

PANTILLISET ON TOUR:
Code-switching in Finnish magazine
advertisements

Bachelor's thesis
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<p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>Mainonnan määrä lisääntyy eri medioissa ja sen myötä mainonta vaikuttaa käyttäytymiseemme yhä enemmän. Maailman globalisoituessa englannin kielen rooli muuttuu myös mainonnassa. Englanti on usein monikielisen mainonnan suosituin vieras kieli maailmanlaajuisesti ja sitä hyödynnetään suomalaisessa lehtimainonnassa yhä enenevässä määrin. Englannin kieltä sekä englannin ja suomen kielen välistä koodinvaihtoa suomalaisessa mainonnassa on tutkittu aiemminkin, mutta huomioimatta on jäänyt englannin kielen määrä suomen kieleen verrattuna.</p> <p>Tämän kandidaatintutkielman tarkoituksena oli selvittää missä suhteessa suomen kieli on korvattu englannin kielellä kahden suomalaisen yleisaikakauslehtien, <i>Imagen</i> ja <i>Suomen Kuvalehden</i> mainoksissa vuoden 2009 numeroissa. Lisäksi työssä analysoitiin englannin näkyvyyttä mainoksissa.</p> <p>Tulokset osoittivat selkeästi, että englannin kieltä käytettiin lehtimainoksissa tärkeimmissä osissa ja yleisimmin lauseketasolla. Tulos oli yhtenevä aikaisempien tutkimuksien tulosten kanssa, joiden mukaan englannin kieltä käytetään suomalaisissa lehtimainoksissa usein näkyvissä osissa, mutta määrällisesti vähän. Tutkimustulosten perusteella ei kuitenkaan voida tehdä laajempia yleistyksiä. Lisätutkimus voisi laajentua lehtimainosten kielen ominaispiirteiden lähempään tarkasteluun.</p>	
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Muita tietoja - Additional information	

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1 INTRODUCTION

Advertising is a part of our everyday lives and affects our behavior. Advertisements in television, radio, newspapers and magazines, not to mention on the Internet, are gaining more space. In the process of globalization of the world business, advertising has also become more international. Moreover, as the world business needs a common language in order to communicate, English serves for that purpose. This, among other reasons, has led to the situation where English is used as a lingua franca, i.e. as a common language in the world. Although the use of English in Finnish advertising is not a new phenomenon, code-switching in the Finnish advertising discourse is still an appealing source of examination.

As an effect, advertising has achieved interest in different fields, for example among economics and linguistics. The latter has focused on the language of advertising from various perspectives. Some of the studies that have been carried out in the University of Jyväskylä have focused on linguistic and functional properties of magazine advertisements, but to my knowledge magazines targeted to a general audience have not been examined in terms of proportion of English and Finnish in advertisements. It is therefore important to examine advertisements in general interest magazines and the focus of this study is on English in them. I intend to find out what types of code-switching between English and Finnish is employed in advertisements in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Image*.

In this study I will first provide background information in Chapter 2, which is divided into four parts. Firstly, the discourse of advertising will be briefly introduced. Secondly, I will describe in general terms what advertising is. This is followed by an elaboration of print advertising and the language of advertising. I will also focus on multilingual communication and the concept of code-switching in advertisements, and lastly on the status of English as a lingua franca. Additionally, the research questions will be presented in Chapter 2.5. In Chapter 3 I will introduce the data and methods used in this study. Chapter 4 will cover the results of the

analysis process, which will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5. The last chapter will summarize the results along with suggestions for improvements and further study.

2 ADVERTISING AND LANGUAGE

In this chapter I will discuss the theoretical background behind advertising, the status of English as a lingua franca, and multilingual communication.

2.1 Advertising discourse

Advertising can be seen as an interaction between pictures, language or text, paralanguage and so forth. These components are considered to form the discourse of advertising. More specifically, the elements that are considered to be a part of the advertising discourse are subordinate concepts of text and context. The text in advertising discourse refers to linguistic forms and is separated from context for the purposes of analysis (Cook 2001: 4). Context on the other hand, includes components such as substance, paralanguage, co-text, participants, and the functions of advertisements. As mentioned, there are several factors involved in advertising discourse. However, the main focus of any analysis of discourse is on language, as Cook (2001: 3) states. The focus in this study is on the language of magazine advertisements, and thus the most relevant part of advertising discourse, in my opinion, is the text.

The concept of advertising discourse is slightly too wide for the purposes of this study as due to the nature of the Candidate's thesis examining every aspect of an advertisement is not possible here. Therefore I will explain advertising in the following chapter in more general terms, focusing mainly on the structure and language of print advertising, i.e. the text of an advertisement.

2.2 Advertising

Defining advertising might seem a straightforward task to perform by anyone since we are surrounded by advertising in our daily lives. Advertising can be defined as “any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor” (Kotler et al. 2008:793). This presentation can be executed through different channels, for example, through television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. The last two forms of media represent channels for print advertising. In fact, the most traditional ways to advertise involve the use of newspapers and magazines. Some of the other media that fall into the traditional advertising forms are television along with radio.

2.2.1 Print advertising

As mentioned, television, radio, newspapers and magazines are considered as traditional media whereas for instance weblogs and discussion forums are labeled as new media. The mention of magazines here brings the attention to print advertising which is a superordinate term for newspaper and magazine advertising. In 2009, print advertising formed the largest proportion of media advertising in Finland (Aikakausmedia). The proportion of magazine advertising, after newspaper and television advertising was the third largest in Finland in 2009. This shows how the influence of advertising in newspapers and magazines is significant, and therefore it is useful to study the language of print advertising.

As can be assumed there are reasons for the attractiveness of advertising in magazines. Kotler et al. (2008: 807) state that the advantages of advertising in magazines are numerous. First of all, a high geographic and demographic selectivity enable the advertiser to reach more consumers from different areas and from diverse backgrounds. Moreover, credibility and prestige are traits that are associated with magazines as the channels for advertising. Also, the high-quality reproduction gives further possibilities for advertisers. Magazine advertisements have a longer life in

comparison to television ads. Lastly, advertisers benefit from magazines' good pass-along readership. (Kotler et al. 2008: 807). As can be observed from these advantages a magazine as a medium brings certain possibilities for advertisers. Since the focus in this study is on print advertisements, it is useful to examine their structure closer.

