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Manipulating Figures of Speech for Politicizing Relationship: A Study of Rhetoric in Nepalese Banking Slogans

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Abstract

Short and glittering phrases of brand slogans aim to create a long-lasting memory related to the brand. Because of the omnipresence of such slogans in advertising, they have substantial effects on customers. Aiming to investigate the rhetorical strategies and politics of the slogans, this qualitative study has rhetorically analyzed all 28 brand slogans of commercial banks from Nepal, employing an interpretive method. It has adopted the theoretical framework of James H. Leigh, which mainly divides rhetoric into schemes and tropes further splitting them into 41 figures of speech. The study has identified the politics of nationality, intimacy, association, place, togetherness, language, and culture through the rhetorical analysis of the selected slogans. Moreover, the leading rhetorical devices in the slogans seem to enhance the politics of association, drawing the customers' attention with alluring music and heightening their sense of intimacy with striking, memorable, and emotional effects with the slogans. The study supports expanding the knowledge regarding rhetorical culture in marketing communication. Integrating the responses of the customers and the developers of the slogans and incorporating the slogans from various sectors in further studies may strengthen the argument related to the politics of rhetoric on brand slogans.

Keywords: Advertising, banking slogan, politics, figures of speech, rhetoric **Introduction**

When my family, including me, was in self-quarantine following the government announcement to enforce lockdown due to the corona-virus pandemic in the first quarter of 2020, I used to discourage my wife from to go to the market even to buy milk for our children. I convinced my children that visiting market in such a situation might be dangerous as we had enough food in our barn. One day, our television set was turned on. My ten-year-old son starting to enchant a jingle of a dairy product telecasted on an Indian news channel simultaneously; 'Amul Doodh Peeta Hai India'. Just after that, immediately to referring to the advertising, he asked, "Though the condition of India is more terrible than that of us, why is India still drinking Amul

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Doodh?" Just to dismiss the query, I told him that there might be infants at their homes. However, he countered me saying "No, the whole of India is drinking Amul Doodh!" There, I recalled the idea of Miller and Toman (2014) that "slogans can be used to strengthen brand associations and positioning and promote favourable brand evaluations" (p. 1). To establish brand identity, slogans or jingles seem to stick as a stigma for positioning and promoting the product creating and strengthening the unique identity among customers. However, limited studies are done in this sector particularly in the Nepalese context.

The situation further encourages me to analyze the advertising slogans rhetorically. Leigh (1994) had developed a taxonomy of rhetoric dividing it into 41 figures of speech and the same classification has been used in this rhetorical analysis. Especially, the rhetorical figures which are the "artful deviation in the form taken by a statement" (McQuarrie & Mick, 1996, p. 424) can be described, examined and evaluated for the study as rhetorical analysis classifying such rhetorical figures separating into schemes and tropes to expose the facts, policies and value including politics behind any discourse. Keeping persuasion at the crux, Aristotle (2007) defines rhetoric as viewing the persuasive tools that are available in each situation which seems to be best utilized by the business world in the field of marketing. In the process of persuasion, sometimes reason and opinion are considered vital in comparison to facts and figures. Here, I have focused the study on the brand slogans of Nepalese commercial banks which were collected in late 2019. This study primarily investigates:

- Which figures of speech are implanted in the selected banking slogans of the study?
- What might be the potential logic of the developers behind choosing such rhetorical strategies?
- How the insertion of rhetoric in slogans involves in politicizing the relationship between the service and customers?

Literature Review

Brand names and slogans matter much in introducing and promoting products and services. Rhetorical wordplays serve as building blocks to drive someone to the products and services silently in slogans.

Manipulation holds the major concern of all advertising slogans. They help customers remember the promoted product or service to set it apart from competitors (Alnajjar & Toivonen, 2021). For example, "Broadcast Yourself' connects customers to non-other than YouTube. A slogan works as a reminder leading to the particular product or service. Figures of speech significantly contribute to such recall. Tom and Eves (1999) discovered that advertising with rhetorical figures is more compelling and has a higher recall than advertising without such linguistic devices. Its goal is to draw the audience's attention to the speaker, and it succeeds.

