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"POUR SOME SPACE IN YOUR FACE"
A Linguistic Analysis of Slogans Used by British and American Breweries

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the linguistic features of slogans used by British and American breweries. As the language of advertising can be considered one of the most prominent discourses in modern societies, it is important to understand how it aims to affect our opinions and actions. Furthermore, as slogans are one of the key parts of an advertisement, studying them can be particularly revealing.

The purpose of the thesis is to analyze and compare the slogans of British and American breweries to find possible differences. The slogans are analyzed on the levels of lexicon, clauses and meaning. The analyzed lexical features are the use of adjectives, verbs, and personal pronouns. The examined clause types are declarative, interrogative, imperative and incomplete clauses. Finally, the data is examined on the level of meaning when the use of wordplay is analyzed. The data for the study consist of altogether 140 slogans of British and American breweries and was gathered from the websites of the breweries.

The results of the study show that the two sets of slogans resemble each other in many ways and generally follow the norms of advertising language. Their shared features include for example a typical abundance of adjectives, and the frequent use of puns on the brewery name. The slogans also share some features that are untypical to advertising language, such as the lack of interrogative clauses.

However, some differences between the sets of slogans were also discovered. The American slogans use more emotive vocabulary than the British slogans, and thus rely more on emotive appeal. Furthermore, the American slogans can be seen as more creative and colorful, as they use more colloquial language and wordplay. Finally, the American slogans also forge a connection between the advertiser and the consumer more actively, as they use personal pronouns and colloquial language more frequently than their British counterparts. These differences could be partly explained by the competitive situation in the United States.

Keywords: slogan, advertising, brewery

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TIIVISTELMÄ

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Tämä tutkielma tutkii Isossa-Britanniassa ja Yhdysvalloissa sijaitsevien panimoiden iskulauseiden kielellisiä piirteitä. Mainonnan kieltä voidaan pitää yhtenä modernien yhteiskuntien merkittävimmistä diskursseista, joten on tärkeää ymmärtää, miten se pyrkii vaikuttamaan ajatteluumme ja toimintaamme. Iskulauseiden tutkiminen taas voi olla erityisen hedelmällistä, koska ne kuuluvat mainonnan tärkeimpiin elementteihin.

Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on analysoida ja verrata isobritannialaisten ja yhdysvaltalaisten panimoiden iskulauseita mahdollisten erojen löytämiseksi. Erojen löytämiseksi iskulauseita tutkitaan sanaston, lausetyyppien ja merkityksen tasoilla. Sanastotason analyysi keskittyy adjektiivien, verbien ja persoonapronominien käyttöön iskulauseissa. Tutkittavat lausetyypit taas ovat toteamuslause, kysymyslause, käskylause ja vajaa lause. Merkityksen tason analyysi taas keskittyy sanaleikkeihin iskulauseissa. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu yhteensä 140 iskulauseesta, jotka kerättiin panimoiden internetsivustoilta.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että iskulauseet muistuttavat monilta osin toisiaan ja noudattavat pääosin mainonnan kielen yleisiä normeja. Yhteisiin piirteisiin kuuluvat muun muassa mainoskielelle tyypillisen runsas adjektiivien käyttö sekä panimoiden nimiin perustuvat sanaleikit. Iskulauseiden mainoskielelle epätyypillisempiin piirteisiin taas kuuluu esimerkiksi kysymyslauseiden puuttuminen aineistosta.

Monista yhteisistä piirteistä huolimatta iskulauseiden välillä ilmeni myös eroja. Yhdysvaltalaiset iskulauseet vetoavat sanastollaan enemmän kuluttajan tunteisiin kuin isobritannialaiset iskulauseet. Lisäksi yhdysvaltalaisten iskulauseiden kieli on värikkäämpää ja luovempaa, sillä ne käyttävät enemmän puhekieltä ja sanaleikkejä kuin isobritannialaiset vastineensa. Yhdysvaltalaiset iskulauseet luovat myös yhteyttä mainostajan ja kuluttajan välille aktiivisemmin runsaammalla persoonapronominien ja puhekielen käytöllään. Erot iskulauseiden välillä saattavat osittain johtua alan kovasta kilpailusta Yhdysvalloissa.

Avainsanat: iskulause, mainonta, panimo

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the modern world, one thing we cannot escape from is advertising. It surrounds us in city centers in the form of signs and posters and accompanies us in cars and public transport through the radio, while also reaching us in our homes via mail, television, and the internet. In addition to this, technological advancements have made it possible for us to carry advertising with us at all times, through our telephones and social media. Therefore, it is no wonder that Delin (2000, 123) names advertising language "one of society's most pervasive forms of discourse". To further accentuate this pervasiveness, Myers (1994, 8) points out that advertisements play an even greater role in our society than popular movies and literature do. As examples he mentions the fact that one can expect people to be familiar with a specific advertisement, while a best-selling book might be unknown to many, and that many of us may be able to recite more advertising jingles than poetry (ibid., 8, 36). Naturally, something that has such a presence in society needs to be studied and understood.

Besides its pervasiveness, another reason that makes advertising an interesting topic to study is that advertising language is a "loaded language" that "aims to change the will, opinions or attitudes of its audience" (Leech 1966, 25). In fact, advertising language can be seen as a mix of information and manipulation (Hatim 1990, 117) and even as an example of "propaganda discourse" (Marcoci 2014, 746). In order to affect our decisions, modern advertising has steered away from informativeness and the concept of a "rational consumer", and instead relies on associations and beliefs to create an "emotional selling proposition" (Delin 2000, 126). In other words, advertisements aim to create "a fusion which will imbue the characterless product with desirable qualities" (Cook 1992, 105). To achieve this, advertising language is designed not to "steady the ground beneath our feet, but to make it sway" (ibid., 100), and copywriters use language creatively and unexpectedly to "paint a falsely glowing picture" (Dyer 2009, 120). This creativity is needed not only to charm consumers, but also to find new and striking tactics to "shout at us from the page" (Goddard 1998,

11), as a specific advertisement gets easily lost in the sea of advertising consumers face on a daily basis.

Given the multifaceted nature of advertising language, it is no wonder that it has received ample amounts of scholarly attention. Studies that examine advertising language from a general perspective include for example Dyer (2009), Cook (1992), Leech (1966) and Myers (1994). In addition to this, many studies focus on specific elements of advertising language, as for example noun phrases (Rush 1998), rhetorical figures (Mcquarrie and Mick 1996) and wordplay (Laviosa 2005).

The focus of this thesis, slogans, has also been studied by for example Utomo and Suprajitno (2018) and Reece, Van den Bergh and Li (1994). This is to be expected, as a slogan can be seen as a "powerful weapon" and even as the most crucial part of an advertisement, as it tends to present "the most major information" about the advertised product (Ke and Wang 2013, 275-277). The power that slogans have stems from the fact that they differentiate brands from competitors by giving them their identities and creating an impression of the brand to the consumer (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 36). Thus, as a slogan presents the essence of the brand to the consumers and summarizes the reasons to choose the brand over others, an effective slogan can be a true "gamechanger" for a company (ibid.). Given their paramount importance and crucial role in advertising, there is room for more research on advertising slogans, particularly with a contrastive perspective.

Furthermore, the subject of this thesis, slogans of British and American breweries, is particularly interesting, as according to a 2015 survey the world is experiencing a "craft beer revolution", the countries with the most breweries being the United States and the United Kingdom (Alltech 2015). Given this situation, it is particularly interesting to see how breweries use language to stand out from their competitors, and whether the techniques used differ in these two different cultural settings. To answer these questions, the present thesis analyzes a sample of slogans gathered

from the websites of British and American breweries on the levels of lexicon, clause types and meaning.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. After the introduction, Section 2 presents the theoretical background of the study. This section is divided into four subsections that discuss the most important features of advertising language concerning the present thesis. These are the general aims of advertising language and the use of adjectives, verbs, personal pronouns, clause types and wordplay in advertising. After the theoretical background, Section 3 presents the research questions, data and method of the study. Then, the results of the analysis are presented in Section 4. Lastly, Section 5 summarizes the findings and gives suggestions for future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section begins with an introduction to the common aims and features of advertising language in Subsection 2.1 Then, Subsection 2.2 discusses the lexical features of advertising language studied here, namely adjectives, verbs and personal pronouns. After the discussion of the lexical features, Subsection 2.3 takes a structural perspective on advertising language, presenting the use of different clause types in advertising. Finally, Subsection 2.4 discusses advertising language from a semantic point of view, introducing the use of wordplay in advertising.

2.1 The aims of advertising language

As discussed earlier, advertising can take different forms depending on the choice of medium and the place of publication. Furthermore, the type of advertising can also influence the language used, as advertising can range from consumer advertising that promotes products and services to "prestige advertising" that aims to enhance the image of the company (Leech 1966, 64-65). In addition to this,

the competitive market results in a "vicious circle of innovation" as advertisers try to outdo their competitors and get their products noticed (ibid., 26). Despite all this variation, advertisements tend to share some values. According to Leech (ibid., 27), the four common values advertisements tend to strive for are *attention value*, *readability*, *memorability* and *selling power*.

In order to have attention value, an advertisement has to attract the attention of consumers (Leech 1966, 27). Attracting attention is crucial, as advertisements have to compete for the consumers' attention not only with other forms of media, but also with other advertisements (ibid., 26). Thus, advertisers need to surprise consumers with an unconventional and striking message, which can be done with pictures and typography, as well as "unorthodox use of language", such as misspellings, neologisms, wordplay and even contextually incongruous language (ibid., 27-28). Dyer (2009, 112) notes that deliberate misspellings give products uniqueness and are particularly common in brand names, as in *Brylcreem*, *Ryvita* and *Rice Krispies*. When it comes to neologisms, innovative adjectives and adverbs, such as *flavoursome*, *stay-on* and *stay-put*, as well as mixes of the name of the product and another word (*Schweppervescence*, *Goudanight*) are particularly common (ibid., 119). Dyer (ibid., 121) also adds types of repetition, such as alliteration and rhyme to the list of common attention-getting devices. Furthermore, Utomo and Suprajitno (2018, 40) state that rhetorical questions are also used frequently to attract consumers' attention, and Goddard (1998, 108) adds that these questions can present a puzzle that hooks the reader, as in *How is it possible to have a notebook without paper?*

Readability, in turn, has to do with maintaining the consumers' interest after their attention has been attracted (Leech 1966, 28). From a linguistic perspective, this translates to "how to make the message easy to grasp and assimilate" (ibid.). Although readability is difficult to measure, it can be said that a particular set of features are required if language is to be easy to read and listen to (ibid.). The language needs to be simple, personal and colloquial in style and to have vocabulary that is familiar to the readers (ibid.). The benefits of using simple language are clear, as it makes the

advertising message comprehensible, memorable, and pleasant (Nchindila and Torto 2020, 492). Examples of the simple nature of advertising language include short and simple sentences (Dyer 2009, 114). Informal and colloquial language is used to create a "personal and conversational effect" that helps in appealing to the masses and making the message more understandable (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 39). Features of informal advertising language include for instance the use of different personal pronouns, interjections, tag questions and different social and regional accents (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, 1298, 1304; Delin 2000, 149).

Even if an advertisement has managed to get noticed by a consumer and to maintain their attention, it still needs to be memorable for the product to sell (Leech 1966, 28). One of the most effective ways of imprinting a product and its features into the memory of a consumer is through repetition, which is why advertisers use repetition abundantly, even at the risk of irritating some consumers (ibid., 29). In addition to this, many features that attract attention also increase memorability, as "the ease with which we remember a thing depends on the impact it first made on us" (ibid., 29). Such features include for example colorful orthography, neologisms and deviations in syntax (Delin 2000, 134-135). Dyer (2009, 111) also adds sound-patterning, such as alliteration, rhythm and rhyme to the list of mnemonic features, which is why the jingle can be considered "perhaps the most powerful mnemonic device in advertising" (Leech 1966, 29). Furthermore, Marcoci (2014, 751) states that the "enigmatic and charming forms" of figures of speech can also enhance memorability.

Finally, any successful advertisement needs to have selling power, which means that it needs to make consumers buy the advertised commodity (Leech 1966, 29). To give a definite answer on which features give an advertisement selling power is again difficult, particularly because every product needs to have its own "unique selling proposition" that makes the product seem superior and special (ibid., 30). However, although it can seem "vain to look for uniformity in an area where uniqueness is held in honour", advertisers tend to use some common tools to increase sales (ibid.).

Such features include a high frequency of imperative clauses, preference of positive vocabulary and the use of superlatives and unqualified comparatives (ibid., 30-31). Labrador et al. (2014, 40) also list the use of imperatives among the most frequent tools of persuasion in advertising. Furthermore, the overall positivity of advertising language is also noted by Goddard (1998, 106), who states that advertisers strive for positive associations, and thus favor approbatory adjectives, while avoiding disapprobatory ones. The use of superlatives and comparatives, on the other hand, is also found common by Rush (1998, 162), who also notes that they tend to be used without the basis of comparison. Goddard (1998, 105) also adds "buzz words", such as "a cleaner solution", to the list of persuasive elements, as they connect to current issues and thus "push the right buttons". Marcoci (2014, 746) extends the list with rhetorical figures that can also "charm" consumers, while Utomo and Suprajitno (2018, 36) add idioms, proverbs, emotive words and humor to the list of manipulation tools.

2.2 Lexicon

It can be said that lexical choices are of paramount importance in advertising, as a "wrong choice in diction will either inaccurately impair the purpose of communication or at best vaguely or partially convey the intended meaning" (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 38). The importance of the choice of words is not limited to specific words but can be seen as extending to many different word classes, as for example using a particular adjective may add certain nuances to an advertising message, ultimately affecting the persuasive force the advertisement as a whole has. This section concentrates on the lexicon of advertising language, discussing the use of three types of elements, namely adjectives, verbs, and personal pronouns.

2.2.1 Adjectives

Labrador et al. (2014, 40) state that advertisements usually have two parts, one that describes the product and another that presents it in a positive light to persuade consumers. Thus, it can be said that one of the main purposes of advertising language is to form an image of the product and control how people perceive it (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 36). As adjectives are vital in describing products, they can be considered "key words" in advertising (Dyer 2009, 118). Furthermore, adjectives are also interesting because while advertising language tends to be otherwise simple, the premodifiers used are often characterized by "outstanding complexity" and unusual structures (Leech 1966, 127).

Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197) divide adjectives into two main classes, descriptors and classifiers. Descriptors are usually gradable and describe the characteristics of their referent for example in terms of size (*very big*), age (*new*) and color (*red*), but they can also be emotive and denote evaluations, emphasis, and judgments (*beautiful*, *best*, *lovely*) (ibid.). Classifiers, on the other hand, are usually non-gradable and are used to "limit or restrict a noun's referent" instead of describing it (ibid.). They can be used for instance to differentiate their referent from other referents (*additional*, *external*), or categorize the referent in terms of nationality (*American*) or type (*chemical*, *political*) (ibid.). Thus, these two types of adjectives can be seen as forming a continuum of informativeness, emotive descriptors being the least and classifiers being the most informative. Leech (1966, 128-129) calls these types of adjectives categorizing and attributive, and notes that both types have their place in advertising. Categorizing adjectives are informative and "specify in detail what the product is like, and how it works" (ibid., 127). These often-technical adjectives are especially common in advertising occurring in specialty magazines (Rush 1998, 161).