The main elements of a print advertisement are headline, illustration(s), body copy, signature line and standing details, as illustrated in Figure 1. The signature line can consist of the brand name which is usually accompanied by a slogan, and of an illustration of the product. The most essential parts in a print advertisement are the headline, which can be divided into one or more subheadings, and the signature line. The other elements are regarded to be optional and are often omitted from advertisements. (Leech 1966: 59). However, the elements do not always follow the same order in an ad, that is, it can be constructed in relatively innovative ways. For instance, an illustration might be made the focal point of the entire advertisement instead of the body copy, or the elements can be placed in different positions within an ad. (Leech 1966: 59).

According to Bhatia (1992: 196), each component of an advertisement has a function in the advertisement. The headline of the advertisement generally attracts the reader's attention; hence a headline can also be called an attention-getter. Further, the body copy of an ad outlines the significant properties or reasons in favor for using the product in question. The signature line names the product. One element of a print advertisement that Leech (1966: 59) incorporates in the signature line component is the slogan, which Bhatia (1992: 196) mentions as being a separate piece in an advertisement. For the purposes of this study, I will use both of the definitions as slogans in ads can also appear physically separate from the product name.

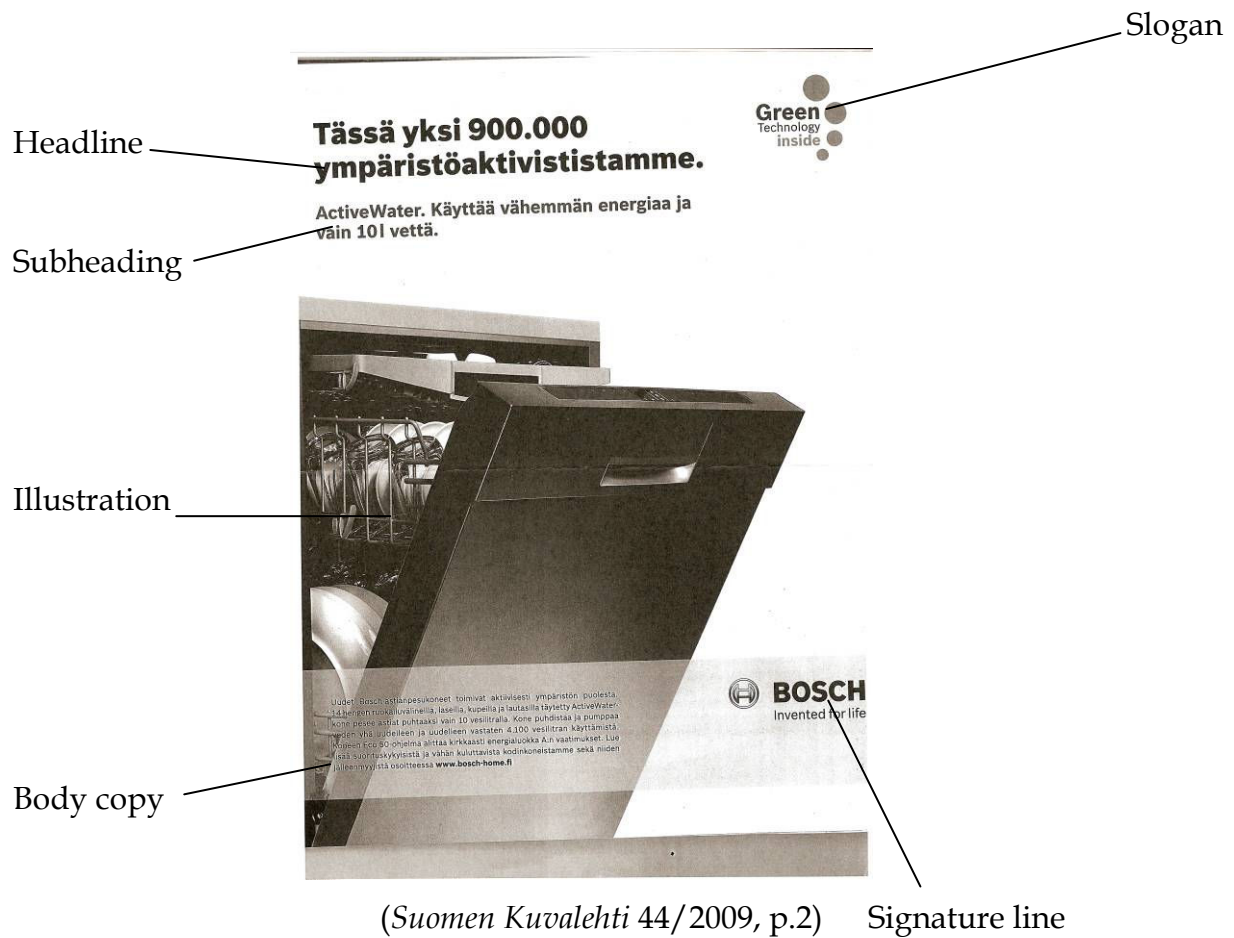


Figure 1: The structure of a print advertisement.

2.2.2 The language of advertising

Advertising language has been described as a 'functional dialect', which refers to the result of the process where language is chosen to be used for a particular purpose, and consequently the product becomes a variety of its own (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 8). Moreover, the language used in advertisements is described to be colloquial and simple rather than formal and complex. This implies that advertising vocabulary is fairly concrete and comprehensible. (Leech 1966: 74). Further, standard advertising English is a concept which can be defined as a loaded language, i.e. it aims to change the will, opinions, or attitudes of its audience. The term standard advertising English is relative since some features are more typical in advertising than others. (Leech 1966). However, Martin (2002: 376-377) suggests that there are common identifiable

stylistic patterns in advertising texts. For example, elliptical comparatives, e.g. 'better' instead of 'better than', adjectivalization process (usually a conversion of a noun into an adjective), vocatives (*you. the bbq hero* (SK24/2009, p.33)) and rhetorical questions are frequently utilized in advertising texts. In addition, Leech (1966) mentions that the language of advertising has several special features, such as the high frequency of imperative clauses, absence of prohibitions and negative forms, positive adjectives describing the product and as Martin (2002: 376) mentions, the use of unqualified comparatives. Other common features of advertising language are the abundance of adjectives and conversely the relative absence of verb vocabulary (Leech 1966: 151).

The choices concerning language in market-driven discourses, such as advertising, are rarely made without careful consideration, as Kelly-Holmes (2005: 8) claims. Consequently, language can have various functions in advertising, for instance informational, expressive and vocative ones. The informational function of a language refers to its aim to inform or to report, to describe and to emphasize in an advertisement. Moreover, feelings or emotions can be expressed through language and thus it can have an expressive function. (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 8). Advising, recommending and persuading are considered to act as language's directive or vocative function. In advertising discourse, the informative and the directive functions, that is informing and advising, might be considered the most common purposes of language (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 8).

2.3 Multilingual communication

The use of a foreign language, or languages in advertising in Finland, is an example of multilingual communication. Multilingual communication in advertising discourse can be defined as the appearance of a number of languages or voices in a market-discourse situation (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 10). Martin (2002: 381) states that using more than one language in a single advertisement raises issues, such as intelligibility since it demands more from the reader to understand the multilingual message.

2.3.1 Code-switching and advertising

The term *code-switching* refers to a process whereby switching between different languages occurs. Gumperz (1996, cited in Kelly-Holmes 2005: 365) defines code-switching as 'alternation among different speech varieties within the same event'. This alternation can occur within a sentence, i.e. *intrasentential* code-switch, or the code-switch can take place at sentence boundary, i.e. *extrasentential* code-switch (D'Souza 1992: 218). These alternation types of code-switching have been further defined as code-mixing and code-switching. The first has been used to refer to intrasentential alternation and the latter to extrasentential alternation. However, D'Souza (1992: 218) states that some inconsistency in their use occurs among scholars. While some make the distinction between switching and mixing codes, others use either code-mixing or code-switching to refer to both intrasentential and extrasentential alternation. (D'Souza 1992: 218). In this study, code-switching is used to refer to both intrasentential and extrasentential alternation between English and Finnish. Additionally, code-switches that are physically separately situated in a magazine advertisement will be considered as instances of multilingual communication as they appear in the same discourse event.

The categorization of switching between languages reveals little of the amount of the languages subjected to alternation. Thus, for a closer structural analysis of the code-switching phenomenon it is necessary to include a description of which proportion each language has in an event. Actually, Martin (2002: 385) suggests that it is useful to examine the proportion of English in advertising compared to, in this study, Finnish. Martin (2002: 385) introduces a concept of *a cline of code-mixed advertising* which describes the alternatives for classifying events in multilingual advertising discourse in more detail. Although Martin uses the cline to describe the proportion of English and French in French print advertising, it can be used to examine code-switching in Finnish advertising as well. Therefore, the cline of code-mixed advertising is applied in this study for measuring this ratio between English and Finnish from a structural perspective.

The cline of code-mixed advertising includes eight possible alternatives for describing the ratio between English and a host language. The poles of the cline are the monolingual advertisements in English and, in this study, in Finnish. The proportion of English and the host language change gradually along the cline. Moving from the pole of English monolingual ad to the Finnish monolingual ad the phases of change are a sentential substitution, a phrasal substitution, an isolated lexical substitution and a partial substitution. Additionally, two more categories to examine the degree of anglicization are included. One is the phrasal substitution of English with the host-language by adapting a structure of an English phrase into the host language and the other category on the cline preceding the Finnish monolingual ads is a substitution on a word level, i.e. single English words are translated into Finnish. (Martin 2002: 385). Figure 2 illustrates the categories of the cline.

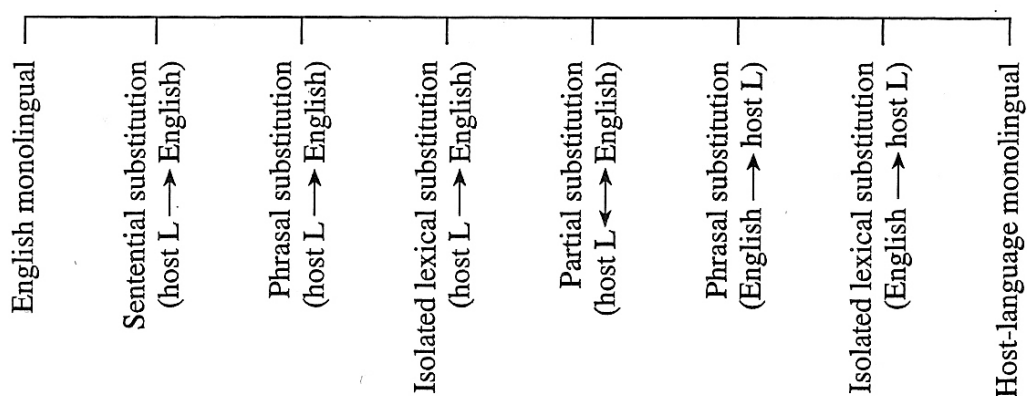


Figure 2: The cline of code-mixed advertising

D'Souza (1992: 218) mentions that code-switching is particularly common in bilingual or multilingual communities. Moreover, code-switched advertising is characterized by a preference of using English as a pair-language, i.e. to use English as a source of code-switching, as stated by Martin (2002: 382). In fact, Paakkinen (2008: 305) notes that English is frequently employed in Finnish advertisements. However, the quantity is relatively small as English commonly appears in small syntactic units, either as single words or mixed with Finnish. This is in accordance with Poplack et al. (1989: 396, as cited in Hujala 1997: 18) who state that most

characteristic code-switch between Finnish and English occurs at the level of individual lexical items i.e. between words. Although individual English words might be frequently used, Paakkinen mentions that monolingual English ads are rare in Finnish advertising.