Rhetorical figures fascinate the audience with their alluring elements. Conciseness, rhythm, and melody are crucial elements that improve customers' retention and recognition, according to research on the influence of slogans on student purchasing behaviour conducted through in-depth face-to-face consultations with university graduates (Rybaczewska et al., 2020). Appropriate insertion of alluring elements through figures of speech in slogans presents the product as a unique one

and shapes the buying behaviour of the customers. The same study also explores that product quality, popularity, and price as key drivers in purchasing decisions and appropriate and striking slogans as differentiators of the product which ultimately increase sales (Rybaczewska et al., 2020). Moreover, a unique slogan with artistic content deserves the capacity to capture the consideration of the consumers and also supports to generate a surplus.

Generally, a powerful metaphor serves to link the customer to a product or service. An empirical study by Alnajjar and Toivonen (2021) has exposed the "metaphor generation method" (p. 575) as an effective mode of creating metaphors. It extends the role of metaphor on one hand and parallelly instructs a process of producing metaphor simultaneously. Metaphors in advertising allow audience to compare two ideas and communicate that one is figuratively similar to the other, even though they are different at ground zero (McQuarrie & Mick, 1996). Establishing a relationship between two parties embraces one of the major concerns of the figures of speech. Like the already discussed metaphor, Delbaere et al. (2011) emphasize personification as a practical advertising approach that facilitates the creation of consumer-brand relationships offering human attributions to brands. This connectivity further links products to customers in the business world.

Not only business organizations, but countries also use slogans to promote their policies and politics. Wilson (2020) has demonstrated how brand-building may be employed to win investors' credence and to distinguish countries' keen interest to welcome foreign direct investment by utilizing brand signals like slogans and logos. It effectively communicates to potential investors. The study by Wilson (2020) has explored that brand credibility appears to be added much by logos as they are better developed and included more geographical and cultural emblems with expertise aspects in comparison to slogans as they are additionally generic or homogeneous. Logos have more visual properties whereas slogans employ properties related to linguistic signs and symbols.

There is also another study on the slogans of different countries. The study has identified the tourism slogans of some nations and examined the importance of wordplay. For example, 'Naturally, Nepal - Once is Not Enough' and Bangladesh, though less visited by tourists, employing the petition by calling out 'Visit Bangladesh before the tourists come' seemed effective to arrest the attention of potential tourists (Khan, 2014). To promote tourism in their countries, host countries seem to realize "the importance of coining an appealing and memorable catchphrase in the form of a marketing slogan to create their visibility amongst competitors" (Khan, 2014, p. 36) designing enchanting slogans. In the domestic context, a descriptive study of the brand slogans of Nepali commercial banks by Lamichhane (2021) has shown that the banks "prefer using schemes to tropes as schemes are used more than two times in these slogans" (p. 50). The study has only categorized and discussed the pattern of the figures of speech divided into schemes and tropes related to three types of commercial banks. However, the fundamental rhetorical analysis hasn't been done yet. The politics behind the slogans haven't been examined. So, hopefully, this rhetorical analysis of Nepalese commercial banks' advertising slogans has shown the politics of rhetoric hidden in the forms of figures of speech.

Methods and Procedures

28 brand slogans from each Nepalese commercial bank were chosen for the rhetorical analysis in the study. Concerning rhetorical analysis, Leigh (1994) developed a taxonomy dividing rhetorical figures into twenty-one types of tropes and twenty sorts of schemes to examine print advertising headlines. The 41 figurative wordplays were listed in the Appendix A. The taxonomy seems promising as multiple researchers have used it as a theoretical framework in different studies.

Moreover, the study has also used the taxonomy as a theoretical framework to decode rhetorical usages in Nepalese commercial bank slogans. Individual slogans were discussed separately to determine figures of speech and their functions in politicizing the relationship between banks and customers. To do so, the analysis involved digging into the deep meaning implanted in and between the words used in the selected slogans.

The analysis includes the slogans that were in use till late 2019. It ignores both changes in the number of banks and slogans after that. The list of the banks was taken from the webpage of the central bank of Nepal and the slogans were collected from the concerning webpages of the concerned banks. Out of 28 slogans, 12 slogans were in Nepali language and the remaining others were in English. The slogans which were in Nepali were translated into plain English for literal comprehension. However, Roman Nepali translation was exercised to explore the rhetorical politics embedded there.

In this qualitative study, an exploratory approach and interpretative method were used for the rhetorical investigation and interpretation. The interpretive method pays attention to the feelings and instincts of participants in a way that incorporates values into the study investigations. In the words of Zoller and Klineour (2008), interpretivism considers that "perceptions of reality are constituted as subjects attach meaning to phenomena" (p. 93). It asserts that knowledge can be learned through social interaction and interpretation. Thus, this study has used rhetorical analysis to comprehend and analyze the evidence from the chosen slogans. Moreover, the situation, purpose and claim (Greene & Lidinsky, 2011) of the slogans were also observed to detect the persuasive strategies and politics of rhetoric.

Rhetorical Analysis of Banking Slogans

All the 28 commercial banks from Nepal do have brand slogans and they are pervasively used in market and marketing. The selected slogans in this study are rhetorically analyzed one by one as the slogans with their respective name of banks are listed in this section. First, the figures of speech are identified, and the subsequent rhetorical analysis shows the politics of the slogans.

'Nepalko Pahilo Bank' [Nepal Bank Limited]

The slogan claims that the bank is 'Nepal's First Bank'. There applies a pun that creates multiple meanings in the form of syllepsis (Baldick, 1996). The terms 'Nepal's' and 'first' do have such diverse meanings. Firstly, 'first' may mean first in terms of establishment or 'first' in the sense of performance. Secondly, 'Nepal's' could denote the ownership that the majority of the share is of the Government of Nepal and of the general public or 'Nepal's' to refer as the major one among all banks from Nepal at the same time. In this way, the slogan has shot two birds with cleverness

talking about history and the present together. One has to be connected with the first bank is the latent claim of the slogan.

'Your Partner for Progress' [Citizens Bank International Limited]

Firstly, music can be heard while reading the slogan because of the alliteration. We notice the repletion of the sound /p/ in the words, 'partner' and 'progress' in the same line. It also makes the slogan appealing and offers pleasure in reading. Similarly, the bank is personified in this slogan as in the study of Delbaere et al. (2011). As an animate association, personification is a literary device in which human attributions are offered to non-humans. As defined here, the bank is presented as a partner or a close person with whom we are intimately involved. Therefore, the use of the word 'partner' serves as personification. Along with this, there is also an indirect or implied metaphoric comparison between the bank and the partner establishing the bank as an agency for the development of one's life. Moreover, there appears an internal rhyming among 'your', 'partner', and 'for' serving music and harmony. The usage of your in the tagline reinforces the 'Your Viewpoint' of strategic communication, which is successful in attracting clients' attention in a positive environment (Humphrys, 1983). For healthy interactions, the word 'partner' also develops an intimate bond.

'Sabaika Lagi Sadhaika Lagi' [Kumari Bank Limited]

This slogan simply means 'For All, For Always' in English and uses multiple figures of speech. First, we can notice the use of alliteration. There are four words and the initial consonant sound of each word is identical to each alternative word. The sound/s/ is repeated in the initial position of the words 'Sabai' and 'Sadhai' whereas the sound /l/ is repeated in the words 'Lagi' and 'Lagi'. That repetition of the word 'Lagi' also works as an epistrophe which appears twice in the slogan at the end of the succeeding clauses to plead the feeling and reinforces something with emphasis (Baldick, 1996). It looks contrary to anaphora in terms of locating the repeated word. In addition, the word 'Lagi' is repeated twice at the end of two phrases creating an end rhyme. It enhances the musical effect and creates pleasure in reading by improving customers' retention and recognition as suggested by the study of Rybaczewska et al. (2020). Moreover, this slogan also employs asyndeton, that is, the stylistic technique of not using conjunctions between phrases to speed up reading. In this slogan, we do not find any conjunctions between the two phrases: 'Sabaika Lagi' and 'Sadhaika Lagi'. Furthermore, there is also parallelism especially, isocolon parallelism. It refers to one of the figures of speech in which different parts of a sentence are identical in different forms like their length, rhyming pattern, and structure as well. In this slogan also, the two parts 'Sbaika Lagi' and 'Sadhaika Lagi' have identical lengths and structures with rhyme. Moreover, such parallelism consists of "phrases or sentences of similar construction and meaning [is] placed side by side, balancing each other" (Cuddon, 1998, p. 637). Especially in the case of the slogan, it establishes a parallel association between banks and customers.

'Thinking Forward, Moving Forward' [Civil Bank Limited]

In the slogan, we notice various figures of speech. First of all, we can find the use of alliteration. The sound /f/ is repeated twice in the initial position of the words 'forward' and 'forward'. The repetition of the word 'forward' as epistrophe, also at the end of the successive clauses to appeal to emotion. It makes it easier for a customer

to know the slogan by heart. Similarly, there is also the use of end rhyme due to the repetition of /k/ at the ends of the first and third words. The word 'forward' is repeated twice in the same line and creates end rhyming. It enhances the musical effect and creates pleasure in reading. Moreover, this slogan also employs asyndeton, that is, the stylistic technique of not using conjunctions between phrases to create simplicity and speed. In this slogan, we do not find any conjunctions between the two phrases: 'Thinking Forward' and 'Moving Forward'. Furthermore, there is also parallelism where different parts of a sentence are identical in different forms like their length, rhyming pattern, and structure that strengthen rhyme (Skračić & Kosović, 2016). The two parts 'Thinking Forward' and 'Moving Forward' have identical lengths and structures with a rhyme in one hand and the repetition of the word 'forward' serves as a rhetorical effect and emphasis with music. Thus, the slogan argues that the bank could be an associate for development and advancement as a foresighted institution and one should be united with this which thinks and moves forward.

'Together we can Build' [Sunrise Bank Limited]

The use of anastrophe is identified in this brand slogan utilizing the special word order related to grammatical structure. Anastrophe refers to the inversion of word order different from average expectation playing with grammatical structure. Normally, we say 'we can build together'. However, in this slogan, the standard word order is reversed. This technique is instrumental to create a dramatic impact on the listeners (Cuddon, 1998). It holds the attention of the listener to the specific concept of togetherness to create the 'we feeling'. Thus, the slogan calls to join hands on the ground that the bank believes in such union that leads to a prosperous future.

'Bishuddha Banking...Aru Kehi Hoina' [Nepal SBI Bank Limited]

The literal English translation of this slogan is 'Pure banking...Nothing other'. This slogan makes multiple uses of rhetorical devices. First, we can see using alliteration. The sound /b/ is repeated twice in the initial position of the words 'Bishuddha' and 'Banking'. There is also the use of litotes as Abrams and Harpham (2008) consider the use of negative statements to gain affirmative sentiment. The last part of the slogan 'Aru Kehi Hoina' literally says 'nothing more than this'. This is a negative statement used to attract positive sentiment from the customer. This part of the slogan looks like a periphrasis using verbal substitution that makes the slogan longer but does not convey something new and significant (Cuddon, 1998, p. 59). It indirectly tries to develop trust in the customers that the bank does not promise any unnecessary things haphazardly, rather it says only what it does, and that is purely banking with full dedication. However, it serves as a wonderful property in the slogan for drawing the attention of the reader. There is also the use of the ellipsis. The use of dots between two phrases can be filled with something that is in the thought of the customer being contextual for meaning-making. The implied argument of the slogan is an encouragement for pure banking saying that the bank is doing such service with an invitation to establish a relationship with the bank that believes in nothing rather than banking.

'Your Business Bank' [Nepal Credit and Commerce Bank Limited]

The slogan has applied alliteration repeating the consonant /b/ sound in 'business' and 'bank' in the same line. There is a pseudo transfer of the ownership of the bank to the customer saying 'your business bank'. The use of 'your' might bring

them closer to the feeling of togetherness (Humphrys, 1983). It could be interpreted as a paradox that how a private bank could be public, but that paradox is neutralized by the insertion of the word 'business' which says that 'we support your business' in an implied sense. Again, in another sense, as a commercial bank, what is new to be a business bank? However, the call to be connected through the slogan shares the impression that it is the bank of the customers developing psyche among them concerning ownership and togetherness.

"...the Name you can BANK upon!" [Everest Bank Limited]

This slogan attracts the attention of customers in its use of anthimeria in form of verbal substitution which uses words in diverse or novel grammatical forms, especially, noun as a verb. Here, in this slogan, the word 'BANK' is used grammatically in a different form, other than the normal use. It enforces the audience to think through the transposition between the noun and the verb in the slogan. There is also the use of the ellipsis indicated by three dots at the beginning of the slogan. Probably the normal statement might be 'This is the name you can bank upon' inserting the subject and auxiliary verb as well as changing the parts of speech that are modified in the slogan for rhetorical benefits. While pronouncing 'can' and 'bank' in the slogan to form assonance, the same vowel sound /æ/ repeats before and after the different consonant sounds with lulling effect (Mikics, 2007). Ultimately, an exclamation sign in the slogan is probably employed to denote the exciting and surprising situation as a note of admiration at last. The claim of the slogan is to be associated with the bank which seems to be strengthened by the name and fame. It is also reinforced by the slogan that one should always be connected with the bank which is renowned in the market.

'Truly A Nepali Bank' [Nepal Investment Bank Limited]

The use of anastrophe is the prime element of this slogan. There is an inversion between 'truly' and 'a', and it omits the subject and verb. Typically, it might be 'This is a truly Nepali Bank'. By the use of anastrophe, the simple violation of the syntactic rule creates a remarkable impact changing the explanation of the used adjective and making it stronger initially in the slogan (Cuddon, 1998). The slogan seems to play with the emotion of nationality saying that the bank is truly Nepali. That the occurrence of the words to indicate nationality in both the brand slogan and the name intends to show that the organization is devoted to the nation and you should also trust. Along with that, there is internal rhyme due to the use of 'truly' and 'Nepali'. Moreover, the slogan pleads with customers with the politics of nationhood as it claims to be purely Nepali.

'Sharing Dreams, Changing Lives.' [Prime Bank Limited]

There is the use of asyndeton, personification, end rhyme, parallelism, and hyperbole in the slogan. Two phrases are not connected by any conjunction. It creates simplicity and smoothness in the slogan to convey the intended meaning uniquely with hurried effects. Similarly, the two phrases are of almost equal length, thereby creating parallelism for delivering the ideas in a balanced manner with end rhyming. Moreover, this slogan is full of hyperbolism. Is it possible to change lives just by sharing dreams? Hyperbole is used to draw the attention of the audience by producing witty effects. Although, it is to be handled with care, otherwise it could be fantasy. In the slogan, the second phrase has rationalized the first fancy statement with a claim to

change a life through banking. Furthermore, the human quality of 'sharing dreams' is assigned to a non-living bank using personification (Abrams & Harpham, 2008) though the bank is just a legal personality with perpetual succession. In addition to these, the slogan tempts customers to stick together for sharing dreams to change their lives and that is claimed to be possible only by mutually associating with the bank.

'Bank Pani, Saathi Pani' [NIC Asia Bank Limited]

The literal meaning of this slogan is that NIC Asia is your bank as well as a friend. This slogan is rich in its use of rhetorical devices. First, we notice the use of repetition. The word 'pani' is repeated twice at the ends of both phrases that creating end rhyming. Second, there is also the use of parallelism. There are two phrases with identical lengths or the number of words. There, we can also find a metaphor in this slogan as the bank is implicitly compared with a friend. The metaphor mainly represents the association. Musté et al. (2015) connect a deeply laden use of metaphorical language to 'latent associations' and 'emotional bonding power'. Moreover, the attribution of qualities of a person, that as a friend, to an inanimate thing like a bank, enhances the use of personification. An epistrophe is also applied in the slogan that there is the repetition of 'pani' at the end of the consecutive clauses. Moreover, the motive of the slogan is to drive the customers to the bank associating a bank as a friend. Finally, it tries to establish the fact concerning the banks about the necessity of being supportive which it is.

'... Tapaiko Aaphnai Bank' [Rastriya Banijya Bank Limited]

The literal English translation of this slogan into English is '...your own bank'. With the motive of establishing a kind of affinity or closeness to the customers, this slogan uses ellipsis by using dots at the beginning. These dots can be filled with 'This is your own bank' as they are omitted. The ellipsis says more than the said one sidestepping redundancy and accumulating beauty (Cuddon, 1998). Parallel to the technique of the NCC Bank, the pseudo-ownership of the bank is transferred to the audience or the customer through the slogan saying that 'Rashtriya Banijya Bank is your bank'. It might be for the establishment of an intimate relationship with them or because of being a fully government-owned bank in Nepal. Both could be true too. The use of personal words 'your' and 'own' gives meanings alike but both are used probably for stress, emphasis, and primacy to the receivers' point of view.

'The Power to Lead' [Himalayan Bank Limited]

Normally, the implied meaning of this slogan could be that 'We have the power to lead'. It does not mention what type of power it has and how it can lead its customers. Because of the presence of the definite article at the beginning of the slogan of a bank, one may guess that the power is purely related to banking. The term 'lead' seems to be applied in an ambiguous sense. Firstly, the Himalayan Bank is the first commercial bank in Nepal with the utmost shareholders from the Nepalese private sector. Secondly, it could be presented as the power for the customer to lead any project that they have in their dream by associating with banking. It also looks hyperbolic that the use of a word like 'power' and 'lead' heighten the effect but in reality, they are abstract. The bank is associated with 'power' using a metaphor to lead society or life. Advertising metaphors enable consumers to contrast two ideas and suggest that they are conceptually related even though their literal meanings are distinct (McQuarrie & Mick, 1996). Here, power has characteristics like possession of control, authority,

and the ability to produce something identical to the features of the bank which generates commodities, enforces rules and regulations, and controls the loan and deposits. Hence, there seems unity in the characteristics between the compared things as the leading nature of metaphor.

'Power to Succeed' [Prabhu Bank Limited]

Similar to the slogan of the Himalayan Bank, Prabhu Bank also has an abstract slogan that claims to be the power to succeed with hyperbolism. It catches the attention of the potential customer as a tool for emphasis. Again, similar to Himalayan Bank, metaphor is used in the slogan linking bank to 'power' without any comparing words. This tradition of the metaphor enlarges the politics of associating customers in business.

'Nepali Janatako Bank, Janata Bank' [Janata Bank Limited]

The slogan could be translated into English as 'Nepali Citizens' bank, Janata bank'. The main rhetorical devices used in this slogan are alliteration and repetition. The sounds /b/ and /j/ are repeated in the word 'bank' and 'Janata' respectively that are themselves repeated in the slogan, thereby involving the use of alliteration and repetition. As a different form of repetition, the two words 'Janata' and 'Janatako' are used in the slogan which is from the same root of forming polyptoton. There is also asyndeton, that is, the deliberate omission of the conjunction between clauses to speed up the aptitudes of the audience (Cuddon, 1998). It is rather indicated by a comma to make the flow of the utterance smooth mainly in orality and that is borrowed by writing as well. Analogous to NCC Bank and Rashtriya Banijya Bank, Janata Bank also gives literary ownership of the bank to commoners doing the politics of emotion and nation to win the sentiment of the customers.

'Saral Banking, Sabaiko Lagi' [Century Bank Limited]

The literal English translation of this slogan is 'simple banking for all'. Asyndeton, alliteration, and parallelism have been applied in the slogans. There is the use of asyndeton since there is the deliberate omission of the conjunction. Similarly, there is the repetition of the /s/ sound in the words 'Saral' and 'Sabaiko' that indicates alliteration. Moreover, the slogan uses a parallel structure in isocolon form. All these figures contribute to music and speed up the sense of the audience (Cuddon, 1998). Moreover, the claim of policy to be simple and the claim of fact to be reachable to all. They seem to serve the politics to show the company as undemanding and welcoming. 'Sabal Aadhunik Uttardayi' [Laxmi Bank Limited]

This brand slogan can be translated into literal English as 'efficient advanced accountable'. In the tripartite slogan, there is a use of parallelism where there is a similarity of construction in a sequence of related words. All the words seem independent of themselves creating their meaning there interconnected to each other eventually as the salient features of the bank. The complete statement of this slogan could be 'Our bank is efficient, advanced and accountable'. In terms of word order, the slogan 'efficient, advanced and accountable', looks like an arrangement exposing the continuous incensement in magnitude generally known as climax showing an order of stress (Baldick, 1996). The slogan has presented the bank as an agent of evolution in the customers' lives using the progressive list of features in form of a climax.

'We Make your Life Easier' [Bank of Kathmandu Limited]

This brand slogan uses the technique of hyperbole. It is used to give stress (Cudon, 1998). In the case of the slogan, can one live easier life just by being associated

with a bank? The slogan does not clarify how it is possible. Therefore, this is a fine example of the use of hyperbole or overstatement. Along with that, the politics of emotion comes into view through the use of 'we' and 'your' as the sense of mutuality for motivation. In addition to these, the unstressed 'your' from the slogan is internally rhyming to 'easier' which contributes to music, memorization, and smoothness. Bringing the first-person and second-person pronouns together, the slogan initiates a direct conversation with customers. At the same time, it is claimed that the bond makes lives easier.

'Sabaika Lagi Bank' [Global IME Bank Limited]

The slogan seems to use an ellipsis. Conveying the meaning 'the bank for all' in English, the slogan uses no rhetorical device at all out of the list of theoretical framework. The slogan is incomplete superficially, but its implied claim is that 'this bank is for all'. Similar to Century Bank, the bank claims to be reachable to all being undemanding and welcoming to different sectors of society.

'Bank for Your Prosperity' [Siddhartha Bank Limited]

The slogan conveys the message that Siddhartha Bank is for the prosperity of its customers. The slogan in a hyperbolic manner overstates stress (Cudon, 1998). It exaggerates that an association with the bank could be the sole reason for richness. The use of 'your' in Citizen Bank, NCC Bank, Rastriya Banijya Bank, and the Bank of Kathmandu, the slogan also uses the term 'your' probably to motivate and manipulate the mind of the customer strategically speaking by keeping the audience at the centre. It involves the politics of intimacy concerning the well-being of the customer.

'Together Ahead' [Nabil Bank Limited]

This slogan also talks about the policy of moving forward together as in the slogan of Sunrise Bank in the journey of development. In this evolutionary course, Nabil Bank promises to travel together with customers ahead for their betterment. A kind of sincerity and caring nature of the bank is likely to be conveyed by the concise and plain slogan, which is formed without any rhetorical device as listed in the theoretical framework. Manipulating the feeling of togetherness, the slogan enforces customers to be a part of the bank.

'The Bank for Everyone' [Nepal Bangladesh Bank Limited]

The identical claims which are discussed in the case of Global IME Bank and Century Bank in their slogans to run the bank representing all sectors of the societies are also encountered in the slogan of Nepal Bangladesh Bank. The normal statement of this slogan could be 'This bank is for everyone'. However, a verb is deliberately omitted for ellipsis and logically implied context therein for avoiding redundancy and adding beauty (Cuddon, 1998). The inclusive beauty of the bank as claimed by the slogan promotes associational politics in business.

'Move Beyond' [NMB Bank Limited]

The slogan seems purely hyperbolic. Is it possible to go beyond? Where is that beyond? However, the slogans call customers to 'move beyond'. As in the slogans of the Himalayan Bank and Prabhu Bank, this hyperbolism appears to contribute to exaggeration and intensification generating emotional effects in terms of an overstatement of stress (Cudon, 1998). It seems to be designed for influencing customers by claiming something extra.

'Service with a Personal Touch' [Machhapuchhre Bank Limited]

The slogan seems sensuous that talks about the experience of being in physical contact which could be felt here through the used words. However, as Global IME and Nabil Bank, this slogan does not have any explicit rhetorical device as listed in the theoretical framework. It stimulates readers to consider the physical and textural world which is constructed to communicate the motive of the organization by employing words, pleading to our common sense of touch. The phrase 'personal touch' in the slogan seems to capture the sense of being proximate to deal with the situation emotionally. The advocacy of togetherness in the slogan is further intensified by the sense of touch.

'Sabal ani Bishwasaniya' [Sanima Bank Limited]

The literal translation of the slogan into English denotes 'Capable and Trustworthy'. The words, which are selected for the bank's name and the slogan are closely associated reflecting a kind of kinship. They are also in an order reflecting a grammatical structure called climax to show an order of emphasis (Baldick, 1996) as in the slogan of Laxmi Bank. The name of the bank is chosen from an intimate relational word, 'sanima', sister of mother, who seems trustworthy as the first word of the slogan. In this sense, the slogan tries to create an emotional tie to the customer which appears to be strengthened by its corporal name manipulating the politics of cultural relationships.

'Tapai Hamro Ghar Aaganko Bank' [Agricultural Development Bank Limited]

The literal translation of the slogan becomes 'the bank of our locality' which seems to establish proximity, intimacy, and togetherness among customers. The imagery as the visual association in the course of the words, 'Ghar' (home) and 'Aagan' (patio) represent the object and appeal to the physical sense of the audience with a rural flavour. It is strongly involved in the politics of location too. The second word of the slogan end-rhymes with the fourth and the first two words are parallel to the third and fourth in terms of idea and structure as well. Ambiguously a type of pun that is listed as syllepsis in the slogan has double meanings for emphasis (Baldick, 1996). Whether the slogan claims that the bank is of 'your' and 'our' or the bank of yours and ours' home and patio? The slogan might have used the words 'your/yours' and 'our/ours' to show public ownership of the Agricultural Development Bank like Rashtriya Banijya Bank and Nepal Bank. Such proximity has created ownership bringing the customer closer to the banking service.

'Here for Good' [Standard Chartered Bank Limited]

At the start of the slogan, a pair of rhyming words, 'here' and 'for', brightens the memory of the concerned firm and reinforces literacy regarding the product and service by providing short musical content to the audience. The slogan's internal rhyme aids memory and cognition (Mikics, 2007). Truly, how children can sing intricate rhymes without consulting a written source by simply listening?

'Halo Dekhi Hydro Samma' [Mega Bank Limited]

Mega Bank seems to capture the attention of both small-scale business persons and large-scale tycoons through the alliterative slogan; 'Halo Dekhi Hydro Samma'. It signals 'plough to Hydro' in the English language including the diverse aspects of the business. The alliterative sound pattern of the slogan serves as music and rhythm to draw the attention of the audience being emphatic (Abrams & Harpham, 2008).

The repetition of the opening consonant, /h/, in the two neighbouring words formulates alliteration in the slogan and this soft /h/ sound creates a romantic as well as thoughtful mood there along with parallelism. It can be interpreted as an antithesis that juxtaposes placing 'halo' and 'hydro' in side-by-side comparison and these diverse concepts are seen to be logically connected by the slogan silently presenting the more expansive target areas of the bank incorporating both tradition and modernism. Code-mixing has also contributed to that.

Conclusion

The rhetorical study has revealed that Nepalese commercial banks' slogans exploit the politics of nationhood, association, geography, language, intimacy, unity, culture, and most crucially, the second-person pronoun to engage directly with clients. All these encourage attention and participation. Furthermore, several slogans have established a sense of oneness through the use of maximal first-person plural pronouns. The conversational language of numerous slogans, in particular, has created a sense of intimacy between banks and clients as speaker and audience. All government banks have slogans in Nepali, the resembles a form of language politics.

Additionally, the dominant figures of speech in the slogans do the politics of metaphoric association. The association has tried to establish an emotional relationship with customers by personifying banks as human. The incursion of the figures of speech in the slogans seems to draw the attention of customers with music and to speed up their sense of intimacy with striking, memorable, and emotional effects. Ultimately, the study supports enlarging the literacy concerning the politics of rhetoric in marketing communication.

Only slogans from Nepalese commercial banks are included in this rhetorical analysis. However, the study's importance cannot be overstated, since it reveals the politics of rhetoric in banking slogans. A more in-depth analysis of slogans from various sectors could yield even better results.

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Appendix A

The Framework Concerning Figures of Speech as Developed by James H. Leigh in 1994

Tropes

- I. Puns
 - 1. Antanaclasis
 - 2. Paronomasia
 - 3. Syllepsis
 - 4. Other Types
- II. Association
 - A. Animate Association
 - 1. Allusion
 - 2. Personification
 - 3. Simile
 - B. Contradictory Association
 - 1. Irony
 - 2. Metaphor
 - 3. Oxymoron
 - 4. Paradox
 - 5. Parody
 - C. Visual Associations through Word
 - 1. Imagery
 - 2. Onomatopoeia
 - D. Verbal Substitution
 - 1. Anthimeria
 - 2. Metonymy
 - 3. Periphrasis
 - E. Exaggerations and Understatements
 - 1. Euphemism
 - 2. Hyperbole
 - 3. Litotes
 - F. Rhetorical Questions

Schemes

- A. Word Order-Coordinated
 - 1. Anastrophe
 - 2. Antithesis
 - 3. Apposition
 - 4. Climax
 - 5. Parallelism
- B. Deliberate Word Omissions and Insertions
 - 1. Asyndeton
 - 2. Ellipsis
 - 3. Parenthesis
 - 4. Polysyndeton

- C. Repetitions
 - 1. Alliteration
 - 2. Anadiplosis
 - 3. Anaphora
 - 4. Antimetabole
 - 5. Assonance
 - 6. Epanalepsis
 - 7. Epistrophe
 - 8. Polyptoton
 - 9. Repetition
- D. Rhyme
 - 1. End Rhyme
 - 2. Internal Rhyme

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