However, as advertising language regularly exploits our emotions (Goddard 1998, 46), it could be said that emotive adjectives play a larger role in advertising than classifying ones. As Leech (1966, 129) puts it, emotive and evaluative adjectives such as *good*, *excellent* and *lovely*, are used to create "glowingly attractive descriptions". In addition to making the products seem special,

emotive adjectives are useful because they "stimulate envy, dreams and desires by evoking looks, touch, taste, smell and sounds without actually misrepresenting a product" (Dyer 2009, 118-119). Thus, adjectives like *elegant*, *enchanting*, *intriguing* and *captivating* cannot be deemed true or false, as they essentially are expressions of opinion and rather vague (ibid., 119). Therefore, these adjectives are more about creating associations than giving information. Dyer (2009, 119) also notes copywriters' tendency to exploit the vagueness of evaluative adjectives, and states that "[a] rush of adjectives often substitutes for a clear and reasonable description in advertising". Furthermore, although evaluative adjectives are very different compared to more informative ones, advertisers tend to use these two types together, as in *this wonderful new toothbrush* (Leech 1966, 129). This is done to "mingle praise with practicality", which makes facts and subjective opinions difficult to differentiate (ibid., 129-130).

Regardless of the adjectives used, adjectives in advertising tend to share a common general feature, positivity. In fact, *new* and *good/better/best* are the most frequent adjectives in advertising, *new* being the favorite, as it can be used to describe any aspect of any product (Dyer 2009, 119). However, it is often not enough to say that the product is for instance just *new* or *good*. Instead, advertisers use comparative and superlative forms of adjectives to such an extent that they have become characteristic features of advertising language (Leech 1966, 133). However, these comparisons are usually incomplete, as advertisers avoid comparing their products directly to their rivals, as in "X washes whiter than Y" (Goddard 1998, 103). Instead, the second slot is left empty, and this gap is then filled by readers with positive messages such as "than all its rivals" or "than ever before" (ibid., 104). Thus, the consumer is encouraged to do the advertisers' work for them.

As stated before, adjectives may also be unusual and complex. Unusual and conspicuous adjectives are characteristic of advertising, as advertisers often create totally new adjectives for their campaigns, such as *teenfresh*, *tomatoful* and *orangemostest* (Dyer 2009, 119). In addition to these neologisms, vivid compound adjectives are one of the most striking features of

advertising and can be considered "a hallmark" of advertising language (Leech 1966, 107, 135). As advertising language is not constrained by the rules of other discourses, these compounds can be quite complicated, and contain compounds themselves, as *coffee-pot-fresh*, *top-of-the tree flavour* and *brand-new clean* do (ibid., 138-140). Thus, due to the tendency of heavy premodification in advertising language, premodifying sequences can become quite elaborate, as in *multi-talented, user-friendly laboratory workhorse* (Labrador et al. 2014, 44). All in all, creative adjectival neologisms and compounds give "uniqueness, vigour and impact to the advertising message" and make the product stand out as special and one of a kind (Dyer 2009, 119).

2.2.2 Verbs

Although the adjectives of advertising language may be elaborate and creative, verbal groups are characterized by "maximum simplicity" and are commonly constructed of only one word (Leech 1966, 120). The simplicity of the verbal group is also reflected in the verbs themselves, as they tend to be inconspicuous, every-day monosyllables (ibid., 154). Thus, it can be said that the verbs in advertising language have very little effect on the overall message, serving simply as "bare pegs" that support the more persuasive elements of the advertisement (ibid.). The simplicity of the verbs is also characteristic to their morphology, as they often lack affixes (ibid.). However, phrasal verbs (*fill in*, *find out*) and combinations of a verb and a preposition (*think about*, *come across*) are common, as they approximate the colloquial style of conversation (ibid., 76-77). The rudimentary nature of verbs is probably related to the simplicity of advertising language overall, as plain language is easily comprehended and memorized (Nchindila and Torto 2020, 492).

In terms of tense, most of the verbs in advertisements are in the simple present tense or the simple imperative (Leech 1966, 122). This may also have a connection to simplicity, as the simple present may be perceived as semantically unmarked and is therefore favored (ibid., 122-123). Other

forms, such as the perfective form, are seen as semantically marked, and marked forms are generally avoided in advertising (ibid.).

The simple present has two uses, the instantaneous and the unrestrictive present, both of which are used in advertising (Leech 1966, 123). The instantaneous present can be defined as expressing momentary events in the present moment, while excluding the past and the future (ibid.). However, this durational restriction does not apply in advertising, as for example "Down goes the price of Sainsbury's chicken" can express a continuous decrease (ibid.). In contrast, Quirk et al. (1984, 85) state that the unrestrictive present is used "where there is no limitation on the extension of the state through the present into the past and future time", and it therefore forms "eternal truths" and "general timeless statements". This feature of the unrestrictive present is frequently exploited in advertising, since most of the present tense forms are of this type, as for example in "You get twice as much goodness with Campbell's Soup" (Leech 1966, 124). As Leech (ibid.) puts it, "the virtues of the product are for all time, like the laws of nature". The present tense can also be combined with the durative aspect, as in "Every day more smokers are settling for the Nelson touch", but this is not very common, as it cannot be used to form the "general laws" of the unrestrictive present (ibid.).

In connection to the mentioned simplicity of the verbal groups, auxiliary verbs are rare in advertising, the exceptions being the modal auxiliaries *can* and *will* (Leech 1966, 125). *Can* has two uses, depending on whether the subject is animate or not (ibid.). When the subject is animate, the consumers are told what they can achieve using the product, as in "You can wash the big city right out of your hair" (ibid.). An inanimate subject is most often the brand name, and in this case the advertiser tells the consumers how the product can make their lives better, as in "Yes, Beecham's pills can bring the health that means more than wealth" (ibid., 125-126). In addition to this, *can* and other modals may also be used as hedges to express that the product alone might not be enough to achieve the desired results, thus making claims challenging to assess (Delin 2000, 131).

Will, on the other hand, is used to make promises of the type "'If you buy X, Y will be the result", which all advertisements essentially make (Leech 1966, 125). Nevertheless, these kinds of sentences are rare, as an imperative clause is often used to replace the conditional: "Put out Swoop, and the birds will soon come" (ibid.). At other times, *will* is used to express absolute certainty, as in "You'll love Carnation Caramel Custard", which could be paraphrased as "You can't help but like Carnation Caramel Custard" (ibid.). As Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001, 1301) note, this use also makes the advertiser seem like an expert to be believed.

From a semantic perspective, the verbs used in advertising often express some kind of a connection between the consumer and the product (Leech 1966, 154). This relationship might involve acquisition or possession, as *buy*, *get*, *keep* and *have* do (ibid., 155). They may also signify gift-giving or the use of the product (*give*, *use*, *take*, *have*) (ibid.). Finally, they can express the consumer's feelings toward the product (*need*, *love*, *like*) or other actions (*taste*, *choose*) (ibid.).

2.2.3 Personal pronouns

It has been said that one of the most important persuasive elements in an advertisement is its orientation towards the reader (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, 1292). The use of personal pronouns is vital in a persuasive orientation, as they connect the advertiser and the consumer and create a relationship between them (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 39). As advertisements are potentially heard and read by millions, the main use of personal pronouns is to make each consumer feel like the advertisement is talking to them personally (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, 1298). Fairclough (1989, 62) calls this false impression "synthetic personalization". However false, this technique can be very persuasive, as it can potentially give the consumers the impression that "the entire brand experience is personally theirs" (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 39). All personal pronouns, the second-person pronoun *you*, the first-person pronouns *we* and *I*, and the third-person pronouns *he*, *she*, *it* and *they*, have their uses in advertising language.

The second-person pronoun *you* is arguably the most prominent pronoun in advertising. This evident from for example the fact that Leech (1966, 82) found *you* to comprise three percent of all the words in his sample of advertisements. In addition to this, Labrador et al. (2014, 45) note that the advertisements in their data included on average two instances of *you* per text.

This popularity is probably due to the wide reference of *you*, as Goddard (1998, 31) notes that the "widest address forms to be given to a narratee in an advertisement are no address form at all (0) or 'you'". Thus, whichever address is used, all the readers are part of the communication (ibid.). In addition to including all the readers, *you* is also used to get closer to the consumers by making the message feel more personal and individual, while also creating familiarity (Myers 1994, 52). It can also be used to diminish the power differences between the authoritative advertiser and the consumer to create a conversational tone and a more equal, less threatening relationship (Delin 2000, 137).

As a result of addressing the reader personally, *you* can also make the reader assume a certain role. As Bex (1993, 727) notes, "an audience is also constructed by the text". The use of *you* can in fact help to construct a certain type of reader, with certain needs and desires (Goddard 1998, 31). As we then position ourselves as that reader and assume their needs and desires, we become the narratee of the advertisement (ibid., 31-32). This construction of the reader and the possible pictures in the advertisement may also interact, as *you* may make the reader identify with the person(s) portrayed (Bex 1993, 727). Thus, the use of *you* can help the advertisement to reach its goal of waking the consumers from their passive state and making them assume a more interactive role in the communication (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 39).

The first-person plural pronoun *we* can have two uses in advertising; it may be used to exclude the readers or to include them (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, 1298). As an example of exclusive use, *we* is often used to refer to the advertiser in prestige advertising (Leech 1966, 81). In fact, this type of use may have an authoritarian feel, the advertiser telling the consumer things while the

consumer is subjugated to the role of the listener (Goddard 1998, 30). Thus, *we* may have "connotations of territoriality and group definition – corporate ownership" (ibid.).

However, *we* does not always have a distancing function. When *we* is used to include the addressees, the advertiser is depicted as part of the target audience, which creates solidarity between the consumer and the advertiser and personalizes the advertiser (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, 1298). An example of this is the headline "You have sensitive skin, we have sensitive wipes", which highlights the fact that skincare is something everyone, including the advertiser, does (ibid.). in connection to this, Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 96) state that *we* can be used to highlight "shared human experience or knowledge" in different contexts, which is a resource exploited also by advertising language. Considering this aspect of shared experience, it is no wonder that *we* can in part establish an intimate and informal relationship between the advertiser and the consumer (Bex 1993, 727-728).

Similarly to *you* and *we*, the first-person singular *I* can also be used to give an impression of a close and personal connection between the advertiser and the consumer (Goddard 1998, 124). In addition to this, like *we*, *I* can also include or exclude the addressee in its reference (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001, 1298). It can also be used to make the consumers connect the product to "cultural icons" by breaking or expressing stereotypes (ibid.). An example of breaking a stereotype is the slogan "I want more than comfort. I want protection.' 'I want more than protection. I want comfort.", which makes menstruation seem harmless, while "Most pasta sauces sound Italian. Mine taste Italian." reinforces ideas about Italian food (ibid., 1299). Furthermore, *I* and *my* can also be used to connect the product or company with celebrities, making them seem like the choice of these admired people: "Omega - my choice. Cindy Crawford." (ibid.). However, advertisers need to be wary, as *I* can sometimes seem too individualized and personal (Goddard 1998, 30).

The third-person pronouns *he*, *she*, *it* and *they* are usually used to express "a personal bond" and shared knowledge between the advertiser and the addressee (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001,

1298). In addition to this, these pronouns can also signal the presence of a thing that is not to be mentioned, possibly because it has negative connotations (ibid.). As an example, an advertisement for a skincare product might refer to acne as *it*, thus avoiding mentioning it.

2.3 Clause types

Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 46) describe the clause as "the key unit of syntax", as clauses can be used independently and can serve as expressions of a "complete thought". The most important element in a clause is the verb phrase, as it denotes the event other elements of the clause are related to, and a clause without a verb phrase is considered incomplete (ibid., 46, 48). The verb phrase also determines the elements that follow it through its valency, as for instance an intransitive verb allows no object, while a transitive verb requires one, as in "Sarah and Michael disappeared" and "She changed her dress" (ibid., 47). The independent clauses are differentiated into four types: declarative clauses, interrogative clauses, imperative clauses and exclamative clauses (Quirk et al. 1984, 386).

In advertising, clauses represent the higher level of grammatical structures, as Leech (1966, 120) states that there tends to be "remarkably little grammatical complexity" above the level of group. In connection to this grammatical simplicity, the majority of the clauses in advertising are independent, while dependent ones are rare (ibid.). Furthermore, different types of clauses can be used exceptionally freely in advertising (ibid., 110). From the perspective of advertising language, the relevant clause types are declarative, interrogative, imperative and incomplete clauses.

2.3.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses can be defined as "the default type of independent clause" with a subject–verb structure (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 249). They express the speech act function of a statement and are thus mainly used to convey information (ibid.). As Huddleston (1988, 129, 131) states,

declarative clauses are the unmarked type that lacks the special features of the other types and can usually be considered true or false.

The information-giving function of declaratives is also present in advertising. Utomo and Suprajitno (2018, 40) state that declaratives can be tools of persuasion trough expressing statements that make the consumer aware of the product and its features. Consequently, consumers might be persuaded to buy the product on the basis of the information they have been given (ibid.).

In addition to conveying information, declaratives can also attract attention. According to Goddard (1998, 106), advertisements often feature a "hook", which is an initial expression that catches the attention of the consumer. The hook often expresses a problem, which the rest of the advertisement then solves (ibid.). A declarative clause is a typical way of presenting the hook (ibid.).

Furthermore, although declaratives typically give information, this function is not always present in advertising. In fact, advertisers often avoid making specific claims and promises, which often leads to "resounding non-statements" (Dyer 2009, 120). These statements are typically close to meaninglessness, as for example "Triumph has a bra for the way you are" seems to give us no actual information about the bras advertised (ibid.).

2.3.2 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses realize the speech act function of a question and can be recognized by subject–operator inversion that results in a VS structure (e.g., *It is Thursday today – Is it Thursday today?*) and a possible initial *wh*-word (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 249-251). However, interrogatives retain the SV order of the corresponding declarative, if the *wh*-word is the subject of the clause: *What is hurting her?* (Huddleston 1988, 135). Furthermore, interrogatives can be categorized into three main types based on the kind of answer they expect: *yes/no* questions, *wh*-questions and alternative questions (Quirk et al. 1984, 387). *Yes/no* questions, such as *Have you been to Paris?*, expect an

affirmative or a negative answer (ibid.). *Wh*-questions, on the other hand, elicit the missing information referred to by the *wh*-word: *What is your name?* (ibid.). Alternative questions mention two alternatives in the question, and expect the addressee to choose one: *Do you want one or two?* (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 251).

One of the motivations behind the use of interrogatives in advertising is engaging the consumer, as they require an "active response" and can wake the consumer from their "wonted state of passive receptivity" (Leech 1966, 111). Toolan (1988, 54) also states that interrogatives are used to activate the consumer instead of just giving information. This engaging of the consumer can take many forms. Interrogatives may for instance elicit "continuous curiosity" and make the consumer "try on the product" in a sense (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 40). In addition, *yes/no* questions may be used as exclamations to invoke enthusiasm and an agreeing response: *Isn't it marvelous stuff!* (Leech 1966, 112). In other cases, they may make the consumer search their memory in order to find an answer to the advertiser's question (ibid.). All in all, the objective is to make the consumer interact with the advertisement and respond in any way, as even an annoyed response is still a response (ibid., 111).

In addition to engaging the consumer, interrogative clauses can be used to create a "simulation of personal rapport" (Leech 1966, 112). Thus, a relationship is built between the advertiser and the consumer with the help of interrogatives (Delin 2000, 140). This relationship is often built on the simulation of conversation, in which questions can replicate the "excitement of oral speech" and form a "psychological contact" with the consumer (Zembytska and Mazur 2018, 42).

Lastly, interrogative clauses may make things easier to understand, as things are presented as a question and an answer (Leech 1966, 112). Furthermore, this may also lead to grammatical simplicity, as a point is presented with two simpler expressions instead of a more elaborate one (ibid., 113). An interrogative may also serve to attract attention, as initial attention-catching expressions in advertisements are often questions (Goddard 1998, 106). In addition, they

may simply be stylistic devices, as rhetorical questions often are (Cuddon, Habib and Birchwood 2013, 606).

2.3.3 Imperative clauses

The main characteristics of an imperative clause are the lack of an overt subject and the use of the base form of the verb: *Put it on the table* (Quirk et al. 1984, 402). Besides lacking a subject, the verb in an imperative clause is also "severely restricted as to tense, aspect, voice and modality" (ibid.). This means that there is no perfect aspect, modals or tense distinction, and the progressive forms and the passive voice are rare (ibid.). However, as imperative clauses are used to issue directives and commands, there is no need for the absent elements (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 254). As Huddleston (1988, 132) notes, the directives given may urge the addressee either to do something or to not to do something: *Be ruthless – Don't be ruthless*. Furthermore, as imperatives can often be considered "abrupt", they are usually mitigated with the polite *please* or by modifying the directive into for instance a question: *Will you shut the door, please?* (Quirk et al. 1984, 402).

In advertising, imperative clauses have many functions. Instead of expressing just direct commands, imperatives are used to address consumers also by instructing and advising them and presenting requests of different kinds (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 40). Considering its versatility, it is no wonder that Labrador et al. (2014, 40) found the imperative clause to be one of the most common tools of persuasion in advertising. The frequency of imperative clauses in advertising is indeed undeniable, as for instance Leech (1966, 120) notes that over 25 percent of the independent clauses in his sample were imperative clauses.

In terms of the motivation behind their use, imperative clauses are very similar to interrogative clauses. Like interrogative clauses, they are used to activate consumers and make them interact with the advertisement instead of just passively receiving information (Leech 1966, 111). In

fact, Toolan (1988, 54) states that both interrogatives and imperatives are used in "an intimate, interactive addressing of the reader" that results in an active response. The similarities between interrogative clauses and imperative clauses might sometimes even result in confusion, as the consumer may not be sure whether they are asked or told to do something (Delin 2000, 141). However, this works for the advertiser's advantage, as the confusion may force the consumer to process the advertisement more carefully, and it can also "reinforce the direct address" (ibid.).

The similarities with interrogative clauses are further reinforced by the fact that imperative clauses can also be used to create a sense of directness and informality (Labrador et al. 2014, 45). According to Myers (1994, 47), imperative clauses are effective in forming "a personal effect, a sense of one person talking to another". Consequently, they can even result in a "jocular" or "disingenuous" tone (Dyer 2009, 115). Possibly in connection to this informality, the imperatives in advertising are usually not softened with *please* or indirectness (Leech 1966, 79). The use of *please* is avoided because its "implication is that the advertiser is asking a favour of his readers, instead of doing them a favour (as he would normally like it to appear)" (ibid., 79-80). Furthermore, even if imperatives are often considered rude in other contexts, they are not considered impolite in advertising, as people are used to receiving orders in the public sphere, from for example signs (ibid., 79).

From the perspective of collocations, imperative clauses tend to occur in connection to certain kinds of verbs. One type of verb that often occurs in imperative clauses are verbs that denote obtaining the product, such as *choose*, *ask for* and *buy* (Leech 1966, 110). The most frequent imperative verb in advertising, *get*, belongs to this category (ibid.). Another category of verbs common in imperative clauses are verbs that express the use of the product, such as *try*, *enjoy* and *have* (ibid., 111). A third group of frequent imperative verbs are verbs that attract the attention of the consumer (ibid.). Verbs such as *watch*, *see* and *look* are used to make consumers pay attention, while *make sure* and *remember* remind them to make a note of what is said (ibid.). Possibly because of the

positive nature of these frequently occurring verbs, negative imperative clauses are said to be rare in advertising (ibid.).

2.3.4 Incomplete clauses

Incomplete clauses, or "syntactic non-clausal units", are characterized by their fragmentary nature and their lack of finite clause structure (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 440). Examples include *Good for you* and *How about your wife?* (ibid.). Incomplete clauses often involve ellipsis of different elements, which is to be expected, as they originate from the grammatical simplification in conversation (ibid., 440-441). A phenomenon that takes this disjunctive syntax to the extreme is called block language. Block language abandons higher-level structures and is instead structured in terms of individual words and phrases (Quirk et al. 1984, 414). Examples of block language, such as *PURE LEMON JUICE* and *FRESH TODAY*, occur for example in conversation, titles, notices, labels, and advertising (ibid.).

The type of disjunctive language represented by incomplete clauses can be considered one of the standard elements of advertising, as Ghadessy (1988, 57) notes that "the frequent use of disjunctive syntax and incomplete sentences" is one of the "pervasive trends" in advertising. Leech (1966, 115) divides the structures of disjunctive syntax into minor clauses, which lack a predicator, and non-finite clauses, which lack a subject. These moodless clauses cannot be defined as interrogative, affirmative or imperative clauses and would normally be dependent, but in advertising they can express a "complete thought" and thus be independent (Leech 1966, 113; Rush 1998, 156). Furthermore, the fragmentary nature of the disjunctive syntax in advertising can form a continuum from the ellipsis of "elements of low information value", such as articles and the verb *be*, to the independent noun phrases of block language (Leech 1966, 93-94). In the end, as even one-word phrases can occur independently, it can be said that "there is no limit to the simplicity of a grammatical unit" (ibid., 93) in advertising.

The benefits of using incomplete clauses in advertising are numerous. Besides the obvious benefit of saving space, incomplete clauses can be used to imitate "the elliptical nature of spoken language" to get closer to the consumer (Goddard 1998, 123). As Delin (2000, 128) puts it, the short units of disjunctive language resemble a direct conversation between two people. The imitation of the ellipses of conversation is particularly common in *yes/no* questions, as in *Feeling low?* (Leech 1966, 78-79).

Another benefit of incomplete clauses is the fact that since they are incomplete, they cannot be considered statements, and therefore their content can be neither true nor false (Delin 2000, 128). Leech (1966, 150) elaborates this and states that in the case of slogans such as "Nimble bread. Delicious. Light as a feather.", the connections between the parts result only from juxtaposition and thus only associations are made. This means that translating this kind of expressions into discursive English is difficult, as the omitted elements are not known, and the possibilities are numerous (Rush 1998, 159).

A third reason to use incomplete clauses is connected to focus. As the short units of disjunctive language are interpreted as having their own focus points, using many short, incomplete clauses leads to several focus points, which in turn leads to the main points becoming foregrounded and salient (Delin 2000, 128). In addition, Leech (1966, 114) states that commas are avoided in disjunctive syntax, while "punctuation marks of greater separative force", such as dashes and full stops, are favored instead. Delin (2000, 128) notes that full stops may make reading the advertisement slower, which again could ensure that the advertisers get their points across.

The final reason for the use of incomplete clauses and disjunctive syntax is that the short units can be conjoined with expression such as *plus*, *and* and *so* (Delin 2000, 128). This may have two benefits. Firstly, varied use of these kinds of connectives can make it seem like there is a "logical argument unfolding" (ibid.). Secondly, if *and* is the only connective used, emphasis can be laid on the number of reasons to choose the product or the number of its great features (ibid.).

2.4 Wordplay

As discussed in the earlier sections, advertising language can at times be both quite standard as well as imaginative. In fact, Dyer (2009, 111, 120) states that simple language as well as "bizarre and controversial statements" can both be used to the copywriter's advantage. However, while straightforward language has its uses, advertising tends to favor language that bends rules by being innovative and colorful (ibid., 120). One such way to make an advertisement interesting and exciting is to exploit the ambiguity of language (ibid., 122). Leech (1966, 184) defines ambiguity as a "many-one relationship between levels", where "different meanings are expressed alike in form" or "different formal items have the same spelling or pronunciation". The present section introduces one feature of advertising language that exploits this ambiguity, namely wordplay or punning.

Dyer (2009, 143) defines puns as "plays on words involving the humorous use of words to suggest different meanings". Laviosa (2005, 25) adds that the levels of language involved in these witticisms can include for instance the graphological, phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic levels. However, puns are typically based on three types of lexical relation, namely homophony, homonymy, and polysemy (Yule 2017, 133). According to Yule (ibid., 132), homophony can be defined as the relation between two or more written forms that are pronounced in the same manner. Examples of such homophones include the pairs *flour*/*flower*, *right*/*write* and *bare*/*bear* (ibid.). Homonymy, on the other hand, occurs when one written or spoken form has multiple unrelated meanings, as in *sole* (single) – *sole* (part of foot or shoe) and *bat* (flying creature) – *bat* (used in sports) (ibid.). Lastly, polysemy involves one written or spoken form having multiple related meanings (ibid., 133). Examples of polysemous words include *mouth*, which can belong to a face, a river or a cave, and *foot*, which can be a part of a person, a bed, or a mountain (ibid.).

According to Myers (1994, 43), homophony suits print advertising particularly well because of the "tension between the spelling and the apparent meaning" that makes the joke more surprising, as in the slogan *Sainsbury's have discovered that the finest whisky is kept under loch and*

quay, which is a play on the similar pronunciations of *lock*/*loch* and *key*/*quay*. A homonymous pun, on the other hand, is particularly effective in advertising if the word can act as two parts of speech simultaneously, as in *Face the world*, where *face* can be interpreted as a verb or a noun (ibid., 65). Far more frequent than homonymous puns are puns based on polysemy, which feature particularly often the words *naturally*, *clearly* and *bright* (ibid., 66).

Even though advertisers have all these different ways of creating puns at their disposal, one type of wordplay, puns based on brand names, is so common that it can be called "the basic advertising pun" (Myers 1994, 64). In these kinds of puns, one word refers both to a brand name and to an everyday word that is either a homonym or a homophone of the product name, as in *The whey to a beach body* (Díaz-Pérez 2012, 29). In addition to this, the product name may even be used as a part of a phrase, as if it had an established meaning: *Get that Pepsi feeling* (Myers 1994, 65). Advantages of plays on brand names include imbuing the product with positive connotations and enhancing its memorability (Díaz-Pérez 2012, 30).

In addition to puns based on brand names, another frequent type of wordplay in advertising involves idioms and proverbs. Puns involving idioms are based on "interpreting an item both as a part of an idiom and as a lexical item in its own right", as in the slogan *When the wind has bite – and you feel like a bite – then bite on a Whole Nut*, where the first two instances of *bite* are parts of idioms, while the third one has its regular meaning (Leech 1966, 185). Such puns are effective because both the literal and figurative senses work in the advertiser's favor in displaying the product in a positive light (Díaz-Pérez 2012, 22). Furthermore, the sense of familiarity that using idioms and proverbs can give to a slogan may motivate consumers to buy the advertised product (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 41).

To be such a common tool in advertising, wordplay must have multiple advantages. One of these advantages is that wordplay catches the consumers' attention and is therefore particularly useful in headlines and slogans (Dyer 2009, 121). As Sládková (2017, 266) states,

attracting consumers' attention and arousing their interest with puns is important, as consumers face numerous advertising texts every day.

In addition to attracting attention, puns also aim to make the advertisement more memorable. This relates to the fact that the meaning of a pun is intentionally ambiguous and unclear, leaving the consumer to interpret and decipher it (Myers 1994, 67). This emphasis on interpretation then puts the consumer in an active role in making sense of the message instead of just receiving information (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001, 1295). Decoding these "puzzles" can be rewarding and pleasurable, which in turn makes the advertisements more memorable (Marcoci 2014, 751). Mcquarrie and Mick (1996, 429) state that this memorability is also enhanced by the fact that figurative language allows multiple interpretations. Diafarova (2008, 269) adds that the fact that puns can "say one thing and suggest another" also lessens the advertisers' responsibility for the interpretation of the message and present a way around some rules pertaining to advertising. When it comes to the difficulty of the interpretation process, advertisers tend to use challenging puns as well as more obvious ones, as using distant meanings results in more striking puns, and advertisers can "use a groan just as well as a chuckle" (Myers 1994, 64).

Lastly, puns naturally bring humor to the advertising message. In addition to imprinting the message to the consumer's memory (Utomo and Suprajitno 2018, 266), humorous puns are also an "economical way of producing additional positive cognitive effects" and help to create a positive image of the advertised product (Díaz-Pérez 2012, 11). In other words, if a consumer is amused by the advertisement, they are more likely to have a positive attitude towards the advertised product (Díaz-Pérez, 2012, 16). Another benefit of humorous puns linked to the creation of a positive image is their ability to "disarm skepticism" (Myers 1994, 62). This persuasive power of puns stems from the fact that they can have a relaxing effect on the consumer that in turn prevents them from noticing any negative details about the product (Diafarova 2008, 268). According to Díaz-Pérez (2012, 16-

18), the distracting power of puns that keeps consumers away from "critical reflection" is beneficial in the modern society where differences between similar products are minimal.

3 EMPIRICAL STUDY

This section first presents the aim of the study and the research questions answered in the present thesis. Next, the material examined in the study is discussed along with some issues related to it. Finally, the section concludes with a discussion of the methods used.

3.1 The research questions

The aim of the present thesis is to examine some linguistic features used in the slogans of British and American breweries. In addition to this, the aim is also to compare the two sets of slogans compiled for the study and to determine what differences, if any, could be detected in the data. With these aims in mind, the following research questions were set:

1. How are adjectives, verbs and personal pronouns used in the analyzed slogans?
2. What clause types do the analyzed slogans represent?
3. How is wordplay used in the analyzed slogans?

3.2 Material

The material examined in the present thesis consists of altogether 140 slogans of breweries: 70 slogans of British breweries and 70 slogans of American breweries. While the amount of data needed to be restricted to keep the scale and scope of the thesis manageable, it was considered sufficient to examine the features in question, to detect tendencies and to observe possible differences between the two sets of data. The decision to examine the same number of both British and American slogans

was also made to make the results of the two sets of data more comparable. The analyzed slogans are included in Appendixes 1 and 2.

The material was collected from the official websites of breweries located in the United Kingdom and the United States during December 2021 and January 2022. As the aim was to examine the slogans of the breweries from these two cultural settings in general, and not to focus on a specific type of brewery, a random sample of breweries from both settings was gathered and included in the analysis. This means that no restrictions were made considering for example the size of the breweries in question. However, as one could expect, most of the slogans studied belong to small microbreweries, which can be defined as independent breweries that produce less than 15, 000 barrels of beer a year and sell a minimum of three fourths of their products off-site (Brewers Association 2022).

While the data was not restricted in terms of a specific type of brewery, the slogans studied needed to be restricted in order to make the data as comparable and homogenous as possible. As the focus of the thesis is on how the breweries in question present themselves and their products through their slogans, only the slogans marketing the companies were analyzed. This means that slogans created for specific products or product lines were excluded from the analysis, and only one slogan was examined per brewery. In order to find the companies' slogans, websites of the breweries were searched for taglines or separate lines of text that appeared larger than the surrounding text or were repeated throughout the page. The slogans were usually prominent enough to locate rather easily, although their placement on the websites varied. The most common placements were the top and bottom parts of the page, together with the logo of the brewery and possible pictures on the webpage.

3.3 Methods

The present thesis is a qualitative study that does not aim to make wide generalizations, but rather examine a restricted set of data thoroughly. However, some quantitative methods are also employed to support the qualitative analysis. This means that the results of each section are first presented in the form tables consisting of figures and percentages, which then serve as the starting point for further examination. Then, the data is analyzed qualitatively in order to find common tendencies and possible differences between the two sets of slogans.

The first research question regarding the lexicon of the slogans will be answered by manually counting the adjectives, verbs and personal pronouns occurring in the slogans and analyzing them in their respective sections. Furthermore, the adjectives used will be divided into the semantic categories of descriptors and classifiers according to Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197-198). Then, the second research question regarding the clause structure of the slogans will be answered in a similar manner by counting and dividing the clauses found into different clause types before a closer examination. The four clause types discussed in the present study are declarative clauses, interrogative clauses, imperative clauses, and incomplete clauses.

Finally, the third research question regarding the use of wordplay in the slogans will be answered similarly by first counting all the puns that occur in the slogans. Then, the puns will be categorized into homonymic, homophonic, polysemic and idiomatic puns. After the categorization the puns will be analyzed more closely.

As the present study is a purely linguistic study, some features of the slogans studied were excluded from the analysis. These include for example some extralinguistic features, such as layout and typography, although they may also contribute to the effect and meaning a slogan has.

4 RESULTS

As the two sets of slogans are first examined on the level of lexicon, the present section first analyzes the use of different parts of speech in the data. The three parts of speech examined are adjectives, verbs and personal pronouns. Then, the slogans are examined from a syntactic perspective, as the use of different clause types is analyzed. Finally, the slogans are analyzed from the point of view of wordplay.

4.1 Adjectives

This section focuses on the use of adjectives in the analyzed slogans, as well as their division into the two semantic classes, classifiers and descriptors. Some problematic instances, such as *liquid, quality* and *the divine*, involved differentiating adjectives and nouns. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 536-537), in cases such as *liquid* and *quality*, there is a homonymous relationship between an adjective and a noun, and such cases originate from conversion. They (ibid., 537) also add that in these cases, adjectival and noun modifiers can be differentiated by the fact that noun modifiers cannot be graded or modified with adverbs while adjectives can be. However, if these requirements are not met, a modifier can still be categorized as an adjective if its meaning as a modifier differs from its meaning as a head of a noun phrase (ibid.). Thus, while *liquid* in *Purveyors of liquid joy* and *quality in QUALITY BEER FOR QUALITY LIVING* are non-gradable and do not readily accept modifying adverbs, they can still be seen as adjectives, as their meanings differ from for instance *a corrosive liquid* and *outstanding quality*. In the case of *the divine* in *ALES FOR THE DIVINE*, the adjective appears as the head of a noun phrase, a position usually reserved for nouns. However, Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 202) still treat these instances as adjectives rather than nouns, and state that noun phrases headed by an adjective commonly refer to people that can be described with the adjective. Therefore, the noun phrase in question could be reformulated as "divine people".

In addition to differentiating adjectives and nouns, the analysis also required differentiating adjectives and verbs. Some scholars, such as Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 541), consider some attributively used participial forms, such as in *the sinking ship*, verbs, and categorize others as adjectives. Other scholars, such as Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 25, 190-191) categorize all attributively used participial forms as adjectives. In order to minimize the effect of interpretation and to make the analysis as unambiguous as possible, all attributive participial forms were analyzed as adjectives, following the example of Biber, Conrad and Leech (ibid.). The division of the adjectives into classifiers and descriptors is presented in Tables 1 and 2 below.

	Number of adjectives	Percentage
classifiers	7	12.3%
descriptors	50	87.7%
Total	**57**	**100.0%**

Table 1. The number of classifiers and descriptors in the British slogans

	Number of adjectives	Percentage
classifiers	3	6.0%
descriptors	47	94.0%
Total	**50**	**100.0%**

Table 2. The number of classifiers and descriptors in the American slogans

4.1.1 Adjectives in the British slogans

As expected, adjectives form a vital part of the vocabulary of the slogans studied. The slogans of the British breweries have 57 occurrences of adjectives constituting 16.2% of all 351 words used in the slogans. Furthermore, 57.1% of the British slogans include one or more adjective. When it comes to the semantic classes of adjectives, classifiers and descriptors are used in very different degrees. As can be seen from Table 1, classifiers form only 12.3% of all the adjectives in the slogans of British breweries. The seven instances of classifiers in the slogans are *original*, *different, liquid*, *Welsh* and three instances of *real*.

Original* and *different* are categorized as relational classifiers by Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 197), as they restrict the referent of the noun in relation to other referents. In the slogan *Original Taste, Brewed In Wales*, *original* serves to differentiate the authentic taste of the brewery's products from others that try to replicate it, while in *Take a different view.*, the view the brewery offers is simply deemed different than what others might offer. *Welsh*, on the other hand, serves to identify a place of origin, while *liquid* gives a type of joy in *liquid joy*. Arguably the most interesting classifier here is *real*, as the adjective is used both as a classifier and a descriptor in the British slogans. As a classifier in for example the slogan *Traditional Real Ale*, *real* identifies a specific type of beer. According to Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA, n.d.), "real ale" is a traditional type of beer that is not carbonated artificially and is served from casks. However, as *real* can also be used as a descriptor, as in *Real ales from a Real Island*, the consumer may be confused by the two readings. Nevertheless, this confusion can benefit the advertiser and may even be intentional, as both the "type of beer" and the "proper beer" readings work in the advertiser's favor.

Unlike classifiers, descriptors are used very frequently in the British slogans and constitute a clear majority with a portion of 87.7% of all adjectives. Unsurprisingly, descriptors are most often used to describe the products or aspects of the products the brewery offers. Examples include the descriptors in *great beers* and *modern taste*. Other frequently described things are the

brewery and the brewers themselves, as in *ordinary Yorkshire lads*, and something the products cause, as in *Good Times.*

As discussed earlier, descriptors can form a continuum of informativeness from more objective and informative descriptors to emotive and evaluative ones. The descriptors used in the British slogans divide rather evenly between these two types, although emotive and evaluative ones are used slightly more frequently. Examples of evaluative and emotive descriptors include the ones in *Exceptional Beers* and *beautiful beer*, while the ones in *Award Winning Real Ale* and *modern ales* describe their referents more objectively and offer more information about them. As noted by Leech (1966, 129-130), advertisers tend to use informative and emotive adjectives together to blur the boundaries between fact and evaluation, but this phenomenon is surprisingly rare in the British slogans, as only three slogans exhibit it. These slogans are *1ˢᵗ class natural fresh local crafted beer*, *FRESH & TASTY – FROM THE EAST KENT COAST* and *DELICIOUS, DIVERSE & DELIVERED.* In connection to this, the advertisers' aforementioned tendency to use multiple adjectives in their descriptions is also rarely visible in the British slogans as the adjectives occur most often alone, and there are only two slogans with more than two adjectives: *Dedicated to brewing the best possible craft beer* with three adjectives and *1ˢᵗ class natural fresh local crafted beer* with five adjectives.

Similarly to mixing informative and emotive adjectives and using multiple adjectives to describe a product, comparative and superlative forms are also used surprisingly infrequently in the British slogans. In fact, only one comparative form, *A BETTER BEER*, is present in the British data, while superlative forms are used three times: *Beer at its Best*, *the fairest brewery* and *the best possible craft beer*. However, the use of comparative and superlative forms of adjectives is typical in the sense that the comparisons are of the unqualified kind, as the consumer is not told to which other beers or breweries the referent in question is compared to. The frequency of *better* and *best* is also typical, as Leech (1966, 133) notes that they are the most frequent comparative and superlative forms in advertising. Nevertheless, the fact that superlative forms outnumber comparative forms is yet

another untypical feature of the British slogans, as Goddard (1998, 105) mentions that comparative forms are common particularly in slogans.

Linguistic ingenuity and complexity are also rather rare among the adjectives used, as no neologisms can be found in the British slogans, and compound adjectives occur only three times. The three instances are *extraordinary*, *award winning* and *1ˢᵗ class*. Although neologisms and compound adjectives are rare, other ways to add creativeness and color to the advertising message are present, as *cheeky* in *A CHEEKY TWIST* is an example of a colloquial adjective, while *the fairest* in *THE FAIREST BREWERY IN ALL THE LAND* is an adoption from literary style. Other peculiar cases of adjectives are *hard*, *ordinary* and *crafty*, which often have negative associations and are therefore not expected in advertising language. Nevertheless, they are in fact used to evoke positive associations, as *hard* in *MADE THE HARD WAY* evokes an idea of making no compromises and doing things properly, while *ordinary* is used to minimize a negative feature in *Only Ordinary By Name* and seen as a positive feature in *EXTRAORDINARY BEER BREWED BY FOUR ORDINARY YORKSHIRE LADS*. *Crafty*, on the other hand, may not have the meaning 'devious' in *CRAFT BEER BY CRAFTY BREWERS*, but rather the meaning 'skilled, skillful', which according to *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) is a regional use characteristic to British English (*OED*, under *crafty adj.*, sense 2a).[1]

4.1.2 Adjectives in the American slogans

In terms of frequency, the figures for the slogans of the American breweries are 50 adjectives forming 16.8% of all 298 words in the slogans, and 51.4% of the slogans containing one or more adjective. Thus, adjectives form a slightly larger part of the vocabulary in the American slogans than they do in the British equivalents, although the portion of slogans that contain adjectives is simultaneously

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[1] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "crafty, adj.", accessed June 26, 2022, https://www-oed-com.libproxy.tuni.fi/view/Entry/43718?rskey=moXTCO&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid.

slightly smaller than in the British material. All in all, adjectives seem to be an important element in both sets of slogans. In fact, given the prominence of adjectives in both the British and the American data, it is easy to see why adjectives are one of the "key parts of speech for advertisers", as Dyer (2009, 118) puts it.

Similarly to the British slogans, classifiers and descriptors are used unevenly in the American slogans as well. However, classifiers seem to have an even smaller role in the American slogans than they have in the British slogans, as only three classifiers can be found, forming 6.0% of all adjectives in the data. These classifiers are *artisanal* in *Thoughtfully Crafted Artisanal Ales, fermented* in *FERMENTED ART* and *liquid* in *Liquid Aloha*. Although *artisanal, fermented* and *liquid* may be said to have some descriptive content as well, their main function here seems to be to differentiate the beers of the brewery in question from the mass-produced beers of other breweries and to differentiate a type of art and a "type of aloha", respectively.

As can be expected in relation to the scarcity of classifiers, descriptors form an even greater majority of the adjectives than in the British slogans, with a portion of 94.0% of all adjectives. Similarly to the British slogans, the descriptors in the American slogans are most frequently used to describe the products of the brewery and their features, other common themes being the brewery itself and the things the beers of the brewery give the consumer. Examples of these include the descriptors in *DARN TASTY BEER*, *AMERICA'S OLDEST BREWERY* and *Perpetuate Better Living*. Nevertheless, differences between the two sets of slogans can also be found, as the descriptors of the American slogans are also frequently used to describe the potential customers of the brewery, which is rare in the British slogans. Examples of this include the descriptors in *A SOLID BEER FOR SOLID PEOPLE* and *Good People Drink Good Beer*.

The similarities between the two sets of slogans continue when looking at the types of descriptors used, as evaluative and emotive descriptors are again more frequent than more informative ones. However, while the two types are used rather evenly in the British slogans, emotive descriptors

constitute a clear majority in the American data. Examples of evaluative and emotive descriptors include the descriptors in *FINE CRAFT BEERS* and *great taste*, while the one in *REFRESHINGLY SIMPLE* has less emotive and more informative content. Unlike the British slogans, the American slogans involve no cases of mixing informative and emotive adjectives, as the adjectives used always represent the same type, as in *Old World Tradition. New World Twist*. In connection to this, using multiple adjectives is rare, and the slogans that have an adjective, usually have only one, as was the case with the British slogans as well. One slogan, *Real Beer. Real People. Real Good.*, contains three adjectives, while instances with more than three adjectives do not occur, unlike in the British data.

In terms of comparative and superlative forms of adjectives, the two sets of slogans are again similar, as the American slogans also have only four instances of these forms. Even so, the two sets of slogans differ in that in the American slogans, comparative forms are more frequent with three instances, while only one superlative form can be found in the data. The three comparatives and the one superlative are present in *better living*, *the road less travelled*, *better drinking* and *AMERICA'S OLDEST BREWERY*. The comparatives and superlatives are again typical, as they lack the comparative item and forms of the adjective *good* are present here as well.

Linguistic complexity and ingenuity are again surprisingly infrequent, as no neologisms can be found among the adjectives and compound adjectives are even rarer than in the British slogans, as only two instances occur in the data. The two instances are *straight shootin'* and *highfalutin*, both occurring in the same slogan. Even so, colloquial adjectives are used to make the slogans more colorful and to add local flavor more frequently than in the British data. In addition to the two compound adjectives above, examples include *saucy* and *killer*, in the sense 'excellent'. The data also includes one unconventional spelling, *baaaad*. As Dyer (2009, 112) notes, intentional misspellings are common in advertising language, and the misspelling here also makes the language more vivid and attention-catching. Using such a negative adjective is also interesting and unexpected in itself, but as can be seen from the slogan, *Life's too short to drink baaaad beer!*, it refers to rival products,

not the products of the brewery in question. One further interesting instance is the use of the adjective *real* in the data. Similarly to the British slogans, *real* is used with two different meanings, but here it occurs as a descriptor and as an adverb, as in *Real Beer. Real People. Real Good.* and *Real fresh. Real local.* Adverbs in general are also used to modify adjectives more frequently than in the British slogans. These adverbs are often quite expressive and vivid, which according to Rush (1998, 162), is characteristic of advertising language. Examples include the adverbs in *DARN TASTY BEER* and *FIERCELY INDEPENDENT.*

4.2 Verbs

This section focuses on the use of verbs in the analyzed slogans of British and American breweries. As this section analyzes the verbs in the two sets of slogans studied, some restrictions needed to be made in terms of the verbal elements included in the analysis. Quirk et al. (1984, 135) state that especially participial forms of verbs are complex and form a continuum of more and less verbal expressions. Keeping this in mind, only the more verbal end of the continuum was deemed relevant for the present discussion. Thus, participial forms functioning as adjectives or nouns, such as *dedicated* and *Traditional brewing*, were excluded from the analysis. The results of the analysis are discussed below.

4.2.1 Verbs in the British slogans

Similarly to adjectives, verbs are an important part of the vocabulary in the British slogans, as the 38 verbs in the data constitute 10.8% of all the 351 words and occur in 51.4% of the slogans. The most common type of expression among the verbs are past participle forms, which constitute a clear majority with 42.1% of all verbs. All of the past participles occur in incomplete clauses that lack different kinds of elements. As discussed before, interpreting what the missing elements are in an

incomplete clause may be difficult. However, the clauses in question can be logically interpreted as passive clauses where the subject, *be* and possibly the relative pronoun *that* have been omitted. As an example, the slogans *BEERS BREWED WITH INSPIRATION, PASSION & A LOT OF WELSH WATER* and *MADE THE HARD WAY* could be interpreted for instance as *beers that are brewed with inspiration, passion and a lot of Welsh water* and *our beers are made the hard way*. In addition to the products of the brewery, the implied subject may also be the brewery itself, particularly when the name of the company and the slogan are situated close to each other. As an example, the slogan *Made of Manchester* could be interpreted as referring to the brewery's connection to its hometown and reformulated as *Hydes Brewery is Made of Manchester*. According to Leech (1966, 82), the use of the passive voice is common in advertising, as it allows the advertiser to avoid mentioning the people that actually produce the products. This is understandable, as the consumer only needs to make a mental link between the brewery and the slogan, and not be familiar with the people behind the products.

Besides past participles, two other large groups of verbs in the data are imperative and simple present tense verbs. As could be expected, both imperatives and simple present tense forms are frequent, imperative forms constituting 23.7% of the verbs with 9 instances and simple present tense forms forming 21.1% of the verbs with 8 occurrences. Imperative forms, such as the ones in *Take a different view.* and *Experience the taste* will be discussed in Subsection 4.4. As could be expected, all the simple present tense forms in the data occur without a reference to a specific time, which makes them examples of the "eternal truths" of the unrestrictive present, as discussed in Subsection 2.3.2. Examples of these universal statements include *THERE IS A DEVIL IN THE DETAIL* and *All adventures start with a Bad Seed of an idea*.

Other, less frequent forms in the data are present participles and *to*-infinitives. Present participles occur 4 times in the data forming 10.5% of all verbs, while a *to*-infinitive occurs only once, thus constituting 2.6% of the analyzed verbs. In the same manner as past participles, present

participles occur in incomplete clauses that can be interpreted to be in the progressive aspect. Again, the subject and the verb *be* are omitted, and slogans such as *Turning Grain Into Gold* and *Redefining the art of craft brewing* could also be written as *We Are Turning Grain Into Gold* and *We are redefining the art of craft brewing*. In addition to these present progressives, *Uniting Communities Through Beer Since 1849* and *BREWING PERFECTION SINCE 1838* could be seen as examples of the present perfect progressive, with the subject, *have* and *be* removed, given the time references in them. The *to*-infinitive, on the other hand, can be seen as an adverbial expressing purpose in *HERE TO SERVE YOU SINCE 1868*.

A further tendency concerning verbs in the data is the use of adverbs and adverbials to modify the verbs in the slogans. Examples of these adverbs are the ones in *EXPERTLY CRAFTED* and *TRADITIONALLY BREWED*. The adverbials used to modify the verbs are mostly prepositional phrases following the verb, as in *Fine Ales Crafted With Passion* and *BREWED WITHOUT COMPROMISE*.

4.2.2 Verbs in the American slogans

Similarly to the British slogans, verbs play an important role also in the American slogans. In fact, they constitute an even greater part of the vocabulary, as the 56 verbs found in the slogans form 18.8% of all 298 words and 60% of the slogans contain one or more verbs. Imperative verbs are much more common in the American slogans than in the British material, constituting a clear majority of the verbs with 35.7% and 21 instances. Besides imperative verbs, past participle forms are also highly prevalent in the slogans, as was the case with the British material as well. The 12 instances of past participials form roughly a fifth of the verbs with 21.4% and occur again in incomplete clauses, where they can be interpreted as passives with the subject, referring either to the product or the brewery, and the verb *be* omitted. Examples include the slogans *Proudly brewed in St. Paul, MN* and *LOCALLY*

OWNED, LOCALLY BREWED. In addition to passives in the present tense, one instance of the perfect aspect with a past time reference can also be found: *ANCHORED IN SAN FRANCISCO SINCE 1896.*

Apart from present tense in the passive mood, simple present tense verbs also constitute an equally significant part of the verbs with 11 instances forming 19.6% of all verbs, thus being only slightly less frequent than in the British data. As with the British slogans, simple present tense verbs again occur in the unrestrictive present without references to time. Examples include *WE BREW LEGENDS!* and *OUR BEER IS SERIOUS FUN.*

Present participles are also present in the data, being slightly less frequent than in the British material with 5 instances forming 8.9% of all verbs. Similarly to the British slogans, the present participles occur in incomplete clauses and can be seen as instances of the present progressive with the ellipsis of the subject and the verb *be*. Unlike in the British slogans, no instances with the perfect aspect are found. Examples include *CELEBRATING THE ELEMENTS OF GREAT TASTE* and *Crafting beer without rules*. Instances of the present progressive being less common in the American data than in the British data is somewhat unexpected, since Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 158) state that the present progressive is much more common in American English than in British English.

As in the British slogans, some *to*-infinitive clauses can also be found in the American slogans. The three instances occur either as complements (*Brewing Beer We Love To Drink!*) or as postmodifiers to a noun phrase (*GOOD TIME TO GET LOST*). Although all of the verb forms discussed so far have occurred in both sets of slogans, there are also some that are exclusive to the American material. As discussed in Subsection 2.3.2, auxiliary verbs are rare in advertising language, apart from the modal auxiliaries *will* and *can*. Surprisingly, no instances of *will* or *can* appear in the British slogans, while both appear once in the American data together with the bare infinitives that follow them. In *YOU'LL NEVER FORGET YOUR FIRST SIP*, *will*, as is typical, expresses not only future tense but also absolute certainty, as the beers of the brewery are depicted as so delicious and

unique that it is simply impossible to forget one's first sip. *Can*, however, acts in an untypical manner in *Nice beer, if you can get it*. As mentioned in Subsection 2.3.2, *can* usually expresses what the consumer is able to do with the help of the product or what the product offers to the consumer. Nevertheless, here *can* occurs in a conditional clause that makes the availability of the product and the consumer's ability to acquire it uncertain. As of April 10, 2022, Cisco Brewers' website describes the location of the brewery on Nantucket Island as difficult to reach, which may be why their products can be difficult to acquire. However, another possible interpretation of the slogan is that their beers are so popular that one needs to be fast to acquire them, which would work in the brewery's favor.

In addition to the use of the modal auxiliaries *will* and *can*, two colloquial multi-word verb constructions, to *tie one on* and to *get lost*, are used in the American slogans, while such constructions are absent in the British data. Although verb groups tend to be maximally simple in advertising language, as discussed in Subsection 2.3.2, multi-word verb constructions, such as phrasal verbs, are characteristic of advertising language which favors colloquial style (Leech 1966, 76-77). Therefore, their scarcity in the American slogans and corresponding lack in the British material is somewhat unexpected. However, the two sets of slogans are again similar in that adverbs and adverbial prepositional phrases are frequently used in connection to verbs also in the American slogans. Examples include the ones in *Thoughtfully Crafted Artisanal Ales.* and *Craft Beer Made With Conviction*.

4.3 Personal pronouns

This section discusses the frequencies and use of personal pronouns in the two sets of slogans. In addition to the nominative and accusative forms of personal pronouns, the corresponding possessive determiners and possessive pronouns were also taken into account when analyzing the use of personal pronouns. The occurrences of the possessive determiners and possessive pronouns were included into

the occurrences of the actual personal pronouns, which means that the occurrences of for example *we* also include the occurrences of *us*, *our* and *ours*. The possessive determiners and possessive pronouns were included into the analysis as they can be seen as essentially the genitive forms of the personal pronouns (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 93), and they serve the same purposes as personal pronouns in advertising language. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 3 and 4 below.

	Number of personal pronouns	Percentage
I	0	0
you	2	50.0%
he	0	0
she	0	0
it	0	0
we	2	50.0%
they	0	0
Total	**4**	**100.0%**

Table 3. The number of personal pronouns in the British slogans

	Number of personal pronouns	Percentage
I	0	0
you	10	55.6%
he	0	0
she	0	0
it	2	11.1%
we	6	33.3%
they	0	0
Total	**18**	**100.0%**

Table 4. The number of personal pronouns in the American slogans

4.3.1 Personal pronouns in the British slogans

As can be seen from Table 3, personal pronouns are used unexpectedly scarcely in the British slogans given their prominence in advertising language in general, as they occur only four times in three slogans and form only 1.1% of all the 351 words in the slogans. Despite their surprising rarity, the personal pronouns are still used somewhat typically. The two pronouns used being the second-person *you* and the first-person plural *we* is not surprising, since *you* is the most prominent personal pronoun in advertising, and *we* is often used to refer to the advertiser, as discussed earlier. Thus, the prominence of *we* alongside *you* and the need to refer to the advertiser could be expected, as the slogans serve as an advertisement for the whole company, not just a specific product.

As expected, the second-person pronoun *you* is used to address the reader directly in the British slogans. However, the two instances differ in terms of their goals. On the one hand, *you* can be used to activate the readers and to make them do something, for example acquire the products of the brewery, as in *DISCOVER YOUR ABYSS* by Abyss Brewing. On the other hand, as discussed earlier, *you* can be used to create a relationship and solidarity between the advertiser and the consumer, as in *HERE TO SERVE YOU SINCE 1868*. Here, the slogan makes it seem like the brewery exists only to serve the consumer, and not for example to make profit.

The first-person plural *we* is also used rather typically, as it is used to refer to the advertiser. As mentioned earlier, *we* can be used to include or exclude the reader. In *Proud of our history, proud of our beer.*, *our* is used in an exclusive manner, referring only to the advertiser. It is also used to personify the advertised brewery, making it seem like a group of people who take pride in their work and products, instead of a faceless company. In addition to making the company more approachable, the slogan also makes the products of the brewery seem exemplary.

4.3.2 Personal pronouns in the American slogans

In contrast to the British slogans, personal pronouns seem to have a significantly larger role in the American slogans, as they occur 18 times in 16 slogans, forming 6.0% of all 298 words in the slogans. The selection of pronouns used is also wider than in the British slogans, as the slogans include three different pronouns, *you*, *we* and *it*. Despite the use of *it*, *you* and *we* are again the most frequent pronouns, similarly to the British slogans.

As can be seen from Table 4, the second person pronoun *you* comprises a clear majority of the pronouns with 55.6% of all personal pronouns in the American slogans. In terms of the motivations behind the use of *you*, the two sets of slogans are similar, as *you* is most often used to address the readers directly in order to make them take action or to forge a relationship between the advertiser and the readers. Again, the action the readers are encouraged to take is acquiring or trying the product, as in *FIND YOUR REFUGE.* and *Enjoy Your Exile!* A little less frequently, the use of *you* creates solidarity between the advertiser and the readers in for example welcoming the readers to the brewery (*"COME AS YOU ARE"*) or depicting the two participants in a gift-giving situation (*FROM OUR HAND TO YOURS.*).

As discussed earlier, in these kinds of cases *you* is used to make the message seem personal, although the slogan addresses large groups of people simultaneously. Despite this typical tendency in advertising language, *you* is also used in ways that explicitly refer to multiple people in the American data. In *"Lager Y'all"*, the plural reference of *you* is made explicit with the following expression *all*. Thus, the slogan addresses a large group of people without a feigned impression of one-to-one communication. As Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 95) note, the use of this form is especially common in Southern American English, so it may also bring some local color to the slogan. Another slogan, *Nice beer, if you can get it.*, takes this even further, as *you* can be seen here as a more informal substitute of *one*, referring to people in general (Quirk et al. 1984, 222). Thus, the slogan could be reformulated as "Nice beer, if it is available".

The first-person plural *we* is the second-most frequent pronoun in the data with 33.3% of all personal pronouns. Similarly to the British slogans, *we* is again often used in an exclusive sense to refer to the advertiser. As expected, the goal is to personalize the advertiser or to also create solidarity between the advertiser and the readers, as in *WE BREW LEGENDS!* and *FROM OUR HAND TO YOURS.* However, unlike the British slogans, the American slogans also contain uses that include the reader in the reference of *we*. As Myers (1994, 82) notes, this is usually done to depict the advertiser as part of the target group of the advertisement, which adds to the persuasive power of the message. This implication can be seen for example in *Brewing Beer We Love To Drink!* and *WE'RE HERE FOR THE GOOD TIMES.*

The remaining two instances of the third person singular *it* form 11.1% of all the personal pronouns in the American slogans. Both occurrences, *It's Gigantic!* and *IT ALL REVOLVES AROUND THE BEER*, seem to have rather unclear referents. In *It's Gigantic!*, *it* might refer for instance to the brewery, the beers they produce or the taste of their beers. Similarly, in *IT ALL REVOLVES AROUND THE BEER*, *it all* might refer to the operation of the brewery or it might have a wider reference. Whatever the referents might be, it is clear that *it* is used in a typical manner to indicate shared knowledge between the advertiser and the readers, as noted earlier. Furthermore, the advertisers' tendency to use *it* to avoid mentioning its referent might also be present here in order to make the message vague and encourage the readers to make their own interpretations.

4.4 Clause types

This section shifts the perspective of the analysis from the level of words to higher level structures, as it examines the use of different clause types in the slogans of the British and American breweries studied. The four clause types studied are declarative clauses, interrogative clauses, imperative clauses and incomplete clauses. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 5 and 6 below.

	Number of clauses	Number of slogans	Percentage of clauses	Percentage of slogans
Declarative	6	6	7.6%	8.6%
Interrogative	0	0	0	0
Imperative	9	9	11.4%	12.9%
Incomplete	64	56	81.0%	80.0%
Total	79	71	100.0%	101.5%

Table 5. The number of the different clause types in the British slogans

	Number of clauses	Number of slogans	Percentage of clauses	Percentage of slogans
Declarative	9	9	11.1%	12.9%
Interrogative	0	0	0	0
Imperative	19	17	23.5%	24.3%
Incomplete	53	44	65.4%	62.9%
Total	81	70	100.0%	100.1%

Table 6. The number of the different clause types in the American slogans

Observing Table 5, the total number of slogans and the total percentage of slogans exceeding 70 and 100.0% respectively, is due to one slogan containing both an imperative and an incomplete clause. In terms of the different clause types analyzed, it is highly surprising that interrogative clauses are altogether absent in both sets of slogans, given the prominent position and multiple uses questions have in advertising language, as discussed in Subsection 2.4.2. Due to the lack of interrogatives, the clause types discussed below are declarative clauses, imperative clauses, and incomplete clauses.

4.4.1 Declarative clauses in the British slogans

Although Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 249) consider declarative clauses the "default type of independent clause", and Quirk et al. (1984, 386) note that a statement is "by far the most important" syntactic class of a sentence, declarative clauses seem to have a rather marginal role in the British slogans. As can be seen from Table 5, this surprisingly marginal role is evident from the fact that the six instances of declarative clauses form only 7.6% of all clauses and occur in only 8.6% of the slogans.

Despite their untypical scarcity, most of the declaratives are typical in their construction, as they follow the standard SV-structure: *All adventures start with a Bad Seed of an idea.*, *Beer is Beautiful*. However, more complex structures also occur, as two of the declaratives begin with what Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 33) call the "existential" *there* that acts as a "notional subject" (Quirk et al. 1984, 956): *THERE IS A DEVIL IN THE DETAIL* and *THERE'S MORE TO THE LAKES THAN MEETS THE EYE*. Besides the use of the existential *there*, another interesting constructional feature of the declaratives is the frequent occurrence of the verb *be*. According to Leech (1966, 94-95) *be* is often omitted in advertising language as an element of low informational value, so its presence here is rather unexpected.

As discussed earlier, the informative function of declaratives is often disregarded in advertising, and declaratives are often "non-statements" with little information value (Dyer 2009, 120). This tendency is also evident in the British slogans, as only one of them, *Beer is Beautiful*, seems to give at least some kind of information about the products of the company. Other statements, such as *THERE'S MORE TO THE LAKES THAN MEETS THE EYE* and *"Science is nothing without imagination"*, are more indirect in terms of their connection to the brewery and leave the consumer with no real information about the brewery or its products. However, this vagueness works in the advertiser's favor, as these "non-statements" are difficult to deem true or false, as mentioned earlier.

4.4.2 Declarative clauses in the American slogans

Similarly to the British slogans, declaratives have a minor role in the American data as well. Nevertheless, declaratives are somewhat more frequent in the American slogans than in the British counterparts. This can be seen from Table 5, as the nine declarative clauses in the American slogans form 11.0% of all clauses and occur in 12.9% of the slogans.

The similarities between the two sets of slogans continue when it comes to the construction of the declarative clauses, as the majority of them again exhibit the standard SV-structure. Examples include the slogans *Good People Drink Good Beer* and *WE BREW LEGENDS!* However, there is again some variation to the standard formula, as one slogan begins with a "circumstance adverbial" that "sets the scene" (Biber, Conrad and Leech 2002, 369, 371) and includes an existential *there* as well: *Where there's water, there's Sweetwater*. Similarly to the slogans of British breweries, the verb *be* occurs frequently also in the declaratives of the American slogans. Even so, the instances of *be* in the two sets of slogans differ in that it usually occurs in a contracted form in the American declaratives: *WE'RE HERE FOR THE GOOD TIMES*, *Life's too short to drink baaaad beer!* As Labrador et al. (2014, 45) note, the motivation behind the use of contractions in the American declaratives may be to imitate conversation and to make the message seem informal and personal.

From a semantic point of view, the declaratives in the two sets of slogans are again similar. While some of the declaratives can be seen to connect to the products of the brewery in a more direct way, as for example *WE BREW LEGENDS!* tells the consumer that the brewery produces legendary beers and *Good People Drink Good Beer* suggests that the products of the brewery are commendable, as a whole they offer the consumer little information. Many of them can even said to approach meaninglessness, as for instance *It's Gigantic!*, *IT ALL REVOLVES AROUND THE BEER* and *Where there's water, there's Sweetwater*, do. As a result, it is again difficult for the consumer to contest the truth-value of these declaratives as many of them seem only to evoke associations.

4.4.3 Imperative clauses in the British slogans

Given the usual prominence of imperative clauses in advertising discussed earlier, imperatives form a surprisingly small portion of the clauses in the British data. As can be seen from Table 5, imperatives constitute only 11.4% of all clauses and occur in 12.9% of the slogans with nine instances. Despite their unexpected infrequency, the imperatives in the British data are still quite typical, given that they are all directed to a second-person addressee: *POUR PROUDLY*, *Take a different view*. The fact that they are all positive exhortations is another typical feature, as according to Leech (1966, 111), negative imperatives are very seldom used in advertising.

The typical nature of the imperatives extends to the verbs chosen, as most of them can be seen to represent the two common connections between the consumer and the product mentioned by Leech (1966, 110-111), acquisition and consumption. On one hand, acquisition of products is evoked by the imperative verbs in three slogans, namely *DISCOVER A BETTER BEER*, *Take a different view.* and *DISCOVER YOUR ABYSS*. On the other hand, the consumption of the products of the brewery is evoked in four imperative clauses by the verbs *taste*, *relax*, *pour* and *experience*. Examples of these clauses include *Taste the quality with Palmers* and *Relax With an Otter*. The semantic motivation of the remaining two imperatives, *Celebrate Adventure with a Raven Hill* and *Hail the Goat*, is left unclear. However, the underlying motivation is still likely to be connected to the consumption of products. Surprisingly, no verbs in the data clearly represent the third common group of imperative verbs noted by Leech (1966, 111), verbs that attract the attention of the consumer.

A further typical feature present in the British imperative clauses is the absence of the polite *please* and indirectness, since they are deemed unnecessary in advertising, as mentioned earlier. Beside all the standard features of the British imperatives discussed, they are not wholly typical, as the fact that the verb *get* is not present at all is highly unusual. This is due to the fact that Leech (1966, 110) names it the most common imperative verb in advertising language.

4.4.4 Imperative clauses in the American slogans

Compared with the British data, the imperative clauses in the American slogans have a much more prominent role with 19 instances forming 23.2% of all clauses and occurring in 24.3% of the slogans, thus being roughly twice as frequent as in the British slogans. The frequency of imperatives is thus quite typical and comparable to earlier studies, as for example Leech (1966, 120) found over a fourth of the independent clauses in his study to be imperative clauses.

Similarly to the British slogans, the imperative clauses are usually directed to a second-person addressee. However, the imperatives also include one instance of a first-person plural referent in *LET'S TIE ONE ON!* Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 254) call this construction a "special type of imperative clause" that involves not only the addressee, but the speaker as well. Thus, the clause suggests that the consumer and the advertiser do something together, resulting in a rather familiar and personal tone. Besides being mainly directed to a second-person addressee, the imperatives in the American slogans are also similar to the British ones in that they are mostly positive exhortations. Nevertheless, the American slogans do include one negative directive as well, *DON'T BE A PRICK*. This imperative clause then quite clearly aims at the jocular tone that is sometimes present in imperatives, as mentioned earlier.

In terms of the semantic motivation behind the verbs used, they can again be divided into verbs referring to obtaining the products of the brewery and verbs referring to the consumption of the products, consumption now being an even more prevalent theme than in the British data. The acquisition of the products is referred to by four verbs in for example *Pursue the Brew* and *FIND YOUR REFUGE*. The use of the brewery's products is more frequently mentioned by seven instances, as in *POUR SOME SPACE IN YOUR FACE* and *DRINK LIKE A GOD*. One instance of the imperatives referring to the use of the products, *LET'S TIE ONE ON!*, is particularly interesting. According to *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), *to tie one on* represents U.S. slang and has the

meaning 'to get drunk' (*OED* under *tie v.*, sense 2).[2] As the advertising of alcohol products usually tends to steer away from references to excessive drinking and intoxication, it is therefore highly surprising that a slogan encourages this type of behavior.

In addition to verbs connecting to obtaining or using the products found in both sets of slogans, the American slogans also include one imperative clause that invites and welcomes the consumer to visit the brewery: *"COME AS YOU ARE"*. As was the case in the British data as well, the motivation behind some of the American imperatives is difficult to decipher. The American slogans included seven such imperatives, for instance *Spread your wings.*, *Join The Adventure* and *Perpetuate Better Living*. These imperatives may again be linked to the acquisition or consumption of the products, but a clearer motivation may be just to evoke associations, given the references to for example freedom and adventure. Similarly to the British slogans, no clear instances of verbs attracting the attention of the consumer, for example *look* and *see*, are present in the data.

The two sets of slogans are also similar in that no imperatives in the American data are mitigated with indirectness or the use of *please*. Yet another similarity is the absence of the common imperative verb *get*. Given the typical abundance of imperatives in the American data, the lack of the typically frequent *get* is even more surprising than in the case of the British set of slogans.

4.4.5 Incomplete clauses in the British slogans

As discussed in Subsection 2.4.4, disjunctive syntax and incomplete clauses form a continuum in advertising language from sentences with ellipsis to single words occurring independently. Thus, some restrictions needed to be made in terms of what was considered an independent clause or a part of a clause. This needed to be considered especially in cases such as *DELICIOUS, DIVERSE &*

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[2] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "tie, v.", accessed June 26, 2022, https://www-oed-com.libproxy.tuni.fi/view/Entry/201844?rskey=bgYeN6&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid.

DELIVERED, where multiple adjectives have been conjoined with commas and an ampersand. Since Leech (1966, 114) states that advertising language avoids commas and favors stronger punctuation marks, and Pop (2005, 3-4) classifies coordinated adjectives as representing one clause, such instances are also considered as one incomplete clause in the present study. Furthermore, as the present section focuses on the disjunctive nature of advertising language, incomplete clauses occurring in dependent positions were not included in the analysis.

As can be seen from Table 5, incomplete clauses dominate in the British slogans with 64 instances forming a clear majority of 81% of all clauses in the British data. Their central role is further evidenced by the fact that 80% of the British slogans include an incomplete clause. Given the pervasiveness of incomplete clauses in advertising language discussed in Subsection 2.4.4, these figures are thus typical and concur with earlier studies. The incomplete clauses in the data can usually be interpreted as statements, while no questions or exhortations are present.

In terms of the distribution of incomplete clauses to the two types observed by Leech (1966, 115), minor and non-finite clauses, an overwhelming majority of the clauses represent the verbless minor type. However, clauses with a predicator are frequent as well, as the non-finite clauses lacking a subject form nearly a fifth of all incomplete clauses with 12 instances constituting 18.8 percent of the incomplete clauses in the British data. These clauses tend to either describe the process of brewing the products of the brewery or link the brewery and its products to their place of origin, as *Turning Grain Into Gold* and *Made of Manchester* do. In connection to these themes, the clauses tend to include an adverbial of purpose or manner (*for pleasure*, *without compromise*) or an adverbial of place or time (*in Suffolk*, *since 1849*). As Delin (2000, 128) points out, incomplete clauses are difficult to deem true or false due to the ellipsis of elements. This is also evident here, as slogans such as *BREWED FOR PLEASURE* are difficult to contest. In terms of form, the majority of the non-finite clauses in the data are *ed*-clauses, with only a few instances of *ing*-clauses.

While non-finite clauses characterized by subject omission constitute a significant portion of the incomplete clauses studied, the majority of the clauses are minor clauses that approximate the disjunctive extreme of block language. As Leech (1966, 120) notes that minor clauses are often "maximally simple" and contain only one element, their structure can often be described in terms of different phrases. Table 7 below presents the distribution of the incomplete clauses into different types of phrases and other types of constructions.

	Number of clauses	Percentage
noun phrase	38	59.4%
adjective phrase	8	12.5%
preposition phrase	4	6.3%
other	14	21.9%
Total	**64**	**~100%**

Table 7. The constructions of the incomplete clauses in the British slogans

As can be seen from Table 7, minor clauses in the form of an independent noun phrase comprise a clear majority of the incomplete clauses in the data with 38 instances forming 59.4% of the clauses studied. Although the purpose of disjunctive syntax is to "compress" meaning (Zembytska and Mazur 2018, 41) in order to "reduce the length of the message to the smallest number of words compatible with comprehensibility" (Quirk et al. 1984, 415), this tendency is opposed by the abundant use of modification in the British data. In fact, only the two noun phrases in the slogan *Craft. Quality. Fresh.* appear unmodified, while the rest of the noun phrases in the British data feature different kinds of modifiers.

The majority of the noun phrases feature heavy modification by both pre- and postmodifiers, as for example in *A SERIOUS MATTER OF TASTE* and *Exceptional Beers with*

Character. However, noun phrases featuring only premodifiers or only postmodifiers are both only slightly less frequent, examples including *Traditional Real Ale* and *Purveyors of liquid joy*. The frequent use of modification is to be expected, as Ghadessy (1988, 57) lists long noun phrases with complex modification as one of the characteristic features of advertising. One could argue that heavy modification could be expected particularly in brevity-requiring slogans, as Labrador et al. (2014, 44) note that multiple modifiers can be used simultaneously to mention several aspects of the product and to portray it positively. An overwhelming majority of the premodifiers in the data are adjectives, while the postmodifiers are most often preposition phrases, such as *from the heart of Scotland* and *of distinction*. As these preposition phrases could be interpreted as adverbials, the tendency of advertising language to combine noun phrases and adverbials mentioned by Leech (1966, 115) is evident in the British slogans. The most common type of preposition phrase here are *of*-phrases connected to the products of the brewery (*EPIC BEERS OF DISTINCTION*).

Adjective phrases are the second most frequent type of phrase to act independently with 8 instances forming 12.5% of the incomplete clauses in the British data. Adjectives appear often in coordination, as in *PURE & SIMPLE.*, while incomplete clauses consisting of a single adjective also occur. In addition to this, adjective phrases, like noun phrases, often occur in connection to adverbials, such as the reason adverbial in *proud of our history*. As discussed in Subsection 2.3.4, the short units of incomplete clauses create multiple points of focus, and thus highlight important parts of the message. This is evident particularly in slogans including adjective phrases, such as *Craft. Quality. Fresh.* and *FRESH & TASTY – FROM THE EAST KENT COAST.*

Preposition phrases are the third most frequent type of independent phrase with four instances constituting 6.3% of all incomplete clauses. Interestingly, all independently occurring preposition phrases can be classified as direction adverbials, identifying a place of origin. The preposition phrases are used to connect the brewery or its products either to a specific area (*From Burton with love*) or to nature (*Straight from Nature*).

The remaining category, other types of constructions, comprise 21.9% of the incomplete clauses in the British data with 14 instances. This category mainly consists of the already discussed non-finite clauses. However, other abbreviated structures, such as in the slogan *WHERE TECHNOLOGY MEETS TRADITION*, are also included in this category.

4.4.6 Incomplete clauses in the American slogans

Observing Table 6, incomplete clauses expectedly form a clear majority of all clauses and are highly frequent in the American data as well with 53 occurrences constituting 65.4% of all clauses and appearing in 62.9 percent of the slogans studied. However, compared to the corresponding figures of 81 and 80 percent in the British data, it is evident that the American slogans studied utilize incomplete clauses considerably less frequently than their British counterparts. Similarly to the British data, the incomplete clauses could potentially be interpreted as statements, while no questions or commands are present.

The similarities between the two sets of data continue when it comes to the division into minor and non-finite clauses. Again, verbless minor clauses form most of the data, while non-finite clauses have a smaller role in the slogans. However, non-finite clauses are more frequent than in the British data, as they form roughly a third of the incomplete clauses in the data with 15 instances constituting 28.3% of all incomplete clauses. In terms of structure, the non-finite clauses are mostly *ed*-clauses, *ing*-clauses being somewhat less frequent, as is the case in the British data as well. The non-finite clauses of the two sets of slogans are alike also semantically, as the process of producing the brewery's products is again a prominent theme: *CRAFTED FOR FUN*, *Brewing with tradition*. Furthermore, vague clauses such as *CRAFTED FOR ALL* and *CRAFTED FOR FUN* are again difficult to refute. In addition to this, adverbials in the form of preposition phrases are again common. Similarly to the British non-finite clauses, these adverbials are most often place adverbials denoting a place of origin (*in Nashville, Tennessee*), while adverbials expressing the manner or purpose of

brewing (*without rules*, *for fun*) as well as time adverbials (*since 1896*) are also present. The manner of brewing is also expressed via adverbs (*locally owned*, *proudly brewed*), which is done more often than in the British data.

When examining the verbless minor clauses in the data, it is evident that the incomplete clauses are again dominated by independent phrases of different types. Similarly to the British slogans, the majority of the incomplete clauses in the American data are either noun phrases, adjective phrases or preposition phrases. The division of the incomplete clauses into these phrases and other types of structures is presented in Table 8 below.

	Number of clauses	Percentage
noun phrase	25	47.2%
adjective phrase	9	17.0%
preposition phrase	3	5.7%
other	16	30.2%
Total	**53**	**~100%**

Table 8. The constructions of the incomplete clauses in the American slogans

As can be seen from Table 8, independently occurring noun phrases again form the largest single group among the incomplete clauses in the data with 25 instances forming 47.2% of all incomplete clauses. Nevertheless, they appear less often than in the British data, where they form the majority of the incomplete clauses studied. Modification is again abundant, and only one noun phrase, *no filler*, features only a determiner and no modifiers. However, while most of the noun phrases in the British data feature both pre- and postmodifiers, most of the noun phrases in the American data feature only premodification. Noun phrases with only postmodification (*Beer for Exploring*) or both pre- and postmodification (*BOLD FLAVORS WITH A CLASSIC TOUCH*) do occur, but only a

handful of times. As in the British data, the premodifiers used are mainly adjectives, but the variety of modifiers used is slightly wider, as nouns, adverbs and genitive modifiers are used more frequently. The two sets of slogans are also similar when it comes to postmodifiers, as preposition phrases are again the most common type of postmodifier. The results of the two sets of data are thus not surprising, as Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002, 269) state that preposition phrases are the most common type of postmodifier across registers as their compactness enables a "very dense packaging of information". While the most frequent type of postmodifying preposition phrase in the British data is *of*-phrases linked to products, the American data includes several instances of *for*-phrases linked to customers (*for solid people*, *for the divine*).

In addition to the tendency to save space and pack information densely, the tendency to create multiple points of focus is also visible (*Real Beer. Real People. Real Good.*, *Old World Tradition. New World Twist.*). Furthermore, one slogan, *EXCEPTIONAL FOOD AND MICRO BREW*, can also be seen as emphasizing the number of reasons to choose the brewery in question with the help of the conjunction *and*, which is yet another reason to use incomplete clauses in advertising (Delin 2000, 128). This motivation is not evident in the British data.

Similarly to the British slogans, adjective phrases are again the second-most frequent independent phrase while also being slightly more common than in the British data with 9 instances forming 17% of all incomplete clauses. Differences between the two sets of data also include the fact that the clauses consist of single adjectives, while coordinated ones are absent. The adjectives are also frequently modified by adverbs, unlike the adjectives in the British data. Examples include *refreshingly simple* and *real fresh*. Similarly to the British data, the tendency to steer the focus of the reader with short units is again particularly visible with adjective phrases. Examples include the slogans *Real fresh. Real local.* and *REFRESHINGLY SIMPLE. FIERCELY INDEPENDENT.*

Independent preposition phrases occur slightly less often than in the British data, with three occurrences constituting 5.7% of all incomplete clauses. While the independent preposition

phrases in the British data could all be interpreted as direction adverbials identifying a place of origin, the ones in the American data represent a wider array of meanings. Although a place of origin is mentioned in both the place adverbial *Only in Wisconsin!* and the direction adverbial *FROM OUR HAND TO YOURS.*, the reason adverbial *FOR THE LOVE OF GREAT BEER* designates the motivation behind the existence of the brewery. Preposition phrases that include personal pronouns, such as *FROM OUR HAND TO YOURS.*, also have a particularly conversational tone, which is one of the reasons to use incomplete clauses in advertising, as mentioned in Subsection 2.3.4. This motivation is less evident in the British data.

The remaining category, other structures, forms 30.2% of all incomplete clauses with 16 instances. The category consists of the non-finite clauses already discussed, and one unclear instance, *Lager Y'all*. The combination of a noun and a personal pronoun seems unsuitable to be categorized as a noun phrase, while the uncertainty about the identity of the omitted elements makes the construction difficult to place in any of the categories discussed, except broadly into the category of minor clauses. However, it again is an example of an incomplete clause with a conversational tone, given that its elliptical nature is combined with referring to addressees directly.

4.5 Wordplay

This section shifts the focus of the analysis from lexical and syntactic matters to the level of meaning, as it discusses the use of wordplay in the studied slogans of British and American breweries. As many of the words that we use have multiple uses and senses, differentiating between unrelated homonymic meanings and related polysemic meanings may at times be difficult. However, as Yule (2017, 133) states, dictionaries are useful tools in differentiating instances of homonymy and polysemy as homonyms are listed as two separate entries, while polysemous words have their multiple meanings listed under a single entry. Thus, dictionaries were used when necessary to ascertain the correct

categorization of different types of puns in the data. The four types of puns studied are puns based on homonymy, homophony, polysemy and idioms or proverbs. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 9 and 10 below.

	Number of puns	Percentage
Homonymic	8	61.5%
Homophonic	0	0
Polysemic	2	15.4%
Idiomatic	3	23.1%
Total	**13**	**100.0%**

Table 9. The number of puns in the British slogans

	Number of puns	Percentage
Homonymic	11	57.9%
Homophonic	1	5.3%
Polysemic	3	15.8%
Idiomatic	3	15.8%
Other	1	5.3%
Total	**19**	**~100%**

Table 10. The number of puns in the American slogans

4.5.1 Wordplay in the British slogans

Considering their prominent role in advertising, puns were surprisingly infrequent in the British data, as only 14.3% of the slogans included a pun and only 13 puns were found in the data. When it comes to the different types of puns, Table 9 indicates that homonymic puns are by far the most common type of pun in the British slogans, with 8 occurrences forming 61.5% of all puns. As discussed before, puns on brand names indeed seem to be "the basic advertising pun" (Myers 1994, 64), as all the homonymic puns in the British data include the name of the brewery in some form. Many of these are instances of quite obvious puns, as in the slogan *THE SOUL OF EVERY GREAT BEER IS THE GRAIN* by Grain Brewery, which can be interpreted as 'grain is the chief ingredient in every great beer' or as 'being produced by Grain Brewery is an essential part of every great beer'. Thus, *grain* can either be interpreted as an ingredient of beer or as the name of the brewery in question.

However, making the pun slightly less obvious by including only part of the name of the brewery is also frequent, as in *Hail the Goat* by Holy Goat Brewing Ltd. One slogan, *BEER THAT'S FIERCEFULLY FULL OF FLAVOUR* by Fierce Beer Company, takes this even further, as the adjective *fierce* from the brewery's name is derived into the adverb *fiercefully*. Thus, the pun seems a little far-fetched and understanding the reference to the brand name requires some decoding. However, as mentioned earlier, deciphering the "puzzle" may imprint the slogan into the reader's memory and be joyful.

Considering that Myers (1994, 43) points out that homophonic puns are often especially effective given their surprising and witty nature, it is highly surprising that no puns based on homophony were found in the British data. Polysemic puns are also rather rare, as only two instances forming 15.4% of all puns were found in the data. This is also unexpected, as Myers (ibid., 66) states that in advertising polysemic puns are far more frequent than homonymic ones. The two instances in the data are similar in that both of them are based on adjectives with multiple meanings: *CRAFT BEER BY CRAFTY BREWERS* and *Real ales from a Real Island*. As discussed in Subsection 4.1.1,

crafty can be interpreted as either 'devious' or as 'skilled' and *real* in *real ales* can be interpreted as 'proper' or as indicating a certain type of beer. In the case of the former slogan, using a pun that can possibly depict the brewers in a negative light is quite daring and brings humor to the advertising message, while both interpretations of the latter slogan are beneficial to the advertiser.

As shown by Table 9, idiomatic puns are also used to some extent in the data, with three examples constituting 23.1% of all puns. The slogans including the puns are *THERE IS A DEVIL IN THE DETAIL* (The Devil's Pleasure), *BLACK COUNTRY BORN AND BREWED* (Holden's Brewery) and *All adventures start with a Bad Seed of an idea* (Bad Seed Brewery).The first slogan features a modified version of the idiomatic phrase *the devil is in the detail(s)*, which may be used to emphasize the brewery's attention to detail in the brewing process. The second slogan modifies the phrase *born and raised* to better describe beer and to emphasize the local nature of the brewery and its products. The third slogan is the most complicated one of the examples, as it plays on the phrases *bad seed* and *seed of an idea* simultaneously, while also incorporating the name of the brewery, possibly hinting that their products are an essential part of an adventurous lifestyle.

4.5.2 Wordplay in the American slogans

Compared to the British data, puns were used much more frequently in the American slogans, as 22.9% of all slogans included a pun, and 19 puns were found in the data. This is surprising, as for example Diaz-Perez (2012, 11) has noted the high frequency of puns in British advertising, while Myers (1994, 62) found puns to be much more prominent in British advertising compared to American advertising. As can be seen from Table 10, homonymic puns were again the most frequent type of pun with 11 instances forming 57.9% of all puns. Although they constitute a slightly smaller portion of the puns than in the British data, homonymic puns are clearly the standard type of pun also in the American data. Similarly to the British slogans, all the homonymic puns in the American slogans are plays on the name of the brewery. Examples include *Where there's water, there's*

Sweetwater (Sweetwater Brewing Company) and *Enjoy Your Exile!* (Exile Brewing Company). The reference to the brand name is highlighted by the use of the capital letter in the first slogan, while the humorous incongruity of *enjoy* and *exile* make the reference clear in the second slogan. Again, some slogans only include a part of the brand name to make the pun slightly less obvious, as in *TASTE THE DEAD* by Dead Armadillo Brewery, where the reference to the brand name is again hinted by the humorous incompatibility of *taste* and *the dead*. More complicated puns include *"Be A Man, Drink Like A Fish"* (Manfish Brewing Company) and *ANCHORED IN SAN FRANCISCO SINCE 1896* (Anchor Brewing Company). In the first slogan, the brewery name is divided into its parts that are then used separately. In the second slogan, the noun *anchor* in the brand name is used as a verb in the slogan. As mentioned earlier, the possibility of a word functioning as two different parts of speech makes the pun particularly surprising.

Homophonic puns are again used surprisingly scarcely, but one does occur, unlike in the British data. The one occurrence of a homophonic pun forms 5.3% of all puns in the data. The pun in *CRAFTING BEER THAT BRINGS TASTE & BUDS TOGETHER* is based on the similar pronunciations of *taste & buds* and *tastebuds*. This similarity is enhanced by the use of the ampersand instead of the conjunction *and* that would separate the words more clearly.

Polysemic puns are also slightly more frequent in the American slogans than in the British data, as the three occurrences constitute 15.8% of all puns. The three polysemic puns occur in the slogans *ALL KILLER. NO FILLER.*, *Craft Beer Made With Conviction.* and *DON'T BE A PRICK*. As mentioned in Subsection 4.1.2, *killer* can be interpreted as a noun or as a colloquial adjective with the meaning 'excellent'. Again, the possibility of interpreting *killer* as two different parts of speech makes the pun more striking and memorable. In the second slogan, *conviction* can be interpreted either as the action of convicting or as 'a settled persuasion' (*OED*, under *conviction n.*, sense 6a).[3]

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[3] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "conviction, n.", accessed June 26, 2022, https://www-oed-com.libproxy.tuni.fi/view/Entry/40829?redirectedFrom=conviction#eid.

The vulgarity of the third slogan makes it particularly daring and humorous, as *prick* can be interpreted either as a thorn or as the slang meanings of 'penis' or 'annoying person' (*OED*, under *prick n.*, senses 12b and 12c).[4] As Diaz-Perez (2012, 20) notes, the visuals that accompany a pun in advertising can steer the reader towards one of the possible interpretations. This is evident here, as the interpretation of *killer* as a noun is favored by the brewery logo that features a skull and a pair of pistols, while the interpretation of *conviction* as the act of convicting is favored by the brewery's logo featuring a key as well as the brewery name, Jailbreak Brewing Company. Similarly, the reader is steered towards interpreting *prick* as indicating a thorn of a plant by the brewery logo that features a cactus.

As can be seen from Table 10, puns based on idioms form a smaller portion of the puns in the American slogans than in the British slogans, with three instances constituting 15.8% of all puns. The three instances are *TAKE THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED* (Two Roads Brewing Company), *FROM OUR HAND TO YOURS.* (Left Hand Brewing Company) and *GOOD TIME TO GET LOST* (Lost Coast Brewery). All the puns play on a known phrase while also incorporating part of the brand name. The wordplay on *get lost* is particularly interesting, as one can interpret it idiomatically with the unexpected meaning 'to go away' or possibly as encouraging one to acquire the products of Lost Coast Brewery.

The American slogans also include one pun that does not fit into any of the categories mentioned earlier. This pun is included in the slogan *Life's too short to drink baaaad beer!* by Goat Island Brewing. This pun is particularly creative and humorous, as the elongation of the adjective *bad* makes its pronunciation sound similar to the bleat of a goat. This interpretation is reinforced by the name of the brewery and its logo featuring a goat.

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[4] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "prick, n.", accessed June 26, 2022, https://www-oed-com.libproxy.tuni.fi/view/Entry/151146?rskey=Fx1F6h&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

As discussed in Subsection 2.1, advertisements tend to share some common aims and features, the chief task of an advertisement being getting noticed and remembered by consumers and increasing the sales of a commodity. Despite this, advertising can be described as a "restless discourse" (Cook 1992, 217), that can take many forms depending on for example the advertised commodity, the used medium, the place of publication and the assumed target group. Furthermore, adjusting advertisements to different cultural settings is vital to their success (Goddard 1998, 80). Thus, the aim of the present thesis was to examine and compare the slogans of breweries from two different cultural settings, the United Kingdom and the United States, to find possible differences. In order to do this, different lexical, syntactical and semantical features of the slogans were analyzed. These features were the use of adjectives, verbs, personal pronouns, different clause types and wordplay in the slogans. The present section summarizes the main findings of the study and discusses possible conclusions. Finally, the thesis is concluded with a discussion of the limitations of the study and some suggestions for future research.

5.1 The main findings and conclusions

The first feature to be analyzed was adjectives. The use of adjectives was fairly similar and mainly in accordance with former studies about advertising language. Typical features that were shared included frequent use of adjectives, descriptors outnumbering classifiers, and using comparative and superlative forms without a basis of comparison. Both sets of slogans also shared an untypical scarcity of compound adjectives and a lack of neologisms. However, some differences were also detected. American slogans used descriptors even more frequently than British slogans and showed a clear preference for evaluative and emotive descriptors over more informative ones, while these

two types were used rather evenly in the British data. Furthermore, while both sets of slogans tended to use adjectives in connection to the brewery and its products, American slogans used them also to describe potential customers. Lastly, the use of adjectives in the American slogans was more colorful, as the slogans included for example colloquial adjectives and vivid adverbs more often than their British counterparts.

Similarly to adjectives, the use of verbs in the two sets of slogans also exhibited both similarities and differences. Verbs were again frequent in both sets of data, although they formed a clearly larger portion of the vocabulary in the American slogans. The most common verb forms in both sets of slogans were past participles, simple present tense forms and imperative forms. The past participles tended to occur in incomplete clauses and could be interpreted as passive constructions in both sets of data. Similarly, the simple present tense was frequent in both sets of slogans and always used in the unrestrictive form without a time reference to imply "eternal truths". However, the use of imperatives differed clearly, as the American slogans used imperatives far more frequently, to the point that they constituted the majority of verb forms in the American data. Furthermore, the American slogans used the modals *will* and *can* in a typical manner to engage the reader, while the British slogans lacked them entirely. Lastly, colloquial verb constructions were also used more frequently in the American data.

The final lexical feature to be analyzed were personal pronouns. The two sets of slogans differed greatly in terms of this feature, as personal pronouns were untypically rare in the British data, while being frequent in the American slogans. In addition to this, the American slogans used three different personal pronouns, while the British slogans made use of only two pronouns. However, both slogans used personal pronouns similarly and typically in that the second-person *you* was the most frequent pronoun in both sets of data, and used to give the impression of addressing the reader personally. Furthermore, both sets of data also used the first-person plural *we* to refer to and to personalize the advertiser. However, in addition to this exclusive use of *we*, the American slogans

used *we* also in an inclusive sense, including the consumer and the advertiser as part of the same target group. In addition to this, the American slogans differed from the British slogans also by using the third-person singular *it* to imply shared knowledge between the advertiser and the consumer, and by using a colloquial variant of *you*, *y'all*.

The syntactic part of the analysis examined the use of different clause types in the slogans. Surprisingly, both sets of slogans lacked interrogative clauses entirely, and included only declarative, imperative, and incomplete clauses. The slogans were similar also in terms of declarative clauses, as they had a minor role in both sets of slogans, although being slightly more frequent in the American data. Furthermore, the declaratives in both sets of slogans tended to be structurally typical and approach meaninglessness with non-informative statements typical to advertising language.

The use of imperative clauses exhibited more differences between the two sets of slogans, as they were unexpectedly infrequent in the British slogans, while forming nearly a fourth of all clauses in the American data. Nevertheless, the two sets of slogans also resembled each other in that the imperatives were usually positive exhortations directed to a second-person addressee and semantically linked to the acquisition and consumption of products. Typically to advertising language, the imperatives were also not mitigated with the use of *please* or indirectness. However, the American slogans also differed from their British counterparts by for example welcoming potential customers to the brewery and suggesting that the advertiser and the consumer do something together by using *let us* in the slogan *LET'S TIE ONE ON!*

When it came to incomplete clauses, the slogans exhibited a preference for disjunctive syntax, as incomplete clauses formed the majority of clauses in both sets of data, although they were clearly more frequent in the British slogans. The incomplete clauses in the data were also similar in that they could be interpreted as statements and frequently used similar adverbials. Furthermore, both sets of slogans favored block language, as verbless minor clauses consisting mainly of noun phrases were highly frequent in both British and American slogans. These noun phrases featured heavy

modification for dense packaging of information in both sets of slogans, while the four other reasons to use incomplete language mentioned Delin (2000, 127-128) were also present in both sets of data. The reasons present in both sets of slogans were creating multiple points of focus and "statements" with no truth-value, while only the American slogans used incomplete clauses to emphasize the number of reasons to choose the brewery and to emulate conversation.

The final feature to be studied was the use of wordplay in the slogans. The slogans used puns to differing degrees, as the British slogans used puns surprisingly scarcely considering their prominence in advertising in general, while the American slogans made frequent use of them. Nevertheless, homonymic puns formed the majority of puns in both sets of data, while also always being plays on the brewery name. Furthermore, polysemic and idiomatic puns were present but rare in both sets of slogans. However, the American slogans used a wider selection of puns, as they also included a homophonic pun and a pun based on a misspelling. In addition to this, it could be argued that the American puns were more creative, daring, and humorous than the British ones, as they incorporated colloquial language and slang, while also interplaying with the names and logos of the breweries.

On the basis of these results, it can be concluded that the slogans of the British and American breweries studied resemble each other in many ways and follow the general guidelines of advertising language found in earlier studies. Shared and typical features were found on every level of the analysis, ranging from for example an abundance of adjectives and unqualified comparisons to using personal pronouns to create personal rapport and favoring disjunctive syntax and puns on the brand name. In addition to this, the slogans also shared some features untypical for advertising language, such as the lack of interrogative clauses. The overall similarity of the slogans studied can be expected, as Cook (1992, 13-15) states that while advertising reflects cultural differences, it is also creating a "new global culture which ignores national boundaries".

Despite all these similarities, some differences between the two sets of slogans were also noted. First, there seems to be a difference in the advertising strategy used by the two sets of slogans. While both sets of slogans prefer descriptors over classifiers, the American slogans use evaluative and emotive descriptors to a much greater degree than the British slogans. Thus, the American slogans can be seen as representing "tickle advertising", which relies on emotional appeal and mood, while the British slogans lean more towards "reason advertising" which gives reasons for purchase (Simpson 2001, 589). Second, the American slogans can also be seen as more colorful and creative than the British ones. This is due to the fact that the American slogans use colloquial expressions and vivid adverbs more frequently than the British ones, while also using a greater number and a wider selection of puns. Finally, the American slogans seem to be more customer-orientated than their British counterparts. They create solidarity between the advertiser and the consumer by using colloquial language and depicting the advertiser and the consumer as part of the same group or engaging in an activity together. In addition to this, the slogans of the American breweries describe their potential customers and welcome them to the brewery, which is something the British slogans do not do. Furthermore, they address and engage the consumer directly more frequently than the British slogans, as they use personal pronouns and imperative clauses to a much higher degree.

As mentioned in the introduction, the United States is the country with the most breweries according to 2015 survey. In fact, according to the survey, the United States has over 4, 000 breweries, which is thousands more than any other individual country in the world (Alltech 2015). Thus, the differences between the British and American slogans could be partly explained by the situation in the United States. Appealing to consumers' emotions, attracting their attention with colorful language, and forging a connection to them is particularly important when one is competing with thousands of other companies with fairly similar products.

5.2 Limitations and suggestions for future research

The limitations of the study include its limited scale and scope. While a sample of 70 British and 70 American slogans was deemed sufficient to observe possible similarities and differences, a larger sample might have revealed different findings and made generalizations possible. Furthermore, while the present thesis studied an array of lexical, syntactic and semantic properties of the slogans, many interesting features were not touched upon in this study. These include for example the use of rhetorical figures. Lastly, as the present thesis examined the language of the slogans, extralinguistic features, such as typography, were excluded from the analysis.

As mentioned, the purely linguistic perspective of the thesis excluded many extralinguistic features from the analysis. As discussed in connection to puns, especially the American slogans tended to interplay with the logos of the breweries. Thus, the interplay of slogans and the visuals accompanying them could be an interesting topic for future research, along with other extralinguistic features, such as typography and layout.

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APPENDIX 1. The analyzed slogans of British breweries

Abbey Ales: Great Beers. Born in Bath.

ABYSS Brewing: Fresh modern beer, from the dark to the light. DISCOVER YOUR ABYSS.

Alechemy: Turning Grain Into Gold

Bad Seed Brewery: All adventures start with a Bad Seed of an idea.

Bang-On Brewery: Brewed for Pleasure

Barn Owl Brewery: Purveyors of liquid joy

Borderlands Brewery: Proud of our history, proud of our beer.

Cader Ales: Original Taste, Brewed In Wales

Calvors Brewery: BREWED WITHOUT COMPROMISE

Carlisle Brewing Company: Proper beer for proper beer drinkers

Castle Brewery: WHERE TECHNOLOGY MEETS TRADITION

Dark Star Brewing: MADE THE HARD WAY

Donnington Brewery: "THE FAIREST BREWERY IN ALL THE LAND"

Eagle Brewery: Take a different view.

Elmtree Beers Co: Dedicated to brewing the best possible craft beer

Enville Ales: Straight from Nature

Fallen Angel Brewery: BREWS WITH A CHEEKY TWIST

Fierce Beer Company: BEER THAT'S FIERCEFULLY FULL OF FLAVOUR

Floc Brewing Ltd: Beer is Beautiful

Frederic Robinson Ltd: BREWING PERFECTION SINCE 1838

Fuller's Brewery: Experience the taste

Gadds': FRESH & TASTY – FROM THE EAST KENT COAST

Gates Burton Brewery: Fine Ales Crafted With Passion

Grain Brewery: THE SOUL OF EVERY GREAT BEER IS THE GRAIN

GT Ales Ltd: Good Times

Hadrian Border Brewery: Beer at its Best

Holden's Brewery: BLACK COUNTRY BORN AND BREWED

Holy Goat Brewing Ltd: Hail the Goat

Hydes Brewery: Made of Manchester

Inner Bay Brewery: Remarkable beer, made with passion.

Inveralmond Brewery: BEATIFUL BEER FROM THE HEART OF SCOTLAND

Island Brewery: Real ales from a Real Island

Isle of Skye Brewing Co: ALES FROM THE ISLAND

Jennings Brewery: THERE'S MORE TO THE LAKES THAN MEETS THE EYE

John Smith's: Only Ordinary By Name

Joseph Holt Ltd: Uniting Communities Through Beer Since 1849

Kelburn Brewery: Award Winning Real Ale

King's Cliffe Brewery: A SERIOUS MATTER OF TASTE

Kinver Brewery: CRAFT BEER BY CRAFTY BREWERS.

Knockout Brewing Co: THE ART OF BREWING.

Knoydart Brewery: WILDERNESS IN A BOTTLE

LabRat Brewing Ltd: "Science is nothing without imagination"

Larkins Brewery: FROM FIELD TO GLASS

Long Man Brewery: NATURALLY EXCELLENT BEER

Mad Dog Brewery: BEERS BREWED WITH INSPIRATION, PASSION & A LOT OF WELSH WATER

Marston's Beer Company: From Burton with love

Millstone Brewery: A TASTE OF THE MOORS ON TAP…

Nailmaker Brewing Co: POUR PROUDLY

North Riding Brewery: MODERN ALES – TRADITIONALLY BREWED

North Yorkshire Brewing Company Ltd: 1st class natural fresh local crafted beer

Okell & Sons Ltd: BEER FOR PURISTS. PURE & SIMPLE.

Otter Brewery: Relax With an Otter

Overtone Brewing Co: Craft. Quality. Fresh.

Palmers Brewery: Taste the quality with Palmers

Pitchfork Ales: EPIC BEERS OF DISTINCTION

Quartz Brewing: "Redefining the art of craft brewing"

Raven Hill Brewery: Celebrate Adventure with a Raven Hill

RW Randall Ltd: HERE TO SERVE YOU SINCE 1868

St. Peter's Brewery: EXPERTLY CRAFTED IN SUFFOLK

Stardust Brewery: Traditional brewing – Modern taste

Strathaven Ales: Traditional Real Ale

The Dartford Wobbler Brewery: Exceptional Beers with Character

The Devil's Pleasure: THERE IS A DEVIL IN THE DETAIL

The Jaw Brewery Ltd: DISCOVER A BETTER BEER

The Jolly Boys Brewery Ltd: EXTRAORDINARY BEER BREWED BY FOUR ORDINARY YORKSHIRE LADS

The Parker Brewery: STRENGHT IN TASTE

Theakston Brewery: NEARLY TWO CENTURIES IN THE MAKING

Timothy Taylor & Co Ltd: All for that taste of Taylor's

Totally Brewed Ltd: DELICIOUS, DIVERSE & DELIVERED

Utopian Brewing: LAGER BREWED TO PERFECTION

APPENDIX 2. The analyzed slogans of American breweries

Afterthought Brewing Company: Old World Tradition. New World Twist.

Alamo Beer Co: WE BREW LEGENDS!

Allagash Brewing Company: CRAFTED FOR ALL

Anchor Brewing Co: ANCHORED IN SAN FRANCISCO SINCE 1896

Asgard Brewing Company: BEER OF THE GODS

Avondale Brewing Co: Stay Fancy

Back Bay Brewing Co: FIND YOUR REFUGE.

Backpocket Brewing Co: LOCALLY OWNED, LOCALLY BREWED

Battle Born Beer: REFRESHINGLY SIMPLE. FIERCELY INDEPENDENT.

Bear Creek Brews: Real fresh. Real local.

Bell's Brewery: Inspired Brewing

Breckenridge Brewery: WE'RE HERE FOR THE GOOD TIMES

Center of the Universe Brewing Co: IT ALL REVOLVES AROUND THE BEER

Central Waters Brewing Co: CRAFTED FOR THIS MOMENT

Cisco Brewers: Nice beer, if you can get it.

Coop Ale Works: QUALITY BEER FOR QUALITY LIVING

D. G. Yuengling and Son Inc: AMERICA'S OLDEST BREWERY

Dead Armadillo Brewery: TASTE THE DEAD

Defiance Brewing Co: AMBITIOUS BEER

Denver Beer Co: OUR BEER IS SERIOUS FUN

Devils Backbone Brewing Company: SLOW BY NATURE

Ecliptic Brewing: POUR SOME SPACE IN YOUR FACE

Electric Brewing Co: Real Beer. Real People. Real Good.

Elk Valley Brewing Co: Brewing Beer We Love To Drink!

Empyrean Brewing Co: Pursue the Brew

Exile Brewing Co: Enjoy Your Exile!

Fall River Brewing Co: LET'S TIE ONE ON!

Fat Bottom Brewing Co: Proudly Brewed & Canned in Nashville, Tennessee

Flying Dog Brewery: Good People Drink Good Beer

Georgetown Brewing Company: DARN TASTY BEER.

Gigantic Brewing Company: It's Gigantic!

Goat Island Brewing: Life's too short to drink baaaad beer!

High Ground Brewing Co: SEEK HIGH GROUND

Howling Henry's Brewery: Crafting beer without rules

Indio Brewing Co: DON'T BE A PRICK

Ironfire Brewing Co: ALL KILLER. NO FILLER.

Jailbreak Brewing Company: Craft Beer Made With Conviction.

Johnnie Byrd Brewing Company: Spread your wings.

Karbach Brewing Company: CRAFTED FOR FUN

King Fox Brewery: Thoughtfully Crafted Artisanal Ales.

Knee Deep Brewing Co.: FINE CRAFT BEERS

Kona Brewing Co: Liquid Aloha

Lager Heads Brewing Co: EXCEPTIONAL FOOD AND MICRO BREW.

Lake Time Brewery: A STATE OF MIND

Left Hand Brewing Company: FROM OUR HAND TO YOURS.

Lost Coast Brewery: GOOD TIME TO GET LOST.

Manfish Brewing Company: "Be A Man, Drink Like A Fish"

Montauk Brewing Company: "COME AS YOU ARE"

Narragansett Brewing Co: Made on Honor. Sold on Merit.

Neptune's Brewery: DRINK LIKE A GOD

New Glarus Brewing Co: Only in Wisconsin!

New Sarum Brewing: BOLD FLAVORS WITH A CLASSIC TOUCH

New Trail Brewing Company: Join The Adventure

Ninkasi Brewing Company: Perpetuate Better Living

O'so Brewing Company: FERMENTED ART

Old Main Brewing Company: Brewing with tradition.

Paradigm Brewing Company: FOR THE LOVE OF GREAT BEER

Penguin City Brewing Company: A SOLID BEER FOR SOLID PEOPLE

Red Gap Brewing: STRAIGHT SHOOTIN' NEVER HIGHFALUTIN

Rendezvous Junction Brewing Company: CRAFTING BEER THAT BRINGS TASTE & BUDS TOGETHER

Salt City Brewing Co: CELEBRATING THE ELEMENTS OF GREAT TASTE

Saucy Brew Works: DRINK SAUCY BE SAUCY

Sierra Nevada Brewing Co: Beer for Exploring

Summit Brewing Company: Proudly brewed in St. Paul, MN

SweetWater Brewing Co: Where theres's water, there's Sweetwater.

The Alementary Brewing Co: Better Drinking Through Science

The Devil's Trumpet Brewing Co: ALES FOR THE DIVINE

The Manhattan Project Beer Company: YOU'LL NEVER FORGET YOUR FIRST SIP

The Mason Jar Lager Co: "Lager Y'all"

Two Roads Brewing Co: TAKE THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED