# A linguistic analysis of the dominant axiological values in Moroccan drink brand names

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**ABSTRACT**

Brand designers often consciously or unconsciously make use of cognitive operations to convey positive values to brand names. This paper aims to look into the most prominent axiological values in Moroccan drink brand names and how they are introduced through cognitive operations such as comparison metaphors, correlation metaphors, domain expansion, domain reduction and metonymic chains. In addition, we will show the verbal or visual modes in which they are manifested. To this end, we have selected a corpus of sample brands taken from the *Office Marocain de la Propriété Industrielle et Commerciale* (OMPIC). This work has been structured according to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez, 2011) and extended to axiological semantics (Krzeszowski 1997, 2004) and to specialized discourse (Felices Lago, 1996a, 1999, 2002; Koller, 2009, among others). With this study we will give an account of the cognitive means used to denote values linked to this product category.

Keywords: axiological values, cognitive operations, multimodality, brand names.

**RESUMEN**

Los diseñadores de marcas suelen hacer uso, consciente o inconscientemente, de operaciones cognitivas para transmitir valores positivos a los nombres de marcas. Este artículo pretende estudiar los valores axiológicos más destacados en los nombres de marcas de bebidas marroquíes y cómo se introducen a través de operaciones cognitivas tales como las metáforas de comparación, las metáforas de correlación, las metonimias de expansión, las metonimias de reducción y las cadenas metonímicas. Además, mostraremos los modos verbales o visuales en las que se manifiestan. Para ello, hemos seleccionado una muestra de dichas marcas de la *Office Marocain de la Propriété Industrielle et Commerciale* (OMPIC). Este trabajo se ha estructurado según la Teoría Cognitiva de la Metáfora y la Metonimia (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez, 2011) y se ha extendido a la semántica axiológica (Krzeszowski 1997, 2004) y al discurso especializado (Felices Lago, 1996a, 1999, 2002; Koller, 2009 entre otros). Con este estudio daremos cuenta de los medios cognitivos utilizados para denotar valores vinculados a esta categoría de producto.

Palabras clave: valores axiológicos, operaciones cognitivas, multimodalidad, nombres de marca.

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## 1. Introduction

The American Marketing Association (1960) defines *brand* as "a name, term, design, symbol, or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from competitors" (as cited by Wood 2000: 664). The creation of most brand names intends to denote an axiological value or suggest various meaning associations, mostly positive ones (Felices Lago, 1996a). By the same token, Pollay (1990: 111) notes that "it is clear that advertising's primary function is to transmit value to a product and a brand". In the same vein, Khale (1986: 6) suggests that "linking a specific product, service, or idea to an abstract value should increase the ease with which the specific item can be stored and remembered".

Most studies related to branding are done by marketing experts with the intention of boosting brand equity (Aaker, 1996; Armstrong & Kotler, 2018; Keller, 2003). In the literature, to the best of our knowledge, some studies from a cognitive perspective have been done on the role of metaphor in branding (Zaltman & Zaltman, 2008; Koller, 2009; Zeng, 2019) and few works have explored the role of metonymy (Pérez Hernández, 2011, 2013, 2019; Azzahraa & Cortés de los Ríos, 2022). In advertising, on the other hand, there is a plethora of research dealing with metaphor and to a small extent metonymy (Forceville, 1996; 2009; Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Hidalgo & Kraljevic, 2011; Villacañas & White, 2013; Pérez Sobrino, 2016, 2017; Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020, among others). As to axiological analyses, Felices Lago (1996a, 2002) carries out several studies in the area of brand naming in English.

Creating an effective brand in a competitive market becomes a difficult task in need of various tools. Apart from marketing strategies, brand designers often consciously or unconsciously make use of cognitive tools that convey positive qualities to brand names. Precisely, branding discourse, linked to either verbal or non-verbal communication factors, particularly suits researching the linguistic codification of positive qualities or axiological values.

The aim of this paper is to explore how several cognitive operations largely guide and constrain values arising from Moroccan drink brand names (for the purpose of this research, we focus on comparison metaphors, correlation metaphors, domain expansion, domain reduction and metonymic chains) and the modes (visual, verbal) in which they are manifested. To this end, we have selected a sample of the above brands taken from the *Office Marocain de la Propriété Industrielle et Commerciale* (OMPIC). This work has been structured according to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez, 2011) and extended to axiological semantics (Krzeszowski 1990, 2004) and to specialized discourse (Felices Lago, 1996a, 1999, 2002; Koller, 2009), among others. As far as we know, research from a cognitive-axiological approach related to brand names needs further studies (Azzahraa, 2021). This cognitive-axiological study comes to fill a relevant gap on Moroccan drink branding.

More precisely, the paper addresses the following research questions:

RQ1. What are the dominant axiological values linked to Moroccan drink brand names?

RQ2. What type of cognitive operations are used to convey values to this product category?

RQ3. Which modes cue cognitive operations in the transmission of positive qualities to Moroccan drink brands? Are words, images, or a combination of both more likely to convey the message?

The layout of this paper is as follows. Section 2 outlines the theoretical background of this study. Section 3 concerns the sample and the methodology that the study employed. Section 4 shows the sample analysis

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and results. The last section offers some conclusion remarks and provides the answers to the research questions.

## 2. Theoretical background

### 2.1. Cognitive-axiological approach

The theoretical underpinnings of this paper stand on a cognitive-axiological approach. Some contributions have laid the foundations of axiological linguistics, particularly in Cognitive Semantics. Krzeszowski (1990, 2004) initiated and developed cognitive-axiological linguistic research. He created a new field of cognitive axiology where the dichotomy or a scale with poles good–bad is equally and may be more important than dichotomy/scale true–false. Krzeszowski (1990) provides evidence that the axiological parameter (good-bad) seems to play a much more important role in meaning analyses than previously conceived. He not only introduces the key principles of this new perspective but also points out the dominant function that values perform in the structure of concepts. He adds that metaphorical expressions are more prone to axiological polarity than non-metaphorical ones. They are linguistic units that carry axiological load and facilitate the transference of values to a particular discourse (Krzeszowski, 1990).

