. Real Style. Real Mexico City

https://www.ae.com/us/en, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ryJNnWlhlUU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Calvin Klein

[181] - Between Love and Passion Lies Obsession

[182] - Nothing comes between me and my Calvins.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDCKSlMn_zA, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Diesel

[183] - The Luxury of Dirt (since 1978).

[184] - Diesel. For Successful Living.

[185] - GO WITH THE FLAW

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lliWy53TUkU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P9nBzYbZ4uM, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

DKNY

[186] - The Official Uniform of New York.

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzSYItbTi_M, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Dockers

[187] - It's Hard To Be Nice if You Don't Feel Comfortable.

[188] - Always On

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVn2tHkRudI, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Gap

[189] - For every generation there's a Gap.

[190] - It's Our Denim Now

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTvK2jKH1qM, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Lee Cooper

[191] - Your Best Profile

[192] - Change Everyday

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U1-NQWHps6g, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Levis

[193] - Quality Never Goes Out Of Style

[194] - A Style For Every Story

[195] - Have You Ever Had a Bad Time in Levi's?

[196] - Levis. Original Jeans. Original People.

[197] - Our Models Can Beat up Their Models.

[198] - Freedom To Move

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yNFUS05I-aw, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

New Era Caps

[199] - Fly your own flag

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99C8im6DU0w, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Nike

[200] - Just Do It

[201] - There Is No Finish Line

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wyHI3IrJOR8, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whpJ19RJ4JY, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Ralph Lauren

[202] - Family is Who You Love

[203] - Wish You Were Here

   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eAjq_y-U7jY, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
   https://www.ralphlauren.com, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

The North Face

[204] - Never Stop Exploring
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5oZBIfqGvNM, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Tommy Hilfiger

[205] - Classic, American, Cool

Victoria's Secret

[206] - A Body For Every Body

Computers

Apple

[207] - Think Different
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7iI7YmIr30, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Hewlett-Packard

[208] - Make It Matter
[209] - Keep Reinventing
[210] - Print The Holidays
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvlnCaMEg0Y, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

IBM

[211] - Think

Intel

[212] - Look Inside
[213] - Experience What's Inside
[214] - Sponsors of Tomorrow
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YpiylFF6sV4, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Microsoft

[215] - Empowering Us All
[216] - Empowering Innovation
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hSfM1RFU9j4, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=surlvCY6bpI, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XRyuNQ1EnXo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Delivery

At&T

[217] - Tour World. Delivered.
[218] - Just Ok is Not Ok
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8eJmgqo9Yo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFElTWAr--Y, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

FedEx

[219] - When There Is No Tomorrow

Pitney Bowes

[220] - We Power Transactions That Drive Commerce
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAD4o82To4M, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

UPS

[221] - Synchronizing the World of Commerce

Entertainment

Disney

[222] - Where the Magic Lives
[223] - The Happiest Place On Earth
[224] - The Most Magical Place On Earth
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eA9pALRDEig, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WiHfWiOnKpQ, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Hulu

[225] - For the love of TV
[226] - Come tv With Us
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZvcpuVn2ho, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-dVzLsdzmVs, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

MTV

[227] - I Want My MTV

Playboy

[228] - Entertainment for Men
[229] - Entertainment for All

Toys 'R' Us
[230] - AWWWESOME
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuhLS1l-CJ8, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

YouTube

[231] - Broadcast Yourself

Food

Ben & Jerry's
[232] - We Make It All Better
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bIm7aUlVWRg, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Bounty

[233] - The Quicker Picker Upper

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3iIHi5qiR3Y, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=btg5a34sJbk, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Burger King

[234] - Have It Your Way

[235] - (Feel) Your Way

[236] - Always Better With Fire

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PjxRUEA0Tdo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjr0N66JwEc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Dunkin' Donuts

[237] - America Runs on Dunkin'

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyfjXbQojzc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

KFC

[238] - It's Finger Lickin' Good

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uke5X-y-cEQ, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

KitKat

[239] - Have a Break, Have a KitKat

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncNv1RyGgQk, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Lay's

[240] - Betcha Can't Eat Just One.

[241] - Betcha can't just eat one.

[242] - one taste and you're in love

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t8Zz1XGuPK8, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

MacDonalds

[243] - I'm Lovin' It

[244] - Come as You Are

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MWWMeHHV3u8, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9xGRii6IA1M, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

M&M's

[245] - Melts in Your Mouth, Not in Your Hands

[246] - Color my world

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mCEMii8U3Ww, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Meow Mix

[247] - Tastes So Good, Cats Ask for It By Name

[248] - The only one cats ask by name.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I4lzh1SX6uc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Pringles

[249] - Once You Pop, You Can't Stop

[250] - Once You Pop, The Fun Don't Stop

[251] - Stack flavors, make new ones

[252] - There is a Pringles Stack For Everyone… Sort Of
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ugtfCMY4VFM, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-tYrXkw6sYk, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Sun Chips

[253] - The tastiest snack you've never tried

[254] - Change is Irresistible

[255] - We Make It Natural, You Make It Fun

[256] - Grab Some Sunshine
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nC7zjGz9YDc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Grs-iOl1dMI, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

News

CNN

[257] - The Most Trusted Name In News

The New York Times

[258] - All the News That's Fit to Print

Pharmaceutical

Johnson and Johnson

[259] - The Most Trusted Name In Surgical Dressings

Walgreens

[260] - At the Corner of Happy and Healthy.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P6TipZpGNXU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Retail

Amazon

[261] - No Lines. No Checkout.

[262] - Not everything makes the cut
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8y-1h_C8ad8, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NrmMk1Myrxc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Target

[263] - Thinking of you
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCfHdMVgui4, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Walmart

[264] - Save Money. Live Better.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kByeOaKPujs, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WuY5CIyMeUU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Wendy's

[265] - Where's The Beef
[266] - Quality Is Our Recipe
[267] - We Got You
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PA1sZrh_Jjo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Telecommunication

Motorola

[268] - HelloMoto

The Mosaic Company

[269] - We Help the World Grow the Food It Needs

Verizon

[270] - Can You Hear Me Now? Good.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OPwPo-IAQ-E, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Toilet products

Colgate-Palmolive

[271] - World of Care
[272] - For unbelievably strong teeth
[273] - Do More For Your Whole Mouth
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INDkom5WbgU, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u3gMiOu6oVo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Dollar Shave Club

[274] - Shave Time. Shave Money.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZUG9qYTJMsI, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Gillette

[275] - The Best a Man Can Get

Huggies

[276] - Do it in Huggies.

Kleenex

[277] - Let it Out
[278] - Thank Goodness for Kleenex Tissue.

[279] - Kleenex Says Bless You.

[280] - Don't Carry a Cold in Your Pocket.

[281] - Care In Every Square

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iCTAuzdRxRc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8veOfbgAToY, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Maybelline

[282] - Maybe she's born with it. Maybe it's Maybelline.

[283] - Make It Happen

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8ysN7AKAnE, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Old Spice

[284] - Become one of the freshest smelling places on earth

[285] - Smell Like A Man, Man

[286] - Smell Amazing Forever

[287] - The Man Your Man Should Smell Like

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufkOv-yed_A, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owGykVbfgUE, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Pampers

[288] - Love at First Touch

[289] - Love the Change

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1HTrvRFdg6k, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gx3OnTBiJow, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Transportation

American Airlines

[290] - The New American is Arriving

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nM9j2tOpc-s, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Boeing

[291] - For Ever New Frontiers

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7cOOkYF_bKE, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Cadillac

[292] - Make Your Way

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbZlX9mbPk4, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Ford

[293] - Go Further

[294] - Bring On Tomorrow

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKwt9Dpr8oI, last consulted on 10.25.2019.
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Harley Davidson

[295] - It's Not the Destination, It's the Journey.

