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LANGUAGE CHANGE THROUGH ADS: THE IMPACT OF ADVERTISING MESSAGES ON CONTEMPORARY IDIO- AND SOCIOLECTS

Keywords: language of advertising, slogan, idiolect, language change, colloquial language.

ABSTRACT

It is evident that, nowadays, advertising messages invade people's idio- and sociolects, changing the way they communicate on a daily basis, which is why the following paper aims at drawing attention to the phenomenon of language change engendered by advertising slogans. The research conducted is based on a collection of slogans originating from Polish and English advertisements and commercials, as well as on a survey whose main objective is to assess ads' influence on everyday communicative practices, with special emphasis placed on the possible acquisition of new phrasemes through ads. The results obtained in the survey prove that young Poles often acquire certain expressions from advertising messages, which results in subtle language change in terms of new phrasemes in colloquial speech.

1. INTRODUCTION

“Every language has a structure that must somehow influence the way its speakers view the world” (Bolinger 2014: vii) and our contemporary consumerist society views the world through the lens of mass media and of advertising in particular. We all fall under the influence of its rhetorical patterns that impose the ever-growing condensation of meaning and linguistic deviation; we are all repeatedly exposed to its content and form, which gradually penetrate our lexicons, changing the way we communicate. It may seem strange but advertisements and commercials do contribute to the enrichment of our vocabularies, becoming new means of language transmission in modern society.

That is why the following paper aims at drawing attention to the phenomenon of language change through advertising slogans. It is claimed that modern human communication patterns can be influenced by advertisers, for the language of advertising has grown into a new source of contemporary dictionary forms and into the mother lode of inventive collocations or linguistic deviations. In order to support this thesis through an empirical study supplementing the existing studies on this issue, the author conducted an extensive research based on a collection of Polish and English advertisements and commercials, as well as on a survey whose main objective was to assess ads' influence on everyday communicative practices. It is to check whether advertising slogans may be treated as new phrasemes that enter colloquial speech of the young.

2. YOUTH LANGUAGE AND THE LANGUAGE OF ADVERTISING – A GENERAL OVERVIEW

The dynamics of youth language is a well-known sociolinguistic issue – what is issued from adolescents' mouths may often be puzzling, indeed; nonetheless, what is meant here is not any stream of expletives but rather a set of strange and atypical words and phrases they use to communicate. In order to understand their language, or at least try to recognise and apprehend some of the popular language patterns they apply, one should probe into modern colloquial speech that allows not only for an act of communication to be performed, but also for the expression of youths' independence and identity (Bucholtz 2000: 280).

Responding to the need for contemporary colloquial language apprehension, this part of the paper addresses the question of how language practices may be shaped by the omnipresent discourse of advertising. That is why the specific features of youth language and the language of advertising will be explored in the ensuing sections with the aim of offering a general outlook on the topic under discussion.

2.1. Ad language and its characteristic features

To begin with, advertising may be defined as a multifaceted process of communication and marketing practices of both economic and social import (Bové, Arens 1992: 7). It "is intended to be persuasive – to win converts to a good, service, or idea" (Bové, Arens 1992: 8) by means of textual and visual elements combined in order to appeal to our consciousness and subconscious, changing what we think we want. However, this section will focus exclusively on the linguistic dimension of advertising, on the persuasive and original form and content combined in slogans (Bralczyk 2000: 1). A slogan, in general terms, is understood here as "a short catchy phrase related to a specific brand, which defines, presents, and helps customers remember the key concepts of a brand or advertising campaign itself" (Skorupa, Dubovičienė 2015: 111).

As noted by Bralczyk (2000), a catchy slogan owes its power not only to accurate choice of wording, but also to the very linguistic impulse enhanced by constant repetition, thus becoming memorable whether one wants it or not. Among the linguistic elements employed one can list ingenious forms, such as alliteration, metaphors and idioms, wordplay, puns, rhythm or rhyme, sometimes accompanied by melodious tunes (Cook 2001; Djafarova 2008). These were reported by, for instance, Toncar and Munch (2001) to have a massive impact on the effectiveness of ads, aiding both ad recall and ad's persuasive influence on the audience. A defining characteristic of the language layer in advertising is also the use of keywords that can suggest other meanings, as well as the application of exclamations and questions to enhance the emotional appeal that conduces to liking (Andren et al. 1978; Dyer 1982; Cialdini 2007). Another line of reasoning to be mentioned here suggests that a key aspect of the language of advertising is its considerable brevity and succinctness (Bruthiaux 2000: 297). Ads' power is hence attributable to short form that is easy to repeat and memorise.