According to Kelly-Holmes (2005: 10), the use of English in Finnish advertising, as code-switching in general, may be motivated by topic-related issues, that is, a particular topic may be discussed in a different code or language. For example, Kelly-Holmes (2005: 11) mentions that this is particularly common with technical products. Moreover, the use of English in Finnish advertising may have a symbolic or communicative value. In my opinion, using English in Finnish advertising is used for its symbolic value of a tool for international communication. In fact, Paakkinen (2008: 320) mentions that symbolic connotations, such as trendiness, internationality, modernity, technology, and fashion can be linked to the use of English in advertising in Finland. In addition, Tolvanen (2004), as cited in Paakkinen (2008: 319) notes that other functions of English in Finnish advertising can be to attract the readers' attention or to weaken the effect of otherwise powerful expressions with English. Paakkinen also (2008: 316) claims that the major difference between the use of English and Finnish in advertisements is that English is used as a tool for persuasion, whereas Finnish is used to give facts and details of a product.

The multilingual process of code-switching is not always viewed in a positive light (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 12). This notion is important because multilingual communication in different discourses has evolved into a current issue in societies all over the world. Acknowledging the importance of code-switching as a phenomenon of multilingual communication will most likely result to a closer analysis of the topic, but within the limitations of this study it is not possible to examine readers' perceptions of multilingual advertising. The attitudes towards multilingual communication in advertising have been studied for example by Hujala (1997).

2.4 English as a lingua franca

English is among the most used languages around the world. It is the language of international business, politics and popular culture. The number of speakers of English, including non-native and native speakers, is estimated to be around 1.5 billion (Crystal 2003: 69). In fact, English has established a status of a world language and is often referred to as being the *lingua franca* or 'common language' between speakers with different native languages (Crystal 2003:11).

However, English has not gained this powerful position only by having a large number of speakers around the world. Actually, the global domination of English today can be linked essentially to two factors. First, the expansion and dominance of the British Empire had a crucial effect on the spread of English to its colonies. The other factor is related to the present moment, that is, to the growing economical power of the United States. (Crystal 2003:59).

The power of English and the spread of the lingua franca can best be described with a model developed by Kachru, as quoted in Crystal (2003: 61). The three circles of English suggest that the speakers, native and non-native, can be considered to belong to one of the three concentric circles: *inner*, *outer* or *expanding* circle. The circles represent the different ways the language has been acquired and is currently used. Although the model is useful in categorizing the usage and spread of English, Crystal (2003: 60) acknowledges that not every country can be placed easily into the model. Kachru's model of circles of English is illustrated in Figure 3. Although the model of the three circles was developed over 20 years ago, it is still applicable in describing the power of English today.

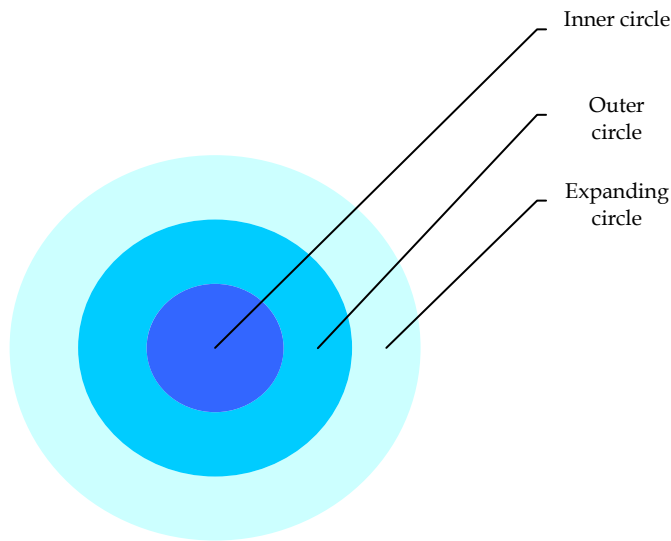


Figure 3: The Three Circles of English

According to the model, the *inner circle* refers to countries where the native or primary language is English, consisting of the USA, United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The estimated number of speakers of this circle is 320-380 million. (Crystal 2001: 61).

The *outer circle* in the model concerns countries of non-native English speakers in which the main institutions have adopted English as a part of them. Additionally, English has a special function as a 'second language' in a multilingual setting. The countries involved in the *outer circle* are Singapore, Malawi and India, among others. Approximately 300-500 million speakers of English are included in the outer circle (Crystal 2001: 61).

As the Kachru's model shows, the third circle is called the *expanding circle*. It involves countries which acknowledge the role of English as a lingua franca. However, the expanding circle does not share the history of colonization as do the first two circles, nor has the expanding circle assigned English as the language of official institutions. The *expanding* or *extending circle* includes countries such as China, Russia, Japan and Finland, to name a few. It has 500-1,000 million speakers and the number is growing as the English language reaches new territories in the world. (Crystal 2003).

2.5 Previous research on English in Finnish advertising

As mentioned earlier, the field of advertising has gained a fair amount of attention among researchers of different areas. When considering some of the studies conducted on the role that English plays in Finnish magazine advertising, two studies are worth mentioning here. Both of these studies were carried out in the University of Jyväskylä and they are Master's theses. Paakkinen (2008) has examined the results of these studies and her observations are summarized here. Viitamäki (2003), as cited in Paakkinen (2008: 301), studied the advertisements in Finnish women's magazines and Tolvanen (2004), as quoted by Paakkinen (2008: 301), examined the advertisements in magazines targeted to teenagers. Paakkinen (2008: 303) mentions that the focus in Viitamäki's study was on the functions of English and Tolvanen focused on the linguistic properties of English.

According to Paakkinen (2008), the results of Viitamäki's study showed that English functions as a source for expressing something in a quick and clever way. In addition, English was used to persuade and as attention-getter. Tolvanen on the other hand, according to Paakkinen, found that advertisements in youth magazines contained English relatively frequently. However, the linguistic properties of the English employed were rather simple. Paakkinen mentions that from the results of both of these studies it could be noted that English was used in very visible places but as short phrases or words. It can be pointed out that studies on magazine advertisements targeted to an unspecified audience have not been conducted. Therefore this study is motivated by the aim to look at English which is used in general interest magazines.

3 DATA AND METHODS

This chapter will introduce the data of the present study and the methods used in the analysis. First in Chapter 3.1 I will present the sources, that is, the magazines where the data was collected from. Then in Chapter 3.2 the actual data, i.e. the

advertisements will be presented. Also, I will explain why I chose the data that was used in this study and discuss some alternatives for data collection and reasons why I decided not to use them.

3.1 Magazines

I chose to study advertisements in Finnish magazines for two reasons. Firstly, I could have chosen for example television commercials but the focus in television advertisements is more on picture and sound when in print advertisements the attention is more on the text itself. Secondly, to me, print advertising comes across as a more traditional way to advertise and this is evident when we compare print advertising to the increasing popularity of other emerging forms of advertising, such as advertising on the Internet. Still, as mentioned in Chapter 2.2.1, print advertising is the largest form of advertising in Finland today.

As the purpose of this study is to look at English in Finnish magazine advertisements, the data was collected from two Finnish magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Image*. The magazines were chosen because they are targeted at different audiences and thus, they are different in style although they both cover current issues. The magazines represent general interest magazines, but as mentioned above, the styles of these magazines differ slightly.

One of the magazines used to gather the data was *Suomen Kuvalehti*. The magazine is a general interest magazine, published weekly, approximately 49 times a year. *Suomen Kuvalehti* covers current issues in Finland and the rest of the world such as topics concerning economy, society, politics, culture, science and art. The circulation in 2009 was 96,791. In 2009, *Suomen Kuvalehti* was the seventh most read general interest magazine in Finland with a readership of 324,000. A typical reader of *Suomen Kuvalehti*, according to a survey is a male over the age of 50. Although the typical reader of this magazine is a male, the proportion between male and female readers is relatively even, since the percentage of male readers is 53% and the figure is 47% with female readers, respectively. (Levikintarkastus).

Image is a Finnish life-style magazine published monthly. The magazine covers a range of issues from politics to popular culture. *Image's* readership is 110,000 and it was the ninth most read general interest magazine in Finland in 2009. 58% of the target audience of *Image* magazine consists of female readers and the percentage of male readers is 42. The reader profile for *Image* magazine suggests that a typical reader is a female of the age of 12-29. (Levikintarkastus).

Other options for the data could have been possible. First, I could have chosen magazines targeted only to a specific group of people, to women or young people for instance. However, advertisements in women's and youth magazines have previously been studied and therefore I decided to choose general interest magazines for this paper, which have not been studied earlier. Second, I could have focused on advertisements of a certain type of products, such as necessity or luxury products. However, this type of focus on specific products would not have provided me enough data to examine.

3.2 Advertisements

I started the process of collecting the data for my research by looking through every issue of *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Image* published in 2009. The reason for choosing magazines from 2009 was that I wanted to focus on the English language in the most recent advertisements. Additionally, a year's span in the issues provided enough material for me to analyze. I could have chosen to study magazines from a longer period but the research might have expanded too much. The criterion for the advertisements chosen was that they had to contain English in some part of them. This meant that I was able to choose from advertisements that had either only English in them or that they contained both English and Finnish. However, only one example of the advertisements that appeared more than once in the issues of 2009 in either magazine was included. This made it possible to include more varied assortment of advertisements and thus provided more material for me to analyze.

Further, advertisements which contained solely product names and no slogans were left out of the data since international product names are recognizable all over the world.

I got together a data which consisted of 44 advertisements, 31 advertisements from *Image* and 13 advertisements from *Suomen Kuvalehti*. I made copies of the advertisements which enabled me to examine them closer at any time. A selection of examples of the advertisement from both magazines can be seen in Appendices.

3.3 Methods of analysis

In this chapter I will describe the analysis process and the methods used. The analysis will be linked to the theoretical framework that I introduced in Chapter 2. The first stage of the analysis after I had gathered the data began by carefully looking through the advertisements I had collected from the magazines *Image* and *Suomen Kuvalehti*. First, I identified the components of the advertisements in which English could be found, i.e. in the headline, body copy, signature line or in the slogan. I used the definitions of these components provided by Leech (1966) for that purpose. If there were situations during the analysis process when one word, phrase, or sentence could be defined as a headline as well as a slogan, I decided to include the part to both these categories because occasionally some part could be labeled either as a headline or a slogan.

After identifying the parts in the advertisements where English was used, I moved on to the structural analysis of the English I found in the data. I analyzed the syntactic structures, i.e. whether English was used at a sentence level, phrase level, or at the level of individual words. For this I used the cline of code-mixed advertising by Martin (2002). In some cases an advertisement contained both sentential substitution and phrasal substitution and I categorized the particular ad as containing both types of substitution. Additionally, the advertisements that I labeled as English

monolingual were analyzed from a structural point of view, i.e. what the syntactic features of sentences and phrases were like.

The aim of this study was to find out what types of code-mixed language is employed in Finnish magazine advertising today. The research questions therefore are:

- 1) What proportion of advertisements in the two Finnish magazines *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Image* utilizes English?
- 2) Which elements in the print advertisements contain English?

4 RESULTS

In this chapter I will report the results of the analysis. The results are divided into categories first according to the place in which English was found in the advertisements, i.e. in which element English was utilized the most, and secondly according to the amount of English I found in the advertisements compared to Finnish, i.e. where on the cline of code-mixed advertising the data was placed. Examples of the most appropriate instances, in my opinion, of each category are provided along with the analysis.

4.1 Place in the advertisement

The place where English was used in the advertisement varied from one advertisement to another. English was found in each of the component of a print ad. However, a significant portion of English could be traced to the most vital parts of the advertisements. The main elements are discussed in following chapters.

4.1.1 Signature lines

As discussed earlier (Leech 1966: 59), the main elements of a print ad are headline, illustration(s), body copy, signature line and standing details. The data showed quite clearly that the element which most frequently contained English was the signature line. The signature line, as defined by Leech (1966: 59), in the data of this study consisted most often of the product name and the slogan, integrated together. For example, the signature lines appeared in the following way:

- (1) BOSCH Invented for life (SK 44/2009, p.2)
- (2) Honda The Power of Dreams (signature line) (SK 19/2009, p.2)
- (3) WWF for a living planet (Image 11/2009, p. 4-5)

In these instances, the product name is accompanied by a slogan which is presumably used to increase the memorability of the product. The majority of the advertisements containing English in the signature lines were for foreign products. This fact might explain the absence of code-switching, intra- and extrasentential, within the signature lines. Two examples of Finnish brands using English in the signature line were found. The first advertisement containing signature line written in English was for the *Neste Oil* rally and the second for *Taffel* which advertised snacks. Examples are illustrated below:

- (4) Neste Oil / Rally Finland / More than a rally (SK 30/2009, p.75)
- (5) Taffel the original snacks (Image 5/2009, p. 56)

On few occasions the slogan was separately situated from the product name in the advertisement. In the analysis they are presented together with the signature line. Slogans that occurred on their own in the advertisements referred mostly indirectly to the product in question. To illustrate, in Example 6, the slogan was situated in the top of the page whereas the rest of the text was on the bottom of the page, including the product name *Nokia*, which is usually integrated with the slogan as a signature line.

- (6) Enjoy the Weather (Nokia footwear ad, SK 13, p.43)

- (7) Green technology inside (SK 44/2009, p.2)

Similarly, Example 7 was categorized as a slogan in an advertisement for a *Bosch* washing machine. Paakkinen (2008: 307) suggests that as English is commonly used in visible or important parts of the ad, it might seem that English is used more than it truly is. Almost as frequently as signature lines, English was utilized in headlines. According to Leech (1966: 59) these constituents are the most essential in print ads. The frequency of English usage in headlines is reported next.

4.1.2 Headlines and subheads

The headline can be seen as one the most important part of a text. For example, Bhatia's (1992: 196) definition of the headline as an attention-getter illustrates its significant function. In the data English was applied in the headlines in short phrases as well as in full sentences. Additionally, headlines containing English employed switching between Finnish and English which was mainly intrasentential. Examples 8-11 present headlines which contain intrasentential code-switches. In Example 12 the headline is entirely in English. An instance of English and Finnish mixing at a word level within a single headline was also found in the data, see Example 13.

- (8) Honda Insight on hybrid. (SK 19/2009, p.2)
 (9) Pantilliset On Tour (Image 6-7/2009, p.21)
 (10) if...anything happens to sinun yrityksesi (SK 6/2009, p.29) ad for a Finnish insurance company
 (11) LOST in TYÖ (SK 47/2009, p.2) ad for Akava Special Branches association
 (12) Know Argentina. Know its flavour (Image 3/2009, p.37)
 (13) iQ. Toisinajattelua. (Image 4/2009, p.15)

A subhead cannot appear in an ad without the presence of a headline, as expected. Therefore the results for the subheads' part are reported together with the headlines. The data showed that the majority of the subheads found, referred to the products. Additionally, code-switching in the subheads was exceptional as for the most part, a subhead contained short phrases complementing the headline. Examples 14 and 15 illustrate how the headline and the subhead complemented each other.

- (14) Fresh & White (headline)
Crystal Gel (subhead) (Image 5/2009, p. 4)
- (15) you. (headline)
the bbq hero (subhead) (SK 24/2009, p.33)

4.1.3 Body copy

A body copy in an advertisement can be considered the container of the factual information of the product or as was revealed from the data of this study, as a way to convey a story to attract the attention of the reader. For the most part, English was mixed with Finnish in the body copies. The function of the body copy is to inform or persuade and therefore it is essential to ensure successful communication. This might support the result that English was used only in a relatively small proportion in the body copies.

- (16) LG:n uudet LCD-televisiot eivät tyydy vähempään. Jos arvostat markkinoiden kattavinta mediatukea, tutustu Bluetooth-ominaisuudella varustettuun superohueen LH7000-malliin. Jos vannot HD-elokuvien terävyyden ja liikkeiden nopeuden nimiin, mallisi on LH5000. Jos ykköskriteerejäsi ovat kuvanlaatu ja 59 prosenttia energiansäästö, valitse LH4000.
LG Full HD LCD TV - Advanced Technology. Beautifully Hidden. (Image 5/2009, p. 13)

Example 16 is an ad for an LG high definition television and in the body copy the last line was written in English. This last line includes a mention of the product and a description of its qualities. As Kelly-Holmes (2005: 11) notes, certain topics, such as technical products, are often discussed in a particular language. This is evident from the presence of English in the LG advertisement. Although for the most part English was found relatively little in the body copies, in an advertisement for *Comfort* fabric softener, the body copy was entirely in English (Example 17). The body copies appeared in the illustrations of the fabric softener bottles.

- (17) naturals, a *fresh* olive, blossom fragrance, blended with chamomile extract.
naturals, a *fresh* olive, blossom fragrance, blended with, cotton extract. Comfort, concentrate (Image 10/2009, p.11)

4.1.4 Illustration(s)

Illustrations, or pictures, are considered to be one of the elements in the advertising discourse (Cook 2001: 4; Leech 1966: 59). Since the focus in this study was primarily on language, i.e. the text of the advertising discourse, I did not concentrate on the visual aspect in the data analysis. The only observation I made during the analysis process is discussed here, that is, whether English appeared in them or not. As a general remark I was able to find English in illustrations which represented the product packing or the brand name. However, in few examples the illustrations contained new factual and fictional information about the product. For example, the illustrations outlined the properties of the product, i.e. acted as a body copy, or created a positive image of the product. However, Leech (1966: 59) suggests that even if the most indispensable elements, the headline and the signature line, are present in an ad, the illustration might be the focal point of the event. Further, as the headline and the signature line are occasionally combined into one single display line, the illustration or illustrations can be the essential content of an advertising discourse situation. (Leech 1966: 59).

4.1.5 Standing details

According Leech (1966: 59), a standing detail in a print ad might include cut-out coupons and purely practical information appearing in small print. For example contact information of a firm, instructions where further information can be acquired or legal footnotes. This type of information generally appears in an identical form in different advertisements of the same product (Leech 1966: 59). In the data English was employed in the standing details only in few advertisements. Example 18 illustrates how a legal footnote appeared in a *Coca-Cola* ad. Further, in Example 19 and 20 the standing details provided instructions how to obtain further information about the *Santa Maria* food products and of *Adidas* products. Example 21 shows how in a *Lapponia* liqueur ad the product was advised to consume with caution.

- (18) Coca-Cola light, Coke light, The Cola-Cola contour bottle and the dynamic ribbon device are registered trademarks of The Coca-Cola Company. ©2009 The Coca-Cola Company. (Image 2/2009, p.92)
- (19) recipes and ideas on www.santamaria.fi (SK 24/2009, p.33)
- (20) adidas.com/originals (standing detail)
- (21) Enjoy responsibly (Image 12/2009, p.30)

As the other aspect of the analysis was the nature of code-switching in terms of proportion between Finnish and English, the following chapters will look more closely at this issue.

4.2 Categories of the cline

As mentioned earlier, according to the cline of code-mixed advertising there are eight possible measures for describing the ratio of code-mixing between English and the host language, i.e. Finnish in an advertisement. I will report the findings of the analysis according to the categories used in the cline next. As Martin (2002: 399) notes, the eighth category on the cline was ads that did not involve English in any form, i.e. host-language monolingual. This category was included in the cline only as a point of reference and therefore this category will not be reported in the results. In addition, two categories on the Finnish monolingual end of the cline are disregarded since the purpose was to look at the use of English, not the constructions adapted to the Finnish language. In contrast, the English monolingual advertisements were taken into account even though code-switching does not take place in them. It is nevertheless useful to examine advertisements which employ only English as it reveals to some extent the degree of anglicization in Finnish magazine advertising.

4.2.1 English monolingual advertisements

The first category on the cline, moving from left to right, was the English monolingual advertisement. Altogether nine instances of this category were found in the data of which seven from *Image* and two from *Suomen Kuvalehti*. This result was in accordance with the Paakkinen's observation (2008: 305) that monolingual English

advertisements are rare in Finnish advertising. The advertisements which employed only English covered products such as alcohol, food, fragrances, clothing brand and watches. These monolingual advertisements in all instances contained mainly phrases relating to the product and only two of the advertisements included longer sentences. The contents of some the monolingual ads are presented in Examples 22-27.

- (22) Do not underestimate the Axe Effect (headline) (Image 4/2009, p. 4)
- (23) are you Ö (headline)
MÖVENPICK The art of Swiss ice cream (signature line) (Image 5/2009, p.17)
- (24) What's Your Instinct? (headline)
The New Black Fragrance from Axe (subheading) (Image 10/2009, p.80)
- (25) you. (headline)
the bbq hero (subhead)
bbq by santa maria (product name)
recipes and ideas on www.santamaria.fi (standing detail) (SK 24/2009, p.33)
- (26) Certina Swiss time maker since 1888 (signature line)
DS PODIUM LADY
Shock-resistant
Water-resistant 100m
Sapphire crystal
Stainless steel (Body copy) (Image 12/2009, p.15)
- (27) Lapponia (brand name) Enjoy responsibly (standing detail) Inspired by nature
(headline) Premium liqueur. Made from handpicked berries from the northern
wilderness. (Body copy) (Image 12/2009, p.30)

As can be seen from these examples of English monolingual ads, the length of sentences and phrases was not long. However, some individual words in these ads were more complex and topic-specific, i.e. shock-resistant and sapphire crystal which appeared in an ad for a luxurious watch in Example 26. In contrast, in Example 25 which is a *Santa Maria* food product advertisement, relatively simple vocabulary and syntax were employed. Paakinen (2008: 320) states that ads entirely in English generally establish the symbolic function on internationality in them.

4.2.2 Sentential substitution

The second category on the cline was sentential substitution, i.e. full English sentences were included in the magazine advertisements. The advertisements placed into his category were almost as frequent as were monolingual English advertisements. As entire sentences were replaced with English, the code-switching

consequently occurred at a sentence boundary between Finnish. For that reason extrasentential code-switching characterized these sentential substitutions in the data. Example 28 which was a slogan in a *Nokia* footwear ad represents a sentential substitution. However, as an exception, one instance of an intrasentential code-switch occurred in the data. In Example 29, the headline refers to a *Honda* car model being hybrid and the switch happens as the verb *be* is written in Finnish.

- (28) Enjoy the Weather (slogan) (SK 13/2009, p. 43) Nokia footwear ad
 (29) Honda Insight on hybrid (headline) (SK 19/2009, p.2)

4.2.3 Phrasal substitution

The third category on the cline was phrasal substitution, which usually covers English language product names containing two or more English words. These types of substitutions are extremely common in non-English advertising. (Martin 2002: 389). This was evident from the data of this study as well. A clear majority of the advertisements that contained English phrases were directly or indirectly connected to the product in the ad. For example, phrasal substitutions occurred in signature lines and in headlines. The following examples illustrate the phrasal substitutions in a signature line (Example 30) and in a headline (Example 31).

- (30) Energy NRJ Hit Music Only (signature line) (Image 5/2009, p.87)
 (31) Pantilliset On Tour (headline) (Image 6-7/2009, p. 21)

As some of the advertisements contained both sentential and phrasal substitutions of Finnish with English, they were treated as a single discourse event. Consequently, these advertisements were analyzed as entities. These combinations of phrasal and sentential substitutions can best be reported through examples. Advertisements employing these switches were not frequent. In Example 32, the signature line has a phrasal substitution in the form of signature line with an intrasentential switch between Finnish and English and the headline is a sentential substitution. Then again in Example 33, the slogan in the signature line in the *Adidas* ad is a sentential substitution whereas the headline represents a phrasal replacement of Finnish.

- (32) Uusi Pepsodent Torsion (signature line)
Let's Twist! (headline) (Image 6-7/2009, p.59)
- (33) Celebrating 60 years of soles & stripes (headline)
Adidas celebrate originality (signature line) (Image 2/2009, p.2)

4.2.4 Isolated lexical substitution

Substitutions of single words from the host language, i.e. Finnish to English in an advertisement was fourth on the cline. Examples of this category of the cline were very rare and actually only one clear instance of this type of a substitution could be found in the data, see Example 34. In some cases there were substitutions of single words but there were two or more of these isolated lexical substitutions in the same ad. An example of this type of situation is illustrated in Example 35.

- (34) Plugged! (headline) (DNA commercial) (Image 8/2009, p. 91)
- (35) iQ. Toisinajattelua. (headline) Today, Tomorrow, Toyota (signature line)
(Image 4/2009, p.15)

In this particular instance, the isolated lexical substitution occurs in the headline in the form of an English term IQ, i.e. Intelligence Quotient. Then again in the signature line, individual words today and tomorrow are used in the company of the product name, *Toyota*. This signature line makes use of alliteration, i.e. the initial consonant and the vowel are repeated in all of these words. As noted by Leech (1966), advertising language occasionally can have poetic features. The rhythm in the signature line increases memorability, and therefore it is kept intact in the Finnish magazine as well.

5 DISCUSSION

Although the differences between the two magazines were not examined and hence not reported, one significant observation could be made about the number of advertisement collected for this study. The advertisements gathered from *Image* magazine formed a considerably larger portion of the whole data compared to the

number of advertisements assembled from *Suomen Kuvalehti*. This might be due to the somewhat different styles of the magazines. As the reader profile for *Image* suggested, the largest age group reading *Image* magazine is 12-29-year-olds and the corresponding age group of readers of *Suomen Kuvalehti* is over 50-year-olds. Therefore English might appear more often in *Image* magazine advertisements since the readers are more likely to comprehend the multilingual messages from the advertisements.

5.1 Place in the advertisement

The data showed that English was employed in the most essential parts in the advertisements, in the signature lines and the headlines. Signature lines were slightly more occupied solely by English, whereas headlines involved either intrasentential code-switching, or extrasentential in the instances that the headline comprised of two recognizable units. The signature lines provide the name of the product and generally a slogan with which gives explanation for the frequent occurrence of English in them. Conversely, employing English in the headlines reflects its function of an attention-getter, and thus English as a symbol for internationality and trendiness serves for that purpose in the advertisements. (Paakkinen 2008: 320). Additionally, comparing to the other studies conducted on English in Finnish advertising in magazines the data was larger in Tolvanen's study on youth magazines and in Viitamäki's study on women's magazines the data was smaller. Paakkinen (2008: 308). This is most likely a sign of a trend that young people are more comfortable with English in magazine ads and therefore English is used more in them.

5.2 Categories of the cline

English monolingual advertisements were not frequent in data. However, the occurrence of these advertisements creates a certain image of internationality of the products advertised. This observation has also been made by Paakkinen (2008: 320)

from the previous studies which have examined code-switching in Finnish advertising. Additionally, Paakkinen (2008: 320) mentions that internationality has been attached to the use of slogans of mixed language ads and English product names, or generally to signature line in which, as noted in the results, English was most comfortably employed. The most frequent substitution of Finnish in the advertisements was seen at a phrasal level. As Martin (2002: 381) states, multilingual communication in advertisements demands more from the reader compared to a monolingual ad. This might explain why English was used mostly as phrases as they would be more easily comprehended.

6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the proportion between Finnish and English in advertisements in two Finnish magazines, *Suomen Kuvalehti* and *Image*. The results showed quite plainly that Finnish was replaced with English most frequently at a phrasal level. Advertisements entirely in English were the second common category of the cline found from the data. Sentential and isolated lexical substitutions were both relatively rare. Additionally, English could be found from every element of a print advertisement but not simultaneously. The elements where English most often was employed were the signature lines and the headlines, which are considered to be the most indispensable components of print advertisements. Body copies, illustrations, subhead and slogans also contained English but not to a significant extent. On the basis of this study no generalizations can be made due the small scale of the data. Further, it should be noted that the results of this study cannot provide ground for generalization that English is replacing Finnish in Finnish magazine advertisements. However, it could be argued that the practice of using English in advertising is becoming more fashionable and acceptable. Further study could be made through a closer linguistic analysis of the advertising language in general interest magazines.

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APPENDIX 1: EXAMPLES OF THE ADVERTISEMENTS

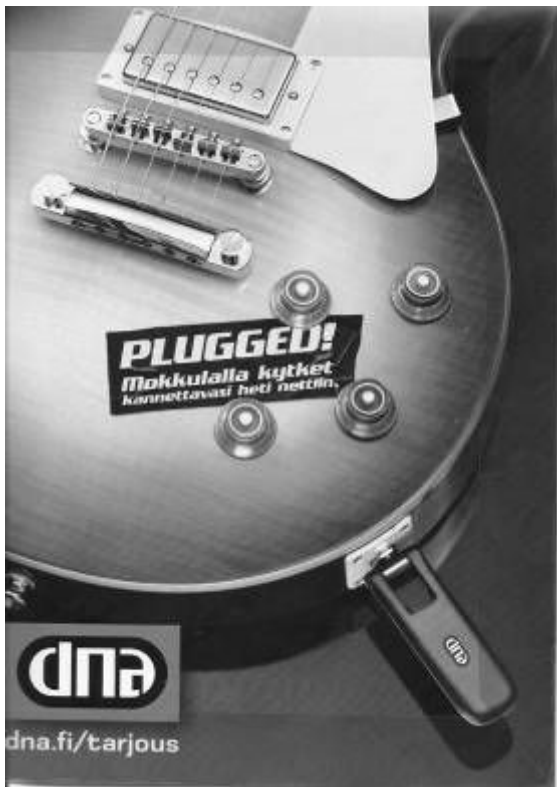


Image 8/2009, p. 91

Image 2/2009, p.92



Suomen Kuvalehti 6/2009, p.29

Image 6-7/2009, p.21