[296] - So Screw It, Let's Ride.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGOsyM_Kifk, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Services

Compass

[297] - Let Us Guide You Home

[298] - Let Us Be Your Guide.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R5r1Pm_T2Vw, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uwQguVfj738, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Ebay

[299] - Whatever it is you can get is on Ebay

[300] - When You're Over Overpaying (, Get It on Ebay)

[301] - Whatever Floats Your Boat. Get It On Ebay.

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FyUiSuIhZBk, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Facebook

[302] - Let's find more that brings us together.

[303] - More together

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTRR92URXpo, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

General Electric

[304] - Imagination at Work.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rIO5ZokkGEE, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Google

[305] - Make Google do it.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-lfHXKbsMLE, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Home Depot

[306] - More Saving. More Doing.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AL3uBu8G5cc, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Tinder

[307] - Match. Chat. Date.

[308] - Start Something Epic

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cUf2mJWYAck, last consulted on 10.25.2019.

Walk Me

[309] - Walk the web step-by-step

[310] - Technology is Digital. Users are Human.

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Annex 1 / The introductory narratives in political speeches and advertising commercials:

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Political speeches
reliance on climactic narratives often based on three-acts structures

Donald Trump: "Make America Great announcement speech 2016"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncNv1RyGgQk, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  1 - **Setup**: America has problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: due to rival countries and candidates
  3 - **Resolution**: I can be a great president

  1 - **Setup**: America has problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: due to rival countries and candidates
  3 - **Resolution**: I have solutions and will be the great president

Andrew Yang: "Humanity First announcement speech 2020"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBYnuc4rScM&t=27s, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  1 - **Setup**: America has problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: problems to come
  3 - **Resolution**: I will use technology to bring back money

  1 - **Setup**: dangerous situation
  2 - **Confrontation**: upcoming consequences
  3 - **Resolution**: vote for me

Elizabeth Warren: "Win With Warren announcement speech 2020"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1PcV28K4eA, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  1 - **Setup**: there were problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: women fought back together
  3 - **Resolution**: they changed America

  1 - **Setup**: todays has its problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: this is the fight of our lives
  3 - **Resolution**: I am candidate to change things

  1 - **Setup**: economic problems go on since decades
  2 - **Confrontation**: we need to fight back against this system
  3 - **Resolution**: that's the solution

  1 - **Setup**: diverse issues
  2 - **Confrontation**: a need to change this, and that
  3 - **Resolution**: and I am the good candidate for the job

  1 - **Setup**: problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: we need reform
  3 - **Resolution**: we will fight

  1 - **Setup**: I had problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: I worked hard
  3 - **Resolution**: I succeeded

  1 - **Setup**: today they say it's too hard for me
  2 - **Confrontation**: I worked hard and here I am
  3 - **Resolution**: I will succeed

Barack Obama: "Change announcement speech 2008"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ybaw8A3jti0, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  1 - **Setup**: there were problems
  2 - **Confrontation**: we stuck together
  3 - **Resolution**: find solutions through change

  1 - **Setup**: today the same situation occurs
  2 - **Confrontation**: the current government doesn't work
  3 - **Resolution**: let's change this, this and that, by means of me

Advertising commercials
reliance on an examplification, if not on a series of examples

KitKat: "Have a Break, Have a KitKat"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ncNv1RyGgQk, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  Examples of breaks: 1 - have a break from sport in nature, 2 - breaking out, 3 - have a break from parenting, 4 - have a break at work with colleagues, 5 - breaking alone, 6 - have a break in space

Diesel: "Go With The Flaw"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLj_HU4qXdw, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  Examples of flaws: 1 - being weird, 2 - being lazy, 3 - having facial hair, 4 - being a woman, 5 - and having a flat chest, 6 - being excentric, 7 - being out of fashion, 8 - and having crooked teeth, 9 - being sexually provocative, 10 - having a squint, 11 - being ugly, 12 - having protruding ears, 13 - or being a delinquent

Coca-Cola: "Share a Coke"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-ahnFYzMp8, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  The more you share Coke, the more friends and fun activities you do, including: 1 - meet the opposite sex, 2 - spend time with a friend, 3 - meet the opposite sex, 4 - to practice cool street sports like skating and BMX, 5 - have fun washing a car, 6 - have picnics, 7 - be included and celebrated, 8 - have barbecues, 9 - play music - 10 - meet the opposite sex, 11 - go swimming, 12 - dance with friends Woodstock style, 13 - date the opposite sex, 14 - or have insanely joyfull celebrations

Ebay: "When You're Over Overpaying"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FyUiSuIhZBk, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  Ebay allows you to purchase different kind of things way cheaper, including: 1 - clothes, 2 - musical instruments, 3 - furniture, 4 - food, 5 - or sports equipment

Maybelline: "Make It Happen"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8ysN7AKAnE, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  Maybelline allows women to be beautiful and charismatic, whether: 1 - ordinary women, 2 - rebels, 3 - classy, 4 - artists, 5 - athletes, 6 - public speakers, 7 - adventurous, 8 - business women, 9 - girlfriends, 10 - mothers, 11 - professional artists, 12 - lovers, 13 - or daughters

Gap: "It's Our Denim Now"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTvK2jKH1qM, last consulted on 04.15.2020

  Now allows people to wear denim their way, even if: 1 - they are men or women, 2 - black, white or Asian, 3 - preferring pants, skirts, or shirts, 4 - or being skin or fat, 5 - and there is enough denim for everyone
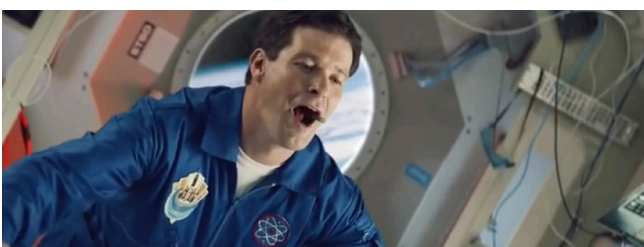
</div>

S.1 - Here is to **all of you** who love to **break**. +

S.2 - **Those** who can't help a **break**. +
S.3 - And **those** who always find time to **break**. +

S.4 - To **those** who **break** together. +
S.5 - And **those** who **break** alone. +

S.6 - Whether you share **your** break with the world, +
S.7 - or **your** break is out of this world. +

S.8 - However **you** break, +

S.9 - **...** Have a **Break**, **...** Have a **Kit Kat**. +
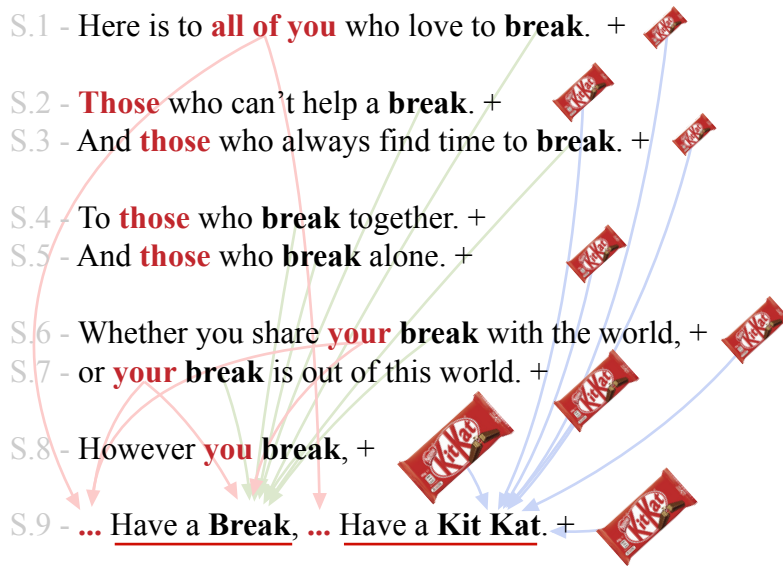
Occurrences %