One of the reasons for the upsurge of interest in how advertising messages affect our everyday language is their prevalence. The position of advertising in contemporary culture of language use changes – nowadays, both slogans and parts of advertising copy are anchored in our everyday language and in popular culture, becoming their integral parts. The importance of media as new paragons of communication leads us to internalise this ad-born culture and, consequently, to accept the conventionalised nature of the ad itself, which translates into conventionalised types of advertising messages: into fixed expressions offering mental shortcuts to other, more abstract and complex ideas one wishes to communicate.

2.2. General aspects of youth language and colloquial language

An equally significant issue connected with the idea of fashioning language patterns comes with the concepts of linguistic innovation and change that enter everyday human speech. When it comes to a deeper exploration of the nature of sociolinguistically motivated change, there is a general agreement that adolescents are the social group that is best informed as to linguistic change and dynamics of meaning in social practice (Eckert 1997: 52). That is why many sociolinguistic studies share an interest in youth language that

[...] is taken to refer to all patterns of language use in the social age of adolescence, encompassing all ranges of linguistic description as well as a variety of research questions and topics within sociolinguistics (Androutsopoulos 2010: 1496).

Youth language is characterised by great creativity as regards language deviation and modification of stylistic practices, as well as by its remarkable capacity for strengthening communality and negotiating youths' identity (Bucholtz 2000; Leppänen 2007). The emergence of youth language and its concomitant speech styles can be attributed to the influence of mass media (Androutsopoulos 2010: 1497) providing a flexible set of linguistic resources to be used in everyday conversation; nonetheless, some of its inherent features have their origin in the young themselves due to their increased need for independence and originality that may help them define their identities in their peer group and in the society as well. As a result, they invent their own inventory of vocabulary items and give priority to novelty and uniqueness in their expressive activity, at the same time retaining the ability to draw the demarcation line between the standard and colloquial communicative practices.

Although the topic of youth language presented here is far from being exhausted, this section is intended to offer just a hint of its possible impact on general language practices. Therefore, one should proceed to further description of language, but this time in respect of colloquial language. The informal or non-literary language variety known as colloquial language is used in familiar contexts and in ordinary conversations. Its knowledge enables to achieve the interactional goals in casual *tête-à-têtes*. Speech fre-

quently allows for colloquialism and slang, inviting language creativity and thus being “more conducive to the production of innovative styles of youth culture” (Bucholtz 2000: 281) but, nonetheless, what is here meant as colloquial register may be applicable to informal speech and writing alike. The colloquial mode is not restricted to youth language contexts, though: its impact is exerted on both the peer-group and national level of a speech community, underpinning its quotidian communicative practices. That being said, one should briefly consider the concepts of idio- and sociolects in an attempt to rethink directions in research on colloquial language.

2.3. A few words on idio- and sociolects

In this day and age, mass media discourse becomes the primary source of information regarding language standards, especially for the young; thus, it comes as no surprise that advertising messages invade and mould people’s idio- and sociolects, changing the way they communicate on a daily basis, transforming their knowledge of language items and their communicative force.

Media become a new educational environment for the young, a new place to learn outside their schools (Frana 2013: 41–48), a place rife with manifestations of linguistic creativity in speech and writing. It is full of language dynamics in verbal and textual realisations, for media equals living language true to practice, and that is why many people, especially those of young age, ingest advertising messages, unconsciously undergoing the process of language acquisition in a new context that may lead to potential language change.

It is natural that language differs from person to person; each human being uses the general language system in a different way, creating his or her individual way of speaking called an idiolect, which consists of pronunciation, grammar, style, and vocabulary unique to every single human being. On a larger scale, one can speak of sociolects, that is, types of language characteristic of particular social groups carrying their own expressive functions. In other words, it may be said that “idiolects are person-dependent similarities in language use [...] [whereas] sociolects, on the other hand, are group-dependent similarities in language use” (Louwse 2004: 207). Both surface in formal and informal speech, however, their impact is significantly greater in the colloquial mode, especially among young people who have their own slang words restricted to particular contexts. As one may therefore expect, they easily adopt new expressions that seem fresh and cool, which leads to potential language change that generally takes place “[...] when a new linguistic form, used by some sub-group within a speech community, is adopted by other members of that community and accepted as the norm” (Coates 2015: 171). Many vocabulary items that comply with the requirements of linguistic innovation, attractiveness, and coolness can be found in the language of advertising, which is original, vivid, dynamic, and full of emotion. This claim may be supported by the following excerpt:

Speaking the emotionally loaded ad language helps to express one's thoughts and feelings more precisely [and] social or group need for verbal description of some known but yet unnamed concept surely fosters phraseologisation of ad slogans (the author's translation from Lusińska 2007: 43).

For that reason, it seems possible that ad language offers young people something they lack in traditional phrases, for it gives them ready-made expressions loaded with multiple meanings, inviting them to make such phrases a speech habit. Furthermore, it makes them perceive ad language as a kind of a new code that poses a challenge, much like a new language to master. The main proposal put forward in this paper is that fixed strings of words one encounters in his interaction with advertising messages make him discover new expressions he may later on turn into new phrasemes and discursive conventions in terms of informal communication patterns.

3. THE IMPORT OF PHRASEMES IN HUMAN COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES

As learners acquire a language, be it L1, L2 or else, they are able to notice observable language patterns underlying text production. "Instead of seeing lexical choices as constrained by the slots which grammar makes available for them, they regard lexis as systematically structured through repeated patterns of use" (Hyland 2008: 6). Then, they apprehend that it is possible to produce meanings thanks to recurring structures of collocational groupings assisting more fluent communication.

This is how phrasemes work: they are set phrases conditioned by linguistic conventions that are used to build larger sentences, "[...] typically made up of interlocking bundles as words [...] mentally « primed » for use with other words through our experience of them in frequent associations" (Hyland 2008: 6; cf. Hoey 2005). In order to get a good grasp of these multi-word expressions, it seems appropriate to cite Hyland here:

What I shall call « bundles », or frequently recurrent strings of uninterrupted word-forms, thus appear to represent a psychological association between words and reflect a very real part of users' communicative experiences. The key idea here is that of collocation or the relationship that a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability (Hyland 2008: 5).

Aiming at a more detailed account, it seems pertinent to cite Chlebda (1991) as well, whose definition of a phraseme reflects the linguistic status of advertising slogans and reads as follows:

[a phraseme is] a linguistic sign which is the name of some semantic potential (concept) the speaker refers to (reproduces) as its relatively stable symbol in a given communicative situation (Chlebda 1991: 27).

It should be therefore emphasised that, in this paper, the author opts for the above definition in her understanding of phrasemes. What she means is neither the synonym of a phraseological unit, nor the subtypes thereof but rather multi-word utterances that are reproduced from memory by a given speaker to serve as semantic shortcuts to oth-

er concepts in a particular communicative situation. Given their function, it is vital to highlight the import of multi-word items in human mental dictionaries due to their making the very communication process more predictable to the language user (Nattinger, DeCarrico 1992; Hyland 2008). It is argued by researchers, such as Wray and Perkins (2000), for instance, that

such sequences function as processing shortcuts by being stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use rather than generated anew on each occasion [...] [and] reduce processing time by using familiar patterns to link elements of new information (Hyland 2008: 5).

Thus, the major contribution of phrasemes to more fluent communication rests on the fact that they allow for uninterrupted, or at least facilitated, access to the strings of meanings beyond the strings of words. Nevertheless, one should never forget that the application of such formulaic sequences is twofold in nature, for it may, under certain circumstances, either foster or impede communication as follows from Gricean conversational maxims, which say that reliance on pre-fabricated structures helps to obey the maxim of quantity but, on the other hand, may lead to violation of the maxim of manner (Grice 1989: 26–27); in other words, one can make a message shorter and more condensed, so to speak, but it can hence become ambiguous and obscure, preventing the receiver from understanding it properly.

Following the line of thought offered by Bralczyk, though, one can say that phraseology equals durability of thought patterns transmitted through language by way of fixed, even fossilised expressions that provide people with textual semi-products, ready-to-use in daily communication, and that advertising also utilises this phenomenon of phraseology to create new linguistic patterns (Bralczyk 2000: 104) exceeding the standard dictionary resources of language. Being integral communicative units that strengthen texts' appeal and expressiveness (Lusińska 2007: 26), phraseologisms are keenly utilised by advertisers who value linguistic richness and like playing with language in order to make their products and services more attractive to prospective consumers. As one shall see in the part to follow, advertising slogans and catchy lines from commercials bear some features of phrasemes, having considerable impact on contemporary youth language. Therefore, it shall be proven that ads can be seen as capable of producing phraseological habits, ranging from original, brand-new creations to parasitic ones that rely on various transformations of existing phrasemes (Bralczyk 2000: 104).

4. THE ANALYSIS OF ADVERTISING SLOGANS – METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

Having discussed the issue of phraseology, the time has come to proceed to the analysis of data gathered during the research on advertising slogans. First, the methodology for investigating slogans' popularity in terms of ad recall and use will be presented. It should be repeated that this study seeks to explore the impact of advertising messages on everyday communication patterns – on the acquisition and diffusion of new

phrasemes and word formations, portmanteau words, collocations, blends, and neologisms that constitute a major part of contemporary language of advertising. It is to check whether advertising slogans may be treated as “extended collocations” (Hyland 2008: 4) that enter colloquial speech of the younger generations of language users.

As far as the selection of material for analysis is concerned, the author began with carrying out a preliminary research: she first extracted the slogans found in the dictionary of Polish advertising slogans by Spychalska and Hołota (2009) and those accessed from the online dictionary of advertising slogans in English called Slogans Hub (2017). Then, basing on these primary sources, the author presented the list of Polish and English slogans to a group of 50 informants (consisting of Polish-speaking students) and asked them to indicate the slogans that ring a bell, as well as to provide their own examples if they were not already included. The collection of the most popular ads chosen in the course of this preliminary research was then analysed by the author and transformed into the survey whose main objective was to assess ads’ influence on everyday communicative practices. To attain this goal, the research instrument in the form of a bilingual survey was designed. Paper forms were filled in by the respondents who were all representatives of a homogenous demographic group labelled collectively as “the young.” Questionnaires were distributed by the author to the students of the Institute of English and the Institute of English Cultures and Literatures of the University of Silesia, Poland, in March and April 2017. In the survey conducted, 150 students (Polish native speakers) between 18 and 29 years of age were asked if they know (the grey bars) and/or use (the black bars) the advertising slogans chosen by the author.

On the basis of the list comprising almost 80 different advertising slogans (half of them in Polish and the other half in English), the respondents were supposed to tick the appropriate box in case they knew and/or used the slogans presented. The bar charts presented in the subsequent sections show the number of *I know* and *I use* responses for top ten English and Polish slogans.

4.1. English slogans sampled

The bar chart number one shows the results for English advertising slogans: First is *Just do it!* slogan by Nike, with 48% *I use* responses, as compared to 77% for *I know*. *I’m lovin’ it!* from McDonald’s received a similar number of *I use* answers, but memorability was as high as 94%. Although the results for the Snickers advertisement: *Eat a Snickers. Better? Better. You’re Not You When You’re Hungry* were slightly lower in terms of usage, the slogan was proven to be recognised by almost all the informants. L’Oreal’s and Budweiser’s advertising slogans’ usage fluctuates around 30%, with 80% of *I know* responses for *Because You’re Worth It* and 52% for *Wassssuuuuppp?* The latter slogan contains one of the most inventive onomatopoeias in the advertising world: it was used in order to build associations between the sound in real life and in an ad, in which “[...] the prolonged «s» sound reminds of the sound typical of carbonated drinks when the bottle is being opened” (Skorupa, Dubovičienė 2015: 113).

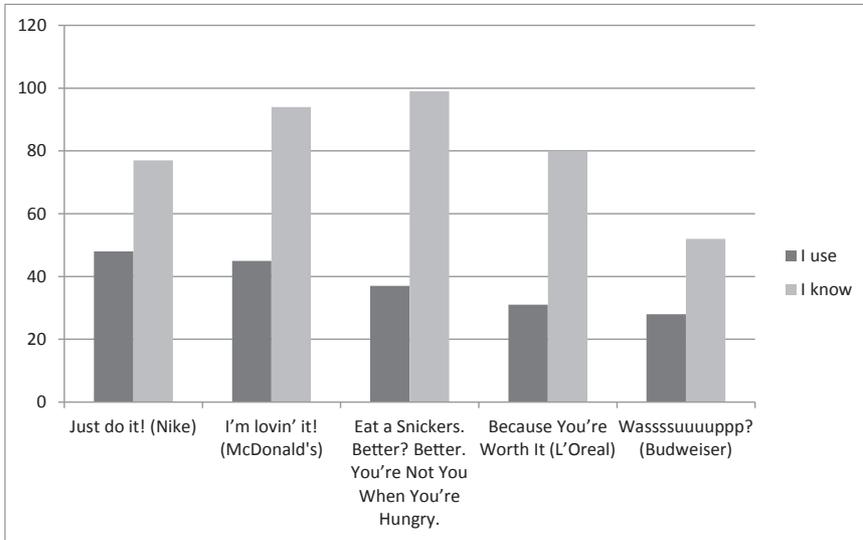


Chart 1 Top ten slogans in English (results from 1 to 5).

Subsequently, 22% of young respondents declared that they use the slogan promoting Las Vegas: *What Happens Here, Stays Here*, whereas the famous *Have a break. Have a Kit-Kat* received a low number of *I use* answers hovering around 20%, simultaneously showing very high ad recall. The remaining slogans *I'm sitting on a horse* featured by Old Spice, *Taste the Rainbow* that promotes Skittles, and *Nokia, connecting people* may be described in a similar vein.

