

RECONTEXTUALISATION OF INTERNATIONAL ADVERTISING SLOGANS AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN DIFFERENT EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

JANJA POLAJNAR
University of Ljubljana
janja.polajnar@ff.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

The French advertising slogan by *L'Oréal Parce que vous le valez bien.* and its equivalents in English *Because I'm worth it.*, in Slovenian *Ker se cenim.*, in German *Weil ich es mir wert bin.*, in Spanish *Porque yo lo valgo.* etc. represent only one of the international slogans and its equivalents which have moved beyond its original context of advertising and begun to be recontextualised in new contexts and media, either as familiar quotations, fixed expressions or idioms in newspapers, the World Wide Web and everyday language. The present paper explores this phenomenon – which so far has only been observed impressionistically in individual languages – on selected examples of international advertising slogans cross-linguistically/cross-culturally in several European languages. Their cotextual analysis in terms of the categories afforded by an analytical framework based on approaches from contrastive phraseology and pragma-linguistics complemented with a corpus-based and discourse analytic approach shall exemplify how multifaceted cross-linguistic/cross-cultural recontextualisation can be. The article also sheds light on the potential of advertising as a source of widespread quotations.

KEYWORDS: International advertising slogans; slogan equivalents; recontextualisation; cross-linguistic formulaic patterns; popular quotations; widespread idioms.

1. Introduction: Stating the problem

In several European languages linguists have observed and/or studied the use of advertising slogans in contexts outside advertising, e.g. in newspapers, blogs or forums, but also in everyday speech across different age groups since the mid 1980s. Speakers have recontextualised slogans in new co(n)texts in a number of different functions, shifting or changing their meaning and lexical structure. The recall and use of advertising slogans in non-commercial contexts can be linked

to their highly repetitive character and their linking function of different advertising forms within a campaign beyond different languages and cultures. Moreover, their popularity with the target group(s) has been due to their semantic ambiguity, syntactic polyfunctionality and rhetoric expressivity.

In the 80s researchers of youth language, on the one hand, explored the “re-contextualisation” of advertising slogans beside other language elements from the mass media, used by the youth in their playful and creative language interaction with humorous or ironic effect for entertainment or peer group identification (Schlobinski et. al. 1993; Androutsopoulos 1997; Branner 2002). On the other hand, linguists, mostly from the field of phraseology, have described these slogans as modern familiar quotations (in German: Janich 2010; Stöckl 1998; Duden 12, 2008; in Polish: Lusińska 2007; in German and Slovenian: Polajnar 2011, 2012a) or “sentence equivalent phraseological units” (Lüger 1999) with the potential to become used as proverbs (Lüger 1999; Polajnar 2012a; Steyer 2013). Namely, the longer familiar quotations are recontextualised, the more they become independent from a specific source, e.g. biblical wisdom, a literary or advertising source, and the more their meaning, lexical structure and function is likely to shift (cf. Quassdorf 2009; Lüger 1999; Burger et. al. 1982; Kržišnik 2000). In new co(n)texts advertising slogans have been often used modified, popularising or creating lexically underdetermined syntagmatic patterns (Bebemeyer et. al. 1977; Polajnar 2013a; Gredel 2008). As to their function slogans in non-commercial co(n)texts have not been used to identify and promote the purchase of a product or brand, but to achieve humorous or ironic effect, to support/refute and evaluate arguments or grab readers’ attention as well as to display speakers’ popculture knowledge (Polajnar 2012). In the light of the foregoing, the process of recontextualisation in this paper is to be understood as the transfer of international advertising slogans from individual (adapted) advertisements to new non-commercial co(n)texts in different languages with or without reference to the source (advertisement), possibly with a change of meaning, lexical structure and function (cf. Schlobinski et. al. 1993; Polajnar 2011). Through the process of recontextualisation the new co(n)text is linked to commercials, as it exploits persuasive elements from advertising to effectively grab readers’ attention (in titles) or buttress the arguments made in the body etc. This way a genre chain or new hybridity is formed, typical of communication in the globalised world (Fairclough 2003).

So far recontextualisation of advertising slogans has been validated in individual languages, e.g. in German and Slovenian on large electronic corpora (Polajnar 2011, 2012a, 2013b), but not cross-linguistically/cross-culturally. Advertising slogans of international companies are, however, often adapted for foreign

markets in individual foreign languages, presumably giving rise to slogan equivalents in different languages. Whether the equivalents of international slogans have been recontextualised or not and how this affects the new co(n)text, shall be explored in this cross-linguistic/cross-cultural contrastive study. This will provide us with the opportunity of seeing whether international advertising could be considered a modern source of international phraseological units¹ as have so far been the Bible, word literature or more recently films and lyrics (cf. Piirainen 2010; Duden 12, 2008).

The novelty of this example-based study is confined to a cross-linguistic/cross-cultural study of selected international advertising slogans and their equivalents in several European languages that have been recontextualised outside advertising. Their cotextual analysis in terms of the categories afforded by an analytical framework based on approaches from contrastive phraseology and pragma-linguistics complemented with a corpus-based and discourse analytic approach shall exemplify how multifaceted cross-linguistic/cross-cultural recontextualisation can be. In particular the following questions are to be explored:

- What types of equivalents can be observed with international advertising slogans? What is the correlation between the slogan equivalents and the marketing strategy?
- What is the potential of international advertising slogans and their equivalents to become recontextualised in new co(n)texts?
- What kind of shifts or changes in meaning, lexical structure and function of advertising slogans and their equivalents does the recontextualisation cause? Are international advertising slogans and their equivalents primarily recontextualised in the original form or modified?
- Can international advertising slogans and their equivalents give rise to modern international phraseological units?
- Do recontextualised slogans and their equivalents contribute to the marketisation of public discourse?

2. Data and method

To show the vitality of recontextualised advertising slogans and their equivalents in some typologically different European languages (English, German,

¹ In the current article the term “phraseological unit” is considered an umbrella term for different types of linguistic units studied by phraseology.

French, Slovenian and Spanish) the analysis focuses on those selected recontextualised international advertising slogans which have equivalents in most of the analysed languages and tend to be used outside advertising: *Red Bull*, *L'Oreal*, *McDonald's*, *Snickers*, *Ikea*, *RitterSport*, *Milka*, *Haribo* and *Saturn*. Singular examples in former “Serbo-Croatian” and Russian (*Cockta*, *RitterSport*) have also been mentioned, to point out how multifaceted cross-linguistic/cross-cultural recontextualisation may be. These selected slogans may be regarded as furnishing the basis of a case study.

In order to arrive at a useful method to analyse the recontextualisation of advertising slogans and their equivalents in texts from electronic corpora, it was helpful to first focus on those semantic, structural, functional and cotextual properties that existing research has found to be characteristic of advertising slogans, their recontextualisation and those phraseological units that display similar characteristics such as familiar quotations and sentence equivalent phraseological units as well as international phraseological units (see 3.1 and 3.2), with a view to discovering the features of their recontextualisation across different languages and cultures.

Before analytical tools from different approaches, selected for the present study, will be described, let us focus on the differentiation between a “cotext” (intermediate surrounding text) and “context” (socio-cultural and pragmatic aspects of the cotext) (Sinclair 1991: 171). This differentiation is of central importance for the current study, as the analysis primarily focuses on the cotexts obtained by the search in large electronic corpora and the WWW, allowing, however, conclusions related to the broader context (cf. Steyer 2013: 15).

In the current analysis selected advertising slogans and their equivalents in new co(n)texts were subjected to a cotextual analysis in terms of the categories afforded by an analytical framework based on approaches from cross-linguistic/cross-cultural contrastive phraseology (cf. Piirainen 2010) and pragma-linguistics (cf. Lüger 1998, 1999). Additionally, a corpus-based approach (cf. Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 10) was used to obtain real data and validate the use of international slogans and their equivalents in large electronic corpora. These techniques are embedded in discursive macro-strategies of marketisation (cf. Fairclough 1997). In detail the following procedures and stages were chosen for the analysis:

- (a) A list of international slogans was created consulting the research of Gredel (2008), who listed and analysed international advertising slogans in German, English and French, and that of Polajnar (2011), who conducted a corpus-based analysis of 43 recontextualised advertising slogans in the German

newspaper corpus of *DeReKo*. The criteria used to narrow down the list with targeted search on the WWW were: (a) slogans had to have foreign language equivalents and (b) show a tendency to be used outside advertising context.

- (b) Equivalents of international advertising slogans were systematically searched in all the analysed languages on the WWW (e.g. company websites, Wikipedia). For each international slogan and its equivalents the marketing strategy was determined.
- (c) Semantic analysis of the selected international advertising slogans in their original co(n)text of advertising.
- (d) To obtain real language data and validate the vitality of international advertising slogans and their equivalents a corpus-based approach (cf. Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 10) was applied, i.e. individual slogans and their equivalents were searched in monolingual reference corpora (in German: *DeReKo*, in English: *COCA*, in Slovenian: *Gigafida* etc.). Where results from electronic corpora were scarce, the WWW was consulted.² In general, a growing tendency to use large-scale electronic corpora or the WWW (Mair 2008; Steyer 2013) for the validation of phraseological units can be observed in the recent studies (overview in Ptashnyk et. al. 2010), as large-scale corpora give insight into their frequency in modern language use (marginal vs. frequent phenomena) and offer an abundance of examples from real texts (not invented).
- (e) A cross-linguistic and cross-cultural contrastive analysis of slogans and their equivalents in new cotexts was conducted, comparing their lexical and syntactic structure as well as their meaning and function and finally assigning them to the categories: zero, partial or total equivalency (see 4.1.).
- (f) A pragma-linguistic analysis of international slogans, their equivalents and their cotexts in terms of a three-tier framework was conducted to explore the shifts and/or changes in their meaning, lexical structure and textual or pragmatic function as well as embedding (markers, quotation marks) (see 3.3.). Finally, the obtained results in individual languages were compared cross-linguistically and cross-culturally.

² It must be observed that the WWW – in opposition to national reference corpora – contains the newest and statistically not clearly delineated language use (cf. Scherer 2006: 74–76).

3. Advertising slogans and related phraseological terminology

3.1. Advertising slogans

Advertising slogans belong to the key elements of advertisements and have been as such often studied. In older research (e.g. Baumgart 1998: 35–42) they were regarded as the condensation of advertising language, summarising the content of the advertisement. In more recent studies these views of advertising slogans have been refuted and the most important functions of slogans recognised as being identification of the product, brand or the company, the image constituting function as well as their linking function of different advertising forms within a campaign (cf. Janich 2010: 60ff.). The latter function gives advertising slogans a highly repetitive character and makes them well recognisable with the target audience. This can also be seen as one of the reasons why advertising slogans display the potential of being recontextualised in contexts outside advertising. However, further linguistic reasons do contribute to the fact of their being recontextualised outside advertising: Advertising slogans are characterized by semantic ambiguity and openness and are syntactically polyfunctional (Gredel 2008: 114). Moreover, they tend to verbalise general values which makes them applicable to a variety of contexts. Rhetorically these expressive language elements often employ rhetoric figures such as alliteration, rhyme, puns, metaphors etc. (cf. Janich 2010) and are thus particularly interesting for newspaper titles and exposed text parts.

3.2. Familiar quotations and sentence equivalent phraseological units

As linguists have described advertising slogans as modern familiar quotations or sentence equivalent phraseological units, let us focus on the findings of the existing research:

- Firstly, the early German studies by Bebermeyer et. al. (1977) and Burger et. al. (1982) from the 1970s and 1980s point to the fact that the source texts of modern quotations have changed, with modern quotations being derived from film lines and lyrics as well as advertising. Additionally, their function has shifted, as quotations and their modifications have no longer been solely used to back up the arguments (authority function), but also with comic or ironic effect. Furthermore, Bebermeyer et. al. (1977) have illustrated that familiar quotations may give rise to syntagmatic patterns (with a fixed lexi-

cal core), which has also been shown for German and Slovenian advertising slogans by Polajnar (2013a).

- Secondly, Dobrovol'skij et. al. (2005) understand quotations as intertextually motivated phenomena first used as familiar quotations and in time losing the link to the source text and becoming used as phraseological units. Similarly, Burger et. al. (1982) put quotations into four groups, depending on the knowledge or recognition of the source text by recipients, the final stage being no knowledge of the source text. So far primarily biblical (overview in Kržišnik 2000) and literary (Shakespeare) quotations (Quassdorf et. al. 2010; *HyperHamlet*) were analysed as to their degree of independence from the source text, i.e. use as “phraseological units from quotations” (Kržišnik 2000), fixed expressions or proverbs (Quassdorf et. al. 2010), and lexicographically described (Vrbinc et. al. 2012).
- Thirdly, Lüger (1999: 129–135) regards advertising slogans used outside advertising as a peripheral category of “sentence equivalent phraseological units” (“satzwertige Phraseologismen”) as they represent complete statements, claims or opinions. With the loss of the reference to its origin they can become used as proverbs. They rarely have figurative meaning, thus their meaning is compositional. They often take up existing language patterns as well as figures of speech (alliteration, polysyndeton, rhyme, rhetorical question, exclamation, irony etc.) (e. g. Polajnar 2012b). All these rhetorical characteristics make them popular with speakers of different age and social groups and applicable in various contexts. Embedded in new contexts sentence equivalent phraseological units are often accompanied by specific or general markers (e. g. specific: advertising slogan, familiar quotation, proverb; general: motto, sentence etc.) and may be marked for quotation (Lüger 1998; Polajnar 2012a).
- Fourthly, intertextually motivated phraseological units (i.e. quotations) have been studied from the perspective of European phraseological uniformity within the project *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond*. Piirainen (2010) explored phraseological units that share the same lexical and semantic structure across 36 standard languages and 34 varieties and has come to the conclusion that the majority of “widespread idioms” are a product of intertextuality, i.e. idioms with total equivalents in several languages that originate from an identifiable textual source from the common European cultural heritage, especially of classical and Judeo-Christian provenance

(the Bible being the main source of “widespread idioms”). Among modern textual sources film production seems to be promoting the diffusion of new candidates. The project, however, does not include advertising slogans, despite the fact that advertising slogans share many similarities with intertextually motivated phraseological units and spread beyond several languages. Importantly this project has shown that the reason for the wide dissemination, for example, of biblical idioms cannot be primarily attributed to the phenomena of loan translations, but to the direct access, individually in each language, to the respective texts of the Bible. The same may be true for “widespread idioms” going back to other subgroups of intertextuality (Pii-*rainen* 2010).

3.3. Advertising slogans – familiar quotations – phraseological units

In the light of the foregoing (3.1 and 3.2), advertising slogans in new cotexts are to be described in terms of their gradual independence from the source text in this study. In previous research of slogan recontextualisation in modern German three categories or stages were differentiated: advertising slogans, (advertising slogans used as) familiar quotations and (as) sentence equivalent phraseological units. Slogans and their equivalents were assigned to these categories on the basis of the contextual analysis according to the following three-tier framework:

Formal/lexical analysis:

- reference to the source (text): present or not;
- cotext markers: specific (e. g. *advertising slogan*), general (e. g. *motto, sentence*) or no;
- lexical structure of the slogan: brand name or product name dropped, other modifications;
- quotation marks: present or not.

Semantic analysis: shifts, changes of meaning present or not.

Functional analysis: textual function (e. g. supporting arguments, attracting attention etc.).

The following examples exemplify how the categories apply to the English equivalent of the originally French *L'Oréal* slogan.

Advertising slogan

In the example (1), the English slogan equivalent has been used with a clear reference to the source (*L'Oréal commercial*), exemplifying how the *L'Oréal* slogan inspired the title of a single from Alicia Keys' new album. The lexically unaltered slogan is part of a longer quotation by Alicia Keys and is on its own neither additionally marked for quotation nor accompanied by markers. The meaning of this compositional slogan has remained the same.

- (1) The album's next single, *A Woman's Worth*, showcases how passionate Keys is about the strength of women. The inspiration for the tune came during a Thanksgiving family dinner. "I was watching TV when a L'Oreal commercial came on. At the end it said, **Because I'm worth it**. I said, 'Oh, my goodness! Damn, I'm worth it! That's hot!'" ("New singer Alicia Keys sitting pretty with smash debut album 'Songs in A Minor'". *Jet*, vol. 100, iss. 9; pg. 58, 5 pgs. 2001 (Aug); COCA, 25 June 2014.)³

Familiar Quotation

In example (2), the slogan has been recontextualised in the title and body of an article about new luxury products, which common people cannot only afford, but also deserve *Because I'm worth it*. The English slogan equivalent can be interpreted as a familiar quotation due to its new textual function, i.e. attracting readers' attention in the title and supporting the arguments in the body. In the new cotext the slogan has acquired a more general meaning as the brand name has been dropped. The slogan has neither been marked for quotation nor is there a reference to the source (*L'Oréal advertising*). However, both the original advertising slogan as well as the recontextualised equivalent have been used in a cotext with marketing related vocabulary/topic as an excuse when buying something expensive, linking the slogan equivalent to the source.

- (2) **Because I am worth it**
Old Luxury was reserved for the Upper Class. New Luxury is well on its way to making luxury common. And it's not because there's suddenly room in the budget for a Louis Vuitton purse, or because only one

³ In all examples advertising slogans in bold are by J.P.

particular brand of skin lotion works for your skin. It's simply **because you're worth it**. Pampering yourself has become a new human right. (Copenhagen Institute for Future Studies⁴, 18 June 2014.)

Sentence Equivalent Phraseme

The English slogan equivalent in example (3) is used as a quoted statement of the involved states, to bring *the rationale of their alliance membership* to the point. The quotation marks can be interpreted as direct speech markers as there is no cotextual reference to the source text. The writer may well be aware of the source, as the overall topic concerns *The Rise of the Brand State*, i.e. a state functioning as a brand, pursuing identity politics (marketisation of public discourse, Fairclough 1997), however, there are no explicit indications in the cotext of such awareness and the shortened English slogan equivalent (no brand name) can be interpreted as a sentence equivalent phraseme.

- (3) It is little surprise, therefore, that the new NATO members – Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic – wear their membership as a badge of achievement and exclusivity. For these countries, the rationale of their alliance membership is simple: “**Because I’m worth it!**” IDENTITY POLITICS. The traditional diplomacy of yesteryear is disappearing.
 (“The Rise of the Brand State”. *Foreign Affairs* Sep/Oct 2001, vol. 80, Issue 5, p. 2–6, 5p.; COCA, 23 June 2014.)

The example-based cross-linguistic analysis is to focus on slogans recontextualised as familiar quotations and as sentence equivalent phraseological units.

4. Contrastive aspects of international advertising slogans

4.1. Types of slogan equivalents

Though there has been a rich tradition in contrastive phraseology since the 1980s and in cross-cultural phraseological research since the 1990s (overview in Korhonen 2007; Dobrovol'skij et. al. 2005), advertising slogans have neither

⁴ <<http://iff.dk/scripts/artikel.asp?id=1205&lng=3>>.

been studied contrastively nor cross-culturally. The most important aim of the contrastive phraseology has been to find out categories of different degrees of equivalency between phraseological units which are intuitively perceived as being semantically similar: total, partial and zero equivalency. Applying the method of cross-linguistic comparison, phraseological units in different languages are compared as to their meaning, syntactic and lexical structure as well as pragmatically. These categories can also be applied when describing international advertising slogans and their equivalents, i.e. adaptations for different international markets. When comparing phraseological units in two or more languages, either the meaning or the form are usually chosen as the starting point of the comparison (*tertium comparationis*). In the present analysis the meaning represents the starting point: advertising slogans mostly have compositional meaning and are rarely found in dictionaries (cf. Lüger 1999; Polajnar 2011), thus their semantic analysis in the new context is of central importance. As to the nature of international advertising slogans and their equivalents it must be pointed out that, like widespread biblical phraseological units, they cannot be attributed to loan translations, but to the direct access to advertising texts as it has occurred individually in each language. Unlike the other intertextual phraseological units the type and the existence of advertising slogan equivalents depend on the choice of the marketing strategy, which shall be explored in 3.4.2. But let us first examine different types of slogan equivalents.

(a) Total equivalency

There is an identical correlate in the target language for the advertising slogan of the source language. In both the meaning is identical and there is lexical and syntactic coincidence of their components. There are no pragmatic differences. Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) have shown that there are very few total equivalents in different languages, and that most of the phraseological units traditionally considered totally equivalent show some relevant semantic, syntactic or pragmatic differences. However, true total equivalents can mostly be found in cases in which phraseological units of different languages go back to the same text source as is the case with international advertising slogans. Among the analysed international slogans there is only one that falls under this category. On the former Yugoslav markets *Cockta*, a soft drink from Slovenia, was advertised with total equivalents in former "Serbo-Croatian" in the 1980s. Examples from electronic corpora show that both the recontextualised slogan and its equivalent display no pragmatic differences (ex. 4 and 20).

- (4) Slovenian: *Pijača vaše in naše mladosti*. 'The drink of your youth, and ours.'
 Former "Serbo-Croatian": *Piće vaše i naše mladosti*. 'The drink of your youth, and ours.'

(b) Partial equivalency

There is a similar correlate in the target language for the advertising slogan of the source language. Though the meaning is identical, there is either (a) lexical, syntactic or grammatical category variation of its components or (b) semantic variation of the verb or its components. Most adapted advertising slogans belong to partial equivalency. A good example represent the *L'Oréal* slogan equivalents, where there are differences concerning grammatical variation (reflexive verb used in German and Slovenian) and lexical variation (Slovenian verb *se cenim* (ex. 5) 'I value myself' differs from *worth it* 'I deserve to be valued or rated' used in all the other equivalents). Examples of the recontextualised slogan and its equivalents show no pragmatic differences (see Section 5.1.).

- (5) French: *Parce que je le vaud bien*. (because, I, it, am, worth)
 German: *Weil ich es mir wert bin*. (because, I, it, myself, worth, am)
 English: *Because I'm worth it*.
 Slovenian: *Ker se cenim*. (because, I, myself, value)
 Spanish: *Porque yo lo valgo*. (because, I, it, am, worth)

The equivalents of the advertising slogan for *Red Bull* (ex. 6), an Austrian energy drink from the 1980s, *Red Bull verleiht Flüüüügel.*, also fall under this category. Unlike the original advertising slogan and its French equivalent, the equivalents in English, Slovenian and Spanish use the pronoun *you* to explicitly address the consumer:

- (6) French: *Red Bull donne des aiüüles*. (Red Bull, gives, wings)
 English: *It gives you wiüüings*.
 Slovenian: *Red Bull ti da krila*. (Red Bull, you, gives, wings)
 Spanish: *Red Bull te de aaalas!* (Red Bull, you, gives, wings)

The popular advertising slogan for *Snickers* – *You're not you when you're hungry* – makes for an interesting example. Whereas the German equivalent can be

considered a total equivalent, the Slovenian equivalent belongs to partial equivalency due to lexical and syntactic differences (ex. 7).

- (7) German: *Du bist nicht du, wenn du hungrig bist.* (You, are, not, you, when, you, hungry, are)
Slovenian: *Lačen si ful drugačen.* (Hungry, you, are, totally, different)

(c) Zero equivalency

The advertising slogan of the source language has either no correlate or one with the same meaning but no formal equivalency in the target language. Interestingly, international advertising slogans adapted for individual markets may sometimes have a completely different meaning and form in the target languages and thus cannot be considered equivalent in the phraseological sense. An example represent the *Ikea* slogan equivalents (ex. 8).

- (8) German: *Wohnst du noch oder lebst du schon?* (dwell, you, still, or, live, you, already)
French: *Il est temps de se retrouver!* (it, is, time, to find)
English: *Home is the most important place in the world.*
English (Canada): *Fits!*

4.2. Marketing strategies

Let us examine the interrelation of the three alternative marketing strategies used in international advertising campaigns by Meffert et. al. (2005) and categories of equivalency.

(a) International Adaptation Marketing Strategy

This strategy combines a high level of standardisation with some cultural specifics of the target market. Advertising slogans are adapted into the target language, displaying great semantic similarity, usually with some morphosyntactic and/or lexical discrepancies. Thus, advertising slogans created within this marketing strategy usually have partial or even total equivalents, e.g. advertising slogans for *L'Oréal*, *Red Bull*, *McDonald's* and *Snickers* follow this strategy.

- (9) German: *Ich liebe es*. (I, love, it)
 French: *C'est tout ce que j'aime*. (that, is, all, I, love)
 English: *I'm lovin' it*.
 Slovenian: *I'm lovin' it*.
 Spanish: *Me encanta*. (I, love, it)

The advertising slogan by *L'Oréal* furthermore exemplifies that the marketing strategy does not only influence the existence and type of equivalency, but also the variation of both, the advertising slogan and its equivalents. In the mid-2000s *Because I'm worth it*. was replaced by *Because you're worth it*. and in 2009 by *Because we're worth it*. The shift to *we* was made to create stronger consumer involvement in *L'Oréal* philosophy and lifestyle and provide more consumer satisfaction with *L'Oréal* products. Though both variants can relatively often be found in new co(n)texts across different languages, it is the original slogan and its equivalents which are most common in all languages. The Slovenian examples of recontextualised variants (10–11), however, show that both variants are recontextualised as the original slogan equivalents, i.e. both Slovenian variants have been shortened (no brand name), not marked for quotation, buttressing the argument at the end of the paragraph that an expensive rose or a bag deserves to be bought: 'Because you/we value yourself/ourselves, we deserve a rose or an expensive bag'.

- (10) Ali ni nobenega 'rožnega' kavalirja na vidiku? Nič hudega! Podarite si sanjsko lepo rdečo vrtnico (okoli 700 SIT). Razveselite se njenega čudovitega opojnega vonja in uživajte v majhnem razkošju – **ker se cenite!** (*Lisa* 2004: Gigafida; 22 June 2014.)

'Is there no "rose" gentlemen in view? No worries. Give yourself a beautiful red rose (app. 700 SIT) as a present. Rejoice in its marvelously ravishing scent and enjoy this little luxury – because you're worth it.'

- (11) Materiali, izdelava in občutki za detajle so morda tudi krivi, a največji krivec smo ženske, ki nočemo kupiti poceni torbe. Hočemo drago, **ker se cenimo**. (*Elle* 2007: Gigafida; 22 June 2014)

'Materials, manufacturing and feelings for detail may also be to blame, but the biggest culprit are women who do not want to buy cheap bags. We want expensive because we're worth it.'

(b) *Multinational Marketing Strategy*

Here individual brand design and advertising slogans are created specifically for each target market, observing cultural aspects of communication, prices and distribution. Despite high costs this strategy can successfully target new potential clients on individual national markets. Linguistically there are considerable morphosyntactic, lexical and semantic differences between the advertising slogans and their equivalents used for individual national markets. Thus, equivalents created for individual target markets usually fall under partial or zero equivalency, for example the advertising slogan by *Ikea* (2002–2004) (see 4.1.c).

(c) *A Global Marketing Strategy*

This strategy is characterised by a high level of standardisation of brand design and advertising (slogan). Thus, a uniform advertising slogan in English, rarely in German, is used in different countries, e.g. *like.no.other* (Sony) or *Wir leben Autos*. (Opel) ‘We live cars.’

In her contrastive study of German, French and English advertising slogans from the 1950s and today Gredel (2008: 144) has illustrated that the predominant strategies used in international marketing are the international adaptation marketing strategy and the global marketing strategy. Though advertising slogans take up innovative patterns, these are soon established as conventionalised patterns across languages. Gredel (2008) understands these cross-linguistic textual patterns in international European advertising slogans as formulaic language (“formelhafte Sprache”) that is dependent on multimedia and international conditions.

5. Recontextualisation

In the 1980s German researchers of youth language (cf. Neuland 1987; Schlobinski 1989) used the notion of “recontextualisation” to describe the playful and creative use of existing language elements including slogans, which were decontextualised from different cultural backgrounds, but mostly from the mass media, and recontextualised in youth language, where they acquired new, often peer group specific meanings. This process was described as bricolage. The recontextualisation of advertising slogans has beside other language ele-

ments been analysed on small-scale specialised corpora of spoken German limited to peer conversations (Branner 2002; Schlobinski et. al. 1993) and on corpora of subcultural written texts, e.g. fanzines, record covers etc. (Androutsopoulos 1997), where slogans were regarded as intertextual elements (“mimetic and alienated citation”, Schlobinski et. al. 1993) in playful language interaction for entertainment or peer group identification/differentiation. Burger et. al. (1982) and Stöckl (1998), however, pointed out that advertising slogans in modern German have been used beyond peer group conversation in everyday language. In new non-commercial contexts they behave in a similar way as familiar quotations (Burger et. al. 1982; Duden 11, 2008), “sentence equivalent phraseological units” (Lüger 1999) or as proverbs (Steyer 2013). In more recent German research the long term recontextualisation⁵ of advertising slogans can be viewed within the framework of the dynamics of language elements (“Dynamik sprachlicher Elemente”, Henn-Memmesheimer 2013). Language elements are taken up by different speakers (remain unnoted by the others) and recontextualised in new co(n)texts where their meaning shifts and they acquire new functions, become established or disappear as temporary fashions from the language. This can be related to one or more initial events (Henn-Memmesheimer 2013).

In the first corpus-based study of 43 recontextualised advertising slogans their vitality and modification has been analysed in newspaper corpora of the *German Reference Corpus DeReKo* (Polajnar 2011, 2012a). A qualitative manual analysis of key words in context (KWIC) and full texts explored shifts of meaning, constraints, and modifications etc. of recontextualised slogans over a period of 18 years (1990–2008). More than half of the analysed advertising slogans have shown high vitality outside advertising and preference for modification and formation of partially fixed syntagmatic patterns, e.g. *Quadratisch, praktisch, X.* to the *Ritter Sport* advertising slogan *Quadratisch. Praktisch. Gut.* ‘Squared. Practical. Good.’ (Polajnar 2013a). In other European languages the vitality of advertising slogans has only been studied on the basis of sparse examples. In Polish Lusińska (2007) explored the phraseology of advertising slogans, listing a number of slogans from different periods that became used as phraseological units in modern Polish and were included in dictionaries. In Slovenian Polajnar (2013b) has found examples in the *Slovenian Reference Corpus Gigafida*. That said, a systematic, cross-linguistic/cross-cultural analysis of slogans has not been taken up in more applied corpus studies.

⁵ Henn-Memmesheimer (2013) does not use the term “recontextualisation” but “implementation” (“Implementierung”, “Gebrauch”), referring to the meaning of the implemented language element being reconstructed from the usage history of the language element (“Rekonstruktion aus Gebrauchsgeschichten”).

The notion of recontextualisation has moreover been used in critical discourse analysis, where “recontextualisation of meanings” is defined as a “transformation of meanings, through de-contextualisation – taking meanings out of their contexts – and recontextualising – putting meanings in new contexts” (Fairclough 2003: 26). Fairclough uses the term in reference to genre (chains), i.e. text types which are linked together in a way that meanings are “moved along the chain, and recontextualised and transformed” (Fairclough 2003), creating a new “hybridity” (Chouliaraki et. al. 1999: 93). The recontextualisation of genres from one social practice onto another can be construed as “one practice colonizing and so dominating another, or as the latter appropriating and so dominating the former” (Chouliaraki et. al. 1999: 93).

The process of recontextualisation of international advertising slogans, explored in this article, is to be understood as follows: Advertising slogans are de-contextualised from advertising, where they are primarily to identify and promote a brand, a product or a company. In new co(n)texts advertising slogans are recontextualised in different ways, either as slogans or familiar quotations or sentence equivalent phrasemes, depending on how explicitly they are linked to the source (advertising), how they are marked or how their lexical structure changes. In the new cotext recontextualised slogans often acquire a more generalised meaning and a completely different function (grab readers’ attention, support arguments, entertain and evoke emotions). Through the process of recontextualisation, however, not only the meaning, structure and function of slogans shift and/or change in the new cotext. This way the new cotext is linked to commercials (marketisation of public discourse: Fairclough 1997: 140f.), forming a genre chain or new hybridity, which is typical of communication in the globalised world (Fairclough 2003).

5.1. Recontextualising international advertising slogans and their foreign language equivalents: The *L’Oréal* example

The advertising slogan by *L’Oréal* *Parce que vous le valez bien*. is one of the international advertising slogans and its equivalents in English (*Because I’m worth it.*), German (*Weil ich es mir wert bin.*), Slovenian (*Ker se cenim.*), and in Spanish (*Porque yo lo valgo.*) which have been recontextualised in the discourse of a community outside advertising (here in newspaper articles related to politics, consumerism, body care, entertainment) (3, 10–15).

- (12) Etwas ganz Spezielles, von Channel. Ich sehe mir die schick verpackten Minidöschen an. Eine reichhaltige Tagescreme zur Verzögerung der Hautalterung und dazu ein Verjüngungsserum. Naja. Und eine noch reichhaltigere Nachtcreme zur Reduzierung bestehender Fältchen. Vielen Dank. Ich hülle mich in eine extra großzügige Dosis des neuen Luxusduftes. Man gönnt sich ja sonst nichts. Und **weil ich es mir wert bin**. Edmund Flohe (*Rhein-Zeitung*, 14.03.2002; **Weil man es sich wert ist**; German Reference Corpus DeReKo, 25 June 2014.)
- (13) Res je, imam celulit. **Ker se cenim**. Poletje bo vsak čas tu. In z njim tudi doba razgaljenih teles. [...] Ne bom si nategovala kože in ne bom si ščipala stegen. Zakaj ne? Preprosto! Ker se cenim! In ker mislim, da je treba že enkrat izstopiti iz tega norega celulitičnega in plešastega sveta. (*Viva: revija za zdravje* 2004; Slovenian Reference Corpus Gigafida, 25 June 2014.)

‘It’s true, I have cellulite. Because I’m worth it. Summer will be here any minute and with it the time of naked bodies. [...] I will neither stretch my skin nor pinch my thighs. Why not? Simply, because I’m worth it. And because I believe that it is high time to step out of this crazy cellulite and bold world.’

- (14) Los mercenarios: **porque yo lo valgo**
21.08.10 Archivado en Cine, Estrenos
Sylvester Stallone ha decidido ser el Peter Pan del cine de acción y se ha vuelto a vestir de tipo duro para homenajear a todos aquellos héroes de acción de los especialmente mamporreros años ochenta y noventa (tres décadas lleva ya el tío...), empezando por él mismo, claro, que para eso dirige, escribe el guión, protagoniza, y va a por los cafés del desayuno si se tercia.
(<http://blogs.periodistadigital.com/sesiongolfa.php/2010/08/21/los-mercenarios-porque-yo-lo-valgo>; 11 June 2014.)

‘The mercenaries: Because I’m worth it
Sylvester Stallone has decided to be the Peter Pan of action films and has become a tough bloke to honor all those action heroes especially of the eighties and nineties (he’s been doing that for three decades ...). He starts with himself, of course, and for that reason he directs, writes the script, stars, and goes for breakfast coffees if the opportunity arises.’

In all seven examples (3, 10–15) the equivalents of the French advertising slogan by *L'Oréal* have been recontextualised with no reference to the source or origin (*L'Oréal* advertising and/or products), although examples (10, 11, 15) discusses the purchasing process and examples (12, 13) the use of cosmetics creams, which point to the source text. Only the English equivalent has been marked for quotation, indicating that an extraneous element is being used and a code switch (“Wechsel in der Redeweise” Lüger 1998: 130) follows; the German and Slovenian equivalent have been recontextualised twice, i.e. in the text and the title (12, 13); in the German title the slogan has been modified (*ich* was replaced by an indefinite pronoun *man*: *Weil man es sich wert ist*. ‘Because you’re worth it.’; 12). All these formal features tell us something about the degree of independence from the original advertising text (source) and “thus about the degree of lexicalisation or conventionalisation despite low relative frequencies” (Quassdorf 2009). The meaning of the original advertising slogan is general, applicable in different new contexts: ‘I deserve it, e.g. NATO membership, a new expensive perfume or an action hero role’ (3, 12 and 14). In the Slovenian example (13), however, the meaning has shifted. In the newspaper article the *L'Oréal* slogan has been recontextualised to critically underline the argument opposed to that in the advertisement: ‘I will not buy any cellulite cosmetics products to have a perfect body, because I value myself and accept myself as I am’.

As to the function of recontextualised slogans, the rhetorically based persuasive power of advertising slogan equivalents is no longer targeted to persuade consumers to buy a particular brand product, but to support arguments in the body of a text (3, 13), at the end of a paragraph or a text (10–12) (as is typical for proverbs cf. Honeck 1997 and Burger et. al. 1982) or to make titles (12–15) catch readers’ attention (cf. Lennon 2004: 83, 95) (text structuring function), but also for humorous and ironic effect (12, 14). In (12), meanwhile, two different advertising slogans have been juxtaposed to humorously underline the point of the paragraph: *Man gönnt sich ja sonst nichts*. (Malteser Kreuz) and *Und weil ich es mir wert bin*. (*L'Oréal*), i.e. to excuse the purchase of expensive products.⁶ Moreover, slogans can be recontextualised to critically underline the arguments from their original context of advertising (13, 19).

From the perspective of critical discourse analysis the recontextualisation of advertising slogans is to be viewed in the light of the marketisation of public discourse (Fairclough 1997: 140f.), such as in (3), where the recontextualised

⁶ The juxtaposition of slogans applied in newspapers for rhetoric and humorous effect and to evoke emotions in readers has already been observed in the corpus-based study of German advertising slogans (cf. Polajnar 2012c).

slogan underlines the shift in the concept of national politics and the state towards central market organizations (*identity politics, Rise of the Brand State*). Examples (3) and (3, 10–15) point to the fact that international advertising slogans and their equivalents have the potential to become recontextualised in several European languages and possibly give rise to international phraseological units, their recontextualisation displaying shifts and change of meaning and their function(s).

6. Example-based analysis

Section 4.2. illustrated that there is interrelation between marketing strategies and categories of equivalency. In this section the focus is confined by the question whether only the advertising slogan, its equivalent(s), or both have been recontextualised outside advertising contexts in other European languages. Theoretically four groups can be distinguished.

(a) The original advertising slogan and its equivalents have been recontextualised in some/many of the analysed European languages.

The recontextualised advertising slogans for *L'Oréal* products and its equivalents fall under this group. *L'Oréal* has advertised its cosmetic products since the 1970s with celebrities (since 2005 with Eva Longoria, Penelope Cruz etc.) who utter the slogan in a self-aware and persuasive manner. Apparently, this advertising slogan took up the central human value of self-esteem or self-confidence, which can be recontextualised in different contexts across different languages and cultures (ex. 3, 10–14). Here another Slovenian example is given: The modified slogan equivalent has been recontextualised as a familiar quotation in the title of a food blog to attract readers' attention. *L'Oréal* has been replaced by the clause *Kupujem eko* 'I buy ecological'. This way self-confidence has been transferred to the field of nutrition and is defined by the type of food (ecological) bought and consumed.

- (15) **Kupujem eko, ker se cenim!** Ekološko je prihodnost.
 'I buy ecological products, because I'm worth it! Ecological is the future.'
 (<http://ekoloskojeprihodnost.blogspot.com/2009/12/kupujem-eko-ker-se-cenim.html>, 16 April 2010; 24 August 2013.)

Interestingly, both slogans and their equivalents often take up existing language elements such as phraseological units. The English equivalent *Because I'm worth it.* has taken up the phraseme *worth it*, which has been used since the 19th century and before, but whose usage has rocketed since the 1970s (cf. *Google Ngram Viewer*⁷). Comparing both fixed expressions on *Google Ngram Viewer* illustrates that *because I'm worth* is an innovative fixed expression which has popularised the use of *worth it* since the 1970s.

Another good example is the slogan for the popular non-alcoholic energy drink *Red Bull verleiht Flügel*, which takes up the phraseme *jmdm. Flügel verleihen* (geh.) (Duden 11, 2012), but leaves out the dative object (*jmdm.* 'for/to whom'). This advertising slogan has been primarily recontextualised in a modified way, i.e. the name has been replaced, forming a unique variation pattern: *X verleiht Flügel*. According to *Google Ngram Viewer* the use of *jmdm. Flügel verleihen* has fluctuated since the mid 19th century and increased since the late 1980s; *etw. verleiht Flügel*, however, is an innovative phraseme, the use of which has increased greatly since the late 1980s. Similarly, the English equivalent has taken up the phraseme *give wing(s)*, the use of which has been gradually decreasing since the 19th century according to *Google Ngram Viewer*. However, *gives you wings* has – presumably thanks to the advertising slogan – become more frequently used since the 1990s. Both examples indicate that recontextualised advertising slogans and their equivalents often take up and popularise existing or fading phraseological units.

In the following example (16) the advertising slogan, recontextualised as a familiar quotation, has been expanded, adding the name of the former Austrian Minister of the Interior and the EU MP who has been lobbying for Red Bull and received financial compensation. The title of the article activates a novel meaning of the phraseme *jmdm. Flügel verleihen* (geh.), i.e. *fliegen* ('flying' = 'fired') and humorously points to the consequences of Mr. Strasser's actions. The commercial already plays with two meanings: in addition to the phraseological meaning *jmdm. Flügel verleihen* (geh.) (= 'give wing(s) to' = 'to enable to fly or soar on or as if on wings'; 'to inspire or motivate someone to 'fly' or to achieve great things'; Collins C. Dictionary), the literal meaning is activated in the story by means of winged flying cartoon characters.

⁷ *Google Ngram Viewer* is an open access graphing tool, charting the yearly count of selected words and phrases (n-grams) as found in over 5.2 million books digitised by Google (up to 2008). Methodologically it must be observed that there is no clear reference as to which books have been scanned in the corpus, although Pechenick et. al. (2015) stress the dominion of scientific and literary books. Moreover, the obtained graphs change quickly as new books are scanned and added on a daily basis.

(16) **Red Bull verleiht Ernst Strasser Flügel**

Ex-Innenminister war in Sachen Red Bull äußerst aktiv und wurde zugleich als Berater einer Tiroler Agentur bezahlt.

Der frühere EU-Abgeordnete Ernst Strasser soll einem Bericht des Magazins NEWS zufolge auf europäischer Ebene Lobbying für den Getränkehersteller Red Bull betrieben haben und zugleich über eine Innsbrucker PR-Agentur von diesem bezahlt worden sein.

(<http://www.format.at/articles/1227/930/333394/red-bull-ernst-strasser-fluegel>; 15 August 2012.)

This advertising slogan has not only been recontextualised and modified in German, but also in several other languages where *Red Bull* is sold. For example, the English modifications (17, 18) have both been applied unmarked in sports context, replacing *Red Bull* with *the yellow jersey* or *a great result*. Here the figurative meaning ‘to inspire to achieve great things’ has been activated. As *Red Bull* often sponsors sporting events, the recontextualisation of the modified *Red Bull* slogan in examples 17 and 18 is not surprising.

(17) **Barteau – The yellow jersey gives you wings**

To hold the yellow jersey on Bastille Day is always a special moment for a French rider. And Tony Gallopin is about to feel the thrills of a lifetime on a bike in the stage to La Planche des Belles Filles.

(<http://www.letour.com/le-tour/2014/us/stage-10/news/tmp/barteau-the-yellow-jersey-gives-you-wings.html>; 10 July 2014.)

(18) **Anand: A great result gives you wings**

Vishy Anand got a great boost from his first win against Levon Aronian in the Candidates Tournament. “A good result gives you wings”, says Anand in New In Chess magazine.

(<http://www.chessdom.com/anand-a-great-result-gives-you-wings/>; 12 July 2014.)

In Spanish the modified slogan equivalent for *Red Bull* (*Red Bull* has been replaced by *leer*), recontextualised as the sentence equivalent phraseme, *El niño que hoy lee será un adulto que piense. Leer te dá alas*. ‘The child who reads today will become an adult who thinks. Reading gives you wings.’ has been recontextualised on posters in a campaign popularising reading among youth. In the blog (ex. 19) a part of the recontextualised modified equivalent has been again reco(n)textualised in the title and complemented by a question *¿apren-*

derá ortografía? ‘learns spelling’ to critically comment on the use of a grammatically incorrect slogan (incorrect conjugation of the verb *dar*) to promote reading. The deviation from grammatical norms has been observed in advertising before to grab readers’ attention. However the blog questions the recontextualisation of the language used in advertising and beyond, i.e. the grammatical quality of present day texts, especially when promoting reading.

(19) **Leer te “dá” alas. El que hoy lee... ¿aprenderá ortografía?**

Publicado el 13 noviembre 2012 por Desequilibrios Completamente de acuerdo con la máxima. Por desgracia, se ve que el niño que leyó ayer no aprendió (o la ha olvidado) ortografía. Y si no, comprueben la correcta conjugación del verbo *dar*.

(<http://es.paperblog.com/leer-te-da-alas-el-nino-que-hoy-lee-aprendera-ortografia-1557964/>; 12 February 2013.)

‘Reading “gives” you wings. He who reads today ... learns spelling? Posted on November 13, 2012. I fully agree with the saying. Unfortunately, it appears that the child who read yesterday did not learn the orthography (or has forgotten it). And if not, check the correct conjugation of the verb *dar*.’

The modifications of both the advertising slogan and its equivalents tell us something about the degree of independence from the original advertising text and “thus about the degree of lexicalisation or conventionalisation” (Quassdorf 2009). Furthermore, they suggest that a variation pattern based on this slogan has become established cross-linguistically.

Another good example represents the advertising slogan for a soft drink from Slovenia, *Cockta*, which has been advertised on the Yugoslav market since 1953. Since 1975 *Cockta* has been advertised with the cult advertising slogan *Cockta. Pijača vaše in naše mladosti*. ‘The drink of your and our youth.’, which played a central role in the Slovenian marketing tradition. The advertising slogan and its equivalents have mostly been recontextualised in a modified form, building the variation pattern: *X vaše in naše mladosti* ‘X of your and our youth.’. Often the contexts for the modified slogan and its equivalents are related to nostalgia, as in the example (20) about the delicious *Eurokrem*, a Yugoslav hazelnut chocolate spread that is a variant of *Nutella*. Interestingly, in the blog’s title *Eurokrem* is humorously paraphrased as *Razvada naše in vaše mladosti*. ‘Indulgence of our and your youth.’.

(20) **RAZVADA NAŠE IN VAŠE MLADOSTI**

Nič drugega kot EUROKREM.

Tisti ta pravi – slastni Eurokrem. To pa je res razvada, ki se kar prilepi na tebe in te ne izpusti in ne izpusti. Že kake dve leti nazaj smo ga slučajno našli v trgovini – v Novalji na otoku Pagu.

(<http://leva-desna.blogspot.com/2009/11/razvada-nase-in-vase-mladosti.html>; 17 February 2012.)

‘Indulgence of our and your youth

Nothing but EUROKREM.

The true – delicious Eurokrem. It is truly an indulgence which grabs you. We discovered it accidentally already two years ago – in Novalja on the island Pag.’

(b) Though the original advertising slogan has equivalents, these have not been recontextualised in any of the analysed European languages.

The German international advertising slogan for *Haribo* products (e.g. fruit-flavoured “Gummi Bears”) from the 1930s – *Haribo macht Kinder froh.*, which was expanded in the 1960s to *Haribo macht Kinder froh und Erwachsene ebenso.*, and has acquired its popularity through TV commercials with well-known talk show host Thomas Gottschalk – is well remembered among the old and young in Germany and has been included in German dictionaries and glossaries (Duden 12, 2008, Hars 2002). Outside advertising contexts this jingle has been recontextualised to express happiness of both men and animals; it has been modified and created a variation pattern: *X macht Kinder/Y froh und Erwachsene/Z ebenso.* e.g. *Dieses Hundeklo macht Hunde froh.*, *Klimmt macht Autofahrer froh.* etc. As *Haribo* products are sold in more than 100 countries around the world and *Haribo* is the worldwide gummi candy market leader, the German advertising slogan has equivalents in numerous languages.⁸ Despite well-worded equivalents which retain both the rhyme and number of syllables for the advertising slogan to be sung according to the original melody, no exam-

⁸ *Haribo za otroke bo, in odrasle prav tako.* ‘Haribo is for the kids as well as for the adults.’ (Slovenian); *Haribo, c’est beau la vie – pour les grands et les petits.* ‘Haribo, life is beautiful for the kinds and adults.’ (French); *Kids and grown-ups love it so – the happy world of Haribo.* (Ireland, UK, and the USA, Sweden); *Haribo, dulces sabores – para pequeños y mayores.* ‘Haribo, sweets – for the big and small.’ (Spanish) etc.

ples of recontextualised equivalents have been found in the electronic corpora or the WWW.

About the reasons why some equivalents are not recontextualised outside advertising can only be speculated: Firstly, the reason may lie in inappropriate rhetorical adaptation. For example, the Czech equivalent of the advertising slogan for milk chocolate Milka, *Nejjemnější pokušení od dob, kdy existuje čokoláda*. ‘The finest temptation since the times of chocolate.’ (German: *Die zarteste Versuchung, seit es Schokolade gibt.*), has not been recontextualised, given that the adaptation (with its lack of rhyme) is a poor one. However, the Slovenian equivalent, which applied rhyme, was not found in contexts outside advertising either. Secondly, there may be cultural reasons why equivalents are not recontextualised in other languages. For example, a German linguistically provocative advertising slogan by *Saturn Geiz ist geil*, has been recontextualised in German, but gave rise to controversial discussion due to its choice of words and promotion of stinginess. Not only has this advertising slogan posed a problem due to alliteration, in several countries its message has not been understood and can be considered German or culture specific (ex. 21).

- (21) Mit einem Satz wie “Stinginess is cool”, der Übersetzung von **“Geiz ist geil”**, kann man jenseits des Atlantiks nichts anfangen. Was soll das heißen, würden sich Amerikaner fragen. Denn wer den Geiz lobt, muss ja eine andere Form des Konsums kennen. So was wie “Qualität hat halt ihren Preis” oder: “Ich unterstütze die heimische Qualitätsindustrie und kaufe nicht Made in China.”
(*die tageszeitung*, 11.09.2007, S. 14; DeReKo, 22 May 2014).

Another interesting example is evident in the German advertising slogans for *RitterSport* chocolate with juxtaposed adjectives *Quadratisch. Praktisch. Gut.* from 1970. In German the advertising slogan has often been recontextualised outside advertising in the meaning ‘not necessarily beautiful, but practical and compact’ with reference to buildings, cars, appliances and even people. In example (22) it has been used unmarked to support the argumentation about the VW van’s practicality and compactness. It has also been included in German dictionaries and glossaries (Duden 12, 2008; Hars 2002; Liste geflügelter Worte).

- (22) Sie nannten ihn Bulli. Der Kosenamen galt einem Kasten auf vier Rädern, der an Schlichtheit kaum zu überbieten war. Als vor einem halben Jahrhundert der erste VW-Transporter vom Band lief, ausgestattet

mit jeder Menge Stauraum und der nüchternen Typenbezeichnung T1, ahnte keiner, dass hier ein Kultobjekt in die Welt gesetzt wurde. **Quadratisch, praktisch, gut** – und sparsam im Benzinverbrauch. (*Zeit (Online-Ausgabe)*, 09.03.2006, Nr. 10. – “Sachgebiet: Reise, Originalressort: Reisen”; DeReKo.)

The advertising slogan *Quadratisch. Praktisch. Gut.* for *RitterSport* chocolates has numerous equivalents⁹ which, however, have only sporadically been recontextualised. An interesting example has been found in Russian newspapers, where the advertising slogan is often recontextualised in German and in the Latin script, but not marked for quotation. In the following example the slogan has been used to humorously refer to a robust body form.

- (23) Факт второй: Первый не нападаю никогда. Но если атаковали меня – ответ будет дан в полную силу. Факт третий: Я поперек себя шире – 140кг веса на 185 см роста, широкие плечи, мощные конечности и вообще **quadratisch praktisch gut**. (<http://socioadekvat.diary.ru/p176737806.htm>; 4 September 2013.)

‘Fact three: I am very big – I weigh 140kg and am 185 cm tall, broad shoulders, powerful limbs and on the whole quadratisch praktisch gut.’

(c) At least one of the equivalents, but not the original advertising slogan, has been recontextualised outside advertising.

Sometimes the adaptation of an advertising slogan in a target language is especially creative and successful. Consequently there are cases where one of the equivalents, but not the original advertising slogan, has been recontextualised. An interesting example is the advertising slogan for *Snickers*: Since 2010 *Snickers* has been advertised with a rather long advertising slogan *You’re not you when you’re hungry*, in humorous commercials in which hungry (sports)men turn into celebrities like Joan Collins and Stephanie Beacham, activating the literal meaning of the sentence. Despite humorous and very popular commercials, the English advertising slogan has neither been found recontextualised in electronic corpora nor on the WWW. The same can be observed for the total equiva-

⁹ *Carré. Pratique. Gourmand.* (France); *The handy chocolate square.* (English speaking countries); *Quality in a Square.* (Great Britain); *Quality. Chocolate. Squared.* (North America) etc.

lent in German. The Slovenian partial equivalent, however, has been shortened and applied the modal particle *ful*, associated with youth language, and has been recontextualised in both the original and the modified form.

In example (24) the Slovenian equivalent is recontextualised as a title of an article in the daily newspaper *Dnevnik*, to humorously attract readers' attention. In the article a teacher complains about hungry children coming to school without breakfast and having no energy to learn in the morning. In this text the meaning of the equivalent has shifted 'if you are hungry, you cannot think (like yourself)' and is not the same as in the commercial where it relates to physical transformation.

(24) **Lačen si ful drugačen**

Tako se ne da več delati, je stokala učiteljica 3. razreda. Pri meni se otroci vlačijo zjutraj po razredu kot zombiji.

(<http://www.dnevnik.si/debate/kolumne/1042538229>; 16 August 2013.)

'You're not you, when you're hungry

I could no longer work like this, complained a teacher of the third grade. Children drag themselves around like zombies in my classroom.'

In example (25) a modified Slovenian equivalent has been used in the title of a blog, referring to mass protests against systemic corruption in autumn 2012 in Slovenia. The blog, however, reports about the violent protests in Maribor, which started due to installation of road radars.¹⁰

(25) **Razkačen si ful drugačen...**

Gotof si, Kangleru! Ja, v Mariboru vladajo izredne razmere. Grčija v Sloveniji. Drugo največje slovensko mesto vre. Človek bi mislil, da je povod takšnega silovitega upora ljudstva Janševo teptanje socialno demokratične države, ampak ne. Mariborčanov to ne moti. Motijo jih županovi radarji.

(<http://markom.watoc.org/2012/11/13/razkacen-si-ful-drugacen/>; 9 February 2013.)

'Angry you are totally different...

¹⁰ Having received massive fines, the population of Maribor, tired of the corrupt local mayor who was involved in the installation of road radars as well as the dissatisfying situation due to the general financial crisis, took to the streets.

Kangler [Mayor of Maribor; J.P.], you're a dead man! Yes, in Maribor there are extreme circumstances. Greece in Slovenia. The second biggest town in Slovenia is seething with discontent. You'd think that the violent protest was due to trampling of the sociodemocratic state by Janša [the then prime minister; J.P.]. Not at all. The population of Maribor is not troubled by that. They are troubled by the road radars approved by the mayor.'

In Slovenian Styria (in Maribor) a humorous regional modification of the equivalent has been created *Trezen si ful brezvezen*. 'Sober you are totally boring', building a variation pattern *X si ful Y* 'X you're totally Y', where X and Y rhyme. Slovenian Styria is well known for its good wines which are sometimes consumed excessively, also suggested by example (26).

- (26) **Lačen si ful drugačen.** In štajerski prevod (baje): **Trezen si ful brezvezen.** via email :). Dobro jutro!
(<http://twitter.com/DC43/status/195406614805741569>; 17 August 2012.)

'Hungry you are not you. And the Styrian translation (supposedly): Sober you are totally boring.'

(d) The standardised monolingual advertising slogan in English has been recontextualised in some of the analysed European languages.

Though it is possible that standardised English advertising slogans be recontextualised in different languages, no relevant examples could be found within this example-based cross-linguistic/cross-cultural study.

7. Conclusion

The current study has illustrated that not only international advertising slogans but also their adaptations in different European languages may be recontextualised as familiar quotations and sentence equivalent phraseological units in non-commercial co(n)texts. Thus recontextualised foreign language adaptations are to be considered phraseological equivalents of international slogans, usually representing partial, rarely total or zero equivalency. Like the other familiar

quotations, slogan equivalents cannot be attributed to loan translations, but to direct access via adapted advertising. Unlike familiar quotations, however, the type of slogan equivalents is conditioned by the marketing strategy applied.

In new co(n)texts equivalents of international slogans like the original slogans acquire a more general meaning (dropped brand or product name). As to their function, they may support arguments, but are primarily recontextualised to grab readers' attention, to entertain and evoke emotions (humour or irony). Another important function not mentioned in the research on familiar quotations, is critical distancing, i.e. the author of the text deliberately quotes the slogan to either distance himself/herself from consumerism promoted by the slogan or its (incorrect) language use (3, 19).

Most of the analysed international slogans and their equivalents show a great potential for playful or humorous modification and the formation of variation patterns (e.g. *X si ful drugačen*. 'X you are totally different.', *X gives you wings* etc.). Therefore, it seems that international slogans and their equivalents establish cross-linguistic variation patterns (cf. Gredel 2008), popularising formulaic language from advertising across different languages and cultures. Also, in addition to film production (Piirainen 2010) advertising seems to represent a modern textual source promoting the diffusion of new international sentence equivalent phraseological units.

Furthermore, the current study explored the factors which play a role in recontextualisation of international slogans and their equivalents: Whereas rhetorical figures such as alliteration, rhyme, rhythm seem to be vital for the advertising context, a successful recontextualisation of equivalents depends on their creative rhetorical adaptation by advertisers. The current analysis has shown that both the rhyme and the length of equivalents seem to be counterproductive for their recontextualisation, as are culturally specific values verbalised in the advertising slogan (e.g. *Geiz ist geil*. 'Stinginess is cool.'). Interestingly, successfully recontextualised slogans and slogan equivalents often take up and popularise phraseological units.

From the critical discourse perspective the recontextualisation of advertising slogans can be viewed in light of the marketisation of public discourse. Namely, through recontextualised slogans or their equivalents the new co(n)text is linked to commercials, forming a genre chain or new hybridity, typical of communication in the globalised world (Fairclough 2003).

Finally, further research should focus on a greater number of international advertising slogans and also analyse their equivalents in additional foreign languages.

REFERENCES

- Androutsopoulos, J. 1997. "Intertextualität in jugendkulturellen Textsorten". In: Klein, J. and U. Fix (eds.), *Textbeziehungen. Linguistische und literaturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Intertextualität*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 339–372.
- Baumgart, M. 1998. *Die Sprache der Anzeigenwerbung. Eine linguistische Analyse aktueller Werbeslogans*. Heidelberg: Physica.
- Bebermeyer, G. and R. Bebermeyer. 1977. "Abgewandelte Formeln – sprachlicher Ausdruck unserer Zeit". *Muttersprache* 87. 1–42.
- Branner, R. 2002. "Zitate aus der Medienwelt. Zu Form und Funktion von Werbezitaten in natürlichen Gesprächen". *Muttersprache* 112(4). 337–359.
- Burger, H., A. Buhofer and A. Sialm 1982. *Handbuch der Phraseologie*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Chouliarakis, L. and N. Fairclough 1999. *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dobrovolskij, D. and E. Piirainen. 2005. *Figurative language: Cross-cultural and Cross-linguistic Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 1997. *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Gredel, E. 2008. Sprachliche Muster in deutsch-, englisch- und französischsprachigen Werbeslogans. Eine linguistische und interkulturelle Analyse. (MA thesis, Universität Mannheim.)
- Henn-Memmesheimer, B. 2013. "Semantische Innovationen als Bewegungen im sozialen Raum. Eine quantitative und qualitative Analyse der Implementierung von diesen". *Filologia* 1(1). 23–51.
- Honeck, R. P. 1997. *A proverb in mind: The cognitive science of proverbial wit and wisdom*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Korhonen, J. 2007. "Probleme der kontrastiven Phraseologie". In: Burger, H. (ed.), *Phraseologie. Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung. Handbücher für Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 574–590.
- Janich, N. 2010. *Werbesprache. Ein Arbeitsbuch*. Tübingen: Narr Studienbücher.
- Kržišnik, E. 2000. *Biblične stalne zveze v slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika in v slovenskem jeziku. Razprave. Dissertationes*. Ljubljana: SAZU. 67–79.
- Lennon, P. 2004. *Allusions in the Press: An applied linguistic study*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Lusińska, A. 2007. *Reklama a frazeologia. Teksty reklamowe jako źródło nowych frazeologizmów* [Advertising and phraseology. Advertising texts as a source of new phraseologisms]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Lüger, H.-H. 1998. "Vom Zitat zur Adaption. Zu einigen Verwendungsweisen satzwertiger Phraseologismen". *Beiträge zur Fremdsprachenvermittlung* 34. 118–135.
- Lüger, H.-H. 1999. *Satzwertige Phraseologismen. Eine pragmalinguistische Untersuchung*. Wien: Ed. Praesens.

- Mair, C. 2008. "Corpora and the study of recent change in language". In: Lüdeling, A. and M. Kytö (eds.), *Corpus linguistics: An international handbook. Handbücher für Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 29.1. (vol. 1). Berlin: De Gruyter. 1109–1125.
- Meffert, H., C. Burmann and M. Koers (eds.). 2005. *Markenmanagement. Identitätsorientierte Markenführung und praktische Umsetzung*. Wiesbaden: Gabler.
- Neuland, E. 1987. "Spiegelungen und Gegenspiegelungen. Anregungen für eine zukünftige Jugendsprachenforschung". *Zeitschrift Germanistische Linguistik (ZGL)* 15. 58–82.
- Piirainen, E. 2010. "Common features in the phraseology of European languages: Cultural and areal perspectives". In: Korhonen, J., W. Mieder, E. Piirainen and R. Pinel (eds.), *Phraseologie global – areal – regional. Akten der Konferenz EUROPHRAS 2008 vom 13.–16.8.2008 in Helsinki*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr. 15–27.
- Pechenick, E.A., C.M. Danforth and P.S. Dodds. 2015. *Characterizing the Google Books corpus: Strong limits to inferences of socio-cultural and linguistic evolution*. Open-access: <<http://arxiv.org/pdf/1501.00960>>. (Last accessed 12 Jan 2015.)
- Polajnar, J. 2011. "Da weiß man, was man hat. Wie Formelhaftes zu Werbeslogans wird und wie Werbeslogans formelhaft werden. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung bekannter Werbeslogans im elektronischen Zeitungskorpus des DeReKo". *Muttersprache* 121(4). 248–274.
- Polajnar, J. 2012a. "Textuelle Aspekte von rekontextualisierten Werbeslogans in deutschsprachigen Zeitungen. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung bekannter Werbeslogans im Zeitungskorpus des Deutschen Referenzkorpus (DeReKo)". *Muttersprache* 122(1). 48–64.
- Polajnar, J. 2012b. "Sprachliche und inhaltliche Tendenzen rekontextualisierter Werbeslogans". In: Jesenšek, V., A. Lipavc Oštir and M. Fabčič (eds.), *Festschrift für Prof. em. Dr. Mirko Krizman zum 80. Geburtstag*. Maribor: Mednarodna založba Oddelka za slovanske jezike in književnosti, Filozofska fakulteta. 289–303.
- Polajnar, J. 2013a. "Quadratisch, praktisch, saugudd. Variation von rekontextualisierten Werbeslogans. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung bekannter deutscher Werbeslogans im elektronischen Zeitungskorpus des DeReKo". In: Albrecht, G. and J. Franz (eds.), *Zeichen und Stil. Der Mehrwert von Variation. Festschrift für Beate Henn-Memmesheimer zum Geburtstag*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 125–141.
- Polajnar, J. 2013b. "Neprodani in trdni. Ja, seveda, potem pa svizec ... Osamosvajanje oglasnih sloganov v slovenskem jeziku". *Jezik in slovstvo* 58(3). 3–19.
- Ptashnyk, S., E. Hallsteinsdottir and N. Bubenhofer (eds.). 2010. *Korpora, Web und Datenbanken. Computergestützte Methoden in der modernen Phraseologie und Lexikographie. Corpora, Web and Databases. Computer-Based Methods in Modern Phraseology and Lexicography*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.
- Quassdorf, S. 2009. "'On quoting ...' – A corpus-based study on the phraseology of well-known quotations". In: Mahlberg, M., V. González-Díaz and C. Smith (eds.), *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2009*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool. Art. 54. (Available at: <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/publications/cl2009/>>. Last accessed 12 Jul 2014.)

- Quassdorf, S. and A. Häcki Buhofer. 2010. "... you are quoting Shakespeare: Quotations in practice". In: Ptashnyk, S., E. Hallsteinsdottir and N. Bubenhofer (eds.). 215–228.
- Scherer, C. 2006. *Korpuslinguistik*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Schlobinski, P., G. Kohl and I. Ludewigt. 1993. *Jugendsprache – Fiktion und Wirklichkeit*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Sinclair, J.M.H. 1991. *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steyer, K. 2013. *Usuelle Wortverbindungen. Zentrale Muster des Sprachgebrauchs aus korpuslinguistischer Sicht*. Tübingen: Narr Verlag.
- Stöckl, H. 1998. "Alles Müller oder was? – Nicht immer, aber immer öfter. Werbliche Persuasion als Vermittler zwischen öffentlichem und privatem Diskurs". In: Hoffmann, M. and Ch. Keßler (eds.), *Beiträge zur Persuasionsforschung. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung textlinguistischer und stilistischer Aspekte*. Frankfurt am M.: Peter Lang. 293–310.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. 2001. *Corpus linguistics at work*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Vrbinc, M. and A. Vrbinc. 2012. "Biblijski in literarni frazemi prevajalsko in leksikografsko". *Annales, Series historia et sociologia* 22(2). 499–508.

Dictionaries, databases, projects

COCA – Corpus of Contemporary American English.

Available at <<http://www.americancorpus.org>>. (Last accessed January–July 2009.)

Collins COBUILD. Advanced Learner's English Dictionary. 2003. Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers.

DeReKo – Deutsches Referenzkorpus. Institut für Deutsche Sprache. Archiv der Korpora geschriebener Gegenwartssprache 2014-I. Released 15 April 2014. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Available at <www.ids-mannheim.de/DeReKo>. (Last accessed 26 Jun 2014.)

Zitate und Aussprüche. 2008, 3rd ed. (Vol. 12.) Mannheim: Duden.

Redewendungen. 2012, 4th ed. (Vol. 11.) Mannheim: Duden.

Gigafida

Available at <<http://www.Gigafida.net/Support/About>>. (Last accessed 24 Jun 2013.)

Google Ngram Viewer.

Available at <<https://books.google.com/ngrams>>. (Last accessed 1 Jun 2014.)

Hars, W. 2002. *Das Lexikon der Werbesprüche. 500 bekannte deutsche Werbeslogans und ihre Geschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Piper.

HyperHamlet. Corpus of references to and quotations from Shakespeare's Hamlet.

Available at <www.hyperhamlet.unibas.ch>. (Last accessed 21 Jun 2014.)

Liste geflügelter Worte.

Available at <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_gefl%C3%BCgelte_Worte>. (Last accessed 4 Sep 2014.)

Razvezani jezik.

Available at <<http://www.razvezanijezik.org/>>. (Last accessed 1 Sep 2013.)

Redensartenindex.

Available at <<http://www.redensarten-index.de/suche.php>>. (Last accessed 1 Sep 2013.)

SSKJ = Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika. I–V. 1970–1991. Ljubljana: SAZU.

Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond. A Cross-linguistic and Cross-cultural Research Project.

Available at <<http://www.widespread-idioms.uni-trier.de/>> (Last accessed 1 Jun 2015.)

Address correspondence to:

Janja Polajnar
Department of German
Faculty of Arts
University of Ljubljana
Aškerčeva 2
Ljubljana, 1000
Slovenia
janjapol@yahoo.de