● *Political slogans*   ● *Advertising slogans*

118
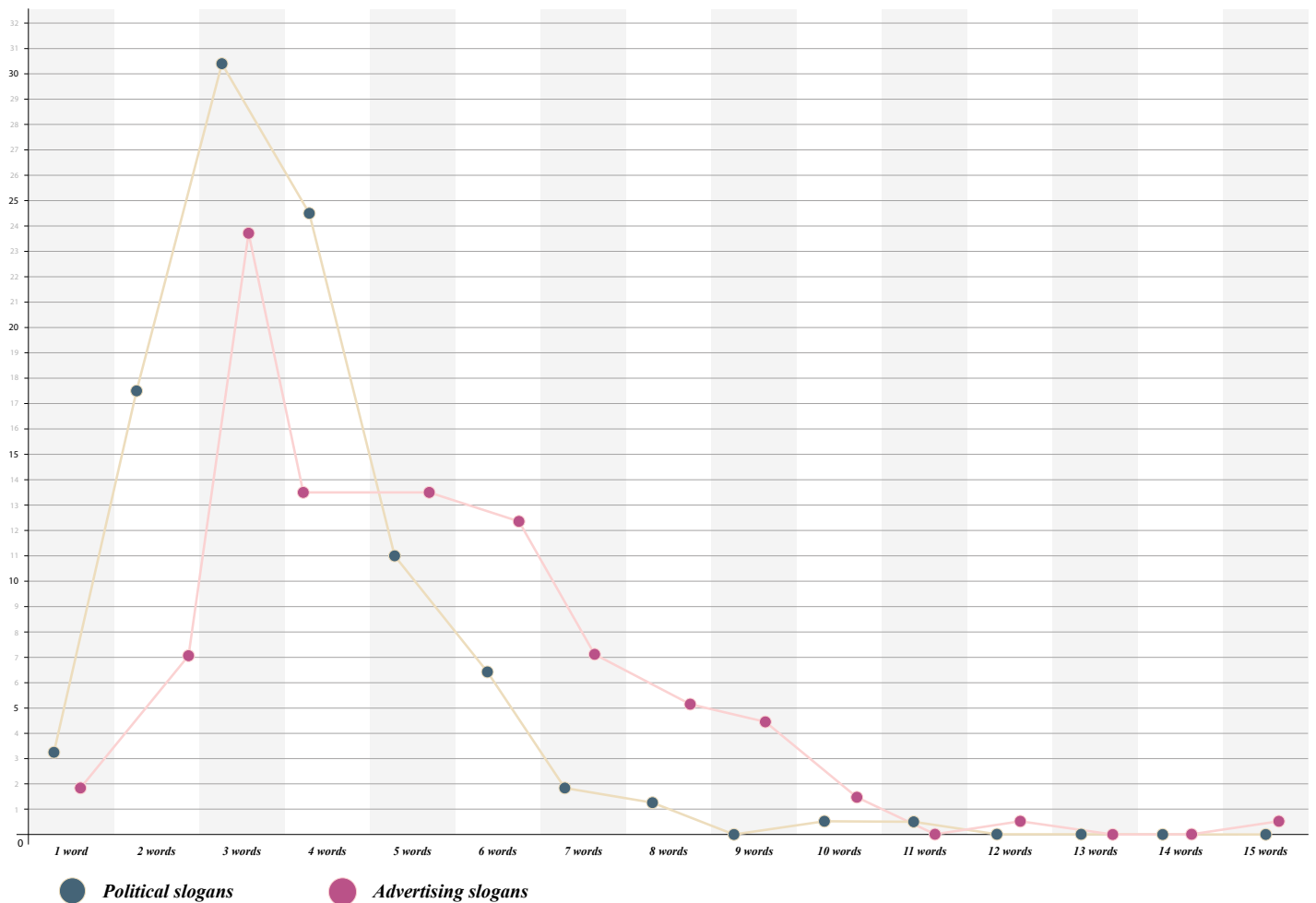
Political slogans	Advertising slogans
91 diff. structures for 155 slogans - 40% of slogans are repeated	*126 diff. structures for 155 slogans - 20% of slogans are repeated*
33% of political slogans' structures are repeated	*12% of advertising slogans' structures are repeated*

