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"Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication" or half a century of IT consumer identity formation: A pragmatics approach

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the genesis and modification of IT consumer's identity (ITCI) in terms of certain pragmatic properties of Apple's slogans. Drawing on Barthes's concept of mythologization, underpinned by theories of personal archetypes and Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the study identified ITCI-descriptors – stylistically and pragmatically connotated meanings, associated with the advertised product or customer characteristics, related to ITCI formation.

Initial ITCI construction relies on cognitive needs and the Explore archetype, based on customer-associated descriptor "creativeness", marked by disregard for cooperative maxims, by oxymorons, allusions, puns and aposiopesis, iconically reproducing non-standard thinking. Subsequent stages involve the Seeker archetype hybridization with the Trickster archetype, related to ludic stylistics, paradoxes, non sequitur, and occasionalisms-compounding. Currently creativity-based identity gives way to universalization-based ITCI marked by positive politeness, indirect commissives, pronouns of inclusiveness, indefiniteness, and metonymic identification of the product with its owner. Product-associated descriptors are at the core of the ITCI field of needs. Peripheral is the need for respect, even more peripheral is the need for in-group affiliation and cognitive needs.

Keywords: IT consumer's identity, advertising slogan, historical development, pragmatics, stylistics.

1. Introduction

The problem of formation and transformation of consumer identities, negotiated within social, technological, globalization processes remains

of the upmost interest for interdisciplinary and linguistic studies since it contributes to the complex of theoretical issues of discursive, narrative, semiotic, symbolic, interactive, multimodal mechanisms of the identities construction and manifestation and in the applied sense – for tracking and predicting the dynamics of consumerism and its impact on the motivational structures of consumer identities, including in the transnational perspective. In contemporary studies such identity is specified primarily as a discursive construct, which changes with the rearticulation of discourse meanings (Hammack 2008: 2) as well as continuous (Cherrier – Murray 2007; Elliott 2004), interminable (Gabriel – Lang 2006), narrative (Ahuvia 2005; Marion – Nairn 2011; Mikkonen et al. 2011) and symbolically projective (Mikkonen et al. 2011) phenomena. That is, different approaches to the study of identity emphasize its dynamic, changeable nature, dependence on global processes of society, discourses and culture.

The problem of the genesis and historical development of IT consumer identity (ITCI) in the tangible time frame of the last fifty years is associated with a paradigmatic rethinking of linguistic approaches to the study of identity.

Viewed from a cognitive-discursive approach in its semiotic framework, the construction of consumer identity is not so much influenced by linguistic variations and sociolinguistic variables such as social class, gender, and space within speech communities, as by conceptual rearticulations within the discourses, which create their target identity. Discourses promoting transnational technologies focus on creating transnational consumer identity. One of them is the Apple advertising discourse, which over the past half century has been constructing its target transnational consumer with the involvement of such universal human resources as unexpected, often provocative stylistic and pragmatic devices, universal narratives and intertextuality, symbolic archetypal codes, music, and other multimodal resources.

The evolution of such an identity, specified from a linguistic and pragmatic point of view is the main focus of this study.

The novelty of the research lies in the analysis of the slogans of Apple's multimodal advertising discourse from 1976 to the present from the point of view of their pragmatic and stylistic characteristics that reveal strategies for the formation of a "project" consumer identity with an emphasis on conflict, strengthening, weakening, and development of ITCI structural elements at different stages of its actualization. An additional perspective of the research is the interdisciplinary analysis of the identified components from the point of view of the corresponding personality archetypes in projection on the dynamics of ITCI motivations based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

2. Literature review

The article integrates a pragmatic and stylistic analysis of Apple's slogans with Barthes's (1973) concept of the second-level signification and mythologization, in terms of the formation of consumer values by Apple's discourse. The values that make up the second level of the signification-mythologization of the Apple discourse are analyzed in two dimensions: from the point of view of their encoding by verbal and pragmatic markers and in the discursive and semiotic aspect – in connection with the construction of consumer identity by appealing to its value motives.

With that in mind, the theoretical-methodological premises of the paper involve (a) the studies which specify the processes of identities construction and manifestation within different research paradigms; (b) the study of discourse-constructed and identity-forming mythologemes associated with IT products, which are "alienated" from these products' functional purpose, being superseded by the target identity values. At this stage of analysis, the paper partially employs the concept of the personal archetypes as patterns of behavior and motivation, consistent with the projected ITCI values and needs, as well as Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

Let us briefly turn to the analysis of each of these research approaches.

A conceptual framework for identity construction from a pragmatics perspective involves two main scholarly strands, which can roughly be termed as "interactive" and "discourse-constructionistic" (semiotic). Within the first interactionist paradigm the identity construction is closely associated with the notion of performance, when identity as membership in various categories is constructed, assumed, attributed or resisted in the process of discursive interaction. In other words, 'constructing identities' is viewed as a kind of social and 'discursive work' (Kravchenko – Pasternak 2018; Zimmerman – Wieder 1970).

The "discourse-constructionistic" approach is more consistent with the specifics of the paper due to the impossibility of tracking interactive feedback from the advertising consumer. This approach views identity as a discursive construction (Bamberg et al. 2011), taking into account the interrelated processes of constructing identities through discourses and the formation of discourses by identity actors in a wide historical and institutional context (Fairclough 1992).

The socio-semiotic perspective (Dunn – Neumann 2016; Hodge – Kress 1988; Kress 2010; van Leeuwen 2005) makes it possible to explain the influence of advertising discourse in its "world-modeling" properties on the creation of consumer identity by constructing, maintaining and

transforming its underlying values. In this connection, the social-semiotic approach is consistent with the concept of the second level of signification and mythologization, introduced by R. Barthes (1973) – considering the relationship "product (denotative meaning – signifier) – value meaning attributed to it (connotative signified) – the target identity component associated with connotative signified". According to Barthes, the meaning (first signified) generated by the linguistic code, which designates the goods or service, becomes a form (a signifier) for the new signified – a concept that "alienates" the "natural" function of the goods and replaces the initial denotative meaning with its associating values.

In the third (mythological or ideological) order of signification, a set of constructed signs-connotatums or mythologemes forms a discursive mythology, creating a "worldview, one of the "possible worlds", positioning the modeled reality as objective and non-alternative" (Kravchenko et al. 2020a: 315-316). Such a possible world becomes a picture of the world that determines one or another type of consumer identity.

Based on Erikson's definition, that identity "connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (Erikson 1980: 109) and bearing in mind that archetype motivations can interact with the main components of ITCI, the article uses the concept of personal archetypes as psychologically motivated mental models, such as schemes and prototypes of oneself or others, acting on an automatic or unconscious level (Lindenfeld 2009).

In particular, the research employs the taxonomies of the basic archetypes, borrowed from archetype psychology (Jung 1969, 1971; Pearson 2015) and "neo-archetypal theory" (Faber – Mayer 2009), which are widely used in branding and advertising marketing. Since ITCI motives are ultimately built on main human needs, the paper partly addresses Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943, 1970a, 1970b).

3. Database and methods

The approach taken in this study introduces and uses the operational unit "identity descriptor" or, in the context of this article, the ITCI descriptor, which is understood as representing a stylistically and pragmatically connotated meaning, referring either to the advertised product property or to the target customer characteristic that motivates the choice of product premised on a certain structural component of its consumer identity.

The material includes Apple's slogans, sampled from the company's advertising discourse from 1976 to the present. For the analysis, 100 slogans that together provide a holistic idea of the Apple strategies for constructing its target consumer identity were selected – taking into account the ITCI structural components and the dynamics of their development and transformation over almost half a century. The main criterion for the selection of material was the criterion of diversification of consumer values and mythologemes encoded with slogans, combined with the criterion of representation of various historical periods of the company's development and corresponding advertising projects. At the same time, slogans, which in different versions signify the same consumer values, were excluded from the sample. Considering that many of Apple's slogans reflect similar values, such slogans were sorted out according to a criterion for combining similar values as hyponyms of one hyperonymic value. For example, slogans *1,000 songs in your pocket*, *Tune your run*, *Clip and go*, etc. actualize the same value – convenience / ease of use, highlighting different aspects of this meaning at the level of contextual connotations.

The integrative method of analysis encompasses (a) methods of stylistic analysis (Simpson 2014) to identify stylistically highlighted connotative meanings associated with the descriptor of either the mythological value of goods / services, or the basic characteristic of the target customer, underlying a specific structural component of ITCI; (b) pragmatic analysis based on Grice's theory of cooperativeness (1975, 1989) and conversational implicature (Bach 2010, 2012; Potts 2015) as well as speech act theory (Austin 1970; Searle 1969) and explanatory tools of the Politeness theory (Brown – Levinson 1987; Leech 2014) with reference to Relevance Theory (Wilson – Sperber 2004; Carston 2004), having in mind some connotative correlations between the pragmatically indexed directness-indirectness, distance or proximity, coherence-incoherence, relevance-irrelevance, etc. and verbally encoded motivational descriptors; (c) intertextual analysis aimed at inferencing the allusion, encoding by slogans, and interpreting the slogan implicature (if available) within the context of the Apple advertising discourse of a particular period; and it incorporates (a) elements of social-semiotic analysis in terms of Barthes's signification levels – to identify mythological properties of the goods associated with a particular component of the project identity; and (b) elements of archetypal analysis to specify the identity descriptors correlation with certain personal archetypes (Faber – Mayer 2009; Jung 1971; Pearson 2015; Shadraconis 2013).

In the present investigation, the interaction between pragmatics and discourse analysis is also of some interest, which is studied using the concept of optimal relevance, taking into account various types of contextual effects. In this respect, the relevant context is the discourse of a particular advertising company, which can enhance, maintain, eliminate, etc., the meaning denoted or connotated by the slogan. Here, the attraction of the optimally relevant context correlates with the concept of intertextual analysis "bridging the gap between texts and contexts" put forward in the framework of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995: 188). Thus, intertextuality is examined in this discussion both in a narrow sense (as a stylistic device) and in a broad sense – as the interaction of the value sense of the slogan with the integral context of an advertising campaign of a certain period. On the other hand, in view of the innovative figurativeness of the Apple slogans, the notions of the optimally relevant context and its pertinent intertextuality are reinterpreted in this paper from the viewpoint of the Optimal Innovation Hypothesis (Shuval – Giora 2005) – with due attention to the scale of stimuli associated with different stages of the Apple discourse and its target identity construction.

The data analysis involves five consecutive stages.

The first stage consists in the identification of the samples of the research material, representing different consumer values of the Apple discourse and being marked by particular stylistic and pragmatic properties.

The second stage involves the pragmatic analysis of the slogans of different temporal spans, revealing the markers of (a) cooperative maxims adherence or disregard which resulted in discursive implicatures; (b) positive or negative politeness strategies; (c) direct / indirect speech acts, and their illocutionary force – to specify the pragmatic properties impact on connoting the meaning of distance, proximity, fidelity, ambiguity, etc. associated with pragmatic facet of the ITCI descriptor. Where the maxims' flout the implicature-associated inference, the hypotheses are verified within the context of the whole discourse of the corresponding advertising campaign in terms of optimal relevance and cognitive effects of strengthening, contradiction, or eliminating an assumption, triggered by insufficiency, untruthfulness, incoherence, intransparency of information expressed by the slogan.

The third stage consists in revealing the stylistic properties of slogans associated with the connotated quality or value that are important for accentuation / construction of a certain type (structural component) of ITCI. Investigating the interface of stylistic and pragmatic means with the

characteristics of consumer identities, this study partially draws on research on the iconic or indexical properties of verbal and pragmatic resources (Bordron 2011; Holzscheiter 2014; Kravchenko – Zhykharieva 2020). Herein, we take the view that the isomorphism of a certain structural component of consumer identity may function as a means of its actualization.

In particular, different expressive and pragmatic means are aimed at attracting different psycho-emotional types of people. Non-standard puns, oxymorons or sophisticated allusions are targeted at ITCI, interested in the product-associated creativity. The pragmatics of such slogans presupposes the cooperative maxims flouting and inference of discursive implicature, requiring additional cognitive efforts. On the other hand, laconic, informative messages based on distance-reducing directives and positive politeness strategies are rather aimed at the needs of belongingness to a certain in-group identity consisting of clients and the Apple team.

The fourth stage of research focuses on the interpretation of the identified ITCI descriptors in terms of their associated personal archetypes as patterns of consumer behavior, as well as on the framework of Maslow's hierarchy of motivations.

The fifth stage consists in the generalization and interpretation of the results obtained at the previous stages of the analysis from the point of view of the distribution of stylistic and pragmatic stimuli on the scale of optimal innovation and pleasure - taking into account different parameters of "familiarity".

The sixth stage of the analysis consists in comparing the ITCI descriptors typical for different stages of the construction of consumer identities – in order to identify patterns and trends in articulation, rearticulation, exclusion, etc. structural components of ITCI, formed by the Apple discourse.

3.1 First stage of IT consumer identity formation: Affiliation, creativity, or security?

The first stage of IT consumer identity construction is based on two key customer-associated descriptors, i.e. "creativity" and "in-group affiliation", as well as on the secondary, product-associating descriptors, whose actualization is based on connotations, and is foregrounded by stylistic and pragmatic devices as displayed by the Table 1. A connotated meaning, referring either to the characteristics of a product or to a characteristic of the target customer, is aimed at motivating the choice of a product by appealing to a certain structural component of its consumer identity.

So, descriptors have more to do with the motivational needs of the targeted INCI that unites Apple customers than with the characteristics of the advertised product itself. In other words, the signified meanings associated with the slogans are as follows: Apple IT products symbolize the creativity of their owners; Apple IT products symbolize a special group identity. As the research material has shown, the Apple discourse of the first period of the ITCI formation links these two meanings: creativity is a sign of the group identity of those who own the Apple product.

To create this level of symbolization (mythologization), the employed stylistic and pragmatic devices iconically reproduce non-standard thinking at the level of meaning, form and connotation, which is confirmed by the use of oxymorons, allusions, and discursive implicatures, based on the flouting of the cooperative maxims, as shown in Table 1.

In our opinion, the descriptor "creativity" more accurately conveys the Apple message at the first and, partially, the second stages of constructing the target consumer identity than the descriptors "cleverness" and "intelligence". Various definitions (WB, CELD) of the lexeme "creativity" highlight in its meaning the key seme "novelty", in contrast to the words 'cleverness' and "intelligence", the meanings of which do not contain this seme at the level of denotative or connotative components.

Table 1. Descriptors of the first stage of the ITCI formation: Pragmatic and stylistic facets (1976-1996)

Identity descriptors		
Customer-associated descriptors		
Creativeness		
Slogan	Pragmatics	Stylistic devices
Byte into an Apple. (1970s)	Distance-reducing directive as a marker of positive politeness proximity; Disregard for maxim of manner: discursive implicature: (denotative level) the apple company is attributed to as the computer technology symbol; Connotative (Apple – symbol of creativity).	a pun on the word "bite" (bite) and "byte"

Simplicity is the Ultimate Sophistication. (Late 1970s/1980s)	Oxymoron implicature: 1) technological sophistication is hidden behind apparent ease of use; 2) beauty and elegancy form (aesthetic needs satisfaction)	Oxymoron, intensified by attributive "ultimate"; Intertextual allusion on the Leonard da Vinci's words "All ingenious is simple".
Why 1984 won't be like… '1984'	Disregard for maxim of quantity (tautology) and Manner of information, triggering the implicature: Apple is preparing something special this year	Aposiopesis; allusion to the J. Orwell's novel, which serves as an ostensive stimulus for inference about the upcoming changes, which is reinforced and developed in the context of Apple's discourse, where IBM embodies totalitarianism and tyranny in the computer industry associated with the "big brother" from George Orwell. And Apple, respectively, personifies a new and revolutionary IT Maker
need for "in-group" affiliation		
Soon there will be 2 kinds of people. Those who use computers, and those who use Apples. (Early 1980s)	Disregard for maxim of quantity of information (lack of information explaining why it will be so); Indirect comissive containing an illocutionary promise to construct the "in-group"; Indirect commissive as a positive politeness marker.	Implicit antithesis, parallel anaphoric structures of opposing the in-group (Apple users) and out-group (users of other products). Parcellation to emphasize and specify the subsequent information.
The Computer for the rest of us (1984)	Disregard for maxim of quantity of information. Positive politeness strategy of asserting common ground and assuming reciprocity.	Inclusive "we" as an in-group marker; ellipsis.

Of the 235 million people in America, only a fraction know how to use a computer. Macintosh is for the rest of us.	With the above slogan, most Americans are involved in the circle of "their" Disregard for maxim of quantity of information, marked by the second phrase, triggers the discursive implicature "Unlike other computers, Macintosh is easy to use". In combination with relevant context (preceding phrase) this implicature results in contextual implications: most Americans can use it < the rest of Americans is involved in the designed group of the Apple user 4 Positive politeness strategy of asserting common ground	1) semantic technique of evidentiality based on bringing statistical data; 2) marked theme (in Halliday's terms) as non-coincidence of the beginning of a phrase with a phrasal subject to emphasize a particular information; 3) inclusive pronoun in inclusive construction "for the rest of us"
Individuality, internalization of goods as a personal value		
The Power to Be Your Best (1990)	Positive politeness strategy of asserting the concern for the addressee's wants and needs; Indirect comissive speech act	1) Nominative sentence; 2) capitalization to highlight each word of the slogan as an important semantic component; 3) informal possessive *your* as a form of simulated personal address
What's on your PowerBook is YOU, 1992	Disregard for the maxims of quantity and manner of information resulted in implicature: "our product is a part of you"; Positive politeness strategy of presupposing the addressee's knowledge	Capitalization, Inversion, YOU as simulated personal appeal; Visual video support as a set of personal narratives about irreplaceability of PowerBook

product-associated descriptors		
multifunctionality, simplicity, availability		
It does more, It costs less. It's that simple" 1993	Adherence to the maxims of information in explicating the goods characteristics; Indirect commissive as a positive politeness marker.	Simple laconic sentences with anaphoric beginning, expanded by one member – an attribute denoting the advertised quality, reinforced by the antithesis.

With that in mind the choice of the descriptor "creativity" can be supported by the set of arguments. First, the primary version of the logo - with the image of Isaac Newton, and a quote from William Wordsworth, "Newton … a mind forever voyaging through strange seas of thought", written on the frame of the logo, foregrounds the idea of creativity more than any other ideas since Newton and "his" apple is associated more with the idea of a revolutionary discovery in science than with science itself. Second, the rapid evolution of the logo into the polysemantic and ambivalent image of a bitten apple associates not so much with knowledge (of good and evil) as with temptation (in our case, with temptation of the customer for a new revolutionary product). Even if we use the first interpretation (the fruit of sacred knowledge), then such a metaphorical association of revolutionary IT technologies with the forbidden fruit of knowledge is a manifestation of the advertiser's creativity, respectively aimed at a client with a corresponding motivational need. Third, the "rainbow version", of Apple, which iconically refers to the world's first computer with a color display, also emotionally connotates the meaning of creativity. Fourth, creativity is manifested by linguistic and pragmatic devices, as shown by the Table 1, including a pun (*bite / byte*), associating *a bite* with *a byte* - metonymical representation of a tech company, the use of oxymoron, aposiopesis, tautology, resulting in flouting of the cooperative maxims and triggering of discursive implicatures. Finally, a further development of the idea inherent in the descriptor "creativity" is one of the key slogans of the second stage of the Apple consumer identity formation - *Think different*.

At the same time, a strategy of in-group affiliation is implemented not only through the tactics of specialness (associated with creativity), but also through the opposite tactics of universalization – with the aim of expanding the "inner group" at the expense of ordinary people, in addition to the creative

and non-standard-minded customers. The tactics of universalization are carried out by ascribing to the goods the connotative meaning of "personal value" associated with its individualization-interiorization in the value system of the identity of the target consumer: a product for any taste, for any purpose, for every person – from a housewife to a professional to a celebrity.

The tactics of universalization via individualization rely, respectively, on the verbal markers of both inclusiveness (the pronoun *we* in different cases and in the possessive form: *Macintosh is for the rest of us***)** and individualization (the informal *you* and its possessive form as a manner of simulated personal address: *The Power to Be Your Best*), realizing the fourth (Use in-group markers), fourteenth (assume or assert reciprocity) and ninth (assert, presuppose addressee's knowledge and concern for addressee/s wants) positive-politeness strategies. The main pragmatic result at this stage of ITCI construction is the product signification as a metonymic manifestation of the personality of its owner: *What's on your PowerBook is YOU*. For this purpose, the advertising company additionally uses multimodal narratives of "real" people, celebrities, a certain fictional family, thanks to which the product is attributed the property of an irreplaceable "part" of the personalities of those for whom it is intended.

To a much lesser extent, at this stage, strategies for constructing consumer identity are presented by ITCI descriptors, highlighting the properties of the product itself. Such strategies are pragmatically marked by adherence to the maxims of information in explicating the goods' characteristics, and stylistically by partial parallelism with anaphoric subject and one additional member of the sentence to emphasize the advertised characteristics of the product: *It does more, It costs less. It's that simple.*

The comparison of the early stage of ITCI formation with Maslow's hierarchy of needs shows the priority of the need for the exploration and the search for new meanings over other motivations. Presented in terms of the field structure, identity motivations are distributed as follows: the core values of the targeted identity are the exploration and search for new meanings; the near peripheral zone close to the core is the belongingness need of being part of the consumer in-group; and the far peripheral zone is the safety need, associated with the goods' descriptors, suggesting comfort, security and stability. In other words, Apple's advertising campaigns of the first period primarily involve one of the highest (the fifth of eight) levels of the human needs hierarchy (See Fig. 1).
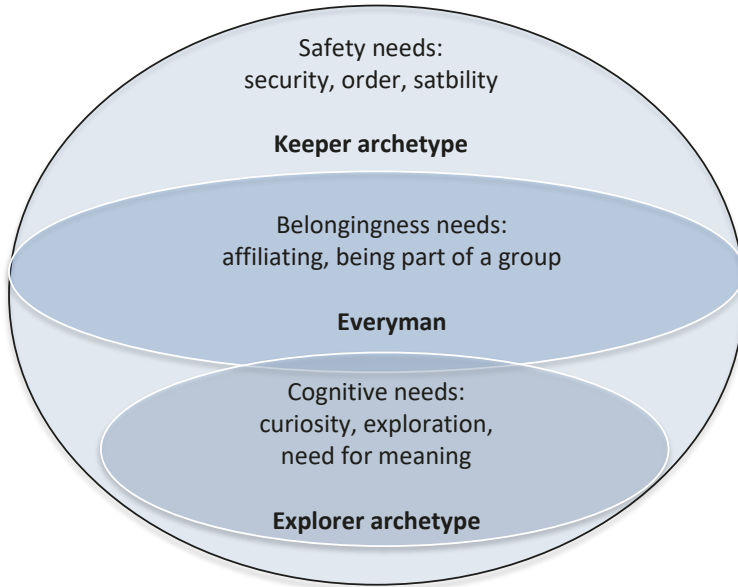
Figure 1. The first stage of ITCI identity formation: Components-descriptors in the field structure of needs

Specification of the identified markers of descriptors within the framework of the Optimal Innovation Hypothesis showed that the creativeness-based figurative means occupy the first places at the scale of the customers "pleasure"-associated attractiveness assured by the familiar intertextuality references to the G. Orwell's novel, the Leonard da Vinci's words, as well as due to the effect of visual iconicity of the product and its pertaining slogan (elegant simplicity of design suggesting sophisticated built-in features form) and allusion to the well-known logotype. The second scale relates to the verbal and pragmatic means, which foreground the in-group identity of the Apple customers. The salience of these mini-narrative-like slogans is marked by disregard for cooperative maxims, which triggers the search of implicature. Its inference is facilitated by the optimal relevant context of positive politeness - inclusive and establishing common ground. The third scale refers to the means related to the product-associated descriptors. They are familiar and easy to decode but lack figurativeness and novelty.

When compared with the classification of archetypes, which are increasingly used in branding practice, we can conclude that the model of customer behavior associated with the search for the new and creative (the fifth level of Maslow's pyramid) is most closely related to the Explorer archetype (Search for yourself, development, discovery of secrets,

individuality). The model associated with the universal need to belong to a group is connected with the image of the Everyman (representing belonging, connecting). Finally, the search for comfort, practicality, and convenience (the second level of needs) is linked to the Keeper archetype.

Subsequent stages of ITCI construction either develop and reinforce or eliminate the identity components formed in the first stage.

If we draw a comparison derived from relevance theory to characterize these processes, then we can say that the entire discourse of Apple in its synchronous-diachronic, prospective-retrospective dimensions, in the totality of all verbal and non-verbal signs takes the form of relevant contexts for weakening or strengthening descriptors associated with ITIC components foregrounded by Apple's discourse of the first two decades.

3.2 Second and third stages of the IT consumer identity construction: From complexity to simplification

The second conventionally chronological stage of the Apple ITCT construction, despite the declared message "Think different", which applied to the entire advertising campaign of 1997-2002, focuses equally on the customer creativity ("otherness", "specialness") and their "common sense" ideology associated with the products convenience, comfort and affordability. Accordingly, the first vector of identity formation addressed the qualities of the projective consumer and the second – the characteristics of the IT product, see Table 2.

Table 2. ITCI-descriptors modification: Pragmatic and stylistic devices (1997-2002)

Identity descriptors		
Otherness, specialness, creativeness		
Slogan	Pragmatics	Stylistic devices
Think different, 1997	On-record distance-reducing directive, aimed at "in-group" constructing; Disregard for cooperative maxim of quantity and manner – triggered implicature (exclusivity, uniting the owners of the product)	Intertextuality device – allusion to IBM slogan "Think"

	Allusion-based discursive implicature: we are different from other IT companies and our client should think differently	
iThink, therefore iMac, 1998	Disregard for cooperative maxims of quantity and manner – triggerring first level (focused on product cognitive capacity) and second level (focused on its owner) implicatures	1) Personification; 2) Allusion to Rene Descartes' "I think, therefore, I exist"; graphostylistic device
Hello. Again. 1998	Disregard for the cooperative maxims of Manner, Relevance and Quantity of information, triggering a search for discursive implicature	Personification Parcellation, ellipsis.
product-associated descriptors		
convenience, comfort, economy, power		
Blows minds, not budgets 1998	Disregard for quality maxim, metaphorical implicature: high technological characteristics and availability	Metaphor
The iMac to Go, 1999	Explicature: compact, easy to carry	Ellipsis
Two Brains are better than one, 2000	Explicature: operating system comparable to human cognitive capabilities	Personification, metaphor
1,000 songs in your pocket, 2001	Explicature: significantly smaller and more poweful than competing MP3 players at the time.	metonymic hyperbole
Introducing the new iPod family, 2002	Explicature: novelty and continuity.	personification

The components "creativity" and "otherness" are actualized with practically the same arsenal of pragmatic and verbal means as at the first stage of ITCI construction: (a) the discursive implicatures, which are based on a disregard

for cooperative maxims and are inferred in the relevance context of the Apple corresponding campaign discourse: *Hello. Again*. Here at least three cooperative maxims are flouted: the maxim of Manner (where it is unclear who exactly is greeting – the company or the product.), the maxim of Relevance since the semantic coherence and formal cohesion between the parts are violated; and the Maxim of quantity: the slogan lacks information about what exactly happens "again". As a result, a search for implicature is triggered to fill the semantic gap in the relevant context of the advertising campaign ("think differently"), with the inference of the "nearest" meaning: "something fundamentally different has appeared on the Apple market again"; (b) the distance-reducing directive as a marker of positive politeness strategy (or in other words, involvement strategy (Scollon – Scollon 1983: 170), which, together with an allusion hinting at the out-group, serves as a means of in-group construction: *Think different*; (c) the allusions and parcellation still prevail among stylistic devices, while oxymoron and other types of antithesis are not represented.

At the same time, we did not identify the indirect commissives as the markers of the tenth positive-politeness strategy "offer, promise". With respect to the lexical facet all descriptor-based words incorporate denotative meaning "think", which is quite consistent with the main concept of the advertising campaign "think different".

A new aspect in the disclosure of ITCI descriptors "otherness" (creativity) is the attribution of cognitive abilities to the product itself through the stylistic device of personification: *iThink, therefore iMac.* Personification, combined with allusion, becomes a means of characterizing both the product and its owner, precisely due to the relevance context of the campaign ("think different") and to the mythological logic of the extension of the properties of the advertised thing to its owner.

The second ITCI component, that is the consumer "common sense" is focused on IT products' characteristics. From a syntactic point of view, the slogans, which express IT product-associated descriptors are mainly elliptic, concise, nominative, one-part (predicate) sentences highlighting the advertised operations that the product is capable of performing or ease of its use (*The iMac to Go*). Sometimes they incorporate metaphoric components (*Blows minds, not budgets*) or personification*: Two Brains are better than one; Introducing the new iPod family*.

From a pragmatic point of view, in addition to easily deduced implicatures, explicatures that require insignificant cognitive efforts on the part of the addressee of the advertisement prevail.

Thus, in comparison with the first stage of identity construction, the second stage, while maintaining an orientation towards a creative client, noticeably strengthens the identity component associated with the characteristics of the product itself. Apple's advertising campaign of this period primarily uses a lower hierarchy of human needs compared to that of the first period. The far peripheral zone of the safety need, associated with comfort, security and stability moves to the core values, while the previously core motivations, related to exploration and the search for new meanings becomes the near periphery. The Seeker archetype in the ITCI is less prominent than the Guardian archetype, and this trend persists during subsequent periods of identity construction.

Within the framework of the Optimal Innovation Hypothesis, the means constructing the ITCI can be interpreted as follows. Disregard for cooperative maxims remains an ostensive stimulus in the actualization of the "creativity" descriptor. Recognizability of the familiar in the novel is provided by intertextual allusions that allow such markers to be optimally innovative, placing them on the first scale of attractiveness. At the same time, among the slogans attributing human abilities to the product we identify those that simultaneously violate maxims and involve little or no familiarity if lacking visual support. Such pure innovative devices may rank lowest on the ITCI attractive scale. The majority of slogans, foregrounding product associated descriptors, have little novelty about them, but they are "quite pleasing" on account of their familiarity, and they are the most frequent.

The third conditionally distinguished period focuses mainly on the maintenance and strengthening of ITCI convenience and comfort, which, accordingly, determines the use of descriptors associated with the qualities of the advertised product. Convenience, accessibility and multifunctionality as the second level signification meanings associated with Apple products are iconically reproduced by linguistic and pragmatic means. Slogans are concise: from a syntactic point of view, these are mostly simple sentences (*We mean business*) or nominative sentences, indicating the advertised quality of goods (*The world's fastest computer; Movies, TV shows, games, and music*) as well as elliptical structures (*Mini. The next big thing*), which in a laconic form highlight the main characteristic of the advertising product.

From a pragmatic standpoint, slogans reveal compliance with the maxims of cooperation and correspond either to constative speech acts (*The world's fastest computer*) or the direct distance-reducing directives calling for the product to be tested (*Clip and go. Put some music on*) as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. ITCI present day descriptors in pragmatic and stylistic manifestations (2003–2006)

Identity descriptors		
Multifunctionality, exclusiveness, convenience, economy, power (product-associated descriptors)		
Slogans	Pragmatics	Stylistic devices
The fastest, most powerful iPhone yet. Faster. Greener. Still mini. The new MacBook Air. Better graphics. More storage. Yet still the world's thinnest notebook. Redesigned in a very big way. Twice as fast, for half the price. There's an app for just about anything. Meet the best iPods ever. The world's most advanced operating system. Finely tuned. A more immediate, intimate way to connect. Our most personal device yet. The most amazing iPhone yet .	1) adherence to maxims of information aimed at maximum informativity about the product advantages; 2) direct constative speech acts; 3) constative speech acts with expressive illocution, marked by quality intensifiers as the illocutionary force indicating device 4) distance-reducing directives	nominative sentences, ellipsis, positive-evaluative adjectives in comparative and superlative degrees
Innovativeness (*product-customer associated descriptors: metonymically relates the product and its owner*).		
Redesigned. Reengineered, Re-everythinged Thinnovation Bigger than bigger Nano-chromatic Completely Renanoed. Apple reinvents the phone This changes everything. Again	Disregard for cooperative maxims direct constatives	– tautology-based non sequitur; – compounding-based occasionalisms; – nominative sentences; – ellipsis.

non-standard thinking; esthetic needs (customer-associated descriptors)		
The biggest thing to happen to iPhone since iPhone For the colorful Forward thinking The deeper you look – the more beautiful it becomes	Disregard for the maxims of quantity of information, based on tautology and reduction.	Nominative sentences Ellipsis aphoristic style
need for in-group affiliation		
Our most personal device yet The iPhone you have been waiting for The notebook for everyone. Now with more speed, power, and battery life A little video for everyone The all-in-one for everyone	positive politeness / involvement strategies; constative speech acts	Inclusive pronouns, simulated personal addressing *you*, Indefinite pronoun *everyone*; revitalization of the internal form of the word *personal* to implement the strategy of interiorization of the product.

In this period of ITCI formation, the descriptors appealing to the goods' simplicity and convenience mainly define the customers' motivational needs.

New at this stage is the ITCI descriptor "Professional", which is based on the use of terms or an explicit indication of the purpose of the product for professional and business needs: *Sends other UNIX boxes to /dev/null; The 64-bit professional dream machine; We mean business.*

The "creativity" component of the client's identity, which was in the motivational field core at the first stage of ITCI formation and which constituted the near periphery at the second stage, is moved to the far periphery, as it becomes more and more indefinite and ambiguous (iconically correlating with the disregard for the maxims of Manner-transparency of information). The stylistic and pragmatic means that highlight this descriptor are focused not so much on creativity as on play. The Seeker archetype in ITCI manifests in this respect elements of the Trickster / Jester archetype (experimenting with forms and meanings), based on (a) antonym-bound antithesis combined with a presupposition-based inference "Mini means iPad mini as a smaller version of the internet tablet iPad", actualized by

the one-word sentence "Mini": *Mini. The next big thing*; (b) aphorism-like laconic slogans of paradoxical semantics based on non sequitur (a stylistic device that combines semantically disconnected ideas): *Random is the new order*; *Enjoy uncertainty*; (c) a tautology (*Give chance a chance*) that triggers reflexivity and discursive implicature.

Such observations are confirmed by some studies, which identified that ludic stylistics of the "Trickster-Jester" role relies on explicit and implicit antithesis, oxymoron and other devices, which combine opposite, logically incompatible and mutually exclusive words or concepts. Pragmatically, "such devices correlate with the violation of Grice's maxim of manner (aimed at avoiding obscurity, ambiguities, or illogicalities), which triggers the discursive implicature – the inference of the meanings to restore semantic cohesion" (Kravchenko et al. 2020b: 190).

Within the scheme of the Optimal Innovation Hypothesis, the means shaping the ITCI at the third stage of Apple discourse development can be interpreted as follows. The slogans highlighting the descriptor "professional", and the product associated descriptors are at the second scale of attractiveness due to their recognizability by the target customers. The first scale of optimal innovative slogans remains "vacant", since ludic stylistics and experiments with forms and meaning associated with the "creativity" descriptor may remain unrecognized by the target client and, accordingly, moves to the lowest level on the ITCI attractiveness scale.

With reference to Maslow's hierarchy, this stage of ITCI formation, primarily satisfies the need for comfort, *convenience, economy* (second level motivations), the need to achieve success and career growth (fourth level), and, in part, the cognitive needs (fifth level). Predominant is the Keeper archetype and the Everyman archetype, as such in its subtype as the Networker (correlated with descriptor "Professional" in our study). Such a subtype of the Everyman archetype, in particular, is distinguished by works on branding strategies (Linabury 2018). The fifth level of needs is partially associated with the hybrid archetype of the Seeker-Jester, satisfying the needs of a certain group of consumers for curiosity and the search for new meanings.

3.3 The current stage of development of IT consumer identity

The current stage of development of ITCI is marked by the further strengthening of the descriptors related to IT goods' characteristics and aimed at the widest possible range of customers. In this regard, slogans are

even more simplified in terms of both their structure and their semantics, highlighting one quality of the product, often associated with the features of its design, shape and size: *Faster. Greener. Still mini; The new MacBook Air. Better graphics. More storage. Yet still the world's thinnest notebook.* In addition to nominative sentences and ellipses (*Redesigned in a very big way*), which increase the expressiveness of slogans, a significant number of positive-evaluative adjectives appear in comparative and superlative degrees, which either intensify the attributive adjective to designate the advertised characteristic (*The fastest, most powerful iPhone yet; The best Windows app ever*) or simply state the superiority of Apple's product over the rest (*World's best*).

Marked by superlative form and / or the intensifier, the slogans in a form of constative speech acts can convey the expressive illocutionary force, since they satisfy the criterion of sincerity as the main felicity condition for expressives: <u>*The most stunningly*</u> *powerful iMac yet.*

At this stage of ITIC construction, the Apple discourse actualizes the new semantic descriptor "innovativeness", which is established both explicitly, by denotative semes "to invent" (*Apple reinvents the phone*) and "to change" (*This changes everything. Again*), and implicitly: *The first phone to beat the iPhone; This is only the beginning.* In the first case the slogans are, by their illocutionary force, constatives (describing the innovative characteristics), while in the second case they are indirect commissives containing the illocution of "promise of innovations". In this connection, the main felicity condition for commissives - namely, the ability of the promisor to fulfill his/ her promise – is restored in the context of the entire discourse of Apple.

At the present stage of ITIC, the first stage descriptor "in-group affiliation" is being actively updated again with involvement this time almost exclusively of the tactics of universalization instead of the tactics of "exclusiveness", which was widely used at the first stage of identity formation. The main means for marking the "group membership" descriptor (of Apple users) is the indefinite pronoun *everyone* to designate "every person", i.e. all people: *The new, faster MacBook Air. Everyone should have a notebook this advanced. And now everyone can; A little video for everyone; The all-in-one for everyone.*

The opposite tactic, the construction of an "in-group" of creative, unique users, is employed to a limited extent, and quite specifically in the form of experiments at the level of meanings and forms.

In particular, in terms of experimenting with meanings at the semantic-stylistic level, figures of inequality are widely used, including

(a)   word-play: *For the colorful*: a denoted characteristic can be attributed both to a multicolored iPhone and to its owner – a bright non-standard person, who acquires this quality through the use of this product; *The biggest thing to happen to iPhone since iPhone*: combination of units denoting different but close notions of "significance" (of the event associated with the appearance of a new product) and a big size of display;

(b)   tautology-based non sequitur (hinting at the big display of iPhone 6 Plus): *Bigger than bigger*;

(c)   occasionalism, which, due to its internal form, simultaneously highlights two or more advertised characteristics: *Redesigned. Reengineered, Re-everythinged; Thinnovation; nano-chromatic; Completely Renanoed*.

Direct nomination of creativity as a quality of the target client is used in isolated cases. In addition, this characteristic is expressed in the form of a play on words, simultaneously attributing the quality of creativity to both the product and its owner: *Forward thinking; For the colorful.*

From the viewpoint of the Optimal Innovation Hypothesis, at the current stage of shaping Apple ITIC, the verbalizers of the "creativity" descriptor move to the first place on the attractiveness scale, being optimally innovative due to their simultaneous figurativeness and familiarity. However, in terms of their frequency they are significantly inferior to the means that highlight the "in-group affiliation" and "product-associated" descriptors, which lack figurativeness and novelty, but they are easily recognizable and, according to this criterion, are at the second stage of attractiveness.

Similar to the previous stage of the ITCI construction, the current advertising discourse of Apple, messaged in slogans *product-associated* descriptors "*convenience, comfort, economy*", primarily appeals to the consumer motivations correlating with the second level of safety and stability needs. The additional descriptor "superiority" (of Apple's product) partly relies on the fourth level esteem needs, including those associated with self-esteem, status and prestige. The descriptors "innovativeness" and "creativeness" metonymically connect the product and the customer-owner. As identity-forming descriptors, they are simultaneously associated with the sixth aesthetic level needs – appreciation and search for beauty, balance, form (product-associated facet) and with the fifth level cognitive needs of curiosity and exploration (customer-associated facet). The ITCI descriptor "in-group affiliation" is pertinent to the third level belongingness needs. Based on the

identity descriptors, marked by linguistic and pragmatic means, the main archetypes at the present stage of the ITCT development include the Regular Guy (belonging), the Creator (innovation, imagination), the Keeper (stability and safety) and the Explorer (new experiences) as shown by Fig. 2.

Cognitive needs: curiosity, exploration, innovation

Belongingness needs: affiliating, being part of a group

Esteem needs: self-esteem, status and prestige

Satefy needs: security, order, stability

Figure 2. Present stage of ITCI identity construction: Components-descriptors in the field structure of needs

4. Concluding remarks

This article examines the genesis and stages of formation of IT consumer identity based on the linguistic and pragmatic specifics of Apple's advertising slogans over the past 44 years.

The first stage of ITCI formation is based on the customer-associated descriptors "creativeness" and "need for in-group affiliation". Stylistically, "creativeness" is marked by oxymorons, allusions, puns and aposiopesis that iconically reproduce non-standard thinking, and pragmatically by disregard for cooperative maxims resulting in discursive implicatures. At the second and third stages, the descriptor is slightly modified by attributing the cognitive abilities to both the customer, through explicit performative "think", and the product, due to its personification, which in combination with allusion become a means of the extension of advertised properties of the thing on its owner.

The descriptor "need for in-group affiliation" is based on the opposing tactics of creativity-associated "specialness" and "universalization". The first vector, "creativity-based group identity", is clearly identified only at the first stage of ITCI formation. At the second and subsequent stages, this descriptor

becomes less distinct, which is manifested by the use of ludic stylistics, paradoxes, and non sequiturs, and at the present stage by occasionalisms, which combine two advertised characteristics of a product by means of compounding. The Seeker archetype, corresponding to the "creativity" descriptor, hybridizes, acquiring elements of the Trickster-Jester.

The second vector, "universalization-based group identity", aimed at the maximum expansion of the "inner group" of Apple users, is marked by positive politeness strategies, indirect commissive speech acts, pronouns of inclusiveness (we, us, our) or instances of the simulated personal address *you,* included as a means of metonymic identification of the product with the personality of its owner. This vector is not revealed at the second and third stages of the ITCI formation, but is intensified and becomes one of the advertising priorities at the current stage, and is marked by the widespread use of the indefinite pronoun *everyone* in Apple slogans.

From the first stage of the ITCI formation to the present, the in-group expansion strategy also correlates with the product-related descriptors "multifunctionality", "simplicity", "availability", "innovativeness", and others. Such descriptors are pragmatically marked by adherence to the maxims of information, predominance of explicatures instead of implicatures in explicating the goods characteristics, constative speech acts, and the direct distance-reducing directives urging to test the product. Stylistically, slogans are becoming more and more simple both in their structure and in their semantics, and they are marked by ellipsis, partial parallelism with anaphoric subject, nominative case, one-part predicate sentence construction, highlighting the advertised operations that the product is capable of performing or facilitating. At the present stage the product-associated descriptor also relies on positive-evaluative adjectives in comparative and superlative degrees, which intensify the advertised characteristic and mark indirect expressive speech acts.

The values identified vary in terms of their frequency and duration of use in Apple advertising. A value such as creativity ("otherness", "specialness"), originated at the first stage of ITCI construction, remained discourse-forming for Apple advertising in the period 1997-2002. In 2003-2006 discourse, the same descriptor is conveyed mainly on the stylistic level of experiments with linguistic forms. In the subsequent stages of ITCI development, the customer-associated descriptor "creativity" transforms into the product-associated descriptor "innovativeness" (of Apple products), metonymically connecting the product and its owner-customer. In terms of frequency and duration of use, this descriptor is significantly "inferior" to such descriptors as "in-group identification" and product-associated descriptors. The latter are the most frequent and permanent for the APPLE

discourse, their function as discourse-forming concepts has gradually increased at all stages of identity formation.

This indicates a steady trend towards a decrease in creativity aimed at maximum expansion of the group of clients by "betting" on a client with more ordinary motivational needs. A similar tendency is seen in the use of the descriptor "intragroup identification", which, starting from the second stage of ITCI formation, includes the tactics of universalization instead of the tactics of "exclusiveness", which were widely used in the first stage. In turn, tactics of "exclusiveness" are implemented in the form of intragroup identification (according to professional criteria), which embodies the descriptor "professional".

As regards the ITCI correspondence to the hierarchy of human motivations, the first stage of ITCI construction relies on the fifth level of the human needs hierarchy, that associated with exploration, a search for new meanings and the Explore archetype. The near peripheral zone close to the core corresponds to the third level belongingness need for being part of the consumer in-group, revealing the Regular Guy archetype, and far peripheral zone pertains to the second level safety need, which is related to the product-associated descriptors and the Keeper/ Guardian archetype. In contrast to the IT advertisement discourse of the first stage, that of the present-day foregrounds the product-associated values as the core components of the ITCI formation, while the fifth level (creativity-associated) cognitive needs move to the far periphery of the field of needs. Consequently, the customer-associated descriptor "creativity" transforms into the product-associated descriptor "innovativeness", and metonymically links the product and its owner-customer. The zone closest to the core is occupied by ITCT values such as the need for respect, while the need for in-group affiliation is a little further from the core and closer to the near periphery.

From the vantage of the Optimal Innovation Hypothesis, the means that actualize the same descriptors in different periods of Apple's discourse are placed in different ways on the scale of "attractiveness" for target customers, which affects their effectiveness in shaping identity. The means that reveal the descriptor "creativity", in different periods of identity formation, occupy 1 (are optimally innovative) or 3 scales (are purely innovative). Means that actualize the internal group identity of Apple customers, as well as descriptors associated with product properties, as a rule, occupy the second position on the scale of attractiveness, since, while they are not novel, they are well recognized.

In the future, it is planned to conduct an associative experiment with the involvement of Apple customers in order to confirm/clarify the identified

descriptors, as well as to check the results related to the identified scales of optimal innovation and attractiveness of the slogans for target customers.

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