From a different angle, Pauwels and Simon Vanderbergen (1993) also identify the elements that determine a positive or negative value judgement, focusing on metaphoric projections from the domain of body parts to that of the linguistic action. Interestingly, in our view, it is the emphasis they placed on context.

The Spanish scholar, Felices Lago (1991, 1996a), taking a parallel path to that of Krzeszowski (1990, 1993), contributes to laying the foundations for axiological linguistics. He established the concept of applied axiology to refer to the evaluation classeme as an instrument to analyse discourse types.

Some contributions follow a cognitive-axiological approach to specialised discourse. For example, research in advertising shows the explicit linking of values through metaphors, metonymies and image schemas and how advertising discourse introduces them (Cortés de los Ríos, 2001; Felices Lago & Cortés de los Ríos, 2009; Negro Alousque, 2014; Bhatti, *et al.*, 2022, among others). Likewise, research in branding shows the use of values through cognitive tools in some anglicized Moroccan brand names (Azzahraa, 2021).

### 2.2. Cognitive operations

Cognitive linguistics theories in proposals by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on conceptual metaphors and metonymies introduce cognitive operations, mental mechanisms meant to build a semantic representation from linguistic input to make it meaningful in context. Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña (2005: 58) define the notion of cognitive operations as:

> [. . .] a mental mechanism whose purpose is to derive a semantic representation from a linguistic expression (or from other symbolic device, such as a drawing) in order to make it meaningful in the context in which it is to be interpreted.

Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa (2014) claim that we use cognitive operations to store and retrieve information and make mental representations. They propose a set of operations underlying such linguistic phenomena as metaphor and metonymy. These authors distinguish two general categories of cognitive operations, namely formal and content operations, where the former is a pre-requisite for the latter to be

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activated, but not the other way around. Formal operations are "mental mechanism that allows language users to variously access, select, abstract, and integrate conceptual structure as needed for production and interpretation purposes" (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014: 85-86). They identify five formal operations, namely cueing, selection, integration, abstraction, and substitution. Nonetheless, these higher-level operations have no hand in inference making, but they are necessary for supplying early conceptual representations to content operations to draw the necessary inferences. Several content cognitive operations, lower-level mechanisms used to make inferences on the basis of linguistic or contextual signals, largely guide and constrain meaning construction (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014: 92). They classify it into two basic categories: 'identity' (A IS B) and 'stands for' (A FOR B) relations.

'Identity' relations underlie five content cognitive operations: comparison (either by resemblance or by contrast), strengthening, mitigation, echoing and correlation. Comparison is the mechanism by which we unfold similarities (comparison by resemblance) or differences (comparison by contrast) across concepts. Metaphor and simile are associated with comparison by resemblance.

Strengthening and mitigation are "converse cognitive operations that work on scalar concepts, such as weight, height, and frequency by grading them up or down respectively along their corresponding scale" (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014: 197) In this respect, if mitigation is minimizing, then strengthening is maximizing. Echoing is highly dependent on context and activates irony from a cognitive-pragmatic point of view within the framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson,1995).

Correlation establishes a connection between two independent domains of experience which co-occur in our daily lives. For example, *His popularity keeps going up*, where growing popularity is seen as an ascending object (Pérez Hernández, 2011).

'Stands for' relations underlie the following content cognitive operations: expansion, reduction, parametrization and saturation. Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa (2014) distinguish two types of metonymies based on the domain-internal nature: expansion and reduction. Metonymic expansions (source-in-target) and metonymic reductions (target-in-source) can occur in either the source or the target domain of the metaphoric mapping or in one of their correspondences. García Castillo (2004: 7) illustrates both schemas. An example of the first type of metonymy (source-in-target) would be *We need more hands on the farm*, where *hands* refers to the workers; thus, *hands* appears as a subdomain of the wider domain *workers*. Conversely, in the second type of metonymy (target-in-source), the target domain is a subdomain of the source domain. *She is learning to tie her shoes* is an example; here, the concept *shoes* refers to *laces* (a subdomain of *shoes*).

Metonymies can occur in metonymic chains (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa (2014) that consist of combining two or more metonymies so that the target domain of the first constitutes the source domain of the next. Four distinct types of interactional pattern appear: a) double metonymic reduction of the metaphoric source domain, b) double metonymic reduction of the metaphoric target domain, c) double metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source domain and d) double metonymic expansion of the metaphoric target domain. Metonymies can also work within metaphoric mappings, thus, demonstrating metaphor-metonymy interaction, which is traditionally referred to as *metaphtonymy* (Goosens, 1995).

Parametrization consists in fleshing out a general configuration with more specific conceptual material in order to regulate the meaning of the utterance to contextual necessities (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014). Paradis (2000) exemplifies this concept by providing the semantic underspecification of

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adjectives, such as *bad*, which has to be parametrized differently according to contextual aspects, for instance, *bad* in *bad weather* means unpleasant, in *bad diet* it implies likely to harm your health or your body, etc.

Saturation is a mechanism that fully elaborates missing structures of linguistic patterns into longer patterns, on the basis of contextual information and linguistic cues. An example of saturation is the utterance: "*Are you ready?* which has to be extended into a fully developed utterance like *Are you ready to go out?*" (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014: 98).

## 3. Sample and methodology

### 3.1. Sample

An initial sample consisting of 85 drink brand names was selected. After close scrutiny, the total number of brands triggering cognitive content in the visual and/or verbal mode(s), by means of which positive qualities have been introduced, were 29 (see appendix). The brand names correspond to the product category of drinks[2]: fruit juices, soft drinks, energy drinks and mineral water.

The sample of this study consists of brand names that were drawn from the Moroccan database, *Office Marocain de la Propriété Industrielle et Commerciale* (OMPIC)[3] released between 2010 and 2020. We have used this source mainly for two reasons: firstly, it includes all the brand names that are officially registered in Morocco, and secondly, it provides all kinds of information about the brand names. This extra information may be useful for identifying the metaphoric and metonymic domains. The sample was selected based on the following inclusion criteria:

a) The brand name should be axiologically relevant.

b) The brand name should involve at least one cognitive operation.

c) The brand name should be written in English.

### 3.2. Methodology

This study develops a method suitable for the codification of values in drink brand names and the way in which they are cognitively introduced. The procedure provided adapts and combines approaches of metaphor identification in MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure, Pragglejaz Group, 2007), MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure *Vrije Universiteit*, Steen *et al.* 2010), and Forceville's method (1996)[4] later expanded to include multimodal metonymy (Forceville 2009; Hidalgo & Kraljevic, 2011; Pérez Hernández, 2013; Pérez Sobrino, 2016, 2017, among others). Forceville (1996, 2012, 2009) and Forceville & Urios- Aparisi (2009) suggest that metaphors and metonymies do not only manifest themselves in language;

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[2] The brand names analyzed in this sample correspond to non-alcoholic drinks. Drinking alcohol in Morocco is forbidden officially.

[3] VOID.fr - Agence de production digitale. "Trademarks." *Office Marocain De La Propriété Industrielle Et Commerciale* /, www.ompic.org.ma/en.

[4] Forceville (1996) suggests that advertisers aim at selling their products, so they cannot permit incorrect interpretations; consequently, they tend to borrow values from desirable domains and attribute them to their product.

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they also occur nonverbally (verbal or pictorial) and multimodally. Multimodal metaphors and metonymies are those with target and source rendered in two different modes. Branding is a type of multimodal discourse, where different modes are used to create meaning: verbal and non-verbal, both linguistic and pictorial.

For our analysis, we first study all the information available in OMPIC about the brand or/and product, since they tend to coincide with the target domain. Subsequently, we focus on the verbal and visual elements for possible source domains that are mapped onto the target domain identified previously. Once the source domain and target domain are singled out, we describe the mode used as monomodal: Pictorial vs. Verbal or as multimodal: Verbo-pictorial. The following step is to provide a verbalization of the metaphor, metonymy or conceptual complexes (metonymic chains) at work. Finally, we identified values which were cognitively introduced. Two previous axiological classifications have been taken into account for their identification: (1) Felices Lago (1991, 1996a) who identified some of the most important classifications of values in philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, modern linguistics and branding and (2) Cortés de los Ríos (2001) who studied and analyzed values in advertising discourse.

In order to present our analysis of axiological values we will use the following table to show each cognitive operation with its corresponding type of modality, verbal elements, pictorial elements and the brand name:

| Cognitive operation | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |

Table 1. Analysis of axiological values.

## 4. Sample analysis and results

In the following lines, an account of the cognitive operations linked to values in Moroccan drink brand names will be given. The results will show that nature, vitality, prestige, eudemonism, generic positive evaluation and authenticity are updated as positive axiological qualities in the selected sample.

### 4.1. Key value: NATURE

The results show that appeals to nature that are widespread in modern advertising (Pérez Sobrino, 2017; Tsai-Feng & Yi- Zhan, 2020) are present in our sample of Moroccan drinks and are reached through comparison by resemblance metaphors, a double metonymy, a metonymic expansion, and metonymic chains.

### 4.1.1. Metaphors

| Comparison metaphors | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **THE DRINK IS A MOUNTAIN** | Verbal | Mountain | | *Mountain juice* |
| **THE DRINK IS A BREEZE** | Verbal | Breeze | | *Breeze* |

Table 2. Comparison by resemblance metaphors of nature value.

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A close insight into the selected sample shows that the nature value is conveyed through verbal comparison by resemblance metaphors. As table 2 shows two metaphors were identified, THE DRINK IS A MOUNTAIN, and THE DRINK IS A BREEZE. Interestingly, both source domains of these metaphors are elements of nature. This resemblance operation maps the relevant attributes of the source domain (breeze, mountain) into the target (drink). In this way a brand name like *Breeze* can be interpreted via the comparison between essential attributes of the domain of the breeze (freshness, element of nature, cool etc.) and some compatible attributes of the product, such as fresh, natural, and cool (see figure 1). By the same token, in *Mountain juice*, a correspondence between the domain of juice and the domain of mountain is established; hence, the natural side characterizing such entity is mapped into the product.
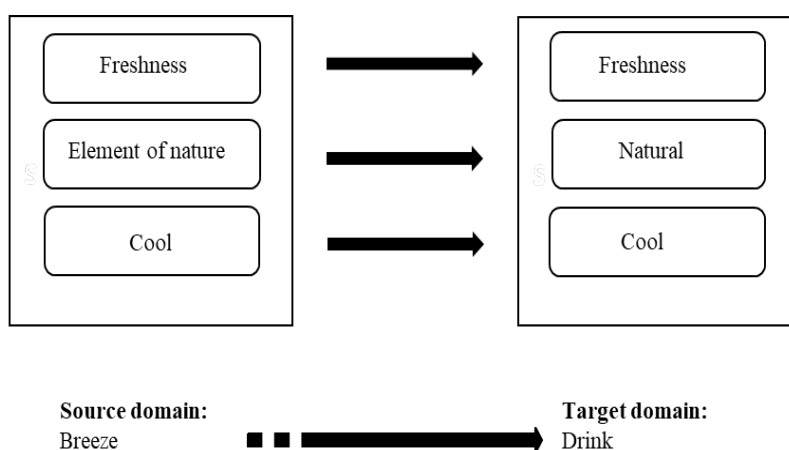


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the comparison metaphor in Breeze.

## 4.1.2. Metonymies

| Metonymies | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand names |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Expansion metonymy* **INGREDIENT FOR PRODUCT** | Verbal | Aloe+ Orange Lemon | | *Aloe +* *Gold Orange* *Le lemon* |
| *Reduction + expansion metonymy* **CITRUS FOR ORANGES FOR PRODUCT** | Verbo-pictorial | Citrus | Oranges | *Citruma* |
| *Metonymic chain* **THE LEAVES FOR NATURE FOR NATURE-FRIENDLY FOR PRODUCT** | Verbo-pictorial | Joosy life Fresh corner Lelemon Marrakech Original | Leaves Leaves Leaves Leaves Leaves | *Joosy life* *Fresh corner* *Lelemon* *Marrakech* *Original* |
| *Metonymic chain* **GREEN FOR NATURE FOR NATURE-FRIENDLY FOR PRODUCT** | Verbo-pictorial | Green | Green color Green color Green color Green color Green color | *Besty* *Miami Tropical* *Green cola* *Citruma* |

Table 3. Types of metonymic cognitive operations of nature value.

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As we can see in table 3, the first of these metonymies INGREDIENT FOR PRODUCT is a verbal expansion metonymy often used to highlight one natural ingredient of the product (lemon, orange, aloe vera). The value of nature is also conveyed by means of verbo-pictorial double metonymic operations, see for instance, *Citruma*, which is a brand created by blending two nouns, namely citrus and Maroc. This brand prompts a reduction plus expansion metonymy: CITRUS FOR ORANGES FOR PRODUCT. *Citrus* is a subordinate term for varieties that include oranges, lemons, limes and grapefruits. A formal higher-level mechanism known as 'selection' plays an important role in reaching a correct interpretation of this brand. As Ruiz de Mendoza (2011: 108) points out, "the selection task, even though cued, is not fully determined by the linguistic expression. There are other contextual factors that play a role". In this example, a successful interpretation of *Citrus* requires selecting only oranges because we know from the context that this company produces orange juices. Hence, this metonymy prompts the generation of appropriate inferences and the activation of relevant and desirable associations about the juice, namely, the nature value (See figure 2):
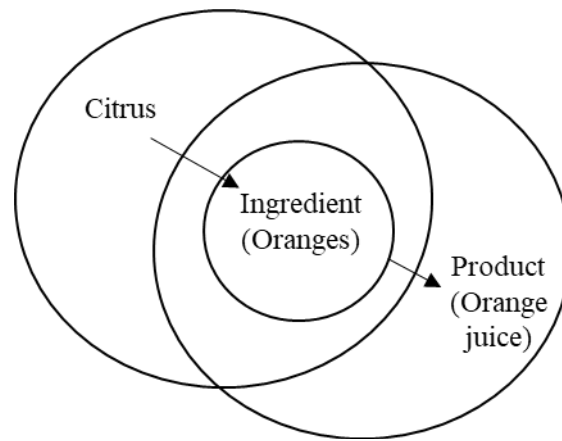


*Figure 2. Expansion metonymy in Citruma.*

The verbo-pictorial surroundings are precisely the ultimate cue to elicit metonymic chains such as LEAVES FOR NATURE FOR NATURE-FRIENDLY FOR PRODUCT. This metonymic complex involves a first metonymic expansion, from LEAVES to a more encompassing domain NATURE and subsequently a metonymic reduction, from NATURE to a more specific domain NATURE-FRIENDLY. Finally, the last mapping NATURE-FRIENDLY FOR PRODUCT (DRINK) involves a consideration of the products as being healthy. This kind of mapping enables the consumer to prompt the connection and feel more engaged to the brand name, hence instead of directly stating that the product is natural, and the company has appeals to ecological, and environmental sustainability, the brand designer uses a leaf and leaves the task to the consumer to reach the intended conclusion. In addition, this value is strongly supported by the following source domain: green. GREEN domain activates the following multimodal metonymic chain: GREEN FOR NATURE FOR NATURE-FRIENDLY FOR PRODUCT. This establishes the perception of the product as nature-friendly, ecological, natural, sustainable and, consequently, healthy. In our sample of drinks, nature value is present in many brands. This means that the value of nature is establishing itself in the Moroccan society. Both metonymic chains are very recurrent in our sample to convey nature value.

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## 4.2. Key value: VITALITY

Vitality value is introduced through correlation metaphors, comparison metaphors, expansion metonymies, and a double expansion metonymy. This value is used in drinks to prompt associations to energy, strength, speed, and health. As will be discussed below, the brand designer uses a variety of source domains (animals, natural phenomena and inanimate objects). It is interesting to note that the verbal mode is the most used one to convey the vitality value, followed by the verbo-pictorial mode. The pictorial mode was only used once as a source domain (strawberry whirlwind) of the correlation metaphor: IMPORTANT IS BIG (see table 4).

### 4.2.1. Metaphors

| Correlation metaphors | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **GOOD IS UP** | Verbal | Good<br>Boost | | *Good burst*<br>*Boost* |
| **IMPORTANT IS BIG** | Pictorial | | Strawberry whirlwind | *Booster juice* |
| | Verbal | *XXL* | | *XXL Energy* |
| **BAD IS DOWN** | Verbal | *Splash* | | *Splash* |

Table 4. Correlation metaphors of the vitality value.

The employment of correlation metaphors: GOOD IS UP and IMPORTANT IS BIG is noteworthy, which evokes feelings of strength/energy, speed, and health. For instance, the word boost which is based on a double expansion metonymy: PART OF CONSTRUCTIONAL FORM (BOOST) FOR WHOLE FORM (BOOST YOUR ENERGY) FOR PRODUCT (see table 6), and on a correlation metaphor GOOD IS UP, combines both energy/strength and speed association. On the other hand, we have one case, in which the brand name *Splash*, may activate undesired negative connotations, building on the correlation metaphor BAD IS DOWN, however, we believe that brand designer's intention is to convey positive associations, hence splash may be interpreted as the EFFECT (REFRESHING) FOR CAUSE (DRINKING THE BEVERAGE).

In the same vein, other brands like *XXL Energy* and *Booster juice* consist of the correlation between size/volume of an object and the value we give to that object when interacting with it (Pérez-Hernández, 2019). In the first brand *XXL energy (Extra Extra large)* the adjective large is used explicitly, however, in *booster juice* no size words are actually used, but the images evoked by "a big strawberry whirlwind" instantiate IMPORTANCE IS SIZE (Grady, 1999). The concept of "importance," however, like most of the notions functioning as target domains of primary metaphors is rather generic and unspecific in meaning (Pérez Hernández, 2019). Consequently, in order to reach a relevant interpretation, a final operation is needed, namely parametrization. This parametrization has to be compatible both with the conceptual nature of the advertised product (i.e., the type of attributes that turn a juice into something important for a consumer), and with other contextual cues, such as information about the company, and the producer. Such

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parametrization requires a metonymic operation EFFECT FOR CAUSE type (see table 6). Hence, importance is made to stand for one of the product attributes or effects depending on the context (refreshing, energizing, tasty, etc.).

The following table summarizes comparison metaphors:

| Comparison metaphors | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **THE DRINK IS A HORSE** | Verbal | Horse | | *Power* horse |
| **THE DRINK IS A FUZE** | Verbal | Fuze | | *Fuze tea* |
| **THE DRINK IS A BULLFIGHTER** | Verbal | Bullfighter | | *Bullfighter* |
| **THE DRINK IS A STRAWBERRY WHIRLWIND** | Verbo-pictorial | | Strawberry Whirlwind | *Booster juice* |
| **THE DRINK IS AN ATOM** | Verbo-pictorial | | Atom | *XXL Energy* |

*Table 5. Comparison by resemblance metaphors of vitality value.*

Vitality value is also conveyed through the use of verbal and multimodal comparison by resemblance metaphors. Different source domains have been used to convey this value: horse, bullfighter, fuze, atom and a strawberry whirlwind. By way of illustration, a fruit juice (*Booster juice)* is designed through a strawberry whirlwind. This image is associated to energy and strength, something that happens very fast, unexpected and causes destruction; however, destruction, which usually holds negative associations, in this case could be perceived positively as an energetic strawberry juice.

In our sample, some brands are equated with human beings, animals and objects to convey axiological values. By way of illustration, take *Power horse* brand name which transmits vitality to the drink (see figure 3). This brand activates the NON-LIVING ENTITIES ARE ANIMALS metaphor. This metaphor is based on the Great Chain of Being, referring to "a scale of forms of being-human, animal, plant, inanimate object" proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 167). They maintain that the Great Chain of Being Metaphor is "[…] a tool of great power and scope because […] it allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well-understood nonhuman attributes; and, conversely, it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics" (ibid.: 172). By this metaphor, products are endowed with the same structural configuration and attributes which originally belong to this animal. Thus, horse functions as a verbal cue for consumers to make a comparison between the traits of a horse (strength, energy, power of endurance) and similar or compatible attributes are parametrized and mapped into the drink (energy, strength, long lasting effect). (See figure 3).
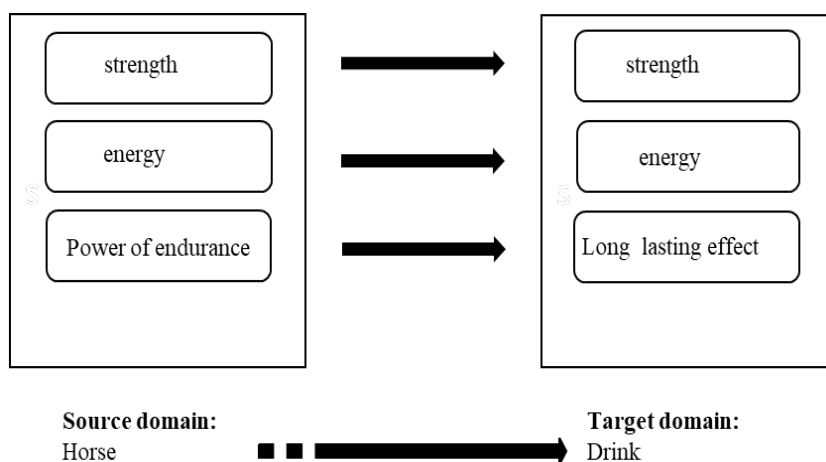
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*Figure 3. Schematic representation of the comparison metaphor in Power horse.*

## 4.2.2. Metonymies

| Metonymies | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Expansion metonymy* **EFFECT FOR CAUSE** | Verbal | Effect | | *Effect* |
| | Verbal | Power | | *Power horse* *XXL Energy* |
| | Verbal | Energy | | *Good burst* *Joosy life* |
| | Verbal | Good burst | | |
| | Verbal | Juicy life | | |
| *Expansion metonymy* **ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT** | Verbal | Fresh | | *Fresh corner* |
| *Double expansion metonymy* **PART (BOOST) FOR WHOLE (BOOST YOUR ENERGY) FOR PRODUCT** | Verbal | *Boost* | | *Boost* |

*Table 6. Types of metonymies in vitality value.*

The EFFECT source domain conveys the vitality value, alluding directly to the benefits the drink delivers; in this case, the energy obtained from drinking the beverage (see figure 4). From a marketing point of view, Aaker (1996) explains that a benefit based on a product attribute that provides functional utility to the customer has direct links to customer decision and experience of use. For drink products, functional benefits, such as power, energy, strength and speed, are the effects of the drink. ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT metonymy (see figure 5) aims at emphasizing health associations through presenting the product as fresh (see *fresh corner*). It is worth noticing that the vitality value is more present in energy and soft drinks than in fruit juice, which is more inclined towards the nature value.
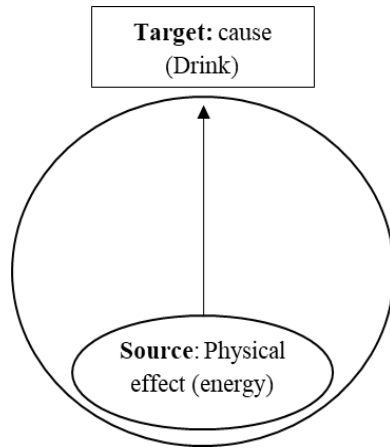
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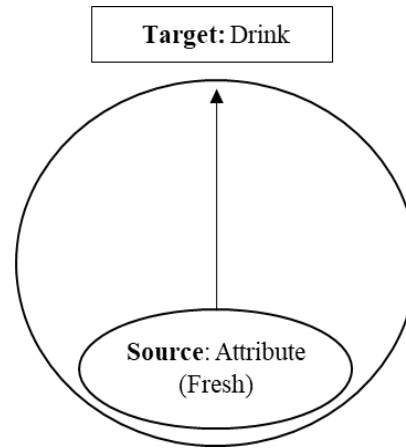
Figure 4. EFFECT FOR CAUSE



Figure 5. ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT

## 4.3. Key value: PRESTIGE

The prestige value is supported by verbal metaphors. Four comparisons by resemblance metaphors were identified alluding to the world of royalty, symbolic wealth, and leadership; thus, presenting the product as a prestigious entity. Different source domains have been used to convey this value: king, gold, star, and captain.

| Comparison metaphor | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **THE DRINK IS A KING** | Verbal | King | | *King fruit* |
| **THE DRINK IS GOLD** | Verbal | Gold | | *Gold Orange* |
| **THE DRINK IS A STAR** | Verbal | Star | | *Star soda* |
| **THE DRINK IS A CAPTAIN** | Verbal | Captain | | *Captain* |

*Table 7. Comparison by resemblance metaphors of prestige value.*

As can be observed from the examples presented in table (7), the prestige value is conveyed by means of a verbal comparison by resemblance metaphor referring to an outstanding cultural entity or category, such as the world of royalty. Likewise, *King Fruit,* for instance, is not a juice aimed only for kings, but it will be understood as an exclusive, high-quality juice that even kings might drink due to its quality and flavor. Another interesting source domain is GOLD, which is a positive highly valued entity in almost all cultures (*Gold Orange*). Through a verbal comparison metaphor (see figure 6), the target domain (drink) inherits the touch of top quality, expensiveness, exclusiveness that is associated with the source domain (gold) and, consequently, the target domain will be downplayed to be understood as promising the same degree of quality and exclusiveness. The semantic output of this conceptual projection is later on parameterized so that the consumer can grasp the right interpretation. For instance, expensiveness of gold is parametrized onto the nutritional value of the product. The origin of gold "earth" is in turn parametrized and metonymically made to stand for natural ingredients.

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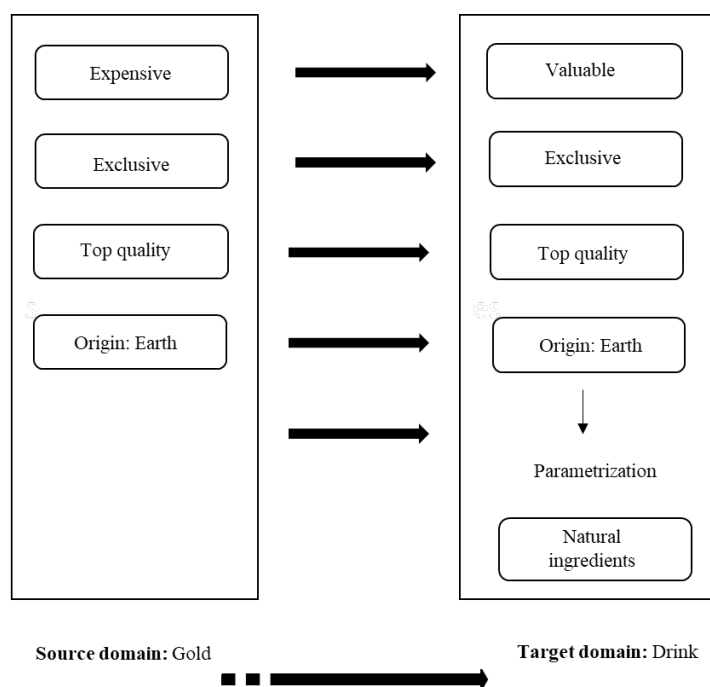*A linguistic analysis of the dominant axiological values in Moroccan drink brand names*

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*Figure 6. Comparison by resemblance metaphor in Gold orange.*

The prestige value is also aimed at presenting the product and company as leaders in their domain through two verbal source domains: STAR and CAPTAIN. By way of illustration, let us consider the comparison by resemblance metaphor THE DRINK IS A STAR (see figure 7). Nowadays the star is considered as a symbol of leadership and top quality. This brand name is based on a comparison operation by resemblance that maps the conceptual fabric of NON-LIVING ENTITIES (star) onto the product, thus enriching the target with relevant features of the source (top quality, leadership, energizing properties of nature), that were parametrized in order to reach the intended meaning of the drink.
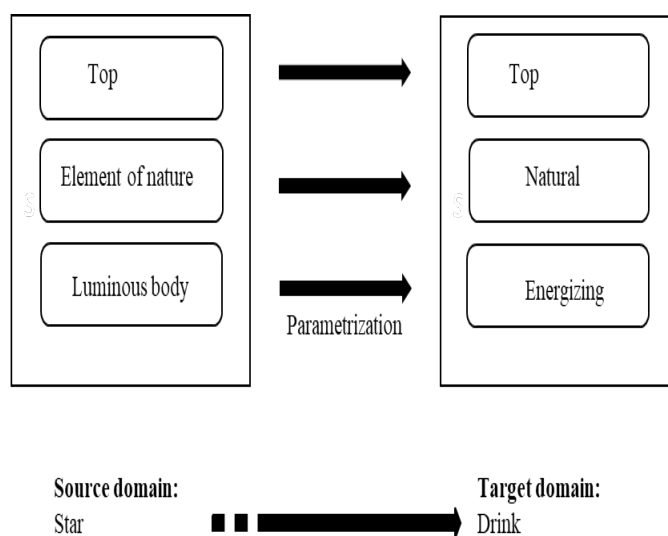


*Figure 7. Comparison by resemblance metaphor in Star soda.*

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In addition, the source domain star comprises the notion of a verticality image schema GOOD IS UP. Consequently, the positive experiences related to spatially UP orientation are generated by the customer. Therefore, the combination of comparison and correlation operations make the brand name wealthier in terms of positive connotations rather than presenting the verticality image schema in a more literal way.

Finally, THE DRINK IS A CAPTAIN metaphor is cued with the human domain, captain. This brand is equated with human beings. Hence, all human attributes are mapped onto the product. Consequently, the product is presented as bearing the same properties and abilities pertaining to that person, who is a leader. Those properties need to be further parametrized to fit its own conceptual structure. In consequence, this property of leadership should be parametrized into a product that dominates the market against its competitors. As Koller (2009: 62) explains: "branding messages use personification to aid cognitive processing of the brand concept, compressing the complex system that is a corporation into an abstract bundle of characteristics and making this abstraction graspable by linking it to human personality as the source domain."

## 4.4. Key value: EUDEMONISM[5]

Eudemonism value is conveyed via correlation metaphors and expansion metonymies. The verbal cue fun (*Fun cola*) and the pictorial smiling mouth (*Smoothy*) functions as the vehicle for the representation of the effect (i.e. Happy) conforming to the source domain of the metaphor HAPPY IS UP.

### 4.4.1. Metaphors

| Correlation metaphor | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **HAPPY IS UP** | Verbal | Fun | | *Fun cola* |
| **HAPPY IS UP** | Pictorial | | Smiling mouth | *Smoozy* |

*Table 8. Correlation metaphors in eudemonism value.*

### 4.4.2. Metonymies

| Metonymy | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Expansion metonymy* **EFFECT FOR CAUSE** | Verbal | Fun | | *Fun cola* |
| **EFFECT FOR CAUSE** | Pictorial | | Smiling mouth | *Smoozy* |

*Table 9. Metonymies in eudemonism value.*

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[5]    Eudemonism value is integrated in what is known as hedonism (Felices Lago, 1996b). It refers to happiness.

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The association between being in a high position and feeling happy is the motivation behind the correlation metaphor HAPPY IS UP, usually up-word orientation of the body or the mouth stands for happiness (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This conceptual metaphor can be seen in linguistic expressions such as to feel up, to be on cloud nine, to be high, and others. When we are happy, we tend to be physically up, moving around, being active, jumping up and down, smiling (i.e., turn up the corners of the mouth), rather than down, inactive, and static, and so forth. Moreover, the relation between the primary metaphor and the product is established by presenting the latter as the cause or origin of the happiness, through the expansion metonymy: EFFECT FOR CAUSE. The target domain of the primary metaphor (HAPPINESS) is also made explicit verbally in brands, such as *Fun Cola* or through pictorial cues like the smiling mouth in *Smoozy*.

## 4.5. Key value: GENERIC POSITIVE EVALUATION

Generic positive evaluation is directly related to the expansion metonymy ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT, which aims at emphasizing the quality of the product. The following table presents expansion metonymy with their corresponding modality and brand names:

| Metonymy | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Expansion metonymy* | Verbal | *Best* | | *Besty* |
| **ATTRIBUTE FOR** | Verbal | *Cool* | | *Cool* |
| **PRODUCT** | Verbal | *Original* | | *Original* |

Table 10. Expansion metonymy in generic positive evaluation.

Generic positive evaluation is verbalized explicitly with no metaphorical link. Generic positive associations are conveyed by means of ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT metonymy. Branding professionals in order to attract potential customers, employ values to facilitate the decision-making process and induce people to buy products (Diehl *et al.*, 2015), and the easiest way to do so is through employing generic evaluations, like being good, excellent, nice, of premium quality, etc.

## 4.6. Key value: AUTHENTICITY

Source domains of places are the main activators for authenticity value via a double expansion metonymy.

| Metonymy | Modality | Verbal elements | Pictorial elements | Brand name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Double expansion metonymy | | | | |
| **PLACE FOR SOURCE** | Verbal | Maroc | | *Citruma* |
| **FOR PRODUCT** | Verbal | Marrakesh | | *Marrakesh* |
| | Verbal | Oulmes | | *Ouelmes* |

Table 11. Double expansion metonymy in authenticity value.

The authenticity value is based on a double expansion metonymy, which is directly verbalized through a metonymic theme: the place of origin. This value was introduced frequently to communicate the original aspect of the product and, by extension, its purity and good quality. For illustration purposes, let us consider *Ouelmes,* which is a mineral water brand. Ouelmes is a village located in northern area of Morocco, known for its fruit crops (apple trees, pears, cherries, etc.) and being a producer of dry Lavender flowers and

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chamomile for perfumery, and mineral waters. This verbal cue activates a metonymic relation that lands itself on a double target-in-source metonymy is PLACE FOR SOURCE FOR PRODUCT. In brand management, this strategy is referred to as "Country of Origin Branding" (COOB). (See figure 8).
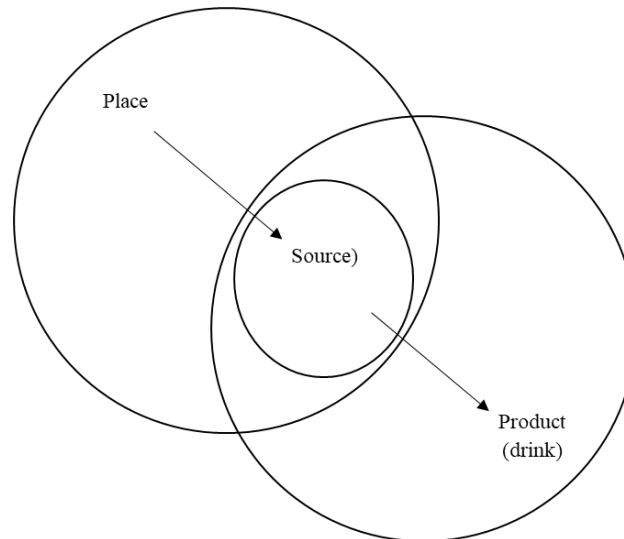


*Figure 8. Double expansion metonymy PLACE FOR SOURCE FOR PRODUCT in drink brand names.*

Brand designers apply place names to refer to the source of the product. Generally, consumers are ready to spend more money for a branded product from a COOB with a more favourable country image. Hence, naming a product *Maroc, Marakesh, or Ouelmes* etc. acts as a signal of product quality because that country or city has a heritage in making the best within that product class, which directly affects the likelihood of purchase (Koschate-Fischer *et al.* 2012).

## 5. Conclusions

Our findings demonstrate the power of cognitive operations in enhancing the suggestiveness of the brands. Also, they result in the generation of axiologically positive associations. Our findings support Felices Lago's (1996a) claim that the creation of most brand names serves to denote a special positive value or suggest various meaning associations, mostly positive ones. To answer our initial RQs, we extract the ensuing main conclusions from our study:

The analysis of the Moroccan drink's brands revealed six dominant axiological values in descending order of types: *nature, vitality, prestige, eudemonism, generic positive evaluation, and authenticity v*erbalising how good, prestigious, natural or healthy the product is, by either a metonymic link or establishing a metaphorical link with a domain that conventionally represents the desired quality; for instance, the world of royalty to convey prestige. The combined cognitive-axiological analysis in this study helps us to reach the following conclusions in broad terms:

(I)   Nature value establishes the perception of the product as nature-friendly, ecological, natural and, consequently, healthy. This value can be perceived by the readership with the help of cognitive tools, such as comparison metaphors by resemblance, metonymic chains, expansion metonymies and double metonymies. Nature-friendly is nowadays the trend, and the Moroccan society is no exception as the brand designers are trying to implement this value in Moroccan national drink products.

(II)  Vitality value alludes directly to the benefits the drink delivers, in this case, the energy/strength obtained from drinking

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the beverage. This value is more present in energy and soft drinks than in fruit juice, which is more inclined towards the nature value. The employment of correlation metaphors GOOD IS UP and IMPORTANT IS BIG is also significant, evoking feelings of strength/energy, health and speed. The most representative domains to convey the vitality values mentioned in table (5) are fuze, bullfighter, strawberry whirlwind, horse and atom. With regard to metonymic mapping, EFFECT FOR CAUSE is used to communicate positive effects, such as energy, strength, and speed. ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT aims at emphasizing the quality of the product.

(III) The prestige value is supported by verbal metaphors. Four comparisons by resemblance metaphors were identified alluding to the world of royalty, symbolic wealth, and leadership; thus, presenting the product as a prestigious entity. The most recurrent domains to convey the prestige value are the following: gold, king, star and captain.

(IV) Eudemonism value is conveyed via correlation metaphors and expansion metonymies. The verbal cue fun and the pictorial smiling mouth functions as the vehicle for the representation of the effect (i.e. Happy) conforming to the source domain of the metaphor HAPPY IS UP.

(V) The generic positive evaluation is communicated through the ATTRIBUTE FOR PRODUCT expansion metonymy. To attract potential customers, branding professionals employ values to facilitate the decision-making process and induce people to buy products (Diehl et al. 2015). The easiest way to do so is through employing generic evaluations, such as goodness, excellence, niceness, and portraying the product as of premium quality.

(VI) Authenticity value is reinforced by the double expansion metonymy PLACE FOR SOURCE FOR PRODUCT. By means of this metonymic operation, the place functions as a cue which prompts the generation of appropriate inferences and the activation of relevant and desirable associations; hence, the place serves as a reference point to communicate the original aspect of the product and, by extension, its purity and high quality.

With regard to cognitive operations, domain expansion metonymy is the most frequent conceptual operation in the construction of drink brand meaning. Additionally, our results in section 4 confirm previous findings of metonymy being as important as metaphor in advertising (Panther *et al.* 2009; Pérez Sobrino 2017, among others). Comparison metaphors follow in number. Correlation metaphor, metonymic chains, and double metonymies though used to a lesser extent, still appear in a large number of brand names in the selected sample. Nonetheless, no instances of reduction metonymy were found, and it is largely outnumbered by its converse operation, expansion metonymy.

The results indicate a general tendency to favour the verbal mode, especially in expansion metonymy. As we explained elsewhere, most expansion metonymies in our sample are creatively exploited for the promotion of product features; thus, the verbal mode explicitly and directly states those characteristics of the product, such as freshness, the best in the market, or its effect, such as power, energy, and strength.

Correlation metaphor is the only operation exclusively rendered in the monomodal pictorial mode. An example from our sample is the pictorial smiling mouth, which acts as cue that activates the correlation metaphor HAPPY IS UP. Correlation metaphors do not have the product as their target domain because they are experiential and embodied in nature. However, the connection between them and the product is established in a specific way that reveals a close interaction with other cognitive metonymic operations as the EFFECT FOR CAUSE expansion metonymy. Hence, this distinctive feature of correlation metaphors makes the pictorial mode a good candidate for their construction.

While expansion metonymy, double expansion metonymy, correlation and comparison metaphor show several similarities in terms of verbal modality, metonymic chains seem to behave distinctly. As a matter of fact, the multimodal verbo-pictorial mode outnumbered its converse, namely, the monomodal verbal mode.

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This could find explanation in the fact that the source domain of multimodal metonymic chains is usually visual (see, for instance, the leaves or the green colour) while the target domain is either of a verbal nature.

Finally, this study has some limitations. We examined only a small sample of drink brand names. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that Morocco is a developing country and the manufacturing pace is slow, thus, not many national products are manufactured; which resulted in a small sample of drink brand names. Therefore, the results may not be applicable to make generalizations about values in Moroccan drinks branding. However, marketing and cognitive linguistics scholars have emphasized that the use and effectiveness of advertising appeals differ by product category. Hence, it would also be of interest to investigate in more details the role played by other product types, such as the differences between physical goods and shopping goods. Another alternative would be to identify what specific source domains are used for each type of products. Finally, closely connected to the same point would be a study of recurrent values and how they are encoded in other product categories, such as food, cosmetics, clothing, etc.

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# Appendix

Brand names which compile our selected sample

| Brand names | Year of publication |
| --- | --- |
| Aloe+ | 2017 |
| Besty | 2011 |
| Boost | 2013 |
| Booster juice | 2013 |
| Breeze | 2010 |
| Bullfighter | 2013 |
| Captain | 2013 |
| Cool | 2010 |
| Citruma | 2010 |
| Effect | 2013 |
| Fresh corner | 2017 |
| Fun-cola | 2010 |
| Fuze tea | 2016 |
| Good burst | 2011 |
| Green cola | 2017 |
| Gold orange | 2017 |
| Joosy life | 2017 |
| King fruit | 2014 |
| Lelemon | 2016 |
| Marrakech | 2017 |
| Miami tropical | 2011 |
| Mountain- juice | 2017 |
| Original | 2020 |
| Power horse | 2014 |
| Smoozy | 2017 |
| Splash | 2017 |
| Star soda | 2014 |
| XXL Energy | 2012 |
| Ouelmes | 2011 |