N + prep + N . 15

V + N . 8

N + nb . 5

V + prep + N . 4

V + N + adj + Adv .4

V + Adv . 4

prep + N . 3

adj + prep + N . 3

N + , + N + , + N . 3

N + 's + N . 3

N + V + N . 3

pr. + V + N . 3

excl. + pr. + mod . 2

adj + prep + V . 2

adj + N + . + adj + N . 2

adj + , + N . 2

det + adj + N . 2

N + prep + V + prep . 2

N + V . 2

N . 2

N + V + Adv . 2

N + PP + , + N + pp . 2

pr. + prep + ? 2

pr. + V . 2

V + N + V + Adv . 2

V + N + Adv . 2

V + N + V . 2

V + N. + V + N . 2

V + N + 's + N . 2

V + N + nb . 2

V + N . 8

V + pr./poss + N . 5

N + prep + N . 4

V + pr. + V + Adv . 3

V + Adv . 3

adj + N + prep + N . 3

N + prep + det + N . 3

contr + mod + neg + V + Adv + nb . 2

V + N + . + V + N + . 2

det + sup/adj + adj + N + prep + N . 2

V + prep + Adv . 2

Do + neg + V + N + prep + N . 2

V + pr. + V . 2

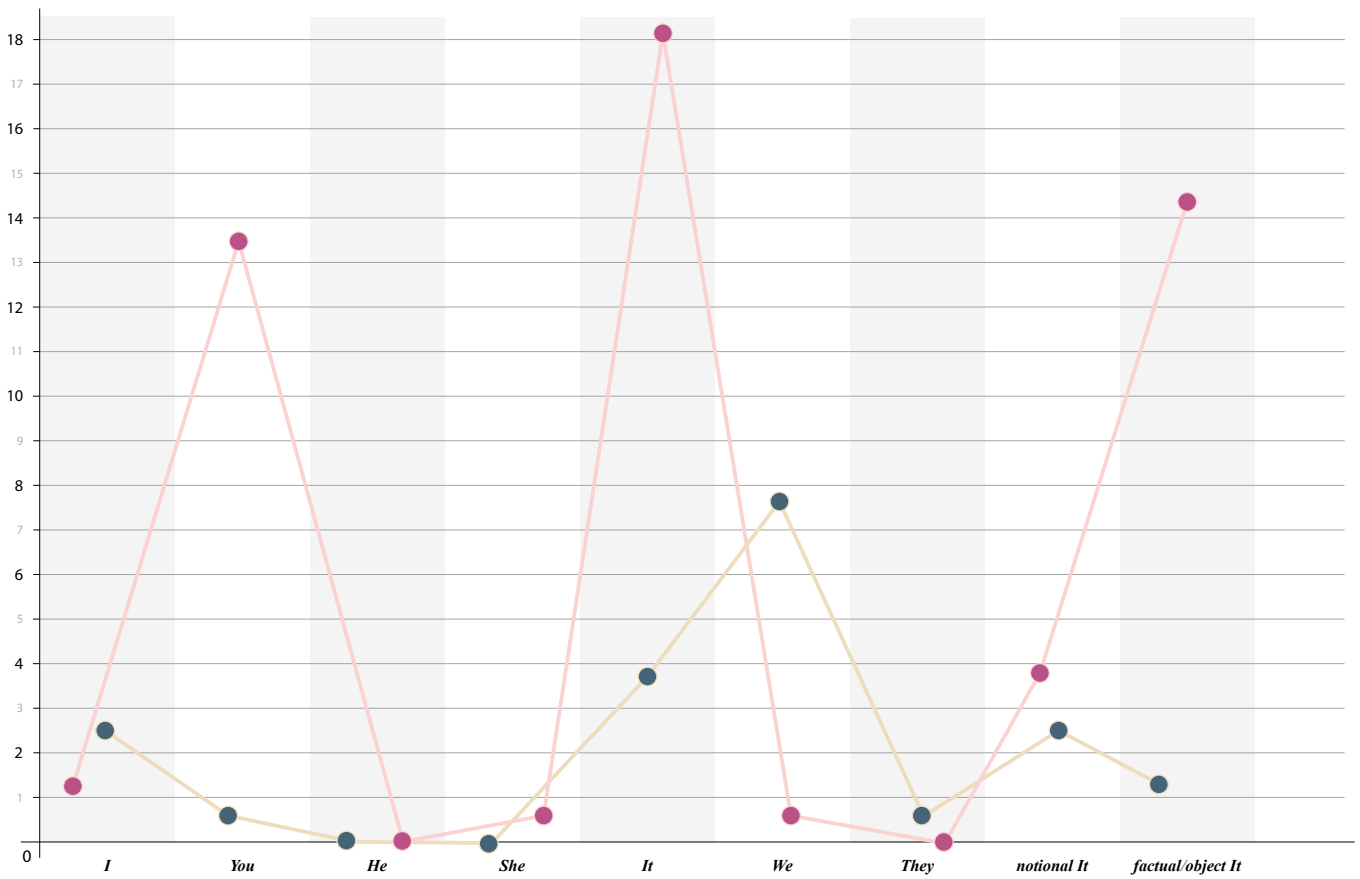V + pr. + V + pr./poss + N . 2

V + N + adj . 2

V + N + prep + N . 2

,: comma	poss.pr: possessive pronoun
.: full stop	pr: pronoun
adj: adjective	prep: preposition
Adv: adverb	sup: superlative
contr: contraction	V: verb
det: determinent	V-ing: present continuous verb tense
excl.: exclamation	V-s: third-person-singular conjugation
mod: modality	PP: Past Participle
N: noun	pp: present participle
nb: cardinal number	's: possessive

Political slogans	Enunciation	*Advertising slogans*
short / 2-4 words		long / 3-7 words
quasi-total transposability		2/3 transposability
phonetic repetitions	vs	no specific repetitions
anxiety and hope		desire and sins
rhythm	vs	arrythmia
change in progress	vs	timelessness
(topics) societal meta problems	vs	individual trivial problems (topics)
several ellipses		mainly imperative forms
including the addressee by means of inclusive pronouns	vs	isolating the addressee by means of differenciating pronouns
climactic	vs	anticlimactic
unconventional expressions 80%		conventional expressions 60%
abstract notions		material interests
syntactic repetitions	vs	eclectic syntaxes
linguistic unit repetition	vs	linguistic unit variety
macro dimension	vs	micro dimension
institutional tone	vs	proximity with the addressee if not familiar tone

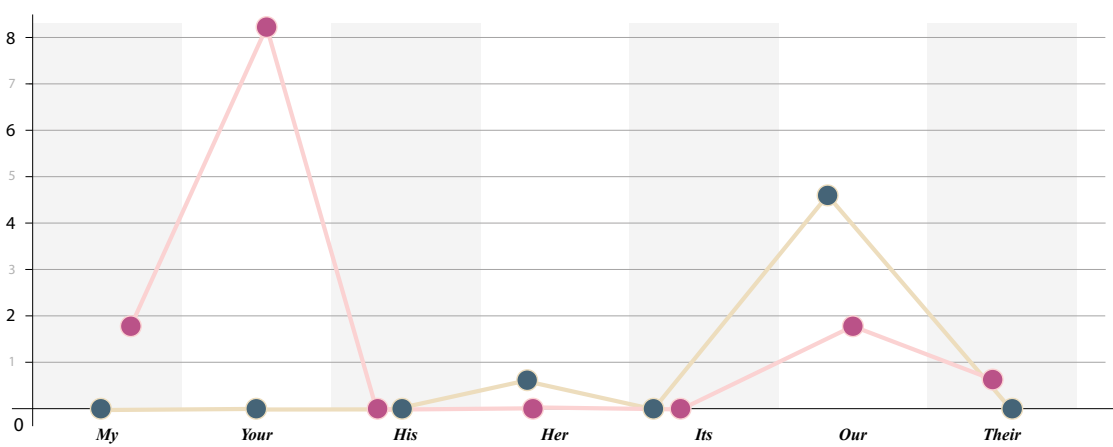|	Pragmatics	
anticipative introduction based on climactic explanatory narrative	vs	anticipative introduction based on depiction by means of examples
long speech // shorter slogan	vs	short commercial // longer slogan
belong to vote	vs	purchase to belong
support to improve		purchase to own
tangible solutions		one single magical solution
known addresser	vs	unknown addresser.s
sharing	vs	owning
(context) U.S. presidential election campaign	vs	advertising (context)
the addresser is an actual politician talking within an institutional campaign		the addresser is one or several fictional characters talking on behalf of companies within pseudo-perpetual advertising
every four years	vs	all the time
quasi-total transposability		2/3 transposability

