

“Because we’re worth it” (?): Femininity and cosmetics advertising slogans in a cross-cultural perspective

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1. The slogan’s role in cosmetics advertising discourse

The global beauty industry is enjoying huge worldwide success, and advertising campaigns are a key way for major cosmetics brands to build a customer base and reap financial benefits. In the media, women’s bodies are presented as a series of ‘problems’ which need ‘fixing’ (see for example Jeffries 2007; Gill 2007). In light of this representation of the female body as always requiring ‘work’, advertising slogans must convince the reader that their brand can help address the beauty concerns of the target female.

A slogan is defined by Cone (2008: viii) as ‘a memorable phrase expressing an idea, purpose, or claim’. In advertisements, the slogan generally accompanies the brand name and/or logo. Slogans are important in an advertisement as they often become a primary association for the brand (Simpson and Mayr 2010:36). Indeed, O’Guinn, Allen and Semenik (2011: 387) describe a slogan or tagline as ‘[...] a short phrase that is in part used to help establish an image, identity or position for a brand or an organisation, but it is most often used to increase memorability’. In cosmetics advertisements, slogans help construct both ‘consumer femininity’ and ‘commodity feminism.’ ‘Commodified femininity’ (Benwell and Stokoe 2006:171) or ‘consumer femininity’ (Talbot 2010a; 2010b) is a media construction of femininity which presupposes and promotes individual consumption of beauty products as a worthwhile pursuit and expense. Within media constructions of ‘consumer femininity’, feminist values – such as independence, choice, self-worth, and liberation – are

used to promote individual consumption, a practice which Goldman (1992) terms 'commodity feminism'.

The extant literature on slogans in critical linguistic research paradigms has tended to analyse individual examples of slogans in the context of advertisements, but has not attempted to analyse a number of slogans with a view of creating a typology (see for example Cook 2001; Forceville 1996; Gill 2007). Myers (1994) is one researcher who does analyse numerous examples of individual slogans. He however focuses on stylistic features which make slogans memorable, such as alliteration, rhyme, and unusual spellings, as opposed to a more critical linguistic analytical approach of slogans as discourse. This research, then, can add to the existing literature on advertising discourse, primarily by identifying the core linguistic features of cosmetics slogans and by providing a typology of cosmetics slogans which is applicable to both French and English data.

This paper uses a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis approach to explore contemporary Metropolitan French and British English cosmetics advertising slogans. This research aims to offer a typology of print cosmetics advertising slogans and to compare frequency patterns of slogan usage in English and French print advertisements, with the additional aim of exploring the cosmetics slogan as an example of gendered media discourse. In the textual analysis, slogans are discussed according to four categories: (1) brand validity; (2) brand positives; (3) brand philosophies; and (4) direct appeal. Issues of pronoun translation in a cross-cultural perspective are then addressed, with examples from the data.

2. Methodological Procedures

The methodology for this research is a mixed-methods paradigm, comprised of qualitative Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis with additional frequency analysis. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter FCDA) can be seen a division of Critical Discourse analysis with a feminist research impetus, used to explore texts which may be gendered in some way, such as cosmetics advertising slogans. The application of FCDA marks a new approach in this research area, as there have been relatively few explorations of French data using critical discourse paradigms, feminist or otherwise. One exception is Kuhn and Lick's (2009) comparative study of advertising targeted at Anglophone and Francophone communities in Canada. FCDA is an appropriate tool for both French and English gender and language studies as it can be used to examine and explore gendered discourses. My use of FCDA in both theoretical and applied terms draws on the work of Lazar (2005; 2006; 2011) who emphasises the benefits of a feminist critical discourse analytical perspective, particularly for research into language and the media.

For the purposes of this research, cosmetics slogans were taken from British and French versions of *Elle* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines from May to September 2011 (see references). *Elle* magazine is a weekly publication in France but monthly in the United Kingdom, and *Cosmopolitan* is a monthly publication in both the United Kingdom and France. Each month, all slogans appearing in the 4 French *Elles*, 1 *Elle* UK magazine, 1 *Cosmopolitan* France magazine, and 1 *Cosmopolitan* UK magazine were examined. Slogans were thus extracted from a total of 35 magazines over the five-month period. Every slogan which appeared in these publications was selected for analysis; however, for the purposes of classification, duplicate slogans were omitted. All slogans (47 in total) are provided in the appendix. The French

slogans (24) and the English slogans (23) were analysed altogether with the creation of four discursive slogan categories being driven by the data. A 'bottom up' form of analysis was required due to the fact that I could not find an existing critical linguistic model of slogan classification. It was therefore deemed necessary to examine each slogan in detail and note key features which could help to create a typology. I created four categories for the slogans, with each category as constitutive of a particular 'interpretative discourse' (Sunderland 2004:46). In this particular sense, discourses are understood as 'broad constitutive systems of meaning' and are evidenced through 'linguistic traces' (Sunderland 2004:6). As slogans are generally short and often consist only of three or four descriptive words, the main focus is on lexical items, pronouns, and, more generally, address to the consumer (where applicable). It must also be noted that the four categories have been specifically created for *cosmetics* advertising slogans; this does not however preclude their potential application to other product slogans.

With regard to categorisation, I have found these categories adequate for my analysis thus far, but future research may of course see some refinement or expansion of the four categories. Although I have attempted to make the categories as mutually exclusive as possible, there exists the possibility that a slogan may fit into more than one category. One such example is the *Herbal Essences*' slogan: 'It does beautiful things to your head.' As this slogan uses the personal pronoun 'your' and the positive, yet difficult to substantiate, 'beautiful things', it could fit into the categories of 'brand positives' *and* 'direct address.' However, since 'your' is perhaps being employed in a generic sense as an alternative to 'one's' in this context, it was decided that this slogan was more appropriate in the brand positives category. Similarly, *Schwarzkopf*'s slogan 'Professional HairCare for you' could be categorised

under 'brand positives' or 'direct appeal'. 'Direct appeal' was chosen as the brand can be viewed as providing (or at the very least claiming to provide) high-quality products to the individual consumer – with the implication that the individual consumer may not usually have personal access to these products.

In addition to qualitative analysis, quantitative research techniques are also applied to the slogan data as a supporting measure to strengthen qualitative findings. Quantitative research can be summarised very broadly by the questions 'how much' or 'how many'? (Rasinger 2008:10-11). Frequencies of occurrence for each slogan category are compared and contrasted in the French and English data. As the data is categorical, Woods, Fletcher and Hughes' (1986) suggestions for treatment of linguistic categorical data have been followed. They argue that frequency summaries are useful for categorical data as this facilitates comparisons and contrasts of how often each category occurred (Woods, Fletcher and Hughes 1986: 8-9). Following their suggestions, in the slogan tables in the appendix, (observed) frequency is recorded in addition to relative frequency as 'a table of relative frequencies is not really informative (and can be downright misleading) unless we are given the total number of observations on which it is based' (Woods, Fletcher and Hughes 1986: 9). Thus, this form of analysis facilitates conclusions about the patterns of slogan usage in the English and French texts, and additionally provides a useful starting point for further research on larger datasets of cosmetics advertising slogans. Quantitative techniques can thus help to give a clearer picture of the overall femininity constructions in this research project.

3. The four discursive slogan categories

This section of the paper outlines the four categories of cosmetics advertisement slogans. Each category includes a discussion of content, core

linguistic features, how the female consumer is constructed, and examples from the data. For the non-French speaking reader, English equivalents are provided in brackets in the appendix. As far as possible, I have used official English slogan equivalents from that particular brand's English advertising material. It must be noted that sometimes slogans are adapted slightly for different markets, so the English slogan is not necessarily a direct translation. For the French slogans for which I could find no English equivalent in the brand's marketing material, I offer my own translation for the reader. It should be noted that a basic presupposition of all four categories is that the female consumer will purchase and use cosmetics products. Slogans address women as members of (potential) 'consumption communities' (Fairclough 2001:166), whose purchase and usage of cosmetics is inextricable from feminine identity.

3.1 Brand validity

I have identified the first category of cosmetics advertising slogan as 'brand validity'. These slogans aim to prove or emphasise the trustworthiness of the brand or product, and the linguistic traces provide evidence of what I have termed 'a discourse of reassurance'. This classification denotes advertising slogans which make direct references to experts, research, and/or official accolades. Brand validity slogans address the target consumer as someone who may be reassured or impressed by more 'official' or objective discourse, statistics, and expert approval of products. Full details of the research conducted can often be found on the brand website or on other marketing material.

In this category, lexis denoting facts or figures is common, for example: *Clarins*: 'No 1 in European luxury skin care'; and *Dr. Pierre Ricaud*: 'Le spécialiste de

l'anti-âge depuis 25 ans' ('The anti-ageing specialist for 25 years'). Experts also feature, such as *Neutrogena*: 'Developed with dermatologists' and *MaxFactor*: 'The Makeup of Makeup Artists'. Thus, the reassuring lexis is found mostly in the form of nouns or nominal phrases. Brand validity slogans accounted for 22% of the English data and 25% of the French data, therefore frequency of occurrence was similar in both languages.

Content	Core linguistic features	Construction of the female consumer	Examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Makes direct references to experts, research or official accolades / awards (or a combination of the three) •Used to emphasise or prove the 'trustworthiness' of a product 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'a discourse of reassurance' • Lexis relating to facts and figures, including time – '100%', '25 years'. • Nouns: Experts: dermatologists, make-up artists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who will be reassured/ impressed by 'official' or 'professional' references 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [<i>Clarins</i>] <i>No 1 in European luxury skin care</i> • [<i>Dr. Pierre Ricaud</i>] <i>Le spécialiste de l'anti-âge depuis 25 ans</i> • [<i>MaxFactor</i>] <i>The Makeup of Makeup Artists</i> • [<i>Neutrogena</i>] <i>Developed with dermatologists</i>

Fig. 1 Slogan analysis (1) Brand Validity

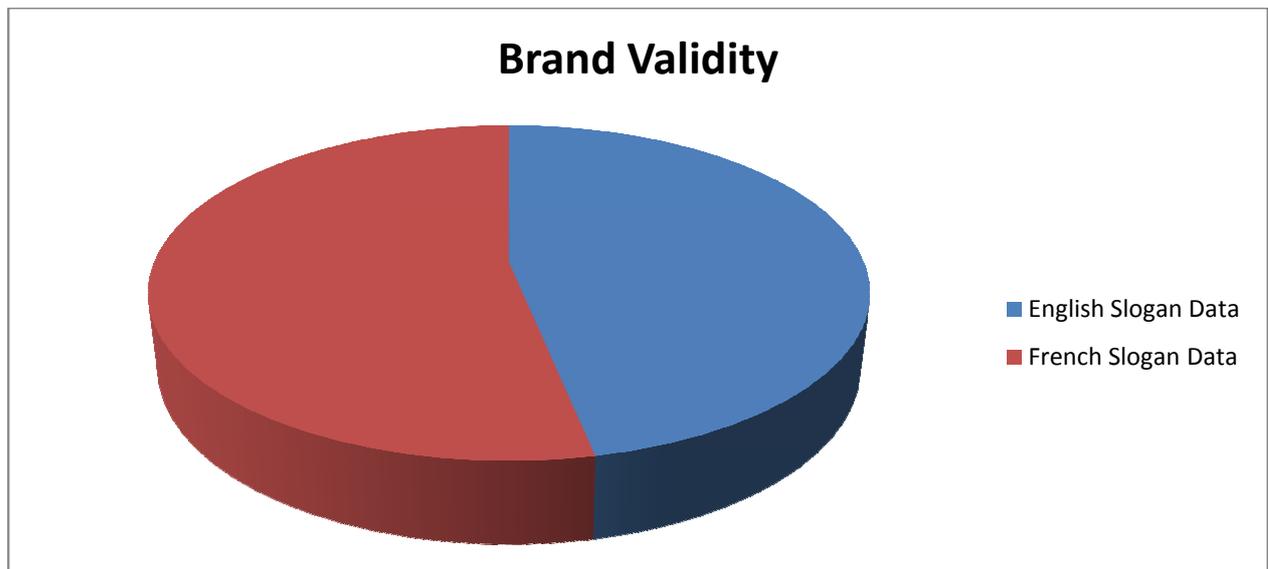


Fig. 2: Brand Validity slogans, French/English comparison

3.2 *Brand positives*

I have identified the second category as 'brand positives'. This slogan type is characterised by a discourse of positive attributes which employ lexical items with positive connotations (for example, 'beautiful', 'professional') to evaluate the brand without direct reference to 'authentic' or more objective sources such as the surveys or experts cited in brand validity slogans. As these may be attributes consumers might look for in making a purchase, this positive lexis is an attempt to target the female consumer by creating positive brand associations, in the absence of more objective evidence. The claims of the slogans are more subjective than those of the previous category. *Sanex* reassures us that it 'keeps skin healthy', but the slogan does not elaborate on how or why, compared to, for example, a brand validity cosmetic advertising slogan such as *Clinique's* 'Allergy Tested. 100% Fragrance Free'. *Herbal Essences* claims 'it does beautiful things to your head', but what exactly these 'beautiful things' are is unclear. *TRESemmé* is 'professional' and 'affordable', but we are not directly told, for example, how many professional salons or hairdressers use *TRESemmé* products, and affordability is of course a somewhat relative concept. In contrast to the reassuring nouns of the previous category, the positive lexis in this category tends to take the form of adjectives. Brand positives accounted for 26% of the English slogans and 21% of the French slogans, so again we see similar frequencies for both languages, with a slightly higher occurrence in the English data.

Content	Core linguistic features	Construction of the female consumer	Examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The claims of the slogan, whilst they may be valid, are less tangible / measurable / more subjective than those of the previous category No direct reference to 'official' sources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'a discourse of positive attributes' Lexical items with positive connotations – 'beautiful' 'professional' 'affordable' 'extraordinary' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Someone who appreciates positive attributes of the brand (even though they may be subjective). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [Sanex] Keeps skin healthy [Herbal Essences] It does beautiful things to your head [TRESemmé] Professional. Affordable.

Fig. 3: Slogan analysis (2) Brand Positives

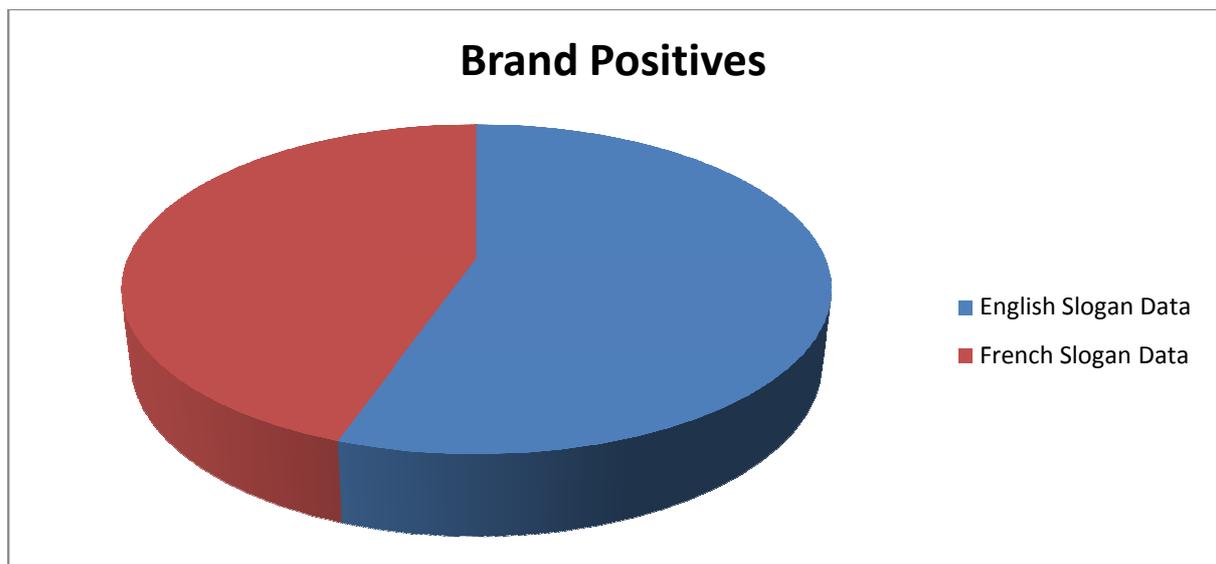


Fig. 4: Brand Positives slogans, French/English comparison

The idea of these slogans having 'positive connotations' can be interrogated further with reference to Martin and White's (2005) approach to appraisal rooted within Systemic Functional Linguistics. They argue:

We attend to what has traditionally been dealt with under the heading of 'affect' - the means by which writers/speakers positively or negatively evaluate the entities, happenings and states-of-affairs with which their texts are concerned (Martin and White 2005: 2).

Appraisal constitutes three domains: attitude, engagement, and graduation. Martin and White (2005: 35) describe these three subcategories as follows:

Engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. Graduation attends to grading phenomena whereby

feelings are amplified and categories blurred [...] [Attitude is] concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things.

Attitude can therefore be divided into three subcategories: *affect*, which describes feelings; *judgement*, which includes criticism; and, most pertinent to brand positive slogans, *appreciation*, which concerns a given entity's value or aesthetics (Martin and White 2005: 35-36). 'Evaluative' lexis can be seen as part of the lexicogrammar of appraisal, and analysis of evaluative vocabulary items broadly falls within the remit of discourse semantics (Martin and White 2005: 35). The evaluative lexis of appreciation is evident in many examples from the brand positive category, tending to take the form of evaluative adjectives, adverbs or adverbial phrases, for example: *Herbal Essences*: 'It does *beautiful* things to your head'; *TRESemmé*: '*Professional. Affordable.*'; *Wella*: '*Passionately Professional*'; and *Bio Secûre*: '*Avec respect, avec soin*' ('With respect, with care').

3.3 Brand philosophies

I have termed the third category 'brand philosophies'. The slogans included in this category are characterised by a discourse of more abstract brand embodiment which may index the brand personality. These include statements which embody the brand values in some way without naming a benefit of their product (tangible or otherwise), making reference to an 'authentic' source, or directly addressing the consumer. Examples include slogans such as *Vichy*: 'Health is beautiful' and *Klorane*: 'Le pouvoir des plantes' ('The power of plants').

Content	Core linguistic features	Construction of the female consumer	Examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statements which embody the brand values in some way without: naming a tangible benefit / 'authenticity' reference / direct address to consumer • May be more abstract 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'a discourse of (more abstract) brand embodiment' • Often 'general' statements - 'health is beautiful' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who is interested in brand values / brand personality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Vichy] <i>Health is beautiful</i> • [Klorane] <i>Le pouvoir des plantes</i> • [UNE] <i>Natural Beauty</i> • [Aussie] <i>"There's more than life to hair, but it's a good place to start."</i>

Fig. 5: Slogan analysis (3) Brand Philosophies



Fig. 6: Brand Philosophies slogans, French/English comparison

Indeed, on the *Klorane*, *Aussie* and *UNE* websites there exist sections on the particular brand's 'philosophy', and the slogan (and the values behind it) is at the core of this. The philosophy of the brand is often linked to some kind of brand story or brand personality, as can be seen in the following table of examples:

Brand	'Philosophy'	Website Reference (full reference provided in references section)
Klorane	<p>"A passion for plants": 'KLORANE Laboratories' philosophy is based on a passion for plants and nature. The Phytofiliière[®], the only chain of plant expertise of its kind in the world, was born of this philosophy and guarantees high levels of quality, efficacy and safety. Plants are central to KLORANE Laboratories</p>	<p>http://www.klorane.co.uk/Philosophy</p>

	business and are the reason why our products are so effective. As explorers of the plant kingdom, we have studied over 600 individual plant extracts to discover their potential benefits. Through our products, KLORANE Laboratories convey a number of values: Authenticity, simplicity and safety.'	
UNE	Une Philosophy online: I am not concealed. [...] I am not artificial. [...] I am not indifferent. [...] I am UNE. [...]	http://www.unebeauty.com/en/une-manifeste
Aussie	THE AUSSIE STORY... Twenty years ago you'd have been hard pushed to think of anything but Crocodile Dundee to come out of Australia. And maybe a few hair-raising stories about Great Whites. But now Down Under seems to be on top. Australians are sliding into top culinary positions the world over. They're creating crafty wines and sizzling fashion. Producing film and music we all adore. And – great stuff to put in your hair. The story goes something like this. It's 1979, American hair wizard Tom Redmond is visiting Oz. He's introduced to a range of exciting formulas contained the diverse delights of Blue Gum Leaves, Australian Custard Apple, Quandong. (Read on). Mint Balm, Wild Cherry Bark and Jojoba Seed Oil. Rather than shouting from the roof tops, Aussie's climb is a word-of-mouth story. The secret is passed on from those in the know to those not yet converted. But now they are. These days the 3MM is no less than a moisturising conditioner star here in the UK! Although we're the first to agree that there's more to life than hair, we still think it's a pretty good place to start. The low-down is: our formulas with extract of Australian ingredients do wonders for your hair. We're confident you'll love the Aussie line-up. They've got great personality, you see.	http://www.aussiehair.com/uk/the-aussie-story/index.php

Fig. 7: Online Brand Philosophies

In the consumer femininity offered by cosmetics advertising discourse, female consumers have a choice between a vast array of brands. Although the actual differences between particular branded products may often be negligible, the

construction of differing 'brand personalities', in part through slogans, helps create an individual company persona to encourage consumer purchasing. This is then supported through additional brand information such as the brand history and philosophies available on their website and other marketing materials. Interestingly, the category of brand philosophies was the one in which we see the biggest difference in frequency across the data sets: this category only constituted 22% of the English slogans, whereas it was very frequent in the French data, accounting for 42% of the overall slogans. I suggest, therefore, that the brand philosophy slogan which employs abstract brand embodiment is a more common strategy in French cosmetics advertising slogans.

3.4 Direct appeal

I have termed the fourth category 'direct appeal'. This is the category which most closely follows Fairclough's 'synthetic personalisation' (2001:168-170) and also Talbot's 'synthetic sisterhood' (1995; 2010b). Synthetic personalisation is a term used to describe advertising and media discourse's attempt to address the consumer as an individual through communication en masse. In English, this technique tends to be carried out by the second person pronoun 'you', which can be used to refer to an individual or 'multi-exophorically' - to the audience as a whole (Cook 2001:157). Cook (2001:161) describes the 'you' in advertisements as forming 'part of a high-involvement strategy which attempts to win us over by very direct address; they [the advertisers] step uninvited into our world, expressing interest in our most intimate concerns' (my emphasis). The slogans in the direct appeal category attempt to address the consumer directly, either by use of the imperative voice or the second person pronoun. These strategies constitute an attempt to feign a relationship between producer and consumer. The 'advice' given in the slogan equates

femininity with consumerism. In these following examples, the brand name is given first, followed by the slogan with suggested presuppositions in square brackets:

Barry M: 'Make Everyday Beautiful x [by use of Barry M products]';

Rimmel: 'Get the London look [by using Rimmel]';

Garnier: 'Prends soin de toi/ Take care [of yourself through use of our products]'; and

L'Oréal Paris: 'Parce que vous le valez bien / Because you're worth it [you deserve our products]'.

Content	Core linguistic features	Construction of the female consumer	Examples
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct address to consumer (as if individual) • The address tends to explicitly link femininity and consumption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'a discourse of 'synthetic personalisation' / 'synthetic sisterhood' • Imperative voice - 'get', 'take care' • Personal pronoun usage: 'you' 'vous' 'tu' • Strongly presupposes link between femininity and consumerism – 'Make everyday beautiful '[by purchase and use of our products] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who will perhaps pay more attention if addressed more personally /intimately 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [<i>Barry M</i>] <i>Make Everyday Beautiful</i> x [by use of Barry M products] • [<i>Rimmel</i>] <i>Get the London Look</i> [by using Rimmel] • [<i>Garnier</i>] <i>Prends soin de toi / Take care</i> [of yourself through use of our products] • [<i>L'Oréal Paris</i>] <i>Parce que vous le valez bien/Because you're worth it</i> [you deserve our products]

Fig. 8: Slogan analysis (4) Direct Appeal

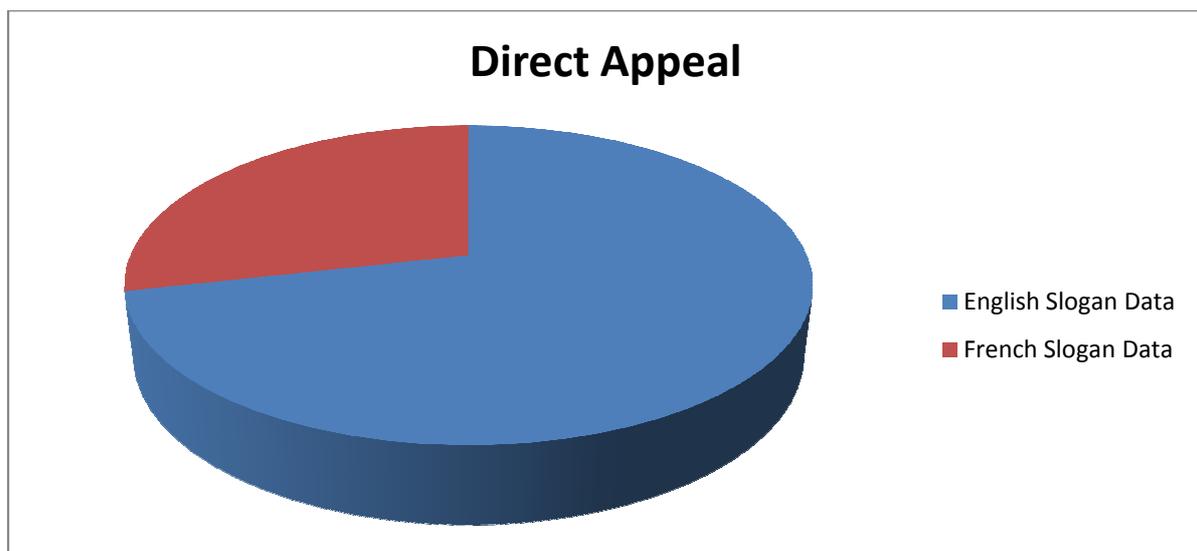


Fig. 9: Direct Appeal slogans, French/English comparison

Thus, the category of direct appeal addresses the individual in a synthetically intimate manner whilst reinforcing both consumer femininity and commodity feminism. This category was more frequent in the English slogans (accounting for 30% of English slogans) than in the French (accounting for only 12% of French slogans). I therefore suggest that the English advertising slogans tend to take a more direct approach than the French, appealing to the consumer as an individual as opposed to highlighting the ideals or values behind the brand. This supports the findings of Kuhn and Lick (2009) in their study of Canadian French and Canadian English, who suggest that English advertising discourse addresses the reader in a more direct fashion, whilst French advertising discourse places less demand on the addressee (Kuhn and Lick 2009: 174-175).

4. Reader Response

Direct appeal is thus the category which most clearly attempts to appeal in some personal way to the addressee. However, all the slogans endeavour to create a subject positioning for the reader as a potential purchaser of the product. With regard to how the actual reader responds to the advertisement's 'interpellation', to use Althusser's term (1969: 161-164), she may or may not take up the 'you' position offered by the advertisement. (I use the pronoun 'she' as the target reader is female. Of course, the possibility nonetheless exists that the *actual* reader may be male). She may resist or reject the conceptualisations of femininities on offer, thus it is important to emphasise reader agency, as opposed to suggesting that women are simply 'taken in' by the persuasive rhetoric of cosmetics marketing. Nevertheless, resistance can be made difficult by the prevalence of consumer femininity in most aspects of media discourse. Consumer femininity is a pervasive construct, and may

serve to create new conceptualisations of femininity or to confirm existing beliefs. More generally, Litosseliti (2006:95) emphasises that readers often take in information which reinforces their existing opinions and disregard anything which might challenge them. This phenomenon is known more generally as cognitive dissonance. Although women's *actual* behaviour may in some cases be far removed from how global advertising agencies perceive and target female consumers, 'consumer femininity' forms a major part of media construction of female identity and thus needs to be carefully examined and critiqued.

5. Addressing the consumer: pronoun use in a cross-cultural perspective

When the same products are sold globally in different markets, advertising copy is often translated or adapted accordingly, taking into account different cultural preferences and a different target consumer. The following consideration of parallel advertisement slogans takes inspiration from Sidiropoulou's (2008) analysis of contemporary English-Greek advertisements in which she views parallel advertisement versions as 'extremely rich reflections of cultural identities' and considers the impact of cultural norms on advertisement translation (Sidiropoulou 2008:337).

As previously noted, pronouns help construct synthetic personalisation. In English the second person pronoun 'you' can refer to an individual and/or a group and can be used formally or informally. However, languages such as French have what is known in sociolinguistic terms as a T-V distinction – a linguistic distinction is made between the 'tu' (T) form in French used to address an individual, someone of equal status, someone close, a subordinate and/or someone younger, whereas the 'vous' (V) form is used to indicate plurality or to address someone who is elder or

superior, or to indicate respect/formality (Cook 2001:183; Munday 2004: 209). The 'vous' form is often the 'default' form for addressing people you do not know well. Sidiropoulou (2008: 349-350) sees the tu-vous distinction in French as indicative of France as a country with a high power distance index, according to Hofstede's cultural research (see Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010: 58-60). Although the Hofstedian model is not without criticism, it remains the model of cultural research which has been applied most frequently to advertising and marketing language, and may be useful to consider here. Power distance describes how people with less power in an unequal society accept their lower power status. However, I would argue that in the majority of day-to day interactions in which there is no clear power differential at play, power distance does not play a major role; rather, the tu-vous distinction tends to be more related to familiarity or lack thereof. Actual usage of the T-V distinction does vary across languages, and may depend on issues such as linguistic politeness and formality in a given culture.

For advertisers, the choice of T or V is potentially problematic as they will not wish to offend consumers by using an over-familiar form (Munday 2004:209).

I have chosen two slogan translation examples to explore this issue:

L'Oréal Paris : 'Parce que *vous* le valez bien' (Because you're worth it) ; and

Garnier: 'Prends soin de *toi*' (Take care – The literal translation is 'take care of yourself', as the French grammatical construction requires what you are taking care of to be made explicit). It must be noted that the French verb conjugation also indicates whether you are using the 'tu' or 'vous' form ('valez' / 'prends') because the pronoun must agree with the form of the verb employed.

It is interesting to note that both *Garnier* and *L'Oréal Paris* are owned by *L'Oréal*; however this does not necessarily mean the same pronoun would be used as

L'Oréal does try to maintain distinct 'brands' with separate brand identities. For example, at the time of writing (November 2012) *L'Oréal* owns *Garnier*, *Maybelline New York*, *L'Oréal Paris*, *Redken*, *Vichy*, *Lancôme* and *Yves Saint Laurent* make-up, amongst numerous other cosmetics brands, all with differing brand personalities. What, then, can we speculate are the reasons for the differing pronouns used? The *L'Oréal Paris* slogan uses the more formal 'vous' form, which would generally be the norm in advertising and media communication. The *Garnier* slogan, however, deviates from this by using the more familiar 'tu' form, perhaps to emulate the voice of a friend and to create the illusion of familiarity with the consumer.

6. Conclusions and issues for further research

This paper has offered a new typology of cosmetics advertising slogans through close linguistic analysis, and explored frequencies of these cosmetics slogans in English and French cosmetics advertising discourse. The four categories of slogan identified and discussed were: (1) brand validity; (2) brand positives; (3) brand philosophies; and (4) direct appeal. The predominance of brand philosophies in the French slogans suggested a preference for highlighting brand values or personality. The category of direct appeal was much less frequent in the French data compared to the English data, suggesting that the English slogans preferred to address the consumer in a more direct fashion, although it must be noted that the frequency distribution of slogan occurrence was more balanced in the English data. Duplicating this research over a longer time period would ascertain whether these frequency patterns are found over larger data sets. An additional area for future research could take the form of a detailed commentary on parallel advertisement slogan translations in a cross-cultural perspective, comparing and contrasting

English and French translations of the same slogan. Following on from the discussion in section 4, additional research could be conducted in the area of reader response, such as organising focus groups in which women discuss their opinions of and reactions to cosmetics advertising slogans. With regards to the potential application of the typology outlined in this paper, the categories could be applied to larger differing sets of cosmetics advertising slogan data (for example, in different publications or in a different time period), in addition to being employed in the analysis of slogans within individual advertisements. The frequency analysis provides a starting point for further cross-comparative research into English and French cosmetics advertising slogans.

Beyond the academe, the slogan classifications suggested here, along with the discussion of consumer femininity and commodity feminism, provide a metadiscursive 'toolkit' which enables linguists and non-linguists alike to identify, explore, and challenge axiomatic, stereotypical and gendered uses of language in cosmetics slogans.

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Appendix: Tables of English slogan data and French slogan data, with all examples, observed frequencies, and relative frequencies

English Slogan Data

Category	Data	Frequency	Relative Frequency (Percentage)
Brand Validity	<p><i>Clarins</i>. No. 1 in European luxury skincare.</p> <p><i>Clinique</i>. Allergy Tested. 100% Fragrance Free.</p> <p><i>MaxFactor</i>. The Makeup of Makeup Artists.</p> <p><i>Neutrogena</i>. Developed with Dermatologists.</p> <p><i>Nivea</i>. 100 years feeling closer.</p>	5/23	22%
Brand Positives	<p><i>Eurcerin</i>. Skin science that shows.</p> <p><i>Herbal Essences</i>. It does beautiful things to your head.</p> <p><i>Palmer's Cocoa Butter</i>. Proven Formula. Extraordinary Results.</p> <p><i>Sanex</i>. Keeps skin healthy.</p> <p><i>TRESemmé</i>. Professional. Affordable.</p> <p><i>Wella</i>. Passionately Professional.</p>	6/23	26%
Brand Philosophies	<p><i>Aussie</i>. "There's more to life than hair, but it's a good place to start".</p> <p><i>Maybelline</i>. Maybe she's born with it. Maybe it's Maybelline.</p> <p><i>Vichy</i>. Health is beautiful.</p> <p><i>Paul Mitchell Awaphui</i>. Where tradition meets technology.</p> <p><i>Johnson's</i>. Johnson's Forever.</p>	5/23	22%
Direct Appeal	<p><i>Barry M</i>. Make everyday beautiful x</p> <p><i>Garnier</i>. Take care</p> <p><i>L'Oréal Paris</i>. Because you're worth it.</p> <p><i>Nivea</i>. Feel closer.</p> <p><i>Rimmel</i>. Get the London look.</p> <p><i>Schwarzkopf</i>. Professional haircare for you.</p> <p><i>VO5</i>. You deserve to be treated as an individual.</p>	7/23	30%

French Slogan Data

Category	Data	Frequency	Relative Frequency (Percentage)
Brand Validity	<p><i>A.Derma</i>. La competence dermatologique par nature. (Dermatological expertise...naturally)</p> <p><i>Clarins</i>. No 1 Européen des soins de beauté haut de gamme (No. 1 in European luxury skincare)</p> <p><i>Clinique</i>. Soumis à des tests d'allergie. 100% sans parfum. (Allergy tested. 100% Fragrance Free)</p> <p><i>Dr. Pierre Ricaud</i>. Le spécialiste de l'anti-âge depuis 25 ans. (The anti-aging specialist for 25 years – my translation)</p> <p><i>Dr. Pierre Ricaud</i>. 25 ans d'innovations beauté (25 years of beauty innovations)</p> <p><i>Nivea</i>. Depuis 100 ans. Le soin c'est la vie. (100 years feeling closer)</p>	6/24	25%
Brand Positives	<p><i>Bio-Secûre</i> "avec respect, avec soin" (with respect, with care – my translation)</p> <p><i>Eucerin</i>. La science d'une peau plus belle (Medical skin science that shows)</p> <p><i>Kibio</i>. Extrême Bio, Extrême Beauté (Active Nature, Vital Energy)</p> <p><i>Roger et Gallet</i>. Parfume délicatement la vie. (Delicately fragrancing life – my translation)</p> <p><i>GoodSkin Labs</i>. Résultats – IMMEDIATS! (See Results – INSTANTLY!)</p>	5/24	21%
Brand Philosophies	<p><i>Barbara GOULD</i>. Derrière un grand succès, il y a toujours une femme...(There's always a woman behind any great success – my translation)</p> <p><i>Klorane</i>. Le pouvoir des plantes. (The power of plants – my translation)</p> <p><i>Lierac Paris</i>. Le langage de la peau. (The language of skin - my translation)</p> <p><i>Nivea</i>. Mieux vivre ensemble. (Feel closer)</p> <p><i>Nuxe</i>. Belle par nature. (Naturally beautiful – my translation)</p> <p><i>Six</i>. La renaissance de la beauté. (The beauty renaissance – my translation)</p> <p><i>Quiriness</i>. Un moment de spa. (A spa moment – my translation)</p> <p><i>Vichy</i>. La santé est belle. (Health is beautiful)</p> <p><i>UNE</i>. Natural beauty.</p>	10/24	42%

	<i>Méthode Jeanne Piaubert.</i> La beauté a sa method (Beauty has its method – my translation)		
Direct Appeal	<i>Garnier.</i> Prends soin de toi. (Take care) <i>L'Oréal Paris.</i> Parce que vous le valez bien. (Because you're worth it) <i>Barbara GOULD.</i> Derriere votre beauté, il y a toujours une femme. (Behind your beauty, there's always a woman – my translation)	3/24	12%