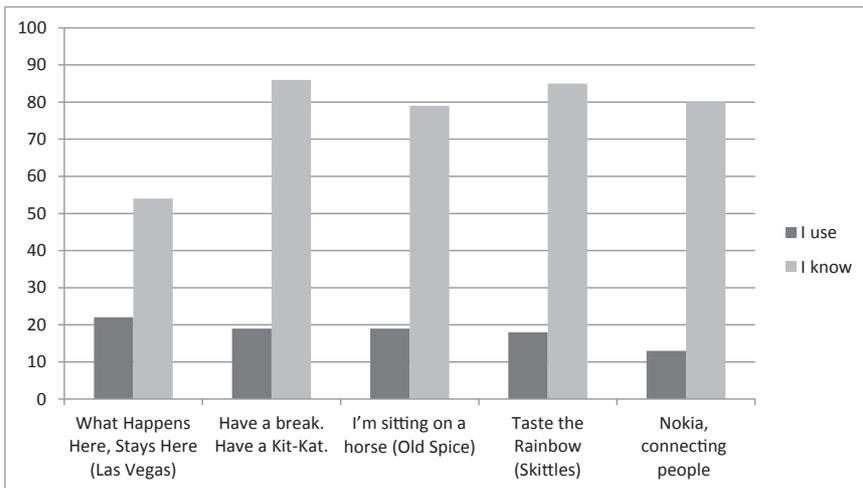


Chart 2 Top ten slogans in English (results from 6 to 10).

What is more, while discussing advertising slogans in English, one should further mention several manifest signs of creativity through new word formations, as *Beanz Meanz Heinz* (Heinz Baked Beans) or *When the world zigs, zag* (Levi's). Some blend words also appear, like in *Shave Time. Shave Money* (Dollar Shave Club), in which one can observe a clear phonemic overlap when it comes to pronunciation of the verbs *shave* and *save*. The abovementioned examples can surely be labelled as creative, intriguing, and catchy word-formation phenomena. Another notable feature of well-remembered slogans bears on the presence of rhyme: *Once you pop, you can't stop* (Pringles), *No battery is stronger longer* (Duracell) or *Don't Dream It. Drive It.* and *Grace...space...pace* (both by Jaguar) are the most illustrative examples that additionally contain alliteration, thus, rendering these ads even more attractive to the ear (Skorupa, Dubovičienė 2015: 112).

Other popular slogans worth mentioning encompass such collocations as *Open Happiness* (Coca-Cola), *Who says no to Mentos?* or *Finger lickin' good* (KFC); furthermore, among the slogans indicated by the informants themselves and not originally included in the survey was the slogan by Nissan, *Innovation that excites*, the famous line *Get the London look* featured by Rimmel or *Nespresso, what else?* by Nescafé. Only one instance of foreignisation was traced in the English corpus (Citroën – Creative Technologie) and such conspicuous “Frenchness” is generally used to promote sophisticated, upmarket goods like perfumes or expensive cars, as in the example cited.

4.2. Polish slogans sampled

Moving on to Polish advertising slogans: among top five results, the *I know* ratio reaches approximately 80%. The largest number of *I use* responses was collected with regard to the slogan featured by Żywiec: *Prawie robi wielką różnicę* (*Almost makes a big difference*), and is followed by *Pij mleko, będziesz wielki* (*Drink milk, you will be great*), which was an awareness campaign promoting milk consumption among children. Then come Rafaello and Plus with an equal result of 34% when it comes to *I use* answers, with their respective slogans *Wyraża więcej niż tysiąc słów* (*Expresses more than a thousand words*) and *Brawo Ty, brawo ja* (*Bravo you, bravo me*) that were rated as well-known. These two are followed by the slogan by McDonald's *Mam smaka na Maka*, which is almost untranslatable without losing its persuasive attractiveness that follows from the use of such stylistic means as alliteration, rhyme, and rhythm. Its literal translation into English could be rendered as *to get the munchies*, that is, to want to eat something from McDonald's but, as already signalled, the original version with all its flair will be recognised only by the Polish-speaking audience.

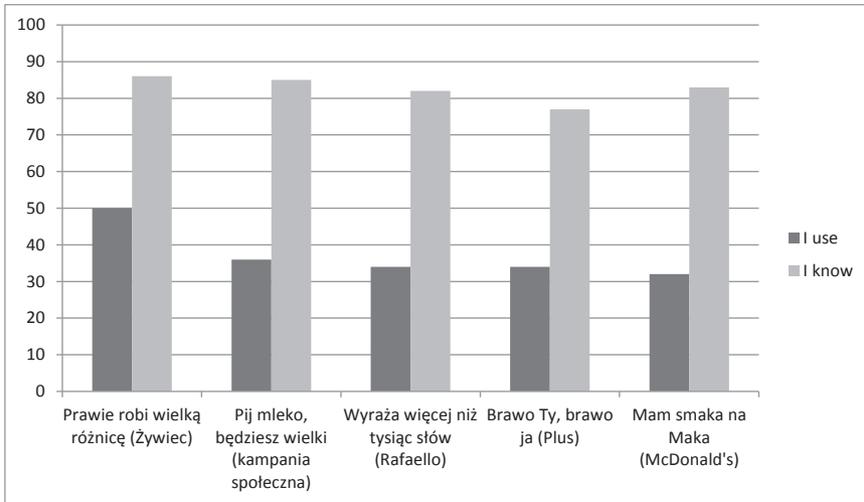


Chart 3 Top ten slogans in Polish (results from 1 to 5).

Consequently, approximately 30% of respondents indicated that they use the next six slogans presented, with *Zjedz Snickersa, bo zaczniesz gwiazdorzyć* (*Eat a Snickers because you're starting to act like a star*) standing out with its significant number of *I know* answers that equals 81%. The remainder are *A świstak siedzi i zawija je w te sreberka* (*And the groundhog sits there and puts the chocolate in the foil*) from Milka, as well as the ad for a national lottery *Teraz to mi to lotto* (*Now it's lotto for me*), which can

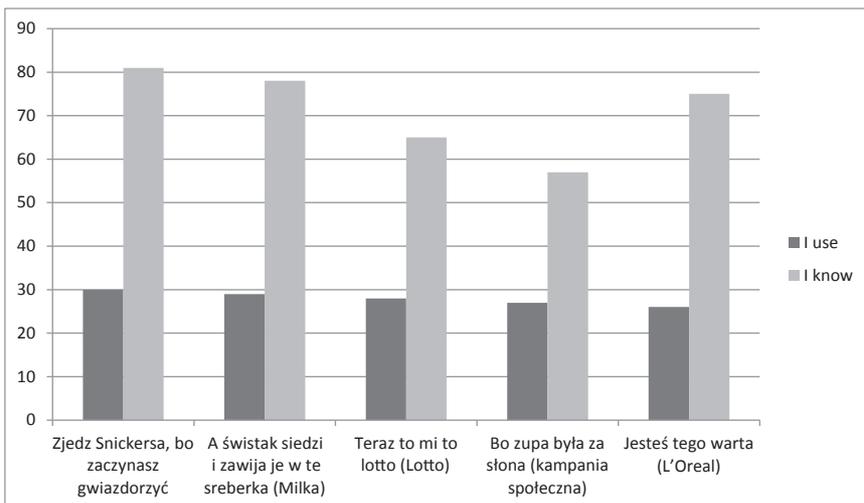


Chart 4 Top ten slogans in Polish (results from 6 to 10).

also sound as *loto*, that is a regional variation of *lata mi to*, that can be rendered as *I don't care*. Last but not least are the awareness campaign against domestic violence *Bo zupa była za słona* (*Because the soup was too salty*) and finally *Jesteś tego warta* (*Because you're worth it*) from L'Oreal.

In order to provide a useful range of illustrations when it comes to the application of short forms and keywords in ads, one can cite *Jedz. Pij. Żuj Orbit* (*Eat. Drink. Chew Orbit*) by Orbit or *Ciastko! Karmel! Czekolada!* (*Cookie! Caramel! Chocolate!*) by Twix. However, some of the most impressive language formations come with such compounds as *TurboDymoMan* and *Czasoumilacz*, both introduced by the mobile phone network operator Plus. The former comprises three lexemes: *turbo* may refer to “a motor vehicle equipped with a turbocharger” (Oxford Dictionaries), i.e. to something fast or of multiplied power; the lexeme *dymo*, on the other hand, may be associated with the Polish word *dym*, translated as *smoke* in English; the last one alludes to the ending *-man* that is typical of every pop-culture superhero from comic books or films, like Spiderman or Superman. The latter instance of compounding mentioned makes use of the noun *czas* (*time*) and the verb *umilać* (*to brighten*) so as to create a new nominal word formation *Czasoumilacz*, that can be interpreted as a device or a service that renders one's time more pleasant, happier, or cheerful. Portmanteaux are very popular in the language of advertising, rendering it more attractive and appealing to the prospects thanks to their inventiveness.

Blends and hybrids are applied in a similar vein. An example of abridged and then combined lexemes forming a new word on the basis of phonemic overlap can be traced in the ad by Heyah, *No to sru* (*So, sru*), in which *sru* is just an incorrect pronunciation of the English word *through* but, in the humorous context provided by an ad, it can also be seen as an informal Polish exclamation used to describe a sudden or swift action or an exhortation used to lend impetus to a situation or one's action (Słownik SJP.PL). Parenthetically, one can add here that the famous slogan *No to Frugo!* performs exactly the same function. Another interesting construction to be mentioned here is a hybrid used in an advertising slogan featured by Łomża beer: *Łomżing zaczyna się od leżakowania* (*Łomżing begins with maturing/sunbedding* (the two versions result from the homonymic character of the Polish word *leżakować* in the context of the advertisement in question that may also refer to the depicted activity of *sitting in a sunbed*)); as one can see, an inherently Polish word *Łomża* is modified by means of an English gerund form added in order for the word to denote an action connected with drinking Łomża beer.

As far as the aural layer is concerned, the effect of sound repetition through rhythm and rhyme is very popular in the construction of advertising slogans, as in the examples: *Metoda na głoda* (*A method for hunger*) by Danio, *Obi – tak to robi* (*Obi – does it this way*) or *Zabawa tkwi w Toffifee* (*There's so much fun in Toffifee*); this strategy helps to render the expressions more memorable thanks to the sound correspondence between words. By and large, advertising is responsible for the fossilisation of expressions, some of which stick in one's mind for good and turn into collocations contributing new phrasemes to contemporary colloquial language, such as: *A świstak siedzi i zawija*

je w te sreberka (*And the groundhog sits there and puts the chocolate in the foil*) by Milka, *Pij mleko, będziesz wielki* (*Drink milk, you will be great*) that comes from a public service announcement, *Teraz to mi to lotto* (*Now it's lotto for me*) by Lotto or *Prawie robi wielką różnicę* (*Almost makes a big difference*) from Żywiec. An interesting point to make here is that, when it comes to the foreignisation strategy in Polish advertising, it turns out that the informants declare to remember and/or use foreign-sounding slogans more often than their translated counterparts. The author of this research paper sampled several translated slogans along with the original versions known to the Polish audience; the slogans such as *I'm lovin' it!* (McDonald's), *Nokia, connecting people* or *Simply Clever* (Škoda) achieved high *I know* and *I use* ratio and these findings correlate with the ones presented by, *inter alia*, Lim and Loi (2015) whose work aimed at describing the evaluation of slogans' translations from the readers' perspective. Evaluations presented by these two researchers that were

based on the criteria of fluency, conciseness, persuasiveness and mnemonic effect, reveal that the translations are perceived significantly less favourably than the originals are (Lim, Loi 2015: 283–303).

4.3. Comparative results

Evidently, young informants for this research declare considerable knowledge of advertising slogans: the average of *I know* responses equals circa 65% in terms of Polish ads and almost 50% when it comes to those in English. Taking the mean of all the samples collected for *I use*, the results are approximately 20% for Polish and 15% for English slogans in use. However, when one considers the results for top ten slogans summarised in the charts illustrating the overall usage of advertising slogans in colloquial speech, the average increases to 33% for Polish and 30% for English ones, with percentage ranging from 50% to 26% and 48% to 13% for the abovementioned languages respectively.

Taking the main findings of the research into account, it seems clear that ads became not only part of human (pop)culture, but also part of human language. When it comes to ad slogans indicated in the survey, one can see a marked tendency towards recognising and remembering humorous advertisements and commercials. Parallel constructions, exclamations, and questions were found to enhance ad recall. Of course, constant repetition and thus frequent exposure to advertising messages is also a decisive factor here.

Drawing on data from the questionnaires, one can demonstrate that the advertising slogans that enter the idiolects of younger generations of language users constitute from circa 50% to 13% of the slogans rated as most remembered and although these figures may seem relatively low, they are high enough to see the influence of ad language on their lexicons. In order to fully understand the communicational potential of slogans transformed into phrasemes, let's imagine a permanent change in terms of lexis and phraseology used ranging from 10% to almost 50%. It would result in a massive modification of colloquial language to be reckoned with. Hence, some basic knowledge of popular culture and the language of advertising seems a must today because it can ena-

ble more mature language users to keep pace with the forever-changing youth language and with the new ad-born phrasemes.

5. DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As one can see from the results obtained in the survey, Polish people often passively acquire certain expressions from advertising messages due to frequent ad exposure. Fixed and highly stereotypical language patterns that come to our minds automatically (Lewicki 1976: 23) are superimposed onto our communication patterns, providing us with language stencils applied like ready-made stencils, keenly used by modern adolescents. Not only do they gain their rhetorical impact, but also transform into contemporary dictionary items, making ads and commercials the source of modern phrasemes that enrich our speech (Lusińska 2007: 41). Direct results from the experiment conducted demonstrate that catchy slogans influence our choice of speech forms and may play a part in the process of passive learning. From the facts presented one can infer that to describe the young speakers of language for whom the dictionary of formulaic expressions is still open is to say that they employ many linguistic elements of external origin (Zgółkowska 1996: 229), mimicking what they experience in everyday situations.

Sheer repetition of ad slogans and catch phrases characterised by “colloquial, personal, and informal language” (Dyer 1982: 74) is not only an instrument of marketing persuasion, but also a source of vivid expressions that enter contemporary speech as new dictionary forms and, hence, take part in “[...] delivery of the meanings that people living in a society exchange on a daily basis” (Beasley, Danesi 2002: 1). As far as the findings concerning the influence of advertising discourse and its units, i.e. ad slogans, on the identity of the studied group are concerned, a supplementary survey on the actual feelings of the respondents towards the influentiality of the language of advertising in terms of group identity formation processes was carried out. The questions posed were: “Do you think that the language we speak exerts positive impact on group formation processes?” and “Can the elements of advertising language (such as slogans-turned-to-phrasemes) strengthen your sense of belonging to a certain group, whose members use the same expressions from ads as you do?” The answers to the first question were almost unanimous, with 90% of the respondents agreeing with the statement; in terms of the other, the results were mixed, as only 64% shared the opinion that one’s usage of slogans-turned-to-phrasemes can really build group identity. When asked to elaborate upon their answers, the group that agreed with the second statement said that they feel heavily influenced by mass-mediated communication and hence identified themselves as “the children of the TV age.” They claimed that they feel a natural affinity for one another as it is easier for them to identify their peers on the basis of the language they speak, including common phrasemes of advertising origin. It can therefore be said that they consider such ad-born expressions to be parts of the sociolect of the young. Their opinions on the issue confirm the view that group identity manifests itself in language and that it is linked with “[...] ‘shared idioms’ of everyday cultural [...] conduct”

(Pemberton, Nijhawan 2009: 8). Following the line of thought offered by Pemberton and Nijhawan, one can say that this kind of language variety is indicative of a more complex process “through which we come to understand emergent forms of sociality and community formation” (Pemberton, Nijhawan 2009: 8).

Having confirmed that advertising slogans gradually seep into colloquial language of the young, one can firmly state that some slogans may nowadays be treated as phrasemes due to their formal and functional features. Numerous works cited in this paper shall put current research into a larger context concerning phraseology, highlighting the significance of formulaic patterns and the general combinability of certain words that may form other meanings or just assist faster communication. Naturally, there are numerous questions that remain open: How many of the lexical bundles in question will anchor in language for good? How many of them will appear as dictionary entries or idioms in five or ten years from now on? Why some advertising slogans will be conventionalised and others will perish? My answer draws on the findings of Lusińska who says that time shall riddle all phrases of advertising origin and decide which will enter our language as permanent idiomatic expressions (Lusińska 2007: 52). Their distribution and acquisition should receive more detailed consideration before any precise answer can be offered.

To sum up, this empirical study into advertising slogans is an attempt to capture the essence of certain linguistic changes in contemporary Polish language and the adventitious nature of language generation; it surely supplements the existing studies on normative influentiality of the advertising language. The linguistic environment of the future will surely change in time, gradually transforming today’s deviations, innovations, and borrowings into the community’s norm so that the contrast between the standard and the non-standard may blur. Parenthetically, it can be added that, in time, for some of such ad-born phrasemes, it may become impossible for language speakers to trace their origin and identify them as former slogans; a notable example comes with the slogan *Bo zupa była za słona* (*Because the soup was too salty*) that entered everyday language for good so that many people find it difficult to attribute it directly to the advertising realm. Therefore, it is possible for a phrase to outlive the ad itself and set free as an independent linguistic item. The analysis indicates that such changes in language use are peculiar to modern youth and that ad language influences people’s idio- and sociolects by means of high-frequency phrasemes. Slogans and catch phrases, thus, grow into a part of social practice, with the lexical bundles they feature being great examples of changing communication patterns. Explorations in the field of ad language surely make us see that advertising messages may be perceived as part and parcel of everyday communication since we undoubtedly acquire language patterns from ads and commercials, which does lead to the conclusion that ad language is our language.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author of this study wants to thank the students of the Institute of English Cultures and Literatures and the Institute of English of the University of Silesia, especially the

following groups: the 1st year of Translation Programme with Arabic, the 1st year of English Language Teaching with Information Technology, the 1st year of English Language Teaching with German, and the 1st year of Translation Programme with Chinese in the academic year 2016/2017. This research would not have been possible without their input.

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STRESZCZENIE

Zmiana języka poprzez reklamę – wpływ komunikatów reklamowych na współczesne idio- i socjolekty

Słowa kluczowe: język reklamy, slogan, idiolekt, zmiana języka, język potoczny.

Artykuł zakłada badanie wpływu języka komunikatów reklamowych na idio- i socjolekty, skupiając się na zjawisku zmiany języka powodowanej sloganami reklamowymi. Przeprowadzone w tym celu badanie zostało oparte na korpusie sloganów z reklam w języku polskim i angielskim oraz na kwestionariuszach, których głównym założeniem jest odpowiedź na pytanie dotyczące wpływu reklam na codzienne praktyki komunikowania osób młodych. Szczególny nacisk położono na możliwość kształtowania się nowych związków frazeologicznych, mających swoje źródło w języku reklamy. Wyniki uzyskane na podstawie ankiet potwierdzają, że młodzi Polacy często przyswajają pewne wyrażenia obecne w komunikatach reklamowych, co skutkuje pojawieniem się zmian języka i powstawaniem nowych frazeologizmów w mowie potocznej.