Occurences %

Occurrences %

Occurrences %
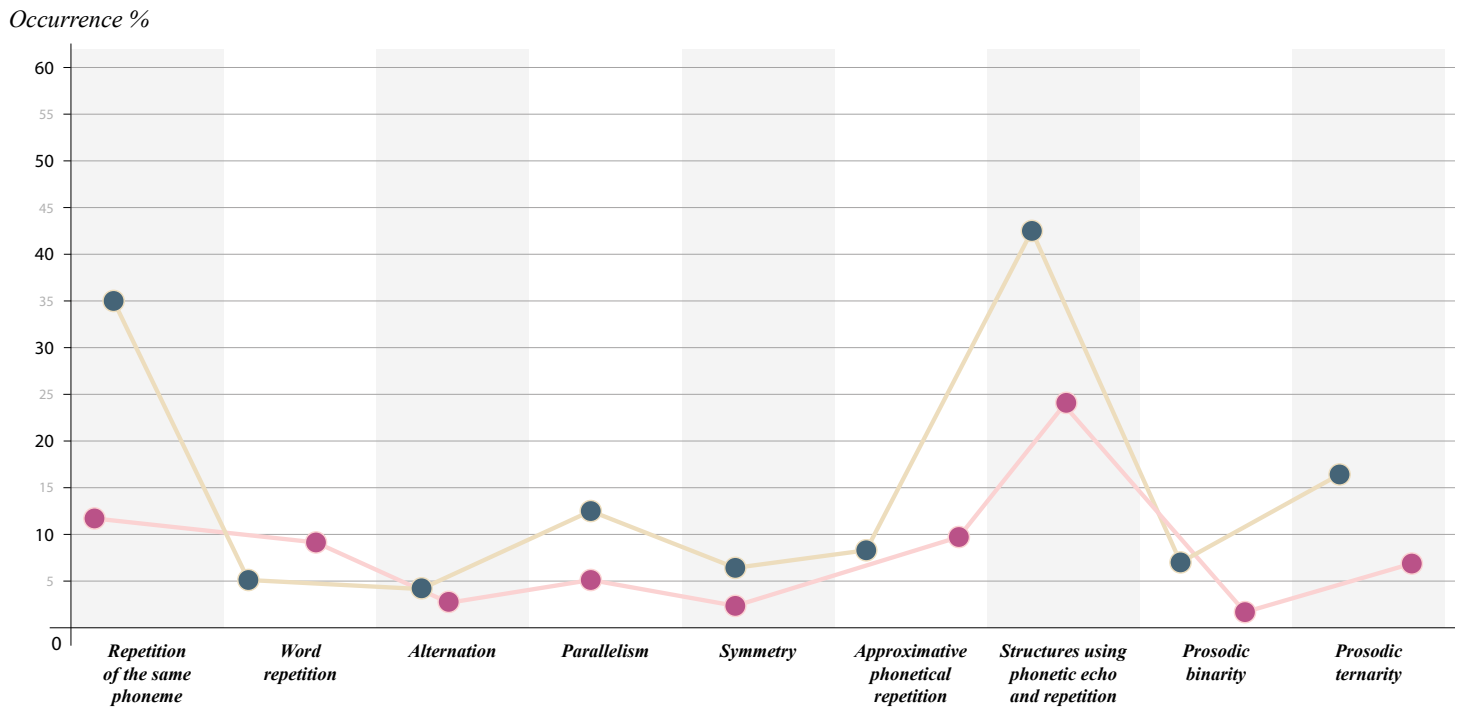

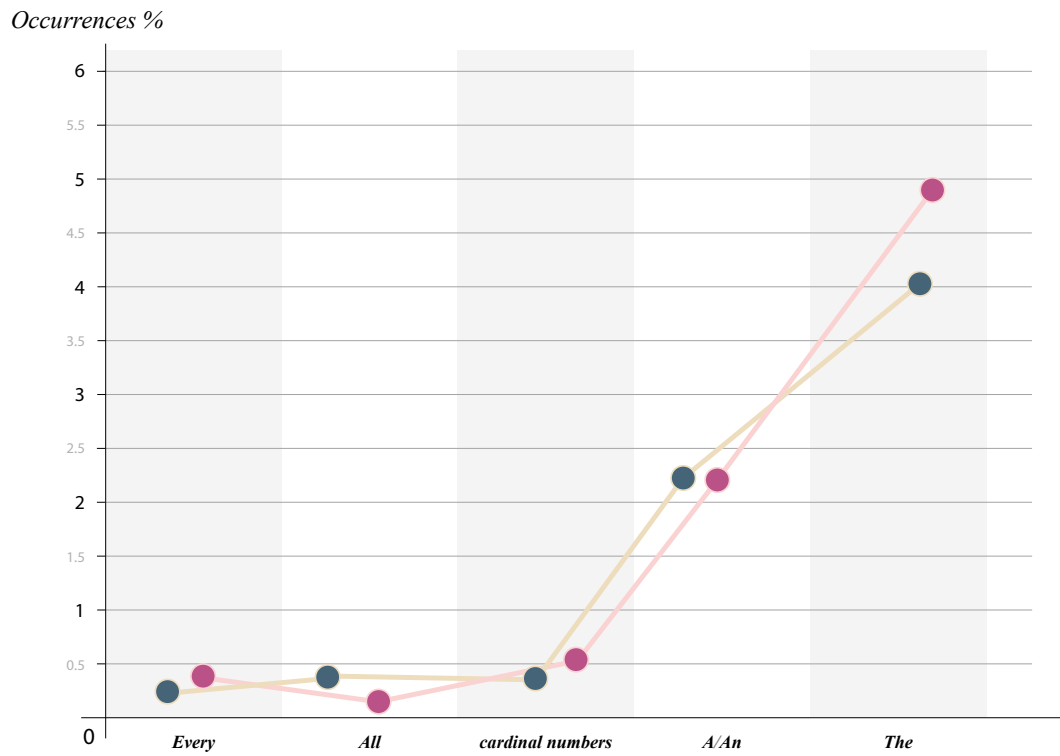Me   Him   Her   **Us** Pol. / inclusion   **Them**
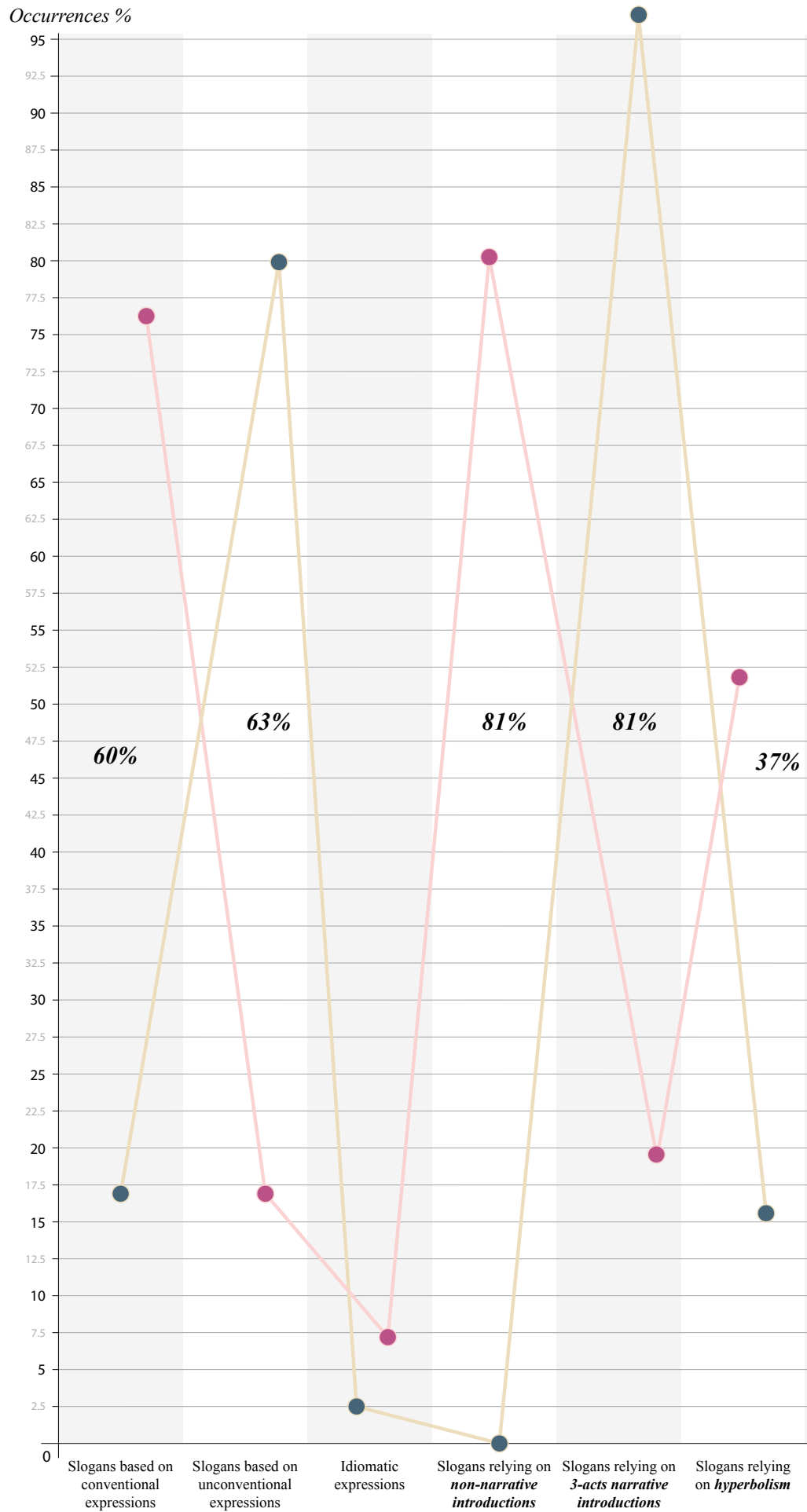**Us** Adv. / opposition
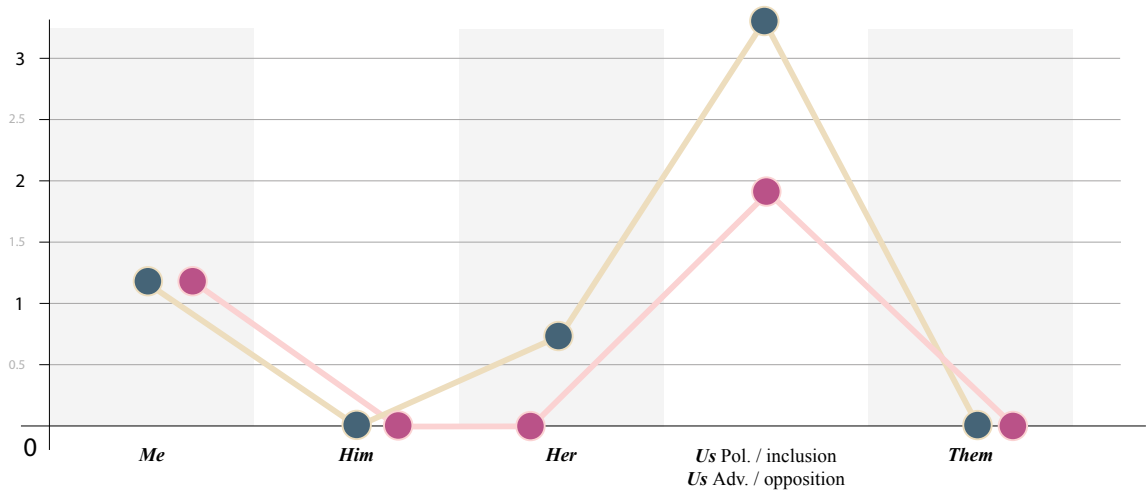
Annex 11 / *The use of words in slogans:*

Linguistic units %
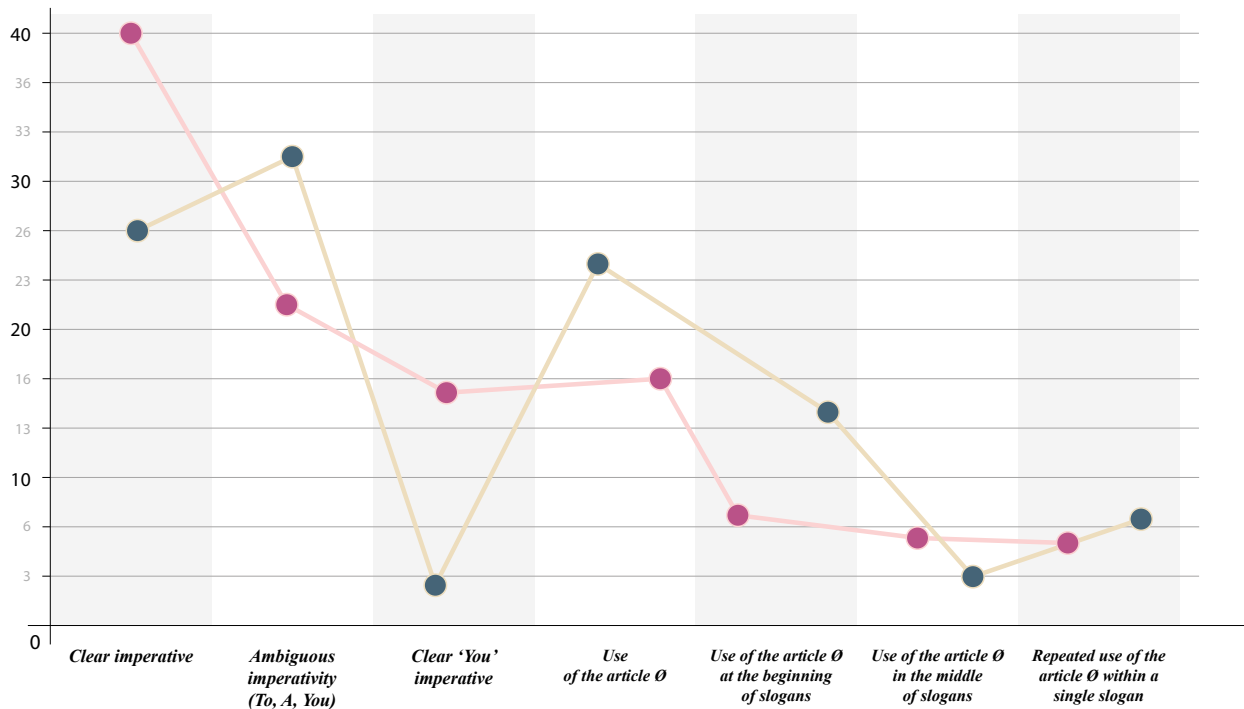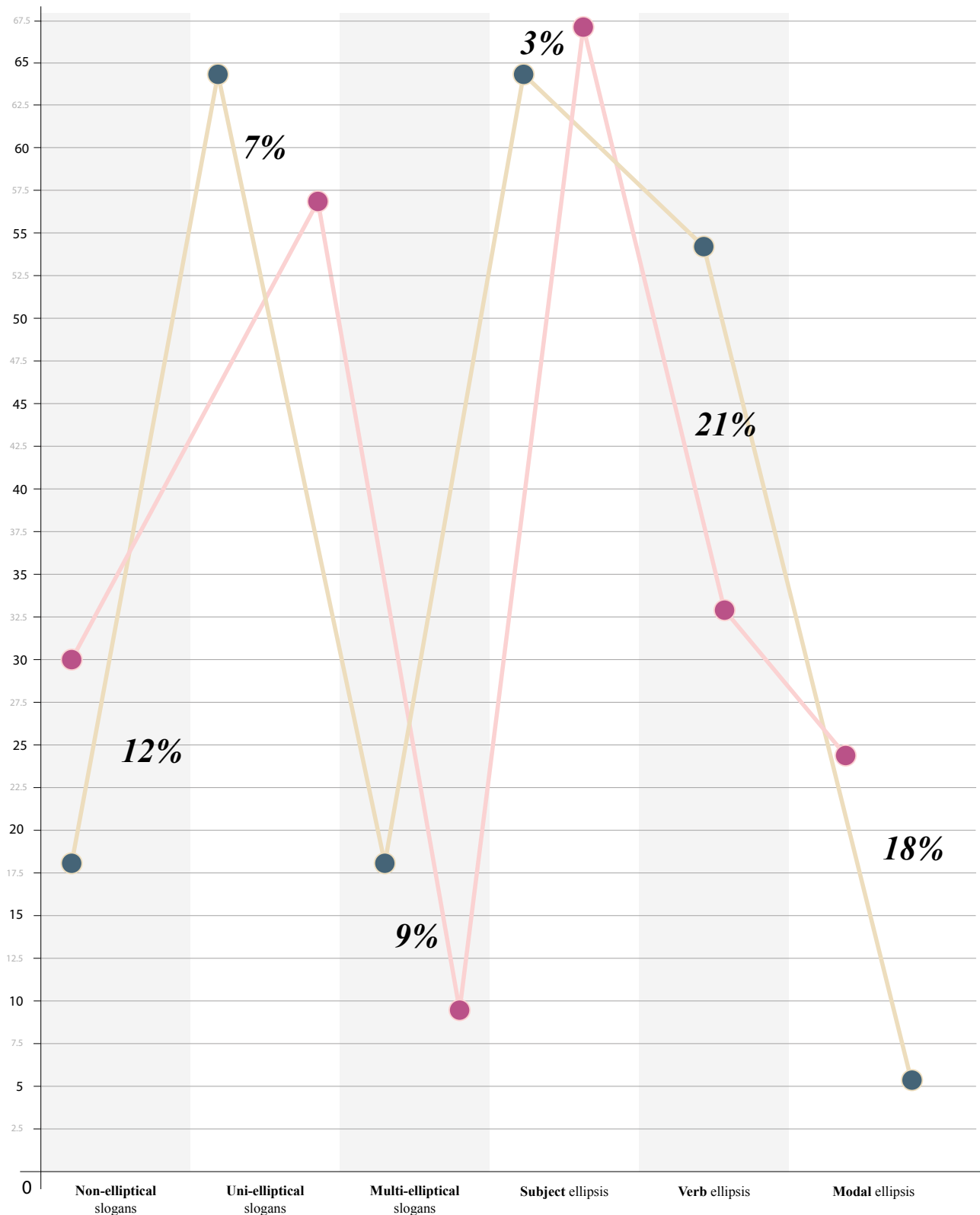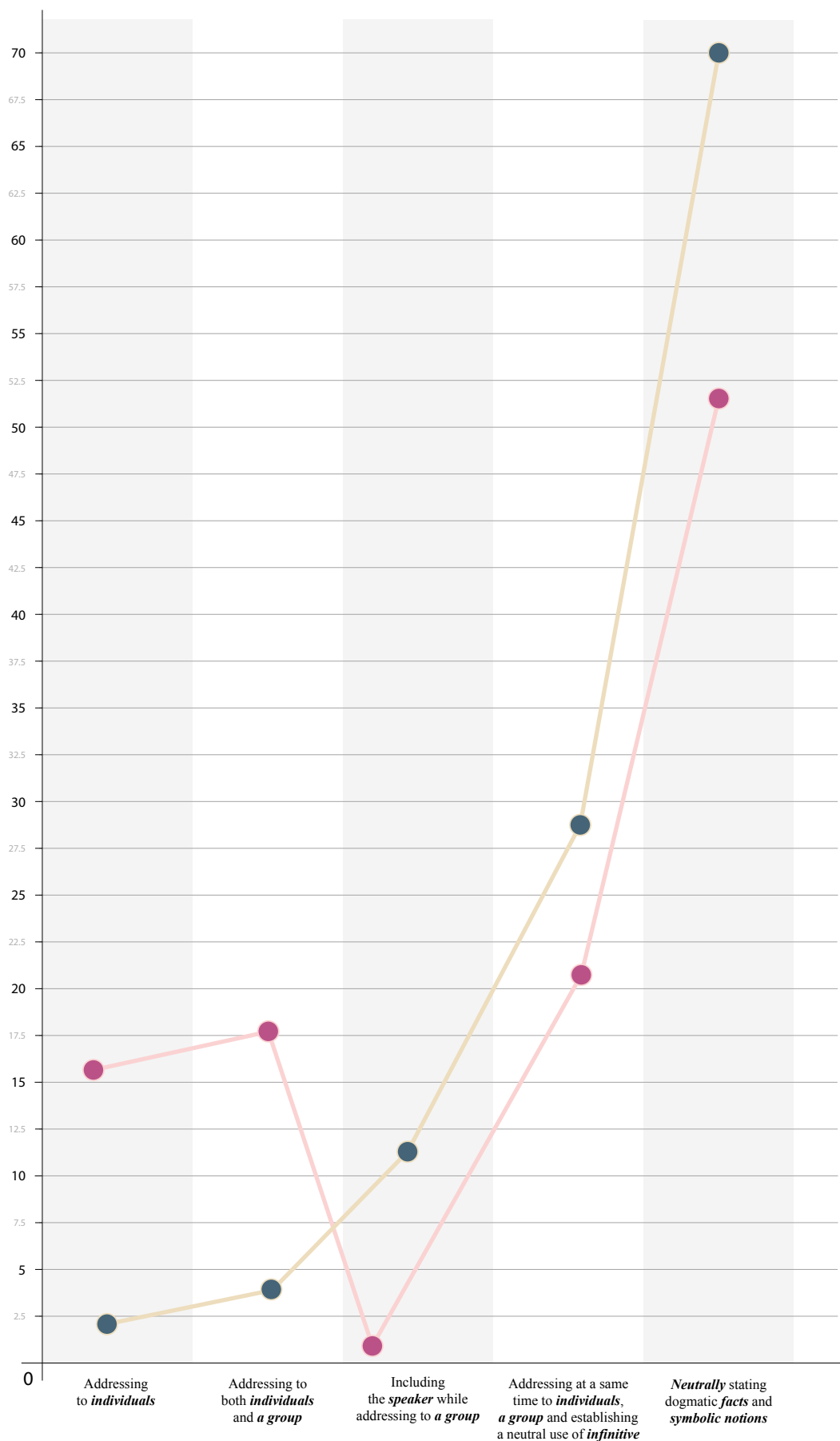

Nouns   Verbs   Adjectives   Adverbs   Modals   Determiners   Prepositions   Pronouns

Occurrences %

Every   All   cardinal numbers   A/An   The

Annex 13 / Slogans' relation to phonostylistic:

Occurrence %

Repetition of the same phoneme   Word repetition   Alternation   Parallelism   Symmetry   Approximative phonetical repetition   Structures using phonetic echo and repetition   Prosodic binarity   Prosodic ternarity

Occurrences %

60%   63%   81%   81%   37%

Slogans based on conventional expressions | Slogans based on unconventional expressions | Idiomatic expressions | Slogans relying on *non-narrative introductions* | Slogans relying on *3-acts narrative introductions* | Slogans relying on *hyperbolism*

Annex 15 / Slogans' ellipticality part 1: ellipsis regarding finite and non-finite verbs:

Occurrences %

Annex 16 / Slogans' ellipticality part 2: the use of imperative modes and the article Ø in slogans:

Occurrences %

Occurrences %

Occurrences %

Addressing to *individuals*	Addressing to both *individuals* and *a group*	Including the *speaker* while addressing to *a group*	Addressing at a same time to *individuals*, *a group* and establishing a neutral use of *infinitive*	*Neutrally* stating dogmatic *facts* and *symbolic notions*

Occurrences %

Ways of political speeches to introduce and support
speech acts encompassed by slogans 1/2

John McCain: "Presidential announcement speech 2008"
http://www.4president.org/speeches/2008/johnmccain2008announcement.htm, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"I'm running for President to make sure America maintains its place as the political and economic leader of the world; the **country** that doesn't fear change, but makes change work for us; the **country** that doesn't long for the good old days, but aspires to even better days. I'm running for President of the United States; not yesterday's **country**; not a defeated **country**; not a bankrupt **country**; not a timid and frightened **country**; not a **country** fragmented into bickering interest groups with no sense of the national interest; not a **country** with a bloated, irresponsible and incompetent government. I'm running for President of the United States, a blessed **country**, a proud **country**, a hopeful **country**, the most powerful and prosperous **country** and the greatest force for good on earth. And when I'm President, I intend to keep it so."

Country First

"the country that doesn't fear **change**, but makes change work for us [...] Opening new markets to American goods and services is indispensable to our future **prosperity**. [...] I know how to fight and how to make **peace**. I know who I am and what I want to do."

Reform • Prosperity • Peace

Barack Obama: "Presidential announcement speech 2008"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5KZF_UyDrMY, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"In the face of war, you believe there **can** be peace. In the face of despair, you believe **there can be hope**. In the face of a politics that shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe that we **can** be one people, **reaching for what's possible**, building that more perfect union. [...] It was here -- It was here where we learned to disagree without being disagreeable; that **it's possible** to compromise so long as you know those principles that **can** never be compromised; and that so long as **we're willing to** listen to each other, we **can** assume the best in people instead of the worst. [...] we **can** build a **more hopeful** America. [...] The genius of our Founders is that they designed **a system of government that can be changed**. [...] Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America. We **can** do that."

Yes We Can

Mitt Romney: "Presidential announcement speech 2012"
https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=romney+presidential+announcement+2012, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"We gave someone new a chance to lead; someone we hadn't known for very long, who **didn't have much of a record but promised** to lead us to a better place. [...] Now, in the third year of his four-year term, we have more than promises and slogans to go by. **Barack Obama has failed America**.[...] Instead of recognizing the states rightful authority to solve problems, **he seizes power from them and rams through a disastrous national health care plan**."

Obama Isn't Working

"**This country** we love **is in peril**. And that, my friends, is why we are here today. [...] We are **only inches away from ceasing to be a free market economy**. [...] with each of these decisions, **we lose more of our freedom**."

Restore Our Future

Barack Obama: "Presidential announcement speech 2012"
https://www.latimes.com/politics/-la-xpm-2012-may-05-la-pn-transcript-obama-campaign-kickoff-2-12-5-5-story.html, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"**I will not go back** to the days when insurance companies had unchecked power to cancel your policy, or deny you coverage, or charge women differently from men. **We're not going back there**. **We're going forward**. [...] I want women to control their own health choices, just like I want my daughters to have the same opportunities as your sons. **We are not turning back** the clock. **We are moving forward**. [...] That's what we're fighting for, Ohio. A bold America. A competitive America. A generous America. **A forward-looking America**, where everybody has a chance to make of their life what they will. [...] When we **look back** four **years from now**, or ten years from now, or twenty years from now, won't we be better off if we have the courage to keep moving forward? [...] And I have that kept that promise. I have kept that promise, Ohio. And **I will keep it** so long as I have the honor of being your President. So if you're willing **to stick with me**, if you're willing to fight with me, and press on with me; if you're willing to work even harder in this election than you did in the last election, I guarantee you -- **we will move this country forward**."

Forward

129

Hillary Clinton: "Presidential announcement speech 2016"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-i8vdM15K6c, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"Franklin Roosevelt's **enduring vision of America**, the nation we want to be. And in a place… **with absolutely no ceilings**. [...] President Roosevelt called on every American to do his **or her part**, and every American answered. [...] Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But **I will be the youngest woman President** in the history of the United States! [...] **They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions.** [...] **equal pay for women** [...] And it is way past time to **end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color** often making even less."

I'm With Her

"So I'm looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I'm not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. **I want to be a President for all Americans**."

Hillary For America

"If you'll give me the chance, **I'll wage and win Four Fights for you**. [...] Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and **enable America to lead the global fight** against climate change. [...] Now, the second fight is to strengthen America's families, because when our families are strong, **America is strong**. [...] That's why **we have to win the fourth fight** – reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. [...] **I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise** young **people**, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color. [...] Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and **fight back against those who would drive us apart**."

Fighting for Us

"I believe you should **look forward** to retirement with confidence, not anxiety. [...] So **I'm looking forward** to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. [...] We should welcome the support of all Americans who want **to go forward together with us**."

Forward Together

"I wish she could have seen the America we're going to build **together**. [...] We should welcome the support of all Americans who want **to go forward together with us**. [...] With that same spirit, **together, we can win these four fights**."

Stronger Together

"**I want to be her champion and your champion**. [...] My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a **champion**. She knew what it was like not to have either one."

Every Americans Need a Champion.
I Want to be that Champion.

Donald Trump: "Presidential announcement speech 2016"

https://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"**I'll bring back** our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. **I'll bring back** our jobs, and **I'll bring back** our money. [..] Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator. [...] Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. [...] **Get rid of** the fraud. **Get rid of** the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You **save it** by making the United States, by **making us rich again**, by **taking back all of the money that's being lost**. Renegotiate our foreign trade deals. [...] Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president **I will bring it back** bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and **we will make America great again**."

Make America Great Again

Joe Biden: "Presidential announcement speech 2020"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FaN-Pf_LW1Q&t=959s, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"the very first words of the **United** States' constitution […] **we the people**. Not you, not me, not us, not I, not them. **We, we the people**. It was **a statement of unity, of common purpose, of coming together**. We bound ourselves together as one people, one nation, **one America** [...] We need to once again see one another, hear one another, listen to one another, **work with one another**, respect one another, to write, to **come together**, to once again, **be one America**, we are the **United** States of America. [...] Our politics today trafic in division, and **our president is the divider in chief**."

United

Donald Trump: "Presidential announcement speech 2020"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJHJOALkRhQ, last consulted on 04.20.2020

"**We will keep it so great**, better than ever before [...] we did not merely transfer power from one party to another but we transfered power to you the proud citizens of the United States of America. [...] **We stared down the unholy alliance** of lobbyists and donors and specific interests, who made a living bleeding our country dry, that's what we have done. **We broke down the doors of Washington** backrooms, where deals were cut to close our companies, give away you jobs, shut down our factories, and surrender your sovereignty and your very way of life, and we have ended it. **We took on a political machine** that tried to take away your voice and your vote, they tried to take away your dignity, and your destiny, but we will never let them do that, will we. [...] **Keep America Great**"
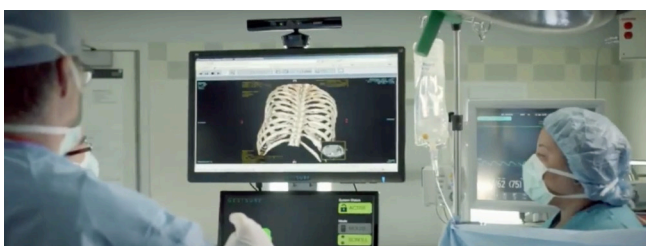
Keep America Great

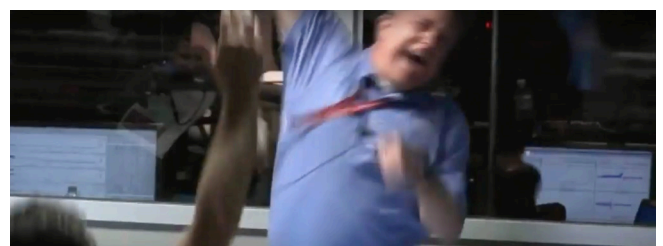*The ability to act:*

The ability to control your computer with your movements:
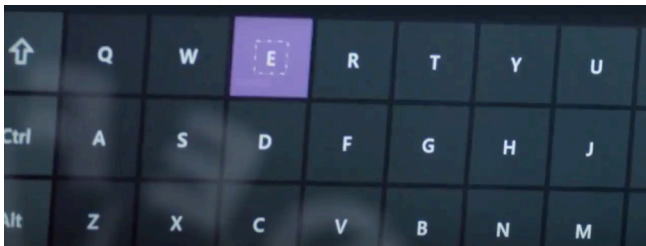
The ability to walk:

The ability to stay in touch:

The ability to go in space: